

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. II, No. 34

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 8, 1937

Price Five Cents

## SPANISH GOVERNMENT COURTS C.N.T.

Strange news are greeting us from Spain. The Communist Party and its allies, after having ousted the C.N.T. from the government, are again beginning to talk about the necessity of establishing a closer form of co-operation with the C.N.T. by drawing it into the responsibilities of governing the country.

The tone of the Communist press has changed all of a sudden. The C.N.T. is praised and not vilified as before. Its heroes, like the famous commander of the 14th Division—Ciprano Mera—are now held up before the readers of the Communist press as examples of revolutionary devotion and proletarian heroism. (*Mundo Obrero*, Sept. 29)

### "Face Toward C.N.T.?"

An altogether new tone was struck by the famous Passionaria who declared at the opening session of the Cortes (Parliament) that "it is not the fault of the government that the working masses of the organization of the C. N. T. are not represented here. We must envisage the possibility and find a way of drawing the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T. into sharing the responsibilities of this movement. (*Fragua Social*, Oct. 3.)

It is a significant statement, much of course, as one can doubt its underlying sincerity or its accuracy in disavowing responsibility for ousting the C.N.T. from the government. Similar statements were made by other prominent communists and even socialists, like the former foreign Minister, Alvarez del Vayo (the latter is very near to the communists and very often expresses their official views) who declared that "the C.N.T. has the right to have its representatives in the government."

Symptomatic of this new turn of the "Party line" is the symbolic em-

brace of the anarchist commander of the 14th Division, Cipriano Mera, by one of the outstanding military figures of the Communist Party, Valentin Gonzalez, or as he is better known under the surname "El campesino." This took place at one of the largest meetings of soldiers and officers of the Madrid troops, during which "El Campesino" made significant statements, admitting in fact that there was an excess of sectarian zeal in the work of the communists, promising from now on to put an end to the narrow party spirit and winding up his speech with a fraternal embrace of the military representative of the C.N.T.\* (*CNT*, Oct. 4.)

### Change of "Line" Not Spontaneous

No one, of course, believes in the spontaneity of such outbursts of friendship for the Spanish anarchists. Only a month ago the communist leader in Catalonia, Juan Comorera, delivered one of the bitterest attacks against the C.N.T., reaching the lowest point of slander and vilification. The heroic workers who saved Barcelona from the Fascists and went forth upon their epic conquest of

(continued on page two)

\* One cannot help thinking of the similar embrace and "fraternal" kiss administered to the Russian Durutti—the anarchist fighter Makhno—by the representative of the Political Bureau of the Communist Bureau, the then powerful Kamenev. That took place only a few weeks before Makhno was declared a "bandit" and an "enemy of the people," while hired assassins were sent to his camp by the Central Che-Ka to remove him from his leadership of revolutionary troops. (See Aarshinov's "History of the Makhno Movement.")

## French Popular Front Government Expels Spanish Refugees

"The French government still considers the opening of the frontiers as the only worthy reply to Mussolini. . . . Unless Italy guarantees within the next few days to withdraw her troops without delay, there can be little doubt that the French Government will open the frontiers next week."

All that reads like ancient history but it was only written a few weeks ago by the Paris correspondent of the best informed paper *Manchester Guardian*. What happened since then? Everyone knows the answer. Britain again put a restraining hand upon the French government. The British Government, lost in the maze of its own devious policy, is shrinking back from any emphatic challenge of the fascist bloc.

Is it the complete answer, though? Is the French government so arduous in its wish to open the Spanish frontier? Is it much more clear and outspoken in its desire to check fascist aggression in Spain?

### Reactionary Decree

There was no British diplomacy to counsel any pro-fascist policy in the case of Spanish refugees a purely internal problem as far as the French Government is concerned. And still, the latter, headed by avowed socialists and democrats, is following out a course in respect of the refugees which cannot but be welcomed in the fascist capitals of Europe.

France is the only country to which the Spaniards fleeing the fascists can turn now. During this year quite a number of people escaped the fascist provinces or the war torn regions where only combatants have place now. Doubtless, this wave of refugees created a problem for France. But were the sympathies toward the Spanish people of the so-called democrats and Socialist government

### SOLIDARITY

The International Workingmen's Association (world federation of anarcho-syndicalist unions) called recently a conference of all marine and transport unions affiliated with it.

The purpose of this conference was to undertake a vigorous struggle against shipment of arms to fascist Spain along the line of direct action. It was decided to prevent by all means the transportation of ammunition to the fascist held ports.

## POLITICS FAILS AT ARAGON FRONT

A NEW "PARTY LINE."—COMMUNIST PAPERS PRAISE C.N.T.—TOTALITARIANISM ON THE DOWNGRADE.—C.N.T. ADHERES TO OLD POLICY.

Until a short time ago the Republican and Communist Press were speaking scornfully of the Aragon front. They said that it is an idle front, a front that doesn't move, a front that has conquered nothing. But they did not give the causes of that situation. The true reason for the Aragon front not moving was that they did not supply it with the necessary arms, because almost the entire front was being defended by soldiers of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.

### Politics at The Front

Finally the General Staff decided to push operations on the Aragon front and gave them the war materials and everything necessary to carry through a successful attack; but even in this they could not avoid making politics. When they sent the war materials, they also sent the Communist leaders, Lister,

Kleber, Walter, and others. And the worst part of it is that the Aragon command was made up of leaders who knew neither the lay of the land nor the forces that were operating in these sectors. The army politicians wanted to obtain two things with this: to lower the prestige of the Division commanders who had been operating in Aragon for more than a year, and had spent weeks and weeks on the front repulsing the enemy with twelve cartridges per rifle, who know the land very well, and are therefore best fit to direct operations there. On the other hand, they wanted to project the capacities of the leaders who actually had nothing to do with Aragon, but who belong to a certain party and because that party demands it. In this way a militant of the C.N.T. comrade Yoldi, was removed as

(Continued on page three)

## Socialist Trade Union (U.G.T.)

### Split by Government Forces

"The Communist Party, we wrote in the last issue of the Spanish Revolution, is engineering a split within the U.G.T. A rump union, having the official backing of the Spanish Che-Ka and other governmental agencies will become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party in its drive toward the disruption of the crystallizing unity between the C.N.T. and U.G.T., the militarization of unions and their subjection to the totalitarian scheme of things."

This split has by now become

a reality. Those who shouted the loudest about united fronts of all sorts did not hesitate to break up an organization which contributed so greatly toward the consolidation of anti-fascist forces of the country.

The story of how this split was engineered is told by the French weekly *Libertaire*. It is a story which no one genuinely concerned with the future of labor organizations should ignore. And it casts an ominous light on the tendencies of the official policy of the present rulers of Spain.

### Struggle for Control

"During the last time the situation within the U.G.T. has become quite strained. The majority of the federations represented within the national committee were hostile to Largo Caballero. But the latter claimed that he was elected by the national congress of the U.G.T. and that the federation backing him up represented a prepon-

derant majority of the U.G.T. membership, although having only a minority in the national committee. (\*)

"In the month of September Caballero made an attempt to regain majority in the national committee by expelling those federations which according to the statutes of the U.G.T. were no more in good standing, having ceased to pay their regular dues for a long time.

(Continued on page four)

\*) The membership of the federations backing up Caballero is 900,000 as against the 600,000 represented by the opposition.

All your friends will be at the  
**Dance and Entertainment**  
for the  
**"Spanish Revolution"**

to be held at  
**IRVING PLAZA**

15th Street and Irving Place New York, N. Y.  
**SATURDAY EVE., NOVEMBER 20, 1937**

Our Rich Program of Entertainment Includes  
**SONGS BY VARGAS SEMPRUM (Baritone)**  
**DANCE SKETCHES by MIRIAM SCHILLER**  
**SPANISH DANCES by ESCUDELO & RITA**  
and **MARTINEZ & BERYL**  
**PIANO CONCERT by ODDONE SOMMOVIGO**  
**A GOOD JAZZ BAND**

Refreshments and Bar Service Admission 40c

Tickets can be obtained at:  
**U.L.O., 45 W. 17th Street**  
**Vanguard Hall, 22 W. 17th Street**  
**Libertarian Center**  
**221 Second Ave.**

The  
**SPANISH WORKERS**  
**NEED YOUR**  
**CONTINUOUS AID**

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

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

Vol. II, No. 34

November 8, 1937

## WORLD DEMOCRACY BETRAYED ASTURIAN MINERS

Three years ago the miners of Asturias rose in revolt against a government dominated by forces that were openly driving to set up a Fascist regime in Spain. The revolt did not spread to other parts in Spain, but so great was the sympathy it evoked all over the country that the only troops the government could rely upon in suppressing the revolt were the mercenaries from the Foreign Legion and the savage Moors from Morocco.

The miners were defeated and ruthlessly suppressed but their task was accomplished. The Fascist tide sweeping over the country was turned back. The rebellion threw a monkey wrench into the elaborate plans of the Fascists, hatched in Rome and Berlin, to step into power with the aid of a complacent government and powerful foreign backing. From that time on the government was thrown on the defensive by the wave of popular unrest set up by the glorious example of the heroic miners of Asturias.

Anti-Fascist Spain was saved from the imminent danger of a Fascist upheaval, was given a sufficient respite to prepare for the epic struggle that was to come so many months later. The October revolt of 1934 became the prelude for the glorious July 1936, for the stirring events which have already changed the course of modern history.

And in saving Spain from what seemed then an inevitable fate the Asturian miners rendered an inestimable service for the cause of liberty and democracy all over the world. With Spain gone Fascist, the danger of Fascist engulfment of the entire Europe would be much more imminent than now.

Not only would Fascism gain a tremendously important strategic position by taking hold of the Iberian peninsula, but the electrifying, revitalizing effect which the Spanish struggle produced upon the anti-Fascist forces throughout the world would be lacking. The hypnotizing terror of Fascism, the myth of its invincibility was gone—and that was due in the first place to the heroic miners of Asturias who were the first to throw down the gauntlet to the advancing forces of international reaction.

In 1934 the heroic miners of Asturias bled and suffered to save the civilization of the world from the terror of a new barbarism. But three years later the same civilized world turned a deaf ear to the desperate cries for help coming from those who brought it the first message of a new hope. Cut off from the rest of Spain, hemmed in on all sides by superior forces of a highly equipped army, the poorly armed miners of Asturias finally succumbed after having waged an unequal struggle for more than a year. The only help they could get was from other countries—from France and England—and that help was refused them.

The so-called Popular Front of France seemingly forgot how much it owes to those very heroic miners without whose struggle Spain would have become a long time ago a recruiting ground for its enemies. The workers and liberals of England, who have shaken off the lethargy in face of the international danger of Fascism, remained strangely indifferent to the fate of those who have done more than anyone else to stir them up to the realization of such a danger.

While Germany was pouring in armaments through the ports of Galicia, France closed its frontiers to any shipments of ammunition and the English workers remained passive in face of the criminal policy of its government in tolerating open piracy in the Biscay Bay designed to cut off any relief from the Asturias and Basque provinces.

It is against this indifference that every sincere anti-Fascist who realizes the world-wide significance of the Spanish struggle must rise in a passionate protest. Today it is Asturias and tomorrow it may be the rest of loyalist Spain, left at the mercy of the blockading fleets of Italy and Germany. To prevent this major tragedy from taking place the democratic masses of the world must be thoroughly aroused and swept against the pseudo-pacifistic policy of their governments in refusing armaments to the heroic people of Spain under the pretext of preserving peace in the rest of the world.

## SPANISH GOVERNMENT

## COURTS C.N.T.

(Continued from page one)

Aragon were, according to Comorera, nothing but gangs of highway robbers. His speech brought forth a storm of protest from every part of loyalist Spain and even political sectors quite alien to the C.N.T. voiced their strong indignation against this brazen calumny. The communist papers, however, (*Frente Rojo*) reprinted this speech in full.

Neither Comorera's attack nor the present friendly effusions were spontaneous. They were a part of a calculated policy which leaves no room for personal convictions and sentiments. It is clear, therefore, that for the time being, the Communist Party has changed its official line in regard to the anarchist movement of Spain.

### Will This Change Last?

It is difficult to say now how long this new official course will last. Nor is it possible to ascertain the exact motives underlying this sudden turn. It is determined by the devious routes of the domestic and foreign policies of the Kremlin government as well as by the exigencies of the Spanish situation. One thing is clear, however: the trends of the Spanish political and social struggles are asserting themselves against the sectarian policies of the Communist Party and, strong as the latter may feel in virtue of the Moscow backing, it cannot afford to ignore those trends.

### Totalitarianism In Collapse

The *New York Times* correspondent already reported about the collapse of the widespread campaign to establish a single anti-Fascist party. This was the pet project of the Communist Party, quite in harmony with its basic aims for a totalitarian regime.

Things, however, did not work out that way. Not only was there quite an opposition within the Socialist Party against being swallowed up by this new party which, as everyone could plainly see, was to be the old Communist Party under a new name. Surprisingly enough for the "totalitarians" of the Communist Party, other parties began to show a remarkable growth and spread of influence.

The *CNT* (anarcho-sindicalist daily of Madrid) of Oct. 14, reports that the Left Republican Parties have greatly increased their influence. (As we wrote in the *Spanish Revolution*, the Left Republican parties of Spain are very often more radical than the right Socialists and Communists. They are certainly more genuinely liberal). "*The P.O.U.M.*," writes the same paper, "*whatever its enemies say about it, is feeling itself stronger with every day in Catalonia.*" The same holds true of the Syndicalist Party headed by Pestaña.

## FRENCH GOVERNMENT

## EXPELS SPANISH REFUGEES

(continued from page one)

more of a genuine nature, it would have attempted to solve this problem in a way calculated not to create additional difficulties for the heroic Spanish people. It chose, however, another way.

Here is what the *Revolution Proletarienne* writes about it. "The government of the popular Front decided to deliver another blow to the worker's resistance in Spain. A ministerial decree promulgated by Marx Dormoy, Socialist Minister of Interior, organizes the expulsion from French territory of all Spanish refugees—including wives, children and old men—whose only crime is that of being poor."

During the last year France harbored numerous groups of fascist refugees fleeing the revolutionary workers. It openly tolerated their intrigues and plots, very often directed against the French government itself. But they had means and social connections and so they were extended the full privileges of unconditional hospitality. But poor Spanish workers are set in a different category. They are "undesirable aliens" to our socialist and democratic ministers, to be rid of by measures of a sweeping fascist nature.

### Fascist Pressure From Within

What accounts for this reactionary attitude on the part of a government whose members, perhaps, are quite genuinely in sympathy with the anti-

fascist cause in Spain? We may get some glimpse of the situation accounting for this strange behavior by taking into consideration the picture drawn by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*.

"The Radical Socialist Party" he writes "Has a very powerful right wing represented by the former premier Caillaux. This right wing is against the policy of a united front and at present it is mustering its forces for the forthcoming convention of the party at Lille. At the last congress it even had members of the 'Croix du Feu' who betrayed themselves by open fascist demonstrations. This year this very element is expected to act with greater circumspection."

### Wanted: Revolutionary Mass Action

In other words, the voice of this semi-fascist organization (its so-called right wing) now working within the Radical Socialist Party, makes itself heard with ever greater insistence. And it is not silenced by the only force capable of driving those elements back to the underground sewers of political life, and that is the power of direct mass pressure.

The socialists and communists of France hold back the masses from exercising this pressure and as a result they find themselves in ever greater dependence upon the Radical Socialist Party who in turn is forced to make constant concessions to the semi-fascist elements within its own ranks.

And perhaps this lack of mass pressure, deliberately held in check by the Socialists and Communists of France, explains

### The Impregnable Strength of the C.N.T.

But, of course, the incomparably greater factor in forcing the avowed change is the remarkable strength displayed by the C.N.T. before which even its adversaries have to bow in reluctant and puzzled admiration.

"The C.N.T.," writes its official organ *Fragua Social* (Oct. 8) "feels a legitimate pride in its compact strength. In loyalist Spain no other organization or party can compare with it in size or inner cohesion."

This is no official praise-singing or self-adulation. It is attested by the circulation of its papers—the largest in the country—its hold upon the workers and peasants of Spain and moral greatness in face of so many provocations and petty persecutions. Its conduct elicited a tribute from many a speaker at the opening of the Cortes, some of which, like the leader of the Republicans—Barrio—spoke of the C.N.T. with great fervor.

### Anti-Fascist Front Versus Popular Front

Conscious of its indomitable strength, the C.N.T. follows unwaveringly the task which it set itself months ago—and that is to rebuild the shattered anti-Fascist front. It turns a deaf ear to the blandishments of the Communist Party, intended to drive a wedge between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. and make the C.N.T. a party to the present policies of the government.

"The C.N.T.," writes its Madrid daily (*CNT*, Oct. 6), has certain ties which it does not intend to sever. (That is, the pact with the U.G.T.) It believes that its task consists in cementing forces instead of dividing them. That is why it will always reject any attempt to have it establish contact with certain political forces (ed. note: Negrin Government) at the price of breaking off with those with whom such contact has already been established. The C.N.T. wants to see established a genuine anti-Fascist Front\* upon the basis of mutual loyalty."

\*The Anti-Fascist Front is opposed by the anarchists to the so-called Popular Front of the Communists. The basic principle of this Anti-Fascist Front is the recognition of the revolution of July 19 and equal sharing of power by the three sectors of anti-Fascist Spain—anarchists (C.N.T.-F.A.I.), Marxists and Left Republicans.

The president of the Socialist International, Louis De Brouckere, during an interview, said:

"I have a great sympathy for the anarcho-sindicalist movement in general and especially for the movement in Spain, although I do not share their point of view. It has played an important part in the history of Spain. The unity of the workers in Spain cannot be considered as such without the inclusion of the anarchists."

### We Still Have a Number of SPANISH ALBUMS For SALE

much more than British counsels and intimations the strangling of the Spanish revolution gradually achieved by the timorous, and at times reactionary, policies of the present French government.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

## C.N.T. Workers Organize Medical Self-Help

The basic principle of anarcho-syndicalism is self reliance on the part of the worker's organizations. The workers themselves, through the medium of their specific organizations, are to take over and discharge those functions which are now considered the prerogative of the state or are left at the mercy of private greed.

Guided by those principles, the C.N.T. is extending the field of its work, gradually covering such fields as education, social security and medical services. A typical picture of such services in the city of Valencia is drawn in one of the Bulletins issued by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (Oct. 8, 1937.)

### Conditions Prevailing Before the Revolution

It tells at first of the conditions prevailing in that field prior to the revolution: workers forced in case of accidents to go to clinics and hospitals run by the factory owners and subject to the pressure of the administration which was interested in minimizing the extent of his injuries. The same pressure was exerted upon the medical personnel of the hospital leading to moral stultification and degradation inevitably following any continuous moral compromises of that sort. It is not an altogether unfamiliar picture to the American workers and doctors who in many cases are faced with a situation of a similar sort.

But now those evils have been done away with by the insurance system constituting a part of the general organization of the C.N.T. workers.

### Medical Services to Insured Workers

This insurance organization of the C.N.T. (in Valencia) discharges all sorts of medical services. It covers, as the article tells us, "accidents, general medico-surgical aid and aid to maternity.

"Accidents:—Workers have a right to first aid of a medico-surgical nature and corresponding indemnification. The first includes both—clinical services and urgent medical aid at home to the insured and his dependents

"Medico-surgical aid includes the following services—Urgent aid at home organized for every district. Clinical and laboratory analysis. Maternity houses. Hospitalization and convalescence; medical consultations; general and special surgery and many other services of a general and specific nature.

"Every insured worker is entitled to those services. The head of a family who earns 300 pesetas a month can procure those services for himself and dependents at the payment of a quota of 7 pesetas. That insures against all eventualities and serious contingencies that might present themselves in his life

"Of particular importance are the services rendered to women by this insurance system: those are the so-called maternity houses. A woman in the state of pregnancy is kept in the house

"WHATEVER HAPPENS THE WORK DONE BY OUR COMRADES WILL REMAIN A LASTING MONUMENT TO THEIR VALOR AND CONSTRUCTIVE GENIUS."

EMMA GOLDMAN

## Construction Workers of Barcelona In Control of Industry

In spite of all obstacles and political reverses the economic revolution is marching on. The workers are getting an ever stronger grip upon the economic life of the country.

In Russia it was the newly emerged bureaucracy that gained economic power, but in Spain the revolution of July 19th vested such power in the hands of revolutionary industrial unions. And however clumsily it was wielded at first—it cannot be otherwise in the first period of the revolution—

it is gradually being mastered by those who are the only ones capable of its progressive utilization.

The article printed below (taken from Nueva España Antifascista) tells a particular case of this mastery. We hope to follow it up by others telling of the gigantic work of social reconstruction carried on by the revolutionary workers of Spain in spite of all the difficulties placed in their way by war and scheming politicians.

### In Van of Revolutionary Struggle

The old Union of building workers, now reorganized into the Union of Construction, Decoration and Wood workers was always a partisan of energetic action. Its struggles in the past constitute a page of incomparable heroism in the history of the revolutionary proletariat.

The same dynamic character is now displayed by this union in the revolutionary and constructive work which it conducts at the present time. One of the first acts proving its capacity for the work of reconstruction was the sequestration of the sand and gravel quarries of the Barcelona district, all of which belonged to outspoken reactionaries who were in the van of the struggle against the C.N.T. union.

Another act of remarkable initiative was displayed by the union immediately after the flight of wealthy fascists took place. The union took hold of all the properties left by the fleeing fascists and set up an administration committee for the management of those prop-

erties. This committee worked with great enthusiasm in laying the ground for the municipalization of city dwellings until the time when there was set up for this task the Mixed Commission of Control and Management of City Property.

### Unequal Pace of Collectivization

Ever since July 19, 1936, all the sections of the Union of Construction workers rivaled each other in revolutionary activity. Some of them proceeded very rapidly with the work of collectivization fighting against the fallacious ideas of many a member who were taken aback by the too rapid pace of socialization. The first sections to be completely collectivized were those of plasterers, bricklayers, painters and others.

Lack of money prevented the normal resumption of economic activity. This told in a particular manner upon the strongest section of the union, the masons and their journeymen, who found themselves faced with an especially difficult situation. Until now nothing more was done about this situation

## POLITICIANS FAIL AT ARAGON FRONT

(Continued from page one)

leader of the General Staff, and someone was put in command who was in Aragon perhaps for the first time in his life. Comrades Ortiz and Jover were forbidden to direct the operations, while they were turned over to Walter and Kleber. In spite of all this, the men of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. were the first to enter Quinto, Pina, Belchite, Mediana, Zuera and the town of Albortón, as well as other places.

### Who Occupied Belchite?

All the Shock Brigades led by comrades of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. fulfilled the orders given by the Command, without falling back for a single moment, but the same cannot be said of the other Brigades.

The operations in Aragon were weighed down with so much partisanship that the mil-

a month before and a month after the delivery of a child. In addition she is getting all the instructions necessary to carry on her duties of a mother.

itary officer, Sánchez, who directed the hardest part of the operations around Belchite, was replaced by the Communist leader, Walter, when there was absolutely no doubt that the place would be taken. When Belchite was already completely surrounded, when they were fighting in the streets, when there remained only three points of resistance to be crushed, the C.N.T. troops officered by members of the C.N.T. received orders to abandon the place and were ordered immediately to another sector of the front, while some Assault Guards led by a Communist officer were sent in to complete the occupation of Belchite.

In this manner, the General Staff and all the others could attribute the honor of having taken Belchite to a military officer who had not been in Aragon and did not take part in the hardest battles of the siege, but who is, on the other hand, a Communist.

This not only happened in Belchite, but in every one of the

towns that have been taken where we have been able to ascertain everything that is happening.

### Construction Workers on The Front

Apart from its achievements in the economic and social fields, the union took a very active part in the struggle against fascism. It formed a column named "the column of September 4th," in commemoration of the anniversary of the heroic struggle waged on that day by a handful of comrades, among whom was the unforgettable Buenaventura Durruti, who were besieged in the headquarters of the Union of Construction workers and who held out against a veritable army of police. This column was on the firing line from the first day of the war and many of its men have already fallen in battles.

In the memory of the Catalonian people is engraved the magnificent act of more than a thousand members of the union who left for the Aragon front in order to build fortifications. They suffered all kinds of privations and miseries which the indomitable will to conquer the enemy made bearable for the heroic workers.

### Socialization A Living Fact

In spite of the crisis in the building industry which the country is now going through, the workers held on to their positions at the price of great sacrifices: reduced wages, sharing of work etc. Their sacrifices stand out especially clear when compared to those who have been and are now profiteering by the revolution.

Now the problem of particu-

### READ ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS OF THE C.N.T.-F.A.I.

A New Book (In English)  
AFTER THE REVOLUTION  
WHAT?

by D. A. de Santillan

Price One Dollar  
Order from J. Frager

Libertarian Publishers  
45 W. 17th St., New York City

All of our comrades conducted themselves very well, having obtained numerous eulogies from the leading officers, while the Communist Trueba, commandant of the 27th Division (Carlos Marx), was relieved of his post. The same thing happened to Kleber, leader of the 45th Division, although, because of the influence of politicians, he was restored to his post 24 hours later.

This is the story of the activity of the C.N.T. forces on the Aragon fronts. This is the irrefutable proof that, had the men of Aragon been given arms, the war would not have been in its present condition and, perhaps, both the war and fascism might have been ended by now.

lar interest to the union is the one of collectivization. From the first days the union worked toward its realization and by now it can be said that collectivization has become a living actuality.

Already an association for carrying on the building work in Barcelona on a collectivized basis has been formed. This association is based upon two unions: C.N.T. and U.G.T. and is made up of delegates from each section of those two unions. It also includes one representative from the Catalonian government.

The council of this city association is divided into three departments which comprise all the collectives: Secretariat and Administration; Control and Distribution of work; Management and organizational Technique.

Thus the construction workers of Barcelona do not suffer any more the yoke of capitalist exploitation. All the building work of the city is now done by the association which sees that everyone enjoys the benefits of the new method.

### The Structure of the Industrial Union

The idea of an industrial union in the building industry taking the place of various craft organizations was at first opposed by the old union of building workers. The same opposition was shown by the wood workers union. Both those unions were at first of the opinion that the right moment has not yet arrived for a merger which, to their opinion, would bring along with it a complicated bureaucratic apparatus.

But now, with the social revolution proceeding apace, with the bourgeoisie having been eliminated, also adhering to the decisions of the Regional Congress of C.N.T. unions of Catalonia, those two unions (building and wood workers) showed themselves the first (in Barcelona) to merge, thus setting up an Industrial Union.

The merger was officially confirmed in the "Plaza Monumental" (the largest bullfight arena) by a gigantic mass meeting of the membership of both unions (50,000 were present.) The new Industrial Union was to be built on the basis of wide autonomy for each section, and particularly the one of woodworkers which has already carried out in full the plans for collectivization.

According to the latest news reaching us from Spain a number of P.O.U.M. militants held in Valencia prison on charges of espionage were released by orders of the Special Tribunal. Their case was dismissed as lacking any proof to substantiate the charges against them.

But how about those who came out with those charges? How about the murderers of Nin and Berneri?

Whatever the hand-picked tribunals of Negrin's government may say about them, they already stand indicted before the public opinion of the world.

## Socialist Trade Union (U.G.T.) Split by Government Forces

(continued from page one)  
**Expulsions Provoked by  
Communist Intrigues**

"The attitude of the Executive Commission (headed by Caballero) might seem somewhat too energetic if no account is taken of the violent and partisan attacks delivered against it by the Communist Party.

"The latter opened up an offensive against Largo Caballero in the month of May and was instrumental in causing the downfall of the government presided over by Caballero. At the same time it instructed its members and its allies within the organization to set up and group a strong opposition against Caballero. Those manoeuvres could not but lead to a split, for while the communists and their allies did capture a number of federations, the Caballero faction was too deeply rooted in many other federations to be dislodged by any manoeuvres.

### Campaign Against C.N.T.-F.A.I. Pact

"The campaign against Caballero became especially bitter from the moment the latter signed a pact of alliance with the C.N.T. The Communist Party, contrary to its slogans of trade union unity, violently attacked this pact which threatened to set up against its political aspirations the powerful block of the entire trade union movement.

"It is important—writes the anorcho-sindicalist daily in Madrid—to hold up before the workers the aims of the campaign now launched against the Executive of the U.G.T. When did this mad, unprecedented campaign start? From the very moment that the pact was signed between the U.G.T. and C.N.T."

### Organizing A Rump Union

"The opponents of the Executive commission (the latter is dominated by Caballero) decided to call a regular session of the National Committee without the authorization of the Executive Commission. The latter countered this move by expelling those federations.

"Here is the official statement of the secretariat explaining its

action: "The Executive Commission declares thereby that not a single document has thus far been received from any of the Industrial Federations saying that they authorized their delegates to demand from the Executives the calling of the regular session of the National Committee. And we consider it a breach of discipline to call such a session without the due authorization of the Executive.

"But the opposition decided otherwise. On the following morning they invaded the headquarters of the U.G.T. Only the members of the Executive Commission took their precautions. They barricaded themselves, waiting for developments with arms in their hands. It was then that the opposition called in the police which came—300 fully armed men from the Assault Guard—to force the headquarters. However, the commotion produced by this among the workers of Valencia—who are in their majority sympathetic to Caballero—was so great that the police withdrew. The opposition was forced to meet in a different place. It named a new Executive Commission which immediately issued a manifesto against its rival."

### Will It Be Left to Congress to Decide?

As we pointed out in the previous issues of the *Spanish Revolution*, Caballero has the majority of the U.G.T. workers with him. He is quite willing to let the regular convention of the organization decide the issue between him and his opponents. He stated officially that he is going to abide by the decision of this convention, trusting to the judgement of the workers.

We doubt, however, that the ruling powers, mainly represented by the Communist Party, will permit such a free expression of popular will at the convention. Already the government threw its powers against the Caballero union. Thus, according to the information of the *Solidaridad Obrera*, the correspondence directed to the Executive Commission is detained and the Bank of Spain refuses to recognize cheques

signed by its representatives. And those who know anything about the Communist party have no doubt that this is only the beginning of a drive the purpose of which is to emasculate the trade-union movement of Spain and reduce it to another cog in the bureaucratic apparatus.

### Larger Issues Are Involved

The struggle that is to follow for the control of the U.G.T. is of tremendous importance not only for Spain but for the whole world. The basic principle of labor unionism is involved, and that is freedom and independence from political and state control. The capture of the U.G.T. by the Communist Party will spell its death as an independent economic organization.

Already the first act of the Executive Commission of the opposition was to grant representation to the political bureau of the Communist Party. This is much more than a symbolic recognition of the tutelage of a political party. It means an open challenge to the basic principle of independence which the Spanish unions have cherished since the epoch making days of July 19th. It means an open drive for the fascization of unions now proceeding under the slogan that the economic and political life of the country has to be directed by "the best," "the select" found only in political parties and especially within the Communist Party.

And in fighting this essentially fascist attitude in the name of elementary self-preservation of an old rooted economic organization of the proletariat, the Caballero faction within the U.G.T. finds itself in the van of a struggle which soon will be faced not only by the entire working class of Spain, but by the genuinely proletarian organizations all over the world.

## An Anti-Fascist Front: For and Not Against the Revolution

Several months ago the forces rallying around the Negrin government—then at the heyday of its power—issued the slogan: back to the Popular Front of the pre-July days. That meant: back to the political and economic conditions of the Spanish republic prevailing before the fascist revolt.

These forces, however, underestimated the powers of popular resistance to this "back-to-normalcy" drive. True, this resistance did not take the form of dramatic contests, but its power was nevertheless felt in the same manner.

And it is a manifestation of its irresistible pressure that we find again those very parties and groupings which only several months ago upheld the idea of the old Popular Front that is a bloc of political parties against the anti-fascist bloc advocated by C.N.T. now join this

very same anti-fascist bloc and signing declarations committing them to respect the revolutionary achievements of July 19.

Thus we read in the Madrid daily of the C.N.T. (C.N.T. Oct.9th) that in Valencia an anti-fascist Popular Front is about to be formed consisting of all the UNIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

### MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN, SEPT. and OCT., 1937 By U.L.O., NEW YORK

Receipt No.	Amount
258—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	\$ 10.25
259—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	96.78
260—Mohegan (Eugene and Dickie)	.60
261—Mohegan Colony (Arletta Dubois)	.25
262—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	28.30
Abrahams & Shapiro Shops (B. Gulem), N. Y. C.	4.40
264—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	3.00
265—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	6.00
264—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	3.00
263—Abrahams & Shapiro Shops (B. Gulem), N. Y. C.	4.40
266—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	17.00
267—L. Brilliant—List 249	10.00
268—Raca, West Haven Conn.	5.00
	\$181.58
PREVIOUS BALANCE	\$421.24
CASH ON HAND	\$602.82

### GERMAN VOLUNTEERS

"There is ample evidence that German intervention in Spain continues side by side with the Italian, though less openly and on a smaller scale.

"Information from Germany which has just reached this country indicates that during September, between 100 to 300 men from two German anti-aircraft batteries were sent to Spain by way of Italy, together with all the guns and equipment of those two batteries.

"In the case of the 25th Battery, the commander paraded the men, told them that he and they were going to Spain, and asked whether any man was unwilling to go. There was no answer, and he then formally declared the men to be volunteers."

—Manchester Guardian.

## TRANSFER OF CAPITAL— POLITICAL MANOEUVRE

One does not have to be much of a military man to realize that the planned transfer of the capital from Valencia is dictated by political and not military reasons. Barcelona is no more invulnerable to air raids than Valencia and the danger of isolation in case of a successful drive of the Insurgents toward the coast or a landing of Italian forces (both seem remote right now) would be equally great in case of both cities.

What the exact political reasons are is not quite clear, however. The Nueva Espana Antifascist (a Spanish paper published by the Spanish anti-fascists of Spain) expresses the fear that the transfer may be motivated by the desire "to curb if not to destroy the power of the C.N.T." (Oct.21).

The same is reported by the New York Evening Post (Oct. 28) which writes that "the Valencia government had demanded control of Barcelona's committee of public order, especially to disarm the C.N.T. and F.A.I." This seemingly was accepted by the Catalanian nationalists who only demanded a "pledge to maintain the integrity of Catalonia's administrative set-up," but that Valencia "is to crush

the C.N.T. and F.A.I." This does not altogether dovetail with the latest news, already reported elsewhere in this issue, of a "new turn" in the attitude of the Negrin government toward the C.N.T. Of course, this "turn" might have been a manoeuvre to break away the C.N.T. from the U.G.T. (Caballero faction), and inasmuch as this attempt failed, the ruling powers fell back again upon their policy of gradually isolating and then crushing the C.N.T.

It is, however, extremely doubtful that in view of the dangerous situation on the front the government would hazard an open attack against the C.N.T. Although some attempts to undermine its power by some roundabout methods will be made in the near future in spite of lyric effusions about the revolutionary integrity of the C.N.T. and the need of cooperating with it.

And whatever the exact reasons for the transfer of the capital might be, they certainly include come far-fetched scheme to circumvent the C.N.T. and have it shorn of its growing power as an overwhelming factor in the life of the working class of Spain.

It pledges the cessation of all mutual attacks (the spirit of the old anti-fascist front) and "to respect and help the work of economic transformation carried out by the workers through its Syndicates and Collectives."

But why was it necessary to break up the anti-fascist front as it shaped itself from the beginning of the struggle. Why that campaign against revolutionary achievements of workers and peasants, against socialization and Peasant collectives and for militarization?

### To UNDERSTAND The PRESENT STRUGGLE In SPAIN You Must Read

## "The Tragedy of Spain"

a new pamphlet by  
**RUDOLPH ROCKER**

A pamphlet to be read and spread by all who want to help the Spanish people crush Fascism

48 pages

15c (plus postage)  
(Special bundle rates)

Order from Jack White, U.L.O.

45 West 17th Street

New York, N. Y.

UNION MEN IN PORTLAND, OREGON, WHO BELIEVE IN SOLIDARITY OF LABOR, SHOULD COME TO THE SWISS HALL, 1311 THIRD AVE., NOVEMBER 20, at 8:00 P.M. THREE FILMS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN WILL BE SHOWN THEM UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE I.W.W.

Net Proceeds to go to the Spanish C.N.T.

Admission 25c.

IN DEFENSE OF SPANISH REVOLUTION NOVEMBER 12th AT LABOR TEMPLE 242 EAST 14 St. N. Y. C. PROMINENT SPEAKERS INCLUDING CARLO TRESCA, JACK SHANNON, JACK WHITE AND OTHERS

ADMISSION FREE