

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 15



NEW YORK, APRIL 9th, 1937

Price 3 cents

PLANS MAPPED TO FURTHER REVOLUTION

Anarcho-Syndicalist Workers of Catalonia Hold Convention

MORE THAN A MILLION WORKERS REPRESENTED

The outstanding Catalonian event of the last month was the regional convention of the anarcho-syndicalist unions of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.)

It represented more than a million organized workers of that province. (In Catalonia, according to the figures given by the regional secretary at the convention, the C.N.T. has now 1,200,000 members, while the U.G.T. membership is that of 450,000.) The tense political situation brought about by the persistent effort of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc to hamstring the revolution, the imperative necessity of proceeding with the economic organization of the new society as it emerged after July 19, the problems of war, mobilization, relations with the other sectors of the anti-Fascist front,—all that was discussed by this convention, which, more than any other body represents now the aspirations of the great mass of workers and peasants.

The following resolutions were submitted to the convention by the Resolution Committee:

(From "Tierra y Libertad"—organ of the Catalonian F.A.I.—March 6.)

1) The regional confederation of labor (C. N. T.) ratifies its alliance with the general union of workers (U. G. T.) in order to assure victory over fascism and the economic and political emancipation of producers.

2) This victory demands the immediate utilization of all the economic resources, which cannot be effected unless the organization of producers take charge of the management of work, of the exploitation of factories, shops, mines and means of transportation.

3) Production must be increased in all its forms, which

demands the direct intervention of manual workers and of technicians under whose direction a general mobilization should be undertaken of all people who are able to work.

4) Industries should be selected and labor power should be redistributed according to the necessities of war and society.

5) An end must be put to the social waste involved in maintaining dead industries, useless occupations and paralyzed labor power. (Ed. note: The sabotaging of the plans to co-ordinate the socialized economy into some

(Continued on page three)

DEMOCRATIC POWERS CONSPIRE AGAINST SPANISH REVOLUTION

As it was to be expected, the London agreement about the international control of Spanish waters proved to be as much of a hideous farce as the non-intervention pact of half a year ago. Thus far its net results have been the fall of Malaga, the emergence upon the battle fronts of Spain of regular German and Italian armies instead of the former auxiliary troops, and the shutting off of the little help in arms and men which the loyalists were hitherto able to smuggle through the French border.

It is clear now that the London agreement sanctioned a camouflaged form of intervention, and that England, France, and even Soviet Russia knowingly participated in this indirect form of intervention. This is now stated by one of the leading figures of the Spanish anarchist movement who was recently interviewed on this question by the editor of the French militant magazine "L'Espagne Nouvelle." (The responsible position held by this Spanish comrade in the official world rendered it necessary to keep his name anonymous. But the authenticity of this interview is fully vouched for by the editor of the magazine—a man of high international standing as a militant revolutionary of great integrity.) The following is a reprint from "L'Espagne Nouvelle," March 8:

CONSPIRING AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

—What do you think of the carrying out of the London agreement?

(Continued on page two)

TOWARD A POLITICAL CRISIS IN CATALONIA

Stalinist-Bourgeois Block Charged With Conspiracy Against Anarchists of Catalonia

"Of late a number of apparently isolated cases have been produced which point to the existence of a vast conspiracy to eliminate violently the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. from the political scene of our province. Doubtless, the presence of our comrades in the official bodies prevents the realization of certain "negotiations" which seem to be fully compatible with the morality of the old style politicians, who, unfortunately, abound so much. The straightforward revolutionary morality of the anarcho-syndicalist militants stands in the way of the realization of the shady designs of some of the anti-Fascist sectors who are anxious to monopolize power.

"The manoeuvres are carried on on a grand scale. In all activities which are of vital importance for the triumph of the revolutionary cause our comrades are presented with all kinds of obstacles, having for their aim to thwart the creative capacity of our movement. Those elements who made a religion out of 'playing politics' are tireless in their infamous work of trying to warp the horizons of the formidable social convulsion which now agitates Spain.

"The workers must answer this defeatist campaign with crushing blows, stressing more and more the tendency toward unity on the part of the two great unions—the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Such unity will defeat the shady and ruinous manoeuvres now conducted against the C.N.T. and the

F.A.I. Those manoeuvres manifested themselves in the queues,* on the public platform, in the official bodies. And there are many who believe that all those manoeuvres found their point of culmination in the recent event of the withdrawal of tanks** which has for its aim to prevent by violent means what they could not prevent with their slanderous propaganda and knavish manoeuvres."

("Solidaridad Obrera,"
March 11.)

* (Ed. note: a whispering campaign of vast proportions, inspired and financed by agents of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc is now carried on among the Barcelona women waiting in the food lines. The purpose is to incite some of them against the anarchists who by their revolutionary policy are alleged to create food difficulties and prevent Russia from supplying food to the population.)

** (Ed. note: the same issue of the "Solidaridad Obrera" reports that the communist controlled military unit took out 11 tanks from the government garages. It was an unauthorized withdrawal and the subterfuge procedure, coupled with the general distrust in which the Communist activity is held by the revolutionary workers of Barcelona, stirred up the suspicion of the Barcelona proletariat. The "Solidaridad Obrera" came out with a sharp demand for explanation. The concluding phrase of the editorial refers to the same incident.)

Attempts Made to Take Away Power From Revolution- ary Workers.

In the Footsteps of the
German Social-Democracy

ANARCHISTS FIGHT PLANS OF POLICE REORGANIZATION

Like in the other fields of social reconstruction, the Catalonian revolution had also to enter into a compromise with the petty-bourgeois (represented by the Stalinists and the liberal political parties) on the question of police.

The old police forces did not join the rebels, as was the case in most of the other provinces. Just the opposite: they extended considerable aid to the workers. In recognition of such services, and acting also in the spirit of reconciliation demanded by the exigencies of the hour — the threat of bombardment on the part of foreign warships — the revolutionary workers of Catalonia left the old police apparatus intact, adding to it an apparatus of its own in the form of the so called "Patrols of Control."

The rank and file of the old police force became permeated to some extent with revolutionary ideas, but its higher personnel remained as hostile to the revolution.

(Continued on page three)

COME AND HEAR ABOUT SPAIN A MASS MEETING

will be held at the

IRVING PLAZA - 15th ST. and IRVING PLACE

SUNDAY, APRIL 4th — 8 P.M.

S P E A K E R S

W. STARRET CARLO TRESCA

S. WEINER M. MONOLDI

E. SEGURA

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations

J. White, Chairman

Read About Durruti

A New Pamphlet Issued by
the C.N.T.

(in English)

The Life and Work of

Buenaventura Durruti . . . 20c

We also sell

The Truth About Spain

by Rudolph Rocker . . . 5c

The Revolutionary

Movement in Spain . . . 10c

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

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

Vol. 1, No. 15

April 9th, 1937

THE EMPTY SHELL OF INTERNATIONALISM

Not since the betrayal of the international parties of Europe during the great war has there been such a callous disregard of elementary demands of international solidarity as that which is being manifested now, by the leadership of the Socialist and Communist parties, the trade union bodies of Europe in their infamous policy toward Spain.

The elementary purposes of any international organization of the proletariat are those of extending help to any member of this organization in time of desperate need. An International that fails in this elementary duty has no right to exist at all. It is a pretender, using the noble name and traditions of such a body for purposes that have nothing to do with its basic aims.

The Second and Third Internationals, now in the official control of labor movement of Europe, have proven themselves to be such imposters. They are hiding behind a smoke screen of international slogans while pursuing policies that are in flagrant contradiction with the elementary idea of international solidarity.

For eight months the Spanish workers and peasants have been waging a desperate struggle against the ever growing hordes of Fascist interventionists. They are doing it in the name of a revolution which they have already started, in the name of a better society which they hope to build up as soon as they clear their country from the Fascists.

What are the elementary duties of an international organization of workers in regard to this heroic struggle? To prevent intervention of any kind. Not only the open intervention of the Fascist powers but also the equally dangerous one of the so-called democratic governments who use the threat of leaving the field free to Mussolini and Hitler in order to bludgeon the Spanish workers and peasants into abandoning their revolutionary hopes.

What the Second and Third Internationals have done in respect of the first kind of intervention is now known to the whole world. They sanctioned the tragic farce of non-intervention pact, resigning themselves very rapidly to the fact that those pacts have become one of the numerous scraps of papers abounding so much in the history of international diplomacy. They are doing it under the pretext that the European masses are not ready to go to war for the sake of Spain. But what have they done to gauge the sentiments of the great masses of people in this respect? Have they made any attempt to set on foot any mass movement in order to exert pressure upon the government? Have there been any attempts to organize general strikes, mass demonstrations, mass meetings on a scale commensurate with the need of stirring up the masses of European workers to the realization of their international duty toward the Spanish revolution?

The Socialist and Communist bureaucracy which is now in control of the European working class has taken refuge behind meaningless pacts and futile schemes of international control because they have become the accomplices of their own governments in the attempt to stifle the Spanish revolution. Under the threat of unloosing the mad dogs of international Fascism against the Spanish people, the governments of the so-called democratic government are forcing the revolutionary workers to yield inch by inch their revolutionary positions, to turn over the power to the very same gang of politicians who were directly responsible in letting matters drift to the present revolt of the Fascists.

And this is not only the policy of the Baldwin government, but of Blum and of Stalin as well, the policy of the labor bureaucracy which has been living on the capital of past revolutionary struggles of the European working class.

The Spanish revolution will check the second kind of intervention just as it is already proving to be successful in handling the open intervention of the Fascist powers. And in achieving it, the Spanish revolution will deal the most crushing blow to the Second and Third Internationals—the mere ghost of internationalism now parading the scene of labor struggles under the guise of a genuine proletarian International.

British Weekly Explains Why Communist Party is Opposed to Social Revolution in Spain

“... There have been considerable changes in the political, economic and military situations since I was there in December and I should describe them as all for the worse. The outstanding political fact is the greatly increased power of the moderate elements in the Government backed up officially by the Communists whose policy is to support a bourgeois democratic Spain against what they consider the premature revolutionary activities of the anarchists and the P.O.U.M.

Why Stalinites Back Up Such Policy

“Their reasons for this policy are:

“1) That it fits in with Stalin's foreign policy elsewhere, which is to do nothing to weaken the anti-Fascist democracies, who might be less able to defend themselves in war if extremists

have provoked internal dissensions.

“2) That only by presenting England and France with authentic evidence of a legitimate and moderate government in power in Spain will they win over those fearful and hesitant countries, and possibly deflect Mussolini from his threat not to tolerate a Red Catalonia.

“3) That it also enables the

numerically weak Communist Party to get power through the support of liberals and Marxian Socialists, using the vast bulk of the U.G.T. as a hermit crab takes possession of a winkle. (Ed. note. That explains why the Communist politicians are so strongly against the C.N.T. attempt to establish a basis for an understanding with the workers of the U.G.T.)

“4) That it enables them to attack, on patriotic grounds, their ideological enemies, the anarchists of the C.N.T. and the Trotskyites of the P.O.U.M.”

(From the British “New Statesman and Nation,” Feb. 20)

DEMOCRATIC POWERS CONSPIRE AGAINST SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one)

—I was really dismayed to see your ultra-left press hailing this diplomatic knavery as a success of the policy of “non-intervention,” while, in fact, we have nothing but an act of intervention and overt hostility, devised by all the enemies of the Spanish people.

—According to you, then, the Spanish people have only enemies among the European powers?

—It is impossible to doubt now the duplicity of the French, English and Russian governments in their policy of enforcing a blockade against us—without making any effort to check the powers who keep on arming Franco. It is clear to every informed person that the “democratic bloc” of Paris-London-Moscow has deliberately organized it in order to make capital of the state of destitution and disarmament into which the provinces of Catalonia and Levant have been plunged. It is enough to point out here that Eden gave Germany full liberty to act in the Mediterranean, that Blum was quite quick in reducing, and even stopping, any Spanish imports, and that Stalin, acting through his straw men, Caballero and Co.,—placed an embargo upon the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain.*

* (Ed. Note. The statement that the infamous policy of financial blockade pursued by the Caballero government toward revolutionary Catalonia was dictated to Caballero by Stalin's representatives in Spain, can be found in a number of French and German emigre radical magazines.)

CONSPIRACY SHARED BY ALL SIGNATORY POWERS

—But doesn't the situation show signs of improvement?

—None whatever! The Italian and German warships which, acting upon the assurance of utter impunity, have bombarded, mined, torpedoed and shelled our ships and ports, will now add to their “neutral” capacity the authority conferred upon them by the Non-intervention Committee. They cruise in the waters of Catalonia, Levant, Murcia, Andalusia, Asturias and Biscay provinces, and one can surely tell that they will altogether paralyze the war operations of the government, our sea traffic and the activity of our fishing flotillas. And at the same time the Pyrenees will become a Chinese wall for the international proletariat, and proleration Spain. The latter, cut off from the world, will perish, without anyone hearing its cries in the air-tight cell which the capitalists built for it. . . .

— . . . Do you believe then that all the European powers are in agreement upon this policy directed against the Spanish people?

—Their aims are the same: To strangle the social revolution, which is developing in Aragon, Levant, and in the more advanced sections of other provinces. Only their methods differ. Those of Italy and Germany are of a brutal Machiavelian kind. The methods of France, England and Russia have a bland and insinuating quality about them. But, essentially, they are the same: tanks, torpedoes and cannons in service of the capitalist coffers.

INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT OUR ONLY ALLY

—The game then, is as good as lost!

—No! Not at all! But it cannot be won with so many illusions enveloping the situation and hiding the truth from the Spanish and the International proletariat. The Spanish proletariat was indeed led to believe that he can count for aid upon the democratic countries and the Russian state, provided he will give up for the time being his social revolutionary program. This is a very dangerous mistake. The revolution is the only effective weapon of the Spanish proletariat and the International proletariat is the only ally upon whom he can count. It is this that the workers of all the countries must realize instead of delegating to their bourgeois governments the task of protecting Spain against the invasion of international Fascism. A general strike on all the ships going to Portugal, the Fascist ports of Spain, and voluntary work in feeding, equipping and providing the Spanish people with necessities—those are the only possible solutions imposed upon the vigilance of the working class of the world, a vigilance which has been rocked to sleep by eight months of hypocritical negotiations.

England Defends Spanish Democracy

“Malaga was lost because the British ‘Intelligence Service’ was working toward it. The revolution, which threatened to spread from Malaga to the other parts of Andalusia, to exterminate Fascism in its cradle, was also going to put an end to the English and German exploitation of the subsoil wealth of Andalusia.

“The proletarian revolution of Andalusia could not be tolerated by England and that is why it was strangled.”

—(From “Nosotros”—an anarchist daily published in Valencia.)

BUILD A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LIBERTARIANS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

C.N.T. BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH (Barcelona)

Short Wave Length: 42.88 meters — FREQUENCY 6,995 Kcs.
Normal Wave Length: 225.55 meters — FREQUENCY 1,348 Kcs.

ARMY REORGANIZATION

SECRETARY OF C.N.T. EXPLAINS HOW REORGANIZATION IS CARRIED OUT

The reorganization of the workers' militias into a regular army is by now an accomplished fact. What is the nature of this process of "militarization" which has been going on for the last few months? Does it lead to the revival of the army of the old type? Those questions are answered by the Secretary of the C.N.T. National Committee, Mariano Vazquez, in the interview given to the representative of the Anarchist daily in Valencia, "Nosotros."

(We reprint portions of this interview from the German anarcho-syndicalist paper, "Die Soziale Revolution," published in Barcelona.)

MILITARIZATION, BUT NOT THE OLD STYLE

"Our comrades," said comrade Vazquez, "should not feel upset simply because they don't like a word. We have already been 'militarized' from the first moment when we had to accept for our war operations the united command and the discipline demanded by every joint action.

"And, besides, this militarization—even if the other parties of the anti-Fascist front do

want quite the opposite—will not go beyond establishing the necessary harmony in the joint work of the military technician, who works out the operative plans, and those who defend the country with arms in their hands. We will never tolerate the revival of the old militarist privileges. Our plans rather express the commonly recognized necessity of allowing some to go on with the preparation of plans for a surprise attack, for the defense of a certain position or the conquest of a city, while others fight with arms in their hands at the battle front.

CONTROL OF C.N.T. BRIGADES NOT RELINQUISHED

"Our columns," our comrade added, "will disappear as such and it is necessary that they do disappear. It was decided quite a long time ago that our columns, just like the columns of others, should be transformed into brigades. The name is quite of little matter in this case. At any rate they will be equipped with everything necessary for effective action.

"Otherwise there will be no

changes of a basic nature. Military command in the new brigades will remain in the same hands as before. Comrades who have come to trust those that bore the responsibility for the military operations will not be compelled by senseless changes to submit themselves to people whose ideological views they do not share.

"The political commissars for our brigades will be named by the C.N.T. organization, and it is to the latter that they will be responsible at every moment, even during the preliminary period of compulsory training in the schools specially established for that purpose.

NO MIXED BRIGADES

"As to the question whether the new brigades are going to be mixed in their make-up, that is, whether they will be made up of the new soldiers of the regular army, Marxists and C.N.T. battalions of the old militia, Vazquez said that a proposal was made to that effect. The C.N.T., however, made its own proposal that the brigades which are made up of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. comrades should be controlled by those organizations. (Ed. note. The

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page one)

lutionary and the anarchist movement as it was before the revolution. That is why it was distrusted by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia who built up special control bodies to keep an eye on those reactionary officials.

Stalinist-Bourgeois Bloc Plots to Turn Over Power to Reactionary Police Officials

The relative growth of the power of the moderates, accompanied by ever growing attacks upon the revolutionary achievements, has finally led to an attempt to reinstate the old police in full power and to do away with the control apparatus built up by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia for the protection of their newly won positions.

This attempt took the form of a projected reorganization of police which would abolish all the hitherto existing organizations, that of worker's included, and build up a new force under the control of the hierarchy of the old reactionary police force. Membership in any organization would be forbidden to the rank and file of this new police force, supreme control is vested not in the hands of a spe-

cial committee representing all the anti-fascist organizations, as it was the case until now, but in the hands of the officials of the old police — inspectors and commissars — who are to retain their positions and who are to be charged with the task of recruiting the newly established force.

Not only is the rank and file forbidden to belong to any organization, but it is also expressly enjoined from building up any sort of councils. (After the revolution councils were built up in all the police organizations.)

The same project cuts in deeply into the self-government of the communes and municipalities by depriving them of the right to control their own police, which henceforth is going to be under the jurisdiction of specially appointed regional commissars.

Indignation Felt Among Revolutionary Workers of Catalonia

This law stirred up great indignation among the revolutionary workers of Catalonia. The last political crisis, reported by the local press, is due to a great extent to this reaction against this openly counter-revolutionary assault engineered by the Stalinists and the Catalonian nationalists.

The "Solidaridad Obrera"

came out sharply against it. It brands this new law as open counter-revolution. "We must confess that with this law the counter-revolution has gained considerable ground." (March 6) It lashes out against this idea of building up a "neutral" police force.

"The force created by the revolution for the defence of its conquests cannot be neutral. Just as it is impossible that the popular army, the economy, education can remain alien to the great convulsion now stirring Spain."

Building up a New Reichswehr

The paper also goes back to the German experience of 1918-19: "we are harboring serious fears. The German experience should be of some value to us. There also, a similar force was created which was alien to the political parties and the revolutionary movement. That body was the Reichswehr, a repressive instrument born in the midst of the revolution. It was used by the German social-democrats to crush the extremists but toward the end it became a formidable instrument of repression against the proletariat, the social-democrats included, having been made full use of by the Nazis for their criminal policies."

And that such a project was sponsored, backed up and is now

ANARCHIST PAPER PROTESTS SLANDERS AGAINST P.O.U.M.

"The campaign of the United Communist-Socialist Party of Catalonia against those whom they call Trotzkyites has been revived again in such a manner that we are compelled to call the attention of the socialists and communists to the seriousness of the whole thing.

We have no sympathy whatever for the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.). Our ideas, our tactics are diametrically opposed to those held by the comrades of the P.O.U.M. If we look well into the history of the Spanish and international labor movements, we shall see that those comrades had done us a great deal of harm.

But now we are in the midst of a war and a revolution, and just as we have forgotten our quarrels with the republicans, socialists and communists, so have we also forgotten our past quarrels with the P.O.U.M.

The campaign which the socialists and official communists are carrying on against the P.O.U.M. whose members are now valiantly fighting against Fascism, is utterly unjust. . . . We ask the socialists and official communists to put an end to this suicidal fight. We now present a sorry sight, which discredits us abroad; we are sowing demoralization and distrust on the fronts and are facilitating the triumph of Fascism.

Socialist and communist comrades! Put an end to your absurd campaign! The revolution, which is above all of you, demands brotherhood and nobility on the part of all of us."

—(Solidaridad Obrera, March 4.)

hotly defended by those who swear by the name of "proletarian revolution," shows the depth of degradation to which the Spanish Communist party has sunk in its frantic attempts to check and thwart the forward course of the Spanish revolution. **proposal of the C.N.T. prevailed: thus far the anarchist brigades have retained their un-mixed nature.)**

"Get rid, comrades, of the mistaken notion," said the Secretary, in conclusion, "that it is a despotic sort of militarization that we are concerned with now. From the first days we set ourselves the task of establishing a firm discipline and now, for the interests of everyone, we intend to give it a definite direction."

BUTTONS

with the

C.N.T. - F.A.I.

Emblem

can be ordered from the U.L.O.

—♦—

Price 50c each.

—♦—

Send to Jack White, c-o U.L.O.

45 W. 17th St., New York

After the Revolution

What?

—♦—

a book by SANTILLAN will be ready for print soon.

The price is \$1.00

if ordered right now.

Catalonian C.N.T. Holds Convention

(Continued from page one)

general plan led to the necessity of supporting a number of industries which, for the time being, are useless, falling as a heavy burden upon the resources of the country.) An end should also be put to the high salaries of the bureaucracy and to the maintaining of a police force which is more in keeping with the vanished regime.

6) The mobilization of the financial resources of the government in order to aid the mining industry, agriculture, the construction of public works and other useful tasks.

7) The creation of a union bank in order to co-operate in the general work of economic reconstruction.

8) The socialization of distribution, proceeding towards it in a manner which should eliminate money as much as possible. Where the latter still exists, efforts should be directed toward the establishment of the family wage. (Ed. note: a form of monetary remuneration taking as its basis the communist principle of family needs.)

9) The highest degree of co-operation with the villages, shown in the form of intensified production of commodities for the peasants, and also in the form of cultural aid for the villages. The socialization of land where such is freely agreed upon.

10) The organization of foreign trade on the basis of workers' syndicates (unions), especially so in the relations with the international cooperatives.

READ and SPREAD the "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

ANARCHISTS PUT UP ULTIMATUM

The anarchist group "Los de ayer y de los hoy"—(Those of yesterday and of today)—a member of the Barcelona Anarchist Federation—issued a manifesto in which it calls attention to the dangerous sabotage of the politicians. Its direct language reveals a great deal of what is now going on in the minds of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain. The restraints imposed by the necessity of adhering to the proprieties of a united front policy prevent those thoughts from being aired officially. But how strongly they sway now the popular mind we can judge by the intense conviction, emanating from this document, of a deep seated betrayal of the revolution on the part of the high-ups in the political administration of the country.

We are reprinting this manifesto from the Spanish Bulletin of Information of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (Feb. 25.)

Malaga Fall Is Not Accidental

"The fall of Malaga brought forth a reaction on the part of the people. This reaction should not be of a passing, superficial kind. It should strike out firmly until full victory is obtained.

"To tested fighters regrets, criticisms and censures are of no avail if they are not accompanied by serious and firm decisions which will prevent the recurrence of the same.

"Badajoz, Toledo, Irun, Saint-Sebastian, Malaga are not accidental things at all; they call not merely for resistance but for the most vigorous revolt.

"The fatal policy of thwarting the revolution, which is responsible for the actual tragedy, continues its criminal and cowardly work.

Sabotage in the High Spheres

"The war and the revolution are being shamefully sabotaged in the high spheres. On the Aragon front there is an inactive army. It is not made use of because it is systematically de-

prived of the material and munitions which are indispensable for the undertaking of an offensive. Such an offensive would be of great help to the heroic people of Madrid and it would have prevented the Malaga debacle, had it been undertaken in time.

"The administration of the Minister of Navy, on its own part, maintains a suspicious laxity, which permits the four Fascist warships to be the unchallenged masters of our waters.

"To the great amazement and indignation of all those who, like us, played a fair game throughout the contest, now it is being proposed to 'reorganize the army' by turning over the high commanding posts to suspected generals who already, at the Malaga front, had made common cause with the Fascists.

"All the anti-Fascists are well aware of the fact that this unjustifiable course pursued by the government is not due to the lack of war material. The general mobilization, the calling to colors

of people till 40 years of age, all the measures proposed would be utterly absurd were they not backed up by sufficient reserves of equipment and munitions for the mobilized people. Why then this policy of disarming the volunteers, the revolutionaries?

Propose that C.N.T. Unions

Refuse to Deliver Ammunitions

"What could be done in the face of such a delicate, grave and alarming situation? The most practical and effective thing would be to punish those who are guilty of that course of action. But what if this is not feasible under the given circumstances of a very complex situation? What then could be done to compel the government to place its sacred duty above the interest of the party or class?

"As anarchists we pronounce ourselves in favor of direct action on the part of the syndicates.

"Under the stress of circumstances, Catalonia came to hold a privileged position which can make it the arbiter of the situation: a war industry has been installed which occupies now 50,000 workers and provides ammunitions for the anti-fascist fronts. We propose that the Syndicates and the revolutionary groups take a concrete, definite decision to refuse the further delivery of arms if the necessary war material is not furnished to the forces at the Aragon front."

Ed. note: According to the latest information the anarchists presented an ultimatum to the Valencia government, as a result of which, as reported by the French anarchist paper "Libertaire," the situation on the Aragon front in respect of armament has been considerably improved.

municipalities.

"As to the land, it was spontaneously collectivized by the peasants in full accord with the C.N.T. and F.A.I. An exception was made for the smallholders, who cultivate their land with their family only.

"One of the results of the measures adopted by the collectives is that land that had been lying fallow for some time is now put into cultivation. Already the area under cultivation has increased from 35% to 40%.

"Private commerce is gradually losing its importance. In Caspe (capital of the anti-Fascist Aragon) serious attempts are made to replace its work with that of cooperatives.

"Availing themselves of the co-operative apparatus, our comrades gradually extend the commercial transactions to the products of the land, dealing directly with the peasants to the exclusion of all intermediaries."

DEFEATS CAUSED BY BETRAYAL

BETRAYAL OF GENERALS

We already reported in the last issue of the "Spanish Revolution" that General Asensio, the Under-Secretary of war, was accused of betraying Malaga to the fascists.

This general enjoyed the full confidence of Caballero, who yielded only reluctantly to the popular clamor for his dismissal. Like Azana, who, on the very eve of the fascist revolt, flaunted his boundless trust in its leaders—generals Franco and Mola, Caballero was backing up this notoriously reactionary general to the very last minute.

The following is a reprint from the "Solidaridad Obrera" anarcho-syndicalist daily in Barcelona. It gives us some idea of the kind of military experts to whom, were it not for the vigorous protests of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.), the communist-socialist-bourgeois bloc would have turned over the full control of the revolutionary army.

GENERAL ASENSIO BELONGED TO THE REACTIONARY CAMP

"No one succeeded in understanding why this military man who in the past was a monarchist and a Leroux man (Ed. note: Leroux-representative of the conservative bourgeoisie, was instrumental in welding a reactionary block of fascists, clericals and moderate republicans against the popular forces of the 1931 revolution) was given a position of such high responsibility in the very midst of a social revolution.

"Asensio was always very close to Alejandro Leroux and Jose Rocha. The latter, while holding the position of ambassador to Portugal, had General Asensio with him, having placed him in charge of the delimitation of the boundaries between Spain and Portugal. But this was more in the nature of a sinecure, being only a pretext for keeping and making use of one who was prominent in the military circles. Everyone knows that General Asensio accompanied the ambassador on the latter's frequent trips to Spain. Asensio's action in Morocco

in connection with the murder of the outstanding Moorish intellectual Dris-Ben-Sai was also at one time very much under discussion.

DEFEATS ON THE FRONTS FOLLOWING ASENSIO'S

APPOINTMENT

"No sooner did General Asensio begin to intervene in the course of war, that military defeats of a mysterious nature followed one after the other. With the formation of the "victory" government of Largo Caballero, those defeats began to take on the nature of calamities. Irun, San Sebastian, Talavera and Toledo were lost in succession.

"The Malaga disaster brought to a head the disquieting feeling permeating the public opinion of the country.

INCOMPETENCE AND BETRAYAL

AT MALAGA FRONT

"The General placed in command of the southern front had previously been removed from every other front on account of his notorious ineptitude. This is the very man who kept on saying openly that the cause of the revolution was already a lost affair. And under such conditions he was named to head the Malaga operations.

"When the proletarian forces succeeded in checking the Fascist army at Estepona, Marbella and assuring the rear for the Malaga front, this very individual unexpectedly ordered the withdrawal of troops, producing the greatest confusion and bewilderment among the loyal troops. This order coincided with an attack of the Fascist forces, producing the catastrophe which stirred up so much indignation among the Spanish people.

"FROM THE VERY DAYS OF JULY 19, THE MINISTRY OF WAR HAS BEEN IN THE HANDS OF INCOMPETENT PEOPLE, AND ON THE FRONTS—TREASON WAS CLOSELY ALLIED TO INTERNATIONAL FASCISM."

—"Solidaridad Obrera," Feb. 27.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN ARAGON PROVINCE

We are reprinting here portions of an interview with Jonquin Ascaso, the President of the Aragon Council of Defense, which appeared in the French anarchist weekly "Libertaire," March 18.

THE MAKE-UP OF THE COUNCIL

—What are the relations between the anarchists and various political parties?

—In Aragon the relations are excellent. The work of the Defense Council is permeated with the spirit of unity. The Council comprises six delegates from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., and the Socialist, Communist and Republican Parties have two delegates each.

AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

—Are there many com-

munes in the part of Aragon held by the anti-Fascists?

—We have 700 of them, most of which are agricultural.

—What are their social achievements?

—In certain places achievements have been pushed quite far. In some of those places we came very near to realize Libertarian Communism.

"A congress of all agricultural collectives organized by the C.N.T. in the Aragon province, was held recently. More than 70,000 peasants were represented. Questions of first importance were discussed, such as the structure of the organization, the relations between the municipalities and the collectives, etc.

"All over Aragon houses have been taken over by the

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity.

It is your fight as well as theirs.

HELP THIS HEROIC STRUGGLE.

Send contributions to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

Responding to the needs of the moment and the necessity of unified libertarian action for the defense of the Spanish workers and the social revolution that is taking place in Spain, there has been formed the North American United Libertarian Organizations.

A great welcome has been accorded the formation of this organization—many congratulatory letters have been received from libertarian and syndicalist

groups throughout the country. An organizing campaign will be soon begun, with speakers touring the country to stimulate the workers for the defense of Spain.

Money is needed to hasten this work and funds should be directed to James Price, c-o N.A.U.L.O., 152 So. 3rd St., Philadelphia, Pa. Workers organizations and unions wishing to cooperate in this work should address inquiries to the above address.