Workers' Councils to Clear Spain of Fascism

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY DEFENSE COUNCILS CAN ASSURE VICTORY

Any undertaking can succeed only if it maintains its hold on reality against the whims of the hour calls for. All gains must be made secure against reverses. At the same time we must be taken that future advances may not turn into obstacles.

The conflict which started on July 19th is more than an ordinary dispute between a ruling clique and another seeking to replace it. The huge and determined intervention of the people carried the struggle far beyond its original scope, and what started as a "potsich" against a government or a regime, has now become a social-revolutionary movement with all its implications.

July 19th signified, contrary to the intentions of the provocateurs, the end of a regime which made possible the preparation for and the outbreak of the civil war that is costing the Spanish proletariat so much blood. This regime must not come back.

Of the entire legal apparatus in existence before July 19th, there remain only a few decorative official figures who rule no one save certain trade unions which, whether through tradition or through calculation, still cling to them. We recognize all those who did their duty against Fascism. However, bad Fascism encountered no opposition but that of the so-called legal powers, it would have won out without difficulty in Catalonia and in Spain. To-day the situation is still exactly this. If the "legal" powers of the pre-July 19th government had had to face Fascism alone, the Fascists already were in Madrid and Barcelona in less than a week. It was the workers who fought the reaction from the very first (Continued on page 4).

C.N.T. Takes Part In New Council

The newspapers have already reported the important change in the Catalan government body (Generalitat). Three of our comrades of the C.N.T. accepted positions in the council of the Generalitat.

It is known that outside of political power the C.N.T. controls effectively the economic and social life of Catalonia.

We must also keep in view the fact that in Catalonia it is the unions syndicates—and everyone knows that the C.N.T. has a predominant influence in the unions—that also control the political life of the region. Under those conditions and in view of the gravity of the situation from the view of the anti-Fascist defense and the economic reconstruction of the country, it was normal that the C.N.T. should assume, at least in part, the responsibility for the political direction of public affairs. Its absence from the councils of the Generalitat placed it in an unfavorable position in regard to the political parties.

The social structure of Catalonia demanded that the most important union organization should act in the political domain on an equal footing with the political parties.

From ("Le Libertaire") French Anarchist paper.)

Militia Heroism

Inspiring by PIERRE VAN PAAYEN

MADRID—(FP)—Franco is at the gates of Madrid. So was Yudenich at the gates of old Petrograd in 1918. The Fascist rebels are fighting desperately for a quick of peasants and their money runs out. But the nearer Franco comes, the higher rises the combative ardor of the masses. There is not the slightest sign of weariness or wavering among the men and women of the militias.

And in Oviedo, the Asturian miners, with a gallantry that elevates one's respect for the potentialities of the human race, are blasting their way, street by street, into the heart of that important city.

The capture of 5,000 gas masks from the Fascists on the front sector of Madrid shows that Franco is in extremis, even as Mussolini in Ethiopia, opulently gas to gain his ends. Fascists have no scruples when it comes to humaneness or respect for the prescriptions of international law.

But no more than the Caproni bombers can blast a breach in the human wall of the workers' militias, no more can Franco's yperepe gas bring him victory. The Spanish proletariat, fighting on one of the last citadels of freedom in Europe (Franco is next) will have the last word, if not today, then tomorrow. History is on the workers' side, and the final victory will come.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN

APPEALS FOR WORLD AID

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been charged in some Fascist publications, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions. And they have also socialized the railroads, the entire net- work of transportation including airplanes, ships, street cars, omnibuses and taxis; construction works and management. They have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona, I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, workshops or the famous luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous departments (Continued on page 3).

C.N.T. Demands Morrocan Freedom

A tremendous excitement prevails among the Moroccans, amounting almost to a revolution. They have re-ceived the final word from their leninist officials, and the revolutionary spirit, "Solidaridad Obrera," syndicalist daily, points out, must be cultivated.

"We consider the workers of Rif capable of providing for themselves in their life and their social organization. The fight against Fascism has today an extremely important character. It is in this sense that it is necessary for us to assure the natives of Rif with a revolutionary spirit. . . . We would be counting on the support of the Workers of our peninsula and allowing Moroccans to remain in the hands of the natives. Absolute liberty for the colonies! We wish to live independent the day on which arms will be found in the hands of the Moroc- cannon workers."

PEASANTS CALL FOR LAND COLLECTIVIZATION

On the 25th of September a convention of peasants and workers belonging to the C.N.T. took place in Barcelona. The following provinces were repre- sented: Catalonia, Aragon (that part which was cleared of the Fascists), Tarragon and the Pyrenees districts.

The resolutions adopted at this convention were as follows:

1. The land is to be collectivized. But since it is desirable to have the small peasant on the side of the revolution, they must be given the right to settle upon and cultivate as much land as they can on their own labor. This right is granted inso-

Militiamen Demand Russia Free anarchists

The delegates of the anti-Fascist militants of the Arragones front demand that the Russian government allow the departure for Spain of the valiant fighters Francesco Ghezzi, Ottello Gaggi and Herman Sandomirski. We hope for their immediate departure.

Representatives of the column at Caspe, Joanpau Assuna.
Representative of Durruni column.
Representative of the C.N.T. press at Valencia, Alfonso de Miguel.

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REVOLUTION BY EXAMPLE
NOT DECREPIT

One of the most remarkable features of the Spanish revolution is the high moral tone, the great moral fervor shown by the great mass of workers and peasants. It manifests itself not only in the heroic struggle of the poorly equipped red militiamen against the superior forces of a modern army, but in the high sense of revolutionary duty displayed by the workers in the factories, the farmers in their villages. It is a process of social transformation which is taking its course in those places where the revolution is not hampered and thwarted by the dilatory tactics of the government.

The transition to a new and higher system is not accompanied by a process of social decay as was the case in Russia in 1917. The amount of destruction is insignificant compared with that caused by the outbreak of elemental forces in the October revolution. There is more conscious planning, spontaneous solidarity and perseverance with the ultimate aim of a libertarian revolution on the part of the Spanish workers and peasants. Its complete triumph is no longer a matter of sections of the petty bourgeoisie which by its origin, stands nearest to the workers and which, contrary to the opinion of the Marxists, can be swept into the general process of reconstruction by a strong wave of mass movement and moral fervor.

All that is in evidence in revolutionary Spain to a much greater extent than in Russia in 1917, not only because of the different historical setting, the dissimilarity of factors of a terrible World War, with the resulting degradation of the mass morals on one hand and the chaotic hysteria sweeping the intelligentsia of the country on the other—all that is lacking in Spain. By the December Fascist reaction has cemented the union of intellects and the mass of workers and peasants, thus preparing the ground for a more ready acceptance of the new social order. And on the other hand, the mass of the people did not miss the chance of the morale-shattering process of wholesale betrayals on the part of their leading parties and the physical annihilation of the flower of their military in a senseless carnage.

There is, however, another factor which is even more instrumental in producing the high moral quality of the Spanish revolution, and that is the great role played by the Anarchists, that role played by revolutionaries who do not depend upon force and coercion to bring about their ideals. Wherever the Anarchists are strong as is the case in Catalonia, we see authority reduced to its minimum and a high degree of consciousness. Revolutionary conditions spread like waves from great revolutionary centers, but not through the medium of decrees, bureaucratic apparatus and military order. It is the great revolutionary example of the Anarchists which is burning high on a plane of individual moral discipline and comradeship that has such an irresistible appeal to an ever greater mass of people.

The Anarchist revolution, therefore, is none other than the expression of the Spanish revolution. The oppressed masses in Germany and Italy are anxious to obtain the real situation in Spain.

Workers all over the world sympathize with the anti-Fascist Spain. A great number of foreigners have come to Spain to enlist in the ranks of the militia. They are lending their moral and financial support to the Spanish government. It is the thought of the Spanish workers that the victory of the Iberian proletariat is their own victory.

But the interest of the capitalist nations in Spain, their other roots, other aims... The events in Spain are not foreign to us; they interest us most passionately, not because they are on the eve of a new international conflict, which has become unavoidable through the development of imperialism throughout the whole world. The greedy desire of capitalism for power is the gravest danger of the moment. Two blocks have crystallized out of this conflict of interests. Two systems, ready to fight each other for a new distribution of the world, a new distribution of colonial wealth. For this war of imperialism is already prepared: the modern apparatus of oppression and exploitation, technical perfection in armaments and knowledge of the laws of war.

Today we are in the phase of the last preparations. Everybody looks for alliances, everybody is searching for surpise operations of his future enemies.

Spain has been for some time, and not without reason, the object of international intrigue. Should the future conflict break out in the Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula would be of great strategic importance as a base for air forces and for the land approach.

For the control of North Africa, the empire of the colonial powers is coming into one or the other of those coalitions; but the conflict of the world will be the conflict of imperialistic France, under the pretext of humanitarian interests and defending the Spanish proletariat, shows sympathy to the Madrid government. It is for the same reason that France and Germany support the Fascists in Burgos.

There is no doubt as to the real interest of Spain's falling under the control of Germany or Italy. But the danger lies in the possibility that Spain might be put at the service of other capitalist powers, grouped around France and Russia. The Spanish workers and the Anarchists of this alliance, the Comintern and the Communist parties, have already expressed their hostility toward the war, and have affirmed their willingness to express themselves to this effect. France looks at Spain only as at an important base in the struggle for the internationalization of the democratic capitalist powers.

The question today is: will the Spanish workers drive their heroic struggle in their own interest or in the interest of international imperialism?

Anarchist Spain is intended to win the fighting Spanish proletariat for imperialism. In all honesty we must admit that the war-profiteers has been thoroughly prepared in order that the anti-imperialistic propaganda in Spain should meet with great difficulties, as is demonstrated by the national tendency of the French Communists. The Spanish Marxists seem ready to follow the lead of the French Communists. Anarchist Spain, as a result of its revolutionary position has to oppose the one or the other imperialism. The Spanish proletariat must oppose all capitalist combinations which combinations which can either make war or defend their profits.

What are the reasons for the interest which the different circles in Europe show in the present events in Spain? It is easy to understand the interest of the great masses of workers. The internationalism of the worker is not a new idea. For those whose intervention militarily is connected with the great world struggle for the realization of a new society, for those who have an interest in oppression and exploitation, for those there exist no frontiers. In France the workers are keenly watching the progress of the Iberian proletariat.

Spain is the most revolutionary country in Europe. The Spanish revolution, of which the Russian revolution is a part.

The Spanish workers are fighting for their life, their independence and the future of the proletariat.

Workers of the world! Workers of Europe! Don't trust these internationalists, these ardent fighters of all races and all nationalities. They have long given up the idea of proletarian social revolution. They are fighting for the victory of imperialist Anarchism and Anarchist-syndicalism. They march forward with the emblems of national socialism. The workers of Spain, of France, of Germany, of Italy, of all countries, must be the road of the workers of Europe. To avoid a terrible war, the workers must join the front of the Spanish proletariat of all the countries, unite. The enemy is in your own land. Fight as the Spanish workers fight, under the slogans of direct action against militarism and Fascism, against every form of oppression and exploitation of all countries.
DON'T DISCUSS FASCISM—DESTROY IT IN BROADCAST

"Fascism should not be discussed but destroyed," said Comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a speech addressed to the workers of Spain and broadcast from one of the transmitting stations installed in the Aragon front.

Workers of all Spain! From a distance of 28 kilometers from Zaragoza I send my greetings to the sister cities of France and of all Spain. We are very near our goal. If we do not attack now, it is because we are waiting to see the results of the efforts of other columns also commanded by comrades. When every city is in readiness, in accordance with our general plan, we will attack Zaragoza.

We have people in Zaragoza, andAlready from the above, we say that we are waiting to see the results of the efforts of other columns also commanded by comrades. When every city is in readiness, in accordance with our general plan, we will attack Zaragoza.

At 7 o'clock in the evening our artillery began an intense bombardment of a house in which the general headquarters of the Fuentes de Elbro sector was located. Simultaneously, our infantry fired the river and captured several machine guns. Then, our men continued the attack. When they were ready to face the enemy, they reached the house just at the moment when the officers were trying to flee. They succeeded in killing all of them. There were, among these officers, one colonel, two lieutenants, and several sergeants.

The officers cried to us: "Soldiers, blood, please do not kill us!" and with smiling faces, they surrendered to our militiamen, to those who are struggling to create a better Spain, a genuine Spain, a progressive Spain.

These soldiers told us that the Fascists had hunted down their brothers. But no one is able or will ever be able to say specifically which are our crimes. No town has been shelled by us. On the other hand, when we shell a military objective, they retaliate by shelling towns which they know are inhabited by women, children, and old men.

They also claim that all soldiers captured have to join our columns or else are immediately shot. But no one can say that the deserters are not well received. When they join our columns they become one of ours, another militiaman just like myself.

Fascists of Zaragoza! The songs that you are singing, those songs we are singing are now eating with us and sleeping in our beds. Why do you force the soldiers to fight on behalf of your pistols at the heads of your warriors? Why do you disarrange them? Why do you tell them that we burn the feet of the desertsers who come to us? You are fighting with us, you are working, you must think that victory will be yours.

In Spain there are two responsible organizations which one will be able to crush: The C.N.T. in Aragon and the U.G.T. in Madrid, Bilbao, etc. They will fight for liberty and justice.

We are going to crush Fascism. We have promised it and we will keep our promise, as we have always done. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T., the U.G.T. and the Popular Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

We are fighting to have a Spain that will not be the private property of a few dictatorial generals representing capitalism.

The workmen have awakened and will crush Fascism with their arms. Then, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. and the Popular Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

C.N.T.-F.A.I. LEADS FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM FOR FREEDOM SAYS GOODMAN

(Continued from page 1)

The C.N.T.-F.A.I. made it my business to talk to some of the workers and there is no doubt about my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale destruction and depredations which they had been free to commit.

In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt they had produced the wealth and that they felt it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy anything which they had worked so hard to make accessible to the use of all who labor. This marks a new departure in the world and marks the value of the sacrifice of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, innocence and purity of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

A true number of a church were burned. But those who know the sinister influence of the Church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alignment of the Church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist interests will not blame them for having wrecked their structures.

In addition it is a fact as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches after they had been attacked by priests. These are brought before the courts of the "THOU SHALT NOT KILL," yet last order of the church from the windows into the masses below. It is also significant that a number of churches of historic or artistic importance have been touched.

However, it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their thoroughgoing aims that should be considered and not a few de-

C.N.T. DEMANDS UNIFIED DEFENSE COUNCILS: WORKERS' CONTROL

At the plenum of the regional committees of the C.N.T., taking place in Madrid, the following resolutions were adopted after a thorough discussion of the situation.

1. To establish in Madrid a National Council of Defense made up of all elements who participate in the struggle against Fascism. The representation is to be made up of the following proportion: five delegates from the C.N.T. (Syndicalists), five from the U.G.T. (Socialist) and five from the C.N.T. (Socialist). The presidency of the Council is to be Largo Caballero.

2. The political and economic administration is to be based upon local, provincial, and regional federalism. The offices of civil government will be abolished and the public offices of the municipal government will be abolished, their places being taken by Councils of Defense built upon the same proportional representation as the National Council.

3. The C.N.T. will appoint the officers of the various ministries (state secretaries) into departments of the government in connection with the pressing needs of the moment: foreign relations, maintenance of public order, war (including aviation combat and propaganda), education, large scale agriculture, industry, transport, public works, sanitation.

The creation of a popular militia to maintain public order. Also a war militia compulsory in the case of war. The Popular militia is to be vested in the hands of the Council of Workers and Militia men made up of joint committees of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. The creation of a single military directing centre in the form of a War Congress designated by the National Council of Defense and giving representation to the elements of the anti-Fascist front (Anarchists, Socialists, Republicans and others).

9. To establish a Popular Provisional and jurisdictional body designated by the National Council of Defense for the trade union organizations and political anti-Fascist organizations.

9. The socialization of the banks, the abolition of usury and speculation, and the ultimate elimination of the national provincial and local debts.

9. The socialization of the large landed estates, of the big industries, large commerce and finance, and the trade with the capitalist world as a whole, as well as of any enterprise, the owner of which gave any assistance to the Fascists; workers control of the private industrial and commercial establishments; the syndicates (industrial unions) in the hands of the workers, the socialization of means of production and exchange; the right of free experimentation for every community, the right to work, the conflict with the normal course of economic life; the introduction of the principle of the communal ownership of big industries and more important land economies.

The struggle for peace upon the basis of the international action of the proletariat, the organization of diplomacy and the calling together of an international conference of all the anti-Fascist elements with the view of laying down the bases for a worldable international solidarity.

All funds collected for our "bilingual, Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we shall complete this paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

Send contributions and sale orders.

UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

L. Radinovsky, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City
Free Expression of Workers
In Councils Will Assure Victory
(Continued from page 1)
Masses Fight Heroically
(Continued from page 1)

In Catalonia the existing difficulties between workers and peasants are as great as, or greater than, in the rest of Spain. Here, however, the obelisk has been overcome through the creation of true revolutionary organizations in which all revolutionary fac-
ions can function jointly without any sacrifice of their intellectual integrity. The anti-Fascist commit-
tees for the masses, the minima-
ones of revolutionary order, for the organization of the up-
keep and development of democracy must demonstrate the possibility of constructive co-
operation of an entire people, even of any class or party privileges that might become the starting point of internal conflicts.

Catalonia’s example should give the region of Spain food for thought. Right now no single faction can claim exclusive representation of the Spanish masses. As a general rule, people born out of the revolution which is now in progress and which abolished all pre-July 19th norms.
The CNT and the FAI de-
nand the creation of Regional Revolutionary Councils which are united into a Central Defense Council for the country as a whole. As opposed to this central de-
ense council, the regional coun-
cils should have the necessary autonomy to be able to settle the immediate pressing problems of the revolution. These revolution-
ary and therefore transitory organizations would have the task of defending the cause of all the fighters sections, maintaining a uniform advance at the front and in the rear. This demand had already been raised by the CNT in its resolution before the creation of the Catalán defense council and we have no reason to alter it. Thus, contrary to, it becomes clearer daily, that the Spanish revolution cannot be represented by organizations that do not recognize all the current expression. The CNT and the FAI, whose decisive importance is now recognized by all, have given enough proof of their understanding and tolerance, and exert sufficient moral authority to demand the same from all other factions.

Let us organize our victory without organization and, without and without, we will be able to choose freely, for itself. The Revolutionary Defense Councils must replace the old bankrupt institutions. They will show the revolution the next road.

SALESemen WANTED
for "Spanish Revolution" and other Liberal and Socialist Literature. Call at U.L.O., 45 W. 17th St., N.Y.C.

MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORTS REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

The Catalan food workers of the C.N.T. issued the follow-
ing declaration to the small busi-
nessmen:
We respond to the serious ap-
peal issued by the anti-Fascist committee to the Catalan middle-
semen. The anti-Fascist com-
mitee pointed out that we now all share a great historical responsibility. That is why we appeal to you, to the Catalan middle-
men, to join us. It is necessary that you transcend the narrow mentality of your class and that you should not stand outside the workers’ ranks. You issued from the ranks of workers, you grew up among us and that is why you must do something for the well-being of your own class, for your own free-
dom which will come as a part of the general freedom. The anti-Fascist cooperatives, the Shop Merchants Association, employers and employees, have already taken the decision. They clearly saw the needs of our time and they decided to collectivize their business. Now they all work collectively. There are no more bosses and workers—all share their income according to their needs. Follow their example! They show the right way to overcome the distrust which you have in other workers of the C.N.T., for you witnessed with your own eyes the heroism of the C.N.T. and the Anarchist Alliance. You are now fighting against Fascism for the interests of the entire people, for the future of Spain.

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TOTAL Donations for Spain . $217,121
To date we have sent $2,000 to the C.N.T. through the I.W.W.
The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to E. Radinowski, c/o U.L.O., 45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.