

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Revolutionary Councils Taking Control of Spain

Socialist Professor of Geneva on Anarchist Work in Spain

... The agreement arrived at by the various political tendencies in Catalonia enabled the anarchists to create a social organization on a syndicalist basis, which inspires admiration in point of its order, intelligence and revolutionary spirit.

Throughout Catalonia one may travel unarmed, both during the day and during the night, without running the slightest danger. At present there is complete tranquillity both in Barcelona and in the towns and villages of the interior. *In the midst of a civil war, the anar-*

chists have shown themselves to be political organizers of the highest type; they inspire in everyone the necessary respect for discipline and they know how to make eloquent appeals to the devotion of all for the common welfare.

It is with the feeling of joy, coupled with a sustained admiration, that a social-democrat comes to view the new Catalan institutions. The anti-capitalist regime is being organized in Catalonia without taking recourse to any dictatorship. Over
(Continued on page four)

MADRID BEGINS TO CARRY OUT ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST PROGRAM

As we go to press, we learn from the capitalist press that "the powerful syndicalist organization known as the C.N.T. which hitherto has declined to be represented in the government because of the Confederation's original non-political character has finally accepted representation in the cabinet." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 4.) We are also informed by another daily paper (N. Y. Evening Post, Nov. 3), that the reorganization was viewed as a victory for Premier Largo Caballero who has consistently desired Anarcho-Syn-

dicalist participation in government activities.

This news is garbled as usual. They give a distorted view of what has taken place in Madrid. What happened there is not just the joining of an ordinary cabinet by an opposition party. The newspapers hint of "a major reorganization" of the cabinet. In reality it is a radical change of the political system in accordance with the revolutionary plan laid down by the C.N.T. a month ago.

The underlying ideas of this change are well expressed in a manifesto issued by the last Plenum of the C.N.T. (regional).

"The organs of revolutionary defense cannot be those of traditional democracy. New organs have to be formed, that is those that were created by the revolution on a regional and local scale must be expanded to national size. (Ed. Note—Those organs are Councils of Defense based mainly on labor and peasant unions.) They must plant themselves squarely upon the new social and political realities which came to triumph after the events of July 19. (Ed. Note—That is, the revolution must be social in its character.) The institutions of bourgeois democracy, its local, provincial and national apparatuses do not correspond any more to the present situation. Nor can they give expression to the revo-

lutionary spirit now animating our social life."

(From the "CNT," the official organ of the Anarcho-syndicalist confederation of Labor.

Those ideas were embodied in the plan submitted by the C.N.T., the details of which were reported in our last issue of the "Spanish Revolution" (Oct. 19). And it has already been carried out in Catalonia. It means the widest application of the federative principle. The Councils of Defense are *coordinating* agencies, but not governments of the old type. It also means a resolute break with the timorous policy in regard to capitalist relationships. It means the ushering in of a deep political and social revolution, which has already been in operation in Catalonia and which is now going to spread to the rest of Spain.

Largo Caballero opposed it. The communists were dead set against it, but the demands of the revolution proved stronger than doctrinaire considerations. It is not the anarcho-syndicalists that reconsidered their attitude, but the parties that until now were hanging onto the tail end of bourgeois institutions, having finally been forced into a revolutionary united front envisaged and mapped out by the anarcho-syndicalists of Spain.

WHY C.N.T. ENTERED GENERALIDAD OF CATALONIA

Since July 19th of this year, sudden political and social changes have taken place in Cataluña. The revolutionary workers became the moving force in the battle against Fascism. The battle was swift and thorough. The slogan C.N.T.-F.A.I. rallying all the class-con-

scious masses to the banner and ideals of this vital fighting organization.

The entire social and political forces are now backing the anti-Fascist struggle. The anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. with its largest contingent of workers is actively participating in the anti-Fascist

defense, as well as in the constructive transformation of the economic and social life of the masses. The Committee of the voluntary militia, the Food-supply Committee and the Economic Council constitute the directing force of the anti-Fascist campaign. The C.N.T. is represented in all the Committees. The former bourgeois governing body, while existing alongside these committees, was yet a powerless organism. It renounced all active resistance against the revolutionary workers, contenting itself with the function of legalising the resolutions of the
(Continued on page four)

REVOLUTION SPREADING TO CULTURAL FIELD

The great work of revolutionary reconstruction is extending to the cultural field. The reorganization of the educational system along the lines of revolutionary ideas and practice is proceeding rapidly. A very important landmark in this process of cultural rebuilding is the plenary sessions of the representatives of the C.N.T., F.A.I., the various cultural groups and clubs of Catalonia. Close to 400,000 workers were represented at those sessions. Some idea of the work achieved and, incidentally, of the high cultural level of the anarchist workers of Catalonia, can be gathered from an article appearing in one of our magazines in Barcelona ("Las Noticias"). The author is Dr. F. Ibanez, an active worker in the ranks of the C.N.T.

The article follows in part:

"... For two days and nights the representatives of hundreds of thousands of workers from the fields and factories of Catalonia were grappling with cultural problems in order to chart a new course for their solutions. The Revolution did away with much that was odious in the old regime, but it left intact some of

its roots planted in the subsoil of the old putrid epoch. It was enough, though, that the proletariat had its first respite in the struggle that those hateful roots should be pulled out and as this Plenum of Culture has demonstrated, that new sprouts should already begin to shoot forward.

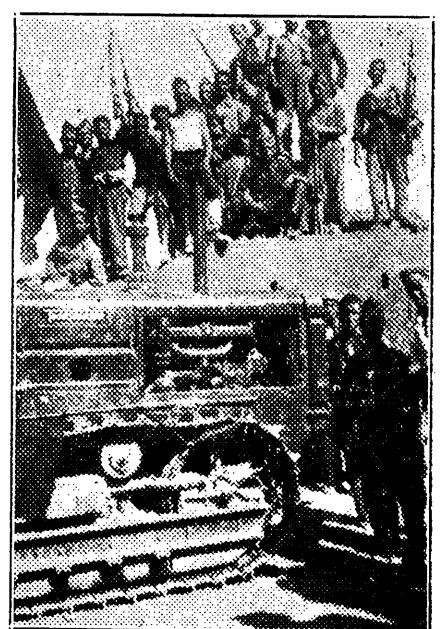
"The mass of workers pronounced itself in favor of the New Unified School. In those long drawn out sessions the mass of workers showed a high tension of thought, having charted the future course of education and plotted new orientations that will prove decisive in the mental life of the future generations.

"The school will cease to be a breeding ground of learned pedants, but will become the workshop where the new man will be forged. General culture will take its place alongside of the special technical education. The latter will be the task of the cultural sections of the syndicates, while the Atheneum (the cultural clubs of the C.N.T.), the universities and cultural centres will disseminate a new humanitarian culture, rich and profuse in its possibilities..."



Militia of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. at the Arragon Front

Funeral of an Italian comrade killed while in action against the Fascists in Arragon.



WARM CLOTHES FOR SPANISH FIGHTERS

One of the most distressing difficulties facing the Spanish workers is the lack of warm clothes for the fighters on the battle front. Our Spanish comrades of New York recently sent to Spain 2,000 sheepskins. The labor is freely contributed by comrades and that is why a sheepskin costs only \$2.00 (a longer one, \$2.50).

Comrades and friends! Help us in this work of providing warm clothes for our heroic Spanish fighters. Send money for sheepskins to I. Radinowsky, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

SPANISH REVOLUTION COMRADELY DISCIPLINE

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THE NEW PEOPLE'S FRONT—FOR, NOT AGAINST REVOLUTION

We hear it said now very often that the anarcho-syndicalists of Spain are going back on their revolutionary principles. They have become a part of the Peoples Front instead of combatting it. They are collaborating with the representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie, like the Left Republicans of Catalonia, instead of eliminating them.

Those arguments are advanced not only by little sects and self-styled revolutionary purists. The socialists and communists fall back upon such arguments in order to justify their participation in the block of bourgeois parties. For if an organization of indomitable revolutionary spirit is driven toward some sort of collaboration with people like Companys, why shouldn't socialists and communists establish a united front with representatives of the bourgeoisie like Azaña in Spain and Herriot in France?

Is it the same, though? Is the People's Front advocated by the socialists and communists of the same nature as the coalition of movements now making up the anti-Fascist front in the most revolutionary provinces of Spain?

Does Leon Blum socialize railways and factories, expropriate big land owners? Does he base his power on the trade unions of the country, on the factory committees, on the unions of poor peasants? Have such organizations become an integral part of a new social and political system? Of course not. He takes orders from the big industrialists and money kings. Troops are being used to evict strikers from the factories at the direct orders of the Blum government. This is done in order to appease the French radical socialists, a party of the same social composition as the Left republicans of Catalonia.

The radical socialists dominate the French People's Front and are in turn dominated by the economic rulers of the country. But who dominates the Left republicans of Catalonia? At whose bidding does Companys issue decrees sanctioning the seizure of factories and big land estates, the total reorganization of social life undertaken by the revolutionary unions of the country?

There are coalitions and coalitions, there are two kinds of "United Front," two ways of collaborating with the petty bourgeoisie. One is to let the revolutionary working class be dominated by the latter; and that means in the long run to be dominated by the industrial and financial oligarchy. This is the kind of a People's Front advocated and practiced by the socialists and communists in France and up till recently in Madrid.

The other is the one followed now by the C.N.T. of Catalonia. Collaboration with the petty-bourgeoisie there is; and it would be sheer madness to antagonize those elements in a situation where every force fighting against Fascism counts so much. But the direction of affairs is taken out of the hands of that vacillating element. It is gradually drawn into the process of social reconstruction instead of being aroused against it.

This is made possible not only because the anarcho-syndicalists are pursuing the tactics of revolutionary realism. A change of heart is inevitable with large masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the technicians in regard to revolutionary reconstruction. The realities of the struggle against Fascism are teaching them one outstanding lesson, and that is: in order to fight against fascist barbarism, to fight for the preservation of the elementary basis of our culture, it is necessary to direct one's blows against the capitalist system as a whole.

This lesson is being driven into the minds of the Spanish doctors, lawyers, technicians, salaried people and petty traders by the sight of the unspeakable hordes now being unloosed upon Spain and supported by the erstwhile economic rulers of the country. They are learning those lessons and that is why the revolutionary workers find it easier to establish a new united front with them. A united front not for the defence of capitalism, but for a resolute attack on its bases. Not the timorous, treacherous People's Front which the socialists and communists of France and Spain have been building up, but one which is inspired with the vision of a new social order to be gradually erected on the ruins of the capitalist system.

AT THE FRONT

(From an interview with Durutti reprinted by the SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA, Oct. 8) Everyone works for the war and revolution. Therein lies our power.

Our brigade does not only conduct war: it is also making the revolution at the same time. The revolutionary measures adopted in Barcelona are immediately put to practice right near the battle front. Every village conquered by us begins to undergo a deep revolutionary change. A defeat on our part would mean not just an ordinary retreat of the army. We would have to take along with us the entire population of those communities through which we pass. From the firing line down to Barcelona we have nothing but combattants.

As to discipline I believe that this is only a question of respecting ones' obligations. I am against the discipline of barracks, but I am also against an ill-understood kind of liberty behind which cowards hide. At war the elected delegates have to be obeyed: otherwise no military operation of any kind will be possible. In our brigade we have the same tricks employed as during the great war: dying mothers, sick children, various ailments. We have a medical commission to examine all kinds of complaints and those that give

in those excuses in order to shirk their duties are getting their due. However, those cases are rare. The comrades of our brigade are worthy of the cause for which they are fighting.

Spanish Peasants Realize Libertarian Communism

In Spain it isn't only two or three villages that have carried out the ideas of libertarian communism, but thousands of them. Many of them do it unconsciously. Many of them do not call themselves anarchists, but without being aware of it, they march toward libertarian communism.

We visited villages in Castille, and, as it was natural on our part, we advised the peasants to organize their life upon libertarian foundations. But after having explained to them the nature of this libertarian society, we were surprised to hear from them the following: "but we have already done that."

As proof of this we reproduce a letter received from one of those villages:

"... we have already come near to realize libertarian communism in full. Money has been completely abolished. That is why we cannot renew the subscription. If money begins to circulate again, we shall pay you with the latter. If not, we shall regulate it on the basis of some exchange."

Such villages are very numerous. In Andalusia, Castille, Aragon, Murcia, Asturia and Catalonia — everywhere libertarian communism is being implanted. Sometimes it is done in its rudimentary aspect, it being a spontaneous manifestation and not a consciously planned system.

This fact is of tremendous importance. Economic Councils, the regional committees of the C.N.T. must pay close attention to this process. It is necessary to make a statistical account of it: of the number of people of each locality, of its agricultural production and other side lines. The exchange of products now spontaneously entered into by the collectivized villages should be coordinated on a wider scale.

It is necessary to direct those splendid beginnings of the Spanish villages into a broad plan. This is demanded by the actual moment.

"JUVENTUD LIBRE."
(A magazine published by the anarchist youth of Spain.)

AN APPEAL TO LIBERTARIANS

The example of the libertarian organizations of New York is now being followed by those of other cities. From Philadelphia and Chicago comes news of definite organizations being set up by the libertarian forces in order to push vigorously the task of helping out the work of our comrades in Spain.

This, however, is not enough. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago are not the only cities where the tremendous significance of Spanish events is being realized. There are thousands of anarchists, syndicalists, industrial unionists all over the country. They all surely understand the full importance of what is going on in Spain. They are surely aware of the urgent need of acquainting the great masses of workers, farmers, intellectuals of the country with the wonderful achievements of the revolutionary movement of Spain.

And yet no concerted effort has been made by them to place this work on a wide basis of a comprehensive organization. Our voice is still feeble, much too feeble, as compared with the urgent needs of this moment for a powerful broadcasting agency.

This situation must be changed. There should be no single place in the country where, given some group of people sympathetic with the Spanish revolution, a vigorous organization for the purposes of disseminating information about it should be missing. We all, regardless of the smaller differences dividing us, should broadcast throughout the whole country the greatest outstanding fact of modern life, and that is: **a great libertarian revolution is in the making; a revolution breaking with all precedents and charting a new course for humanity.**

The capitalist press distorts and defames it. The socialists and communists deliberately ignore it. They opposed it, they are sabotaging it even now, and that is why they cannot admit without the full loss of face the plain fact that the revolution has left them far behind. It is only we, libertarians of all shades, all non-political socialists, adversaries of any form of dictatorship, it is only we that will do the work of informing the public opinion of this country of the problems, achievements and aspirations of the Spanish revolution.

We have to do it not only in order to fulfil our ordinary duty in regard to the Spanish revolution. Our work right here, in this country, depends in a direct measure upon the success of our activity in behalf of Spain. The greatest blow to any dictatorial idea is to show the workers of this country that a free socialism is becoming a fact in one of the important European countries. The most effective struggle against the demoralization brought in by politicians into the labor and farmer movements is by way of telling the great masses of American people of the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish masses along the lines of direct action.

And last, but not least: no one of us should ever forget that in Spain **there are seven eager men to one rifle.** We must not relax for a moment in our efforts to collect money and to stir up the public opinion against the infamous blockade which the would-be democratic governments of France and Britain have established against the Spanish people.

We can do that only by uniting our efforts. Build up United Libertarian Organizations, embracing all those who sympathise with the libertarian course of the Spanish revolution. Build up a powerful weekly capable of supplying with regular news all those who are eager to know of the real character of Spanish events. Send speakers throughout the country for the same purpose of wide dissemination of news and information on Spain.

There are no national revolutions. The Spanish revolution is rapidly assuming an international scope. Its battle front is extending to all parts of the world. And we here, at one of its most important sectors, have to take our rightful place.

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 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

All funds collected for our bulletin "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once.

MADRID - BARCELONA

The following article from the "CNT", Oct. 14, gives us some idea of how far Madrid, until now controlled by the Socialists, trails behind the revolutionary work of other provinces, and especially that of Catalonia. As in all other revolutions, the existence of a centralized government proves to be a great obstacle to its forward march.

* * *

We cannot resist the temptation to compare the measures adopted by the Madrid government with those emanating from the Catalonian Council. Barcelona and Madrid follow two different routes.

The Minister of Agriculture

(Madrid) issued the following decree on the expropriation of land.

"Subject to expropriation in favor of the State are those land estates which belong to owners who took part in some capacity, direct or indirect, in the insurrectional movement against the Republic."

At the same time the Council of Catalonia decrees in its manifesto "the collectivization of all big estates, respecting at the same time the rights of small peasant proprietors."

Madrid confines itself to the expropriation of those estates, the owners of which took part in the Fascist movement. It places

them at the disposal of the State and not the syndicates of peasants. The Madrid government does not face the "basic problem of the Spanish revolution. It is only applying sanctions in regard to some of the feudal lords.

The Council of Catalonia seeks the emancipation of the peasants and places at their disposal the estates of the big land owners: of those who helped the Fascists and those who did not. It lays the basis of a society of free producers. It safeguards the rights of the small proprietors, but at the same time it organizes the collective exploitation of the big estates by the syndicates. Let this task be realized and the revolution will never be destroyed.

Convention Marks Revolutionary Advance in Southern Spain

The original zone of Fascist aggression was the southern province of Andalucia. But thus far it succeeded only in cutting a swath along the western part of the province. With the exception of several well fortified cities like Granada and Cordoba, the rest of the country is in the hands of the workers and peasants.

The latter are rapidly organizing not only for military defense but for the revolutionary reconstruction of the entire social life. The libertarian revolution is marching ahead not only in Catalonia and Valencia provinces, but also in the south where the influence of the C.N.T. was always great. We reprint here from the "C.N.T." (the official organ of the Confederation), a report of the convention of the syndicates of peasants and workers belonging to the C.N.T. of the Granada province.

"At the beginning of this

month a general convention of the C.N.T. syndicates of the Granada province took place. Numerous towns and villages were represented. There were also numerous delegates of the U.G.T. received at this convention with great show of comradely feeling.

"Important resolutions were adopted on the political and economical reorganization. It was decided to recommend to every locality the setting up of a committee composed of the representatives of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Such a committee is to be the only one responsible for the main direction of affairs.

"Those committees are the only ones to control the process of expropriation and instituting workers control.

"Small peasant land-holdings are to be left intact. In addition they are to be given all possible assistance so as to draw them into the collectives on a voluntary basis.

"The exchange of products between various communities is to be placed under the control of the unified trade union committee. All the confiscated lands should not be parcelled out into small holdings, but should be turned over to collectives.

"All the grain and instruments of production are to be taken over by the community.

"Every family is left a sufficient supply of grain or other products for its own consumption and for the next sowing. The rest goes to the general supply house in order to exchange it through the collective organs for other products such as coffee, sugar, clothing.

All livestock is to be taken over by the community and then redistributed according to the needs of every family.

Articles that are scarce are to be rationed out, preference to be given to the sick, children and old people."

Those are only the most outstanding resolutions of this convention which, being mainly represented by agricultural workers and peasants, shows that the social revolution has already penetrated to the farthest corner of the country. The peasants are beginning to act on their own initiative without waiting for the Madrid government and that is what serves as the greatest guarantee of its success.

Help Collect Clothes for Spanish anti-Fascists

Committee representing all Spanish anti-Fascist organizations of the city collects warm clothes to be sent to Madrid and Barcelona.

Send such clothing to
The Spanish anti-Fascist
Committee
59-61 Henry Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

TOWARDS FREE COMMUNES IN CATALONIA

The reorganization of the supreme executive body of Catalonia from a government into that of an administrative Council of various economic and political organizations was followed by a similar reorganization of municipalities.

As the reader will note, the latter is granted wide autonomous power on one hand, and on the other it is being transformed into a coordinating and administrative organ of the various functional bodies. The municipality in Catalonia begins to take on the character of a Commune for which the libertarian movement fought for more than half a century.

We reprint the following details of this reorganization from the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. (Oct. 12) from the decree of the Supreme Council of Catalonia (Generalidad):—

... The latest course of events, the persistence of the struggle which places before the municipalities the necessity of directing the energies of a new revolutionary order, impels us to adopt new and precise norms in the constitution of municipal organs which should reflect the solidarity of action on the front and in the rear. The municipalities must be represented by those elements which until now stood apart from it (referring to the C.N.T.).

It is therefore necessary to bring the municipal law in harmony with the exceptional demands of the moment and to fix such norms that would correspond with actual life.

The municipal organs are based on the representation of political and trade union organizations in the same proportion as the one on which the Supreme Council (Generalidad) of Catalonia is built up.

The municipal councilors are elected at the general meeting of the representatives of the political and trade union bodies, the basis specified in the first article. The councilors make up the new executive body, elect the municipal judge or the body fulfilling the same function.

Every municipality may adopt a form of organization suitable to its own specific life.

The municipalities are to set up committees for every function of local life such as administration, culture, public works, de-

fense and others.

Those functions are to be exercised on the basis of full autonomy on one hand and on the other—in agreement with the supreme organs of the Generalidad.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS IN CATALONIA

Madrid Sabotage

Comrade Fabregas who is now at the head of the department of National Economy of Catalonia, publicly condemned this attitude on the part of Madrid. Largo Caballero is not better in this respect than his predecessors, this being due to his hostility to the basic ideas and methods of the C.N.T. He refused to advance a credit of 800 millions of pesetas asked by Catalonia for the purpose of buying war materials, and he also refused to credit Catalonia with 150 million francs necessary for the purchase abroad of raw materials for the industries. As a security for those credit advances, Catalonia offered one billion of its saving bank notes now held by the Bank of Spain.

In the same manner was met the Catalonian demand to get some part of the 400 billion gold supply now held by Madrid. One can very well understand Catalonia's desire to set up a sort of independent bank. At the last congress of the Catalonian C.N.T. (regional) a proposal was made by one syndicate to set up a currency for Catalonia's inner consumption while reserving Spanish paper money for foreign trade only.

From War Economy to Rational Economy

... The civil war, as is well known, made many ravages. The socialization, sequestration and the introduction of workers con-

* ED. NOTE—The conflict is not altogether political in its nature. It is due not only to the centralistic claims of the Madrid government. Up to now the Socialists and Communists who dominated the Madrid government opposed any attempt to change radically the economic structure of Spain. Their defense of capitalism led to a series of conflicts with the forces molding the new social order of Catalonia. And as the author hinted in another part of the same article, those conflicts have something to do with the growing influence of the Russian ambassador in Madrid.

The revolutionary reorganization of the economic life of the Catalonian and other provinces where the anarchists are predominant (the eastern seaboard) is a comparatively smooth process. It is not accompanied by the monstrous waste and destruction characterizing the revolutionary reorganization of Russian economic life in 1917. But difficulties there are, and must be. A new order has to be created and not just patterned after some existing model. What are those difficulties and how do the anarchists of Catalonia meet them? Of this our readers may learn from the article appearing below. It is part of a larger article appearing in the syndicalist magazine "La Revolution Proletarienne" (Oct. 19), one of the best informed magazines on the situation in Spain.

Economic Difficulties

As it was to be expected, difficulties arose in the process of economic reconstruction. Some of the industries are inactive, while others hold their own with difficulty. The stock of raw material is dwindling, while at the other end surpluses of finished products begin to accumulate. The market very often does not absorb the entire production. There is a noticeable rise of the prices of some commodities, such as sugar, coffee, coal, eggs, potatoes . . .

... The most serious difficulties are encountered in the financial field. The Supreme Economic Council needs a revolving fund to make the necessary purchases abroad and to buttress up those collectivized industries which may temporarily find themselves in straits.

Unfortunately such funds could not be obtained in Madrid. This is the economic side of the political conflict going on between the Marxists of Madrid and the C.N.T. of Catalonia.*

SARAGOSA WORKERS BETRAYED BY PEOPLE'S FRONT REPRESENTATIVE

Saragossa is now the strongest fortress possessed by the Fascists. It is nearly impregnable, not only because of its geographic position, but also because of the highly mechanized equipment possessed by its garrison.

Saragossa was also one of the firmest revolutionary strongholds. Its workers belong predominantly to the C.N.T. and were always noted for their valor. Had they succeeded in preventing the Fascist generals from capturing the city, the revolution would have taken a different course. The road from revolutionary Catalonia and Arragon to Navarre—the heart of the Fascist movement—would be clear and the threat to Madrid and the northern provinces would have been removed.

What prevented the anarchist workers of Saragossa from thwarting the Fascist plot as they did in Barcelona and other towns of Catalonia? The anarchist weekly "Tierra y Liber-

tad" (Oct. 15) prints the report of one of the comrades who recently escaped from Saragossa. It tells the story of betrayals on the part of the representatives of the government of the so-called People's Front.

"Long before July 19, the militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. expected a military uprising.

"On July 17th a delegation of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. unions visited the governor of Saragossa, calling his attention to Franco's activity in Morocco and to the urgent necessity of distributing arms to the people through the trade unions. The governor promised to do so, but when the people, notified of this, gathered in the streets, the governor ordered the detention of numerous militants who had some arms of their own.

"The following day the revolutionary committee (of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.) ordered the members of the respective

trade union bodies to appear at the union locals expecting the promised distribution of arms. Instead, the governor ordered the Assault Guards (a military police built up by the Republican government — Ed. note) to surround the union quarters and to attack the workers.

"Barricades rose immediately. But the workers who had only a very limited amount of arms were no match for the Assault Guards who were now joined by the soldiers of the garrison, the Civil Guards and Fascist volunteers. The defeat of the workers was followed by a frightful massacre in which neither women nor children were spared.

"This governor was a member of the Left Republican Party. The contemptible role played by him did not, however, save him from the Fascist vengeance. He was arrested and is now kept in the prison of Pamplona."

WHY GERMANY INTERFERES IN SPAIN

Mercury Behind the Civil War

The answer is clear. In former wars the main reason was *petroleum*; in the civil war in Spain the main reason is *mercury*.

It is well known that Spain is the most important producer of mercury in the whole world. The production of mercury is as follows: First Spain, 2.47; then Italy, 1.99; America, 0.86; Russia, 0.27; Mexico, 0.25; Czechoslovakia, 0.08. These numbers mean millions of kilogrammes a year.

Mercury is of the greatest importance in war; each hand grenade, each gun shot, each cannon shell must contain mercury. It is a fact that without mercury no war can go on.

Germany wants undoubtedly to take the the Spanish mercury mines at Almaden, so famous throughout the world, to serve the fighting purposes of the Reich, and at the same time to deprive the whole of Europe of its principal market of mercury, which provides 40 per cent of the whole production of this metal.

The second place in mercury production belongs to Italy, but Italy is in full accordance with Germany. In case of a victory of the rebels, Spain would be under the *control of Germany*, who would *profit by our rich mines*, while the *rest of Europe* would be *deprived of this precious metal*, not only useful for war industries but for many other purposes. This privation would be very injurious to all countries.

Here is the *basis of the present events in Spain* provoked by *Germany* which will end in a world conflagration.

Iron Also

Mercury is the main basic object of the Spanish civil war, but not the only one, as Spain is very rich not only in mercury but in many *other metals important in war industry* of which Germany is short, especially iron.

During the year 1935 Spain has exported to Germany fourteen million tons of iron.

Spain produces every year more than seven million tons of iron.

And Copper

Spain exported to Germany last year 400,000 tons of copper, and the Spanish production every year is 540,000 tons. There is nothing strange that Hitler should envy Spanish copper.

Lead Too

The lead mines of Andalusia are most important, and shellac

mines exist also in Asturias, though in this region the coal mines are more important. The importation of lead to Germany was in the last year 54,000 tons, and the regular Spanish production of this metal is 116,000 tons.

For another reason, also, Hitler Germany desires Spain. Its great dream is France and Paris, the coveted Paris of the last war; but now France, through many sufferings, has got the most powerful army in the world; and Germany dare not attack the tremendous defences built by France all along her German frontier, called "ligne Maginot," and extended also along the Belgium frontier. Then what is the only thing to do? To act as a snake does and attack the enemy in an underhand way.

—from "New Times" an anti-Fascist paper published in England.

Professor Comments on Anarchism

(Continued from page one)

there the members of the syndicates are their own masters, and they regulate the production and the distribution of properties under their control, after listening to the advice of experienced technicians in whom they have confidence. The enthusiasm of workingmen and employees is so great that they spurn personal advantages offered to them, and think only of the interests of all. The industrial concentration carried out has produced miracles. Sales prices have dropped, and that is in spite of the fact that the working hours are shorter and the salaries slightly higher.

Inspired by these results and influenced by this environment, dispossessed capitalists have spontaneously offered their technical services, while others who

have not been expropriated, placed their factories and their fortunes at the disposal of the committees of the syndicates.

In summarizing, one may say that, although carrying out a social revolution in all essential points, Catalonia has adapted itself to the economic requirements imposed by the struggle against the rebels. Seven weeks after having taken over the power, the proletariat succeeded in organizing the rear to a point which France was able to reach only fourteen months after the beginning of the world war.

The foregoing is a portion of a statement made by the socialist, Andres Oltmares, a professor at the University of Geneva. It is taken from CNT of October 14, 1936, *anarcho-syndicalist daily*.

A Marxist Tribute to the C.N.T.

The Worker's Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) is an organization of communist oppositionists which struck some roots in Catalonia. (It is much stronger there than the official Communist party.) It differed in many respects from the Stalinists, but there was one point on which they both agreed, and that is their hatred of the anarchist movement and the C.N.T. It was as unscrupulous and unprincipled in its struggles against the latter as the official Communist Party.

It is, however, beginning to experience a change of heart in that respect. The overwhelming role played by the C.N.T. in furthering the cause of the revolution is so clear to the workers and peasants of Spain that even those who until recently kept on prattling about the petty-bourgeois and reformist nature of the an-

archist movement (the last book by the late Maurin, the leader and theoretician of the P.O.U.M., published on the very eve of the July events, is full of those pearls) are forced to make public acknowledgement of it. The resolution reprinted from the "C.N.T.," the official organ of the C.N.T. speaks for itself in this respect.

"At a recent conference of the P.O.U.M., among other resolutions there was one relating to the C.N.T., saying that 'it is necessary to maintain the closest relations with the C.N.T., for it is this organization which, in view of its independent attitude toward the bourgeoisie and the importance given to it by its great numerical strength, which offers us the greatest guaranty that the social content of the revolution will not be frustrated.'"

C.N.T. - Generalidad

(Continued from page one)

decisive body, created by the people themselves. The Committees actually represent the entire current of life in Cataluña. In cooperation with the different syndicates they are the determining organs of socialisation and the reconstruction of the old economy for all of Cataluña.

Under the new social forms the existing government proved both futile and unnecessary. It had to resign. Its place has now been taken by an Executive Council of the Generalidad of Cataluña. Its function is the coordination of all the commit-

tees and the Economic Council. It is made up of three delegates of the C.N.T., three of the Catalan Left, one member of the Farm Labourers Union (the Rabassaires) and one of the United Marxian Labour Party (The P.O.U.M.).

The two determining sectors of the Catalan population represented in the Executive Council are the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T., and the Farm Labourers Union and the lower middle class of the Catalan Left. The so-called Unified Socialist Parties consist of small groups of social-democrats, communists of the Stalin hierarchy, and the Left Catalan Separatists.

(Up to October 31, 1936)

Mr. Edwards—List 445	\$ 19.75
Mohegan Colony—Through Bannister.....	89.05
(Includes Lists 220 and 426)	
H. Razanowich—List 216-217.....	8.15
Melvina Messer	2.00
Jules Scarceriaux—Lists 426-428.....	12.05
Attilio & Valeria	10.00
Damiani—Lists 342 and 342B.....	28.00
D. T., New York—List 184.....	8.00
Olga Moisseiff—List 218.....	10.00
Carl Rothman—List 213.....	2.00
Income at mass meeting at Irving Plaza Hall,	
Sunday, October 24, 1936.....	123.00
Progressive Miners Local No. 1, Gillespie, Ill.....	500.00
Liza Brilliant—List 43.....	12.00
Libertarian Group—Through Zena.....	2.10
D. T., Shenendoah, Pa.—Through Garchuk—List 199	2.45

\$828.55

Previously collected (as per "Spanish Rev." Oct. 19) 2,171.21

TOTAL\$2,999.76

Note—The following amounts were sent direct to Ganin, Paris from Mohegan Colony—

October 3rd

October 27th

Money collected for "Spanish Revolution" (first three issues)

EXPENSES OF THE U.L.O. and REMITTANCES TO SPAIN

Money sent to Spain

Expenses of Cablegrams

Printing and Stationery

Printing "Spanish Revolution"

Postage and Wrapping Paper, Etc.

Rent for Irving Plaza Hall

Miscellaneous Expenses

Exchange Pending

\$2502.66

"... In Spain everyone is free to go anywhere he pleases, to form an opinion of his own on the revolutionary work going on in the country. Far from suppressing free criticism, our comrades welcome and encourage it." by Pierre Besnard