ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

The anarcho-syndicalist unions and anarchist groups of Barcelona have recently started a series of educational mass meetings with the aim of placing before the great mass of workers the problems of the present revolutionary hour and the anarchist approach to their solution.

The first meeting drew a vast audience of workers who filled up the hall—one of the largest in the city—and the adjoining squares and streets where loud speakers were installed at each convenient spot.

The key speech was delivered by Federica Montseny, one of the C.N.T. representatives in the Central government, now holding the position of Minister of Health and Social Assistance. It was a magnificent speech—Federica Montseny is one of the finest speakers in the country—sketching a broad outline of the anarchist program for the present moment, linking it up with the basic principles of the libertarian outlook and showing the transcendent historic significance of the work already achieved by the anarchist movement of Spain.

THE SUMMARY OF MONTSENY'S SPEECH

(Like many other documents of importance which we presented to our readers in the past issues of the Spanish Revolution, this speech has to be recast in the form of a general summary fitting the limited space of our paper.)

Anarchists As Ever

The starting point of her speech was the assertion that the anarchists of Spain have not renounced their basic principles and that they are best as ever upon the realization of their central goal—the eradication of authority in the life of humanity. The present policy was brought about

(Continued on page three)

REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN

(Continued from previous page)

curved to an increasing extent. The anarchist daily published for the militia, Frente Libertario, reports frequent attempts to force the militiamen into joining the "cells"

(Continued on page three)

REPUBLICAN ARMY FOR REVOLUTIONARY ARM

The armed forces of the Spanish workers and peasants are now taking on more and more the shape of a regular army. This is demisting the conditions of modern warfare, by the fact that they had to face an armament and in possession of modern technology and equipment.

But central sectors of the anti-Fascist United Front are trying to model this new army too closely on the pattern of the Russian army. An attempt is made to introduce the institute of political commissars, to concentrate all power in the hands of the military superiors and the political organs of control set up by the War Ministry. And as it is inevitable in such a process, the rights of the militiamen are being curtailed to an increasing extent. The anarchist daily published for the militia, Frente Libertario, reports frequent attempts to force the militiamen into joining the "cells"

(Continued on page three)

Also in the air is the question of the Republican army. The arms of the nation are being mobilized to a lesser, but not inconsiderable extent. The anarchists are meeting with resistance at every turn. The military specialists, all of whom concurred in the opinion that the revolutionary militia is in full control of the strategic situation. More than three quarters of the Aragon province is now in the hands of the revolutionary army. That also goes for almost every strategic point of importance. The two main strongholds, the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza are nearly surrounded. Their fall, which is expected as a matter of course, will clear the road for a vigorous drive upon Navarre and País Vasco. This will enable the Catalan forces to effect a junction with the Asturian and Basque troops, as a result of which the smashing of the Fascist army caught between the Madrid and Catalan forces will become a simple military operation. The unsanctioned control of the central government (Valencia) Main Factor In Shattering the Offensive of Aragon Front. Why isn’t this plan put into operation? Whence the impression of a hopeless deadlock given by the standstill at the Aragon Front?

This is the opinion not only of the anarchists but also of prominent military specialists. One of them, now in charge of the technical side of the artillery forces of Catalonia, confirmed the same in a personal talk with our comrade. His words in this respect carry weight because he is not in a definite revolutionary camp; he is a sincere libertarian, writes:

"It is quite natural to expect that France and England will not tolerate the flocking of strong German forces to Spain."

Decisively the appearance of Germany as a military power south of the Pyrenees constitutes the greatest danger for France and may also lead to England retreating in the Mediterranean before Italy's pressure. Until now France and England were vacillating. But Barrando's classic saw, between two equally strong fears: of an anarchist and communist Spain on one hand and a Fascist Spain on the other hand. The last would mean the ominous situation of Germany and Italian military power upon Spanish soil. However, the formidable forces sent by Germany to Spain opened the eyes of France to the situation.

(Continued on page three)
SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Labor Organizations, American Friends and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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February 8, 1937

REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE INSEPARABLE

We are reprinting the following article from "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarchist-syndicalist paper in Barcelona), of Jan. 10. Its clear-cut language does not leave any doubt as to where the Spanish anarchists stand now on the question of bourgeois democracy.

This official statement was not issued by the Propaganda Bureau by way of reaffirming a general point of the anarchist program. It bears closely on the attempt now being made by the socialists and communists to check the further course of our revolutionary movement in order to consolidate the bourgeois democracy.

The thousands of proletarian fighters who now battle at the various fronts do not struggle for a "democratic republic." They are revolutionary workers who have taken up arms to make a revolution.

To postpone the triumph of such a revolution until the war is ended is to weaken considerably the fighting forces of the proletariat. And to return to the political situation prior to the Fascist revolt is to betray the militant workers, who fall heroically in the streets and fields of Spain.

DEMOCRATIC ILLUSIONS HARMFUL DURING REVOLUTION

Revolutionary workers have always regarded democracy as one of the forms in which the bourgeois State has assumed in order to bring about the political situation prior to the Fascist revolt to betray the militant workers, who fall heroically in the streets and fields of Spain.

Thus, the French socialist, daily, writes more and more often about the "inactivity of the anarchist forces" from which the anarcho-militia are left in the majority. The anarchist militiaman paper Free Libertarian speaks of this whispering campaign, which very often goes hand in hand with sabotaging attempts to withdraw any necessary arms and ammunition from anarchist brigades.

If it is not true that some people did believe that Mr. Louis Fisher's slanders did not emanate from this latter "party line," the fact that the pro-sects printed in the National should open their eyes to it. While hypocritically upholds the United Front, he reiterates the same charge in the form of an incident which shows all the marks of a comrade press agent technique.

And Mr. Fisher is nothing but a Moscow press agent, all his claims to the status of a professional journalist not withstanding.

Ralph Bates Explains Catalan Situation

Another "independent" journal reports the miraculous success of the communists in Catalonia. Ralph Bates is generally known to the American readers as a writer of novels on the author of several lurid articles on the anarchists of Catalonia. (His declamations on the sorry qualities of the Spanish soul were about as helpful in understanding the anarchistic movement as were the odious passages of DuSeldorff in unraveling the mysteries of Moscow trials.)

And because of the alleged "non-partisanship" of Mr. Bates, the general public was rather inclined to give credence to the sensational statement about the decline of Catalan anarchism made by him upon his arrival in this country. That Mr. Bates is now a member of the United Socialist-Communist Party of Canada daily in the United States and the U.G.T. unions speak of co-operating the industry while in other parts of the country they vigorously oppose the spontaneous movement of the workers toward the same goal. Is it the so-called "non-partisanship" of Mr. Bates and the C.N.T. and U.G.T. in Catalonia (about which Mr. Bates is rather silent) that the C.N.T. has done with the "splendid isolation" of the Catalan U.G.T.?

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Oft late the Moors are beginning to show signs of disintegration as fighting units. The Spanish press reports an increasing number of the Muslim mutinies which have recently taken place on the civil war front.

From the C.N.T., the official daily of the Anarchistic-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor, writes: "In the Badajoz sector a number of Moorish infantrymen were shot. They were caught in a mass attempt to cross the Portuguese border in order to escape further service in the Fascist army.

"French Morocco (the border province of Oran) is becoming an open road for a wave of deserters. In some cases the latter have returned to the Parliamentary and army equipment." In the rear recruiting becomes easier and more difficult. Agents of the Franco government are assassinated by recalcitrant villagers. Thus the papers report the murder of the chief of one of the tribes, who was killed by the Rifks because of his real penetration in this sector for the Moorish army in Spain.

Every Revolution Has Its Own Historic Pattern

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker.
"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar.
"Send to United Libertarian Organizations.
45 WEST 17th STREET.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. Fisher's Apology

Lou Fisher recently made one of the defamatory statements about the anarchists which he has been in the habit of making for the last few years. The readers of the Nation, where this statement appeared, are quite as well acquainted with his innumerous, which one time went as far as to attribute an anarchistic-class cooperation with the monarchists and Fascists.

Compared to his previous slanders, the last one striking of the cowardice of anarchist militia at the Madrid front sounds mild enough. It does, however, take on greater significance when viewed as a part of the whispering campaign now carried on against the anarchists by those who shout the loudest about "loyalty" to the United Front.

Thus, the Humanite, the French communist daily, writes about the "inactivity of the anarchist forces" from which the anarcho-militia are left in the majority. The anarchist militiaman paper Free Libertarian speaks of this whispering campaign, which very often goes hand in hand with sabotaging attempts to withdraw any necessary arms and ammunition from anarchist brigades.

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ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

by need of adapting themself to the dictatorial situation, the exact forces of which could not be forecast.

The anarchists of Spain brook to life, inspired and educated a great mass movement, which sprang up after the Russian revolution but which was guided by ideals which were very far from those of the Spanish revolution.

It was this movement that, historically speaking, proved to be the most vast and the most successful on the ground that its leaders, one of its most ardent and practical politicians, had been those who were the first to pass from the old to the new society.

This movement has always shown the power of adapting and necessary flexibility without which it could not have been the heroic task of a revolutionary period.

Authority was restored to it in its moral and physical form, but the anarchist ideal was not lost sight of, it was not diverted from its course, and it remained as a revolutionary reconstruction. For authority cannot be annihilated by a sudden act; it can be destroyed by a political constitution against its ever diminishing forms.

Historic Decision Between Two Courses of Action

Two courses of action lay open for the anarchist movement after the suppression of the Fascist revolt in Barcelona, one, to rush out into the field of the Conference of Libertarian Communism. The anarchists were strong enough to attempt such a course. They carried great moral weight with the workers, among whom they were opposed only by a debilitated socialist movement that was for political struggles and weakened by an opportunistic spirit.

This attempt, however, was not warranted by the situation facing the anarchist movement. Under the condition of a Russian liberation, of the declaration, of libertarian communism in Catalonia would be catastrophic. A revolutionary spirit was an attempt made by the authoritarian communists to impose their ideas.

It would render the international situation enormously difficult, exposing the Spanish people, which found itself almost totally to the danger of an immediate attack by Germany and Italy. It was necessary to form a revolutionary front, to get hold of the situation, the revolutionary forces against the old power of the existing society.

The Anarchists to Spain, America, and Italy agreed to help Franco.

(1) To Germany: (a) edging the Canary Islands as a naval and military base.

(b) Ceding of Spanish Morocco and Guinea.

(c) Recognition of unlimited rights in the exploitation of the Auristan mines in the north and the Roper (copper) mines in the south.

(2) To Italy: (a) Ceding the Balistic Islands.

(b) Ceding the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro on the west coast of Africa.

(3) To France: the abandonment of France.

(4) The right to exploit the coal and mines and the mercury deposits of Spain.

In view of the chimerical nature of such demands France and England came to view the German and Italian aggression as the most dangerous. They WILL RATHER PREPARE A SYNDICATE WITH WHOM CERTAIN TERMS CAN BE ARRANGED, THAN THE DANGEROUS RIVALRY OF FASCIST POWERS.

STOCK EXCHANGES REACT TO FANTASY FAILURE

From the purely commercial point of view, Franco's chances to begin to look rather slim. The business of Madrid, international capital, had faith in France. The financial, the political, and the social fraternities (the one in control of the mines of Andalucia), kept on rising. But now they have tended to waver, as they do not know where they are going. The same is true of the French consortium which specializes in the production of Arms. Its shares already dropped from 350 to 280 points.

TOWARD A SYNDICALIST SPAIN

The new year will bring us victory over Fascism. But this is only a part of our task. After the civil war will come the social revolution, the social revolution of the century.

This victory was made possible by the firm unity of the working class.

And now we shall be faced with the problem of building up a socialized economy, of defining the control of the property. The C.N.T. has now a program. It demands that the economic life should be placed under the control of the syndicates of the same work. If the U.G.T. (the socialist trade unions) subscribes to the execution of this program, the triumph of the proletariat is assured.

A. Soucy.

SPEED VICTORY PREDICTED BY PROMINENT ANARCHISTS

(Continued from page one)

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REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN

(A COMRADE WRITES FROM BARCELONA)

(Continued from page one) December 19, 1931--Riot police in Barcelona are reported to be using tear gas in an attempt to prevent the spread of labor disturbances. The anarchists and other groups who are opposed to the government are said to be planning a general strike for January 1.

"It is a pity," says one of the strike leaders, "that the police are so afraid of the people that they cannot stop the strike from spreading. The police are using tear gas to try to prevent the spread of the strike. But the workers are not afraid. They are determined to fight for their rights.

"The strike is growing stronger every day. The workers are no longer afraid of the police. They are fighting for their lives. They are fighting for their families. They are fighting for their freedom.

"The police are using tear gas to try to break the strike. But the workers are not frightened. They are not afraid of the police. They are fighting back.

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