

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 3



NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25th, 1936

Price 3 cents

NO DICTATORSHIP FOR NEW SPAIN

HITLER AGENTS EXPOSED FASCIST VERMIN FLEE ON FUHRER'S BOATS

(Information Service of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.)

While the "democratic" governments continue their cowardly betrayal of the cause of democracy by their policy of neutrality, the aid given by international Fascism to the murderous bloc of Spanish militarists, financiers and priests becomes more clearly evident to the workers of the world.

Very revealing are records discovered at the office of the Gestapo (called Administration Building) in Barcelona, in the Casa Parda and at the German Workers Front (now in the hands of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.) which bare beyond a doubt, the nefarious plot organized from the consulate under Nazi orders.

A certain Joseph Wirtz, a rabid Hitlerite, was provided with a safe conduct pass ostensibly to facilitate his task of giving shelter to German subjects arrived at Barcelona from other towns and to see to their safe embarkation on steamers destined for their country. The pass reads:

Consul General of Germany
in Spain

August 16, 1936

SAFE CONDUCT

This will certify that at the present time Joseph Wirtz is working under orders from and under the protection of this General Consulate to discharge certain urgent duties, especially such as have a bearing on the sheltering of German refugees from other cities and their subsequent embarkation on ships destined for the transportation of the same.

This certificate is valid until the twentieth of this month of the year 1936.

Consul General of Germany
Seal of the Consulate.

A typical embarkation is that of August 18. One hundred and thirty eight persons sailed on the German steamer "Hew." Of this number only nine were Germans. The others who sailed under the protection of Wirtz and the German government were Spanish Fascists who either had actively carried arms under the insurgent generals or

helped them financially. Among the long list of names which the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has in its possession are those of such notorious personalities as the Bishop of Vich and his secretary, the Maristany, the Churrucas, the Fuster Fabra, etc. We herewith reprint the first twenty names on the list to illustrate the nationality of those given safe conduct by the German government:

Juan Millet, Carlos Spagnolo de Luciano, Ricardo de Churrucá y Dotres, Enrique, María Luisa, José, Concepción, Javier y Luis Galopart, Wilhelm Geismar, Antonio Trius Marta, Mariano Fuster Fabra, Juan Pirelló (Obispo de Vich), José Morel Alamón (su Secretario), José Casals, Francisco Faura Arritz, Pilar Sabater Buichons, José Falic Bofill, Carlos Sellas Bofill, Rómulo Bertrán y familia, Antonio Perandones y familia, Teléforo Ascarza Remán, Ester Borbolla, Marina Hernández.

NEW DEFENSE INDUSTRIES CREATED

(From C.N.T., Madrid Anarcho-Syndicalist daily paper.)

Until the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion, Barcelona hardly had any war industry. The needs of the Civil War brought to life a new war industry, organized by the workers of Barcelona within the last month.

The phenomenal use of war industries is a most striking manifestation of the creative energies of the Catalonian workers. The same is demonstrated in the other branches of the national economy. The initiative and creative action usually come from the C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist unions), although the Socialist unions (the U.G.T.) are also represented in the workers' committees for the reorganization of industry.

The means of transportation have been confiscated by now. (Continued on page 3)

C.N.T.-F.A.I. Official Statement on Caballero Government

A new government has been formed in Madrid; Social Democrats with five and the official Communist Party with two seats form the majority. The other five seats of the cabinet are occupied by bourgeois republicans belonging to various factions.

This combination is only a transitional and utterly inadequate solution of the problem and does not give a true picture of the Spanish people's revolutionary movement. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. feel that a coalition government of this type hinders the social revolution just as much as a dictatorial government of purely "proletarian" parties. It will not succeed in gathering all the anti-Fascist forces in Spain; nor will it be able to conduct the civil war victoriously and bring it to a successful close.

The C.N.T. and F.A.I. represent the nucleus of the revolutionary workers in Spain; they are the fighting power of the Spanish proletariat. Without them the present anti-Fascist movement in Spain would not exist. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. are resolved to take an active part in shaping Spain's destiny. They will refuse to become a tool of the political parties.

Catalonia today shows the way to the revolutionary workers. The newly acquired power of the workers must find its expression in ANTI-FASCIST WORKERS' COUNCILS, ON A BROAD ANTI-FASCIST BASIS. THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNIONS OF THE C.N.T. AND U.G.T. is the only basis for an economic regeneration of the country. Only in this way can the C.N.T. and F.A.I. cooperate with all anti-Fascist groups. Under no circumstances will they agree to entrust the anti-Fascist revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people to the state bureaucracy and to have it "centralized"—not even if the leading representatives of the political parties should be changed. Revolutionary, autonomous Catalonia will see to it that new ways are tried all over the country and that the decaying forms of bourgeois politics and ministerial bureaucracy shall disappear.

SYNDICALIST LEADER IN INTERVIEW DAMNS DICTATORSHIP

The calibre of the men who are emerging from the Spanish struggle as heroes of the people is admirably illustrated in an interview by Pierre Van Paassen, staff correspondent of the *Toronto Star*, with Durutti, one of the outstanding Anarchists in Catalonia.

Van Paassen in a dispatch sent by air to Paris has the following to say:

"Durutti, a syndicalist metal worker, is the man who led the victorious bayonet charge of the People's Militia in the stronghold of the Fascist rebels at San Rafael yesterday. Durutti was the first in the Hotel Colon in Barcelona, when that building which spewed death for thirty-six hours from two hundred windows, fell before the onslaught of the well-nigh bare handed libertarians. When a column is ready to drop with exhaustion, Durutti goes to talk new courage into the men. When things go bad up Saragossa way, Durutti climbs aboard an aeroplane and drops down into the field of Aragon to put himself at the head of the Catalonian partisans. Wherever you go it's Durutti and Durutti again whom you hear spoken of as a wonder man."

STRIKES IN SEVILLE

The Fascists find it very difficult to hold power even in those places which they have captured because the vast majority of the people is unalterably opposed to the bloody dictatorship of these reactionaries. This is well demonstrated in the resistance which General Franco met when he took Seville. The trade unions immediately called a general strike of the tramway workers. Street car service was stopped at once. Eight trade union leaders were arrested and shot. The strike continued. Eight more syndicalists were shot. The strike still continued. Another eight militants were shot. The order to end the strike was never given.

In the entire neighborhood of Seville the resistance of the people inspired by the libertarian elements continues unabated.

Van Paassen found it easy enough to contact this 'wonder man.' A simple worker, he has only scorn for the type of leader who surrounds himself with flunkies.

Van Paassen describes him as a tall, swarthy fellow with a clean-shaven face, the son of poor peasants which is shown by his use of the peasant dialect. Durutti, although a metal worker who works at his trade, has trained himself in languages and is a skillful political analyst as well as a military strategist.

When Van Paassen came upon him he was resting on his cot in the hallway of the palace of the Medina Celi dukes, above which floats the black and red flag of the Iberian Anarchist Federation. A rifle stood ready at his bedside.

In answer to Van Paassen's questions regarding the chances of victory for the workers militia, Durutti replied: "No, we have not got them on the run yet. They have Saragossa and Pampelona. That is where the arsenals and the munition factories are. We must take Saragossa... the masses are in arms. The army doesn't count any longer. All the workers in Spain know that if Fascism triumphs, it will be famine and slavery. But the Fascists also know what is in store for them when they are beaten. That is why the struggle is implacable and relentless. For us it is a question of crush— (Continued on page 3)

FASCISTS FOILED

In the town of Caspe, our comrades from the C.N.T. and F.A.I. defeated the Fascists at the beginning of the revolt in spite of the vicious methods employed by "rebels." The latter made use of a particularly cruel strategy: they dragged women and children through the streets and tried to place them in the line of fire so as to protect themselves. Our comrades would not, of course, shoot their own wives and children. However, they surrounded the Fascists, closed in and finally succeeded in capturing them.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

45 WEST 17th STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y. - CHelsea 3-9567

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September 25th, 1936

TIME FOR WORKERS TO ACT!

Pierre Van Paassen in a dispatch to the Federated Press, Sept. 14, 1936, writes the following:

Irun fell, opening the gates to San Sebastian. It is Mussolini's bombing planes and Hitler's Junkers whose precision in dropping aerial torpedoes brought Irun to a fall—this is the unanimous verdict of foreign observers. Without the help of Rome and Berlin, General Franco and his fellow bigtime gangsters would present no problem to the republic. Without the steady stream of tanks, planes, armored cars and artillery coming in from Portugal, the Fascist rebellion would have been crushed weeks ago. YET THE BLOCKADE AGAINST THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES!

They fought to the last cartridge, the men of Irun. When they had no more ammunition, they hurled packets of dynamite. When dynamite was gone, they rushed forward barehanded and tackled each their man, while the 60 times stronger enemy butchered them with bayonets. A girl held two armored cars at bay for half an hour by hurling glycerine bombs. Then the Moroccans stormed the barricade of which she was the last living defender and tore her to pieces. The men of Ft. Martial held 300 foreign legionnaires at a distance for half a day by rolling rocks down the hill on which the old fort is perched. When the fort was taken, the conquerors found 11 corpses.

In Saragossa, occupied by 12 rebel regiments and besieged by the Catalan militia, the general strike continues, despite the sentence of death by slow torture inflicted on known leaders.

And still the workers hold their own. And still they advance. They have the cream of the Fascist army locked up in Saragossa. They are encircling Cordoba. They are performing prodigies of valor at Talavera de la Reina.

The decisive hour is drawing near. Franco has one more chance: with the aid of tanks, bombing planes and 20,000 cylinders of poison gas he will try to overwhelm the militia stationed in the valley of the Sierra de Gredos. He is promising his Moors 1,000 pesetas per man and three days free looting, killing and violation in working class districts of the capital if they reach Madrid before October 1st. Barajos and Irun fell because their defenders had not sufficient arms. Imperialist and bourgeois governments have refused to send arms for love or money. It seems to me that the workers of the world should speak a word."

The workers must do more than "speak a word." They must ACT!!

Just as it was the organized workers of Spain who, without waiting for government help, saved Spain from being completely conquered by the Fascists, so must the workers of the world come to the aid of the toilers of Spain. Our Spanish Comrades call upon workers everywhere to take an independent course of action, to start their own campaigns to raise money for the Spanish working class organizations. What shall our answer be? *Our brothers and comrades in Spain must be helped at once!*

Send all funds to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

DURANTY IN WONDERLAND

The important and significant role played by the anarchists in Catalonia is portrayed by the *New York Times'* well known correspondent, Walter Duranty, in his article of September 17. He writes, in part:

In Catalonia the government, or Generalidad, is little more than a rubber-stamp to countersign the orders of the all-powerful workers' militia. I had proof of this the moment I crossed the French border to Port Bou.

I had a personal letter from the Spanish Ambassador to Paris, recommending me to all. It worked like magic with the customs and government officials in the Port Bou station. But they added gently, "If you want to go on to Barcelona, you need the stamp of the Militia Committee. Their office is down on the waterfront."

I went down to the waterfront and found a group of young-anarchism. The anarchists rule Catalonia, but they are not what stars with rifles and revolvers and the red and black emblems of the word means to Americans, crazy bandits throwing bombs.

In Catalonia the anarchists are the most important political party, although slightly exceeded in number by the Catalan Nationalist party, and, whatever may or may not be their anarchic ideas of individual freedom, they are beginning to develop a fairly efficient system of governmental control.

So these young anarchists looked over my papers and shrugged their shoulders at the signature of the Spanish Ambassador to Paris. The fact that I came from Moscow turned the scales, although they were careful to remark that they did not approve the Bolshevik bureaucracy.

"That's not freedom," they said. "That's not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the proletariat, and we do not approve it."

I heard the same thing later in Barcelona, but, nevertheless, my Moscow connections were a guarantee.

The train ran smoothly to Barcelona, although its guards, armed to the teeth and wearing the red and black insignia of anarchism, were careful to tell me that the road was now run by the workers.

"We have thrown out all the bosses and station masters," they said, "Our trains are now run by the workers. We have no use for bosses."

In spite of the lies and malicious slander consciously fostered by the bourgeois and reactionary press representing the anarchists as burners and looters, in spite of the misrepresentations by liberal and Marxist writers painting the anarchists as vague dreamers, if not conscious terrorists, the truth about the tremendous constructive work of the anarchists in the social and economic system slowly begins to leak out. And as we learn more about the constructive abilities of the workers freely organized and controlling, through their own councils and committees, industrial production and distribution, a lesson which Catalonia teaches us, we see that the anarchists are right in pointing out the futility of political action which can only result in a dictatorship of the black or red kind. Indeed they are more than ever right when they say, "We want the railroads organized by the railroad-workers, the factories by the industrial workers, agricultural life by the peasants, and this for the well-being of all, so that each gives according to his ability and receives according to his needs."

While Mr. Duranty's factual reports are often of value, his explanations and interpretations, however, must be taken with more than a grain of salt. For example, the following remarks in the *New York Times* of September 19:

Theoretically the Spanish anarchists follow the doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin, a somewhat Utopian system of complete individual liberty that needs no laws or government because each individual knows how to conduct himself as a social unit. Actually, the anarchists have found that there is a vast difference between theory and practice and that, under the stress of war, individualism must yield to discipline, and freedom to obedience.

The Spanish Anarchists not only follow the basic doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin but, unlike Mr. Duranty, they understand these doctrines. Both Bakunin and Kropotkin were most deeply concerned with the organizational aspects of social reconstruction. If Mr. Duranty recalls, Michael Bakunin was instrumental in establishing the first organization dedicated to the task of organizing the international working class. Peter Kropotkin's life and works are organizational ammunition for the Spanish workers.

The unique contribution of Bakunin and Kropotkin to social science was the development of methods whereby individual liberty could be integrated with social and economic organization. We suggest that Mr. Duranty sweep the Kremlin cobwebs from his mind before attempting to appraise the epochal work of the Spanish Libertarians.

UNITY AND REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

Every day the newspapers, in their reports on Spain, carry some item telling of the close cooperation among the various revolutionary factions within the Spanish working class. With very few exceptions, the Spanish proletariat has shown a high degree of unity, unequalled in the history of the revolutionary struggles of our time. Anarchists, Socialists, Communists of various denominations, not only fight together against the common enemy, but, what is more important, work together on the enormous task of rebuilding Spanish economic life along the lines of a new social order.

It was party monopoly that shipwrecked the Russian revolution, distorted its original course of a great upheaval along the lines of a new type of revolutionary democracy. And it was also the failure of workers' democracy to assert itself with sufficient vigor in the work of rebuilding Russian life along revolutionary lines that brought about the great slump in democratic values, the fullest expression of which is Fascism as it came to prevail in Germany and Italy.

The cooperation of various revolutionary factors in Spain has already brought about a great change in that respect—a new type of revolutionary democ-

racy is emerging out of the chaos of Spanish life, and if nothing happens to disturb its further course, it will become the model of all the great revolutionary upheavals to come.

It will be an industrial democracy, based upon the economic organizations of the working class and not upon any political parties or ideological groupings. Along with that will go a considerable degree of freedom for various minorities within the mass organizations of the workers. And where such freedom is obtained for various groups, the rights of the individual, without which no progressive development of the new revolutionary order is possible, stand the greatest chance of being fully protected.

Until now it was thought by the majority of Socialists that such an order cannot be obtained in times of revolutionary storm and stress. It was the Anarchists that always upheld proletarian democracy as the indispensable condition of any successful revolution. The course of events in Spain fully confirms the point of view of the Anarchists.

The Spanish revolution succeeds only in measure that the principles of revolutionary democracy are fully applied: the province which thus far has shown the greatest resistance to Fascism and has gone the furthest in the direction of the revolutionary changes is the one in which the cooperation of various revolutionary movements is more fully developed. It is also the province in which the mass organization of the working class—the industrial union—is rapidly becoming the basic cell of the new social organism.

As in all other revolutionary matters, it is the Anarcho-Syndicalists who have taken the lead. The Anarcho-Syndicalists are striving conscientiously toward a revolutionary democracy based upon the industrial unions of the country. In Catalonia, where they constitute the majority of the people, they stand jealously on guard of the rights of the Socialist minority. In the north and central Spain where the Anarcho-Syndicalists are in the minority, they forced upon the Socialists a degree and kind of revolutionary cooperation which is rapidly becoming the basic principle of the new revolutionary order.

Whatever it is, proletarian democracy is becoming the basic revolutionary factor of the Spanish revolution. Its triumph signifies the triumph of the common man over all the world; the revival of the great hopes of democracy, the faith in common man which once constituted the finest features of our civilization.

It signifies the triumph of the finest hopes of our civilization and that is what the great mass of workers who live by such hopes must come to realize to an ever greater extent.

The Artists in Spain

Official Statement of The Draftsmen, Painters and Sculptors of the C.N.T.

To all Catalan Artists:

A number of us artists have joined in this syndicate at a time when a great decision is to be made in our country for the history of mankind. We want a union of all draftsmen, painters and sculptors of Catalonia, in order that the expressions of the human spirit may suffer no interruption at this time. The revolutionary artist has until now been a hopeless pariah or at best ever a miserable slave. In the future, however, he will win the right no longer to live in society as a parasite but as a worker, side by side with other workers. Art cannot be a collectivized production of standardized things. It must always find expression through the personality of the artist. However, after the privileges of intellect and knowledge have been removed, no artist may think he is any more than the plainest worker. Art had never been intended for the select few. It was only the bourgeois social order that has stipu-

lated this as well as all other injustices and privileges. The main task of all syndicates of artists and intellectuals today is to develop a propaganda which will make culture the concern of all men and thus bring it about that the book and the work of art shall be felt to be as needful for living as one's bed, table and chair. Within the trade union organization, artists, craftsmen, painters, sculptors, etc., while fully preserving their distinct individualities, should develop close cooperation, just as the great Gothic artists of the Middle Ages had done. Those artists who work in factories or shops must form in those places separate labor groups. In order to bring our plans to realization, we have created a number of committees which will see to it that the work of the artists is incorporated into the new society in a fitting and equitable manner. We are fighting for a juster, more humane life!

Sectional Administration
of the Syndicate of Free
Professions of the C.N.T.
at Barcelona.

Durutti Explains Aims

(Continued from page 1)

ing Fascism once and for all. Yes, and in spite of the government."

Van Passen could not understand why Durutti should add his grim "in spite of the government."

He asked "Why do you say in spite of the government? Is not the government fighting the Fascist rebellion."

Durutti does not allow the heat of the present battle to blur the lessons that he has learned during his many years as a fighter for workers freedom. He answered: "No government in the world fights Fascism to the death. When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to Fascism to maintain itself. The Liberal government of Spain could have rendered the Fascist elements powerless long ago. Instead it temporized and compromised and dallied. Even now at this moment, there are men in this government who want to go easy with the rebels. You never can tell, you know," he laughed, "the present government might yet need these rebellious forces to crush the workers' movement."

These were the first statements that Van Passen had heard regarding what was likely to happen after the Fascists had been put down. The Socialist and Communist leaders that he had seen, spoke only of a return to the Republic.

"So you are looking for difficulties even after the present rebellion should be conquered?" Van Passen asked.

"A little resistance, yes."

"On whose part?"

"The bourgeoisie, of course. The bourgeois class will not like

it when we install the revolution," said Durutti.

This was news to Van Passen who was unacquainted with the Anarchist theory and practice.

Durutti continued: "We syndicalists are fighting for the revolution. We know what we want. To us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere in the world, for the sake of whose peace and tranquility the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to Fascist barbarism by Stalin. We want the revolution here in Spain, right now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry today with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class how to deal with Fascism."

Durutti is important to Van Passen because he represents the minds and dreams of over two million of the most courageous of Spain's fighting men. He says, "I sought to learn his mind because it is essential to know what is going on in the minds of the Spanish workers who are doing the fighting. Durutti showed that the situation might take a direction for which few are prepared. That Moscow had no influence to speak of on the Spanish proletariat, is a well known fact! Van Passen asked what help Durutti expected from sources outside Spain. Apparently, Durutti has no illusions about the bourgeois nations coming to his aid.

"I do not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government in the world. Maybe the conflicting interests in the various imperialisms might have some influence on our struggle. That is quite well possible.

Defense Industries

(Continued from page 1)

They function in a highly efficient manner, a fact acknowledged by many foreign correspondents. Some of the metallurgical plants were confiscated while others, although still in private hands, have been placed under workers' control. This dual system of factories totally socialized and factories placed only under workers' control now prevailing in almost every industry, finds its completion in the Supreme Economic Council.

The taking over of the functions of economic organization by the unions constitutes now the most striking feature of Catalonian life. Equally remarkable is the loyal cooperation of technicians. This is due to the fact that the Anarchists in Catalonia always fully understood the great importance of such cooperation. In their preparatory work they laid great stress upon the building up of a close collaboration between the intellectual and manual workers on the basis of full equality. That is why it is quite common to see technicians represented on the factory committees.

It is the harmonious work and the creative spirit of the Catalonian workers that make possible the rapid reorganization of the light and heavy industries for war purposes. The comrades of the C.N.T. delegated to the War Committee (the Department of Popular Militia) succeeded in coordinating within a short time the duties of the workers organizations and that of the technicians, thus making possible the phenomenally rapid building up of war industries in Barcelona for the purpose of revolutionary defense.

Franco is doing his best to drag Europe into the conflict. He will not hesitate to pitch Germany against us. But we expect no help, not even from our own government on the last analysis."

"You will be sitting on top of a pile of ruins if you are victorious," Van Passen countered.

"We have always lived in stumps and holes in the wall," Durutti answered. "We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, we can also build. It is we who built those palaces and cities, here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers. We can build others to take their place. And better ones. We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world, here, in our hearts. That world is growing this minute."

ANARCHISTS AGAINST TERROR AND DICTATORSHIP

Pierre Van Paassen whom we quote at length in the present issue of "Spanish Revolution," is not an anarchist. So far as we can remember he wrote an article in May, 1936 for the *Toronto Star* which was definitely antagonistic to the Spanish anarchists. An important correspondent for a number of bourgeois newspapers on this continent, Van Paassen, in Spain for about two months now, studied the situation, saw things as they really were, and as an honest man reports simply and clearly just what he sees and hears.

In a dispatch to the *Toronto Daily Star* of Sept. 17, 1936, he reports an interview with Jaime Meravitless "one of the most intellectual heads in the libertarian movement." Mr. Van Paassen says as follows:

The ruthless execution of Zinovieff and kameneff in Russia by the Stalin machine produced grave dissensions among the representatives of the workers on the executive committee, the anarchists charging that the Muscovite Socialists were killing the United Front movement, but these quarrels have been patched up—temporarily only—in the face of the common enemy, Fascism.

The secret of the gods is namely: what will happen here in Catalonia if and when the military rebellion is crushed? I asked this question of several Syndicalist leaders. The answer was invariably: "We Anarchists will do our duty!"

Pressed to say outright whether they would align themselves against a dictatorship of the proletariat, they would reply: "Most certainly if you mean by dictatorship of the proletariat the monstrous ignominy which is practised by the Stalin bureaucracy in Russia where Anarchists are treated with a ferocity that might serve as a model to Nazis and Fascists. A united front with the Communists, sure, if the United Front is also made a reality in Russia and the tens of thousands of syndicalists, Tolstoyans, conscientious objectors, who are now slandered as counter-revolutionaries in the U.S.S.R., are released from the inhuman Bolshevik concentration camps and the deadly Sokolniki islands."

"Even so," he added frankly, "we hope that a struggle between proletarian brothers may be avoided. At least we must not have an armed clash.

"But the Communists must understand that we will not tolerate the institution of an authoritarian regime after the victory over Fascism. "If they insist," Meravitless paused for a moment and he looked me in the

eyes, "if they insist, well, they will find us in their way. They know it. We want a community of free human beings, who will walk with their heads erect and who shall have an opportunity to develop culturally. We will tolerate no red terror or red militarism in favor of the Russian state. We don't care a — about the imperialist interests of Spain, France, Russia or Italy. We remain internationalists. We stand with the working-class of every country against their own oppressors."

I have written this statement down because many must be wondering abroad what exactly is the internal situation in the State of Catalonia, obscured as things are by conflicting rumors and stories of the most ridiculous character about chaos and "anarchy" and I know not what. Everything is perfectly orderly in this great city. The underground railway runs on time as regularly as the famous trains in Mussolini's country.

And something else begins to run pretty well besides. "I have to admit that I never suspected such magnificent idealism, such perfect discipline, such an heroic spirit of self-sacrifice as I see displayed by the libertarians, who have spontaneously taken over the enormous task of liberating Catalonia from Fascism," declared his excellency Luis Companys, captain-general of Catalonia, and Liberal chief.

"They not only fought like lions and downed the military insurrection in our own province in two days, but they have opened 112 new schools in these days of war and commotion. Private libraries, costly collections of art are being gathered together, classified, indexed and distributed to various new public libraries and museums in the city and in the rural regions. Thirty-two monasteries have been changed into clinics and hospitals in the last 40 days.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE U.S.S.R.

Comrades, workers of the U.S.S.R.! We have just seen demonstrated that the tactics, the struggle that we carried on throughout the world is the only method whereby the final victory can be accomplished—that tactic is the direct action method.

All those who have persisted in questioning this method, have wasted their time, for in the hour of the test, only the direct action of the organized workers has prevented Spain from sinking into the satanic tyranny and chaos of Fascism.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. send you their fraternal greetings! —C.N.T.-F.A.I.

PLAN OF ECONOMIC COUNCIL

The work of the Catalonian Economic Council is as follows:

1. To regulate production in accordance with the needs of the consumers, cutting down on those branches of economy which are not important now and stimulating the organization of new industries necessary in view of the fall of the peseta (Spanish currency).
2. The monopolization of foreign trade.
3. The collectivization of big landed estates, to be cultivated by the syndicates of peasants and land workers.
4. Partial devaluation of urban property by reduction of rent.
5. Socialization of big industries, public utilities and transport.

6. The seizure and operation of enterprises abandoned by their owners.

7. The development of cooperation in the field of distribution and in particular the taking over of the big distribution enterprises by the cooperatives.

8. Workers control of all banking firms until a comprehensive plan of nationalization of banks is fully worked out.

9. The control by workers' unions of those industries which are still left in private hands.

10. To work energetically towards the reabsorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture.

11. The abolition of diverse taxes and the introduction of a unified tax.

Free Expression of Workers In Councils Will Assure Victory

(Continued from page 1)

day, and it is the workers who are now bitterly contesting every inch of ground yielded by the "legal" representatives of the Spanish people to the Fascists. July 19th shattered the legal apparatus in Spain, which was in part treacherous and in part incompetent. The people had to win its fundamental rights and build up a new life according to its will. And therefore all the means for carrying on the fight should rest solely in the hands of the people, in the hands of typically revolutionary organizations composed of all sectors of the anti-Fascist movement.

All these sectors are in agreement on the point that the direct result of victory over Fascism can only be a complete economic and social change. But opinions differ as to what the basis of the new social and economic structure should be. Each faction has its own ideas and wants to bring them to realization. This is natural but it is also dangerous when such divergence of wishes passes the limits of good sense and of immediate need.

Care must be taken that the struggle goes on without giving anyone in the country the chance for building up party positions that will some day endanger the utilization of a victory won by joint action. Just as the protagonists of all factions fight at the front, so it is also necessary to create in the rearguard organizations which are a true expression of reality and which will enable the people, on the day after the victory, to decide its new life, thinking and feeling in absolute freedom.

Socialization of Land

(Continued from page 1)

of land workers to attempt to realize in full the order of libertarian Socialism under the following circumstances:

a. The total collectivization is to be carried out in those regions in which there is no danger of running into any opposition with the small land owners.

b. Where such a danger does exist, the only land to be collectivized is that which belonged to the big land owners and any other land owner that took the side of Fascism.

c. The land workers must win over to the idea of collectivization, the poor peasants and the tenant farmers. Every district must have large model farms where all modern technical implements are to be tried out. In the first place there must be introduced electrification, irrigation and the chemical improvement of the soil. Such model farms are to be organized for the benefit of the peasants.

6. A certain latitude must be given every region in the application of all these regulations to local conditions.

In Catalonia the existing differences between the various factions are as great as, or greater than, in the rest of Spain. Here, however, the obstacle has been overcome through the creation of true revolutionary organizations in which all revolutionary factions can function jointly without any sacrifice of their intellectual integrity. The anti-Fascist committees for the militia, the maintenance of revolutionary order, for the organization of the upkeep and development of domestic economy, demonstrate the possibility of constructive cooperation of an entire people which is fighting a common enemy, without the appearance of any class or party privileges that might become the starting point of internal conflicts.

Catalonia's example should give the other regions of Spain food for thought. Right now no single faction can claim exclusive representation of the Spanish people. The people can be represented only by organizations born out of the revolution which is now in progress and which has abolished all pre-July 19th norms.

The CNT and the FAI demand the creation of *Regional Revolutionary Councils* which are united into a *Central Defense Council* for the entire country. As opposed to this central defense council, the regional councils should have the necessary autonomy to be able to settle the immediate pressing problems of the revolution. These revolutionary and therefore transitory organizations would have the task of defending the cause of all the fighting sectors and maintaining a uniform advance at the front and in the rear. This demand had already been raised by the CNT and the FAI before the creation of the Caballero government and we have no reason for altering it. On the contrary, it becomes clearer daily that the Spanish revolution cannot be represented by organizations alien to it; it must create its own expression. The CNT and the FAI, whose decisive importance is now recognized by all, have given sufficient proof of their understanding and tolerance, and exert sufficient moral authority to demand the same from all other factions.

Let us organize our victory without organizational rivalries and without mistrust, and the people will be able to choose freely, its way for itself. The *Revolutionary Defense Councils* must replace the old bankrupt institutions. They will show the revolution the next road.

SALESMEN WANTED

for "Spanish Revolution" and other Libertarian literature. Liberal commission. Call at U.L.O., 45 W. 17th St., N.Y.C.

Masses Fight Heroically

(Continued from page 1)

If an era of well-being, social peace, freedom and bread for masses of workers and peasants comes at the end of the present upheaval, it will be because the workers took up arms in spite of the Giral government, and, it can be said now, against the wishes of several members of the liberal government.

When it was seen that the coalition government made no headway with organizing the defenses, Azana turned to Largo Caballero and Indalecio Prieto to take in hand the conduct of the war, because they, as Socialists, represented more closely the elements of the population who were willing to fight Fascism to the death, that is to say, the working class organizations.

Much precious time was lost. The enemy had battered his way through Extramadura and had advanced to the very gates of Madrid. Yet at this moment when the world is hearing nothing but the roar of battle in the Tagus Valley, industry is beginning to function again, after weeks of idleness and half-heartedness.

The workers themselves are taking the initiative. Revolutionary committees are being set up everywhere. People's tribunals have found those guilty of fomenting the rebellion, its financiers and auxiliaries, and have begun to mete out punishment within a week after being set up, whereas the Giral government hesitated for weeks to proceed against the plotters and their agents.

Now the landed estates which the successive liberal governments hesitated to confiscate are at last passing into the hands of the peasants. These are preliminary conditions to victory against the hirelings of Hitler and Mussolini, who are swarming over the land, burning, looting and massacring as they go. It was impossible to arouse the workers for a return to the status quo. Now they know what they are fighting for.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHISTS IN SPAIN?

WHAT CAN THE AMERICAN WORKER DO TO HELP SPAIN?

Attend Mass Meeting at
IRVING PLAZA
(Irving Pl. & 15th St., N. Y.)
on
Sunday Afternoon, Oct. 25th
1 o'clock
Prominent Libertarian Speakers

MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORTS REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

The Catalonian food workers of the C.N.T. issued the following declaration to the small businessmen:

"We respond to the serious appeal issued by the anti-Fascist committee to the Catalonian middle class. The anti-Fascist committee pointed out that we all now share a great historical responsibility. That is why we appeal to you to enter our union. It is necessary that you transcend the narrow mentality of your class. You are also workers and you should not stand outside the workers' ranks. You issued from the ranks of workers, you grew up among us and that is why together with all of us you must help to build up the new economy that is coming into existence now and which is going to be firmly consolidated when Fascism has been fully vanquished.

"Small merchants! for years you worked hard from 12 to 14 hours a day. The bitter struggle for life deprived you of any leisure, of any opportunity to devote some of your time to social problems. And so you have

just as much reason as we to join the great social movement which aims to bring about a more just and dignified social order for all.

"Let us all strain our efforts to make life worth while for everyone. Our union appeals to you to do something on your own behalf, for your own freedom which will come as a part of the general freedom. The comrades of the Oil and Soap Merchants Association, employers and employees, have already taken the decision. They clearly saw the needs of our time and they decided to collectivize their business. Now they all work collectively. There are no more bosses and workers—all share their income according to their needs. Follow their example! They show the right way to overcome the distrust which you have felt towards the workers of the C.N.T., for you witnessed with your own eyes the heroism of the C.N.T. and the Anarchist F.A.I. who fought and are now fighting against Fascism for the interests of the entire people, for the future of Spain."

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN

Bakers Union, Local 505.....	\$46.75
Anna Rabinowitz and Goldstein.....	2.00
Fannie, Towanda, Pa.....	5.00
Gay Dress Shop, N. Y.—List 214....	5.85
J. Bottiello, Gillespie, Ill.—List 319-320	15.54
J. Goldman, Chicago, Ill.....	23.00
Sun Rise Colony—List 110.....	29.25
Pietro Molaschi, N. Y.....	31.45
A. Fernandez, Moundville, W. Va.— List 402-404	86.75
Progressive Miners, Loc. 1, Gillespie, Ill.	210.00
George Laudi	5.00
Russian Polish Union, Loc. 103 A.C.W.	32.93
Gladys Roberts—List 444.....	4.00
F. Baron, Pershing, Iowa.....	5.00
Michael Palmiere, Farmingham, Mass.	48.35
Manuel Garcia, Donorah, Pa.— List 406-410	407.14
Dr. Shiffman	5.00
Nettie Gold, N. Y.	2.00
Roman Malovichics, Niagara Falls, N. Y.— List 164	15.00
Fermin, N. Y.....	10.00
Proletarische Gemeinschaft, N. Y....	101.87
Jewish Anarchist Federation	677.65
Freedom Group	3.00
Libertarian Workers Group—List 154	45.00
Il Martello	52.10
Ray Jones, San Francisco—List 119-120	9.00
D. Gisecke, Toronto—List 104.....	5.00
Amshol Group, N. Y.....	68.38
Mohegan Colony	28.15
H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.—List 431-432	57.00
Russian Group—Dielo Truda— List 165—D. T., Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
List 166—D. T., Akron, Ohio...	7.25
List 162—D. T., Frackville, Pa...	1.50
List 207—D. T., Baltimore, Md.	9.00
List 169B—D. T., Newark, N. J.	5.25
List 118—D. T., Waterbury, Conn.	7.00
List 196—D. T., Akron, Ohio...	7.00
List 160—D. T., New Haven, Conn.	13.50
List 106—D. T., Chicago, Ill....	9.75
List 166—D. T., New Castle, Pa.	14.00
List 182—D. T., N. Y.....	5.70
List 161—D. T., N. Y.....	6.35
List 158—D. T. (Abrams & Shapiro Shop)	17.75
D. T., Philadelphia...	25.00

TOTAL Donations for Spain.. \$2,171.21
To date we have sent \$2,000 to the C.N.T.
through the I.W.M.A.

The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c-o U.L.O., 45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.