trialized countries, never by "backward peasants" -- is false. Revolutionary upheavals in this century came not to industrialized countries, but to primarily rural, underdeveloped countries such as China and Russia. During the Spanish Social Revolution, libertarian communism was almost entirely realized in the smaller rural areas. Marx had no confidence in the creative revolutionary capacities of agricultural workers. "Rural idiocy" was one of his favorite phrases. The experience of the authoritarian Bolshevik Revolution demonstrates that a revolution which provokes the resistance of the peasants -- that cannot (or will not) establish solidarity between urban and rural workers -- must inevitably degenerate into a counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

The first bus built in the workshops of the collectivized General Autobus Company.

Collectivization was not, as in the Soviet Union or Cuba, imposed from above, but achieved from below by the initiative of the peasants themselves. Nor did the libertarian collectives, like Stalin, adopt disastrous measures to force the poor peasant proprietors to join state farms. On the contrary, the collectives respected the rights of individual peasants who worked the land themselves and did not employ wage labor, relying on persuasion and example to convince them to join the collectives. By and large, this policy was remarkably effective -- so effective that even when government troops under control of the Spanish Communist Party forcibly dismantled several of the collectives, peasants reorganized them as soon as the troops had left.

A unique characteristic of the Spanish Revolution was the achievement of close relations between rural and urban workers. Years of agitation and joint struggles was very effective in coping with one of the most crucial problems of every revolution: good relations between the industrial proletariat and agricultural workers. The intermeshing of local, regional and national federations of peasant collectives with the federations of socialized industries was the culmination of a long process which traces back to the latter half of the 19th century.

In 1892, 21,000 out of 57,000 members of the anarcho-syndicalist federation were agrarian workers. Incipient peasant insurrections for the establishment of "Communismo Libertario" continued up to the outbreak of the Civil War and Revolution. An eyewitness account illustrating the sentiments of the peasants is recalled by Augustine Souchy. When the Muniesa collective was established, on the table lay a copy of Kropotkin's Conquest of Bread. One of the members read aloud extracts from the book: "Here at last is the new Gospel! Here is written in black and white how to institute well-being for all!" (With the Peasants of Aragon)

The collectives eliminated most of the parasitic elements from rural life, and would have done so altogether if they were not protected by corrupt officials and the political parties. Many peasants who did not join the collectives (the collectivists called them "individualists") benefited indirectly from the lower prices, as well as from free services rendered by the collectives (schools, laundries, beauty parlors, cinemas, etc.).

The Calanda collective operated a barber shop giving free haircuts and shaves. To prevent hoarding and assure equitable and just sharing of goods and services, the

official national money was replaced by vouchers bearing no interest and not negotiable outside the collective. Food was distributed in quantity and rationed when in short supply. Medical care and medicines were free. There was no rent. Housing, building repairs, water, gas, electricity were supplied gratis. The village generated its own power from a waterfall. There was no scarcity of clothing. By arrangement with a Barcelona textile plant, olive oil was exchanged for cloth. Garments were distributed in rotation to forty persons daily.

In Graus (Aragon) each family was alloted a piece of land for its own use, be it to raise chickens, rabbits, or whatever. Seed and fertilizer were provided to grow vegetables. There was no longer need to employ hired labor, nor (as before the Revolution) for young girls to seek employment as servants in Catalonia or in France. The collective made truly remarkable progress, raising the standard of living by fifty to one hundred percent in a few months. When a collectivist wished to marry he was given a week's holiday with full pay. The collective's cooperative provided a house completely equipped and furnished. All the services of the collective were available to the collectivist. His rights were respected, and his obligations voluntarily assumed. All decisions affecting him and his fellow workers were democratically made in full and open assemblies of all the collectivists.

(6) COORDINATION OF COLLECTIVES

To coordinate their operations the collectives organized themselves into district federations. The Binefar (Aragon) district federation coordinated the transactions of 32 collectives. Each collective informed the district office of surplus food and supplies, which was exchanged for products in short supply with other collectives in Aragon and Catalonia. In case of need the peasants could call on industrial workers to work in the fields. For example, clothing workers helped with the harvest.

"The Revolution and the War are inseparable."

Each of the 54 district federations affiliated to the Peasant Federation of Levant (capital, Valencia) including a panel of specialists -- technicians, bookkeepers, a veterinarian, an architect, an agronomist, a specialist on commercial relations, etc., almost all of them members of the CNT. (A similar system was also adopted by the Aragon Federation of Peasants.) The 54 district federations coordinated their operations through five regional federations to constitute the Peasant Federation of Levant. This setup assured efficient distribution and coordination of services on both a district and regional basis. (The destruction of the collectives by the anti-revolutionary groupings and fascist victory prevented nationwide coordination.) "In the region of Valencia, the center of the great orange industry, the CNT set up an organization for purchasing, packing, and exporting the