

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Spanish Workers Build Planned Economy

Catalonia Moves Toward Complete Socialization

The first phase of socialization of industries in Catalonia was marked by a wave of spontaneous confiscations undertaken by the employees of each enterprise. Those seizures were afterwards sanctioned by the first collectivization decree passed by the Economic Council of the Generalidad.

The larger aims of a socialized economy were somewhat ignored during this process of initial seizures. Nor were they sufficiently recognized in the first decree. Enterprises passed into the hands of the employees who exercised a sort of ownership over them. No one benefited from those seizures outside of the employees themselves, who would divide up all the profits. There was no common fund for the industry as a whole, each enterprise having to wage a struggle of its own. Those that ran up against special difficulties or had to start with a depleted treasury were operating at a loss and were compelled to fall upon the government for support.

Although a necessary phase in the development of the new socialized economy, this state of things could not be tolerated much longer. In measure that the new controlling and coordinating agencies developed, more comprehensive plans for organizing the socialized industries were evolved. All that culminated in a new decree worked out by the Economic Council of the Generalidad (The Catalonian State). The decree was introduced to the workers of Barcelona at the two large mass meetings held in the largest hall of that city.

We find brief reports of those meetings in the *Manchester Guardian*, and the official Bulletin of the Catalonian Generalidad. (The issues of the *Solidaridad Obrera* containing those reports have not arrived yet. Space permitting, we shall be able to present on the basis of the new material a much fuller picture of the changes introduced by those decrees.)

Thousands of workers came to listen to the reports on those
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Build a united front of all libertarians for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a federation of groups and unions to carry the voice of the Spanish revolution to the American people.

ANARCHISTS STRENGTHEN POSITIONS IN CATALONIA

Everyone realizes that the ousting of the semi-Trotskyite faction (P.O.U.M.) from the Catalonian Supreme Council was done at the direct pressure of the Soviet representatives. Unlike the Mexican government, the Russian government does not act in a disinterested manner in extending help to the Spanish revolution. Not only does it project its domestic quarrels upon the Spanish scene, but it begins to interfere actively in the course of revolutionary reconstruction, rallying around the Communist party all those forces

which are opposed to any vigorous policy of revolutionary change.

In this respect the campaign waged against the P.O.U.M. is beginning to take on an ominous aspect. Its vicious tone and character show that a much more subtle move was back of this drive to eliminate a faction which does not play a very large role in shaping the revolutionary events of Spain. It was nothing less than an attempt to bully the C.N.T. and F.A.I. into yielding its leading positions in the Catalonian revolution.

The resignation of the middle class premier, Tarradellas, came after, and was closely linked up with, a series of attacks launched by the Communist party and its allies (the Socialist party is becoming Stalinized to an ever greater extent) against the semi-Trotskyite faction. Raids upon its Madrid headquarters (they do not dare do the same in Barcelona), provocative articles in the press, inciting some of the troops against the P.O.U.M.—all that broke out with the suddenness of a premeditated drive.

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MANNING THE MADRID TRENCHES

EMMA GOLDMAN ON THE UNITED FRONT IN SPAIN

We are drawing the attention of our readers to the ideas expressed by Emma Goldman on the sabotaging role of the socialists and communists.

It is not for us to judge how far our Spanish comrades were justified in their policy of a united front with the other parties. There is one thing clear, though: the Stalinists will never reconcile themselves to the leading role of the anarchists in the Spanish revolution. To do so would be to admit that they were and are nothing but usurpers in claiming for themselves monopolistic powers.

And as to the astounding revelations that out of all the money collected by the unions, not a cent went to the C.N.T., it is high time that our press raise an alarm about it. It is time that those who mouth pious phrases about the defense of democracy should be held up before the bar of public opinion for

misappropriating the funds of democratic organizations like workers' unions for the narrow purposes of a sectarian and party strife against the Spanish revolution.

Fascism is bad enough indeed, but the worse, by far, is the enemy within. . . . For long it has not been possible to thus speak out, but now the sabotage has gone so far that silence

would be cowardly, nay, criminal. . . . It has been felt up to now that the knowledge of any rift would be grist for the Fascist mill. However, the danger from all sides is too great for further diplomatic consideration.

There are so many inexplicable things to be taken under consideration in this terrible welter of slaughter. First of all is the question why the comrades should have joined the United

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The affair will take place at STUYVESANT CASINO, 140 SECOND AVENUE. :: :: Admission 40 cents

Parliament Ignored By Revolutionists

After a long interval of several months, the Spanish parliament (Cortes) was called again into session by the Largo Caballero government. The motives for convoking the Parliament were not only those of demonstrating to the outside world the legal continuity of the present government. Back of this legalistic move was the hope still fondled by all those opposed to the revolutionary course of events that the social revolution might be thwarted by vesting the supreme authority of the country in the hands of the Parliament.

Whatever plans those gentlemen might have entertained (and judging by the ecstatic hosannas with which the Parliament sessions were greeted by the communist press, the communist
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Front at all, for it has led, and inevitably was destined to lead them into the most contradictory steps and is daily proving a graver danger than Fascism itself. The growth of the villany of the enemy from within is due to too much tolerance from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in order to show that anarchism would suppress no one but armed or avowed Fascists—hence they have given the socialists and communists all too much leeway with the result that both these age-long enemies are sabotaging the revolution right and left. This, comrades, is the greatest danger for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Being men of their words our comrades cannot well stop the pernicious counteractivities of their own allies. But in spite of this most discouraging situation, with the Fascists at the gates of Madrid, our comrades go about their constructive labor as though there were no Judases and armed enemies within and without their ranks. The great hope of the Fascists is not so much aid from other countries as it is the development of feud within the ranks of United Front. Beyond this, is the horrible realization that organized trade union movements throughout the whole world are organized into a veritable fortress against everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stand for. Out of the thousands of pounds they have collected, our people have received nothing; of the more than \$86,000.00 sent to Citrine in Paris, not one solitary peseta has been received by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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THE SECRET OF THE CATALONIAN WORKERS

Every unbiased observer of the social revolution now taking place in Catalonia is deeply impressed by its orderliness and efficiency. Socialists, liberals, newspaper correspondents—they are all struck by this singular quality of Catalonian life.

They cannot help seeing that a very important revolution is changing the texture of the social life of the country. Industries are being socialized, communes are built up in the villages, education is radically reorganized and a new political order is supplanting the old State machine. And with all that the chaos and destruction so closely associated in the past with every great upheaval are totally lacking.

"What is amazing about the Catalonian economic revolution is the fact that prices have hardly risen," writes the French socialist paper *Le Populaire*. And can there be a greater measure of economic success of any upheaval than a general stability of prices?

"The workers are mastering the industries," writes the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. "Difficulties are due only to lack of raw material but not to bad organization or unwillingness on the part of the workers."

One of the most difficult problems of any revolution, that of organization of transport, is solved satisfactorily in the revolutionary provinces of Spain. In spite of the terrible strain imposed upon them by the civil war, the railroads are functioning as normally as one can expect under the circumstances.

Fifteen years after the October revolution, the Soviet government had to grapple with this problem. Draconian measures, barbarous codes of labor discipline, dictatorial powers to the super-commissars and efficiency experts—who does not know the perennial problem of the Soviet transport and the desperate methods the Soviet government had to fall upon in order to keep it from complete breakdown?

But the Spanish railroad workers are keeping this most important branch of transport in a state which no other type of management could hope to achieve under the given conditions of a civil war. And this is admitted by no less a person than the special correspondent of the Moscow *Pravda*, who generally avoids any reference to the reconstruction work of the Spanish revolution.

Wherein lies the secret of the Spanish workers, and of Catalonian workers especially? What enabled them to effect the colossal changes in the social life without seriously impairing the economic structure? How is it that in the midst of a great revolution the factories are working as usual, the markets are functioning without any serious interruptions, the fields are cultivated even better than before and the financial structure remains almost unperturbed?

The socialists, liberals and all other observers are greatly puzzled. But it is no puzzle to anyone who has had some knowledge of the basic ideas guiding the work of the active forces of the Catalonian revolution. Those are the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, of industrial democracy based upon the union of producers. A revolution guided by such ideas is an altogether different affair from the old type exemplified by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Chaos and destruction are not unavoidable in a modern revolution. They come only when revolutions are monopolized by political parties. The economic breakdown is the result not of a civil war but of the attempt of the dictatorial parties to displace the only agency capable of effecting the vast economic changes demanded by the revolution—and that is the economic organizations of the masses of workers and peasants.

This was the case of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. The hopeful beginnings of an industrial democracy were stifled by the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Commissar, the revolutionary bureaucrat took the place of the industrial union, of the peasant committee. Economic links between the village and the city were severed by a policy which no industrial democracy would ever countenance. The workers and peasants became the objects of economic experiments on the part of the revolutionary dictators instead of being the active agents of the economic transformations.

The economic success of the Catalonian revolution is chiefly due to the fact that thus far it avoided the pitfalls of the Russian revolution of twenty years ago. Industries to the workers, land to the peasants—this is the simple secret of the Catalonian revolution. Those that are directly concerned with the economic processes, that function in one or another capacity in the complicated machinery of economic production—those are best qualified to direct the economic destinies of the revolution.

It is this simple idea that got hold of the minds of the most militant section of the Spanish workers and peasants. Its realization, even in the impaired form imposed upon it by the complicated

SPANISH PEASANTS--VANGUARD OF A LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION

The libertarian press of Spain contains frequent descriptions of peasant communes organized in the various parts of the country, and especially strong in those provinces where anarchist influences have been at work for some length of time. Those experiments are very often undertaken by the peasants on their own initiative and in some places they assume the character of a popular movement directed toward free communism.

Like the other aspects of the Spanish revolution, those developments do not exactly harmonize with the Marxist idea of the moving force of modern revolutions. The peasant, it is alleged by them, is petty-bourgeois by his nature and can only be drawn into a socialist revolution by the means of "persuasion" so well familiarized by the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat.

What would be the most difficult thing to explain from that point of view is the fact that the province which shows the greatest number of peasant communes is exactly the one which has the most widely spread system of peasant proprietorship. In Catalonia the big land-estate is much less in evidence than in the other parts of Spain. And it is there that the peasant movement toward collectivization has assumed such a wide sweep.

Here is what the French libertarian paper *L'Espagne Antifascist* has to say on this peasant movement initiated by the revolutionary events of the July days.

"The Iberian peasantry has its own traditional revolutionary movement, its own revolutionary ideology and its own insurrectional history. It is not merely trailing behind the cities, nor is it always under their influence. One might even state that in a great number of cases the village is ahead of the cities.

"In Catalonia, for instance, the peasants who own small parcels of land understand that even when organized in unions of their own, they can hardly count against the powerful economic forces of the country. The peasant realized as a matter of self-defense that in order to be his own master he cannot confine himself any longer to his small household, that he has to associate with his fellow-peasant as a producer and as a consumer.

"All that is now being carried out on such a large scale, in such a spontaneous and varied manner that *volumes would have to be written in order to give one an adequate idea of the vast sweep of the process of collectivization now taking place in the Spanish villages*. This creative work takes even the anarchist militants by surprise. One of

them, having returned from a propaganda tour over the country, expressed his amazement at the revolutionary changes initiated by the peasants themselves.

"We went to the villages' he said, 'with the idea of teaching the peasants the ideas of libertarian communism. But it turned out that we had to learn from them about it.'

"The most solid foundation of the Spanish socialism is the collectivist revolution now sweeping the villages. And it is those peasant communes that in the long run will prove to be the most formidable bulwark against the Fascist forces."

guard at the general headquarters, and no closed doors. And yet everything goes on in perfect order. Everyone, from the front-line trenches to the orderly of the pharmacy at the base, assumes the full responsibility of his service and fulfills it, conscious of his duty as an integral unit of action.

One would suppose that even when we recognize the admirable way in which Anarchist principles are realized at the front, we must admit some factor of control against individual abuses or failure. And here, it may be said, that there are no guard rooms, no prisons, no courts of justice. There exists, however, an unwritten law, inexorable in its effect. Undesirable elements make their presence apparent as inevitably as a speck of dirt in a glass of clean water. And they are dealt with according to their dues—without passion, but also without false sentimentality. The Revolution must be stainless—that goes above all things, even above individual human life. Such is the ideal and the practice of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. at the front.

And so the proletariat of Spain, exemplified in the self-discipline, self-organized combatants of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has uprooted the poisonous weeds of classic militarism. They have created a new spirit, the stimulus of freedom. These Anarcho-syndicalists are not merely soldiers. They are warriors fighting for the definite emancipation of the workers. No sacrifice is too great for them, and no power on earth can stop their march to victory.

A refreshing vigour strengthens the hearts of the pariahs of the earth and Bakunin's dream of Social Revolution is in the act of realization by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. of Iberia.

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

ANARCHIST MILITIA AT THE FRONT

Much has been said and written about the realization of the Anarchist principles in the economic and social fields. The Communists themselves were forced to acknowledge the splendid achievements of the anarchists. In the war-zone in Aragon, the results achieved are even more amazing.

The first impression one gets is the total absence of hierarchy in the entire corps. There is no one giving orders by authority. Instead there exists almost the automatic capacity of functioning in the right place. All are comrades performing their service with zeal and competence in the common effort to win the war against the Fascists. And not only is there zeal and competence, but a spontaneity of joyousness of action of which only free men are capable.

In place of rivalry and ambition common in the usual military ranks, emulation and disinterestedness of service inspire the combatants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

It is said, that in time of war the best men go to the front. This is more than substantiated by the Durruti Column of volunteers. From Bujalaroz, the base of supplies, through Gelsa, Pino del Ebro, Osera and Farlete—marking the front line of the column—everywhere is manifest a genuine enthusiasm, good humor and the noblest of comradeship.

In all the sectors of the front, after four months of active service, these warriors of the F.A.I. share the same impetus of the first glorious days of victory in July. Only a more sustained determination towards final victory, at any and all costs, is everywhere in evidence.

At the same time one meets with a perfect cordiality everywhere. There are no sergeants or majors. There is not even a

situation of the struggle in Spain, is already making history. For it is showing to the world that revolutions do not have to be accompanied by an economic breakdown, by widespread starvation, by a ferocious terror and the wiping out of the best traditions of liberty and democracy for which generations of valiant men and women fought in the past.

It is showing the road for the revolutions to come. For when the great masses of workers of the other countries grasp the secret of the successful course of the Catalonian revolution, the sway of the political parties—socialists, communists and other self-styled saviors—will become as much a thing of the past as the role of religious doctrines in shaping the course of revolutionary movements of several centuries ago.

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.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT RUN BY ANARCHISTS

A. Blicq, a well known French anarchist, accompanied Sebastian Faure on his trip to Spain. Now he publishes in the French anarchist weekly *Libertaire*, his notes on the achievements of the Spanish revolution.

In the last issue of our *Spanish Revolution* we reprinted some of his articles dealing with prisons and courts in Barcelona. In this issue we are presenting to our readers some of his impressions of the work done by the Department of Health of the Catalan Council.

At the head of this Department is a well known anarchist, Dyonisios, the author of many articles on problems of Public Health and their solution in the light of revolutionary ideas.

The work now carried on by this Department is in harmony with the revolutionary ideas of its leading figures. It is characterized by revolutionary boldness, which is the more striking when we compare it to the timorous attitude taken by the Spanish republic on those matters.

One of the most remarkable steps taken by this Department is that of setting up a sub-section for the purposes of disseminating information pertaining to sex hygiene. It is, what the writer calls it, "a veritable school of conscious motherhood." Its revolutionary significance is self-evident, especially when we take into account the great backwardness of Spain in this respect. A country dominated by the Catholic religion to such an extent as pre-revolutionary Spain, is more than ripe for a revolutionary institution of that kind.

Another important task undertaken by this department is the rehabilitation of defective individuals. Scientific institutions are built up for the handling of those individuals. Those institutions are closely connected in their work with the syndicates.

After being cured, the patients are turned over to the syndicates whose task it is to provide them with a trade suitable to their aptitudes.

The approach to the problem of prostitution is guided by the principles of social therapy. The most serious efforts are directed toward the social base of prostitution. Prostitutes are provided with jobs through the employment section of the department. Special care is taken to keep the prostitutes who had already obtained such employment from relapsing into their old state. Every one of them is studied individually through a detailed "case history" which enables the Institute to look for individual solutions in cases of relapse.

Sweeping changes have been wrought in the management of hospitals and homes for aged. Until the revolution, most of those institutions were in the hands of religious orders. How well they managed them shows the case of one of the largest Homes visited by our author. The religious order in charge of this Home ("The little sisters of the poor") is one of the richest in the country. In Madrid 100 millions of pesetas were found in the central office of those "poor sisters." And with all their wealth, the sisters showed a mean niggardliness in regard to the inmates of that home. Privations and petty tyranny rendered the life of those inmates not much better than that of ordinary prisoners.

The changes instituted by the anarchists in charge of this Home are in keeping with the general line adopted by the Department of Health. The regime of petty tyranny, of intolerable restrictions and interferences into one's personal life was done away with. The inmates now have the full liberty to go and come when they please. There

are no special restrictions for women who enjoy in every respect equal rights with men. Admission into those homes is determined by one's physiological state and not by age only. Old couples are not forced to break up their household and to separate in a sort of divorce. As in many other respects the administration is trying to create an atmosphere from which all traces of "charity" institutions are removed.

The writer also visited the largest hospital in the city, an institution run formerly by monks and nuns of some religious orders. They were also "poor," like all the other orders of that kind, which of course did not prevent them from hiding 12,000 pesetas in the hospital furniture.

The "anarchist bandits" who found this tidy sum turned it over to the treasury of the Catalan state and began their work of reorganization of the hospital. The monks and nuns were "moved out" from the finest apartments which they had taken to themselves. This enabled the new administration to enlarge the hospital facilities to almost twice the original capacity. A new competent personnel was put in place of the "sisters and brothers in poverty." The doctors placed themselves at the disposal of the syndicates and now they are in the forefront of the active struggle for the libertarian cause. In several months of anarchist administration the hospital has grown to such an extent that by now it ranks as one of the finest and the largest of its kind in Europe.

Still more striking changes, signifying a veritable landmark on the course of the Catalan revolution, are now being prepared by the Health Department. According to the writer of the same article, by the first months of 1937 *socialization of medicine will have become an established fact throughout Catalonia.*

REVOLUTION ARMING FOR AGGRESSION

We wrote already in the last issue of the *Spanish Revolution* that the reports of Russian assistance to the Spanish troops fighting against Fascism are greatly exaggerated. Whatever help there is—and there might be quite a substantial amount of it—it is not great enough to overshadow in importance the supply of arms and general equipment obtained from the Spanish factories.

The same subject was dealt with in one of the leading articles of the *Solidaridad Obrera* (Dec. 1). Writing of the general tendency to attribute the heroic resistance of the Spanish workers to Moscow's aid, it points out that all those people "forget that revolutionary Spain has made a supreme effort and during the last four months it succeeded in putting its industries into working shape. *By now those industries have a sufficient production*

capacity to supply the necessities of the army. With every day our production and our war supplies keep growing."

The article points out that this statement does not imply any belittling of the role of international solidarity and assistance. Help is still needed, but the crisis is over. At the present time revolutionary Spain has enough men to fight on its fronts.

"Spain now has a sufficient number of men on the side of the Revolution. They will be mobilized when occasion demands it. We shall soon have a revolutionary army equipped with modern armaments and sufficiently strong to crush the Fascists and its international backers . . . The revolutionary people of Spain is now sufficiently strong to win the war and to realize in full the basic ideas of the Iberian revolution."

SOCIALIZATION REACHES HIGHER PHASE

(Continued from page one)

new plans of reorganization. It is estimated that more than twenty thousand people attended each session. Special admission cards were distributed in the unions, factories and offices.

The speakers pointed out that the surest way of winning the war against Fascism is to master the collectivized industries. The workers can do it if they evolve the necessary moral discipline and transcend the petty group interests developed as a result of a temporary situation whereby enterprises came to be "owned" by the employees.

The new plan does away with that state of things. Profits are now turned over to a common fund to be used for general purposes of the socialized economy. Industries and public services running at a loss are financed from this general fund. Industries are to be grouped in large concentrations which will give greater returns and open greater possibilities for foreign commerce.

The old decree restricting the socialization to enterprises employing 100 workers and more was modified. From now even smaller shops and factories are to be socialized, it being deemed that such enterprises were of sufficient importance to be removed from the field of private exploitation.

The general control of the reorganized industries is to be exercised through the medium of the existing industrial unions. Such a control will make unnecessary the centralization of economic power in the hands of a bureaucracy.

The new decree also provides

for the beginnings of a nationalized banking system acting as a Clearing House for the socialized industries. Until now Catalonia lacked such a banking system. (It was the sabotage of the socialists and communists that prevented revolutionary Catalonia from nationalizing its bank system.) Not having been able to nationalize its banks, Catalonia could not cope successfully with the problems of a socialized economy. That is why the new step taken now by the Catalan government is of such importance. An industrial and commercial bank was founded for the purposes of providing credits, collecting profits and covering losses of the socialized economy. This is the first step toward the avowed goal of transforming by degrees the entire banking system into an important link of the new socialized economy.

The larger meaning and purposes of this new decree were outlined by the Counselor of the Economic Department of the Generalidad, J. Fabregas.

"The ultimate aim of those reforms he said in addressing the enthusiastic audience, "is to place in the hands of the proletariat the sources of the country's riches for equal distribution among productive citizens . . . We are carrying out an experiment unprecedented in the world of today. The finished work will have far-reaching historical significance. We are in the first revolutionary stage and the new decree on collectivization expresses one of the basic conceptions underlying the tendency of this stage."

PARLIAMENT IGNORED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

(Continued from page one) party has played quite a considerable part in framing those plans), they certainly counted without the most powerful force of the Spanish revolution—and that is the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor. The C.N.T. did not fall for the Parliamentary ballyhoo — no more than it did so in its past history.

True, the united front imposed upon it by the exigencies of the present day situation dictated a somewhat reserved form of criticism. But the attitude taken by it is unmistakable. It is that of contemptuous aloofness toward something with which the other sectors of the united front may toy around but which is not going to be permitted to interfere in any manner with the course of revolutionary events.

This attitude was manifested

first of all by the abstention of the C.N.T. ministers who were conspicuous by their absence from all the sessions of the parliament. And that this was no mere gesture on their part, but emanated from a well thought out policy adopted by the leading organs of the Confederation of Labor, is shown by the few sneering lines with which the Catalan organ of the C.N.T. (*Solidaridad Obrera*) greeted the opening of the Parliament. We quote this brief editorial in part in order to give our readers some idea of the attitude of the anarchist movement to one of the latest moves on the part of the socialists and communists.

" . . . the Parliament will have no other business than again voting confidence in the government and approving the Statutes for an autonomous Valencia . . .

" . . . We confess that we prefer a closed Parliament to an open one (Ed. note: Our own emphasis). So much confidence do we have in it. And if it has to be kept opened, we wish to see its sessions last as short a time as possible.

And as to the Statutes for an autonomous Valencia, this responds to a regional necessity . . . But we believe that when the Revolution has triumphed, the building up of the life of the Iberian provinces will take on shapes totally differing from the one which is now serving as a pattern for the autonomy Statutes passed now by the Parliament.

At least we may say that the working class represented by our organization goes much beyond the formulas adopted by the present Republic."

Readers who have succeeded in tuning in to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. radio station (42.88 meters) in Barcelona are requested to write to the U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York city.

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"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar 10c

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FOOD PROBLEM SOLVED BY INDUSTRIAL UNION

Eggs are always considered a great luxury during a revolution. The difficulties of regulating this highly individualistic market are so great that as a rule speculation has a free hand in setting prices for this important food item. And that they are set at a prohibitive level as far as the masses of people are concerned shows the history of every social upheaval during which eggs disappear from the table of the masses of city workers.

In Soviet Russia this happened not only during the first period of the revolution. Up to about a year or two ago it was only the highly paid specialist who could afford to include eggs in his daily food. For the rest of the city population it was almost as rare a delicacy as during the first years of the revolution. And that this was due not to local shortages but to the top heavy bureaucratic apparatus of regulation is shown by the fact that the same conditions existed in cities situated in places of abundant egg supplies.

In Barcelona, however, in spite of the revolutionary struggles taking place throughout the province of Catalonia in the first month of the Fascist revolt, in spite of the deep changes in the economic structure affecting the working of the free market, the supply of eggs has hardly suffered any interruption, and what is even more remarkable, egg prices have remained on the same level. Back of this situation, which tells more than volumes could do about the or-

ganizing genius of the Spanish revolution, is the heroic struggle of the food workers of Barcelona without whom the market would have plunged into the same chaotic conditions which prevailed in Soviet Russia.

We present here a brief account of this heroic work as told by the reporter of the anarcho-syndicalist daily *Solidaridad Obrera* (Dec. 3).

Speculation already showed its ugly head in the first days of the revolution. The big dealers realized that there was a chance to make money by speculating on possible shortages brought about by the turbulent conditions in the country. Prices began to soar and there was a general rush for those supplies that were still sold on the market. Eggs began to vanish mysteriously from the big supply houses of Barcelona.

The speculators, however, figured without the new power that was to take over the food supply of the city. That was the Union of Food Workers affiliated with the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor. As soon as the sabotaging designs of the big dealers became evident, the Egg Supply Section of the Food Workers Union called a general meeting of all its members, to which all the wholesalers and the larger retailers were invited. A comprehensive plan of workers' control was worked out at that meeting and under the circumstances the employers could not but accept it.

Soon, however, the employers themselves changed their attitude. They were drawn in as

technicians, receiving weekly salaries and under the control of the workers committees their experience, foreign connections, organizing ability, became an important factor in regulating the egg supplies of the city. By now they are a part of the organization, having the same rights and duties as the rest of the workers.

The first step of the workers' committees was to replenish the vanishing supplies of the city by undertaking a large-scale purchasing operation, backed up by the financial resources of the egg dealers. Results showed immediately. Prices came down and now they are on the same level as before the revolution. These operations were so successful that soon workers began to get their regular pay envelopes plus the back pay for the period of reorganization.

There is still an occasional scarcity, but prices are kept under rigid control. The retailers get their supplies under condition of adhering to a definite price and that is being closely watched by investigation committees composed of workers who in their spare hours make the rounds of their locality seeing that prices do not exceed the standard set by the Control Committee.

As in other fields of revolutionary reconstruction, the supply of food in Barcelona shows the vast superiority of industrial democracy to bureaucratic regulation, even when it is run by professional revolutionaries and learned economists.

UNITY THROUGH PACTS

Malaga was one of the few Spanish cities in which the communists succeeded in obtaining some foothold among the workers. And as it was to be expected, the spirit of narrow factionalism and intolerance became entrenched among those sections of the working class where the communist party exercised its influence. Bitter fights among the anarchist and communist workers were common before the Fascist revolt. And even lately the press carried frequent items of serious clashes breaking out between the two sections of the working class of Malaga.

However, the influence of the Catalan pact concluded between the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor and the Socialist trade-unions has finally reached the strife-torn Malaga. The Spanish papers report that

in Malaga a pact, similar to that arrived at in Catalonia, has been concluded between the anarchist unions (C.N.T.) and the U.G.T. (controlled by communists and socialists).

The pact was celebrated in one of the grandest mass meetings the city ever had. The speakers pointed out to the mass of workers the significance of this pact, the need of collaboration in view of the great danger of Fascist victory and the important tasks of reconstruction facing the country.

The idea of a pact, covenant is an anarchist idea. That the Spanish workers are reaching out for a united course of action via pacts, agreements, and not through the dictatorship of a single party, is in itself the best evidence of the deep influence of the libertarian ideas.

WORKERS' SOLIDARITY IN FASCIST COUNTRIES

The Fascist governments of Italy and Germany claim the full support of the population for their military adventures in Spain. The latest news, however, reaching us from those two countries, tells of a strong underlying movement of workers in sympathy with the Spanish fighters against Fascism.

Thus the Manchester *Guardian* reprints a dispatch from the Reuter Agency saying that in spite of all the precautions taken by the Italian government a number of people succeed in stealing their way to Spain in order to fight for the Spanish people.

The *Solidaridad Obrera* writes that in various parts of Italy money is collected by the population for the Spanish United Front. In spite of numerous arrests of people suspected of carrying on such activities, this work of collecting money is going on with an unabated vigor. In Germany, according to the

French press, the Gestapo recently uncovered a widely ramified organization for the collection of money for Spain. Money was collected in factories, offices and private houses. Not only factory workers were involved in this organization, but a number of people belonging to the middle classes.

Desertions from the German troops now stationed in Spain are quite frequent. There were even cases of large scale desertions involving several hundred people.

According to the correspondent of the Moscow *Pravda*, the morale of the German soldiers is not very high and great efforts are made to keep it isolated from the population.

Workers' solidarity is by no means dead. The day will come soon when it will assert its living power on the battlefields of Europe.

Anarchists Strengthen Positions IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

The attacks were directed at the P.O.U.M., but the language used leaves no doubt that a much wider range was aimed at.

"Yesterday," writes the *Mundo Obrero*, "the political commissars and representatives of various parties of the Popular Front explained to the soldiers the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotskyites. (That is why the communist and socialist parties are so anxious to eliminate democracy at the fronts and to replace it by the rule of commissars. Ed. note.)

"The moment has come to pay more attention to this group of counter-revolutionists and the tools of Fascism. The Trotskyites should not be allowed to go unpunished. *They criticize the government and demand the dissolution of parliament.*"

But it is not only the Trotskyites who demand the dissolution of parliament and criticize the government. The anarchists do

the same. In regard to them, of course, none of the communist or semi-communist groups dares to take the same tone. But pressure is exerted upon them to change their policy. The secretary of the Catalonian United Socialist Party (socialist and communist) sends an open letter to the C.N.T. which "demands" a radical change of policy and granting to the government plenary powers so as to be able to create order and establish the necessary discipline. "It is intolerable," the letter states in the true Stalinist spirit, "that the criticism of the government should be permitted after decisions had been taken by it."

That was followed by the resignation of the Premier representing the Catalonian middle class parties. The united front of communist, socialist and liberal against the revolution has become a fact. The anarchists

were threatened with isolation, with the breaking up of the pact, with dissolution of the United Front against Fascism.

What followed is known to the readers. The anarchists have not yielded on any of the vital points. Their official statement was that "if the other parties of the United Front decide to withdraw from the struggle, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are ready to carry on single handed the struggle against Fascism." (*Libertaire*, Dec. 18.)

The manoeuvre on the part of the united block of communist and liberal politicians failed. The C.N.T. came out of this crisis with strengthened positions. But the struggle is only beginning. Much more than ordinary vigilance will be required on the part of the Spanish anarchists to keep the libertarian conquests from being interfered with by an insidious power which in the long run may prove to be even more deadly to the true interests of the revolution than Fascism.

If the world permit the crushing of the Spanish revolution, it will be guilty of one of the greatest crimes in history.

—MAX NETTLAU

In Soviet Russia the workers lost their freedom because they did not possess revolutionary unions to take over the management of industries.

In Spain the ground for such unions has been prepared by decades of revolutionary struggles of the most militant workers.

SPANISH WORKERS SUCCEED IN RUNNING RAILWAYS

"The works now run the railways and they do it quite well considering the difficulties of the war situation. A tremendous job was done on organizing the movement of freight along the Mediterranean coast and the front sector.

"The work of evacuating the

population from the war zone was excellently done. The supplying of Madrid is done without any noticeable hitches. . .

"... All that is done by workers who had to work and study at the same time the complicated problems of railway transport."

—*Pravda*, Dec. 3rd.

FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING DECEMBER

Receipt No.	Amount
140—H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.	\$10.00
141—Anna Lipton, N. Y.	5.00
142—Spanish Social Club, Beckley, W. Va.	5.80
143—Steve Rosamenko, Boston, Mass. List 172	8.50
144—Farmers Co-op. Trading Co., Hancock, So. Range, Mich.	3.68
145—Farmingdale Jewish Ladies Club, Farmingdale, N. J.	5.00
146—D. Horowitz, N. Y. List 215	8.50
147—Vanguard Group. List 147	10.80
148—Mrs. Zaccharia (H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.)	1.00
149—Bannister, Mohegan Colony Group	28.95
150—O. Ulchik, Bethlehem, Pa. List 200	2.50
151—George, 3rd Ave., N. Y.	5.00
152—Murray Gross, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
153—John Bottuello, Wilsonville, Ill.	2.00
154—Progressive Community Club, Wilsonville, Ill.	5.00
155—Frank Long (Leo Pell, Chicago, Ill.)	5.00
157—Prog. Miners of Amer. Loc. 1, Gillespie, Ill.	500.00
157—F. Muller, Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00
158—M. Grishkan, Sec'y J.A.F.	617.77
159—Mrs. Koppelic, Miami Beach, Fla.	5.00
160—H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
161—Mohegan Colony Group (I. Bogin)	30.00
162—Jules Scarecraux. List 427	5.50

Pub. Dec. 9 issue, \$4115.42—Sent to Spain, \$3929.91—Bal. 185.51
 \$1474.51
 Sent to Spain Dec. 24, \$1300—Cable, \$2.50..... 1302.50
 ON HAND..... \$172.01