

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Free Socialism Immediate Goal of Spanish Workers

Revolutionary Policies Triumph In Catalonia

The outcome of the last political crisis in Catalonia is represented by many, and especially by the Trotskyite press, as the full capitulation of the anarchists to the pressure exerted by the combined block of middle class and the unified Socialist-Communist parties.

This opinion is mainly based upon the fact that the anarcho-syndicalist confederation of labor had to yield on the question of further participation of the Semi-Trotskyite faction (P. O. U. M.) in the Supreme organ of Catalonia. And since this issue looms very big in the eyes of many, it was thought that the forced concessions on the part of the C. N. T. came as a result of a general weakening of its position.

The real situation, however, is altogether different. The struggle revolved around much more important issues than the participation of the P. O. U. M. in the Catalonian government. And it was upon those issues that the combined anti-anarchist block suffered defeat. The C. N. T. came out victorious in this drive, having strengthened its positions in the Council on one hand and on the other—having greatly increased its standing

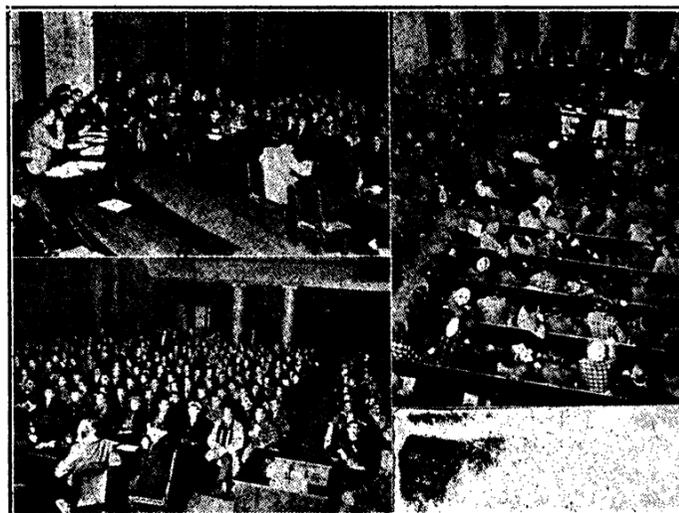
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ANARCHISTS MAP COURSE OF REVOLUTION AT CONVENTION

The leading role of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) in the Spanish revolution is now being recognized even by the correspondents of the bourgeois press. It has now become the common knowledge of everyone who is following the Spanish events that the initiative in the important revolutionary policies rests with this organization and the Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) with which it is closely interlinked.

And because of this growing role, the conferences and conventions of the Anarchist Federations are beginning to take on the character of great historic events. The decisions of those conferences chart a new course for the Spanish revolution, clarify its aims and open the wider perspectives temporarily obscured by the compromises of the daily struggle.

One of such great historic gatherings was the convention of the anarchist groups of Catalonia which took place in Barcelona December 6th. More than 200 organizations were represented. Discussions revolved around the burning issues of the day; the organization of the army, of the economic life and the entrance of the anarchists in-



Anarchist Convention in Barcelona

to the government.

Important speeches were delivered by conspicuous figures of the movement. Comrade Juanel spoke on the problem of war. He pointed out that guerilla warfare is a hopelessly outdated method and that without a disciplined well-organized army the war against Fascism cannot be won. This also implies the acceptance of a single command and the subjection of various units of the militia to military orders of this unified command.

Santillan, the minister of economy in the new Catalonian cabinet, spoke on the entrance into the government.

"I accept," he said, "this idea of working together with other anti-Fascist forces in the Catalonian and Central governments. I am also for having representatives in the Municipal Councils. But this collaboration should not make us forget our opposition to the state and our negation of private property in all its forms. We are working within the

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United Front Sabotaged in Barcelona

During the last month, Barcelona experienced serious food difficulties coming as a result of a partial sea blockade and the shutting off of the former sources of wheat supplies. Catalonia is an industrial state, and although agriculture plays an important role in its economy, it had to depend upon other parts of Spain and foreign imports for the supply of one of its important food staples.

It stands to reason that this dependence was felt much more keenly in Barcelona than in the other parts of the State. The sea forms an important line of communication of this vast industrial city, and though the Fascists are still far from being able to carry out their threat to cut this line, they did succeed, by their piratical raids, to undermine it to some extent. The unfriendly policy of the French government rendered more and more difficult the task of importing wheat through some process of direct exchange of products. And on the other hand, the vast social upheaval shaking the life of the villages contributed its share to the aggravation of the food problem.

Former Difficulties Overcome by Anarchists

Those difficulties were felt from the very beginning of the revolution. But until recently they were handled in a quite successful manner by the food supply committee formed by the unions and gradually merged with the governmental agency of the Catalonian Council. The Committee was mainly in the hands of the anarchists, and its methods were characterized by the revolutionary realism displayed by the Catalonian anarchists in other fields of activity. Old trade connections were not disrupted, but gradually integrated into the new apparatus. Working through the industrial unions of food and transport workers on one hand and through the peasant committees and cooperatives on the other hand, it succeeded in securing a relatively steady flow of wheat to the city.

It was relative, of course, to fluctuating situations on the fronts, the political struggles within the United Front and the

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SOVIET CONSUL IN BARCELONA PRAISES ANARCHISTS

Official statements of diplomatic representatives are rarely taken at their face value. But there is something about the statement made by Antonov-Ovseenko, the Soviet Consul in Barcelona, in regard to the Catalonian government which makes one forget its official origin. The statement was made in an interview given by the Soviet Consul to the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* who asked him several pointed questions as to Russia's role in the last Catalonian crisis and its attitude to the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

(An account of this interview was given in the *Manchester Guardian* of Dec. 22.)

The Consul, of course, denied the well known fact of the interference of Soviet Government in the internal politics of Catalonia. But at the same time he expressed greatest admiration for the Catalan workers, especially for the anarcho-syndicalists. (Ed. Note. This admira-

tion could be voiced by the Soviet Consul through the medium of a "bourgeois" paper. His own paper, *Pravda*, studiously avoids any reference to the revolutionary work of the Catalonian anarchists, and we are confident that Mr. Antonov-Ovseenko will not dare tell the Russian workers of his admiration for the anarchists.)

"The sobriety of the Catalan workers surprised and gratified the Soviet Consul no less than their extreme common sense and adaptation to realities. Recalling that it had been necessary in Petrograd in 1917 to flood the cells of the palaces to prevent drunkenness, Ovseenko related his astonishment at visiting a champagne factory outside Barcelona, which had not only been raided but kept in the most perfect state by the workers' committees. (Ed. Note—This high moral tone is the result of years of anarchist education.)

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SPANISH WORKERS ARE THEIR OWN LEADERS

More and more often we hear people ask the question: who are the great leaders of the Spanish revolution, who are its key-men, its guiding brains; who charts its course and sees it safely piloted through the terrific difficulties besetting its path?

And it sounds strange to all those people when we tell them that the Spanish revolution does not have such dominant individuals and that it is none the worse for the lack of them. The Spanish revolution has already met the test of the most trying difficulties; it scored considerable victories and triumphs. The leadership cult, which put its strongest impress upon the course of the October revolution from its very first days is totally absent. The world's attention is not centered upon a few figures, like Lenin and Trotsky, to the exclusion of the role of the great masses of people who are the real movers of every great social upheaval.

There are no Lenins and Trozky's in the Spanish revolution. The workers and peasants of Spain are their own pilots. They direct the revolutionary ship in the light of their own experience, and judging by the results already obtained they have done a much better job than providentially appointed leaders and saviors.

The Spanish revolution is not rushing precipitously into military communism, it does not tolerate any dangerous experiments with the lives and destinies of millions of people. It does not attempt to force upon the peasants a policy of grain requisitions which was responsible for more bloodshed and economic chaos than all the combined forces of domestic and foreign counter revolutions.

A revolutionary army of the most modern kind has to be improvised under the trying circumstances of constant defeats and open intervention of Fascist powers. But that is being done without swinging into the extreme of full abolition of any signs of democracy within the army, of depriving it of any will of its own, of turning it into a blind instrument of a single party.

The difficulties facing the Spanish revolution are in many respects just as great as those against which the October revolution had to struggle nineteen years ago. They also had to be met by skilful manoeuvring, by timely concessions and temporary concessions. Did the Spanish revolution have to fall back upon the fatuous Russian myth of a single man, like Lenin, possessing the monopoly of revolutionary strategy and skill of elastic manoeuvring?

The Spanish revolution is guided in its forward course by the surest compass of human progress—and that is the collective experience of the great masses of people. And revolutions are safe where the channels for the free crystallization of such a free expression are kept open. They are safe not only from external danger, but from the still great danger of inner degeneration, of losing its driving force, of becoming a footstool for an ambitious climb to the position of a new oriental despot.

"The Spanish Revolution is more than a great hope. It is already a living, indisputable reality. It is our revolution, it belongs to the workers of all the world."

—Pierre Besnard.

"We can say now with some degree of certainty that when the present social transformation completes its first stage, two thirds of Spain will be socialized in a form closely approaching that of free communism."

—Gaston Leval.

"This is not an ordinary civil war: it is a war of one class against the other. If our enemies win, the totalitarian state will crush the working masses. And everyone knows that with our triumph classes will disappear in Spain."

—Federica Montseny.

"The anarchists of Spain are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it."

—Emma Goldman.

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity. It is your fight as well as theirs!

COLLABORATION WITH MIDDLE CLASSES SLOWS DOWN COURSE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The policy of collaboration with the organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie adopted by the Catalanian anarchists under the stress of a war situation proved to be successful in its major outlines. Not only was it effective in averting the danger of Fascist victory, but it also enabled the anarchists to draw in all the neutral elements into the work of social reconstruction. The Spanish revolution did not have to fall back upon the worse forms of terror in order to break the resistance of a recalcitrant middle class.

But some price had to be paid for it. The pace of the social revolution is being slowed down on account of this collaboration. Alien elements are forcing themselves into important positions where they succeed at times in turning away the Revolution from its purely proletarian goals.

The French magazine *La Revolution Proletarienne* of Dec. 25th (of revolutionary-syndicalist orientation) dwells upon some of the deviations suffered by the Revolution as a result of this necessary policy of collaboration with the other sectors of the anti-Fascist front.

"A veritable campaign is now carried on by the Catalanian organ of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party ('Trebala') and

by the party itself against collectivization of industries. In this matter they make use of the bureaucratic element which grew up as a result of the application of the decree on collectivization.

What Led to Bureaucracy

"The growth of this bureaucracy is due to the fact that representatives of the Generalidad (the Catalanian State) were made a part of the Councils of Industry. That was due to the insistence of the party of Left Republicans which carried its point of not turning over the industries directly to the syndicates. And it is because of that suggestion that in the management of socialized industries a large place is reserved to the representatives of the State.

The participation finds its expression in placing an 'intervener' in the socialized enterprises, that is one who is supposed to represent the interests of the Catalanian State and who is appointed by the Economic Council after obtaining the consent of the workers to it. On the other hand the appointment of the director of the socialized factory must be approved by the Economic Council, an institution of a mixed character having some of the elements of the State in it.

"But the influence of the mid-

dle class sector makes itself also felt in the question of paying indemnities to the ex-owners of socialized factories. (Ed. note—Additional information on this problem will be found in the article from *Solidaridad Obrera* which we reprint in this issue of the *Spanish Revolution*.) Such payments are provided for foreign properties. And as to the capital of the banks (savings banks and others), indemnification is recognized on principle, but the part of the value which is to be recouped is to be fixed later.

This is only a Transitional Stage

"But it is clear that the Spanish proletariat has not yet said its last word in this field. He has in his possession all the important factories of the State. And in practice the representatives of the State know too well that it wouldn't be too good for them to press their point against the will of the workers. In many an enterprise the State functionary does not dare show up at all.

"Altogether, it depends on the ultimate course of the revolution whether the role of the bourgeois state will keep on growing or whether, on the contrary, the workers will retain the direct management of the factories exclusively in the hands of their industrial unions."

A Letter from Spain

... You want to know something about the life in Catalonia? As you know, everything is collectivized with the exception of the petty trade which is kept under control.

In the villages collectivization proceeds in a magnificent fashion. I visited some of them and I was amazed at their revolutionary achievements. I want to stress here the point that collectivization in the villages is not compulsory. The peasant who does not want to join the collective receives from the municipality (since the land now belongs to the latter) a piece of land sufficiently large to enable him to cultivate it with the help of his family.

The differentiation in the scale of wages is quite small: a worker receives from 300 to 400 pesetas a month, and an engineer from 400 to 500.

It is wonderful, perhaps too much so, for we may risk losing our technicians.

Social life has been changed to its very depths. IT IS INDEED A REVOLUTION OF THE KIND WHICH THE WORLD HAS NOT SEEN UNTIL NOW.

The situation is getting tough. I don't have any illusions about the fact that this terrible war may even reach Barcelona. But I am an optimist just the same; one cannot help being one while living in Catalonia.

(From *L'Espagne Antifasciste*)

DAILY PRESS TO BE CONTROLLED BY REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

One of our comrades who happened to visit Barcelona about two months ago wrote to us that "it is strange to see that in this predominantly anarchist city most of the daily papers are still reactionary."

The situation is, indeed, far from normal. Immediately after the revolution, many of the daily papers passed into the hands of small groups of workers and journalists who happened to be employed by the former owner of the daily at that time. But a daily press is too powerful an agency to be left in the hands of a few irresponsible groups, whose only concern is to hold on to their jobs and to make the paper "go." Their attitude is the same as that of the former owner, with the difference, of course, that they have to adapt themselves to a revolutionary reader.

It is this problem that began to force itself upon the attention of the Catalanian anarchists. The daily organ of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor, *Solidaridad Obrera*, deals with this problem in a series of powerful articles presenting great interest because of the supreme importance of the problem of revolutionary control of the press.

The paper points out that just as the revolution put an end to the "freedom" exercised by the bourgeoisie in organizing the economic life for its own profit, so must it also deal a decisive blow at that sham freedom of press which means in reality the monopoly of powerful agencies by irresponsible groups. A daily paper belongs to the category of means of production, like a factory or mine, and to leave it at the disposal of groups that have no revolutionary standing is to show that the bourgeois concepts of freedom still hold their sway.

The paper does not deny the right of small groups united on the basis of a certain idea to run smaller publications. But dailies must be placed at the disposal of revolutionary organizations and unions.

As in many other fields of social reorganization, the articles of the *Solidaridad Obrera* foreshadow a new course to be soon adopted by the revolution. The problem of revolutionary control of the press will be solved soon in accordance with the basic idea of a proletarian revolution, which is not party monopoly of the Russian style, but placing at the disposal of all responsible workers' organizations the powerful means of molding the public opinion.

WORKERS UNIONS ORGANIZE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. decided on the following points at a general meeting in the Olympia Theatre:

(1) Complete agreement on the collectivization of the entire textile industry of Catalonia.

(2) The Committee in charge to proceed immediately with the creation of a general council for this industry, according to Article 25 of the decree dealing with collectivization, issued by the Generalidad.

While the General Council of the textile industry does not possess yet the information necessary to regulate production, prices and quality, the owners of the plants will carry on individually with their agents who remain in the country but, all matters connected with exports must be arranged through the General Council. The distribution of raw materials must be centralized at once and unified scale of prices fixed.

(3) A general bank for the textile industry, where all the operations of this industry—collectivized or not—are centralized must be created as soon as possible by the General Council.

(4) The committee in charge stresses the need of the election of delegations from the various districts or industrial zones. These delegations should serve as links between the General Council and the various industries.

(5) As soon as the bank is established, the councils of the various enterprises will take over all technical, industrial and administrative functions within the framework of the general plan

as designed by the General Council until total collectivization is established. All operations of an economic or financial nature (wages, payments, etc.), must be transacted through the bank. All such payments will be centralized.

(6) From now on, none of the councils of the various enterprises can modify or increase wages, working-hours or working conditions. The capital of the enterprises will be considered the property of the collectivized textile industries and cannot therefore be used in the interest of individual enterprises.

(7) The unions must carry out these resolutions according to the decree and establish co-operation between the Council of the Generalidad and our aims.

(8) The General Council must study the situation and fix the definite form in which the collectivization will be made practical. An assembly of the workers' delegates will be called for the purpose of putting this plan into immediate operation.

Those who are fighting at the front can rest assured that the C.N.T.—the genuine expression of revolutionary will and practical loyalty to the ideas of proletarian unity—will never separate economic reconstruction in the sense of socialism and progress from war against Fascism and reaction. Our strength lies in the syndicates and our love of liberty! These two factors are destined to create a new Catalonia, a great Spain and a new and better society.

(From the Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.)

Soviet Consul Praises Anarchists

(Continued from page one)

"The anarchist movement," the Soviet representative stated, "was obviously rooted in the Catalan working class, but its best representatives were astonishingly able to realize the needs of the present situation. . . . Their strength is unparalleled in the anarchist movement in any other country. Despite certain fanaticisms (to Anton-Ovseenko, the ex-revolutionist, an ex-member of the Communist opposition who renounced his most cherished views for the sake of a diplomatic career, revolutionary convictions of any kind seem now fantastic—Ed. note.), the typical worker in the C.N.T. was chiefly interested in working under decent conditions, and for this reason would fight to death against Fascism.

" . . . For these reasons Russia could not but look sympathetically upon the Catalan workers' movement. It certainly has no intention of preventing their working out of their own salvation in the manner most suited to their national characteristics."

Thus far the statement of the Soviet Consul as to the "neutrality" of the Soviet Government is not altogether borne out by facts. The Soviet government is interfering in Catalonia as in the

other parts of Spain. It is rallying around the small and formerly insignificant Communist Party all the conservative elements of the anti-Fascist block who are opposed to the immediate struggle for socialism.

"The Consul has no doubt that the Catalan workers are capable of reconstructing the wrecked industries, their unaided work in the harbor and factories showing that they are capable of running industry themselves. He was impressed with the fact that the political crisis in Catalonia had been resolved in two days with the minimum of disturbance. (Ed. Note—The Consul forgets to add that this was mainly due to the overwhelming sense of responsibility displayed by the C.N.T. during this crisis.)

But the possibility is there that the obstinate facts of the Spanish revolution are beginning to teach some lessons to the Soviet government. And is the realization of the deeply rooted character of the Spanish anarchist movement, which struck so much the Soviet representative in Barcelona, the result of one of those lessons?

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"SPANISH REVOLUTION"**

ANARCHISTS MAP COURSE OF REVOLUTION AT THEIR CONVENTION

(Continued from page one)

government because of the exigencies of a war situation and not in virtue of a principle or a norm."

The convention adopted the following important decisions which clearly defined the anarchist position toward the revolutionary actualities of the present struggle.

(1) The F.A.I. reaffirms in thought and action, its negative attitude toward the state and capitalism.

(2) The F.A.I. proposes that

the problems of the revolution be solved on the basis of equality and solidarity. The economic means must be equalized and the social wealth must be utilized for the benefit of all.

(3) The anarchist groups must devote their energy to persuade the workers of the necessity of applying the principle of selection to production. That is, production must be centered in profitable enterprises and the rest should be eliminated.

(4) It is necessary to suppress the parasitic bureaucracy

which has grown considerably in the shops, factories, municipal and the state organs.

(5) The organization of economic life should be in the hands of the Industrial Unions and the Municipal Councils (communes), avoiding all partial collectivizations which fully negate the spirit of socialization.

(6) The socialization of the production must be completed by a socialist form of distribution leading to the abolition of speculation which only perpetuates the state of economic inequality.

UNITED FRONT SABOTAGED IN BARCELONA

(Continued from page one)

attitude of the foreign governments. All that kept on changing—and the result was an occasional crisis in the supply of food. One of such hitches coincided with the last political crisis in Catalonia which resulted in the taking over of the food supply commissariat by the U.G.T. (The trade union body controlled by socialists and communists.)

New Administration Sabotages Work

It resulted, however in more than a change of administration. Somehow the food crisis began to take on threatening proportions upon the assumption of office by the communist politicians. And it did not take much time for the Barcelona workers to find out that the major part in this aggravation of the food problem was played by the new administration, which instead of bending its efforts to solve the crisis as it was done formerly, began to use it as a political weapon against the anarchists.

The story of this open sabotage of the revolution on the part of those who have been the loudest in advocating a united front sounds almost incredible, but it is well authenticated in the manifesto issued by the federation of C.N.T. unions and anarchist unions of Barcelona. The manifesto is very restrained in its language but it is crammed with facts of the most startling nature. It is reprinted in the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (No. 140, Dec. 28, 1936). We are presenting here its most outstanding points, supplementing it by the additional information given by the *Solidaridad Obrero* (anarchist daily in Barcelona).

A new book of great importance will be soon ready for print. The name of the book is "AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT." Its author is Diego-De-Santillan, the former editor of the anarchist daily in Buenos-Aires, "La Prolesta," and now the minister of economy in the Catalanian cabinet.

The book deals with the problems of the transitional period. The translation is being done by the well known writer Max Nomad.

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Inciting Population Against Anarchists

The new administration knew that food supplies were on the way to Barcelona, that within a short time the crisis would be greatly alleviated. Nevertheless, it began to spread panicky rumors among the population, at first by veiled insinuations and then by open statements of the responsible people in this committee, all tending to show that the shortage of supplies is of a *lasting nature as a result of the anarchist policy.*

This was followed by a more provocative policy of inciting the population against the anarchists. When a delegation of women presented itself to one of the councilors of this committee, asking for an energetic policy of provisioning food for the city, his answer was that the C.N.T. is in the way of such a policy, and since it cannot be dislodged from its power, the women have to go out and get food where they can.

And strangely enough, this declaration was followed by assaults upon bakeries which were left quite unprotected by those very people who shout themselves hoarse about the necessity of "discipline" and a "strong government." How is it, this manifesto asks, that the food supply council which had all the police at its disposal did not make the slightest effort to protect the bakeries?

There was something even more alarming from the point of view of proletarian unity. Disturbances were artificially stimulated, manifestations bearing all the marks of skilful direction by some outside agency, were

directed against the anarchists. Why were most of the placards borne by the demonstrators political in their nature, asks the manifesto, and who took all the preliminary trouble of providing them in time with such placards?

This campaign was directed not only against the anarchists but also against the local defense committees which were and are the bulwark of the popular revolution in Catalonia. And at the same time attempts are made to eliminate the industrial unions of food and transport workers from taking part in the work of the Council of food supply, as a result of which the latter began to take on the character of a bureaucratic institution. Trainloads of food awaiting shipment to the city were stalled because of the bureaucratic methods introduced by the new administration.

Anarchists Give Warning

The purpose behind those moves on the part of the socialist and communist politicians is clear. As the manifesto states it, "a systematic attempt is made to foment a state of discontent with the anarchists in order to break away the people from the most powerful force of the proletarian revolution. The last political crisis was created in order to eliminate a revolutionary party (the P.O.U.M.) which has quite a following among the Catalanian workers. Similar intentions in regard to the C.N.T. are harbored by those who are back of the last campaign of insinuations."

The manifesto ends with a warning to all those elements, pointing out that the anarchists are willing to sacrifice a great deal for the sake of a united front but that there are limits beyond which they do not intend to go. It demands that all this campaign be stopped immediately and that any attempts to disrupt proletarian unity by making use of the office of the Catalanian government be punished with all the severity demanded by the revolutionary period.

Barcelona is now the center of the world revolution.
—Sebastian Faure.

EXPROPRIATION ON BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY EQUITY

Timidity in Disguise

Despite the former agreement made by the workers concerning the confiscation of large industries without indemnity—with the exception of foreign properties—there are certain timid individuals who are depressed by the resolution that opened the channels for a new economy. Those who wish to compromise on former decisions lack the audacity necessary for defending the revolution; to write articles, address mass meetings and preach theories was much easier for them than actually to put revolutionary ideas into practice.

Chaos Checked by Revolution

And since those that say it do not want to lose their standing with the people by altogether denying the necessity of going on with the revolution, they simply present it as something that can be put off until the war is won.

All those people do not realize that the bourgeois economic system has definitely collapsed on July 19 and that it is being rapidly supplanted by a proletarian economy. They do not understand that it is in order to prevent any chaos that we must

rapidly build up a new economic system by applying our revolutionary principles to the solution of the daily problems. And it is this work that is making something unique out of our revolution, something which is drawing to itself the attention of the whole world.

The document signed by the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. last October 22, contained the fundamental basis for a new economy. The elementary mission of workers' organizations in the industrial field is ended. The capitalist means of production have passed into the hands of the proletariat, and the large industries and enterprises will remain collectivized. Now the syndicates must initiate and undertake to carry out the direction of all productive elements in the collectivity.

No Indemnity for Large Owners

The second clause of the historic document clearly states that the collectivization of large industries and enterprises shall be effected without indemnification. The transfer of this class of property to the collectivity is a natural procedure in the course of the revolution. The bourgeoisie had in its hands the wealth which belongs to society. There can be no discussion now

about paying indemnities. One point remains to be clarified, however, which was dealt with at the end of the second clause; the case of collectivization of some sectors of small industries.

Equity in Dealing with Small Owner

In cases dealing with small industries belonging to Fascist elements of the bourgeoisie, collectivization will be carried out with no indemnities. In other cases indemnity will be paid and all means of production will be transferred to society. The agreement was clear and determined on the question of compensation. It assures compensation to individuals whose property has been expropriated; it establishes means for them to make their personal and professional contribution to the industries in the hands of the community, and enables the utilization of their intelligence and knowledge for the development of the industry. Persons who make those contributions will be sufficiently compensated and their activities will increase the welfare and benefits of the community and the revolution.

Dec. 25th.

From *Solidaridad Obrera*,

REVOLUTION BUILDS WHILE FIGHTING

While the cannons are thundering at the fronts of the civil war, the workers of the two central unions—the anarcho-syndicalist unions of the C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.—have come to a constructive agreement with regard to collectivization in Catalonia.

At an assembly in Barcelona, the representatives of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. agreed to proceed upon a collectivized system of the textile industry of Catalonia, introducing an economic reorganization for maximum efficiency. In this way, a high standard is to be maintained and the output will correspond with the requirements of the national market. The ultimate aim of this project, with its possibility of producing on a much larger scale than heretofore, is to open a field of exportation in the east, and to meet the needs of the Russian and South American market. The plan is to create textures of the type generally required in the above-mentioned countries, at the same time perfecting the mills in order to make a finer yarn with a better finish. Catalonia will try to reach the same standard in perfection of quality as that of the British manufacturers. This will be another great progressive step which collectivization has brought to industry, and will mean a rebirth of industrial

activity of great importance. In Catalonia, more than 300,000 persons will put their brains and physical ability at the service of the new collectivized textile business.

Municipalization of Houses Planned

Industry is not the only activity to benefit by collectivization. A decree has been passed announcing the municipalization of dwellings in Barcelona. This matter has been in discussion for some time, and the entire population of the city has been impatiently waiting the final decision. Dwellings cannot be left in the control of private enterprise, as this is one of the most marked characteristics of the capitalist regime. The old capitalist regime was overthrown once and for all in July, and now, under worker control, its influence in the running of public and private life is being replaced by measures fitted to the new organization. The present civil war is a war against capitalism and all its ways, and is one with the revolution. The war and the revolution are inseparable, and must go hand in hand if the struggle at the front is to fight for the ideas which the workers are putting into practice behind the lines.

(From the Official Bulletin of the Catalan Generalidad.)

REVOLUTIONARY POLICIES TRIUMPH IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

with the masses of Catalonian workers as a result of its dignified and uncompromising revolutionary policy.

The real issues were outlined in a declaration made by the secretary of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party, Juan Comera. (It was published in full in the French daily *Le Temps*, Dec. 15th.)

Attempts to Check Revolution

The outstanding points of this document were the demands for "a strong government," for calling a halt to the further course of revolutionary reconstruction. "The Council," said the document, "should center its attention exclusively upon the task of organizing the war and leave aside the problem of the further organization of society."

And as one of the means of organizing such a strong government, the document demanded the suppression of the Committee of Safety (that is an organ created by the revolution, enabling the workers to keep a vigilant eye on the old police apparatus) and the concentration of the supreme guidance of

war matters in the hands of a special bureaucratic body responsible to the Council only and not to the workers' organizations which constitute an integral part of the Secretariat of defense.

It is when we take into consideration these issues, which hardly figured in the reports of the general press, that we can see to what extent the anarchists succeeded in blocking this concerted move against the revolution. The demand for the exclusive concentration upon the carrying on of the war was met with a more intensified drive to deepen the revolution. The basic idea that war and revolution are inseparable and that both must be pursued simultaneously was given greater precision and clarity. It was embodied in the important resolutions of the Anarchist Federation and the local syndicates and was concretized in a number of decisions affecting the basic problems of economic life, such as socialization of the distributive mechanism, collectivization of land and strengthening the role of the syndicates in the management of industries.

Nor was the C.N.T. taken in

by the talk about the need of a "strong government." It did not even have to strain its ears to catch the familiar overtones of the Russian tune in it. Some papers of the anti-anarchist bloc were bold enough to interpret this slogan in the sense of a "need for a dictatorial body." (The *Solidaridad Obrera* does not mention the name of the paper, but judging by the style and tone of this interpretative statement, it must have come from the organ of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party.)

The political crisis resulted in a somewhat changed composition of the Council. But the powers of the latter were not broadened at the expense of the local organizations, Committees of Defense, syndicates and municipalities, as was demanded by the communists and socialists. The Committee of Safety was not dissolved, and the management of national defense was not turned over to a special bureaucratic body which by obtaining the control of the new army in the making would thereby become the arbiter of the destinies of the Revolution.

POLITICIANS AT WORK IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

The International Brigades have already inserted a glorious page in the history of the Spanish revolution. They came in the most critical hour of the Spanish struggle and together with the vanguard of the revolutionary militia—the anarchist columns under the command of Durrutí—they fought their heroic battle to save Madrid from what seemed then an unavoidable seizure.

The rank and file of those Brigades consist of ardent anti-Fascists whose primary concern is to prevent the international reaction from scoring another decisive victory. But certain political groups now active in the organization of some of those International Brigades are guided by motives of a much inferior nature. Some light on those motives is shed by the exposures made in the French anarchist weekly *Libertaire* (January 1) by one of the members of the International fighting units, an ex-member of the German Communist Party, and now an anarchist by convictions. The paper vouches for the authenticity of his report, undertaking to corroborate his statement by other facts if any doubts upon his veracity are cast by anyone.

"When we came to France" this comrade relates, "we went to the Committee in charge of

this formation. Before the registration began we were addressed by one of the men in charge of it who told us: 'you, comrades, are warned that you go to Spain to fight for democracy. There the question is not that of establishing socialism. The Spaniards are a backward people. They will not understand if we tell them that we are to fight for a socialist Spain. You know that the anarchists began to socialize in Catalonia, that is they confiscated the property of poor peasants and of every small storekeeper, and now they have the people against them.'

"Later on we were addressed by an official speaker of the Communist Party who told us that we shall have to pass Catalonia on our way to the battle front. The anarchists—he said—will try to win you over to their side. But you are going to Spain in order to fight and not to wallow in the barracks like the anarchists do. The anarchists, he said, do not attack the Fascists, but wait until they are attacked. Fortunately they cannot attract our comrades, but in the rare cases where they did succeed in doing so, they did not furnish the groups with any arms, as a result of which the groups that went to work with the anarchists are still rusting away in the barracks."

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To most North Americans, until recently, Barcelona was just another town in Spain. Today it is the cockpit of Europe and the dynamo of a revolution which will change the history of the world.

—Toronto Star.

WORKERS OF AMERICA! PROTEST EMBARGO ON SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO SPAIN.