

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

U. G. T. - C. N. T.
Unity Proposals and
Comments Page 3.

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WORKERS HAVE BEEN BETRAYED

By Their Union Leaders

THE National Government has moved one step further away from the "democratic ideals" by which it got into Parliament, and has once more confirmed the words for ever repeated by us that the term "democracy" to-day is just a means of hiding the fascist leanings of this government.

Mr. Chamberlain wishes to extend British friendship to Mussolini, seemingly believing that he is a man of his word, in spite of the fact that during the last three years, contrary to his pledge at the League of Nations he attacked Abyssinia (and not because of the Wal Wal incident, which de Bono in his book has proved to be a frame-up); he used poisonous gas on the civilian population thereby breaking another pledge. He was sending shiploads of arms and men to Spain whilst his representative was sitting on the Non Intervention Committee. He was sinking merchant ships whilst discussions were in progress as to the protection that should be offered merchant ships from attacks by "pirate" submarines. And since Chamberlain has extended his friendship to Mussolini, more important shipments of arms and aeroplanes have reached Spain, and in fact the fall of Teruel has been attributed to the sudden increase in the Rebel's artillery and aeroplane strength on that front. But Mr. Chamberlain can indeed feel proud for his actions have met with some response in Italy. The newspapers no longer attack this country, and the Bari radio station has ceased its anti-English propaganda though it still does broadcast in Arabic! This is the paltry reward for submission to Fascism.

Eden's resignation (not to be compared with Hoare's dismissal, for the latter was sacrificed to save the face of the Government, whilst Eden was sacrificed to satisfy the Government's openly pro-fascist policy) has been interpreted by the mass of the English people as representing England's submission to Fascism. It seems a reasonable light in which to view the situation, but the workers should not believe that they have lost a champion of real democracy by Eden's dismissal. For Eden was in office at the outbreak of the Spanish conflict, and he took no stand on behalf of the Spanish people, or for that matter, the legal Spanish Government; nor did he take any active measures to protect merchant ships in the Mediterranean. And have the workers forgotten the British Government's attitude when Franco threatened the Basque people with starvation, or when

appeals were made to the British Government to protect ships carrying innocent women and children from Bilbao? It was during Eden's period of office. And was it not Eden who at Geneva declared that sanctions against Italy had proved ineffective, just when they were beginning to have effect?

Yet the politicians in the Labour Party and the Communist Party and their respective organs the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Worker* are clamouring for Chamberlain's resignation and for Eden's re-instatement. The co-operatives likewise, flocked to Hyde Park last Sunday with the slogan that Eden must be recalled; whilst the *Daily Worker* believes that the fate of Spain is at stake on this issue.

Both Attlee and Gallacher, embittered critics of Eden, from the day he took office, now see in him the saviour of anti-fascism both here and in Spain! We cannot but repeat what we have said since the day Franco's

hordes were let loose on the Spanish workers, namely, that **NO AID WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE SPANISH WORKERS FROM THIS COUNTRY OR ELSEWHERE UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THIS COUNTRY DECIDE THEMSELVES TO TAKE ACTION AND SUPPORT THE SPANISH STRUGGLE.** The Parliamentary opposition, the Labour Party, is not revolutionary;* nor is the Communist Party, which frustrated in its attempt to gain control in the Labour movement is now turning to all and sundry, from the Labour Party to the Church, from reformists to down and out reactionaries, to offer them their support.

It must be in the Unions, then, the organizations which should control the means of production and the means of

*Attlee, Labour Party leader wrote in the "The Labour Party in Perspective" (Gollancz) "The Labour Party has deliberately adopted the method of constitutional action and has rejected the tactics of revolution."

transport, that action must come if this country is to be saved from the Fascist aspirations of the Conservatives, and aid be effectively rendered to the Spanish workers. But this aid will not be forthcoming so long as the workers in these organizations wait for the lead to be given them by their leaders.

Have they already forgotten the example given them by their Spanish comrades on July 19th, 1936 when, without waiting for instructions from their leaders they went into the streets and defeated fascism in large towns as Barcelona and Madrid as well as in small villages with a few hundred inhabitants. Had they waited for a lead to come from the leaders of the Popular Front, Spain would have been under Franco's heel within a week of the outbreak.

It must be the same in this country. The Bevins and the Citrines, who feather their nests at the workers' expense, will never give a lead for effective

action. Effective action can come only through DIRECT ACTION and the workers have it in their power to disorganize, to destroy the capitalist machine once everyone of them shoulders his responsibility towards his fellow worker, and ceases to be a mere puppet in the hands of the bureaucrats and traitors within the Unions.

The history of the Spanish workers is one of DIRECT ACTION—of strikes—of sabotage and of boycott. The ballot-box, whether it decides between a Conservative or Labour Government will never solve the aspirations of the workers: true Revolutionary Socialism. Direct Action alone will rid society of its parasites, within and outside of the workers organisations, its upstarts and its budding dictators, red or black.

A Conscious workers' movement!

A Workers' movement which actively defends the workers of other countries in their struggle against reaction!

A Workers' movement ready to use DIRECT ACTION in its own struggle against reaction!

"Who Can Represent Us?" asks TIERRA Y LIBERTAD

IT IS asserted on all hands with a severity that is truly frightening, that the Popular Front and its members, represent everybody. It follows, accordingly, that wherever the Popular Front is, there our Leaders are gathered together, and furthermore, that we are all in duty bound to see in such and such an organisation the genuine manifestation of our own will in operation.

In the days of electoral representation the politicians tired us with their games. For were we not all, every Spaniard of us, really represented by party X, which addressed us through the medium of its most distinguished orators, and offered, in exchange for our support, the miraculous solution of all our troubles?

And although we live in a new period of history, in which we all profess to know each other, and nobody can deceive himself with frivolous unrealities and catchwords, those parties who are unable to respond to the insistent demand for a full anti-fascist front, go on repeating the old cry: The Popular Front represents the entire people and interprets the will of all Anti-fascist Spaniards.

The grand old days of election crisis have gone. If we are to win, we can only do so on the basis of realities and positive facts, using solutions and formulas that are in direct line with the tragedy that affects us every day. We put it to the heralds of the so-called Popular Front, that they are wasting their energies in trying to spread the conviction that we are all gathered together under the flags of a few political parties, very respectable doubtless, but in a hopeless minority, in the midst of the great mass of workers in whose hands is the destiny of our country.

Nobody can lay claim to universal representation. Be where he may, nobody can set up as interpreter of the will of the whole people. There may be play and counterplay in certain political and syndicalist spheres. It may happen, unfortunately, that Party A represents the Workers' Syndicate B. But it is totally absurd to generalize to the point of forgetting that there are in Spain three Libertarian organizations which hold the balance in the scale of events.

No one can claim to represent the FAI, the CNT or the Juventudes Libertarias, but their own representatives. However high a position he may occupy, nobody can claim to express the will and the longings of two million revolutionary workers, with their own outlook, their own ideology and aspirations. And so long as there are not men whose talk and action does not arise from the very heart of our organization, there will be vast numbers of anti-fascists who will be unprotected by the mantle of a political party.

The revolutionary proletariat is not to be satisfied with set phrases and tub-thumping catchwords. It has organizations of its own, with full rights, for taking part in the Life of Spain at a time when it can offer any sacrifice that may be called for. Enough of tactical manoeuvres. We have spoken clearly. We have always stood for the unity of all anti-fascist parties, but it must be on the firm basis of equal duties and rights for all.

We reject the gratuitous patronage of the political front and the men in it. We prefer to be represented everywhere by our own appointees. We are not under age, nor are we living in times which lend themselves to jest.

Who can represent the revolutionary proletariat? Who can speak for the millions of anti-fascists who are outside the parties which compose the so-called Popular Front? Who can represent the CNT, the FAI and the Juventudes Libertarias?

Our reply is clear, and those who value truth above mere party consideration, should understand and take note of it; THE C.N.T.-F.A.I. AND JUVENTUDES LIBERTARIAS, (LIBERTARIAN YOUTH), REGARD AND ALWAYS WILL REGARD THEMSELVES AS REPRESENTED ONLY BY THOSE WHO ARE DIRECTLY OF THEM, AND WHOSE BEHAVIOUR IS PLAINLY DERIVATIVE OF THEIR IDEOLOGY.

(Tierra y Libertad)

Revolutionary Economy

Tailoring Industry In Barcelona

WHEN the war broke out, Barcelona immediately sent over 13,000 men to the front, mostly from the CNT-FAI ranks.

The workers took over the industries left abandoned by the fleeing fascist owners, running them collectively. New industries were developed to meet the demands of the war. Among the new ones is the men's tailoring industry, which furnishes clothing for the soldiers. This collectivized industry now employing over 900 workers, started with two tables and two cutters furnished by the Commission of War Industries. Very soon the enthusiasm and energy of the workers raised the production to as high as 3,500 to 4,000 outfits a day. At one time they worked 36 hours straight through, and after a rest period of six hours, they renewed their work for 24 additional hours, without stopping. It was very cold at the front and the soldiers needed

The Febus News Agency, interviewing the Manager of the Collectivized Men's Clothing Industry, has the following figures: from January 9 to May 11, 56,498 pairs of corduroy trousers were made; from March 4 until May 29, 11,780 "pescadoras"; from March 18 to June 8, 22,131 khaki suits and 800 trousers. The Barcelona industry supplied mainly the Aragon front, but it also worked for the armies of Vizcaya, Asturias, etc.

This is an entirely new industry, which the workers developed during the war.

The CNT Can Save the Revolution

Policy of Concessions Must Cease

"The enthusiasm of July must be recaptured" declares the C.N.T. in a statement published by them and reproduced below. That is true. But that enthusiasm — a spontaneous reaction of the mass of workers and peasants — will not be recaptured by pursuing a policy of concession after concession.

Up to the present we have only occasionally expressed our disagreement with the policy of concessions made by our comrades. But the statement issued by the C.N.T. cannot be passed over without comment. What is the difference between July and to-day? The C.N.T. gives the answer: "The people then felt certain of the future; knew what they were fighting for; were confident of the fruits of victory." The people — the C.N.T. states — took over the factories and workshops which had been abandoned and "broke through the bonds of a regime and a system." This was the Social Revolution, which was to liberate them from the Capitalists and from central authority. From that day they were to resolve their own problems, and in their task they were encouraged by the CNT. But Spain was attacked on one side by International Fascism and in the rearward by the imposition of a dictatorship diametrically opposed to their ideals. The Cheka was soon to carry out its work of undermining the Spanish workers, attempting to destroy the achievements of the workers and to go away with the real revolutionaries.

The C.N.T. wavered during that period. It was not the ideal that was doubted, but the actual military situation, which apparently made them fear the outcome of any open action against these outrages. Russia was sending them arms with which to counterbalance, to some extent, those supplied to Franco by Mussolini and Hitler. And from that day have followed a series of concessions which in our opinion have endangered — if not already destroyed — the successful outcome of those first glorious months of the Social Revolution.

The C.N.T. now seems to want to return to the Government. Again, we cannot consider this action as meaning that they have abandoned their ideals. They believe—quite sincerely we are sure—that public opinion wishes them to join the Government. We cannot judge in London what Spanish public opinion wants. But we can look back to 1936-37 when the C.N.T. did enter the Government. They found themselves in a minority in spite of the fact that they represented the largest working class movement; they were given portfolios which had no real significance in the struggle, and it was during their period of office that the workers began to lose that enthusiasm of July. The Government, on the other hand found it an excellent occasion to intensify their counter-revolutionary programme, by arresting the militants of the CNT-FAI and handing over to the Communists and Assault Guards all the key positions at the front and in the rearward. From that time dates the campaign to muzzle the

and who have already achieved so much in the rearward both in supporting their comrades at the front with their material needs and creating a new economy, a new way of living. And they must not be betrayed for the sake of the Negrin Government and its bourgeois following, for they, and not Negrin, are the public opinion of Spain to-day.

★

The return to the enthusiasm of July must be then once again the work of the C.N.T. They must have the complete confidence of the workers as they had on the 19th July. To achieve this they must show the workers that they will not abandon that which the workers have already achieved, and that they will go forward in their struggle not only against the enemy at the front, but will consolidate the conquests of the revolution. They must exercise the respect that such an organization demands from all other parties and organizations, and that not only they must make concessions for the sake of unity, but must wait for the other organizations to rise to their level. The C.N.T. must bring to an end the shameful treatment of the anti-fascists in the prisons in their territory, and see that they are liberated. The effect this would have on the workers can be better gauged by remembering what was the popular reaction when the 30,000 prisoners of the earlier rising in Spain were liberated by the people shortly after the February elections. It put new life into the people. The same will happen to-day.

The C.N.T. by its revolutionary attitude, its defence of the revolutionary spirit which crushed Fascism in July, alone will save anti-fascist Spain from dictatorship of the 1934 rising in Spain were to do this, to gather up popular feeling, the C.N.T. must not be an instrument to the counter-revolutionary policy of the Negrin Government.

Concessions lead to disaster and the useless bloodshed of thousands of workers and prolongs the agony of hundreds of thousands of innocent women and children.

COMMUNIST PARTY TACTICS

MORE HARMLESS SLOGANS

OUR Communist comrades have a press which deserves our most serious attention. The outstanding feature in it is the agility with which they adopt slogans, and defend certain "urgent necessities," adapting their arguments to tactics of the moment, which naturally have the party approval. But perhaps the most notable of all that is to be observed in the papers of the Communist Party, is that they always are and always have been right. They preach newly discovered doctrine in the confidence that other parties will lend ear to them. For this is a fact. If to-day our communist comrades have to defend the precise opposite of what they were preaching and defending yesterday, they quite conclusively prove to us, as they perform the manoeuvres, that they have never upheld the same thesis, that they always showed us the right way, and that they never failed to point out the direction that we should take to avoid the dangers that they were good enough to detail for us.

Observe, for example, what they have written and continue to write under the various slogans alusive of the War and the Revolution, The Popular Front, the Popular Anti-fascist Front, the Only Party, Sindical Unity and so on. In all of their writings—and we refer to the most recent leading articles—the Communist Party has always asserted that:

WE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM AND FOR THE REVOLUTION. THE POPULAR FRONT REPRESENTS THE PEOPLE AND THAT THE CNT OUGHT TO BE INCORPORATED INTO IT.

SINDICAL UNITY AND UNITY INSIDE THE U.G.T. ARE ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE FOR VICTORY.

THE ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED EVERYWHERE.

UNITY MUST BE EFFECTED BEHIND THE LINES ON THE BASIS OF A PROGRAMME WHICH LEADS TO VICTORY.

THE C.N.T. SHOULD HAVE A SHARE IN RULING!

STRICT EQUALITY MUST GUARANTEE ALL PARTIES FAIR REPRESENTATION IN THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

THE WAR WILL BE WON BY PASSING FROM TALK TO UNIFIED ACTION BEHIND THE LINES.

AN EXAMPLE MUST BE BY SACRIFICING PARTY AMBITIONS.

All that, and lots more, have always been upheld by the Communist Party. ALWAYS, though you may not believe it. And they have never failed to set a practical example.

Delightful and encouraging. What? ("Tierra y Libertad")

Spanish Deputy Comments on Absence of C.N.T from Government

Two Million Anti-Fascist Unrepresented

SOCIALIST, Republican and Communist voices have been heard in our Parliament, and these voices have recognized the importance of the part played by the CNT in the struggle which is being carried on. Some of them expressed great regret that the Anarcho-Syndicalists are not represented in the Popular Front or the Government.

Comrades and friends who have done us the great honour of quoting

the three glorious letters (CNT) in the place where Libertarian Spaniards are unrepresented, we were already aware of it. We already knew that the CNT, the recent National Economic General Assembly (Pleno Nacional Economico) which speaks plainly of its power and creative capacity, was one of the most solid bulwarks in the struggle against Fascism.

We were also aware of another fact:— that the CNT is a power with features that are very much its own, with an unmistakable personality, and that these qualities make it invincible in the face of any attempt against its prestige and strength. We are borne out in this by living experiences, of which certain tacticians have as much experience as we have.

Moreover, comrades and friends, who in Montserrat offered a flower of your prose in homage to those millions of workers, peasants, soldiers and Army Leaders who belong to the CNT, we knew yet another thing. We thought, at least, that you in no ways regretted that the CNT was not represented in certain responsible quarters. We thought, in our simplicity that you had taken firm root in the ground of the latest fashionable doctrine. The doctrine that distributes obligations and privileges with strict impartiality: which grants the Sindicalist organisations the right to contribute towards the intensification and efficiency of production or distribution): which grants to the political parties—only the parties—the right of governing, since they have been educated for that purpose, and have, according to Don Manuel Cordero, better aptitudes for it than the Sindicalists, whose place is more properly where their work is.

But, notwithstanding all that we have read and continue to read in the Press, we are glad—exceedingly glad — of the advertisement given by our comrades in Parliament, who agreed that there were two million anti-fascists without parliamentary representation. The world now knows that the CNT deserves the consideration, which in fact it does not yet receive.

One day, perhaps, when the grave events of our war are dealt with in their true perspective, words may be converted to deeds. Then the CNT which, — let us say it a thousand times, — cannot be represented by political parties nor by political popular fronts, will not only take part in the fighting and in Municipal activities, but also, perhaps, and in just proportion to its strength, in guiding the Life of Spain. (Tierra y Libertad.)

THE ENTHUSIASM of JULY MUST be RECAPTURED

A DECLARATION By The C.N.T

FOR some time past the various parties and organisations have been making public speeches. The Government has also joined in. On the historical mountain, (Montserrat) whose recesses have seen the fabrication of so many human misfortunes, we heard the voices of those who in February, 1936, were charged by the people to free the fighters who populated our jails. The CNT was not heard. It is not represented in Parliament, which owes its existence to the enthusiasm, heroism and self-sacrifices of our militants, who on July 19th did not hesitate to fulfil their duties as revolutionaries and anti-fascists.

Subsequently, we have had inflammatory proclamations and manifestos, destined to stir up the workers and people generally to extend and improve their efforts, to co-operate ceaselessly for the victory, and to outdo themselves in sacrifices.

In this solemn moment the CNT also wishes to say something.

Our words shall be calculated, calm and objective, as they have been since July 19th.

At Montserrat those who spoke, spoke in the only way that their situation permitted. They carried out their duties. We are going to do our duty, a duty imposed upon us by the workers whose interests we represent, whose Cause we defend and whose blood is being poured out.

We shall speak very briefly. This is not the moment for speaking, but acting.

THE ENTHUSIASM OF JULY MUST BE RECAPTURED.

That is all, save to define what must be done to recapture that enthusiasm.

In July the people came into the Arena burning with faith in victory. This they achieved in the most important, in the more educated and in the politically conscious half of Spain. The organisation of work was immediately undertaken. Some started the factories and workshops, which had been abandoned by traitors at the first sound of trouble. Others flung themselves into the fight against the fascists who were gaining ground here and there and perpetrating unspeakable criminalities. The brave and triumphant people overran everything. They completely broke through the bonds of a regime and a system. Moreover, they established order, collective order. As occurs at the outbreak of every revolution, there were abuses, outbursts of violence and injustices. But peace was established with a rapidity and a sense of responsibility that is now history.

The spirit of sacrifice, enthusiasm, heroism, faith in our triumph, were shown on all sides to overflowing.

The CNT demands that we return to that enthusiasm, that optimism, that readiness for sacrifice. The Government, the Political parties, Parliament also demand it.

We give all, as we have always given.

But we cannot do everything. It

is necessary that those whose duty it is, face reality, gather up popular feeling, sense the optimism of the workers and do what has to be done.

They will notice that there is a difference between July and today, and that it consists in the fact that the people then felt certain of the future, knew what they were fighting for: were confident of the fruits of victory.

The enthusiasm of the people, guide and compass of the conquerors of July, will once again appear. It will stimulate us in our journey along the path we are treading, will fill us with a burning desire for co-operation, and make, under correct guidance, all proclamation unnecessary. Unlimited production, and profound sacrifices will reach unheard of limits, and face all the demands of the moment with absolute adequacy.

The people must be reassured. They have a right to certain guarantees. These must be given to them, by those whose duty calls them to amend their ways, not in fine words and speeches and promises, but in action.

We are confident that things are moving to this end. The first stage in our journey is the pact between the UGT and the CNT. The second stage: to work out responsible action in unity, between all parties and organisations, forming the Popular Anti-Fascist Front. And straightaway, without delay, guidance and responsibility of all in

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C.N.T.-U.G.T. UNITY PROGRAMMES

F.A.I. and EMMA GOLDMAN COMMENT on PROPOSALS

Programme Submitted by the U.G.T. to the C.N.T. as a Basis of Discussion

THE POPULAR ARMY

THE joint committee pays its tribute to the popular Army, expresses its belief that the workers' organizations shall give their utmost support to the Government for maintaining a powerful army, to smash Franco and all foreign invaders, and that it shall be one of the principal tasks of the Syndicates to avoid raising questions which will distract the Government from its special mission of winning the War.

- a) The Syndicates shall demonstrate their support by creating strong reserves for the Popular Army and collaborate in training for industry women and men unfit for military service to fill the tasks of those that are mobilised.
- b) The C.N.T. and U.G.T. will press on with road and rail making, fortifications and refuge shelters for the civil population.
- c) The War Commissariat, nerve centre of the Army, to receive all possible support from the Syndicates.
- d) The Syndicates to maintain personal contact with those combatants who are members of their Syndicates but in no way to interfere in the exclusive affairs of the military command.

INDUSTRY

The joint committee to co-ordinate and increase the efforts of the Syndicates towards increased industrial production—and to maintain discipline and to inspire that spirit of sacrifice which the present crisis demands.

WAR INDUSTRY

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. to co-operate with the Government in building up a war industry as quickly as possible—with an eye on all kinds of sabotage and any policy of 'ca' canny. Factories and workshops which might serve the purpose of war industry to be adapted to this end; raw material and transport to be put under centralised control.

NATIONALISATION OF THE BASIC INDUSTRIES

The basic industries, including railways, must be nationalised and the Government shall co-ordinate their development. These nationalised industries shall be directed by technicians appointed by the corresponding Government Ministries—but in appointing these technicians the opinion of the workers should be considered. The Government to centralise the Banks as a first step towards Nationalisation.

NATIONAL COUNCILS OF INDUSTRY AND SUPERIOR ECONOMIC COUNCIL

National Industrial Councils, with Syndicate participation, to be created. Their task will be to regulate production in all industries, and the fixing of prices, wages, and import and export quotas. These councils will be subject to the Superior Economic Council which the Government should create forthwith.

TRAINING

Apart from direct Government action, the Syndicates shall organize special courses for workers to raise the general technical, professional and cultural standard.

MUNICIPALISATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

It is necessary to regulate and re-organise urban services—by a process of municipalisation.

Property belonging to Fascist rebels to be the property of the State—and such urban estates to be worked by the Municipalities in accordance with the regulations to be issued by the Government.

INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION — CO-OPERATIVES AND COLLECTIVES

The joint committee recognises the necessity of organised agricultural production to secure maximum results. With this end in view—

- 1) The joint committee believes that the land should be given to the peasants and agricultural workers for collective working—except in those instances where a parcel of land can be worked by one family individually.
- 2) Both the C.N.T. and U.G.T. shall defend the conquests of the agricultural workers and endeavour to intensify agricultural production. It is therefore necessary—
 - a) To guarantee the workers a minimum wage which shall be reviewed every 3 months.
 - b) To regulate the cultivation so as to prevent individual work militating against total productivity

- c) To increase the standard of living of the agricultural workers by revaluing their products in relation to the costs of the manufactured goods which they consume and for which a price control will be established.
 - d) For the Government to facilitate the supply of agricultural machinery to the peasants, also seeds, manure, etc., as well as credits through the National Bank of Agricultural Credits, which must be established.
 - e) To establish one experimental farm in each district.
- 3) The joint Committee favours the creation of Agricultural Co-operatives—one in each locality. The collectives at present constituted to be immediately legalised. The co-operatives shall be organized in Regional and Provincial Federations which shall join the National and International Co-operative movement.

SALARIES, PRICES AND SUPPLIES

To improve the standard of living of the workers and to overcome the food scarcity the joint committee must take the following action:

- 1) The hotels, bakeries and other food supply syndicates must look out for speculators and support the work of the Government in this respect.
 - 2) Consumption co-operatives, productive co-operatives and large wholesale centres, under State control, must be established.
- The import of articles, forming an indispensable basis of the workers' nutrition, must be organized to assure the workers and their families the necessary ration at a price commensurate with present wages.

The Government shall also regulate the consumption of those products produced at home and for which an export surplus is required.

- 3) The joint committee wants to establish a minimum wage based first on cost of living, and secondly on individual production. Thus the principle of "the just recompense for the largest and best production" without distinction of age or sex shall be defended in the industries. A National Commission for salaries and prices, with representatives from the CNT and UGT must therefore be established with this end in view:

WORKERS' CONTROL

The joint committee regards workers' control as one of the greatest and most valuable of the workers' conquests. The legalisation of workers' control is necessary at this moment in order to affirm the rights and duties of the workers.

- 1) The Government must legalise workers' control in a law which defends the rights and duties of the workers as regards production and distribution.
- 2) The bodies of control shall be elected democratically by direct vote of the workers in factory or workshop, thus establishing a real workers' democracy and assuring the defence of the workers' interests.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

From time to time legislation should be reviewed with a view to consolidating the workers' achievements.

A F.A.I. Basis for the Workers Alliance

THE publication of the "Basis for Common Action" by the UGT and the answer to it by the Executive of the CNT has raised a problem among syndicalists—one which may have far-reaching consequences.

For a year and a half we have made constant endeavours to formulate a concrete policy to deal with all the problems of the anti-fascist war and the Revolution—in harmony with the UGT who have had to overcome the tactics of politicians—functioning as syndical leaders, and who opposed the basic desire of workers of all groups for a concrete workers' alliance.

At last the programme has been published—but we fear that it may prove once more to be only a theoretical victory. The leaders of the UGT remain the same—and we fear that these men who were for so long opposed even to the foundation of the Joint Committee of the CNT-UGT, with its very limited function—are only playing to the gallery.

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Programme Presented by the C.N.T. to the U.G.T. to Unify the Action of the Two Organizations

THE CNT and the UGT inspired by the constant desire to assure and extend the political and economic achievements of the proletariat, since the revolution, confirm the existence of the National Joint Committee—and outline its function—as follows.

1. The UGT and the CNT undertake to ensure the effective participation of the proletariat in the Spanish State.

2. The UGT and the CNT undertake to defend, now and always, a really democratic regime, opposing all totalitarian ideas and ambitions. On this basis of principle, common to both workers organisations—the two groups should immediately concentrate on a constructive policy.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

1. The CNT and the UGT to assist in every way in the creation of an efficient Regular Army to win this war, and to guard our liberties in the future.

2. Both organisations shall assist in the maintenance and reinforcement of the War Commissariat, and demand the representation on that body.

3. The CNT and the UGT request the formation of an under-secretariat for War industries to be composed of representatives of the Government and of the syndicates, this to be known as a National Council of War industries.

4. The CNT and the UGT further suggest the formation of an Harmonising Council, whose purpose shall be to collaborate with all sections of the defence—and to ensure harmonious working.

5. All transport shall be put at the disposal of the Government—which should have regard to the needs of production as well as of the army.

6. A National Council, which shall represent in due proportion, all anti-fascist people—shall be created—to act in an advisory capacity among the armed forces.

These recommendations are made in the hope that positive democratic action by the syndicates may be able to materially assist and strengthen the Government in the prosecution of the War—both by collaboration and advice.

The CNT and the UGT will make every effort and every sacrifice to contribute to the industrial, agricultural and commercial reconstruction of Spain—and realise, that though much has already been accomplished by the workers—much more would be achieved by a joint economic effort—which we outline as follows:

1. All war industries to be nationalised—The National War Council to aim in their administration of all such industries at making them nationally self-sufficient. Mines, railways, the heavy industries, radio-telegraphy, and navigation are specially indicated for immediate nationalisation.

2. The National Banks should guarantee that credit will be extended impartially to all existing collectives.

The CNT and the UGT advocate the formation of a National Economic Council to carry out the work on nationalisation, composed of representatives of the syndicates and the Government. This National Economic Council should direct production, distribution, credit, trade and matters of compensation, acting through national councils of industry—which shall be constituted in the same way as the Economic Council.

The two syndicates will mark out—within a given time—a system of a minimum wage—based on vital necessity—and recommend the formation of a National Council to study and work out an adequate formula for family allowances.

The National Economic Council should establish a service for the supervision of production—the personnel of this service to be drawn from the two syndicates—with a view to inspiring increased productivity and equality of sacrifice among all workers.

The National Economic Council should establish, with the assistance of the syndicates, technical training schools for workers.

The decisions of the National Economic Council shall be considered as Mandatory in the Government, combining as it should, both popular representation and specialised capacity.

AGRICULTURE.

The CNT and the UGT should undertake the exploitation of the land by means of joint collectives — peasant proprietorship only to be

recognised and continued in the case of self-supporting individuals without paid labourers.

The National Economic Council to make every effort to assist in the modernisation of agriculture and increased productivity.

COLLECTIVISM.

The CNT and the UGT recognise the principle of collectivism and affirm their conviction that this form of co-operation is that best suited to the Spanish workers and assert that in all these industries which it has not been necessary to nationalise, the principle of workers' collectives must stand.

MUNICIPALISATION.

Housing in general shall become the property of the municipalities — save only those buildings of national interest.

Public Health services should also be municipalised as soon as it is possible to adopt the appropriate State regulations to municipal requirements.

TRADE.

Both the CNT and the UGT agree on the necessity of the control of Trade, export as well as import, having in mind the need of establishing foreign credits. To that end they recommend:

1. That the National Economic Council shall create centres to specialise the trade of the State.

2. That the workers shall be represented on these bodies.

3. That gains from foreign trade shall be re-distributed without loss to the producers.

4. That tariffs be revised and reduced where necessary for production.

SOCIAL ACTION.

The CNT and the UGT jointly recommend that the general legislative code be revised and brought up-to-date, and specially call attention to the need for special attention to the following points:

1. Provision for workers' control in such industries as are not at present administered by worker's collectives.

2. Legislation for accident, sickness and old age insurance for workers in industry, along the lines already adopted by the mutual benefit organisations conducted by the two syndicates.

3. An important and far-reaching policy of public education to be undertaken. To this end we recommend the formation of a National Mixed Council—with adequate workers' representation—to mark out the most scientific and ethical scheme.

4. Special legislation is requested to deal with the question of foreign investment in and control of Spanish industries—so that these may be terminated in a fast manner—and compensation adjusted where found necessary and desirable.

5. The complete reorganisation of the civil penal and commercial legal codes, in harmony with the new spirit of the people and having in mind democratic and federal tendencies and aspirations.

The CNT is confident that both syndicates are prepared to give full co-operation to all these proposals, and to facilitate all work required for a speedy victory.

It is understood that representation on all councils shall be composed of representatives of the two organisations in proportion to their membership.

Both organisations urge the immediate application of this programme and are convinced that its application will not only further the winning of the war, but will aid in the moral re-integration of the nation as a whole.

The CNT and the UGT both demand the abolition of censorship on thought, spoken or written, save where directly applicable to the war, and further demand the liberation of all anti-fascist prisoners, asserting that while there has been regrettable cases of passion and hasty action, there has been no attack on the Revolution.

C.N.T. — (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo) National Confederation of Labour (Anarcho-Syndicalist).
 U.G.T. — (Union General de Trabajadores) General Union of Workers (Socialist-Communist)
 F.A.I. — (Federacion Anarquista Iberica) Anarchist Federation of Iberia.

Emma Goldman and the Alliance Proposals

SHORTLY after July, 1936, the National Confederation of Labour began a campaign for the unity between the CNT and the UGT. It considered it of the most imperative necessity to bring these two large syndicalist bodies together in order to strengthen the anti-fascist front without which the chances of victory over Fascism were rather precarious. The CNT has gone out of its way in its willingness to make all kinds of concessions to bring about this amalgamation. All through this time the disciples in Spain of Stalin have stooped to the most despicable methods to proclaim to the workers of Spain and of the rest of the world that it was the CNT which was undermining the united anti-Fascist front. Day after day there were scurrilous attacks on the CNT in the Communist Press trying to make it appear that it was entirely the CNT which refused to co-operate with the UGT and that therefore it was not entirely sincere in its protestation against Fascism.

It was only after the Communist Party together with other reactionary forces had well-nigh brought about the collapse of the anti-Fascist forces, that it finally realised the necessity which the CNT have propagated for eighteen months. Particularly was this the case after the C.P. had penetrated into the UGT, had bored from within and had filtered through this organisation by its own Communist venom against the CNT. Now it has come forward with a number of propositions as stated in the negotiations published in *Spain and the World*. The readers will be able to judge for themselves how far the present state of the UGT can be called revolutionary, communist or truly democratic. The demands they make are a negation of all the revolutionary achievements of the CNT in the workers' control of the industrial and agrarian collectivisation. It is therefore sad that the CNT should be willing to concede many of the demands of the UGT. There is only one explanation for this; it is the fact that the CNT has set its heart and has concentrated all its strength and power to crush Franco and his German and Italian hordes. It is for this reason and no other that the CNT is willing to comply with many of the reactionary demands made by the UGT. There is, however, a gratifying aspect in the concessions and compromises of the CNT, and that is their insistence on workers' control even in those industries nationalised by the Government. The CNT is by no means deceived in the good intentions of democracy as now presented by the Negrin Government; but it is face to face with the open intent on the part of the so-called democratic governments outside of Spain to work in favour of Franco and to turn over anti-Fascist Spain to the tender mercies of Hitler and Mussolini.

The CNT more than the other anti-Fascist sectors, are only too well aware that the struggle in Spain has ceased to be a civil war, from the moment Germany and Italy began to back Franco. They have seen clearly that the so-called democratic governments had no

intention to permit the anti-Fascist forces to win. Actually they have shown that they are more willing for Franco to become the ruling power in Spain than the National Confederation of Labour. The latter has been a bone in the throat of all the powers, including Soviet Russia. They have knowingly and deliberately misrepresented the actual issue. They have made it appear that it is a struggle between Fascism and Communism. They conveniently ignored the fact that though the Spanish communists are in the Negrin Government they have never at any time taken root in the Spanish soil or in the Spanish people. But the real force in Spain is the National Confederation of Labour with a membership of 1,700,000, the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the Libertarian Youth, all of whom constitute an organised body of nearly 2,500,000. Moreover the powers outside of Spain have either not been aware of the moral force of the ideas these organisations have propagated, or have remained blind to the fact that the masses themselves, peasants and industrial workers, are deeply imbued with Anarchist thought and ideas — hence will never content themselves with a democratic regime which is to usher in the old capitalist cowardly gang that ran to cover on the 19th July. This is borne out by the stand taken by the Anarchist Federation of Iberia as represented in the statement below.

I therefore feel that regrettable as the concessions imposed on the CNT by the betrayal of the Spanish people by all governments, including the Spanish Republic, there is no reason to fear that the CNT will be lost in the meshes of concessions and compromises. Our faith in the CNT and the FAI continues to be as ardent as before.

English workers will probably be surprised to read of the concessions the CNT is making to the UGT. It is therefore necessary to point out that people in a burning house cannot stop to consider theories. They must use the best methods at hand to save themselves from being burned alive. It is therefore the bounden duty of the English workers to come to the rescue of their comrades in Spain who have so gallantly fought Fascism for eighteen months. It is their duty not merely to talk or listen to the fine speeches of their leaders and M.P.'s, but to act directly to force their government to discontinue its Fascist methods to destroy Spain and to rush England into a war of extermination. Certainly the last events in the National Government prove its Fascist tendencies. Not that Mr. Eden has not contributed considerably to involve the situation. If he resigned, it is only because the intention and methods of his Premier have gone even beyond his political leanings. In the last analysis it is of no importance what either Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Eden decide. The battle is on the economic field and the soldiers in that field are the working class. It is therefore essential for the workers of England to wake up from their lethargy and

A F.A.I. Basis For The Workers' Alliance

(Continued from page 3)

All comrades will have noticed that the document the "Basis" put forward by the UGT is from beginning to end a recapitulation of the Government's point of view. Every problem, from agrarian reform to the prosecution of the war is treated in the same spirit of unconditional support of the Government's decisions.

According to this view, the CNT and the UGT are to write to support the Government, taking a very secondary position themselves and undertaking to carry out the more disagreeable and difficult tasks.

They are to undertake the fulfillment of the mobilisation order, to further the construction of fortifications, roads, refuges, etc., to undertake increased production, and in general to enforce co-operation on the workers.

A Superior Economic Council is to be created but participation in this Council by the syndicates is specifically excluded.

Thus, the UGT has prepared a programme for the workers which involves their 100 per cent. support of the Government, without any share in direct responsibility. This is obviously only one more trick to make it impossible for the CNT to co-operate in the so-called point programme, and to obviate the possibility of a real workers' alliance which the CNT has always proposed, to consolidate the achievements of the Revolution.

This is a real tragedy for the Iberian proletariat and a very dangerous situation for our movement! In spite of our goodwill and the genuine revolutionary spirit of large masses of the UGT, their leaders have worked out this mean policy of shifts and tricks to widen rather than close the breach between the two organisations and to lead the workers away on a policy of reactionary reformism.

The fact that this programme has been pre-

sented so late in the day was not due to negligence!

The proper atmosphere had just to be created. The Government press and the party organs have continually discussed the supposed failures of the syndicates and the necessity of submitting all economic activities to the direction of the Government. Contributions to the syndicates were forbidden and a systematic offensive conducted against the workers' collectives.

The ground having been thus prepared, the UGT presents its policy, asking us in the name of fraternal collaboration, to renounce our last substantial rights and achievements.

This piece of cheap Machiavellianism is characteristic of our present rulers, but it has put the libertarian movement in a strange position.

On the one hand it was impossible to accept the UGT policy, on the other, undesirable to give the impression that it was our fault that unity could not be achieved!

The document published by the CNT is a product of the double necessity, that of demonstrating our will to co-operation, and that of maintaining our principles. In it we have made every concession consistent with the latter and with the defence of our revolutionary conquests.

The CNT has again demanded co-operation and representation in the anti-fascist Government, particularly in the departments of War and Economics, by demanding the creation of an under-secretariat for those ministries in which representatives of the syndicates should be included, and further by the creation of a National Council, representing all anti-fascist organisations, for the control of the armed forces and by the inclusion of the syndicates on the National Economic Council.

On the other hand the CNT have accepted the nationalisation of the war industries, railways, banks, telegraphs, etc., and have made many concessions, only reserving the principal of syndical representation on the governing councils of these organisations.

In making these compromises the CNT has gone as far as it is able, but it is very doubtful if the politicians directing the UGT will be able to accept that position. Even while these words are being written the leaders of the two organisations are meeting and we shall soon know. In the case of a break in relations, we must expect attacks to be made on us, and no doubt the politicians will make an effort to fix the blame for the failure to achieve unity on the CNT.

We shall have to act firmly and intelligently against the manoeuvres prepared against us, and must be prepared to explain to the proletariat the meaning of our apparent compromises.

We shall maintain the most cordial relations with the workers of the UGT, explaining to them the reasons behind the failure to achieve Unity. In no circumstances must the workers of the UGT and those of the CNT become hostile. We shall continue our policy of Unity in the syndical front — leaving the responsibility to extend that unity to a wider field, to the politicians.

their acquiescence to the reactionary methods of their leaders and misleaders. It is imperative that they should begin to see that the Spanish anti-Fascist struggle is not only to save Spain from Fascism. It is to save the whole world from the spread of the blackest scourge of modern times. Surely the workers who in '21 came to the rescue of the Russian Revolution and have recently acted deliberately against Japan and on behalf of China, will not continue to content themselves with a few large meetings in Albert Hall or some tins of milk for the Spanish children, necessary as the latter may be.

The time has come, even if it is the eleventh hour, to organise direct action; demonstrations before the House of Commons. The determined refusal to load ships with anything going to Franco. In other words with an organised, concerted, direct movement to break the conspiracy of the British Government against the anti-Fascist struggle. This and the lesson which the stand of the National Confederation of Labour is giving, might prepare the workers of England for the coming battle between capital and labour which is bound to come much sooner than anyone comfortably fixed is willing to admit.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE ENTHUSIASM OF JULY MUST BE RECAPTURED

(Continued from page 2)

the conduct of the war, of economy of politics. Once this is achieved, we shall recover confidence and enthusiasm.

The people, who work and sacrifice themselves most, can still do more. And they will, beyond doubt, when they know quite clearly why they do it.

And so, we shall fight side by side, united, one and all enthusiastic anti-fascists, in the certainty that there will be no trickery. And in the certainty also, as was said in Montserrat, that there will be no self-complacency or compromises. What the workers want is to WIN.

We must not return to the time before July 19th. We can have no dealing with traitors, with the rabble who have been the cause of so much bloodshed. One of the aims of the people on July 19th, and object more longed for than ever to

day, was complete victory. The workers do not understand: they never will understand nor tolerate, the smugness which nullifies and sterilizes the greatest effort made in workers' history. Unless we recapture in all its fullness the enthusiasm of July, all our words, all our proclamations, all our attempts to stir up people will be vain and empty.

The spirit of July, revived by long experience, and backed by the driving force of collective responsibility, will emerge as unconquerable and certain of Victory.

We, of the CNT have no doubt that everyone else will see things in this light, and leave no stone unturned to recover our enthusiasm.

Unity and collective responsibility everywhere. This is our road.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, Barcelona, February 14, 1938.

(see Editorial Comment)

FOUR LECTURES BY EMMA GOLDMAN

MARCH 6th. 7 p.m. at St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall, Glasgow.
MARCH 7th. 7 p.m. at Oldfellows Hall, 14 Forest Road, Edinburgh.
MARCH 13th. 7 p.m. at Hamilton Co-op Hall, Gt. Galloway, Glasgow.
SUBJECT: THE BETRAYAL OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

MARCH 11th. 8 p.m. at Shettleston Public Hall, Glasgow.
SUBJECT: THE CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CNT-FAI.

Meetings organised by the Anarchist Communist Federation, (Glasgow Group) 287 Netherton Road, Glasgow.

TO THOSE READERS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE ORPHANS FUND

WE ask all comrades and friends who have given so generously to the Orphans Fund to continue and intensify their activity on behalf of the Spanish Orphans.

We hope to be able to announce shortly that we will form a new colony: "The 'Spain and the World' Colony" and to house from 40-50 children. We are certain that this news will meet with the complete approval of our readers and that it will be an incentive to them to continue giving generously.

THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNION, 21, FRITH STREET, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1.

Meets every Wednesday Evening at 8.0 p.m. at the above address. (First Floor). All interested in the principles of ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM or who wish to gain some knowledge of same are cordially invited to attend.

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OUR BALANCE SHEET

INCOME

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Detroit, Mich.: (per E. Vivas) 11 subs. at 2/6, 10 at 4/- — £37/6; Milford, Ill.: H. Mathewson 4/-; Barnet: T. Bard 4/6; London: G. Foster 2/6; Patna, India: R. P. Lakhayer 2/6; Beaconfield: H. Read 4/6; Seattle: O. Weik 4/6; Palestine: per J.T. 5 subs. at 2/6 — 12/6; London: I. Schneiderman 2/6; Londo: D.E. 9. 4/6; Dover: A. McKenzie 4/6; Greenock: S. Marletta 4/6; Catford: G. Priest 2/6; Bournemouth: H. Binns 2/6; London: G. Leech 2/6; Nuneaton: H. Smith 4/6; Essex: C. Cole 2/6; Washington: M. Kisliuk 4/-; L. Kisliuk 4/-; Marseilles: L. Souzy 4/-; — £75/0.

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Fla.: per A. Coniglio, £1/6/9; Chicago,

Ill.: p.p. Social 18th Dec. per Committee £1/10/0; Mareeba, Australia: A. Noselli 6/-; Detroit, Mich.: I. Refrattari £1/15/7; Glasgow: D. McKay 1/-; Providence, R.I.: Libertarian Club (per J. Spagnuoli) £1; Bristol: J. Richfield 1/-; Newark, N.J.: Ateneo de Educacion Social (per D. Prada) 12/-; London: J. E. Dobson 5/-; Barnet: T. Bard 5/6; Bristol: C. Lewis 1/6; Palestine: J.T. 3/6; London: T. Brown 2/6 — £9/1/2.

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CORRECTION.

In the balance sheet published in No. 28, two mistakes occurred in the Subscription List. One amount, Paris: M.K., read 26/ instead of 2/6, and London: M. Williams, read 3/6 instead of 2/6, the total however remains as stated £1/17/6.

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