

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## CONTROL OF INDUSTRY STRENGTHENED BY CNT UNIONS

EPOCHAL CONVENTION DEFIES POLITICIANS; DEMANDS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, OPPOSES STATE CAPITALISM

About a month ago Juan Negrin, Premier of the Republican Government of Spain, issued an alarming statement concerning the program of restoration of private property, toward which his government had been aiming ever since it came into power.

It was alarming even to those who realized that much of what Mr. Negrin said was intended for foreign consumption, and that the workers organized into the powerful industrial unions of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) also had something to say about this matter.

The tone of Mr. Negrin's statement was very challenging and it was followed up by a flood of propaganda (of the kind supplied to the "New York Times" by the government spokesman Lawrence A. Fernsworth) telling the world that the workers themselves have already become tired of their experiments in collectivizations and are eager to be relieved by the government of the onerous duties of ownership, management and control.

### WORKERS TAKE UP CHALLENGE

What is the attitude of the workers toward the challenging statements of Mr. Negrin and his avowed program as explained in the semi-official releases broadcast to the world by the host of press agents and journalists?

The answer to this question was given by the workers themselves, who, acting through the medium of one of the grandest, truly historic assemblies of authorized delegates of the workers organizations, reaffirmed their unflinching decision to go ahead with their work of building up the new economy on the basis of collective ownership of the industries and the land.

### 1,700,000 WORKERS REPRESENTED

This assembly—the enlarged Plenum of the C.N.T. unions—was held in Valencia, in the middle of the month of January. It was attended

by 800 delegates from the fields, factories and shops of Spain, representing 1,700,000 workers and peasants of loyalist Spain organized into industrial unions of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) (One can easily realize the specific weight of this organization as determined by numbers only. The C.N.T. has over 1,700,000 organized workers and peasants in loyalist Spain, now numbering 11 million people. This, figuring on the basis of three to a family, already constitutes almost half of the population.)

The Plenum, of course, was not called for mere declarations. It was the practical work of consolidating the organization and perfecting the industrial apparatus of management of the collectivized sector of economy that was achieved at this assembly. And in doing it, the C.N.T. delivered the most effective answer to the provocative statements and innuendos issued by the government agencies. Its meaning was clear: while the government press agents circulated propaganda to the effect that the workers are tired of collectivizations, the latter, acting through their accredited delegates, undertake the next important step in bringing it nearer to their ideal of a fully socialized economy.

### ECONOMIC PLANNING TO THE FORE

The first and most important problem facing this Plenum was that of co-ordinating the collectivized enterprises into a single economic plan. That such a plan had not been in operation until the opening of the Plenum was mainly due to the sabotaging efforts of the politicians—bourgeois and Communist—who spiked every effort of the C.N.T. to build up a national planning body on the basis of union representation.

One has to take into account the fact that alongside of the collectivized sector of economy there is one which is still in the hands of the middle classes, and also the existence of another proletarian organization (U.G.T.) whose wishes

(Continued on page four)

## WORKERS RESIST NATIONALIZATION DRIVE

STATE CONTROL NOT POPULAR WITH WORKERS—NATIONALIZED FACTORIES LESS EFFICIENT THAN THOSE CONTROLLED BY WORKERS

"It is symptomatic that workers themselves are appealing in greater numbers for state intervention." Lawrence A. Fernsworth (in "New York Times")

The reactionary policy of the Negrin-Prieto government in the economic field continues its course of a relentless, although at times camouflaged, drive against the revolutionary conquests of the Spanish people.

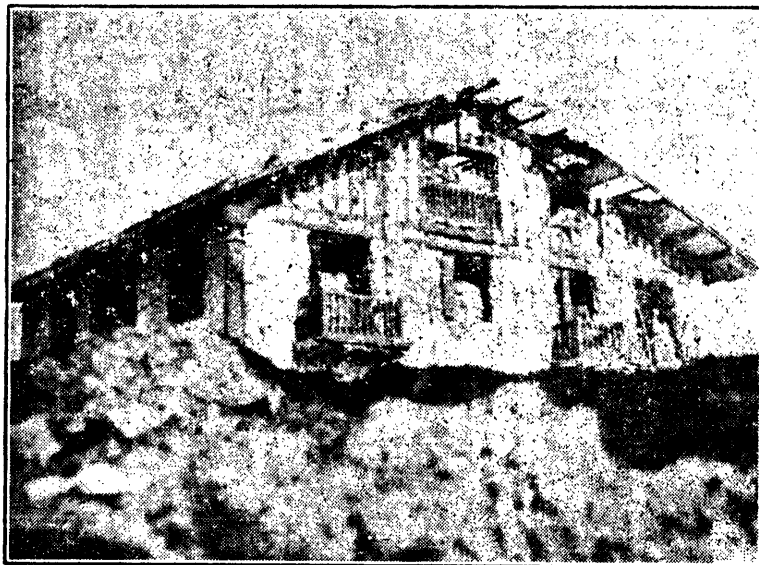
The maintenance of free private trade and unchecked speculation, have brought about a threefold rise in prices. This renders unbearable the economic situation of the worker. The Commission appointed for the purpose of bringing the wages somewhat nearer to the existing level of prices has not done anything of importance. But it did prevent the unions from tackling this problem. For the entire situation brought about by the government policy is being made use of by the government in order to further the reactionary scheme of wresting the industries from the workers.

### Government Blackmail

Raising wages without the consent of the government is forbidden. Of course, raising wages in itself will not catch up with the rise in prices. There are, however, cases when collectivized enterprises are not allowed to raise the wage of the workers even when their financial condition permits a wage rise, without a corresponding boost in the price of the products. Why does the government withhold its authorization of a wage rise even in those cases?

The plan is obvious. The workers of the collectivized enterprise

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IN THE WAKE OF FASCIST BOMBARDMENT

"Our comrades abroad should not let themselves be panic-stricken by the momentary counter-revolutionary currents in Spain. The Spanish Revolution is not dead; just the reverse, it is the latent driving force of the struggle against fascism.

The C.N.T. stands on guard of the interests of the proletariat. The militants of the C.N.T. who have to witness closely the reactionary currents rising in this country and who often feel upon themselves the power of those counter-revolutionary drives, have full confidence in the future. They know what they do when they continue their fight against fascism with unrelaxed vigor and an unabated spirit of self-sacrifice.

(C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin)

## Come and Hear Direct Message From Spain

At the BIG MASS MEETING to be held on THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24th, 8 P.M. At ATENEO HISPANA, 59-61 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

### SPEAKERS

DOUGLAS CLARK, recently returned from Spain, Member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. "Battalion of Death" Column  
M. OLAY, Director of Spanish Press Bureau  
F. BRAND, Correspondent of Spanish Press  
JACK SHANNON, I.W.W. Organizer  
JOSEPH ZACK, Lecturer and Writer

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations

## SERFDOM INTRODUCED BY SPANISH FASCISTS

### Man Hunt in Asturias—Peasants Forced to Work in Mines

Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, went on a pleasure trip to sunny Spain. Like most tourists of his kind, he preferred the rebel-held territory where he could dine and wine in peace, just as it was done in the good old days of King Alphonso and Primo de Rivera.

Mr. Sedgwick not only wined and dined but also had very pleasant talks with a number of high-ranking officials, which, in addition to the information gathered from the talk current in the lobbies of the tourist hotels, gave him the material for the Spanish Idyl set forth on the pages of the New York Times (Feb. 13) in the form of a newspaper report.

### An Innocent Abroad

Our innocent abroad, viewing life from the veranda of the luxurious hotel, found the country "very prosperous." He discovered that "the Spanish are magnificent eaters," which statement he naively explains by saying that "the prosperous classes go through four solid courses at

lunch and sleep on a dinner of five."

And he also found an almost utopian state of disinterestedness and noble attachment to the patriotic cause on the part of such known altruists as Franco and his associates. "General Franco—he assures us—accepts not a single peseta as head of the State, the Cabinet members take no pay, and countless officers serve only for the love of serving."

And, in addition, there is something which could not but touch deeply a staunch anti-Rooseveltian like Mr. Sedgwick. "Not a penny—he declares in a hortative tone—listen to this, Americans, has been added to the national debt." Coupled with "a rise of private profits"—and we have a state almost approximating the halcyon days of Blessed Calvin.

(Continued on page two)

## Big Mass Meeting On Spain in Harlem

FINNISH HALL, 2036 FIFTH AVENUE (125-126 Sts.)  
Sunday, March 6th, 2:30 P.M.

### SPEAKERS:

DOUGLAS CLARK, HARRY SMITH, P. MONOLDI,  
M. OLAY, F. BRAND.

### ENTRANCE FREE

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations

## 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.

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## INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY vs. STATE CAPITALISM

By now the general lines of the reactionary drive against the revolutionary conquests of the Spanish workers and peasants have become clearly marked out.

They do not follow, as it is generally supposed, the mere plan to restore private capitalism as it existed prior to July 19. While backed up by powerful foreign interests and the diplomatic pressure of the French and British governments, the forces driving toward such a restoration are too weak in Spain to attempt this difficult task all by themselves.

It is their alliance with the far more numerous forces, who pursue a line of their own, but who joined hands with the partisans of a restored capitalism, that imparts such momentum to the government coalition directed against the workers and peasants of Spain.

Those are the forces of the "Fourth Estate," the new class emerging everywhere in Europe and hungrily reaching out for power. In Russia they have already achieved their aim, and it is the transference of their methods that constitutes one of the greatest dangers for revolutionary Spain.

Their instrument for attaining power and establishing a new class rule is the State. Hence their program of nationalization, of State control and intervention, of bureaucratization of the socialized economy of Spain. And it is only because they are too weak to carry out their program by themselves that they struck a temporary alliance with foreign monopolies and Spanish parties through whom the former assert themselves upon the arena of Spanish struggles.

It is a shifting and unstable alliance, made in order to wrest the leading positions from the hands of workers' organizations. Once that is achieved, the cross purposes at which this coalition works begin to assert themselves. The bourgeois parties clamor for a full restoration of private ownership, while the new forces begin to talk about "safeguarding the revolutionary achievements."

That is what happened in Spain immediately after the bourgeois-communist coalition succeeded in shattering the Popular Anti-fascist Front. The differences as to basic aims began to assert themselves with increasing power, as a result of which the Communist and some of the Socialist politicians reminded themselves of the fact that a revolution had taken place and that it is necessary to defend it.

They began to talk of revolution, but what they mean by it is not the actual shift of power taking place after July 19. It is not workers' control and ownership exercised through the Industrial Union that they refer to in their demands "to defend the revolution." It is their own program closely modeled on the Russian pattern—allowing, perhaps, larger concessions to foreign capital—that they are attempting to put in place of the program of revolutionary workers.

All power to the bureaucrat, the State appointee, the expert, working through political parties, through tamed unions reduced to the position of a fascist "corporation,"—such is the basic aim of attack now directed by the Negrin government against the socialized economy of Spain.

And in taking up this challenge, in holding firmly to basic principles of their revolution—that of industrial democracy against State control and ownership—the Spanish workers and peasants have already marked out the road to be followed by the international proletariat in the coming struggle against the totalitarian State, which has proven itself as a far more dangerous enemy than private capitalism at its worst.

### MORE THAN EVER THE SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR AID

Every Cent Counts in the Great Work Carried on in Behalf of the Homeless Refugees, Orphaned Children and the Invalids of the Heroic War.

Send to I. Radinowsky, c-o U. L. O.  
45 W. 17th Street New York, N. Y.

## REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Of late we have been hearing a great deal about the "bureaucratic degeneration" of the C.N.T. unions.

Although coming from highly suspicious sources, such as the sectarian circles of the Fourth International, who, in view of their historic record and their cult of centralism are the last to speak with any right, of bureaucratic trends and tendencies, those charges find a certain measure of acceptance among people who are apt to judge the C.N.T. by the standards and achievements of other labor unions of Europe and America.

There is little, however, in the actual practice of the C.N.T. unions to warrant such partisan charges and invidious comparisons. One has to glance at the brief record, given below, of the conventions and Plenums held during the brief period of one year in order to see how incompatible those charges are with the high level of inner democracy characterizing the activities of the C.N.T. unions.

The following excerpt dealing with the inner life of the C.N.T. is taken from the Spanish book "De Julio A Julio." (Will shortly appear in English).

### C.N.T. Organizations Function on the Basis of Fullest Democracy

The C.N.T. always abided by what is now very often called "internal democracy," a term much worn in use but belied by those who swear by it mostly. We always used the true name for this democracy, and that is—federalism. The National Committee of the C.N.T. always reflected the wishes, ideas and sentiments of the rank and file of our organization. That is why one can notice in our movement a certain unity of thought

and action which is rarely to be found in the other anti-fascist sectors ruled from above and governed by decisions of the supreme bodies.

### Federalism No Mere Fiction

In this respect the C.N.T. can point with pride to its fifteen Plenums held since July 19. At each and every one of those Plenums discussions were held and decisions taken upon matters previously examined by each syndicate. This is the most eloquent proof that federalism is no mere fiction with us. The

## SERFDOM IN ASTURIAS

(Continued from page one)

Is there any wonder that our Coolidge patriot felt something nostalgic about the picture drawn before him by the official press agents and that, free born American as he may be, he dismissed as mere "trifles" the omnipresent chain gangs of laborers forced to do the work of "mending roads, clearing slums, planting trees" under the lash of armed guards. Nay, he finds almost idyllic the entire picture of "gangs working with armed guards maintaining discipline and, in the style of the old Southern slave holders, he holds forth upon the presumably happy state of "those prisoners who evidently think of nothing as much as the secure dinner awaiting them on their return to the lock-up."

### Characteristic Cant

Why do we waste so much space on this repugnant piece of Babbitry? Not only because the writer of this stupid report is an editor of an influential monthly, and that this report was given all the desired publicity on the pages of *The New York Times*, but because this attitude of cant and hypocrisy toward the abominations of the Franco regime is characteristic on the part of the bourgeois democracy of Europe and the United States.

Franco is introducing forced labor, virtual slavery and colonial exploitation throughout the fascist territory. He does it more brazenly than Hitler and Mussolini in their respective countries, since he acts in the capacity of a colonial taskmaster. And it is this ominous shadow spreading over the very basis of

our economic civilization, rooted in free labor, that is completely ignored, or even welcomed, by the official democracies of Europe and America.

Here is, for instance, a brief summary of a report (appeared in *Nueva Espana Antifascist*) on the introduction of forced labor in the mines of Asturias and Galicia.

### Man Hunt In Asturias

As is known, Franco's government is paying for the Nazi aid with heavy exports of coal and Iron ore. But the civil war scattered the minning population, the able bodied men having left with the loyalist army. New workers have to be recruited in order to fill the export quota set by the Nazi allies.

The "recruiting" is done in the same manner in which the Belgian authorities of Congo obtain labor for the plantations. A regular man hunt is instituted in the villages of Galicia and Asturias. Armed detachment surround the villages and those peasants that do not succeed in escaping are forcibly taken away to work in the mines. Most of them are young lads of 16 and 17 years, since the older men are mostly fighting at the fronts.

### Serfdom in the Mines

Working hours in the mines are from fourteen to seventeen hours a day and many of the peasant lads never see the daylight. Work is done under the lash of armed guards. Accidents are numerous since no precautions are taken, while the increasing man hunt is furnishing a

ideas and resolutions of the National and Regional Committees always reflect the prevailing judgements of the syndicates.

Numerous Regional congresses took place during this current year. Right now a general congress of the syndicates of the LEVANTE province is taking place in the city of Alicante. Numerous general assemblies of that kind were held in Catalonia, among them—the Regional Congress of Peasant Unions. In Aragon a convention of peasant collectives took place at which important problems were discussed and norms worked out for the adequate promotion and coordination of the work of those collectives. Other congresses and plenums were held in Andalucia and Levante during the twelve months of struggle, sacrifice and hope in the future.

Which other organization could present a similar balance of democracy functioning on such a high level and fully permeated with the spirit and principles of federalism?

### Catalonian Peasants Against Persecutions

Every day new truck loads of antifascist prisoners—C. N. T. and P.O.U.M.—are shipped from Barcelona to various towns and villages of Catalonia.

Those measures are dictated by the Minister of Justice, a member of the Azaña party who showed himself very tractable in the hands of the Stalinists. As a representative of a party which reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie he cannot but be heartily in sympathy with the policy of persecutions so much insisted upon by the Spanish communists.

One of the reasons for this transfer of prisoners from Barcelona is the solidarity shown by the mass of the workers toward the prisoners. The Minister of Justice and the Communist Che-Ka hope that in the villages such manifestations of solidarity will be greatly reduced and that ultimately the unrest among the Barcelona workers will also be allayed.

Needless to say, those schemes have failed thus far. The peasants of the villages have just as vivid a sense of solidarity with the imprisoned revolutionists. And as to the Barcelona workers, their unrest and anxiety was greatly augmented by the familiar sight of revolutionary workers being evacuated from the city prisons. It is familiar sight, for it reminds them of the days of Primo-de-Rivera when hundreds of workers were being transferred from prisons which were just as crowded as they are today.

"Independent News"

sufficient supply of easily replaceable slave labor.

Workers are watched just as closely after hours of work. The slightest remark is reported by numerous spies and protest against conditions or an unfavorable political comment is punished in the most cruel manner. The roads leading to the mines are vast cemeteries. Numerous corpses are seen lying alongside those roads. The peasants named them on that account the "fair view" roads. Those are the corpses of young miners, almost children, horribly mutilated, victims of the slavery system now introduced under the tutelage of the Nazi technicians in the mines of Galicia and Asturias.

# THE ARAGON CRIME

EYE WITNESS REPORT OF THE ATTEMPTED SMASH-UP OF ARAGON COLLECTIVES

One of the most heinous crimes committed by the Moscow agents in Spain was the attempted smash-up of the great work of revolutionary reconstruction carried on by the workers and peasants of Aragon.

The attempt failed, but the history of it, the purely fascist method of trying to carry it out, will be deeply engraved in the memory of the labor movement of the world. No honest socialist, trade unionist, or even anti-fascist pure and simple, has a right to ignore the ominous significance of such facts as the digging of trenches by allegedly Communist troops in the rear of the C.N.T. divisions—while the latter were straining their utmost to hold the front against the fascists—in order to prevent them from coming to the aid of the workers and peasants of Aragon.

It is in order to help the American reader to form a rounded out picture of this attempted crime that we are presenting here a report of one who had personally witnessed the counter-revolutionary havoc and destruction worked by troops bearing, ironically enough, the name of "communist divisions."

I was in Madrid at the time when the LISTER (KARL MARX) division and the assault guards of the NEGRIN government had begun their treacherous job of smashing and destroying the revolutionary conquests of the peasants and workers in Aragon.

Immediately I went to the respective authorities and, as a foreign correspondent, I asked permission to go to the Aragon front. I was turned down by the authorities, although on former occasions I never had any difficulty in obtaining their permission to go to any place I chose. I rushed to Valencia and wasted there a whole day trying to obtain the same permission from the Central Authorities. I nearly obtained it, when the American Che-Ka intervened—and all my labor was lost in vain.

## Spreading Its Tentacles

The Russian-Spanish Cheka has also an American branch,\* which is already responsible for the imprisonment of a number of Americans who proved to be too revolutionary for the communists. I myself ran into a very characteristic case of a young American, member of a young communist organization of Philadelphia, who enrolled in one of the International Brigades. Upon his arrival in Barcelona he was found, much to his chagrin, physically unfit for the trenches and was advised to go back to America.

## WORKERS RESIST NATIONALIZATION DRIVE

(Continued from page one) who are denied a raise of wages become restless. Then the government steps in, promising the workers a raise in wages and other privileges PROVIDED THEY AGREE TO TURN OVER THE ENTERPRISE TO THE GOVERNMENT, OR AT LEAST TO SUBMIT IT TO GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

## Politicians Want Economic Control

This means that the government is out to deprive the Spanish proletariat of their most important conquests—and that is collectivization—and to put in their stead the control of the reactionary, bureaucratic apparatus, exercised under the name of municipalization and nationalization. The government does not stop before any measure

At the Che-Ka, where he was sent by his leaders for a permit to leave the country, he found ready a warrant for his arrest. He was kept four months in jail without being told any reasons for his detention. I had the occasion to talk to him in prison and I found him half-crazed in his efforts to understand why his own party played such a dirty trick on him. Altogether he WAS FREE IN SPAIN 36 HOURS ONLY. One can very well understand his feeling toward treachery of this kind on the part of his leaders, and, from my numerous contacts with the boys of the International Brigade, I can say that this feeling is quite universal among the rank and file of those units.

## Full Information Gathered

Having failed in Valencia too, but determined to see the "work" of the Lister Division, I went to Barcelona, and from there, unauthorized, to Aragon. At that time I succeeded in gathering full information from delegates—then meeting in Caspe—of every collective and syndicate attacked and

\*Editorial note: In the coming issues of the Spanish Revolution, we shall have interesting information about one of the leading figures of the American Che-Ka in Spain, an underworld character who has found a fitting place for his abilities and moral propensities.

in order to obtain economic control by politicians. Not only does it make use of the wage situation—that is the starvation of people—but it throws all sorts of difficulties in the way of transport and getting the necessary raw material.

Subjected to this steady pressure, the workers here and there give in, especially where the link with the industrial union is not sufficiently strong. Thus, for instance, the government succeeded in taking over the large newspaper ("Vanguardia") in Barcelona. The paper was in the hands of the workers' collective which finally gave in after having been subjected to pressure of the above mentioned kind.

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destroyed by Lister and other communist divisions. They amounted to more than 50 in about 30 villages.

## Report Intercepted By Che-Ka

Immediately I wrote a full report, but it never reached America, the Che-Ka having succeeded in getting hold of it somehow. Since I myself was arrested by the Che-Ka and kept in jail for a good number of weeks, I learned of the loss of the report only when back in this country. Otherwise, I would have tried to send out a copy of the report, which contained all the names of the villages, the number and designation of forces that were attacking them and the nature of the crimes committed. For the lack of this detailed document I shall confine myself to the description of the few typical places.

## A Surprise Attack

ALCANIZ is a small city of about 10,000 population. It was the seat of the Regional Committee of Aragon of the C.N.T. The C.N.T., F.A.I. and Juventudes Libertarias (Libertarian Youths) were practically the only organizations existing, the worker and peasant population almost entirely belonging to or being in sympathy with the anarchists. It isn't surprising that the counter revolution had to start its work from there. The Lister division, 12,000 strong, fully equipped with artillery, machine guns, and tanks, encamped at about one kilometer from the city. They took up the strategic positions around the city, trained their guns upon it, and sent forces to occupy the place, even before the population had realized that the "enemy" was attacking it.

## A Barbarian Invasion

Naturally, in view of the disparity of forces and the surprise nature of attack, the population didn't even

## Growing Resistance To Nationalization

The same methods are employed by the politicians in any other industry and enterprise. But everywhere the politicians meet an ever increasing resistance on the part of the workers. Nationalization is decisively unpopular. And the reasons for this unpopularity are quite obvious.

## Efficiency—Russian Style

Here is, for instance, a case of nationalized factory employing about twenty people. When it was in the hands of the workers it was "inefficient" and on that ground the State obtained control of it. But now this enterprise has about twelve well-armed "guardias" (policemen) keeping watch at its gates, a government delegate who gets four times as much as the highest paid technician and a few other parasitic bureaucrats.

All that shows clearly to the workers that the alleged non-efficiency and lack of organization is only a pretext existing only in the imagination of the power-hungry politician who is concerned not about economic efficiency but about getting control of the economy.

Those are facts gradually enlightening everyone to the situation. Hence the noticeable growth of loyalty toward the unions. The

"Even if all revolutionary conquests were lost in Spain; even if our revolution went to pieces under the impact of the forces enveloping us like a vicious circle: the drive for monopolistic rule on the part of the Communist Party, the defense of capitalist interests by the republican parties and the indifference toward our fate shown by the masses of workers of the world; even if all our magnificent efforts came to naught,—even then the historic task already fulfilled by us would be of the grandest nature.

"For we have already marked out the road of rebellion, active struggle and effective resistance to the evil of fascism. We have shown the road and if the world proletariat does not follow it, does not properly digest the lesson of our magnificent efforts, it will be his fault and responsibility before history.

FEDERICA MONTSENY

dream of resisting. The houses of the collectives, cooperatives and syndicates were immediately occupied by the "heroes" of the Lister Division, ransacked, and what couldn't be robbed was demolished. I visited the places, and those houses that weren't closed presented a pitiful view.

Many peasants and workers were arrested, some killed, the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. arrested and taken away for five days; and it was only at the order of the Central government, which was compelled to do it by the pressure of all the anarchist organizations that the five members were released from the clandestine prisons of the Lister division.

## Peasants Are Undaunted

The same thing was repeated at CASPE by the Lister division. The latter dissolved the Council of Aragon, closed its newspaper, "El Nueve Aragon" and stationed troops in its headquarters; they repeated the stealing and smashing of the collectives, syndicates, cooperatives, the arresting and killing of comrades.

When I entered the city I got the impression of a place occupied by some barbarian invader. Between the population and the soldiers there was a feeling of utter hostility. That is how Lister is loved by the masses. But the communists were not concerned about it, as long as

they had the love and gratitude of the bourgeoisie, merchant, small bosses and small land owners. (All the big bosses and land owners have been expropriated by the peasants and workers of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., who work in collectives.)

While I was there more than 300 delegates of as many peasant collectives in all Aragon, with about 170,000 members (a great part of of the population), had succeeded, with great heroism and tenacity, in calling a Congress to study the means of rebuilding what counter revolution had destroyed. But of this in the next issue.

## "No Pasaran" Say The Spanish Masses

The same manner of invasion and attack—differing only in details—was repeated in other villages, against collectives and syndicates of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., such as Calanda, Barbastro, etc. It wasn't an accidental thing, but a part of a well calculated plot to kill the revolution in Aragon by eliminating the revolutionists, wiping out their conquests and realizations.

The crime of the counter-revolution didn't succeed. It will not succeed where Libertarianism has become deeply implanted in the life and work of the great masses of workers and peasants.

—Beobachter.

## HOW POPULAR IS THE NEGRIN GOVERNMENT WITH WORKERS?

The workers of Catalonia remain true to their convictions. The powerful campaign unloosed by the government press, official and Communist agencies have had very little effect upon the workers who have learned too well that under the guise of semi-revolutionary phrases the government pursues a policy favoring speculators, bureaucrats and village kulaks.

The French Bulletin "Independent News" reports in this connection a very characteristic case fully illustrating the true sentiments of the workers toward the Negrin-Prieto government.

"Badallona, a city of 70 thousand population and situated very close to Barcelona was honored by an official visit of the heads of the government in connection with the opening of a hospital. The respectable citizens of the town—that is, the rich traders and food speculators who have made their money as a result of the protection afforded them by the government, arranged a banquet in honor of Companys and Negrin who came to this town.

"The banquet was lavishly supplied with all kinds of gastronomic luxuries. The workers of the town felt, however, that a banquet of this sort held at a time of general food scarcity was in the nature of an insult. They felt that not even high-ranking government officials have the right to display such a flagrant disregard of the sufferings of the workers and soldiers at the front. THE WORKERS DECLARED A STRIKE AS A PROTEST AGAINST THIS BANQUET.

"Needless to say that the strike was a signal for the break-up of the banquet and that the illustrious guests betook themselves to their limousines in search of a less vigorous proletarian climate and one that is more compatible with their delicate stomachs."

workers are rallying to the industrial union, for it is becoming clear to them that the latter is the true representative of proletarian interests and of the Revolution.

(From the German C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin)

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## CONTROL OF INDUSTRY STRENGTHENED BY C.N.T. UNIONS

(Continued from page one)

had to be consulted in matters of general economic plans. And it is by using both levers against the C.N.T., in addition to the monopolized State power, that the politicians succeeded in keeping in abeyance the C.N.T. plans for general planning embracing the entire national economy.

### POLITICIANS' STRATEGY

The plan of the bourgeois and Communist politicians was very simple: it was to keep the collectivized industries in a state of disunity, at the mercy of the State bureaucracy in matters of financing, marketing and supplying of raw materials. And in measure that this dependence would grow, the State would wield this big stick with increased power, intervening in the name of greater efficiency and war needs, finally taking over the entire economy under some plan of nationalization.

That is why problems of efficiency and responsibility of separate collectivized enterprises loomed so large at the congress. Production has to be stepped up—such is the imperative demand of war and social reconstruction. Single enterprises cannot be permitted to lag in this respect, the added result of such a lagging being the recourse to financial aid of the State and sinking into a state of dependence upon the government.

### DISCIPLINE THROUGH AND BY INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

And in order to avoid it, the workers, realizing the need of industrial discipline through their own industrial unions and not any state organs, decided to establish an Institute of Worker's Inspection, that is a body of delegates elected by the Industrial Unions, upon the recommendation of its component bodies, whose task would be to help in working out technical plans for each enterprise and to see that the latter fulfil the production schedule set for it by the general plan. Those delegates work only through shop councils and the higher bodies of union control who, upon the recommendation of those delegates, have the right of imposing sanctions upon individuals or enterprises that fall back in their duty.

This is the answer of the industrial unions to the attempt of the State to intervene through its bureaucratic organs. Efficiency, technical planning and control of individual enterprises? Yes! but through our own organizations, through the administrative and technical councils set up by every industrial union, and through the Supreme Economic (technical and administrative) Council set up by the National Plenum and functioning alongside of the National Committee. Such is the answer of the millions of organized C.N.T. workers to the latest move on the part of the politicians.

### INDUSTRIAL UNION BANK

The next important question was that of placing the socialized economy upon the basis of financial independence. Until now socialized enterprises, when in financial difficulties, had to fall back upon the government, which as is known, used it as a driving wedge for extending its control.

The Plenum resolved to establish a Union Bank whose purpose would be to pool the financial resources of the entire socialized economy for the purpose of ordinary credit aid as well as for the larger aim of financing general economic plans worked out by the Supreme

Economic Council, of the industrial unions. As originally planned the Bank is to be a joint affair of both unions—C.N.T. and U.G.T.—but in view of the influence of the socialist and communist politicians in the latter, which might be thrown against any attempt to regain financial independence, the organization committee was instructed to proceed toward the establishment of such a bank independently if the U.G.T. keeps on hedging about this matter.

### WAGE NORMS ADOPTED

On the question of wages it was decided to work out a plan combining both proposals submitted in that connection to the conference: that of allowing a slight differentiation in salaries and of adhering to the family wage based upon family needs and not individual skill and production.

The first proposal was adopted as the basic plan, to be modified, however, by the building up of special funds out of the proceeds of every industry for the purpose of supplementing the individual wage in accordance with family needs. (In any case the differentiation between the remuneration of the highest paid technician and an unskilled worker is not to exceed the ratio of two to one.)

### ORGANIZING DISTRIBUTION

Of equal importance was the decision adopted on the question of syndicate control of prices and distribution. The decision was to proceed toward the building up of storehouses acting as distribution centers for the city and regional Industrial Union Councils. Such centers working through the statistical bureaus, are to regulate the flow of products from one province to the other, prevent scarcities and oversupplies, regulate prices and also act as purchasing agencies in the foreign trade transactions of the industrial unions.

### A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF INSURANCE

Less spectacular but, perhaps, just as far-reaching in its importance was the adoption of a comprehensive plan of insurance, embracing all sorts of personal insurance, social security of all kinds and insurance of collectivized property. The value of this plan lies in the control by the industrial unions of the enormous funds accruing from this universalized insurance system for the purpose of economic reconstruction; apart, of course, from the valid benefits gained by the workers as a result of this socialized, self-administered form of insurance.

### GOVERNMENT AGGRESSION WILL NOT BE TOLERATED

Although dealing mainly with economic problems, the Plenum also passed a few resolutions of a more general nature such as a warning issued against the policy of systematic aggressions against the legal development of unions and collectives, reaffirmation of the desire for a closer collaboration with the U.G.T. and the rebuilding of the shattered Antifascist Alliance.

The grip obtained by the Spanish workers upon the economy of the country in July 19 is not being relaxed. Just the reverse: it is growing in strength and firmness of purpose. And out of this unflinching will to continue with the basic aim of the revolution of July 19 a new economic organism is emerging which is already pointing the road of true emancipation from the evils of capitalism and state socialism.

Due to increasing financial difficulties we were forced to defer the publication of this issue for the period of two weeks.

This is the first time we had to disappoint our readers to that extent. And if our friends and readers do not respond soon to our appeals for aid, those forced delays will become more and more frequent.

The money from the paper comes only from sales, voluntary contributions and support of a few organizations throughout the country. Not a single cent was diverted for that purpose from funds collected for Spain. And that is why we have to appeal time and time again to our friends and readers to increase their efforts in behalf of this paper.

We believe that the urgent need for such a publication is just as great as in the first period of the Spanish struggle. Just as urgently as at that time do we need a publication dedicated to the defense of revolutionary forces which still continue their great historic task of building up a new society in the midst of a civil war and terrific difficulties imposed upon them by domestic and foreign enemies.

They need support, and the greatest aid we can give them now is to carry the message of their heroic achievements to the American workers, who will surely respond when told of the essentially democratic and libertarian nature of the struggle now conducted by the revolutionary industrial unions of Spain.

The "Spanish Revolution" must live as long as the revolutionary forces continue their struggle in Spain. And it will live if we, here in America realize our duty toward our comrades in Spain.

1. Sell and spread the paper
2. Get subscriptions to the paper
3. Send in contributions to our sustaining fund.

## FIGHTING IN ASTURIAS STILL GOES ON

The heroic workers and peasants of Asturias were defeated by the technically and numerically superior forces of the fascist enemy who succeeded in overrunning and subjugating this province.

They have not succeeded though in breaking the spirit of the population nor in completely wiping out all resistance, which now is taking on the form of an ever spreading guerilla warfare. Such is the report appearing in the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Madrid. (C.N.T.)

### Under Fascist Yoke

"We just spoke to a comrade who had succeeded in escaping the fascist army at the Teruel front. He is an Asturian volunteer, and was taken prisoner in Gijon, escaped from prisoner camp and after much roaming about he was caught and mobilized for the Aragon front.

"The comrade told us that the population suffers greatly under the yoke of fascist conquerors. Every town, hamlet and village has its quota of executions. There is not a family that does not contribute to that list. At dawn one can see whole crowds roaming the fields and outskirts of the towns and villages in search of the corpses of their near ones.

The population is driven to work of building of roads and fortifications. Work is done under the supervision of armed and brutal Civil Guards. Wages are at starvation level. And with all that, the people have not given up faith in the ultimate victory of our cause. They wait impatiently for the day of liberation and reckoning with their enemies.

### In the Mountains of Asturias

"Our victory at Teruel brought a wave of silent exultation on the part of the people.

And it caused great dejection among the fascists who in addition are greatly worried about the growing resistance of the irregulars fighting in the mountains.

"Against those irregulars the fascists keep on sending out their best Civil Guard detachments, but until now the latter have not been able to do anything by way of a decisive victory.

"According to the report of this comrade, the fascists had to take some troops away from the front and send them against the irregulars fighting in the mountains (Picos de Europa).

The latter are the remnants of the C.N.T. brigade which made itself famous by its defense of Gijon. It was about this brigade that the fascist officers used to tell their men: "If you want to be men, fight like those reds from Mazuco."

"Those irregular forces have their supplies which they captured in Mieres and also some of the supplies evacuated from Santander, Leon and Asturias.

### Legendary Heroes

"The population of the province extends all possible aid, notwithstanding the vigilance of fascist spies. And it weaves legends around the names of the two heroes of the struggle: Manuel Fresco, a millionaire from the province of Galicia, who embraced as his own the cause of the people, and Higinio Carrocera, an anarchist worker, one of the commanders of the revolutionary columns' and now leading the irregular forces who, cut off from any sources of military supplies, continue now the great fight for the liberation of Asturian workers and peasants."

**HELP THE HEROIC  
STRUGGLE IN SPAIN**

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