

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Workers' Councils to Clear Spain of Fascism

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY DEFENSE COUNCILS CAN ASSURE VICTORY

Any undertaking can succeed only if it maintains its hold on reality and does that which the hour calls for. All gains must be made secure against reverses. At the same time care must be taken that future advances may not turn into obstacles.

The conflict which started on July 19th is more than an ordinary dispute between a ruling clique and another seeking to replace it. The swift and determined intervention of the people carried the struggle far beyond its original scope, and what started as a "putsch" against a government or a regime, has now become a social-revolutionary movement with all its implications. July 19th signified, contrary to the intentions of the provocateurs, the end of a regime which made possible the preparation for and the outbreak of the civil war that is costing the Spanish proletariat so much blood. This regime must not come back.

Of the entire legal apparatus in force before July 19th, there remain only a few decorative official figures who rule no one save certain trade unions which, whether through tradition or through calculation, still cling to

C.N.T. Demands Moroccan Freedom

A tremendous excitement prevails among the Moroccans, amounting almost to a direct rebellion against the Fascists. This revolutionary spirit, "Solidaridad Obrera," syndicalist daily, points out, must be cultivated.

"We consider the workers of Riff capable of providing for themselves in their life and their social organization. The fight against Fascism has today an absolutely international character. It is in this sense that it is necessary for us to stir the natives of Riff with a revolutionary spirit . . . We would be counter-revolutionary if we reserved liberty for the workers of our peninsula and allowed Morocco to remain in the hands of the enslavers. Absolute liberty for the colonies!

Spanish Morocco will be independent the day on which arms will be found in the hands of the Moroccan workers."

them. We recognize all those who did their duty against Fascism. However, had Fascism encountered no opposition but that of the so-called legal powers, it would have won out without difficulty in Catalonia and in Spain. To-day the situation is still exactly this. If the "legal" powers of the pre-July 19th government had had to face Fascism alone, the Fascists would have been in Madrid and Barcelona in less than a week. It was the workers who fought the reaction from the very first

(Continued on page 4)

C.N.T. Takes Part In New Council

The newspapers have already reported the important change in the Catalonian governing body (Generalidad). Three of our comrades of the C.N.T. accepted positions in the council of the Generalidad.

It is known that outside of political power the C.N.T. controls effectively the economic and social life of Catalonia.

We must also keep in view the fact that in Catalonia it is the union syndicates—and everyone knows that the C.N.T. has a preponderant influence in the unions—that also controls the political life of the region. Under those conditions and in view of the gravity of the situation from the view of the anti-Fascist defense and the economic reconstruction of the country, it was normal that the C.N.T. should assume, at least in part, the responsibility for the political direction of public affairs. Its absence from the councils of the Generalidad placed it in an unfavorable position in regard to the political parties.

The social structure of Catalonia demanded that the most important union organization should act in the political domain on an equal footing with the political parties.

(from "Le Libertaire" French Anarchist paper.)

Militia Heroism Inspiring

by PIERRE VAN PAASEN

MADRID—(FP)—Franco is at the gates of Madrid. So was Yudenitch at the gates of old Petrograd in 1918. The Fascist rebels are fighting desperately for a quick decision before their money runs out. But the nearer Franco comes, the higher rises the combative ardor of the masses. There is not the slightest sign of weariness or wavering among the men and women of the militia.

And in Oviedo, the Asturian miners, with a gallantry that elevates one's respect for the potentialities of the human race, are blasting their way, street by street, into the heart of that important city.

The capture of 5,000 gas masks from the Fascists on the front southwest of Madrid shows that Franco will in a last extremity, even as Mussolini in Ethiopia, use poison gas to gain his ends. Fascists have no scruples when it comes to humaneness or a respect for the prescriptions of international law.

But no more than the Caproni bombers can blast a breach in the human wall of the workers' militia, no more can Franco's yperite gas bring him victory. The Spanish proletariat, fighting on one of the last citadels of freedom in Europe (France is next) will have the last word, if not today, then tomorrow. History is on their side. The struggle will be hard, long and cruel, but the final victory is certain.

PEASANTS CALL FOR LAND COLLECTIVIZATION

On the 25th of September a convention of peasants and land workers belonging to the C.N.T. took place in Barcelona. The following provinces were represented: Catalonia, Aragon (that part which was cleared of the Fascists), Tarragon and the Pyrennees districts.

The resolutions adopted at this convention were as follows:

1. The land is to be collectivized. But since it is desirable to have the small peasant on the side of the revolution, they must be given the right to settle upon and cultivate as much land as they can work with their own labor. This right is granted inso-

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN APPEALS FOR WORLD AID

Enlarged text of radio talk in Barcelona, Sept. 23, 1936:

Men and women in English speaking countries, I greet you in the name of the CNT (The National Confederation of Labor) and FAI, The Iberian Anarchist Federation.

The part already played by these spokesmen of the Spanish people in revolt since the battle with Fascism in the streets of Barcelona and the part they are destined to play is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of Fascism, but also the transformation of the old social order.

The workers' battalions of Spain, who are holding the 50 times better equipped Fascist enemy at bay with their bare hands and by the ramparts of their own bodies, are displaying a heroism that would cause the world to gasp if the capitalist press had the slightest sense of fairness.

The liberal-democratic Giral government was incapable and insufficient to mobilize and direct the new energies that were required to beat back the assault of feudalism, obscurantism and monopolistic capitalism represented by its militant advance guard: the Fascist militarist clique headed by Gen. Franco.

(Continued on page 4)

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been charged in some English and American papers, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions. And they have also socialized the railroads, the entire network of transportation including airplanes, ships, street cars, omnibuses and taxis; construction works and management. They have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona, I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, work-shops or the former luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous departments of

(Continued on page 3)

Militiamen Demand Russia Free Anarchists

The delegates of the anti-Fascists took the initiative in sending a telegram to the Russian government demanding that the Anarchists arrested by Stalin's government should be permitted to leave for Spain in order to take part in the anti-Fascist struggle allegedly given the moral support of Stalin's government.

The text of the telegram follows:

Zik, Staline, Moscow, USSR

The delegates of the anti-Fascist militia of the Arragonian front demand that the Russian government allow the departure for Spain of the valiant fighters Francezco Ghezzi, Ottello Gaggi and Herman Sandomirski. We hope for their immediate departure.

Representatives of the column at Caspe, Joaquin Ascasa.

Representative of Durruti column.

Representative of the C.N.T. press at Valencia, Alfonso de Miguel.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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REVOLUTION BY EXAMPLE NOT DECREE

One of the most remarkable features of the Spanish revolution is the high moral tone, the great moral fervor shown by the great mass of workers and peasants.

It manifests itself not only in the heroic struggle of the poorly equipped, untrained militiamen against the superior forces of a modern army, but in the high sense of revolutionary duty displayed by the workers in the factories, the smoothness with which the process of social transformation is taking its course in those places where the revolution is not hampered and thwarted by the dilatory tactics of the government.

The transition to a new and higher system is not accompanied by a process of social decay as was the case in Russia in 1917. The amount of destruction is insignificant compared with that caused by the outbreak of elemental forces in the October revolution. There is more conscious planning, spontaneous solidarity and permeation with the ultimate aims of a libertarian revolution on the part of the Spanish workers and peasants. Its contagious power reaches even certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie which by its origin, stands the nearest to the workers and which, contrary to the opinion of the Marxists, can be swept into the general process of reconstruction by a strong wave of mass enthusiasm and moral fervor.

All that is in evidence in revolutionary Spain to a much greater extent than in Russia of 1917, not only because of the different/historical setting, the disintegrating factors of a terrible World War, with the resulting degradation of the mass morale on one hand and the chauvinistic hysteria sweeping the intellectuals of the country on the other—all that is lacking in Spain. The danger of Fascist reaction has cemented the union of intellectuals and the mass of workers and peasants, thus preparing the ground for a more ready acceptance of the new social order. And on the other hand the masses of the people did not go through the morale-shattering process of wholesale betrayals on the part of their leading parties and the physical annihilation of the flower of their manhood in a senseless carnage.

There is, however, another factor which is even more instrumental in producing the high moral quality of the Spanish revolution, and that is the great role played by the Anarchists, that is, by revolutionists who do not depend upon force and coercion to bring about their ideals. Wherever the Anarchists are strong as is the case in Catalonia, we see authority reduced to its minimum and social transformation initiated by example and appeal. Revolutionary changes spread like waves from great revolutionary centers, but not through the medium of decrees, bureaucratic apparatus and military order. It is the great contagious example of revolutionary action displayed on a high plane of individual moral discipline and comradesly responsibility that has such an irresistible appeal to an ever greater mass of people.

This is the road of revolutionary reconstruction pointed out long ago by Bukunin and Kropotkin and now followed by the Spanish Anarchists. Its success therefore signifies the greatest victory of the progressive forces of humanity and the beginning of an even greater era than the one opened up by the October revolution of 1917.

RUSSIA — A BELATED PROTEST

For more than two months a ceaseless flow of German and Italian ammunition kept pouring in through Portugal, through the rebel-held ports of Galicia and Andalucia. Modern artillery, tanks, armored trains, heavy bombers of the latest construction—all of which take years of preparation even in technically advanced countries—all that suddenly appeared in the rebel army in quantities that only big militarist countries could supply within such a short time.

Italy and Germany have been openly flaunting the neutrality agreement not only by pouring in armaments, but by sending armed contingents and their naval units, thus openly taking sides with the rebels. Was the Soviet government unaware of this open breach of the solemn pact of non-interference? Why did it keep silent during all these months? Why that meekness of tone, the sudden pacifism, the suspicious concern over the preservation of peace, worthy of Downing Street, but not of a government still claiming to speak the language of proletarian solidarity.

Peace is one and indivisible—solemnly proclaimed the Soviet diplomacy. But the interference of Germany and Italy on behalf of the rebel army creates the greatest threat to peace. Italy

seizing islands opposite Marseilles, Germany getting a foothold on the Spanish mainland, the tremendous impetus given to the French Fascist movement by the victory of the rebel army—all that makes any talk about the preservation of peace sound like a deliberate mockery. We can very well understand why the ruling classes of France and Great Britain indulge in that mockery. They ignore the immediate threat to their own national interests because of their fear of the Spanish revolution. They are paralyzed into inactivity by the panic stirred up within them by the Spanish events. The shades of October loomed upon the horizon. But why should the Soviet government fall in line with the cowardly policy of letting the international reaction entrench itself in this most vulnerable sector of the democratic front?

Or was it that the Soviet government was too busy knifing the Spanish revolution by staging the infamous trial which has already entered history as one of the greatest mockeries of justice and fair play? While the Spanish workers fought heroically for the ideas of proletarian democracy, for the cooperation of all revolutionary elements, the Soviet government chose the moment to deliver the greatest blow to the united proletarian front. And how indeed could the Soviet government pay any heed to the concerted efforts of the international reaction to strangle the Spanish revolution if it was so busy manufacturing plots and conspiracies of the most elaborate kind?

And now the Soviet government protests. Madrid is almost surrounded by a wall of steel; the rebel army, equipped and manned by Germany and Italy, has grown into a formidable force. The Spanish revolution is approaching its critical hour. It is the time to act and not to exchange notes of protest. Hitler did not wait for any diplomatic answers: he sent his fleet to the Spanish waters. He was not afraid to challenge the coalition of democratic powers. He knew that the existence of his regime is inextricably bound up with the victory of Fascism in Spain. He did not believe in Fascism for one country only.

Hitler and Mussolini acted, but the Soviet government protests, while the pacifists from Downing Street keep on assuring us that the peace of the world is safe. Safe for the international reaction; safe for the coming victories of Fascism and also safe . . . for the triumph of socialism in one country.

SPAIN A PAWN IN NEW WORLD WAR

What are the reasons for the interest which the different circles in Europe show in the present events in Spain? It is easy to understand the interest of the great masses of workers. The internationalism of the worker is not dead. For those whose interests are so closely connected with the great world struggle for the realization of a new society, of a society free from oppression and exploitation, for those there exist no frontiers. In France the workers are keenly searching the press for news of the Spanish revolution. The oppressed masses in Germany and Italy are anxious to obtain news of the real situation in Spain.

Workers all over the world sympathise with the anti-Fascist Spain. A great number of foreigners have come to Spain to enlist in the ranks of the militia. The workers of other countries are lending their moral and financial support to the Spanish proletariat. The workers of the world know that the victory of the Iberian proletariat is their own victory.

But the interest the capitalistic nations show in Spain, has other roots, other aims. . . The events in Spain, even though they interest us most passionately, should not make us forget, that we are on the eve of a new international conflict, which has become unavoidable through the development of imperialism throughout the whole world. The greedy desire of capitalism for power

is the gravest danger of the moment.

Two blocks have crystalized out of this conflict of interests, two systems, ready to fight each other for a new distribution of the world, a new distribution of colonial wealth. For this war of imperialism is already prepared, war material, military organization, technical perfection in armaments and knowledge of the enemy positions.

Today we are in the phase of the last preparations. Everybody looks for alliances, everybody tries to surpass the progress of his future enemies.

Spain has been for some time, and not without reason, the object of international attention. Should the future conflict break out in the Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula would be of great strategic importance as a base for air forces and for the navy. For the control of North Africa, the entrance of Spain into one or the other of those coalitions would be of immense advantage. It is for this reason that imperialistic France, under the pretext of humanitarian interests and pretending defense of the Spanish proletariat, shows sympathy to the Madrid government. It is for the same reason that Italy and Germany support the Fascists in Burgos.

There is no doubt as to the defeat of the generals and no chance of Spain's falling under the control of Italy or Germany. But the danger lies in the possibility that Spain might be put at the service of other capitalistic

powers, grouped around France and Russia. The Spanish advocates of this alliance, the Communist Party, Caballero and its affiliations, have already expressed themselves to this effect. France looks at Spain only as at a battlefield of the Fascist and democratic capitalistic powers. The question today is: will the Spanish workers direct their heroic struggle in their own interest or in the interest of foreign imperialist powers.

A demagogic propaganda is intended to win the fighting Spanish proletariat for imperialistic interests. In all honesty we must admit that the war-psychosis has been thoroughly prepared in order that the antimilitaristic propaganda in France should meet with great difficulties, as is demonstrated by the nationalistic tendency of the French Communists. The Spanish Marxists seem ready to follow the same example. This situation creates an immense responsibility for the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. An independent proletarian revolutionary position has to oppose the one or the other imperialistic thesis. The front of the proletarian revolution must oppose all capitalistic combinations who combat either with economic forces or with effective modern armaments. There are several factors which will make easier the realization of our international aim: the absolute anti-war attitude of the Spanish worker and the fact that hatred against other nations does not exist in Spain.

The National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI) are the organizations which represent today, proletarian internationalism and fight all imperialistic interests without distinction. Above all, nations in latent conflict between each other, above all the nations involved in treacherous intrigues, prepared by so-called leaders sold out to imperialistic interests, the CNT and FAI represent today the revolutionary proletariat, conscious and confident of its own strength; and will fight for its own cause and for the true internationalism of the worker.

Workers of the world! Workers of Europe! Don't trust those internationalists who are paid by imperialistic groups and have long given up the idea of proletarian social revolution. Look at Spain; look at Spanish Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism. They march forward on the road of social revolutionary internationalism, which must become the road of all the workers of Europe. To avoid a terrible slaughter of European workers, proletariat of all the countries, unite. The enemy is in your own land. Fight as the Spanish workers fight, under the slogan of *direct action* against militarism and Fascism, against every exploitation and oppression in all countries.

DON'T DISCUSS FASCISM— DESTROY IT SAYS DURRUTI IN BROADCAST

"Fascism should not be discussed but destroyed," said Comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a speech addressed to the whole of Spain and broadcast from one of the transmitting stations installed in the Aragon front.

Workers of all Spain! From a distance of 28 kilometers from Zaragoza I send my greetings to the workmen of Catalonia and of all Spain. We are very near our goal. If we do not attack now, it is because we are waiting to see the results of the efforts of other columns also commanded by comrades. When everything is in readiness, in accordance with our general plan, we will attack Zaragoza.

You should not conclude from the above, however, that we limit ourselves to waiting. Last night we crossed to the other side of the Ebro river and we captured the entire first squadron of the 9th Castillejos regiment of cavalry.

At 7 o'clock in the evening our artillery began an intense bombardment of a house in which the general headquarters of the Fuentes de Ebro sector was located. Simultaneously, our infantry militia forded the river and captured several machine guns. Then, our men continued the attack and forcing their way forward with hand grenades, they reached the house just at the moment when the officers were trying to flee. They succeeded in killing all of them. There were, among these officers, one captain, two lieutenants, and several sergeants.

The soldiers came to us shouting: "Brothers, please do not kill us!" and with smiling faces surrendered to our militiamen, to those who are struggling to create a free Spain, a generous Spain, a productive Spain.

These soldiers told us that the Fascists claim that we are murderers. But no one is able or will ever be able to say specifically which are our crimes. No town has been shelled by us. On the other hand, when we shell a military objective, they retaliate by shelling towns which they know are inhabited by women, children and old men.

They also claim that all soldiers captured have to join our columns or else are immediately shot. But no one can say that the deserters are not well received. When they join our column they become one of ours, another militia man, just like myself.

Fascists of Zaragoza! The soldiers which you say we are shooting are now eating with us and sleeping in our beds. Why do you force the soldiers to fight by pointing your pistols at them? Why do you disarm them? Why do you tell them that we burn the feet of the deserters who come

to us? You are fighting with lies; but you are wrong if you think that victory will be yours!

In Spain there are two responsible organizations which no one will be able to crush: The C.N.T. in Barcelona and the U.G.T. in Madrid, Bilbao, etc. They will fight for liberty and justice.

We are going to crush Fascism! We have promised it and we will keep our promise, as we have always done. The C.N.T. of today is superior to the C.N.T. which you used to know. We now represent the men in the factories and the men in the streets.

We are fighting to have a Spain that will not be the private property of a few dictatorial generals representing capitalism.

The workmen have awakened and will crush Fascism with their arms. Then, the C.N.T., the U.G.T. and the Popular Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

C.N.T.-F.A.I. LEADS FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM FOR FREEDOM SAYS GOLDMAN

(Continued from page 1)

the CNT-FAI. I made it my business to talk to some of the workers and to express to them my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in their possession. In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt they had produced the wealth and that they felt it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy anything that can now be made accessible to the use of all who labor. This marks a new departure in revolutionary consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, intelligence and practical judgment of the CNT-FAI.

True a number of churches were burned. But those who know the sinister influence of the Church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alignment of the Church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist interests will not blame the masses for having vented their wrath on these structures. In addition it is a fact as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by priests. These men though sworn to live up to the admonition "THOU SHALT NOT KILL," yet sent volley after volley from the high church windows into the masses below. It is also significant that very few churches of historic or artistic importance have been touched.

However, it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their high aims that should be considered and not a few de-

We are not fighting to win medals and stripes. We are not trying to win a seat in a Congress or in a Ministry. When we have won, we will return to the factories and to the shops from which we came. And in the factories, in the fields and in the mines will be the real army which will protect Spain.

Like the peasants, we are now beginning to sow. And like the peasants we are suffering terrific storms which may destroy our crops. But in spite of these storms—the continuous shelling and bombing by guns and by Italian and German planes—we claim that our crops are safe and we will not fail to harvest them.

The crops will belong to all of us, not to a Durruti, a Garcia Oliver, a Largo Caballero, a Companys or an Azaña. The crops will be harvested by everybody and everyone will have his share.

Workingmen of Spain, be brave! If there was ever a moment when it was necessary to risk our lives, this is it. Workingmen, be optimistic! We are led by an ideal!

Forward against Fascism!

Fascism should not be discussed. It should be destroyed! Salute, comrades!

C.N.T. DEMANDS UNIFIED DEFENSE COUNCILS—WORKERS' CONTROL

At the plenum of the regional committees of the C.N.T., taking place in connection with the changes in the government, the following resolutions were adopted after a thorough discussion of the situation.

1. To establish in Madrid a National Council of Defense made up of all elements who participate in the struggle against Fascism. The representation is to be based upon the following proportion: five delegates from the C.N.T. (Syndicalists), five from the U.G.T. (Socialist) and four Republicans. The president of the Council is to be Largo Caballero.

2. The political and economic administration is to be based upon local, provincial, and regional federalism. The offices of Civil governors of provinces as well as of the municipal government are to be abolished, their places to be taken by Councils of Defense built upon the same proportional representation as the National Council.

3. To transform the offices of the various ministries (state

secretaries) into departments of the council corresponding to the needs of the moment: foreign relations, maintenance of public order, war (including aviation and navy), communication and propaganda, education, large scale agriculture, industry, transport, public works, sanitation.

The creation of a popular militia to maintain public order. Also a war militia compulsory for all. The control of such militia is to be vested in the hands of the Council of Workers and Militiamen made up of joint committees of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. The creation of a single military directing centre in the form of a War Commissariat designated by the National Council of Defense and giving representation to the three sectors of the anti-Fascist front (Anarcho-Syndicalists, Socialists and Republicans).

5. To establish a Popular Proletarian and provisional juridic body designated by the National Council of Defense, the trade union organizations and political anti-Fascist organizations.

6. The socialization of the banks, the abolition of usury and speculation and the ultimate elimination of the national provincial and local debts.

7. The socialization of the wealth of the Church, as well as of the large landed estates, of the big industries, large commercial enterprises, the entire transport as well as of any enterprise, the owner of which gave any assistance to the Fascists; workers control of the private industrial and commercial establishments; the syndicates (industrial unions) to make use of the socialized means of production and exchange; the right of free experimentation for every community inasmuch as it does not conflict with the normal course of economic life; the introduction of a plan in the working of the big industries and more important land economies.

The struggle for peace upon the basis of the international action of the proletariat, the reorganization of diplomacy and the calling together of an international conference of all the anti-Fascist elements with the view of laying down the basis for a workable international solidarity.

All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

Send contributions and sales collections to

UNITED LIBERTARIAN
ORGANIZATIONS

I. Radinowsky, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

cannot conquer without arms. Will you sit by supinely while your brothers and sisters are being murdered and Fascism placed in power? I appeal to you men and women of English speaking countries to come to the assistance of the gallant fighters in Spain. Every hour lost strengthens the position of the enemy. Rouse yourselves, men and women, protest against the hypocrisy of neutrality towards the Spanish Anti-Fascists while the other side has active help from all reactionary governments and their worthy colleagues in human slaughter.

Protest against the vilification of the CNT-FAI. Make known that they are back of the heroic struggle against Fascism as well as the reconstructive work in Catalonia. The CNT-FAI is the last to deny credit to the other political groups bravely fighting at the front, but as a matter of historic fact, the CNT-FAI is the most formidable active moral force in Barcelona and all of Catalonia. This must be proclaimed from the very housetops in England, the United States and Canada. And it is up to you liberty and justice loving people to do so. Organize relief, raise funds to equip the valiant voluntary militia ready to lay down their young lives fighting to the bitter end.

Men and women, you have the grandest historic occasion to help crush the hydra-headed monster Fascism, that lies like a hideous nightmare on the hearts of Europe. Only then will the peoples of the earth be able to breathe freely once more. Only then will it be able to undertake the task of social transformation.

—EMMA GOLDMAN

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.