

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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MOSCOW'S HAND IN BARCELONA

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNIONS (C.N.T.)
ELIMINATED FROM CATALONIAN GOVERNMENT

At last the efforts of the Russian government have been crowned with success: the C.N.T. has been eliminated from the Catalonian government. Following the secret instructions issued by the Stalinist agents to the Catalonia Communist Party, a crisis was provoked, with all the double crossing and double-dealing characterizing the underhand work of the bourgeois and Stalinist politicians in Spain.

The U.G.T. (Communist controlled union mainly based upon a middle class membership) all of a sudden discovered that it has no place in the government and that its functions can be delegated to the Communist Party. The latter and the semi-Fascist "Estat Catala" (there is a touching harmony in the work of those two outfits) raised all of a sudden the question of the responsibility for, what they call, the Barcelona rebellion, demanding the elimination and punishment of those who opposed in any manner the consummation of a plot jointly hatched by the agents of Moscow and Rome.*

And the liberals? the "mystic democrat, Companys, and

* See article in the last "Spanish Revolution": Who plotted uprising in Barcelona?

others? They also woke up to discover that the present government has no legal continuity and that it has to get its sanction from the defunct parliament, most of whose members had to escape Catalonia, having been too closely implicated in the Mussolini-inspired plot of last December.

Everything worked according to the letter of the secret Communist instruction, which forecast that "in this government the C. N. T. will be offered participation, only this offer will be made in such a manner that the C.N.T. will see itself compelled to refuse collaboration."

The C.N.T. was offered collaboration — only upon the most humiliating terms which it could accept at the price of full self-abnegation. As a result the C.N.T. withdrew its representatives. The present government of Catalonia, even more so than the government of Negrin, is a government of a small minority, of discredited politicians, careerists and semi-Fascist elements, all cemented by their hatred of the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and buyoed up in their expectations of finally crushing the revolution in Catalonia by the powerful aid of Moscow.

A LANDMARK OF COUNTER- REVOLUTION- ARY TRIUMPH

Everyone remembers the successive stages of the campaign unloosed against the P.O.U.M. by the united forces of the Catalonian reaction. The mounting tide of aggression and provocation leading to the outlawing of this organization began its onward sweep with the elimination of the P.O.U.M. from the government. The inquisitional proceedings instituted against its members and its torture chambers now used to extort evidence, all that has its beginnings in the first political crisis provoked by the G.P.U. agents in Catalonia.

The C.N.T. of Catalonia is not the P.O.U.M. There is hardly a comparison between the two in point of strength and influence. But the methods used against the latter are the same which have been employed to eliminate the P.O.U.M. from the scene of political struggles of Catalonia. And if and when the infamous plot now hatched against the anarchist movement of Catalonia ever succeeds, the last political crisis forced and shaped by the Communist Party of Catalonia will form just an important landmark in its development as the December crisis in 1936.

News Witheld from Foreign Press

There is one difference, however. The December crisis was important front news. The last political crisis did not even get a bare mention in the daily press. Was

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IS VALENCIA NEGOTIATING PEACE WITH FRANCO?

FRANCO SEEKS LOAN IN PARIS AND LONDON—
BELGIAN PREMIER UNDERTAKES "PEACE" MISSION

The latest news reaching us from Spain revive again the rumors, quite persistent at one time, of negotiations for a truce going on between the Valencia government and the rebels. This time, as it is reported by the *New York Evening Telegram* (July 27) it is the rebels who are mainly responsible for spreading those rumors, while the loyalist sources are quite emphatic in denying them. And judging by the last isolated news it may seem but a piece of dexterous propaganda on the part of the Fascists, released in order to undermine the international standing of the loyalists. There is other news however, not always appearing in the American press, leading us to

believe that there is much more to those rumors than clever propaganda.

Franco Changes Orientation?

From Paris, as reported by the *New York Times* of July 23, come vague hints of a possible re-orientation of Franco's foreign policies. Franco, according to those reports, is willing to break with Mussolini and Hitler provided Paris and London help him to arrive at some sort of an understanding with the other side. This rather enigmatic news item is substantiated to some extent by a very explicit report carried by the *Manchester Guardian* of July 13, according to which:

"Franco's agents have been
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INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS AGAINST MOSCOW METHODS IN SPAIN

In reply to the representations made to Stalin by some of his advisers as to the adverse effect produced on the international labor movement by the monstrous trials and executions, the latter said that the international public opinion "will swallow it."

Spain, however, is not Russia. It has to depend upon the public opinion of the international proletariat to a much greater extent than Russia. And much as its government may be swayed by Moscow, it cannot altogether ignore the wave of protests against its Moscow-inspired methods to deal with the revolutionists.

The two documents printed below—the appeal of the Anarchist Union of France and the letter dealing with the present state of the case now being prepared against the P.O.U.M.—show the necessity and effectiveness of such protests. The criminal hand of the Moscow agents is not all powerful in Spain; it can be stayed by a mighty wave of international protests, by a broad campaign aiming to expose the greatest crime against democracy perpetrated by those who appeal to the world to help them in their struggle to make Spain safe for democracy.

Anarchist Union of France Appeals to International Public Opinion

"The agents of Russian imperialism continue their methodic work within the Spanish government.

"After having seized, under cover of Communist, anti-Fascist and Republican organizations, the control of such commanding positions as the police, army and Justice, they proceeded with their attempt to wipe out the most active elements in the revolutionary movement.

"The C.N.T. daily of Madrid *Castilla Libre* and the F.A.I. daily in

Valencia *Nosotros* were suppressed. *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women) and the weekly *Ideas* were also forbidden. *Solidaridad Obrera* announces in a strongly censored article that sweeping arrests were made in Barcelona and a number of foreigners detained. In the same issue the paper protests against the policy of petty persecutions directed against the homeless revolutionary refugees now living in Spain. An article appearing in *Juventud Libre* (Free Youth) dealing with the disappearance of Martinez, secretary of the Revolutionary Front

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READ AND SPREAD THE
"SPANISH REVOLUTION"

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF SPAIN (F.A.I.) HOLDS HISTORIC CONVENTION

158,680 Represented at Convention

The F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) is the revolutionary vanguard of the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist industrial union). It is an organization embracing most of the militants working within the C.N.T. and shaping its main character.

The role of this organization in the Spanish revolution has now been acknowledged even by its enemies. It is a role far

out of proportion to its numbers, although judging by the last report, the organization is far from being negligible in even this respect. Its main strength, however, lies not in numbers but in the quality of its membership. It is primarily an organization of revolutionists, though not in the odious

(Continued on page two)

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on the
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August 6, 1937

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS SPAIN TOWARD A CATASTROPHE

We are printing here instead of an editorial, portions of a powerful article on the role of the Communist Party appearing in the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Madrid "CNT" (June 28).

The paper was suspended for ten days for printing this article, although it was passed by the censorship. The Communist Party is gradually throwing all restraint to the winds. It identifies the State with its own Party interests. And well it may do so: both—the present government and the party itself—are the creatures of one and the same agency. Both have no roots in workers' and peasant masses of revolutionary Spain. And both will inevitably collapse as the need of foreign aid will become less keenly felt than it is now.

"The Communist Party, by the use of unspeakable methods, provoked the crisis within the Cabinet headed by Largo Caballero and is now subjecting to its party yoke all the political elements that collaborate with it in the present government.

"The Communist Party has been keeping us in a state of political crisis for more than a month, and, persisting in its work of disintegration, it brought about the last crisis in Catalonia, placing it in such a manner as to render impossible any satisfactory solution.*

"The Communist Party, even as it speaks of unity, destroys and splits the U.G.T., spreads discord within the Socialist Party, creates an untenable situation within the ranks of the Unified Socialist Youth, obliterates the Republican Parties by reducing them to mere figureheads,* resorts to assassination in its stupid and criminal attempt to liquidate the C.N.T., and in its struggle against the P.O.U.M. it forces the public authorities to the position of a footstool of a single faction.

"Largo Caballero's government fell because of the work of this Party and military operations of transcendent importance had to be given up. Because of the activities of that Party the masses of the people found themselves in opposition to the institutions discharging revolutionary justice. And because of the same very policy the present government has been in a state of constant crisis and turmoil, no one seemingly realizing or knowing what road to follow, what course of action to adopt in dealing with the basic necessities of war and revolution.

"We are not willing to stand for any more of those crimes and with all energy and a full sense of responsibility, we say: enough!

"We do not decline collaboration with any anti-Fascist Party, but we must declare our opposition, even though it may lead to a breaking point, to the action of those who stained the rearguard with blood, who have set themselves above public law; men such as the Communist commander, Manuel Cocho, for whom four Judicial warrants for his arrest have been issued, but who up to now continues openly defying public authority.**

"Let us know once for all: does the government stay in power because of the sufferance of the Communist Party or will it give up power to prove that it does not intend to take the latter's orders?"

* The article was written a day before the solution was arrived at—satisfactory to the Moscow masters and semi-Fascist allies of the Catalonian nationalist camp.

** Even Louis Fisher hints in his last article in the "Nation" of the growing resentment in Socialist and Republican quarters against the monopolistic tendencies of the Communist Party.

* The Spanish press reports an increasing number of cases of Communist military commanders taking the law into their own hands.

C.N.T. GROWING IN STRENGTH IN SPITE OF PERSECUTIONS

(From the report of the Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association)

"The gravest error committed in appraising the Spanish situation is to judge things from the point of view of the latest developments in Catalonia. We get an altogether different picture when we view it in the light of the situation in other provinces.

Toward a Revolutionary Alliance

"The decision of the C.N.T. organization on the conflict in Barcelona was unanimously approved by all the C.N.T. organizations of other provinces because no organization wanted to have civil war in the rearguard. Outside of Catalonia the trend is very strong toward a policy of alliance with the U.G.T.

"The inner divisions within the U.G.T. are becoming deeper as a result of this alliance policy. We know, for instance, that Caballero's policy was not approved by the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. But what the Communists omit to say is that Caballero's delegates represented a total membership of 950,000, while the Communists only had 650,000. (Ed. note: the latter came mainly from the Catalonian U.G.T., an organization which, as we pointed out on many occasions, is not proletarian in its social composition). The socialists of the Caballero tendency are beginning to say now that they are against the

bourgeois republic, for a workers revolution. All that creates a very favorable environment for a closer understanding between the masses of both organizations. Immediately after the May events and the formation of the Negrin Cabinet, joint manifestos were issued by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. and the Libertarian and Socialist Youth. The U.G.T. declared itself very strongly against the bolsheviks and the Catalonian P.S.U.C.

C.N.T. A Vital Factor In Other Provinces

"All the foreign information about our situation is unfortunately based mainly upon Catalonia, as though the latter were outside of Spain. This has to be changed. In Catalonia the situation is now bad, we have lost positions. But in the other provinces the C.N.T. always had to face much worse conditions and still it has been successfully coping with those adverse factors.

"Take, for instance, the Central provinces. In Madrid itself, the C.N.T. has by now as many members as the U.G.T. In the villages the influence of the C.N.T. is on the increase. The peasants are establishing libertarian communism in the villages. In the task of provisioning Madrid the C.N.T. clubs play the most important role,

although the latter has not received any official status. The activity of those clubs has gained them the sympathies of the widest layers of the population. New syndicates have been built up and the number of workers leaving the U.G.T. for the C.N.T. unions is on the increase. This provoked the ire of the Communists who unleashed a campaign of terror against our militants.

C.N.T. ARMED FORCES

At present we have a powerful C.N.T. army in the Central (Madrid) province. It is a well organized, well equipped army, every member of which—from the privates to the highest commanders—carries a C.N.T. card. Besides, there are many comrades in the Mixed Brigades, but the organization has the tendency to concentrate its members in its own formations. Of all the provinces the Central province has the greatest unity and cohesion among its C.N.T. military forces.*

* The numerical relation of the C.N.T. military in regard to the rest of the army, (the latter includes Marxist formations—Socialist, Communist, those of the U.G.T., Republicans and Mixed Brigades. The latter, as it was pointed out already, contain their share of C.N.T. members).

	C.N.T. formations	The others
Central prov.	33,000	120,000
Sur Tago	1,000	7,000
Sur	10,000	38,000
Cuenca	9,000	
Teruel	15,000	7,000
Aragon	19,000	12,000
TOTAL	100,000	184,000

VALENCIA NEGOTIATING PEACE WITH FRANCO?

(Continued from page one) actively looking for money in London and Paris. The amount aimed at in Paris and London is given as 2,500,000,000 pesetas (£25,000,000) and 5,000,000,000 pesetas (£ 50,000,000). It is not stated whether the negotiations have succeeded yet."

Truce Prospect Only Basis For Loan

Now it is clear that no banking firm will advance such a big sum against the wishes of the government of its country. Franco's agents would not approach any banking consortium unless it made soundings in the official circles of those two countries. And regardless of any sympathies such circles might have for Franco's cause, they could be expected to withdraw their objections to such financial arrangements only in two cases: immediate prospects of a smashing victory on the part of Fascist forces or that of an amicable settlement, leaving

ing Franco in possession of some part of Spain.

The present military situation does not warrant the first prospect and so there remains the second one which, judging by the very fact of such negotiations for financial aid going on, is beginning to take some definite shape.

The White House "Dove of Peace"

That some pressure is being exerted by the so-called democratic countries in the direction of such a truce is also revealed by the news, prominently displayed by the Spanish press, of Van-Zeeland, the Belgian Premier, "carrying instructions from President Roosevelt to act as an arbiter in the civil war." (Solidaridad Obrera, July 6.) Van Zeeland, according to the news agency Cosmos, "will deal in his conversations with the British Premier, Chamberlain, and the Foreign Minister, Eden, with the problems created by

the Spanish civil war, it being possible that Van Zeeland will be entrusted with a most important mission in this respect, with something in the nature of an arbiter in the conversations on the Spanish war."

Playing Second Role in Peace Farce

"A new farce on the part of the European democracies"—thus qualifies the anarcho-syndicalist daily in the pacifatory mission of this Vatican right-hand man in the field of international diplomacy. But could this farce be enacted without the explicit encouragement of the Valencia government? Can the latter, representing as it does but a minority within loyalist Spain, pursue a foreign policy differing from that of the very powers whose pressure brought it into existence?

There can be no two answers to these questions, just as there can be no doubt as to whether the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc is driven in its struggle against the ever solidifying forces of the Spanish revolution, against whom the system of petty persecutions and annoyances seem to be of little avail.

REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

To many the political ascendancy of the counter-revolutionary forces headed by the Communist Party of Spain signifies the total liquidation of the social revolution. Doubtless, it is an important step in that direction, but the counter-revolutionary forces have yet a long course ahead of them. The economic revolution achieved by the anarchists in Spain, and especially in Catalonia, is of so far-reaching a nature that much more than an adroit manipulation of political caucuses, even when backed up by threats of withdrawal of foreign aid in armaments, will be necessary to undo it.

Some idea of the extent of those revolutionary changes in the economic field can be gained from the following excerpts taken from Robert Louzon's article on the present situation in Catalonia appearing in the *La Revolution Proletarienne*. (Robert Louzon — prominent French writer and economist.)

Social Revolution an Accomplished Fact

"The working class and the C.N.T. are now, just as they were before May 4th, the actual masters of the entire life of Catalonia and Aragon.

"This is something which is not altogether grasped here in France (and even less so, of course, in other countries.) The social revolution, that is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie for the benefit of the workers, the passing of the means of production into the hands of the

workers, has not only begun but it has nearly been fully carried out in Catalonia and the adjacent provinces.

The Extent of Collectivization

"Almost everything has been collectivized.

"You go to a hotel, in nine cases out of ten it will be a collectivized hotel. You come to a restaurant—you find the same situation. You want to get a cup of coffee at the bar and you invariably run into a collectivized enterprise. You have to take a haircut—there are only socialized barber shops to attend to it. You want to order a suit of clothes—the collectivized tailors will take your measurements. You go out shopping in the big stores—and, of course, you find them all collectivized. With this difference, however: alongside of the C.N.T. initials you will also see those of U.G.T. (As in other countries, the white collared employees are more conservative, and a certain section of them belong to the U.G.T.) If you take a taxi, it will be a C.N.T. taxi; you take the subway, trolley, bus—in every case it will be a socialized enterprise. And, finally, you go to some show in the evening and invariably it will be one that is run by a collective.

The same holds true, even to a greater measure, of the big industries. The textile and the mechanical industries, which play so prominent a role in the economic life of Catalonia, have been socialized almost prepon-

derantly so and the few enterprises that have not been socialized were placed under workers' control.

"The wood industry has been completely socialized—from the initial stages of tree felling to the one of the most refined furniture making."

Agricultural Collectives

"In the part of Aragon now held by the republican troops there is not a village which does not have its collective. Some of those collectives embrace the entire population of the village; others include only a certain portion of it. In the province of Levante, that is in the region of magnificent orchards, the richest agricultural region of Spain and one of the richest of the world, agricultural collectivization has been pushed very far.

"The members of those agricultural collectives work in common their own lands as well as those that have been taken away from the rich landowners.

Socialized Industry and Agriculture Succeed

"All those socialized enterprises get along very well. Insofar as one can judge from the outside, that is from the point of view of the consumer, one can say that the results are excellent. Already last August I wrote that the Public Services function well in Barcelona. Nine months later, I can state the same, with this difference, that the equipment in all those Services is now of the most modern kind. The power stations, managed by workers, continue functioning without the slightest hitch. The hotels are kept just

as well as before the collectivizations. The big stores are crowded with shoppers, the salesmen being just as courteous as in the old times. (Ed. note: compare this to the rough treatment the customer gets in the Soviet stores, of which the Russian papers keep on complaining.) Prices in collectivized enterprises are lower than in private places, that being due to the special efforts made to keep them at a lower level.

"And as to agricultural collectives in Aragon the following figures tell the story: land under cultivation has increased from 25 to 30% as compared with last year and the harvest of beets—a crop that is very important for that province—surpasses all previous records.

Economic Achievements Menaced by Stalinist Counter-Revolution

"It is this magnificent work that is threatened by the counter-revolution. Already, in many villages of Catalonia, the Stalinists invaded some of the collectives, declaring that the latter will have to be liquidated and that land will have to be given back to the former owners. . . ."

Since those lines have been written, the drive against the new revolutionary order has acquired a much greater momentum. Now it is conducted under the slogans of nationalization, municipalization, although everyone knows that those are but catchwords intended to hide the real meaning of a counter-revolutionary restoration.

Will that drive succeed? A great deal depends, of course, upon the political situation, but

it is clear, however, that the latter will have to be much more under the control of the Stalinist counter-revolution than it is now, before enabling it seriously to attack the deeply rooted economic conquests of the revolution.

Anarchists Hold Convention

(Continued from page one)

sense in which this term is used by the Communists. F.A.I. members are not the wooden soldiers of a revolutionary movement: individual moral responsibility is the main distinguishing trait of the revolutionary character of this organization.

The last Plenum reported here is significant because of the important change in the structure of the organization. The necessity of coping with the powerful dictatorial trend brought to life and fostered by Moscow pressure, called for a closer form of organization. Instead of a loose Federation of groups formed by affinity, the F.A.I. now becomes a closely-knit organization based upon the territorial principle.

"A convention of the regional organizations of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia took place in Valencia during the first week of July. The delegates represented a total membership of 158,680.

After many and ample discussions the Convention adopted important decisions relating to the inner life of the F.A.I. Of major interest is the one referring to the new structure given to the F.A.I., doing away with the old form of organization by groups and transforming it into one based upon units embracing the entire locality.

"Norms of general import were laid down, bringing into closer relationship the C.N.T., F.A.I. and Libertarian Youth, tending to create a strong, unified libertarian movement. Likewise, it was decided to place the militants in the regions which are most necessary from the point of view of propaganda, mobilizing active comrades of the movement and sending them out in all directions."

ing out its revolutionary policies"—writes the well informed French journalist Robert Louzon. But there are such forces outside of Spain. Those are the air fleets of Mussolini, waiting in full readiness to attack Barcelona only a few hundred miles from that city. Those are the navies of Mussolini and Hitler, their expeditionary divisions now being trained for another landing operation, the tremendous stocks of military supplies ready to be shipped to the Spanish shores.

A LANDMARK OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TRIUMPH

(Continued from page one) it because the first crisis was more important? Of course not! Then it was the ousting of the P.O.U.M., a comparatively small organization—and now—the elimination of the C.N.T., an organization that has within its ranks the absolute majority of the Catalonian population.

Why didn't the correspondents of the foreign newspapers report this important event? Because since last December the Stalinist agents have put their hands upon all sources of foreign information, having gradually isolated Spain from the outside world almost to the same extent which they succeeded in doing so with Russia. Nothing goes out from Catalonia by way of news which does not get the approval of the Stalinist agents and their nationalists—"liberal" stooges. And the news that the C.N.T. has been eliminated from Catalonian government is of the kind which

PROTEST PERSECUTIONS OF REVOLUTIONISTS IN SPAIN

they find so difficult to shape in their own way that it is deemed best to withhold them altogether from the world's public opinion.

Fighting Majority of Population In The Name of Democracy

And how, indeed, could the world be convinced that the elimination from the government of the largest and most powerful organization representing the majority of population is done in the interests of the struggle for democracy? The new Catalonian government is represented mainly by personal appointees of President Companys, that is, by people that have no backing of any economic bodies and by the Stalinist outfit, the P.S.U.C. The latter had only a handful of people toward the beginning of the revolution and even now, with all the rapid growth (accounted for, as it was pointed out by the British liberal journalist, Brailsford, by the influx of the petty-bourgeois and middle class elements) it numbers only 50,000 members.

Why should this organization,

which has no roots in the past struggles of the Catalonian people, which owes its existence solely to Russian tanks and airplanes, why should this organization be represented by three Councilors while an organization of a million workers and peasants who control the economic life of the country is altogether displaced?

And how can the struggle against Fascism be carried on without the participation of those who, according to the universal opinion, played the most decisive role in checking it on the streets of Barcelona?

The Guiding Hand of Political Crises

Those who still find it necessary to exploit the slogan: "for a democratic Spain" for their own political purposes do not want to have those questions asked. They know that the invariable pattern followed by all the political crises produced in Catalonia and in Spain until now is causing some hard thinking even in those circles that thus far have been most favorably disposed toward the present rulers of Spain. One guiding hand is

too clearly discernible in all those crises. The same hand which wrote out the instructions for provoking such crises,* has been busily engaged in keeping the political life of revolutionary Spain and Catalonia in constant turmoil, in plotting, intriguing and scheming, in unseating a government that was based upon the will of the preponderant majority of workers and peasants and putting in its place small minorities which can only pave the way for a military dictatorship.

The Tragic Situation

The tragedy of the Spanish revolution is that it has to fall back upon this sinister power for some sort of a shield against the even greater danger of Mussolini and Hitler. It has to accept aid from the advance agent of French and British imperialism—the Moscow government. And with aid comes meddling, dictation and ultimatums.

"There is no force in Catalonia and in the entire Spain to stop the C.N.T. from carry-

* See excerpts from this sensational document in the last issue of "Spanish Revolution."

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM IN ARAGON

Next in line for an attack by the advancing counter-revolution is the political and economic order of revolutionary Aragon. A movement is now on foot to do away with the autonomous rights of that province, to dissolve its supreme political body—the Aragon Council—and to destroy the most promising achievement of the Spanish revolution—the agricultural communes of that region.

In order to grasp the reasons for this campaign of hatred against revolutionary Aragon unloosed by the Stalinist-Nationalist block one has to realize that in no other province have the ideas of libertarian communism been carried out to as great an extent as in Aragon, and that the anarchists there are even more of a preponderant force than in Catalonia. What is the nature of the social order built up by the anarchist forces in Aragon? We find an answer to this question in the account given by a French journalist who has lived for some time in that province, one who went there with the special purpose of getting first hand knowledge of the most advanced revolutionary conquests.

(The following report is reprinted from the French weekly, "Libertaire," July 15.)

... Agricultural collectives are organized in every village, but alongside of them there are also small independent peasant households. Three quarters of the land in Aragon has been collectivized. Small property is controlled by collectives. Distribution and exchange are socialized. Aragon peasants, members of collectives, are under the influence of anarchists. Of the 400 existing collectives only ten are affiliated with the U.G.T. (Controlled by Socialists and Communists!) Political parties hardly exist at all.

ADMINISTRATION

The administrative organ of the village is the Municipal Council elected by the direct vote of the population. The Councilors work alongside of the rest of the peasants, with the exception of one delegate who is placed in charge of statistics, and maintaining relations with other municipalities. The collectives are united into local Federations and the latter—into one Regional Federation.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The entire working population is divided into groups of ten people. Groups are formed by affinity. Every group elects a delegate to keep in touch with other committees. Those delegates work alongside of others and do not possess any authority. They meet every evening to solve technical problems. General meetings of the entire population are held once a month.

DISTRIBUTION

Money does not circulate. It is kept by the local and intra-local committees and is being used only for the purposes of maintaining exchange with those regions where money is still functioning. Every village issues coupons that have a limited local value. Payment for work is done with those coupons.

"The family wage is the one which is being used in Aragon. All the

members of the commune enjoy the same conditions, there being no privileged persons among them.

"As an example of how this family wage is being applied, I will take the village of Esplus, near Huesca, one of those that I had the opportunity to study best:

"All the producers: peasants, craftsmen, teachers, doctors—all get 25 pesetas a week. Married couples, in cases where only one person works, get 35 pesetas.

"If there is a child under 14 years of age, the family gets 38 pesetas. For every additional child the family gets more in the following progression: if it has two children, it gets 42 pesetas; 3 children, 46 pesetas; 4 children, 50 pesetas; 5 children, 55 pesetas, and so on.

COST OF LIVING

"This form of compensation assures the full satisfaction of the material needs. A single person needs only 17 pesetas a week. In the big families the expenses of every member amount to one peseta and a half a day. A suit of clothes (men's) costs from 60 to 70 pesetas and women's clothes (three dresses, a coat and underwear)—about 100 pesetas.*

EXCHANGE

"Products are distributed through cooperatives created after the revolution. Private commerce does not exist. In the villages where small

* This, of course, is lower than the American standard of living, but it is considerably higher than that of the average Russian worker. In one year of successful economic revolution the Spanish workers and peasants have achieved a standard of well-being which is much above that of the Russian workers at the present time as the latter's standards are above the famine conditions of the first years of the Russian revolution.

peasant households exist alongside of collectives, the co-operative gets all the products from the peasant households and pays them with coupons which assure them their necessities. The exchange among collectives takes place through the medium of the bureaus of the intra-local federations. It is an exchange in kind in which money is not used.

"The latter, however, is used in exchange operations with other regions and foreign countries.

PROPERTY

"Private property does not exist. The means of production, and dwellings belong to the community. The small peasants have the right to use the land, provided they work it themselves and not with hired labor. In the villages that have been completely collectivized all the animals used for work and production are owned by the collective and are kept in communal stables. But every family owns cattle for its own consumption. It is also granted small plots of land for vegetable gardens to be cultivated in spare hours.

SCHOOLS

"Schools have completely changed in spirit. The teachers are revolutionary. The program is adapted to the demands of life. Children study the history of revolution (it is taught in a non-partisan spirit), natural sciences and agriculture. The rationalist methods of the Modern School are applied in all the schools.

"The libertarian athaenae (clubs) aid and continue the educational work of the school. The libertarian youth organized complete libraries throughout the province.

GENERAL WELL-BEING

"The collectives possess great economic power. The weaker collectives are aided by the stronger ones. They have a considerable surplus left over from last harvest, part of which has been turned over voluntarily to the government for the support of the front.

"And now," the author of this article winds up his report, "when I come to think of what I saw in Aragon, of the marvelous achievements, I find it difficult to restrain my indignation against the campaign carried on by the Communists against the new revolutionary order of that province."

DEFEND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

A LETTER FROM BARCELONA

BRITISH SOCIALIST DELEGATION TAKES UP THE CASE OF P.O.U.M. ARRESTS

The anarchist Souchy was the first to bring information on the situation of the prisoners. He assured us that Nin and his friends are alive and will shortly be transferred to Valencia for trial. He said that the campaigns conducted abroad in support of the arrested members of the P.O.U.M. and the anarchists, the telegrams sent from various quarters, especially the resolution adopted by the French Socialists at the Seine Federation Convention, checked the Stalinists. Ortega, chief of the Surety General, recently joined the CP and he ran the whole May affair. Souchy added that he had a talk with Largo Caballero, the latter knows personally Nin and his friends. Caballero is fully convinced that they are neither Fascists nor spies. The Hotel Falcon is still full of prisoners belonging to F.A.I., C.N.T. and P.O.U.M.

Subsequently there arrived Fenner

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS AGAINST MOSCOW METHODS IN SPAIN

(Continued from page one) of Catalanian Youth* was thrown out by the censorship, the entire article appearing in blank space.

"Another tactic of elimination is now being practiced against the C.N.T. divisions of the Madrid front, they are placed systematically in the most dangerous spots and those that protest are shot in accordance with the military code.*)

P.O.U.M. CHIEF VICTIM

With respect of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. it is a case of biting off more than can be chewed. It is different, of course, with the P.O.U.M., a much weaker organization which has been outlawed by now.

"Most dastardly calumnies are unloosed against this organization. These revolutionists who since July 19th have been fighting on the war fronts and in the rearward are now being accused—quite in keeping with the traditional Stalinist procedure—

* Alfredo Martinez, one of the most outstanding militants of the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia; was particularly hated by the G.P.U. agents for his role in forming the Revolutionary Front—a United Front organization of Libertarian and P.O.U.M. Youth of Catalonia

Martinez disappeared on May the 7th, that is after the settlement of the Barcelona conflict. Like Berneri, he was kidnapped by members of the secret Communist police and since then no trace of him has been discovered.

*) Similar tactics have been employed on the Aragon front. Another issue of the "Libertaire" (July 15) reports the following:

"Santa Quiteria was taken by the Kropotkin column after eight hours of fighting, but it had to be abandoned because of the defection of the Russian controlled aviation. The latter looked on serenely while the rebel airplanes kept on strafing the militiamen from a low altitude. This bombardment cost our militia 1200 dead and wounded.

"The attack on Carascal undertaken by the Ascaso column and attended by heavy casualties was frustrated because of the lack of support on the part of aviation. Not a single aeroplane came to the assistance of the attacking militiamen although full aid was promised in case of an offensive."

of being spies in Franco's hire, in brief—of being Fascists.

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS NECESSARY

"The protests against these procedures appearing in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. press are being mercilessly censored.

"It is therefore necessary that the provocateur methods of the G.P.U. be denounced by the international proletariat.

"It is not a question of expressing solidarity with the political positions of the revolutionary organizations which have been hit by those persecutions; it is a question of defending the proletarian revolution of Spain, of denouncing procedures used by the apparatus of the Russian state aiming to turn Spain into a colony trailing in the wake of its imperialist policies.

"Already the congress of the Socialist Federation of the Seine province (ed. note—the most powerful Federation of French Socialist Party) has registered a protest against those procedures. The Italian maximalist Party did likewise.

We point out particularly the letter addressed to the Spanish ambassador by a number of militants prominent in the trade union movement. The past of those militants places them outside of any partisan struggles. Those are Hagrauer, the secretary of teacher's union; Delsol, the secretary of gas workers of Banlieu; Roy, the secretary of the federation of metal workers; the Committee of the entire chamber of the typographical union, and many others. . . .

"Various delegations have appeared before the Spanish ambassador demanding explanations, demanding guarantees of elementary equity in this sham process now being prepared against Spanish revolutionists.

"The administrative Committee of the Anarchist Union (of France) is resolved to do its utmost in order to extend the scope of those protests and to unloose a campaign which should arouse the entire working class, going as far as organizing the demonstrations of revolutionary workers of Paris against the representatives of the Valencia government.

(from "Libertaire")

meeting of the central committee of the U.G.T., which was about to take place. He expects that new protests arriving from various parts of the world, among them that of Tom Mann, will have a great effect.

The entire delegation had two interviews with the Minister of the Interior.

He gave the delegation assurances that:

(1) The members of the P.O.U.M. leadership—Nin, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet—are alive.

(2) That they would be transferred from Madrid to Barcelona.

(3) That the indictment would be communicated to Attorney Pavon.

(4) That the trial would be public.

(5) That the accused would be tried by a Popular Tribunal.

The French Comrade, Max Petel, asked to supplement Brockway's report. He is of the opinion that we must not be too optimistic about the declaration made by the Minister of the Interior.

He spoke of the murderous offensives organized to decimate the comrades of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. An offensive is launched and at the beginning is supported by airplanes and artillery. Afterwards the infantry is left to itself to be cut to pieces by the Fascists.

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