

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 2



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REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-FASCISTS MAINTAIN ORDER

Anti-Fascist Street Patrol in Madrid Insures Public Order.

The new order of things has created some problems which must be remedied immediately. Maintenance of public order is one of the problems that is being handled very efficiently in the towns and cities where the necessity has arisen.

The anti-Fascist front must construct a new economic order upon the ruins of the old. For this reason public order must be assured and attempts at reactionary sedition quelled. To this end revolutionary military patrols have been formed. The Barcelona patrol force has 700 men from the various anti-Fascist groups. Under the general direction of the anti-Fascist Patrol Committee, they are divided into eleven districts corresponding to the districts of Barcelona.

Day and night the patrols keep watch and act as auxiliaries to the Investigation Committee whose function it is to root out all Fascist nests.

The revolutionary origin and composition of this body and the important, delicate mission it has to perform makes it an especially valuable aid to the welfare of the workers of Barcelona.

A public bulletin informs us of the functions and composition of the patrols. The number of men furnished by each organization is as follows:

C.N.T.	325
Republican Left	185
U.G.T.	145
P.O.U.M.	45
Total	700

The Catalan Police

A significant process of development is taking place within the ranks of the Catalan police. The Solidaridad Obrera (Anarcho-Syndicalist daily newspaper) and other proletarian publications came out with the demand to purge the ranks of the *Guardia de Assalto* of the reactionary elements and for the setting up of a joint council of workers and guards (shock police). The appeal found response in the rank and file of this military organization. The *Guardia de Assalto* (shock troops formed by the re-

publican government in 1932) and the regular police of Barcelona appealed officially to the C.N.T. and the anti-Fascist committee. The result was the setting up of workers and soldiers councils within every unit. The councils represent revolutionary workers and the police. The revolutionary workers are mainly represented by the C.N.T. The

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All groups and individuals who have received bundles of "Spanish Revolution" are requested to send us all the money they have collected for it as soon as possible. We cannot go on with this important work of publicizing the epoch-making events in Spain unless we have money to pay our printing bills. Send all funds to J. White, Sec'y, U. L. O., 45 W. 17th St., N. Y.

FACTORIES, FIELDS TAKEN BY TOILERS

Water and Gas Services Taken Over by C.N.T.

The C.N.T. has taken possession of the Water and Gas Co. in Catalonia, one of the largest in Spain. In addition to the water and gas which it supplies to Barcelona, it also supplies gas to Granada, Malaga, Valencia, St. Ferdinand and Santander.

The first measures taken by the Workers Council was to

abolish high salaries and all posts which served no useful purposes. In this way 240,000 pesetas was made available for effecting long needed sanitary improvements.

Subways run by Unions

With the outbreak of the Fascist putsch the bourgeois directors of the subway lines (Metro Transversal) abandoned their posts. On July 22 the C.N.T. took over this line and discovered large quantities of arms and ammunition hidden away there by the directors. The same day the other lines were also confiscated. More than a score of high officials, known as enemies of the working class, were dismissed. Committees from the C.N.T. subway employees' local now direct these lines. The Catalan Generalidad has one advisory member on the committee, but he plays a purely passive role. The technical workers cooperate fully with the committee.

Within one month economies of 36,000 pesetas were made. This was done partly by eliminating the high salaries of the directors.

Although the eight-hour day still exists in this industry, one of the immediate objectives of the unions is to institute the six-hour day. Steps are being taken to eliminate useless work, sinecures and waste of any kind.

On July 24th the main subway line was taken over by the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., represented by a joint committee. The technicians put themselves at the disposal of this committee. In order to effect economies, however, the Committee reduced all high salaries of technicians. Wages of most of the workers have been raised (none lowered) to effect equality of remuneration.

Extension of the lines is being planned and fares will be reduced.

The Metal Industry is Socialized

The metal factory "Vulcan" employing 520 workers was requisitioned July 22, and is controlled by a council consisting of representatives from the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.

The factory now supplies materials for the civil war and is



This picture, taken near Seville, shows one of the cars requisitioned by the C.N.T. for use in the anti-Fascist militia. The man in the rear of the car holding a machine-gun is Comrade Ortiz, the secretary of the Seville local of the Carpenters' Union of the C.N.T.

THE C.N.T. AND THE F.A.I. APPEAL TO ALL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

AN APPEAL FOR MORAL AND MATERIAL SOLIDARITY WITH SPANISH WORKERS IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

The Cause of the Spanish Proletariat is the Supreme Cause of Liberty for All the World
ANTI-FASCIST INTELLECTUALS! MEN OF FREE CONSCIENCE!
SUPPORT THE HEROIC SPANISH FIGHTERS!

The National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) addresses this message to the workers of America, Asia, Europe and the world over, in order to solicit moral and material aid. We appeal to the active solidarity of the whole proletariat and to all men who are aware of the decisive nature of the present struggle in Spain.

We find it necessary to tell briefly, to all who, though far away, are morally supporting our cause, what the real situation in Spain is.

Despite the partisan information disseminated by the various proletarian and political organizations who present the Spanish anti-Fascist movement as exclusively directed by the popular front—in which the Communists and Socialists play the leading role—the truth is different.

The struggle against Fascism is being carried on mainly because of the heroism, the fighting spirit and the large number of Spanish workers organized around the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. In Catalonia, we have completely influenced the direction of the movement; realizing the necessity of crushing Fascism first, we have not limited the movement to something exclusively libertarian. We wanted to maintain the unity of the anti-Fascist front above all. We used our influence in the entire network of Catalan economic life in the creation of economic councils, work councils in the factories, mines, etc. These councils stabilizing the entire economic life of the region so as to make it the basis for the social organization of the future.

But it would be inconceivable at a time when we are struggling heroically and victoriously

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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.

Affiliates of the U.L.O.: Cultura Proletaria; Freedom Group; Libertarian Workers Group; General Recruiting Union, I.W.W.; Il Martello; Jewish Anarchist Federation; Marine Transport Workers, I.W.W.; Russian Toilers; Spanish Youth Group; Vanguard Group.

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Vol. 1, No. 2

September 5th, 1936

Purpose and Aim of the U.L.O.

To tell the readers of "Spanish Revolution" the purpose and aims of the "United Libertarian Organizations" and our publication, the "Spanish Revolution" we can do little better than point to the stirring appeal of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. printed on the first page of this bulletin. The outstanding work of the libertarian elements in Spain who are in the forefront of the fight against the Fascist reaction and in the task of charting a new course of social reconstruction based upon the principles of workers control must be recognized and supported by all individuals who strive for a freer and better life. All over the world Anarchists, Syndicalists, libertarian workers of various shades of opinion have united in numerous ways to help in the struggle of the Spanish toilers, a struggle which they know is theirs also. In the same spirit, the organizations now affiliated with the U.L.O. have united in a common effort to mobilize the financial and moral support of workers in the United States and to disseminate as widely as possible the truth about what is happening in Spain. We must counteract the lies and slanders in the yellow press, against the heroic workers and peasants in Spain, and also the one-sided reports in the Marxist press. We must help our Spanish brothers get the necessary money and arms to defeat the black reaction and build a new, a better life.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have called on us to spread the truth about Spain, to give them moral and financial aid. Our answer to this call has just begun. All those individuals and organizations who think and feel as we do about this struggle should join, us and united we can answer the call of our brave comrades in Spain with a mighty wave of comradely solidarity that will annihilate forever the bloody Fascist monster.

Significance of the Spanish Events

The late Lincoln Stephens, one of the keenest observers of current political trends, characterized the present struggle in Spain as the most significant event of our time. This is by no means an exaggerated statement. Not since October, 1917, has there been an event of such far-reaching revolutionary effect as the heroic battle against Fascism now being waged by the Spanish workers and peasants.

It would be of the greatest importance even if it were confined to the defeat of Fascist aggression. For the first time since the victory of Fascism in Italy, did the revolutionary and progressive forces of a European country find sufficient courage to take up the armed challenge of Fascism. This in itself represents a moral victory of the kind which may prove decisive in bolstering up the shattered morale of the international proletariat.

For the most dismal thing about the Fascist sweep of the last decade was not the temporary defeat of the labor movement itself. Counter-revolutions were quite frequent in the course of the nineteenth century, but none of them demoralized the working class and the progressive elements of Europe to the extent the victory of Fascism did. That was due mainly to the fact that Fascism did not meet with any resistance on the part of the workers. The strength of Fascism was but the reflection of the weakness of the working class, reaching its lowest point in the tragic events of 1932 in Germany.

And compared to that low point of confusion, inner division, helplessness displayed by the workers of Germany in 1932, the present struggle carried on in Spain represents a new turning point in the great social struggle of today. Fascism is not irresistible.

It can be checked and foiled by a united stand of workers and peasants. Vast potential sources of heroism are lying dormant within the working class—such is the message of the Spanish events, and judging by the tremendous outbursts of enthusiasm with which the Spanish events were met by the international proletariat, the workers of the world are already taking this message to heart.

But the importance of the present struggle is not confined to the heartening effect it has upon the struggle against Fascism in other countries. What is going on now in Spain is not just a

struggle for the defence of the democratic Republic. Spain is already entering into a period of vast revolutionary changes. The Fascist rebellion released great revolutionary forces which are gradually taking over the control of the economic and social life of the country.

They are doing it not only because they were consciously aiming at such revolutionary changes for a number of years, but in order to save the country from the chaos and disorder brought about by the sabotage of the capitalist class. The banks, railroads, big monopolies, the mines, landed estates all are controlled by people who are ardently Fascist in their sympathies. To leave all that in their hands during the present struggle is to knife the anti-Fascist forces now battling heroically at the front. The government may oppose it, the Socialist and Communist parties may frown upon it, but the drive for socialization made inevitable by the pressure of events will either sweep them into its course or sweep out as thoroughly as the Mensheviks were swept out in 1917.

Already we see the first steps made in the direction of a great social revolution. Catalonia is rapidly advancing in this direction and what is taking place today in Catalonia will be repeated in the other parts of the country in measure that the Fascist hordes will be swept out of existence.

A new October is now in the making and its effect will be even greater than the one of 1917 because its conscious driving force is vastly superior to the one dominating the Russian revolution in its understanding of the nature of the coming social reconstruction. The Spanish revolution will not be distorted in its course, will not degenerate into the kind of a social Fascist state which emerged in Russia as a result of the dictatorship of the Communist party. The strength of the Anarchist movement, the power shown by it in the organization of popular forces for the defense of the revolution and for the task of social reconstruction—all that serves as a sufficient guarantee that the Spanish revolution will be kept on the even keel of democracy and liberty. The Anarchists may be but one among other revolutionary forces, but it is already strong enough to prevent any party from monopolizing the course of revolutionary struggle in its hands. A revolution not only for the people, but by the people, the co-operation of all revolutionary elements, the ultimate control of every phase of social reconstruction by the workers organizations themselves—these are the clearly enunciated aims of the Anarchist movement in Spain.

A social revolution following these lines represents a new departure in the life of humanity. The strangle-hold which a degenerated Communist party has obtained upon the revolutionary proletariat because of the prestige of the October revolution will be broken forever. No more will it be necessary to choose between a decaying Capitalism and a barbarous Socialism. A third revolutionary way, the realization of revolutionary Socialism on the road of fuller democracy and liberty is already blazed forth in the great revolutionary struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and therein lies the epoch-making significance of this greatest event of our time.

Revolutionary Anti-Fascists Maintain Order

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immediate task of the councils is to purge the ranks of the police of the reactionary elements.

This development is a logical result of the common struggle of the workers and police against the Fascists. During those days many police units were dissolved and many of its members fought the Fascists not with their organization, but within the ranks of the workers organizations. After the struggle those units were re-organized, but the common struggle brought about a new spirit of solidarity. Many of them joined the workers' militia which left for the front. But even those that remained are imbued with a new spirit finding expression now in the building of the councils.

Besides the *Guardia de Asalto* and the regular police, Catalonia possesses the following military organizations of the older type: the Catalonian national troops and the Civil Guard. The first were always Republican in their sympathies, having been built up by the left Republican party of the region. The Civil Guard of Catalonia sided with the government, but in Arragon it joined the Fascists. Altogether it represents but a minority within the police forces. Even the Civil Guard contains a number of soldiers who are sympathetic to the C.N.T. They already established contact with the latter, working diligently in order to clean the reactionary officers from their ranks.

Slogan "Make The Rich Pay" Fully Applied

With the Anarchist Militia Under the Direction of Durutti

(Ed. Note—Most of our readers know something about the Anarchist militia at the Zaragoza front from the few excellent descriptions given by Walter Duranty (N. Y. Times, Sept. 1st). The heroic spirit displayed, the excellent organization based upon the highest development of individual initiative, the spontaneous support of the population—all of it is aptly described by this correspondent, whose long sojourn in the land of dictatorial Socialism did not predispose him too favorably to the cause of Anarchist militia.)

In this and other issues of the bulletin we will print as much material as we can find on the organization of this militia, its equalitarian spirit, its relations with the local anti-Fascist committees and its role in the Revolutionary reconstruction of the country.)

The militia is received very favorably by the population of the villages near the front. As soon as the Militia arrives the local anti-Fascist committee places itself at the disposal of the Militia, for the purpose of obtaining provisions for it.

At the windows red-black flags appear (red-black is the emblem color of the Anarchist movement in Spain). Immediately measures for strengthening the defense are taken. The church rarely escapes the fury of the population. Articles of the religious cult are taken away and the church is put to fire.

Known Fascists who have not escaped are mercilessly hunted down. Bonfires are made of all property titles, debt and mortgage documents found in the City Hall.

The harvest crops are turned over to the local anti-Fascist committee, sometimes the more timid peasants who are still uncertain about the outcome of the battle and fear the possible return of the Fascists prefer not to commit themselves in this respect.

Whatever is necessary for the troops is chiefly taken from the big shots of the village, who are mostly in hiding. They are heavily taxed for this purpose. The Capitalists are taxed in proportion to their means. The Anarchist Militia takes very seriously the slogan "Soak the Rich."

Fascists captured by the anti-Fascist militia are placed before the general assembly of the village for trial.

FACTORIES, FIELDS TAKEN BY TOILERS

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running day and night. Armored cars are produced, also rifle parts. The factory also repairs military equipment used by the Militia.

Railroads Socialized

The Catalonian railway lines of the Madrid-Alicante-Zaragoza Line are being operated by a joint committee of the Anarcho-Syndicalist and the Socialist unions (C.N.T. and U.G.T.). On July 19, the railway workers declared a general strike. After the defeat of the Fascist reaction in Catalonia the workers resumed work and took possession of the entire net of railways. A very detailed study of the company ledgers is being undertaken now and a financial balance will be issued shortly.

All technicians are working alongside the union men except those deemed useless and those who failed to appear at the meeting held for the purpose of effecting the confiscation of the lines. Some of the higher officials tried to sabotage the work.

Reorganization is carried on by the workers themselves. For the time being wages, and working conditions remain the same. The higher salaries of the directors are done away with and the directors themselves discharged. The salaries of those directors were from 1000 to 7000 pesetas a month, apart from bonuses which amounted to 40,000 pesetas a year.

Twenty-four high officials were discharged from the subway service of Barcelona. All of them were notorious labor haters. The technicians placed themselves fully and unconditionally under control of the workers organizations.

Trains are intact and functioning well. Everybody is on the job and no one misses the former directors. Trains run on schedule, traffic has increased on many lines. Everybody is satisfied with the new arrangement of things and all are willing to make sacrifices for the new order.

An interesting and important phase of the situation is the fact that barrack-room discipline and espionage have been abolished.

The Clothing Industry

The Union of Clothing Workers of Barcelona (the Anarcho-Syndicalist C.N.T.) is working out a full program for the socialization of the industry. The industry is to be managed by the union and must be run for the benefit of the entire population. The highest technical body is the technical committee of the union. A new working order is in preparation. Workers are divided into four categories,

corresponding to the processes employed in production. There will be: apprentices, semi-skilled workers, skilled workers and technicians. The workers of the first two categories will be given an opportunity to improve their technical knowledge in the trade school of the union. The length of the working day is six hours. Technicians who are pedagogically inclined are to devote two hours a day to instruction of the apprentices. All social measures undertaken by the union will be

in harmony with the decisions of the congress of the C.N.T. Wages and salaries are regulated by the general meeting of the workers. The principle of equal remuneration is proclaimed. New regulations are to be worked out as to prices and specifications of commodities. These basic outlines of the socialization project worked out at the general meeting of the union are now being further discussed by the membership.

Dentists and Professors

The autonomous union of dentists and the instructors of the University of Barcelona decided to join the Anarcho-Syndicalist

Union of Free Professions which is a part of the C.N.T.

Agrarian Socialization

The socialization of the agrarian Spanish countryside is going forward at a great rate as illustrated by a decree issued on August 5th by the Catalonian anti-Fascist Committee to the village of Polipino in Arragon when they had occupied it after a fierce battle with the Fascists. This illustration is chosen because it is typical of what is happening all over the country, not only in Catalonia but also in Castille, for example, where the bureaucratic procedure of legal agrarian reform was thrown to

the winds. The decree contained the following clauses:

1. The harvest must be gathered without any delay. It is to be turned over to the workers and the anti-Fascist movement.

2. All the supplies and stocks of cattle, wheat, fruit and means of transportation now in possession of the reactionary elements of the village are to be confiscated and declared the common property of the community as a whole and placed under the control of the anti-Fascist committee of the locality.

3. Large estates are done away with. They are to be turned over to the community, whose committee is to determine the manner of utilization.

4. All tools, tractors, harvesting machines now in possession of the reactionary elements are to be confiscated and declared common property.

5. All rent upon houses and other buildings is to be abolished.

6. Taxes in kind paid by the share-croppers to the landlord are to be transferred to the local anti-Fascist committee in a reduced form (in this instance the reduction is 50%).

7. A popular militia is to be organized by the local anti-Fascist committee in order to assure the carrying out of this decree.

APPEAL AND MANIFESTO OF C.N.T. AND F.A.I.

(Continued from page 1)

against Fascism—and at the same time putting in order the economic and social life without the cooperation of the organs of bourgeois state—for the international proletariat not to extend us the necessary support.

WE NEED MONEY AND ARMS! The later can be obtained with the former. The peseta is, we cannot buy for exchange in the European market, and although we have plenty of pesetas, we cannot buy the necessary war materials with them.

Spanish Fascism, though in its death throes, is still rising, thanks to the support, in the form of arms and money, given to them by international Fascism.

The new Spain is charting its own course with the aid of generous sacrifices of thousands of lives. Now is the time for the world proletariat and for all men of free conscience, to demonstrate their active solidarity with us. All those who are following our struggle with fervent sympathy, a struggle now in its decisive phase, must increase their efforts and put forth a tremendous opposition which will stop the secret aid given by certain nations to the military rebels, nations which at the same time create diplomatic difficulties to oppose the sale of arms to the anti-Fascists.

Men and women of the whole world!

Workers of the two Americas, of France, of England, of Switzerland, of Belgium, of Sweden, of U.S.S.R.!

Workers of Japan, and China!

Wherever there exists a proletarian heart and an emancipated mind, our appeal must be heard.

Spanish Fascism in hurling itself against the free will of the Spanish people, spreads blood and terror in the provinces still under its control. By means of mass executions, thousands of workers have been slaughtered in Andalusia, in Aragon, in the Balearic and Canary Islands. Neither women, children nor the aged are spared. The horrors of the Asturian tragedy are now surpassed. Men have been burned alive, others chopped to bits. In Zaragoza our resistance was drowned in blood; cold-blooded mass executions took thousands of our comrades. When the world learns how the workers of Seville were treated it will rise up in fury against these Fascist hangmen.

Children with their mothers were placed in front of the columns of the barricades of the Fascists, thus preventing our comrades from shooting. They fired at us from ambulances, considered sacred in all war. Sanitary cars with the sign of the red cross painted on them, were converted into machine gun cars. Such are the odious betrayals and deceptions employed by these unscrupulous people, by these men without conscience. Men and women the world over, we know your hearts are aflame with indignation. We ask you to **HELP US!**

Collect funds quickly and without delay! Start subscription campaigns. Appeal to the conscience of all. Spread this appeal everywhere and solicit aid by whatever means you deem appropriate.

Form committees to fight against Fascism. Gather funds and put them at the disposal of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T., but do not send the money to us yet. We must have francs, pounds and dollars, but not pesetas.

As soon as possible we will give you our international address, where all funds should be sent for the use of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.

Workers of all countries, don't let our appeal go unheeded. Give us the moral and material support which we ask for. You must realize that the cause of the Spanish proletariat is the cause of the world proletariat. With the defeat of Fascism, the social revolution in Spain begins. Our complete triumph will be the signal for the victorious onslaught against world Fascism.

We must battle to the end against Fascism.

In Aragon, in Castile, in Andalusia, wherever the military rebellion has not been completely defeated, thousands of men and women are engaged in an armed struggle.

Help us now! Agitate and fight against the shipment of arms to Spanish Fascists, to those who would crush liberty and enslave the people.

Give us arms and money so that we can completely annihilate the dictatorial monster which would plunge Spain into tyranny and shame.

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

Death to Fascism!

Long live the social revolution!

The National Committee of the C.N.T.
The Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I.

Anarchists Preserve

Art Treasurers

While the capitalist press sheds alligator tears about the outrages committed by the Spanish workers against the age old treasures of Spanish art, the Spanish workers are busying themselves safeguarding these same treasures and preserving them for the time when they may be displayed for the pleasure of the workers in a free Spain.

The "House of the C.N.T. and F.A.I." in Barcelona is a spacious six-story palace in the center of the city. Formerly it belonged to the Employers Union and was crowded with offices of the country's biggest moguls. The upper floor was occupied by Mr. Camles, the leader of the reactionary Catalonian League. This office as well as his private house was confiscated by the C.N.T.

The U.L.O. has already been informed of the international address for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. fund. Monies for this cause can be sent via the U.L.O., which has already transmitted to that address large sums collected. Acknowledgements of all money received will be made.

Communicate with J. White, U.L.O., 45 West 17th St., New York.

ANARCHISTS, MARXISTS SET UP RELATIONS COMMITTEE

The unity of Catalonian workers organizations who compose the militant anti-fascist committees was further strengthened when on Aug. 11th a standing relations committee was set up between the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. on one hand and the U.G.T. and the United Socialist-Communist Party on the other. A provisional list of guiding principles was drawn up as follows:

1. The Committee has for its aim the establishment of a point of contact between the organizations represented; to further the discussion on the nature of such contact and to work out the main possibilities for joint effort.

2. The forming of the Committee does not presuppose any merger between the groups. Full organizational and ideological independence is the structural base of the Relations Committee.

3. Joint decisions arrived at

by the Relations Committee must be defended by all the parties to the decision before the General Anti-Fascist Committee.

4. The Relations Committee is to hold three regular sessions weekly and extraordinary sessions when special needs arise.

5. The Committee recommends the building up of joint factory committees in those industries where both organizations are represented (C.N.T. and U.G.T.). The representation on these factory committees should be in proportion to the numerical strength of those organizations.

6. Both organizations pledge mutual respect and freedom to pursue organizational work in all fields of industry.

7. Both organizations are to stop attacks upon each other. Mutual criticism should be pursued in a comradely fashion.

8. The Relations Committee

is to sponsor the joint issuance of a manifesto explaining its aims to the public.

9. The Committee appeals to the National Committee of the C.N.T. and the Central Executive Committee of the U.G.T., both residing in Madrid; to prepare the ground for the cooperation of both organizations all over Spain, to follow the same pattern of cooperation as has been achieved in Catalonia.

The setting up of this Relations Committee is a big step forward for the Catalonian workers. Due to the fact that the events of last July made such unity possible, the Zaragoza Congress of the C.N.T., held in May, 1936, decided to offer a pact of revolutionary unity to the U.G.T. The Relations Committee was born of this decision.

The C.N.T., in further evidence of its willingness to cooperate to the hilt against the common enemy, has agreed to disregard its overwhelming majority in Catalonia and is willing to grant equal representation to

ANARCHISTS PREVENT SURPRISE ATTACK

Last week Barcelona had an uneasy period for several hours. It was the day the Fascist Generals Goded and Burriel were executed. It was rumored that the Civil Guard wished to prevent the execution which was

the Socialist U.G.T. They insist that it is only upon a basis of full equality that a revolutionary alliance of Spanish workers can be achieved. They profess the hope that the U.G.T. will adopt the same attitude toward the C.N.T. in the North and in Castille where anarcho-syndicalist unions are in the minority.

In Barcelona the reaction of the workers to the pact of unity was very enthusiastic. The revolutionary workers of Catalonia feel sure now that they are setting forth on the path to Socialism and they know that only by unity will they achieve a free socialist Spain.

to take place on August 12th at 6 A.M.

Foreseeing this attempt, the guards of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. were doubled, and to avoid any surprise all automobiles were stopped and their contents as well as their exact destination determined.

Barcelona was so well guarded by the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. that the authorities of the Generalidad had to ask permission of the regional committee of the C.N.T. for certain barricades to be opened in order to permit the trolley lines to operate.

One sees from these measures that no surprise would overtake the Anarchists because they never forget the past history of the Civil Guard as well as of all other divisions of the Catalonian police.

"The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

A Supreme Economic Council for reconstructing the war-torn Catalonian economy has just been organized in Barcelona. It is composed of five members from the C.N.T. and F.A.I., one member from the U.G.T., one from the P.O.U.M. and one from the Catalonian Generalidad (the governing body of semi-autonomous Catalonia.—Ed.). The inclusion of the latter group, observers considered, is merely a matter of form.

The composition of the Council clearly indicates the confidence of the Catalonian people in the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. This is further confirmed by all recent reports in the local and foreign press. Here the C.N.T. and F.A.I. play the leading role.

To organize the economic life of a country on a new basis, especially during a period of civil war, when labor is fighting at the front instead of working in the fields, the mills and the shops, is no easy task. Nevertheless, economic and social reorganization must proceed simultaneously with the armed struggle if there is to be complete victory over the dying social order. *Reconstruction is beginning even before the destructive process has been completed.* The Spanish Revolution, now in the last stage of its struggle with Fascism, has already entered the first phase of the reconstruction of the new social order. This first phase will determine the course of all others.

Thanks to the political liberty which the Catalonian people possess today—liberty they won with bayonets and fists—they

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION PROCEEDS WHILE WORKERS BATTLE FASCISTS

can easily avoid a major political error committed by the Bolsheviks in 1917—the mistake of barring intellectuals and technicians from participation in the new regime. In Catalonia these elements are being made to realize that the new order is theirs too. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have insured functional liberty for the technical-intelligentsia, achieving thereby a substantial victory for these groups working as accountants and technicians, render expert assistance to the Economic Council.

The socialized subways, streetcars and buses are functioning normally, directed by a revolutionary committee composed entirely of members of the C.N.T., who assumed full responsibility for the administration of transport. Here also the technical personnel cooperates with the management committee.

Meanwhile the Anarchists thoroughly realize that economic and social reconstruction will not be accomplished by timidity, indecision, vagueness. Bravery and revolutionary heroism in the armed struggle against fascism need indispensable complements—courageous organization of the economic and social life of the people.

Certainly, the presence in the Economic Council of Marxist representatives, incapable of imagining a free social organization without benefit of the state, can hinder the work of reconstruction, which in Spain can be only libertarian. The tact of the An-

archists will not fail to overcome such difficult obstacles. But what is most necessary is that in the very organization of production, distribution and consumption, there must be from the outset a structure built from the ground up. It must have a federalist basis, in which the organized masses, in their trade unions, industrial, agricultural, cooperative, municipal and other committees, can function freely—the corresponding central organizations playing in practise only a coordinating, unifying and statistical role.

Through this federalist development of economic and social administration (which Marxist and pro-state elements in the anti-fascist front can neither prevent nor sabotage, because an enthusiastic people recognize only the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as representatives of the leading idea of the unfolding revolution) economic life will have found from now on, its canal of expression. The day Fascism is annihilated, when Saragossa is ours, when Madrid is free, when the Fascist generals in cahoots with Mussolini and Hitler flee to Morocco and such points, reconstruction of the new social regime begins. Separated from all state appendages, it will have already made its way into the hearts of the laboring masses. So firm is this mass support that the miserable efforts of the centralists, statist, and the dictatorial Marxists, who would turn the revolution from its march to freedom, will weak-

en before the functioning organizations of social life. The masses will refuse to give up their rights and their lives for a new state, even though it be "proletarian."

We must repeat: No half-hearted experiments, no half-way measures, no compromises in the work of reconstruction, just as there have been no compromises in the armed struggle! The stakes are too high to allow the luxury of compromises which only weaken—and in the last analysis obliterate—the social value of the Spanish revolution. Let us recall the bitter criticisms of the Marxists against the Anarcho-Syndicalists: "You want the railroads for the railroad workers; the factories for the workers and the fields for the peasants."

Let us proclaim loudly, without delay: We want the railroads to be organized by the railroad-men, the factories by the industrial workers, agricultural life by the peasants, and this for the well-being of all, so that each gives according to his ability and receives according to his needs.

The C.N.T.-F.A.I., entering the path of social emancipation within the limits imposed upon them today, in a Catalonia free from the Fascist danger, is preparing for tomorrow the libertarian revolution for all Spain; it also paves the way for revolution beyond the frontiers of the Iberian peninsula. For the liberating wave produced by an anti-authoritarian system (this is also

a natural law of triumphant revolution) will spread to France first and become a torrent which will sweep away capitalist and state civilization, rotten to the core.

The C.N.T.-F.A.I., is approaching the truly decisive phase of the epic struggle to build an anti-authoritarian society. Every deviation from this plan, no matter how small it may appear, endangers the whole structure, rendering it unstable, tottering.

In the next few weeks, in fact with every day and hour, the practical realization of the basic lines of economic and social reconstruction of the Spanish Revolution, will definitely consolidate, after the victory over Fascism, the real victory of this revolution over all conservative, bourgeois-democratic, socialist and dictatorial Marxist forces.

If you want an explanation of the philosophy behind the Anarchist movement in Spain, if you desire to know what the Anarchist, the libertarian movement in this country stands for, what can be done to organize the working class right here at home, then

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