Economic Problems of Spanish Revolution

This was the subject of a very important speech delivered by one of the prominent members of the C.N.T., Mariano Carbonell Rosell, in which he analyzed the present phase of economic reconstruction and its most pressing problems.

The speech is one of the series arranged by the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Ibiza) and C.N.T. (anarcho - syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in one of the old halls of Barcelona. All those speeches deal with some important aspect of the revolution now taking place in Spain.

Summary of Rosell's Speech

In spite of the war, which absorbs the major part of the energies of the working class, the

(Continued on page three)

Why Germany Withholds Aid

The original plans of Germany in regard to Spain have suffered a temporary lapse. It cannot fix the country with troops and ammunition at the rate it originally planned.

This is due to the realities of the imperialist states. But that does not tell the whole story. No small factor in the slowing down of Germany's aid to the Spanish Anarchists is the irresponsiblity of the "volunteers" sent to Spain. This is reported by the Paris correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" (Feb. 9), who writes: "Germany's apparent reluctance to send more troops to Spain arise from considerations of a general kind—it is attributed, to a number of concrete facts. Among these are the heavy casualties—about 1500—suffered by the German troops in the last week and also to numerous cases of desertion, including that of eight officers among the German troops around Madrid.

"It is believed that the reports of serious discontent in Germany over the dispatch of troops to Spain are not unfounded, and that the discontent has had a certain influence on the German Government."

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

A new pamphlet just out (in English) is: "The Life and Work of Buenaventura Durruti..." The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dash... 10c... "The Truth About Spain" by Ralph Rocker... 25c... Send to U. L. O. 45 W. 17th St. New York

PEASANTS SUPPLANTING STATE AND CAPITALISM

The article reprinted below is taken from the French Anarchist weekly, "L'Anarchie Nouvelle." It deals with the most important phase of revolutionary reconstruction in Spain. The emancipation of the rural masses and its spontaneous interlinking with the socialized economy of the cities is, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of the libertarian revolution in Spain. The humble masses of Spain are blazing new paths for the emancipation of labor from capitalism and for a greater, even greater, and more powerful new Spain—-ahead—the control of economic life by a totalitarian State. The full significance of this work is only now beginning to dawn upon the radical world which is coming to see more and more the great originality and the pioneering nature of a revolution that broke with all time-worn methods and procedures.

The "Free Municipality" (Ville Commune)

First Step in the Emancipation of Peasants from State and Capitalism

"The first problem presented itself before the Spanish village was that of reconstructing the right to live and of making itself independent of the State and Capital.

"This was achieved by the creation of 'free communes' (municipic L'Anarchie Nouvelle'..."

(Continued on page four)
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 STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. • Chilano 3-8567
Vol. 1, No. 13
March 12, 1937

THE POLITICAL PATTERN
OF THE NEW EUROPE

The federalist idea which the anarchists are now trying to carry out in Spain is still considered by many as a purely Spanish issue, of no particular relevance to the great revolutionary struggle waged all over the world. And what if Spain goes Federalist, people still keep in asking, if various provinces of the Iberian peninsula succeed in obtaining the widest sort of autonomy, in which way will that solve the burning question of economic construction with which the world, and especially Europe, is now faced?

That questioning attitude is the result of the generally prevailing opinion that a new, progressive economic society can be built up without making similar efforts in the direction of a new, progressive political organization. People are still prone to believe that all we need now is to build up a socialised economy and that the rest will come by itself. But if anything was demonstrated by the tragic developments of the last few years, it is that a progressive form of political organization no economic changes of the most radical kind will solve the basic ills of modern society. Socialism about the basic minimum of freedom is just a form of fascism. And to secure such a minimum of freedom, the new social order must embody the federalist principles for which the anarchists of Spain are fighting now.

This struggle is of particular significance in view of the situation in which Europe may find itself at any moment. The terrific catastrophe into which it is rushing now will unloose revolutionary forces concentrated to which the elementary forces of the October revolution were but feeble stirrings. Europe will soon be cast into the vast crucible of revolutionary reconstruction during which the problem of federal unity of all its various states and regions will become as much of a necessity as the recasting of its economic order.

Without evoking such a federal unity, without striking out boldly for an all-European Federation, the coming European revolution will lead to frustration, to some form of socialist imperialism which will collapse just as surely as any other form of imperialism.

Socialist Europe will be a Federated Europe. This will be dictated by the general necessity of conditions entailing the make-up of the new revolutionary society. But that means making allowances not only for national traditions, but for the great differences existing among the various localities on the questions of federation and a new social order.

It is this kind of federalism that the Spanish anarchists are now trying to carry out. The All-Iberian Federation at which they are aiming now has very little to do with the Soviet Federation which is so only in name. The basic principle of the Spanish federalism is the right of every region to proceed with its own experiments in the field of social reconstruction. And it is this basic right that is denied by the totalitarian state of Soviet Russia.

Let the anarchists succeed in weaving this basic principle into the emerging political structure of Spain and the fear-ridden Europe will see before itself the clearest demonstration of how the question of national rights is not only not a problem of national rivalries, but the still more difficult problem of embodying the widest variety of socialist ideas prevalent among its labor movements into an interclass society that is to emerge upon the ruins of the present imperialist states.

The Iberian Socialist Federation will become the political pattern of the great revolution toward which Europe is swept along by the irresistible march of events.

"We are now going through a profound revolution which will lead to the realization of the basic principles of a free economy."—from Rossell's speech in "The Economic Problems of the Revolution."

POLITICAL TRICKERY EXPOSED

We already reported in one of the previous issues of 'the Spanish Revolution' (February 8) that, according to the generally prevailing opinion in Catalonia, the present condition on the Aragon front is due to the communist-inspired attempt on the part of the high military command to starve out the troops fighting in Aragon in point of simply of armament. The motives underlying this systematic sabotage of one of the most vital sectors of the front are clearly outlined above which are predominant on the Aragon front and a decisive victory there would put an end to the lately reviled hopes of going back to the old order of things. And that is why the old Machiavellian policy pursued eighteen years ago in Soviet Russia in regard to the Maloos-led peasant militia of Eastern Ukraine might perhaps be attempted on a larger scale in re- gard to the anarchist troops of the Aragon front.

Every known trick is being used to divert the shipment of armament from the front military which the communist press is gradually working up an affected indignation over. The fact is really that the troops in the Aragon front are slow in coming to the aid of Madrid.

The following excerpts from the "Solidaridad Obrera" (January 29 and 30) expose the political manoeuvres underlying the federation's situation against the Aragon militia.

Anarchists Impose Unity

(Continued from page one)

"The anarchist comrades have answered the question before the other sectors with clarity and precision, pointing out that, if they continue to differ in their tactics in such a venomous fashion, it would lead to mutual destruction. It was explained that the other sectors were faced with the threat of an arrogant and powerful enemy who could be faced only by one and a single union of all anti-Fascist organizations. After lengthy discussions, the representatives of all organizations have unanimously considered the importance of eliminating every poisonous and insulting campaign, either by word of mouth or press, against each other which has been the cause of mutual attrition. The revolution is placed in constant danger by such political manoeuvres. Common sense tells us that the revolution can be assured in one way only: efficient defence against the attack of our common enemies; the inextinguishable unity of all enemies of reaction."

Revolutionary Ethics Uphold

The "Solidaridad Obrera" adds—

"We fully uphold our revolutionary principles, and do not forgo our right to advocate our ideas or to criticise, in a noble and loyal manner, tactics that appear to us as being somewhat slippery in their nature. But we believe that it is possible to fight for the revolution, to work for the upbuilding of the revolutionary economy, to defend the right of the proletariat to dispose of the future of this country, and to maintain at the same time correct relations with parties which in virtue of the interests they represent are necessarily opposed to our revolutionary line, but which still have certain points in common with us."

Plans Advanced for Socialist Economy

(Continued from page one)

the country. The reply should be: the aid of the peasants not only in respect of supplying them with labor, but also by placing at their disposal all available financial means, improved technical methods and other means necessary to the well-being of the peasants, but lacking now in the villages.

7. To develop systematically, inasmuch as circumstances permit, the exchange of products, basing its upon municipal and private industries. That will permit the concentration of financial resources and the rapid elimination of private commerce.

8. To increase the export of industrial products and raw materials that must be accepted by foreign countries, which, due to the pressure of their own workers' organizations, are not altogether hostile. 

9. To affirm to an ever greater extent the economic solidarity among the separate labor forces as well as among the separate pro-

FIGHTERS which, according to some double-faced politicians, are rather tell us unpardonably the political military formations which they vainly try to create."

Fear of Anarchists Cause of Sabotage of Aragon Troops

In another issue of the paper the same question is taken up for discussion:

"... There is a shortage of rifles and other armaments, which are withheld from us. Why is it that the worst of it is that they are not made on the Aragon front. . . . No attacks are made on the Aragon front because nothing was done to facilitate an attack. And that wasn't done because there is a definite interest in the direction of doing it. And that interest is motivated by the desire to cause the breakdown of anarcho-syndicalism which is now predominant in Catalonia.

"Since it is the anarchists that are most strongly represented on the Aragon front and the 'federal' manipulations or political manoeuvres are directed toward preventing the anarcho-syndicalist movement from making a fool of itself. They prefer to lose the war rather than to see the triumph of the ideals of the C.N.T. and F.A.I."

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity. It is your fight as well as theirs. Help this heroic struggle. Send contributions to I. Radinovsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.
ANARCHISTS IN ASTURIAS

(Continued from page one)

prosperity needs to transcend the institutional barriers that have prevented economic activity from developing in a way that could benefit all the people. The solution lies in breaking down these barriers and creating opportunities for all, regardless of their economic status.

The Spanish Revolution brought about profound changes in the country, transforming ideas and social structures. It was a time of intense political activity, and the anarchists played a significant role in shaping the future of Spain. Their ideas and ideals continue to inspire and influence people around the world.
LIBERTARIAN YOUTH OF SPAIN FIGHT REFORMISTS

An important national conference of the powerful organization "Avantgarda Socialista" (Avantgarde Socialist) opened on the 25th, beginning of the month of February. The brief report of the proceedings printed in the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Feb. 4th) gives us some idea of the powerful revolutionary current represented by this organization.

THE STRANGE ATTITUDE OF THE MARXISTS

In their reports all the delegates complained of the lack of solidarity shown by the socialists and communists toward us. Interloping elements are done by them on the Aragon front and that cannot be passed by in silence. "If arms are given to us in Aragon, we will start an offensive. But if the sabotage continues in this respect, we shall be forced to take measures against the sabotage and against the hooligans in the C.N.T. (Comintern agents in the National Government) that they point out to the Council of Ministers by the necessity of putting a stop to the counter-revolutionary campaign which the socialists and communists carry on against the anarchosyndicalist troops. The Conference demands an equal division of finally being unmasked and declared as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the work. The Conference protests against the statements of the General Secretary of the United Socialist Youth, Carillo, made to the effect that all those who favor the socialization of land and industries are part of the "fifth column." (Ed. note: hideous fascists sympathizers.) Such statements can emanate from people who are totally incapable of understanding the real meaning of the present war. The Libertarian Youth will never consent to any form of sabotage, conscious or unconscious, practiced against the Social Revolution."

PEASANTS SUPPLANTING CAPITALIST ECONOMY

"...by the State but by the peasant syndicates." The agricultural unions (the anarchosyndicalists C.N.T., the socialists Unión de Propietarios de Terrenos (Tenant-farmers)) have played a predominant role in the coordination and the solidarity of the agrarian communities. At first, syndicates (unions) started with defending the proletarization and semi-proletarization of the villages against the big land owners. But afterwards (that is, following the revolution) they took over the control of the man power, the regulation of the prices of the products, the organization of exchange with other communities. State Socialism Prevented by Syndicates "This 'go-between' role of the syndicates was completely to some extent, since it was only through the intervention of the syndicates that state socialisms in evitably leading to Fascist 'coer- porativism' was prevented from imposing itself upon the new country created in the villages by the spontaneous action of the peasants. "Only the syndicates were able to organize this muddy environment where capitalist norms still survive, where class war still goes on, where the most chaotic demands are all intermingled and where the rule 'every one for himself' still holds good. Only the syndicates were able to establish a provisional accord between the city and the village in the necessity of supplying food to the civil population and the millillemen on the frontier between the multiplicity of the working masses and the political, military, financial and economic situation of the moment. "And meanwhile, in measure that the agrarian unions (village commune) becomes transformed into a 'collective,' there grows up the net of exchanges and free, spontaneous solidarity which interlinks the 'agricultural collective' (or rather the agricultural collective and the socialized factory, and also the collective and the supply center) into the unified whole of the organization. Little by little this new system based upon free services and distribution acknowledges that the needs is taking on a distinct organic form. We are emerging a Federation of 'collectives' or co-operative of production and distribution constituting the cells of a new world."

COMMUNIST AND BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS FIGHT PEASANT MOVEMENT"'

"With this two-fold structure of the syndicates (workers and peasants unions) and agricultural collectives we see emerging a system of production and distribution competing at the same time with private capitalism and state socialism. "However, due to the war and the need for a rapid social transformation, state socialisms and private capitalism have taken courage, seek- ing now to regain their lost positions. The defensive alliance of these two sectors is the decisive fact of the last months. It is characterized by the alliance of the Spanish Communist Party with the most conservative forces of bourgeois liberalism. "Enough of socializations," they say. The State, the Central government is the only one to take charge of the confiscations necessary for the national defense. All the workers should do now is to demand higher wages, the peasants to sell their products at the highest price possible. The manufacturer should be left free to set his price and but the merchant should regulate his production and the merchant to fight out his battle..." Such is the language used every day by the politicians who are the lingual representation of the Paris government and the Valencia government are the authentic representatives, statements can emanate from people who are totally incapable of understanding the real meaning of the present war. The Libertarian Youth will never consent to any form of sabotage, conscious or unconscious, practiced against the Social Revolution."

ECONOMIC CHAOS IN FASCIST SPAIN

The Bonn-Aires newspaper El Correo de Aragón published some denunciations made by Manuel Alonso Alvarez, the ex-mayor of Villanueva, a town in the province of Càdiz. He belonged to the "infamous" press that sympathizes with the Fascist movement. He even took part in spreading the "publicity" against the regime of the Spanish Republic, but he found it impossible to work with the Fascists and was, finally, compelled to seek refuge abroad. He stated that the Fascists executed a great number of prisoners taken in their advance upon Madrid. His report was based upon personal experience of the territories held by the Fascists remain unoccupied. According to him, there is hardly a piece of land in the subdues territory which is adequately attended. In speaking of the medicines taken by the Fascists to issue their own money, he said that the people in general use the real Spanish money (of the fascist government) for the purchase of necessary articles, and that the rest of this money is hidden by the population in their gardens and other places.

In the struggle around Madrid the Fascists suffered tremendous losses. The wounded soldiers coming from the front are in such sad state that it is impossible to take the capital. One of the wounded soldiers coming from the front told Alonso that out of the four thousand Fascist soldiers fighting at that sector there remained only forty-three. The soldiers are supposed to get nine pesetas a day but in reality two or three people of each company get that sum. Any attempt on the part of the soldiers to claim their money is met with threats and punishments on the part of the officers."

"But all those advocates of a lost cause are given the lie by the work done in the last month by the peasants. For the latter, in their tentative attempts to build up a socialized economy are guided not by ideological slogans but by the irrepressible outburst of vital necessity which, in view of the situation, leave only one alternative: Fascist slavery or full regeneration in the Iberian Federation of Workers."

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION WHAT?" a book by Santillán, will be ready for print soon. The price is $0.10 if ordered right now.

BUTTONS WITH THE C.N.T.-F.A.I. EMBLEM can be ordered now from the U.O.P.—Price 50c each.

Send to Jack White, c/o U.O.P., 46 W. 17th St., New York,