

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.

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THE FALL OF BILBAO

A Tragic Warning to Anti-Fascist Spain

Bilbao fell. The Fascist hordes scored another important victory in their relentless drive upon the Spanish people. Another province—this time one of the richest and most industrially developed—fell into their lap, forming another powerful base for the coming offensive.

It fell not because of lack of heroic resistance on the part of the workers and peasants. The fighting qualities of the rank and file troops of the Basque army have been fully tested in the tenacious battles and dashing offensives carried out whenever given orders to do so.

And there were also the heroic miners of Asturias, the choicest troops of the proletarian army who vowed to defend Bilbao to the last drop of their blood. Were it left to them, Bilbao, with its net of barricades, would have become another Madrid, another impassable barrier, another tomb for international Fascism.

Nor was it the superiority in numbers or war equipment that gave the Fascists their long-cherished prize. Their army was inferior in point of numbers to that of the Basque Government. And the line of fortifications built around Bilbao was so formidable as to discount heavily the slight superiority of the Fascists in artillery and aviation.

"Not even the Insurgent heavy guns," writes the correspondent of the "New York Times," "could have destroyed some of these underground fortifications with their three armored concrete tiers and block houses spaced about three miles apart all the way to the Biscay coast. The Insurgents themselves say that the 'iron belt' of fortifications would never have been taken had not the Basques been outmanoeuvred."

What this outmanoeuvring consisted of we know already. It was the betrayal of the secrets of the fortifications by members of the General Staff that opened the door to the Fascists. Treason played as decisive a role in the fall of Bilbao as it did in the loss of Malaga.

Treason and a cowardly policy on the part of the leaders of the Basque Government. Unlike the rank and file of its army and the heroic auxiliaries from Asturias, the Basque Government lacked the will to fight, the will to carry the struggle to the very end. Its main reliance was upon France and England; and when the latter, true to the treacherous traditions of its diplomacy, abandoned the Basque Government to its fate, the heroic defenders of the province found themselves led by a panicky group of people, with no faith in the outcome of the struggle, with no heart to continue it any longer.

And what else could be expected from a Government which was in constant fear of its workers, of its own army, of the heroic dynamite throwers and machine gunners recruited from the ranks of the S.N.T., of the anarchist miners of Asturias who came to aid the Basque province in time of its direst need? The Government knew the fierce spirit of those men, their determined resolve to do away with the puny barriers of a bourgeois-clerical democracy raised by the middle class of the Basque province against the revolutionary tide sweeping on from Catalonia. It knew that without the help of the foreign governments it would rapidly find itself at the mercy of those elements who would exact a certain price for their heroic sacrifices.

That is why the Basque Government was always ready for some sort of compromise with the Fascists, why it lent itself as a willing pawn in the game of British diplomacy. That this attempt to reach a compromise failed, that the Fascists struck out in the direction of the Basque province instead of buying it off at the price of some minor concession, as it was proposed in the negotiations, is not due to an intransigent attitude on the part of the Basque Government. Britain changed hands in the midst of the game and Franco took the hint.

The tragic fate of the workers and peasants of the Basque province is a reflection of the general tragedy of the anti-Fascist struggle of Spain, which, due to the fatal errors of the revolutionary elements, is finding itself more and more dependent upon a cynical diplomacy and a counter-revolutionary leadership bent upon turning back the revolutionary tide rather than upon the energetic pursuance of war against Fascism.

SHIELDING CLASS ENEMIES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

COMMUNIST ASSASSINS OF REVOLUTIONARY OF REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS SENTENCED TO DEATH BY POPULAR TRIBUNALS

Norman Thomas writes in the *Nation* that "there is a Spanish jest to the effect that if a man is too conservative to join the Left Republicans he joins the Communists."

Norman Thomas forgot, however, to add that with the Spanish workers and peasants this is no more a jesting matter: to them it has become a grim reality which they feel keenly in their daily struggles against their class enemies.

The Communist Party opened wide its doors to the traditional enemies of the Spanish workers and peasants. In the Levante province it is the rich peasants, the former agents of the landlords, the village speculator and trader that form the bulk of the agrarian support of the Communist Party. In Catalonia it is the saloon keeper, the former ward-heeler, the reactionary technician, the unprincipled politician, the members of the former police and of yellow unions of the old Primo-de-Rivera days—it is that element that went to swell the formerly insignificant party of 250 people to that of 50,000.

FASCIST EARMARKS

Those are the very elements that form the driving power of the Fascist movement all over the world. Their distinguishing mark is the inveterate hatred of workers' organizations, the low moral level, the sadistic cruelty toward workers' militants who happen to fall into their hands. And it is those characteristics that are amply shown by the new recruits of the Communist Party of Spain.

MUTILATIONS AND TORTURES

In Catalonia, during the recent outbreaks, many of the anarchist workers were executed in the most cruel fashion. Berneri's body (Berneri—one of the greatest men in the Italian anarchist movement; was assassinated by the agents of the secret Che-Ka of Barcelona during the recent outbreaks) was found all slashed up with a knife.

There are reports of horrible mutilations and refined torture practiced against the anarchist militants by the agents of the Communist Che-Ka, which leave no doubt that the class enemy is now getting active under the protection of the Communist Party.

"On May 7," writes the Spanish correspondent of the French weekly, *Libertaire*, "12 bodies of members of the Libertarian Youth were found near one of the cemeteries of Mollet situated not far from Barcelona."

"They were brought over from Barcelona, and before having been shot, they were subjected to horrible tortures. Their tongues and ears were cut off. Some of them were emasculated and their testicles shoved into their mouths."

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS

Only people with a Fascist mentality and of utter moral degeneracy could commit acts of that nature

Are they isolated cases of Communist revenge against anarchist militants?

The *Solidaridad Obrera*, in its exposure of the working of the secret Che-Ka in Murcia (by now most of the agents of this Che-Ka are behind prison bars), prints the testimony of many a comrade who was kidnapped by members of this body and tortured with the purpose of extorting incriminating evidence against the C.N.T. organization.

Similar testimony was presented to the official committee investigating the activities of the secret Che-Ka in Madrid. The facts revealed, showed close similarity between the activity of those organizations (Stalin's gift to revolutionary Spain) and that of the secret Fascist organizations flourishing in Germany during the first period of consolidation of Hitler's party into a mass movement.

CLASS TERROR AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS

A still more striking case of Fascist mentality manifesting itself in the guise of Communist activity came to light in the recent trial of Communist leaders and officials of Villamayor and Villanueva de Alcardete, two towns which have already become associated in the minds of the workers and peasants of Spain with one of the worst outrages committed against a worker's organization.

Three months ago the revolutionary workers of the country were shocked by the news of the sacking of the headquarters of the peasant organization of the C.N.T. of Villanueva de Alcardete and the cold-blooded assassination of 17 of its members. The outrage was committed by orders of the Communist Mayor of the town who had organized a special force for the purpose of fighting the peasant organization of that locality.

Most of the peasants of that community are members of the C.N.T., and without the support of the Central administration of that province (Toledo), largely controlled by Communists, there would be no Communist Mayor nor any armed forces to fight the peasant population. The Communist organization of that town, which was practically non-existent before the revolution, grew up by swallowing up all the reactionary elements of the community, those that formerly were in the service of the landlord and the political apparatus of the monarchist State.

OLD METHODS UNDER A NEW GUISE

It was the old traditional enemies of the peasants that flocked to the Communist organization of that town, and they became active in their old manner as soon as they obtained the armed support of the Central authorities.

The headquarters of the peasant organization of the C.N.T. were treacherously attacked by members

of the Communist Party and a special armed body sent for that purpose at the behest of the Communist Mayor. All comrades found on the premises were assassinated, and for some time the organization was terrorized and driven underground.

Those acts were heatedly defended by the Madrid Communist daily, *Mundo Obrero*. The demands of the C.N.T. press and organizations for an investigation and trial of the culprits were sidetracked by the powerful influence of the Communist Party of Madrid. The Mayor of the town was upheld by the *Mundo Obrero* as a sincere anti-Fascist and revolutionary of great integrity.

POPULAR TRIBUNAL LOOKS INTO THE ACTIVITY OF TERRORIST GANG

This very "revolutionary," together with a similar "high character" of similar "convictions," the Communist Mayor of the neighboring town of Villamayor, found himself recently behind the prison bars, faced with the gravest charges of rape and murder. And along with those two "leaders" there were also brought to trial the most prominent members of the Communist organization, all of whom took part in the assassination of the C.N.T. members of the peasant organization. This whole gang was placed on trial before the Popular Tribunal in connection with the rape and murder of two women—a mother and a daughter—which stirred up the whole community.

WHY ARE THE COMMUNISTS AGAINST POPULAR TRIBUNALS?

The proceedings unfolded a striking picture of terrorization carried on by this Communist clique against the peasant population, of blackmail, extortion, robbery, rape and murder. The verdict of the popular Tribunal was death sentence for the two Communist "leaders."

In this connection one can, perhaps, understand, why the Communist Party has been showing so little enthusiasm for the Popular Tribunals, trying to substitute for them a modified form of the Russian Che-Ka, or clamoring for more pliable Courts of Urgency?

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NOW THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT HAS TWO ENEMIES: 1) Spanish Fascism, backed up by its international allies; 2) international capitalism on whose side are arranged Soviet Russia and the "democratic" countries.

(From the report of the F.A.I. Committee)

AIM OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)
at least in those agencies which would facilitate the gradual transfer of the collectivized enterprises into the hands of the capitalists.

Sudden Conversion to Municipal Socialism

One of such recently discovered agencies is the municipality. Little as it may harmonize with the outspoken centralism of the Communist Parties all over the world, in Catalonia this Party has all of a sudden become a zealous convert of "municipal socialism." Its latest slogan (and of course, it is launched in common with its closest ally — the bourgeois "Esquerra") is: "Public Services and transport should be run by the municipalities and not by the unions." "the public interest of the entire city population stands above the private interests of the workers' unions."

Municipalization Against Workers But Not Capitalists

But where, asks the "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Barcelona) were those zealous defenders of the public interests when private capitalists were in control of transport and Public Services? Prior to the events of July 19, neither the Communists nor members of the "Esquerra" showed the slightest inclination to take away the transport and Public Services from the capitalists and turn them over to the municipality. How is it, the paper asks, that those very elements became so solicitous about the larger interests of the general city population as a whole now that the

workers' unions came into possession of Public Services?

Workers' Interests Should Be Supreme in a Class Society

And, the same paper continues, can any movement claiming to represent the interests of the working class even in the remotest fashion place the so-called public weal above those of the workers' organizations if a class society is still in existence, as is still the case in Catalonia? Who is this "General Public" in whose interests the workers' organizations have to be deprived of the economic control? The petty-bourgeoisie, the middle classes who are still numerous in many a municipality of Catalonia? Is it the bureaucrats who are jealous of the growing economic strength of worker's unions? Or is it the workers themselves that have to be "protected" against their own organizations?

What Municipalization Means To Communists of Catalonia

The answer has already been given by the Communists of Catalonia. What they mean by a municipality is not a democratic expression of the general will of the community as a whole, but an agency that could be opposed to the workers' syndicates and from which the latter could be excluded, for along with this drive for "municipalization" the Communist Party initiated a campaign to eliminate the C.N.T. from the municipal administration.

And since the preponderant majority of the Catalanian workers belongs to the C.N.T. (1,200,000 membership out of the total population of 4,000,000)

the elimination of the latter from municipal administration and the taking over of the most important industries into the hands of the municipalities would mean the passing of economic control to the middle classes and the petty-bourgeoisie of the Catalan cities. It means the rule of the bureaucrat, the fascization of the economic life along the Italian model, made so much more feasible by the fact that the two political parties aiming to exercise the economic dictatorship—the P.S.U.C. (United Communist-Socialist Party) and the Esquerra are drawing their strength from the very social classes which were mainly instrumental in bringing about the triumph of fascism in Italy and Germany. The boundary line between the "Esquerra" and the Communist Party of Catalonia is very tenuous. (Even Brailsford, the pro-Communist correspondent for the "New Republic" has to admit that "much of the membership of this party came from the "Esquerra," and the fascist trend of the latter prior to the events of July 19 was a matter of common knowledge among the students of Catalanian political life.) And it is bound to vanish in some form of a totalitarian merger of those two parties demanded by the economy of State Capitalism.

Planning to Re-Establish Power of Finance Capital

State Capitalism, however, presupposes in the last instance the economic control of Finance Capital. The drive for pseudo-municipalization has for its ultimate aim the turning over of Public Services to the giant financial corporations which controlled the latter in Catalonia prior to the revolution of July 19. In the past the bourgeois parties of Catalonia were the political agents of those corporations, mainly controlled from the financial centers of London and Paris. The politicians of Barcelona were as closely interlinked with those Public Service corporations as Tamany Hall is with the traction interests of New York City.

The SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR CONTINUOUS AID

tion.

"The general sense of the resolutions introduced by this Committee by way of submitting the outlines of such a plan to the Plenum was that in case the National or Regional governments do not recognize the workers' organizations, the National Committee, acting through a coordinating body of its own, is to take charge of taxes of the agricultural collectives and socialized industries in order to force the government, with all means at the disposal of the organization, to respect the economic patrimony of the labor organizations."

g) "The comrades should not let themselves be drawn into a bloody struggle in spite of the provocations constantly used in order to have them come out in the streets.

i) "In case the U.G.T. reverses its present attitude and takes the decision to support the government, the National Committee is to call immediately a Plenum of all Regional Committees in order to lay down the basic tactical line for the movement.

"The Plenum also decided to unfold a special campaign, attacking the Communist Party and its satellites on a national scale.

Defense of Economic Conquests of Revolution

"A Committee was designated by the Plenum to work out a plan of legal and revolutionary defense of the economic positions gained during the Revolution."

REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY OF CATALONIA IS A RATIONAL AND JUST SYSTEM

A LIBERAL VOICES OPINION

The new revolutionary economy of Catalonia is now being violently attacked by the Communist Party as a "ridiculous experiment," "the product of infantilism," "the dictatorship of illiterates." We are quoting here the opinion of a prominent liberal, the Spanish ambassador to Belgium, evaluating from a very conservative point of view the character of the collectivized economy of Spain.

"It is yet too early to present any exact evaluations of the economic results of the system. We are still in a stage which does not permit us to see too clearly what the future holds for this system.

"There are certain collectivized industries which found it easy going because the workers had a sufficient surplus of capital to enable the further functioning of the industries. There are, however, industries that lack liquid funds and that have to be kept going by the Catalanian government by way of credit advances.

"Others succeeded in maintaining normal production due to the good market obtained for

their products. And with some industries the lack of capital is so serious that it threatened the closing up of a number of enterprises.

(Ed. note: the statement was made about two months ago. Since then a great deal has been accomplished by way of knitting up all the industries into a co-ordinated financial system.)

A Rational System

"Certain people boycott the collectivizations; others do not seem to understand them, and here is my summarized opinion of this system.

"IT IS A RATIONAL AND JUST SYSTEM.

"IT HAS TO OVERCOME A GREAT MANY OBSTACLES.

"IT HAS A LUMINOUS AND HOPEFUL FUTURE AHEAD OF IT."

(From *Le Réveil*, Geneva, June 12)

MOSCOW TRIALS ON SPANISH SOIL

(Continued from page one)

speakers like Jesus Hernandez and Passionaria upon the leaders of the U.G.T. and Largo Caballero himself, it may soon share the fate of the anarchist press. And both—the anarchists and the left-socialists—may do well to ponder the sinister significance of the P.O.U.M. arrests in relation to their own nearest future.

Signs are not lacking telling us that the lessons of the sinister trend of Moscow policies are being taken more and more to heart by those who were flirting with the Communists in the first period of the revolution. The left-Socialist press is becoming more and more outspoken in its criticism of the Communist Party. The revolt within the Unified Socialist Youth controlled by the Communist Party is growing from day to day. Telegrams protesting the policy of the Communists are pouring in daily from various youth organizations.

The Socialist Party of Madrid took a sharp stand against the Communist Party. The same was done by the Valencia and Asturias organizations. Those protests may have very little effect on the policy of the Negrin Government but in a way they are making history. They are stirring up the genuinely socialist opinion of Spain to the Fascist implications of Moscow policies and may in the long run have a great effect in accelerating the formation of the Revolutionary Alliance of all libertarian and socialist elements of Spain which will dispel the sinister shadows of a looming totalitarian dictatorship cast by Russia's intervention.

C.N.T. FIGHTS COUNTER-REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one)

e) "The comrades should not abandon their official posts, especially those that are held within the regional, provincial and local Councils, in view of the fact that such organs were born in the heat of the Revolution, that they were an important factor in the economic reconstruction of the country and that they have followed the revolutionary road insofar as circumstances permitted them to do so.

f) "In those Councils the comrades should try to arrive at an understanding with the U.G.T. and the Republicans in order to displace the Communists. (Ed. note: The Communists have shown themselves the greatest enemies of the C.N.T. There is much more of genuine concern for the anti-Fascist cause and unity among the liberal elements of the Republican Left than among the Stalinists of Spain.)

g) "The comrades should not let themselves be drawn into a bloody struggle in spite of the provocations constantly used in order to have them come out in the streets.

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COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

Socialist Protests Persecution of Collectives

A TYPICAL PEASANT MOVEMENT—COLLECTIVES IMPORTANT ECONOMIC FACTOR—WHO IS OPPOSED TO AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES—COMMUNIST MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE BACKS VILLAGE "KULAKS"

Socialists Protest Communist Policies

To many people the attitude of the Communist Party toward the collectives and peasant syndicates of Spain seems incredible. They find it hard to reconcile the present policy pursued in Spain with championing the cause of peasant collectives several years ago in Russia.

It is, therefore, of interest to read the letter of protest sent to the Communist Minister of Agriculture by the Secretary of the Peasant and Land Workers' organization, belonging to the socialist U.G.T. Its General Secretary, Ricardo Zabalza, is a member of the Socialist Party, and the region (Badajoz) referred to in his letter is one in which the C.N.T. influence is weaker than that of the Socialist Unions.

The picture unfolded in this document is one which is frequently described in the anarchist press. The Communist Party allies itself with the most reactionary element of the peasant population. Its agents carry on a violent campaign against peasant collectives and obtain the full backing of the officials of the Department of Agriculture which is controlled by the Communist Minister.

And it is very characteristic that this letter of protest sent by a U.G.T. organization and signed by a member of the Executive Committee of this organization was turned down by the Communist administration of the "Claridad," the Madrid organ of the U.G.T. (It appeared in full in the anarcho-syndicalist daily CNT.) Here we present a very brief summary thereof:

How Collectives Were Formed

The province of Badajoz is a war zone province. The breakdown of the old order in the first period of the revolution brought forth a spontaneous movement

of the peasants, who held a general convention in the month of November and decided to confiscate all the lands belonging to the Fascists, to form an agricultural co-operative and a collective in every village. (Ed. note: the report belies the slanders of the Communist press agents that the collectives are forced upon the peasants by the "extremists.")

Collectives Voluntarily Accepted

The confiscated lands were disposed of in the following manner: those that wanted to cultivate their lands individually got their proportionate share in land and equipment and the rest who decided, by their own free will, to work collectively kept their lands and equipment in common.

This decision was more moderate than the government decree of October 7, according to which the disposal of confiscated lands was to be decided by the majority and not left to the free will of every peasant. The work done by the Peasant Committees was legalized by the decision of the government representative who fully approved their proceedings and methods of work.

Outside Agencies Stir Up Anti-Collectivist Propaganda

For the last few months, however, certain political elements (the report hints that those are of the Communist Party), acting under instructions from above, began to unfold a campaign for the breaking up of the collectives and the parcelling out of their land and equipment. In spite of the most intensive campaign of those agents only 7 out of 47 communities yielded to this propaganda. And as it was to be expected, the break-up of those 7 collectives only resulted in the enrichment of the economically stronger peasants (Kulaks), while the rest, having lost the

economic security of collectives, soon found themselves in the grip of the richer peasants.

Majority of Peasants for Collectives

The preponderant majority of peasant communities held fast to their collectives. Their economic success is testified by the fact that the area under cultivation has grown considerably and that they have become an important factor in provisioning the Front.

And with all that the violent campaign (the report points out that it is directed from some outside source) has been gaining in momentum. Of late, it came to open assaults upon the collectives by certain elements who seemingly have all the protection of the official agencies. Every assault brings in its wake the "mediation" of the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture who invariably decides in favor of the attackers. The collectives are gradually deprived of their equipment and land by this persistent method of assault and government intervention.

Some of those decisions are so palpably reactionary in their nature as to stir entire peasant

"The Communist Party wants to have us believe that the Revolution can be furthered by opening up the churches, by promoting the interests of the small business man, by entrenching private property, by granting favors to the small manufacturers, by opposing the gradual equalization of wages, by eliminating workers' organizations from the government, by undermining the peasant collectives, by bowing to the wishes of international capitalism, by denying that the present situation favors a social revolution, while only a few years ago, when the Communist Party just began to advocate its ideas in Spain, the Revolution was, according to them, on the order of the day.

"In other words, for the Communist Party the revolution is made with the help of counter-revolution and counter-revolution with the help of revolution. And if anyone tells us that this makes no sense at all, let him bear in mind that we are not presenting opinions of our own but those of the purest 'Marxism-Leninism'."

—From the CNT (anarchist-syndicalist daily in Madrid.)

communities into a frenzy of resistance. Such, for instance, is the attempt to take away from the collectives one of the finest estates and give it back to a former owner, an ex-Fascist, implicated in Fascist activities and released only because of personal influences in high quarters.

Acting Under Orders From Above

When asked to explain this strange behavior, the representative of Department of Agriculture told point blank that he is acting under orders from his superiors. (Dept. of Agriculture is controlled by Communists.)

TRUE ANTI-FASCISM IS REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERTARIAN

One of the most hopeful aspects of the present situation in Spain is the gradual re-awakening of the liberal opinion to the Fascist danger implied in the totalitarian policies of the Communist Party of Spain. Not only are the left Socialists breaking away from the anti-revolutionary bloc created by the Communist Party, but in the Republican Party, representing to a great extent the liberal opinion of the country, one hears more and more often authoritative voices calling for the acceptance of basic revolutionary achievements, a more sympathetic attitude toward the C.N.T. and a revaluation of anti-Fascism by way of transcending the old formulas of political democracy.

The Communist Party, with its insistence on bourgeois Republic only, is finding itself more and more estranged from the best opinion within the anti-Fascist camp. And there is no question where it would find itself now, were it not for the powerful foreign backing.

We quote here excerpts from answers given by Fernando Valera, a prominent intellectual and Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works, to the questionnaire sent out by CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist daily in Madrid.

WHAT IS ANTI-FASCISM?

—"What meaning to you attach to anti-Fascism?"

—"Anti-Fascism should be the exact contrary of Fascism.

"Fascism supplants democracy and imposes the dictatorship of the Party. Anti-Fascism should therefore adopt a position clearly emphasizing democracy, liberty and humanitarian values: the people before the State, liberty above authority. Any movement that fails to emphasize all that, becomes infected with the Fascist spirit.

"Fascism is also a collectivist system. In Germany it calls itself National-Socialism. The anti-Fascist position should be to organize work on the basis of the syndicates (ed. note: compare this with the

violent attacks of the Communist Party against union control of industries, with the statement made by one of their leaders that the revolution only resulted in the enrichment of labor unions), to collectivize certain forms of property.

"All that in itself can also take on a Fascist character if the whole collectivist structure is not permeated with a democratic and humanitarian spirit.

"Fascism is a collectivist system of an authoritarian type. Anti-Fascism should be a collectivist system of a libertarian type."

ANTI-FASCISM PRECLUDES TOTALITARIAN TENDENCIES OF ANY KIND

—"What is your opinion of the C.N.T. participation in the

It is against this tendency on the part of the official representative of the government, against the persistent campaign carried on by the Dept. of Agriculture with the view of undermining and destroying collectives that the General Secretary of a Socialist union, a member of the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. raises his sharpest protest.

And it is in the light of his revelations that one can understand why the Peasant Federation of another province—Levante—branded the Communist Minister of Agriculture as Public Enemy Number One!

Government?

—"In Spain there are three organized forces whose collaboration created the anti-Fascist Front. None of those forces should be cut off from any participation in this union. THE TOTALITARIAN IMPOSITION OF ANY OF THOSE MOVEMENTS WILL RENDER OUR REVOLUTION STERILE AND IMPOTENT.

STALINISM WILL NEVER TRIUMPH IN SPAIN

"Social dogmatism and the system of political obedience may get a foothold in that section of the country which was brought up in the Jesuitic school of submission but the vast majority of the country, which is rebellious, libertarian, almost to the point of turning it into a fault, will never allow this pertification of the people's soul."

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 22

NEW YORK, JULY 19, 1937

Price 3 cents

THE GREATER PROMISES OF JULY NINETEEN

One year ago the workers and peasants of Spain took up arms against the powerful forces of Fascist rebellion backed up by a trained, professional army, by picked troops of foreign mercenaries and the vast material resources of Rome and Berlin.

The workers and peasants had to face those powerful enemies almost barehanded. They had to improvise their own system of defense, for the old democratic State had broken down. The democratic government of Azana nearly capitulated before the Fascist onslaught. It looked on passively while the military revolt was being plotted in the open and it completely lost its head at the last decisive moment of attack.

The old State apparatus broke down under the strain of intense class warfare, and so did also the economic order. The workers had to improvise not only a new defense system but also a new economy necessary for the successful carrying on of the war.

They had to take over the industries in order to save them from chaos and disorganization inevitable in a period of great social stress. They could not afford to have the industries controlled by those very elements who were closely interlinked with the Fascists. The big estates had to be taken away from the landlords as an elementary measure of economic self-preservation. Without turning over immediately the lands to the poor peasants and farm hands, the revolutionary army would have been starved out of existence a long time ago.

Social revolution was a prime necessity with the Spanish workers and peasants who one year ago took up arms in self-defense against the Fascist conspirators. And the day they came out into the streets to face the machine guns of the Fascist rebels they also opened up a new chapter in the life of humanity by starting upon the course of radical reorganization of the social order. July 19th is not only the beginning of a great anti-Fascist struggle which turned back the seemingly irresistible wave of world-wide reaction, but also the opening date of a great social revolution, the second one of our time, coming as the successor and the heir of the October Revolution.

(Continued on page two)

UNIONS FORGING A NEW REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

The key to the revolutionary situation of Spain and its immediate perspectives lies now to a certain extent in the hands of the U.G.T. unions, that is the more moderate unions controlled until recently by the Socialist Party. Upon their action in the nearest future will depend the outcome of the inevitable struggle between the C.N.T. and the reactionary bloc headed by the Communist Party of Spain.

The organization, however, is not homogenous in its social make-up. We also know that a very intense struggle is now taking place in its midst between the more radical wing seeking a revolutionary alliance with the C.N.T.—and the reactionary elements headed by the Communist

Party. What is the relative strength of those two forces struggling within the organization?

Majority for Revolutionary Policy

"The revolutionary tendency within the U.G.T.—writes the 'L'Espagne Nouvelle' (July 3)—represents a definite force. Within the Central Committee of the U.G.T. Caballero's faction—which is opposed to the persecutions of C.N.T.-F.A.I. and to the Moscow intrigues—it represents 930 thousand affiliates as against the 650 thousands of Moscow followers. In Valencia, after the formation of the Negrin government, manifestos were published

(Continued on page two)

TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

Judged by the surface indications of its government policies, loyalist Spain is now rapidly turning its back upon the great revolution of July 19th. The growing terror against revolutionary workers and peasants, the drive to liquidate the revolutionary economy and restore capitalist relationships under the cloak of nationalization, the sharp curtailment of elementary democratic liberties, the official stamp of approval given to the undisguised intentions of the Communist Party to impose upon the country the dictatorship of a single, totalitarian Party—all that represents the fullest denials of the aspirations of the great mass of workers and peasants as expressed and formulated by policies of the revolution of July 19th.

Opening Shot of Communist Offensive

This counter-revolutionary trend became especially emphasized immediately after the keynote speech of one of the Communist leaders, Jesus Hernandez, delivered about a month ago before the Communist organization of Valencia.

It was a brazen speech, having as little of elementary political integrity as those that are broadcast from Rome and Berlin. It proclaimed the Negrin government as the representative of "the great majority of workers,"* a government that is called upon to "establish peace in the country" and "impose an iron discipline" upon an economy that "has been for too long a time in the hands of workers' organizations."

(Continued on page four)

*This government of "the great majority of workers" was formed by way of ousting the principal workers' organizations—and no one denies that the Spanish workers and peasants are mainly organized in the C.N.T. and U.G.T.—from any participation in the government.

WHO PLOTTED THE UPRISING IN BARCELONA

C.N.T. Exposes Conspiracy — Italian Agents Head Nationalist Party of Catalonia — Communist Leader Maintained Close Relations with Mussolini's Agents — Secret Visits to Paris.

The elimination of the C.N.T. from the Central government of Spain was not an unmitigated evil. It freed the anarchists from the self-imposed obligation of keeping silent in face of continued provocations on the part of the Spanish Communist Party and its Moscow masters. At last the C.N.T. was enabled to speak out openly, to point an accusing finger in the direction of those who were mainly responsible for the sabotaging of the revolution.

This work of exposing the enemies of the revolution hiding behind the program of an avowedly anti-fascist party is only beginning. It is hampered by a rigorous censorship and a general reluctance to push matters to a breaking point. The C.N.T. is using its blows sparingly, but it does use them with telling force on those occasions when it has to appeal to the public opinion of revolutionary Spain.

PUNISHING REVOLUTIONISTS

FOR "COUNTER-REVOLUTION"

The last manifesto issued by the C.N.T. is in the nature of such appeal. It was issued in reply to the growing

campaign of the Catalan Stalinists and their semi-fascist allies of the "Estat Catala" to punish those who, according to them, "instigated the counter-revolutionary rebellion of the month of May."

This campaign has already borne fruit. The Parisian daily "Le Temps" (June 13) writes that "the Courts are continuing their investigation into the cases of those who are held responsible for the last revolt in Barcelona. Among those who are soon to be indicted is also M. Iglesias, the ex-Counselor of Defense (member of the C.N.T.)."

But who are those "revolutionists" that dare accusing the heroes of July 19th of counter-revolution?

The C.N.T. comes out in this manifesto with startling exposures of the nature of the plot hatched against the Barcelona workers. It charges, on the basis of irrefutable proofs, direct complicity of Italian agents in the gigantic provocation of May the third. And it proves that those very individuals who are now in the forefront of the campaign to punish known revolutionists for an allegedly

(Continued on page three)

HOW POLITICAL CRISES ARE MADE SECRET COMMUNIST INSTRUCTIONS REVEALED

Of late we have been hearing a great deal about new political crises in Catalonia. The news is very vague, reaching us in the form of floating rumors and enigmatic official releases.

Two things, however, stand out clearly. Back of all those attempts to provoke a political crisis in Catalonia is the same

hand which guided the downfall of Caballero's government and the elimination of the C.N.T. The Communist Party continues in its efforts to blast out of existence the very semblance of what it calls "a government by syndicates." Its slogan is "all power to the political parties," meaning thereby, of course, a unified Party acting under directions of Moscow.*

(Continued on page two)

*Such a totalitarian Party is by no means a far-away reality. Negrin, Alvarez del Vayo, Prieto and other socialist politicians are gradually identifying themselves with the Communist Party, having cast overboard the last shred of their democratic convictions by giving official sanction to the vile Stalinist slander against the P.O.U.M.

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July 19, 1937

THE GREATER PROMISES OF JULY 19

(Continued from page one)

And like every great revolution of our time, the one bearing the name of July 19th proclaimed to the world new principles, new solutions to the problem of democracy and socialism. It did not blindly copy the October revolution. It started where the latter left off, where it was shunted into the by-paths leading it to its present state. The Spanish revolution struck out boldly for new solutions and new approaches by placing the work of social reorganization on altogether new foundations.

There can be no socialism without a certain minimum of freedom and democracy—this is the most important principle proclaimed by the revolution of July 19th. It meant industrial democracy—the first attempt to realize the ideas inspiring the most progressive workers of Europe and America. The means of production were not turned over to the State, to an army of bureaucrats, to a political party, but to the association of producers themselves, to the industrial unions.

And it also meant rejection of dictatorship under any form, even in its most tempting guise of investing the so-called revolutionary vanguard with unlimited power over the rest of the population.

For a whole year the Spanish workers and peasants clung tenaciously to those basic ideas. Amid the greatest difficulties of foreign intervention, inner sabotage, financial chaos, lack of raw material, they carried on the work of economic reorganization, getting an ever firmer hold upon economic realities and shaping them more and more in accordance with their ultimate ends. Industries, trade, agriculture were drawn into an ever closer net of inter-relationships based upon collective ownership, democratic management and equality in the distribution of the benefits of this socialized economy.

Against this revolution rose up not only the old decaying world of capitalist democracies, not only the militant Fascist International but also the government which issued from the great revolutionary passions of the Russian October. This government threw against the Spanish revolution the weight of its tremendous military apparatus, its prestige among other Powers, the vast power of its international organizations, in order to undo the work of July 19th, to obliterate its significance and bring it down to the same level of bureaucratic degeneration to which the great promises of the October revolution were dragged down.

It did so because it realized that the triumph of the revolution of July 19th will spell the doom of its own regime, that the top-heavy system based upon the dogma of party infallibility will come down with a crash the moment the workers of Russia learn of the success of the democratic socialism of Spain carried out not by a savage dictatorial power but by the free will of the mass organizations of workers.

Caught between the offensives of two powerful blocs of enemies, the revolutionary forces of Spain had to beat retreat, to yield, temporize and compromise even to the extent of accepting temporary defeats without any resistance. The first anniversary of the great revolution finds the revolution temporarily halted in its forward course, the commanding positions turned over to its sworn enemies. Stalinists, Catholics, reformists, democratic politicians are in the saddle. The liquidation of the great conquests of July 19th is openly announced. Is it the end of the great promises of a year ago?

And to those who are genuinely troubled with this question we say: no great revolution has ever been developed without serious hitches, rebounds and reverses, but no such revolution has ever been stopped by them. A revolution is halted when it fully exhausts its creative energies, after it has run its full course and not before.

The Spanish revolution is far from having run such course, it is far from having exhausted the store of energies released a year ago. The second year of its existence will yet bring a new upswing which will put into sharper relief the great principles proclaimed to the world by the epoch making events of July 19th.

FORGING A NEW UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

(Continued from page one)
jointly by the C.N.T., U.G.T., the Libertarian and Socialist youth organizations. The headquarters of C.N.T. and U.G.T. display the banners of both organizations . . . The Council of Economy of Valencia formed by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. pursues an even more radical policy than the one of Catalonia. All enterprises employing more than 50 workers are collectivized (in Catalonia—only those employing 100). And even in the smallest enterprises, all of which are under workers' control, there exists a system assuring the workers 10% of the profits.

Negotiations with C.N.T.

"For weeks—writes the Barcelona paper 'Die Soziale Revolution,' negotiations were carried on between the leading bodies of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. in order to evolve a joint policy in the most important branches of economic activity. It was not an easy matter to hammer out such an understanding, but very important constructive results have already been attained."

This work, as it was reported in the anarchist and socialist press, was mercilessly sabotaged by the representatives of the Communist Party within the U.G.T. "The Communists—writes the same paper—using their well known methods have succeeded in bringing under their control a number of Provincial Committees as well as some Industrial Federations." And it stands to reason that this newly gained control is used in order

to blast away the least possibility of an alliance between the U.G.T. and C.N.T.

How far does their influence extend in the U.G.T.?

Communist Influence Strong Only Among Non-Proletarian Elements

"The U.G.T.—writes the well informed correspondent of the 'La Revolution Proletarienne'—varies with every province in its social composition and policies pursued. In Catalonia the U.G.T. is petty-bourgeois in its make-up (store keepers, small shop owners and artisans). It was created by the Stalinists and is now completely dominated by them.

"In Asturias the situation is just the reverse: the U.G.T. is outspokenly anti-Stalinist. At the recent U.G.T. convention of this province two separate lists of candidates were submitted: socialist and communist. The Socialist ticket was carried with a preponderant majority. And it is also in Asturias that the C.N.T. and U.G.T. work hand in hand, having both signed a long time ago a pact of revolutionary alliance.

Land Workers Form United Stand Against Communists

"In Valencia the situation becomes more and more like that of Asturias . . . This province is primarily an agricultural region. The most important problem is that of land and the organizations of land workers are the basic force in the labor movement of that province. It is on

the question of land that the U.G.T. organization takes the same stand as the C.N.T. It is violently opposed to the Stalinists, the defenders of private property and rabid opponents of collectivization.

"The U.G.T. of Levant (province of Valencia) is definite for agriculture collectives acting in concert with the C.N.T. it undertook collectivizations on a large scale throughout the province."

An Irrepressible Trend

As it is to be seen, the genuinely proletarian elements of the U.G.T.—its oldest and most rooted organizations—are swinging more and more toward revolutionary alliance with the C.N.T. No amount of mechanical manipulation of controlling positions captured here or there the Stalinists will check this process of radicalization now going on within the U.G.T. The idea of a revolutionary alliance of economic organization displacing the dictatorship of political parties has struck deep roots. And in the gradual realization of this idea lies the worldwide significance of the struggle now unfolding within the U.G.T.

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HOW POLITICAL CRISES ARE MADE

(Continued from page one)

But it is also clear that thus far the Communists have failed in their attempt to set up a government in Catalonia modelled after that of Valencia. The C.N.T. unions still direct the economic Councilorship and many other branches of official activities.

Communist Instructions

The nature of the Communist tactics in their attempt to provoke a political crisis is fully revealed in a secret document sent out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the provincial committees. This document fell into the hands of the anarchist organizations who recently made public its contents.

(We reprint excerpts of this document as they appeared in the French anarchist weekly *Libertaire*. The latter openly challenges the Communist Party to deny the authenticity of this document.)

"Conversations with the Val-

encia Government. The resignation of the delegate of Public Order as an incompetent.* The Parties should not participate in the work of the Investigation Committee charged with the task of establishing peace and order in the province.

"Provocation of the crisis. Motives: should be based upon the provisional character of the present government. Our party will demand the Office of the President.

A Strong Government

"The new government will have the same characteristics as that of Valencia: a strong government whose task will be to demand that the instigators of the last counter-revolutionary rebellion be held responsible.

"In this Government the C.N.T. will be offered participa-

*This was directed against Echevarria Novoa who, seemingly was reluctant in taking Stalinist orders to persecute the anarchists.

tion, only this offer will be made in such a manner that the C.N.T. will see itself compelled to refuse collaboration. Thus we shall be able to appear before public opinion as those who earnestly desire to cooperate with all the anti-Fascist sectors."

As it was pointed out, our comrades challenged the Communist Party to disprove the authenticity of this document. But is it really necessary? The document is stamped so strongly with the spirit of machiavellianism and Jesuitry by which the Communist Parties all over the world live now that it is only the fatuous liberals of the well known "Nation" and "New Republic" variety that will fail to recognize its parentage.

WHO PLOTTED UPRISING IN BARCELONA?

(Continued from page one)
"counter-revolutionary plot" were in direct contact not only with French and British agents but with the representatives of Mussolini and Franco.

SURVIVORS OF FORMER PLOTS

"The struggle against our movement in Catalonia—writes this manifesto—has been going on for a long time. The Communists, "Estat Catala" (Catalonian separatists) and their hidden enemies carried on an active campaign in order to discredit in Catalonia and abroad.

"Few people know, for instance, that already in January Casanovas, Juli Vallesca, Xicota, Sancho, Polo and Ventura Gassol† left for France in order to work for "the independence of Catalonia." It was a plot similar to the one which was carried out during the dictatorship. (Of Primo de Rivera). The difference is that the agent of Italian fascism at that time was Garibaldi and last January it was Dencas,†† Mussolini's agent-provocateur during the October days in Catalonia (the revolt of 1934).

"In December a plot was discovered, and as a result Roberter, the Chief of Police, was shot and Casanovas, the President of the Catalan Parliament, had escaped abroad. It was proven that both were involved in this miscarried plot.

FASCIST CONSPIRATORS

AT WORK

"The separatists could not reconcile themselves to the fact that the crushing of the Fascist revolt resulted in a victory for the proletariat. In their attempt to restore the old order of things they established negotiations with Italy, aiming to provoke contacts which would lead to foreign

†Prominent figures in the separatist organization "Estat Catala."

††Dencas—leader of Catalanian nationalists prior to July 19. Escaped Italy whence, with the aid of Mussolini, he now actively carries on his work of plotting against revolutionary Catalonia. An inveterate enemy of the C.N.T.

intervention while weakening at the same time the anti-fascist front.

"In France a conspiracy was in progress, with similar aims in view. Certain prominent figures (now active in Catalonian political life) were involved. One of the agents working for the anti-fascist movement tracked down the gathering place of those conspirators. He was told to go ahead with his investigations in order to get all the proofs necessary for the seizure of those traitors. And when this agent began to work in this direction he was assassinated in Barcelona. By whom was he murdered?

He worked for the government. It stands to reason that he was assassinated by conspirators who were close enough to the government to get the inside information about the secret mission of this agent. Let us bear in mind that Ayguade† was then Councilor of Inner Safety, that he is a member of the "Estat Catala" and that there were certain grounds to suspect him of being a part of that conspiracy.

COMMUNIST LEADER MEETS

FASCIST AGENTS

"April the 20th Comorera, the leader of the Communist Party in Catalonia, was in Paris.† Among other persons he visited the secretary of Ventura Gassol and a certain individual by the name Castaner.

"Who is this Castaner? We have the information that he was a police agent of the Generalidad (the old Catalonian Government) that he

†Ayguade—Chief figure in the May provocation; worked hand in hand with the Stalinists; was rewarded for his role in the Barcelona plot with a Cabinet position in Negrin's Government.

†L'Espagne Nouvelle of June 12 quotes the Valencia anarchist daily (Nosotros) saying that "Comorera during his recent trip to Paris met Dencas, the ex-president of the "Estat Catala" who since July 19 has been living in Rome, having joined by now the Italian fascists. This meeting had for its aim the setting up of a national Party of Peace" destined to "save Spain from chaos."

C.N.T. STILL REMAINS A FORCE

"In spite of the last political defeat in Catalonia," writes Robert Louzon, the well known French journalist, "the C.N.T. still remains a tremendous force."

It remains so not only in Catalonia where it has the pre-eminent majority of workers within its ranks (one million members out of a population total of four million) but in the rest of Spain where its influence, in spite of the growing persecutions, has assumed sweeping proportions.

Here are some figures relating to the numerical strength of the organization in the various provinces of the country. (Quoted from "L'Espagne Nouvelle," July 3.)

"In the month of April the membership of the organization stood as follows: Asturias, 64,000; Northern provinces, 39,000 (U.G.T.—50,000); Catalonia, 1,000,000 (U.G.T.—475,000?); Aragon, 100,000 (U.G.T.—20,000); Levant, 450,000 (U.G.T.—450,000); Central provinces, 225 (U.G.T.—300,000); Extremadura, 50,000; Andalucia, 250,000.

"Since the month of April, the membership of the C.N.T. has been on the increase.

"In Madrid the C.N.T. has now as many members as the U.G.T. In the villages the influence is growing ceaselessly. The C.N.T. peasant syndicate of the Central province has now 120,000 members. In Levant the membership of the C.N.T. peas-

maintains close relations with a certain Vintro, the secretary of Octavio Salto, a newspaperman in service of the Spanish fascists. He was also frequently seen with other prominent figures of the fascist movement who live now in Biarritz.

"It is also known that Comorera maintained close relations with the elements of "Estat Catala" refugees and especially with Dencas and Cassanova. Castaner was visited by Comorera in the former's house and the second visit was arranged in Comorera's place.

In the light of those exposures it becomes clear why Cassanova, who seven months ago had to escape with his life as an exposed member of a semi-Fascist conspiracy, is now being invited to Catalonia and why this invitation is linked by the press with a newly expected political crisis in Catalonia.

Polo, another police agent of the former Catalonian government, the confidence man of Badia (Chief of Police prior to July 19) works in France under a certain Vizcaino, an agent of fascist espionage organization.

IS IT A MERE COINCIDENCE ONLY?

Let us add to all this previous information that the fascists were preparing in the last days of April † a vast landing operation which was to extend from Almeria to Rosas. It did not take place because of a certain incident which placed the plans of such an operation in the hands of the secret police of a neutral country.

"We also have to point out that toward the end of April the "Estat Catala" began to concentrate on the french border its armed forces which it maintains in France . . . And during the same time big contingents of "carabineros" (border police) were sent to the border. The head of one of those companies, upon the latter's arrival to Figueras, presented himself to the local of the Communist Party instead of the Municipal Council. It was aimed to show by this act that this armed force was to be placed at the disposal of the Communist Party and not the people or

†That was on the eve of the May provocation started by the Catalanian nationalists and Communists. Was that a mere coincidence?

ant syndicate is 180,000 strong.

C.N.T. on the Front

"It is often said that the military strength of the C.N.T. organization is the greatest at the Aragon front. This is not so.

"We cannot divulge here the details of the positions of various troop divisions at the front. But we can say here that toward the end of April the C.N.T. forces at the Central front (Madrid) were twice as numerous as those at the Aragon front. Everyone knows, for instance, that the Guadalajara offensive (the capture of Brihuega) was to a great extent the work of the C.N.T. forces commanded by comrade Cipriano Mera. (Ed. note: a Madrid construction worker.)

"Likewise the mixed brigades have a great number of C.N.T. and F.A.I. members and also Young Libertarians, all of whom were either conscripted or drawn through the popular military schools.

the government.

COMMUNIST ALLIES

"Ayguade, Dencas, Cassanova, Ventura Ganol, Polo, Castaner — all leagued in a sinister plan of betrayals and plots. Those are the ones that are responsible for the bloody events in Barcelona!"

And it is those very individuals and organization that are now upheld by their close associates and allies—the Stalinists of Catalonia—as the true revolutionists, while the workers of Barcelona who took up arms in self-defence against those Fascist-inspired plots are regarded as "counter-revolutionists" to be punished with greatest severity, and the act of self-defence itself is branded by their host of pen-funkeys as "a bloody anarchist adventure." (Louis Fisher's characterization — Nation" July 3—of the heroic struggle of the Barcelona workers.

A LETTER FROM SPAIN

The persecution of revolutionists by the Negrin government continues unabated. We are printing below further confirmation of the news received up to date. The following consists of excerpts from a letter to Liston Oak written on July 4 by Charles Orr who went to Barcelona in August, 1936 and has worked ever since as editor of "The Spanish Revolution," published in English by the P.O.U.M.

Dear Comrade Oak:

My wife, Lois, and I have been evacuated from Valencia following nine days in jail. All the other foreign comrades of the P.O.U.M. and many of the F.A.I. who were arrested are still in jail. We were the only ones freed, which was probably due to pressure brought to bear by our American friends upon the American Consul here, and cables to the Valencia Government.

The counter-revolutionary forces led by the Stalinists have consolidated their position. . . .

The Valencia Government is becoming more openly reactionary and is adopting Fascist-like methods of repression against all revolutionists. Our old headquarters, the Hotel Falcon, is now used as a preventor-

Among the anarchists recently arrested in Barcelona is Gonzalez de Reparaz, an old scientist—more than 70 years old—known for his brilliant contributions in the field of anthropology, history and geography.

The reason for his arrest was that he conducted a column in the anarcho-syndicalist daily "Solidaridad Obrera."

The line between Franco and Spanish Stalinists is rapidly being obliterated.

ium—a torture chamber for political prisoners who don't agree with the People's Front line. It isn't only the P.O.U.M. now which is being persecuted; among the prisoners are many anarchists, especially members of the Friends of Durruti and the Libertarian Youth who made a united front with us on the barricades during the fighting in May. . . .

Lois and I are going to Paris to work there with a committee of anarchists, left wing Socialists, Trotskyists and others, to rally support for the political prisoners held by the Spanish Cheka, and to defend workers democracy and the Spanish revolution. If you can raise any money for this work we shall be grateful.

A few of the left wing leaders of the P.O.U.M. are in hiding. Nin has been taken to Murcia, where, as you know from the expose in Soli, the Cheka has been operating for a long time under Santiago Carrillo. Gorkin, Andrade, Arguer, Bonet and Escuder are in prison in Valencia. So are Hugo Oehler and Wolf Kapiisky. They are charged with espionage, by a special court set up for that purpose. . . .

Fraternally,

Charlie Orr.

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TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

(Continued from page one)

The speech was full of veiled threats at the address of workers' unions, upholding before the workers the glorious perspectives of an imported Russian "Stakhanovism," hinting of the need of imposing a 17 hour working day in the militarized industries, and bitterly attacking the unified wage-system spontaneously introduced by Spanish workers in the socialized industries and justly upheld by them—by anarchists and socialists alike—as one of their greatest revolutionary achievements.

Government Falls In Line

It was more than a keynote speech at a party gathering. Hernandez outlined a policy for the government which the latter has been trying hard to follow ever since. Immediately after the delivery of the speech a wave of persecutions and arrests swept the country. The long cherished plan of the Stalinists to liquidate the P.O.U.M. has finally been carried into effect by an obedient government. Negrin, the man "with a consuming passion for democracy"* gave his official sanction to the vile slanders and charges of the Stalinists which no one with a grain of intelligence can believe even for a moment.

"Those are Stalinist fabrications without any semblance of truth in them," writes the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* about those charges, but professed socialists and democrats, allegedly waging a struggle for a "democratic Spain," authorize the vilest outrage of democratic rights and keep on shamelessly repeating the monstrous statements fabricated by the Fascized mentality of Moscow's agents.

The P.O.U.M. and What's After

The outlawing of P. O. U. M.

*Louis Fisher vouches for Negrin's "consuming passion for democracy" in his last article in the "Nation," July 3. And Mr. Fisher ought to know something about "democratic passion." His own democratic sensibilities must have been greatly heightened in virtue of his long sojourn in Soviet Russia and his ardours, if not disinterested, services in behalf of the great "architect of democracy," Joseph Stalin.

was only the first step in a series of persecutions which have been gaining momentum with every day. In Catalonia a number of people belonging to the anarchist organizations have been arrested. Prisons are again being filled with anarchists as in the days prior to July 19th.

The anarchist organization of the border town of Puigcerda, which was instrumental in working out one of the finest and most instructive economic experiments, has been treacherously assaulted and smashed up. A number of prominent comrades were killed and more than sixty of them arrested.

Same "episodes" are taking place all over the country. The anarchist movement is too formidable to be assaulted in a direct attack. That is why the government and the counter-revolutionary forces cooperating with it are reverting to the early tactics of the Italian Fascists—those of piecemeal terrorization, of cutting off the weaker organizations and gradually placing the villages and smaller towns under their complete control.

F.A.I. Comes Next

The tactics of terrorization are matched by the official policy of gradually eliminating the F.A.I. from participation in any public bodies and thus prepare, as it was the case with the P.O.U.M., the ground for outlawing it. Already the Minister of Justice (a reactionary Catholic) issued a ruling according to which the F.A.I. is to be eliminated from any representa-

The Socialist daily of Valencia "Adelante" sent out recently a questionnaire to a number of provincial secretaries of the Land Workers' Union (non-anarchist; belongs to the U.G.T.).

Among other questions asked were also the following:

1. Who opposes the peasant collectives?
2. Does the agrarian work carried on by the Communist Party help the union or is it detrimental to the latter's interests?

The invariable answer of all of them was that the peasant collectives are now most bitterly fought by the Communist Party. Everywhere the story is the same: the Communist Party organizes the well-to-do peasants, those that want to use hired labor and want it cheap and are therefore opposed to collectivization movement among the poor peasants.

And it is those elements, which prior to the revolution were known as Fascist and monarchist sympathizers that, according to those union officials, now flock to the Communist Party.

And as to the general effect of the agrarian work of the Communist Party upon the Union of Land Workers the unanimous opinion of those U.G.T. secretaries is that it was, what the Valencia secretary called it, disastrous to the fullest extent.

tion in the Popular Tribunals. This ruling evoked many protests from all kinds of Popular Front organizations but the government is following the dictates of a party which places obedience to Moscow above the public opinion of its own country.

Today it is the P.O.U.M. tomorrow it will be the F.A.I., C.N.T., the left wing socialists, (who are already branded as camouflaged fascists), any sort of opposition, any independent movement and opinion.

A significant step in the direction of this fascization of the country is the expropriation of all radio-broadcasting stations by the government. One single will, one single mind and one single voice—this basic fascist idea has found most ready acceptance among the so-called anti-fascists of Spain.

Revolution Is Not Dead

And with all that it would be a grave error to consider all those manifestations anything

but an indication of a surface trend of the Spanish revolution. The revolution has not been defeated: it recoiled, gathering its forces for the forward leap to come soon.

The government is backed up only by a minority of people and its policies are meeting with an ever solidified opposition of the workers and peasants organization.

Already the government had to beat retreat on several fronts. Its drive to take away the industries from the workers' organizations has failed thus far. The campaign carried on by the Communist Party against the agricultural collectives has proven of no avail. The collectives have grown into a considerable economic force with which the new government had to make some sort of peace by granting them legal recognition. As the anarchist daily of Valencia (*Nosotros*) points out in this connection "the communist aspirations of the peasants have proven stronger than the bourgeois spirit of the so-called Communist Party."

And what is even more important than those partial checks placed on the counter-revolutionary drive of the new government is the new united front now being forged among the genuinely proletarian organizations. It is the united front of revolutionary democracy against any form of dictatorship.

The Socialists of Spain, that is the preponderant majority of workers within the Socialist Party (the Negrin-Prieto faction represents only the middle class politicians in the socialist move-

ment), have learned their lesson. The sharpest attacks against the Communist Party and its Machiavelian, counter-revolutionary tactics emanate now from the socialist press. The defense of the revolutionary congress is being taken up not only by a section of the working class, but by its entire organized body. Socialists and anarchists, U.G.T. and C.N.T. workers are drawn into an ever closer union by the realization of common danger coming not only from the Fascist rebels but from a dictatorial party representing powerful foreign interests.

And inasmuch as the latter are not prepared to launch upon a campaign of wholesale extermination of revolutionary workers and peasants, they will finally have to bow to the express will of the preponderant majority which does the fighting and the building up of the country.

"The Communists in Spain are the Right wing supporters of the government. They are in a sense conservatives, seeing that their declared aim is to re-establish republican democracy. . . ."

"The anarchists, who command the majority of labor in Catalonia, are the only party which puts revolution first. They, alone of all the Spanish political movements, remain true revolutionaries, with the exception of the rather weak P.O.U.M."

—From "Manchester Guardian"

All comrades are urged to let nothing interfere with their plans to participate in this, the first large open air meeting in which anarchists have taken part since the Sacco-Vanzetti days.

July Nineteenth marks the turning point of the anarchist movement—upon the results of the aftermath of that fatal day, the Fate of the anarchist movement of the whole world depends.

Silence in the face of the continued rough-shod march of the Communist Party of Russia, transplanted for the present within the balliwick of the Valencia Government, would be criminal cowardice. Already we have waited too long before exposing the craven hand of the Kremlin in Spain.

Every trick of the politician's trade has been exhausted in an effort to cause general dissatisfaction against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Failing in this, the Communists then began their campaign of physical force, secret arrests, night raids and finally open murder.

The spectacle of the bloody week of May Third in Barcelona is merely the more sensational culmination of the studied, underhanded, counter-revolutionary tactics that have been employed by the communists ever since the early months of this year, as soon as they began to feel their growing strength.

They are determined to strangle the Revolution in Catalonia and to that end they will stop at nothing—absolutely nothing!

This mass meeting is to commemorate the heroic, spontaneous rising of the people of Barcelona one year ago when they crushed the Fascist putsch of the generals and incidentally tell the world the truth about the Red Fascists working under definite instructions of Josef Stalin—first and foremost master Fascist of a land no longer red.

Sound amplifiers will convey the voices of the speakers all over the square. The tentative list of speakers includes Carlo Tresca, Liston Oak, Marcelino Garcia, Harry Meyers, and a number of our own comrades representing the various libertarian groups, and syndicalist organizations. Walter Starrett will be chairman.

LET US ALL DO OUR PART TO MAKE THIS A MEMORABLE MEETING FOR THE CAUSE THAT MEANS SO MUCH TO US AND TO POSTERITY!

ALL DAY
OUTING

arranged by
Kropotkin Group
July 18th
for the benefit of
**REVOLUTIONARY
SPAIN**
at the
**FERRER COLONY
STELTON, N. J.**

FUNDS COLLECTED FOR SPAIN DURING JUNE, 1937
BY THE U.L.O. OF NEW YORK

Receipt No.	Amount
232—Libertarian Group (Ruth)—List 465.	\$5.45
233—Libertarian Group (Ruth)—East Side United Front.	8.50
234—Louis	42.50
235—Dorothy and Charlie, W. Va. (Ruth).	2.00
236—Freedom Group (Sarah Cohen) East Side United Front.	8.50
237—One Big Union Club (Peterson) E. S. United Front.	8.50
238—P. Rachmanenkov, Baltimore, Md.	28.00
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240—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	17.50
241—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	11.00
242—Branch Svijetlo No. 4301 and Lodge Mir Medju Name No. 228—Roman Vidas, Lyons, Ill.	84.70
243—Grodins Shops, via J. Frager	8.50
244—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	12.25

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MOSCOW'S HAND IN BARCELONA

**ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNIONS (C.N.T.)
ELIMINATED FROM CATALONIAN GOVERNMENT**

At last the efforts of the Russian government have been crowned with success: the C.N.T. has been eliminated from the Catalonian government. Following the secret instructions issued by the Stalinist agents to the Catalonia Communist Party, a crisis was provoked, with all the double crossing and double-dealing characterizing the underhand work of the bourgeois and Stalinist politicians in Spain.

The U.G.T. (Communist controlled union mainly based upon a middle class membership) all of a sudden discovered that it has no place in the government and that its functions can be delegated to the Communist Party. The latter and the semi-Fascist "Estat Catala" (there is a touching harmony in the work of those two outfits) raised all of a sudden the question of the responsibility for, what they call, the Barcelona rebellion, demanding the elimination and punishment of those who opposed in any manner the consummation of a plot jointly hatched by the agents of Moscow and Rome.*

And the liberals? the "mystic democrat, Companys, and

* See article in the last "Spanish Revolution": Who plotted uprising in Barcelona?

**We Expect Soon
A PAMPHLET FROM SPAIN
on the
BARCELONA EVENTS
by
AUGUSTIN SOUCHY
(In English)**

We also Have for Sale:
"The Life of Durruti".....20c
"The Truth About Spain"
by Rudolph Rocker5c
The Revolutionary Move-
ment in Spain" by Dashar 10c
Order Now from U.L.O.
45 W. 17th St., New York, City

A LANDMARK OF COUNTER- REVOLUTION- ARY TRIUMPH

Everyone remembers the successive stages of the campaign unloosed against the P.O.U.M. by the united forces of the Catalonian reaction. The mounting tide of aggression and provocation leading to the outlawing of this organization began its onward sweep with the elimination of the P.O.U.M. from the government. The inquisitorial proceedings instituted against its members and its torture chambers now used to extort evidence, all that has its beginnings in the first political crisis provoked by the G.P.U. agents in Catalonia.

The C.N.T. of Catalonia is not the P.O.U.M. There is hardly a comparison between the two in point of strength and influence. But the methods used against the latter are the same which have been employed to eliminate the P.O.U.M. from the scene of political struggles of Catalonia. And if and when the infamous plot now hatched against the anarchist movement of Catalonia ever succeeds, the last political crisis forced and shaped by the Communist Party of Catalonia will form just an important landmark in its development as the December crisis in 1936.

News Witheld from Foreign Press

There is one difference, however. The December crisis was important front news. The last political crisis did not even get a bare mention in the daily press. Was

(Continued on page three)

others? They also woke up to discover that the present government has no legal continuity and that it has to get its sanction from the defunct parliament, most of whose members had to escape Catalonia, having been too closely implicated in the Mussolini-inspired plot of last December.

Everything worked according to the letter of the secret Communist instruction, which forecast that "in this government the C.N.T. will be offered participation, only this offer will be made in such a manner that the C.N.T. will see itself compelled to refuse collaboration."

The C.N.T. was offered collaboration — only upon the most humiliating terms which it could accept at the price of full self-abnegation. As a result the C.N.T. withdrew its representatives. The present government of Catalonia, even more so than the government of Negrin, is a government of a small minority, of discredited politicians, careerists and semi-Fascist elements, all cemented by their hatred of the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T., F.A.I. and buyoed up in their expectations of finally crushing the revolution in Catalonia by the powerful aid of Moscow.

**READ AND SPREAD THE
"SPANISH REVOLUTION"**

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF SPAIN (F.A.I.) HOLDS HISTORIC CONVENTION

158,680 Represented at Convention

The F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) is the revolutionary vanguard of the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist industrial union). It is an organization embracing most of the militants working within the C.N.T. and shaping its main character.

The role of this organization in the Spanish revolution has now been acknowledged even by its enemies. It is a role far

out of proportion to its numbers, although judging by the last report, the organization is far from being negligible in even this respect. Its main strength, however, lies not in numbers but in the quality of its membership. It is primarily an organization of revolutionists, though not in the odious

(Continued on page two)

IS VALENCIA NEGOTIATING PEACE WITH FRANCO?

**FRANCO SEEKS LOAN IN PARIS AND LONDON—
BELGIAN PREMIER UNDERTAKES "PEACE" MISSION**

The latest news reaching us from Spain revive again the rumors, quite persistent at one time, of negotiations for a truce going on between the Valencia government and the rebels. This time, as it is reported by the *New York Evening Telegram* (July 27) it is the rebels who are mainly responsible for spreading those rumors, while the loyalist sources are quite emphatic in denying them. And judging by the last isolated news it may seem but a piece of dexterous propaganda on the part of the Fascists, released in order to undermine the international standing of the loyalists. There is other news however, not always appearing in the American press, leading us to

believe that there is much more to those rumors than clever propaganda.

Franco Changes Orientation?

From Paris, as reported by the *New York Times* of July 23, come vague hints of a possible re-orientation of Franco's foreign policies. Franco, according to those reports, is willing to break with Mussolini and Hitler provided Paris and London help him to arrive at some sort of an understanding with the other side. This rather enigmatic news item is substantiated to some extent by a very explicit report carried by the *Manchester Guardian* of July 13, according to which:

"Franco's agents have been
(Continued on page two)

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS AGAINST MOSCOW METHODS IN SPAIN

In reply to the representations made to Stalin by some of his advisers as to the adverse effect produced on the international labor movement by the monstrous trials and executions, the latter said that the international public opinion "will swallow it."

Spain, however, is not Russia. It has to depend upon the public opinion of the international proletariat to a much greater extent than Russia. And much as its government may be swayed by Moscow, it cannot altogether ignore the wave of protests against its Moscow-inspired methods to deal with the revolutionists.

The two documents printed below—the appeal of the Anarchist Union of France and the letter dealing with the present state of the case now being prepared against the P.O.U.M.—show the necessity and effectiveness of such protests. The criminal hand of the Moscow agents is not all powerful in Spain; it can be stayed by a mighty wave of international protests, by a broad campaign aiming to expose the greatest crime against democracy perpetrated by those who appeal to the world to help them in their struggle to make Spain safe for democracy.

Anarchist Union of France Appeals to International Public Opinion

"The agents of Russian imperialism continue their methodic work within the Spanish government.

"After having seized, under cover of Communist, anti-Fascist and Republican organizations, the control of such commanding positions as the police, army and Justice, they proceeded with their attempt to wipe out the most active elements in the revolutionary movement.

"The C.N.T. daily of Madrid *Castilla Libre* and the F.A.I. daily in

Valencia *Nosotros* were suppressed. *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women) and the weekly *Ideas* were also forbidden. *Solidaridad Obrera* announces in a strongly censored article that sweeping arrests were made in Barcelona and a number of foreigners detained. In the same issue the paper protests against the policy of petty persecutions directed against the homeless revolutionary refugees now living in Spain. An article appearing in *Juventud Libre* (Free Youth) dealing with the disappearance of Martinez, secretary of the Revolutionary Front

(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.

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August 6, 1937

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS SPAIN TOWARD A CATASTROPHE

We are printing here instead of an editorial, portions of a powerful article on the role of the Communist Party appearing in the anarcho-sindicalist daily of Madrid "CNT" (June 28).

The paper was suspended for ten days for printing this article, although it was passed by the censorship. The Communist Party is gradually throwing all restraint to the winds. It identifies the State with its own Party interests. And well it may do so: both—the present government and the party itself—are the creatures of one and the same agency. Both have no roots in workers' and peasant masses of revolutionary Spain. And both will inevitably collapse as the need of foreign aid will become less keenly felt than it is now.

"The Communist Party, by the use of unspeakable methods, provoked the crisis within the Cabinet headed by Largo Caballero and is now subjecting to its party yoke all the political elements that collaborate with it in the present government.

"The Communist Party has been keeping us in a state of political crisis for more than a month, and, persisting in its work of disintegration, it brought about the last crisis in Catalonia, placing it in such a manner as to render impossible any satisfactory solution.*

"The Communist Party, even as it speaks of unity, destroys and splits the U.G.T., spreads discord within the Socialist Party, creates an untenable situation within the ranks of the Unified Socialist Youth, obliterates the Republican Parties by reducing them to mere figureheads,* resorts to assassination in its stupid and criminal attempt to liquidate the C.N.T., and in its struggle against the P.O.U.M. it forces the public authorities to the position of a footstool of a single faction.

"Largo Caballero's government fell because of the work of this Party and military operations of transcendent importance had to be given up. Because of the activities of that Party the masses of the people found themselves in opposition to the institutions discharging revolutionary justice. And because of the same very policy the present government has been in a state of constant crisis and turmoil, no one seemingly realizing or knowing what road to follow, what course of action to adopt in dealing with the basic necessities of war and revolution.

"We are not willing to stand for any more of those crimes and with all energy and a full sense of responsibility, we say: enough!

"We do not decline collaboration with any anti-Fascist Party, but we must declare our opposition, even though it may lead to a breaking point, to the action of those who stained the rearguard with blood, who have set themselves above public law; men such as the Communist commander, Manuel Cocho, for whom four Judicial warrants for his arrest have been issued, but who up to now continues openly defying public authority.**

"Let us know once for all: does the government stay in power because of the sufferance of the Communist Party or will it give up power to prove that it does not intend to take the latter's orders?"

* The article was written a day before the solution was arrived at—satisfactory to the Moscow masters and semi-Fascist allies of the Catalonian nationalist camp.

* Even Louis Fisher hints in his last article in the "Nation" of the growing resentment in Socialist and Republican quarters against the monopolistic tendencies of the Communist Party.

* The Spanish press reports an increasing number of cases of Communist military commanders taking the law into their own hands.

C.N.T. GROWING IN STRENGTH IN SPITE OF PERSECUTIONS

(From the report of the Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association)

"The gravest error committed in appraising the Spanish situation is to judge things from the point of view of the latest developments in Catalonia. We get an altogether different picture when we view it in the light of the situation in other provinces.

Toward a Revolutionary Alliance

"The decision of the C.N.T. organization on the conflict in Barcelona was unanimously approved by all the C.N.T. organizations of other provinces because no organization wanted to have civil war in the rearguard. Outside of Catalonia the trend is very strong toward a policy of alliance with the U.G.T.

"The inner divisions within the U.G.T. are becoming deeper as a result of this alliance policy. We know, for instance, that Caballero's policy was not approved by the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. But what the Communists omit to say is that Caballero's delegates represented a total membership of 950,000, while the Communists only had 650,000. (Ed. note: the latter came mainly from the Catalonian U.G.T., an organization which, as we pointed out on many occasions, is not proletarian in its social composition). The socialists of the Caballero tendency are beginning to say now that they are against the

bourgeois republic, for a workers revolution. All that creates a very favorable environment for a closer understanding between the masses of both organizations. Immediately after the May events and the formation of the Negrin Cabinet, joint manifestos were issued by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. and the Libertarian and Socialist Youth. The U.G.T. declared itself very strongly against the bolsheviks and the Catalonian P.S.U.C.

C.N.T. A Vital Factor In Other Provinces

"All the foreign information about our situation is unfortunately based mainly upon Catalonia, as though the latter were outside of Spain. This has to be changed. In Catalonia the situation is now bad, we have lost positions. But in the other provinces the C.N.T. always had to face much worse conditions and still it has been successfully coping with those adverse factors.

"Take, for instance, the Central provinces. In Madrid itself, the C.N.T. has by now as many members as the U.G.T. In the villages the influence of the C.N.T. is on the increase. The peasants are establishing libertarian communism in the villages. In the task of provisioning Madrid the C.N.T. clubs play the most important role,

although the latter has not received any official status. The activity of those clubs has gained them the sympathies of the widest layers of the population. New syndicates have been built up and the number of workers leaving the U.G.T. for the C.N.T. unions is on the increase. This provoked the ire of the Communists who unleashed a campaign of terror against our militants.

C.N.T. ARMED FORCES

At present we have a powerful C.N.T. army in the Central (Madrid) province. It is a well organized, well equipped army, every member of which—from the privates to the highest commanders—carries a C.N.T. card. Besides, there are many comrades in the Mixed Brigades, but the organization has the tendency to concentrate its members in its own formations. Of all the provinces the Central province has the greatest unity and cohesion among its C.N.T. military forces.*

* The numerical relation of the C.N.T. military in regard to the rest of the army, (the latter includes Marxist formations—Socialist, Communist, those of the U.G.T., Republicans and Mixed Brigades. The latter, as it was pointed out already, contain their share of C.N.T. members).

	C.N.T. formations	The others
Central prov.	33,000	120,000
Sur Tago	1,000	7,000
Sur	10,000	38,000
Cuenca	9,000	
Teruel	15,000	7,000
Aragon	19,000	12,000
TOTAL	100,000	184,000

the Spanish civil war, it being possible that Van Zeeland will be entrusted with a most important mission in this respect, with something in the nature of an arbiter in the conversations on the Spanish war."

Playing Second Role in Peace Farce

"A new farce on the part of the European democracies"—thus qualifies the anarcho-sindicalist daily in the pacifatory mission of this Vatican right-hand man in the field of international diplomacy. But could this farce be enacted without the explicit encouragement of the Valencia government? Can the latter, representing as it does but a minority within loyalist Spain, pursue a foreign policy differing from that of the very powers whose pressure brought it into existence?

There can be no two answers to these questions, just as there can be no doubt as to whether the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc is driven in its struggle against the ever solidifying forces of the Spanish revolution, against whom the system of petty persecutions and annoyances seem to be of little avail.

VALENCIA NEGOTIATING PEACE WITH FRANCO?

(Continued from page one) actively looking for money in London and Paris. The amount aimed at in Paris and London is given as 2,500,000,000 pesetas (£25,000,000) and 5,000,000,000 pesetas (£50,000,000). It is not stated whether the negotiations have succeeded yet."

Truce Prospect Only Basis For Loan

Now it is clear that no banking firm will advance such a big sum against the wishes of the government of its country. Franco's agents would not approach any banking consortium unless it made soundings in the official circles of those two countries. And regardless of any sympathies such circles might have for Franco's cause, they could be expected to withdraw their objections to such financial arrangements only in two cases: immediate prospects of a smashing victory on the part of Fascist forces or that of an amicable settlement, leaving

ing Franco in possession of some part of Spain.

The present military situation does not warrant the first prospect and so there remains the second one which, judging by the very fact of such negotiations for financial aid going on, is beginning to take some definite shape.

The White House "Dove of Peace"

That some pressure is being exerted by the so-called democratic countries in the direction of such a truce is also revealed by the news, prominently displayed by the Spanish press, of Van-Zeeland, the Belgian Premier, "carrying instructions from President Roosevelt to act as an arbiter in the civil war." (Solidaridad Obrera, July 6.) Van Zeeland, according to the news agency Cosmos, "will deal in his conversations with the British Premier, Chamberlain, and the Foreign Minister, Eden, with the problems created by

REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

To many the political ascendancy of the counter-revolutionary forces headed by the Communist Party of Spain signifies the total liquidation of the social revolution. Doubtless, it is an important step in that direction, but the counter-revolutionary forces have yet a long course ahead of them. The economic revolution achieved by the anarchists in Spain, and especially in Catalonia, is of so far-reaching a nature that much more than an adroit manipulation of political caucuses, even when backed up by threats of withdrawal of foreign aid in armaments, will be necessary to undo it.

Some idea of the extent of those revolutionary changes in the economic field can be gained from the following excerpts taken from Robert Louzon's article on the present situation in Catalonia appearing in the *La Revolution Proletarienne*. (Robert Louzon — prominent French writer and economist.)

Social Revolution an Accomplished Fact

"The working class and the C.N.T. are now, just as they were before May 4th, the actual masters of the entire life of Catalonia and Aragon.

"This is something which is not altogether grasped here in France (and even less so, of course, in other countries.) The social revolution, that is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie for the benefit of the workers, the passing of the means of production into the hands of the

workers, has not only begun but it has nearly been fully carried out in Catalonia and the adjacent provinces.

The Extent of Collectivization

"Almost everything has been collectivized.

"You go to a hotel, in nine cases out of ten it will be a collectivized hotel. You come to a restaurant—you find the same situation. You want to get a cup of coffee at the bar and you invariably run into a collectivized enterprise. You have to take a haircut—there are only socialized barber shops to attend to it. You want to order a suit of clothes—the collectivized tailors will take your measurements. You go out shopping in the big stores—and, of course, you find them all collectivized. With this difference, however: alongside of the C.N.T. initials you will also see those of U.G.T. (As in other countries, the white collared employees are more conservative, and a certain section of them belong to the U.G.T.) If you take a taxi, it will be a C.N.T. taxi; you take the subway, trolley, bus—in every case it will be a socialized enterprise. And, finally, you go to some show in the evening and invariably it will be one that is run by a collective.

The same holds true, even to a greater measure, of the big industries. The textile and the mechanical industries, which play so prominent a role in the economic life of Catalonia, have been socialized almost prepon-

derantly so and the few enterprises that have not been socialized were placed under workers' control.

"The wood industry has been completely socialized—from the initial stages of tree felling to the one of the most refined furniture making."

Agricultural Collectives

"In the part of Aragon now held by the republican troops there is not a village which does not have its collective. Some of those collectives embrace the entire population of the village; others include only a certain portion of it. In the province of Levante, that is in the region of magnificent orchards, the richest agricultural region of Spain and one of the richest of the world, agricultural collectivization has been pushed very far.

"The members of those agricultural collectives work in common their own lands as well as those that have been taken away from the rich landowners.

Socialized Industry and Agriculture Succeed

"All those socialized enterprises get along very well. Insofar as one can judge from the outside, that is from the point of view of the consumer, one can say that the results are excellent. Already last August I wrote that the Public Services function well in Barcelona. Nine months later, I can state the same, with this difference, that the equipment in all those Services is now of the most modern kind. The power stations, managed by workers, continue functioning without the slightest hitch. The hotels are kept just

as well as before the collectivizations. The big stores are crowded with shoppers, the salesmen being just as courteous as in the old times. (Ed. note: compare this to the rough treatment the customer gets in the Soviet stores, of which the Russian papers keep on complaining.) Prices in collectivized enterprises are lower than in private places, that being due to the special efforts made to keep them at a lower level.

"And as to agricultural collectives in Aragon the following figures tell the story: land under cultivation has increased from 25 to 30% as compared with last year and the harvest of beets—a crop that is very important for that province—surpasses all previous records.

Economic Achievements Menaced by Stalinist Counter-Revolution

"It is this magnificent work that is threatened by the counter-revolution. Already, in many villages of Catalonia, the Stalinists invaded some of the collectives, declaring that the latter will have to be liquidated and that land will have to be given back to the former owners. . . ."

Since those lines have been written, the drive against the new revolutionary order has acquired a much greater momentum. Now it is conducted under the slogans of nationalization, municipalization, although everyone knows that those are but catchwords intended to hide the real meaning of a counter-revolutionary restoration.

Will that drive succeed? A great deal depends, of course, upon the political situation, but

it is clear, however, that the latter will have to be much more under the control of the Stalinist counter-revolution than it is now, before enabling it seriously to attack the deeply rooted economic conquests of the revolution.

Anarchists Hold Convention

(Continued from page one)

sense in which this term is used by the Communists, F.A.I. members are not the wooden soldiers of a revolutionary movement: individual moral responsibility is the main distinguishing trait of the revolutionary character of this organization.

The last Plenum reported here is significant because of the important change in the structure of the organization. The necessity of coping with the powerful dictatorial trend brought to life and fostered by Moscow pressure, called for a closer form of organization. Instead of a loose Federation of groups formed by affinity, the F.A.I. now becomes a closely-knit organization based upon the territorial principle.

"A convention of the regional organizations of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia took place in Valencia during the first week of July. The delegates represented a total membership of 158 680.

After many and ample discussions the Convention adopted important decisions relating to the inner life of the F.A.I. Of major interest is the one referring to the new structure given to the F.A.I., doing away with the old form of organization by groups and transforming it into one based upon units embracing the entire locality.

"Norms of general import were laid down, bringing into closer relationship the C.N.T., F.A.I. and Libertarian Youth, tending to create a strong, unified libertarian movement. Likewise, it was decided to place the militants in the regions which are most necessary from the point of view of propaganda, mobilizing active comrades of the movement and sending them out in all directions."

ing out its revolutionary policies"—writes the well informed French journalist Robert Louzon. But there are such forces outside of Spain. Those are the air fleets of Mussolini, waiting in full readiness to attack Barcelona only a few hundred miles from that city. Those are the navies of Mussolini and Hitler, their expeditionary divisions now being trained for another landing operation, the tremendous stocks of military supplies ready to be shipped to the Spanish shores.

A LANDMARK OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TRIUMPH

(Continued from page one) it because the first crisis was more important? Of course not! Then it was the ousting of the P.O.U.M., a comparatively small organization—and now—the elimination of the C.N.T., an organization that has within its ranks the absolute majority of the Catalan population.

Why didn't the correspondents of the foreign newspapers report this important event? Because since last December the Stalinist agents have put their hands upon all sources of foreign information, having gradually isolated Spain from the outside world almost to the same extent which they succeeded in doing so with Russia. Nothing goes out from Catalonia by way of news which does not get the approval of the Stalinist agents and their nationalists—"liberal" stooges. And the news that the C.N.T. has been eliminated from Catalan government is of the kind which

PROTEST PERSECUTIONS OF REVOLUTIONISTS IN SPAIN

they find so difficult to shape in their own way that it is deemed best to withhold them altogether from the world's public opinion.

Fighting Majority of Population In The Name of Democracy

And how, indeed, could the world be convinced that the elimination from the government of the largest and most powerful organization representing the majority of population is done in the interests of the struggle for democracy? The new Catalan government is represented mainly by personal appointees of President Companys, that is, by people that have no backing of any economic bodies and by the Stalinist outfit, the P.S.U.C. The latter had only a handful of people toward the beginning of the revolution and even now, with all the rapid growth (accounted for, as it was pointed out by the British liberal journalist, Brailsford, by the influx of the petty-bourgeois and middle class elements) it numbers only 50,000 members.

Why should this organization,

which has no roots in the past struggles of the Catalan people, which owes its existence solely to Russian tanks and airplanes, why should this organization be represented by three Councilors while an organization of a million workers and peasants who control the economic life of the country is altogether displaced?

And how can the struggle against Fascism be carried on without the participation of those who, according to the universal opinion, played the most decisive role in checking it on the streets of Barcelona?

The Guiding Hand of Political Crises

Those who still find it necessary to exploit the slogan: "for a democratic Spain" for their own political purposes do not want to have those questions asked. They know that the invariable pattern followed by all the political crises produced in Catalonia and in Spain until now is causing some hard thinking even in those circles that thus far have been most favorably disposed toward the present rulers of Spain. One guiding hand is

too clearly discernible in all those crises. The same hand which wrote out the instructions for provoking such crises,* has been busily engaged in keeping the political life of revolutionary Spain and Catalonia in constant turmoil, in plotting, intriguing and scheming, in unseating a government that was based upon the will of the preponderant majority of workers and peasants and putting in its place small minorities which can only pave the way for a military dictatorship.

The Tragic Situation

The tragedy of the Spanish revolution is that it has to fall back upon this sinister power for some sort of a shield against the even greater danger of Mussolini and Hitler. It has to accept aid from the advance agent of French and British imperialism—the Moscow government. And with aid comes meddling, dictation and ultimatums.

"There is no force in Catalonia and in the entire Spain to stop the C.N.T. from carry-

* See excerpts from this sensational document in the last issue of "Spanish Revolution."

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM IN ARAGON

Next in line for an attack by the advancing counter-revolution is the political and economic order of revolutionary Aragon. A movement is now on foot to do away with the autonomous rights of that province, to dissolve its supreme political body—the Aragon Council—and to destroy the most promising achievement of the Spanish revolution—the agricultural communes of that region.

In order to grasp the reasons for this campaign of hatred against revolutionary Aragon unloosed by the Stalinist-Nationalist block one has to realize that in no other province have the ideas of libertarian communism been carried out to as great an extent as in Aragon, and that the anarchists there are even more of a preponderant force than in Catalonia. What is the nature of the social order built up by the anarchist forces in Aragon? We find an answer to this question in the account given by a French journalist who has lived for some time in that province, one who went there with the special purpose of getting first hand knowledge of the most advanced revolutionary conquests.

(The following report is reprinted from the French weekly, "Libertaire," July 15.)

"... Agricultural collectives are organized in every village, but alongside of them there are also small independent peasant households. Three quarters of the land in Aragon has been collectivized. Small property is controlled by collectives. Distribution and exchange are socialized. Aragon peasants, members of collectives, are under the influence of anarchists. Of the 400 existing collectives only ten are affiliated with the U.G.T. (Controlled by Socialists and Communists). Political parties hardly exist at all.

ADMINISTRATION

"The administrative organ of the village is the Municipal Council elected by the direct vote of the population. The Councilors work alongside of the rest of the peasants, with the exception of one delegate who is placed in charge of statistics, and maintaining relations with other municipalities. The collectives are united into local Federations and the latter—into one Regional Federation.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

"The entire working population is divided into groups of ten people. Groups are formed by affinity. Every group elects a delegate to keep in touch with other committees. Those delegates work alongside of others and do not possess any authority. They meet every evening to solve technical problems. General meeting of the entire population are held once a month.

DISTRIBUTION

Money does not circulate. It is kept by the local and intra-local committees and is being used only for the purposes of maintaining exchange with those regions where money is still functioning. Every village issues coupons that have a limited local value. Payment for work is done with those coupons.

"The family wage is the one which is being used in Aragon. All the

members of the commune enjoy the same conditions, there being no privileged persons among them.

"As an example of how this family wage is being applied, I will take the village of Esplugas, near Huesca, one of those that I had the opportunity to study best:

"All the producers: peasants, craftsmen, teachers, doctors—all get 25 pesetas a week. Married couples, in cases where only one person works, get 35 pesetas.

"If there is a child under 14 years of age, the family gets 38 pesetas. For every additional child the family gets more in the following progression: if it has two children, it gets 42 pesetas; 3 children, 46 pesetas; 4 children, 50 pesetas; 5 children, 55 pesetas, and so on.

COST OF LIVING

"This form of compensation assures the full satisfaction of the material needs. A single person needs only 17 pesetas a week. In the big families the expenses of every member amount to one peseta and a half a day. A suit of clothes (men's) costs from 60 to 70 pesetas and women's clothes (three dresses, a coat and underwear)—about 100 pesetas.*

EXCHANGE

"Products are distributed through cooperatives created after the revolution. Private commerce does not exist. In the villages where small

* This, of course, is lower than the American standard of living, but it is considerably higher than that of the average Russian worker. In one year of successful economic revolution the Spanish workers and peasants have achieved a standard of well-being which is much above that of the Russian workers at the present time as the latter's standards are above the famine conditions of the first years of the Russian revolution.

peasant households exist alongside of collectives, the co-operative gets all the products from the peasant households and pays them with coupons which assure them their necessities. The exchange among collectives takes place through the medium of the bureaus of the intra-local federations. It is an exchange in kind in which money is not used.

"The latter, however, is used in exchange operations with other regions and foreign countries.

PROPERTY

"Private property does not exist. The means of production, and dwellings belong to the community. The small peasants have the right to use the land, provided they work it themselves and not with hired labor. In the villages that have been completely collectivized all the animals used for work and production are owned by the collective and are kept in communal stables. But every family owns cattle for its own consumption. It is also granted small plots of land for vegetable gardens to be cultivated in spare hours.

SCHOOLS

"Schools have completely changed in spirit. The teachers are revolutionary. The program is adapted to the demands of life. Children study the history of revolution (it is taught in a non-partisan spirit), natural sciences and agriculture. The rationalist methods of the Modern School are applied in all the schools.

"The libertarian atheneae (clubs) aid and continue the educational work of the school. The libertarian youth organized complete libraries throughout the province.

GENERAL WELL-BEING

"The collectives possess great economic power. The weaker collectives are aided by the stronger ones. They have a considerable surplus left over from last harvest, part of which has been turned over voluntarily to the government for the support of the front.

"And now," the author of this article winds up his report, "when I come to think of what I saw in Aragon, of the marvelous achievements, I find it difficult to restrain my indignation against the campaign carried on by the Communists against the new revolutionary order of that province."

DEFEND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

A LETTER FROM BARCELONA

BRITISH SOCIALIST DELEGATION TAKES UP THE CASE OF P.O.U.M. ARRESTS

The anarchist Souchy was the first to bring information on the situation of the prisoners. He assured us that Nin and his friends are alive and will shortly be transferred to Valencia for trial. He said that the campaigns conducted abroad in support of the arrested members of the P.O.U.M. and the anarchists, the telegrams sent from various quarters, especially the resolution adopted by the French Socialists at the Seine Federation Convention, checked the Stalinists. Ortega, chief of the Surety General, recently joined the CP and he ran the whole May affair. Souchy added that he had a talk with Largo Caballero, the latter knows personally Nin and his friends. Caballero is fully convinced that they are neither Fascists nor spies. The Hotel Falcon is still full of prisoners belonging to F.A.I., C.N.T. and P.O.U.M.

Subsequently there arrived Fenner

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS AGAINST MOSCOW METHODS IN SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

of Catalan Youth* was thrown out by the censorship, the entire article appearing in blank space.

"Another tactic of elimination is now being practiced against the C.N.T. divisions of the Madrid front, they are placed systematically in the most dangerous spots and those that protest are shot in accordance with the military code.*)

P.O.U.M. CHIEF VICTIM

With respect of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. it is a case of biting off more than can be chewed. It is different, of course, with the P.O.U.M., a much weaker organization which has been outlawed by now.

"Most dastardly calumnies are unloosed against this organization. These revolutionists who since July 19th have been fighting on the war fronts and in the rearguard are now being accused—quite in keeping with the traditional Stalinist procedure—

* Alfredo Martinez, one of the most outstanding militants of the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia; was particularly hated by the G.P.U. agents for his role in forming the Revolutionary Front—a United Front organization of Libertarian and P.O.U.M. Youth of Catalonia

Martinez disappeared on May the 7th, that is after the settlement of the Barcelona conflict. Like Berneri, he was kidnapped by members of the secret Communist police and since then no trace of him has been discovered.

*) Similar tactics have been employed on the Aragon front. Another issue of the "Libertaire" (July 15) reports the following:

"Santa Quiteria was taken by the Kropotkin column after eight hours of fighting, but it had to be abandoned because of the defection of the Russian controlled aviators. The latter looked on serenely while the rebel airplanes kept on strafing the militiamen from a low altitude. This bombardment cost our militia 1200 dead and wounded.

"The attack on Carascal undertaken by the Ascaso column and attended by heavy casualties was frustrated because of the lack of support on the part of aviation. Not a single aeroplane came to the assistance of the attacking militiamen although full aid was promised in case of an offensive."

of being spies in Franco's hire, in brief—of being Fascists.

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS NECESSARY

"The protests against these procedures appearing in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. press are being mercilessly censored.

"It is therefore necessary that the provocative methods of the G.P.U. be denounced by the international proletariat.

"It is not a question of expressing solidarity with the political positions of the revolutionary organizations which have been hit by those persecutions; it is a question of defending the proletarian revolution of Spain, of denouncing procedures used by the apparatus of the Russian state aiming to turn Spain into a colony trailing in the wake of its imperialist policies.

"Already the congress of the Socialist Federation of the Seine province (ed. note—the most powerful Federation of French Socialist Party) has registered a protest against those procedures. The Italian maximalist Party did likewise.

We point out particularly the letter addressed to the Spanish ambassador by a number of militants prominent in the trade union movement. The past of those militants places them outside of any partisan struggles. Those are Hagauer, the secretary of teacher's union; Delsol, the secretary of gas workers of Banlieu; Roy, the secretary of the federation of metal workers; the Committee of the entire chamber of the typographical union, and many others. . . .

"Various delegations have appeared before the Spanish ambassador demanding explanations, demanding guarantees of elementary equity in this sham process now being prepared against Spanish revolutionists.

"The administrative Committee of the Anarchist Union (of France) is resolved to do its utmost in order to extend the scope of those protests and to unloose a campaign which should arouse the entire working class, going as far as organizing the demonstrations of revolutionary workers of Paris against the representatives of the Valencia government.

(from "Libertaire")

meeting of the central committee of the U.G.T., which was about to take place. He expects that new protests arriving from various parts of the world, among them that of Tom Mann, will have a great effect.

The entire delegation had two interviews with the Minister of the Interior.

He gave the delegation assurances that:

- (1) The members of the P.O.U.M. leadership—Nin, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet—are alive.
- (2) That they would be transferred from Madrid to Barcelona.
- (3) That the indictment would be communicated to Attorney Pavon.
- (4) That the trial would be public.
- (5) That the accused would be tried by a Popular Tribunal.

The French Comrade, Max Petel, asked to supplement Brockway's report. He is of the opinion that we must not be too optimistic about the declaration made by the Minister of the Interior.

He spoke of the murderous offensives organized to decimate the comrades of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. An offensive is launched and at the beginning is supported by airplanes and artillery. Afterwards the infantry is left to itself to be cut to pieces by the Fascists.

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TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA

August 9th, 1937.

C.N.T.-U.G.T. pact establishes national relations committee; eliminates force in organization drives; does away with mutual violent attacks. "Mundo Obrero" attacks pact. "Solidaridad Obrera" suspended for five days.

The signing of the pact between the Socialist-U.G.T. and anarcho-syndicalist-C.N.T. unions constitutes an important landmark in the struggles of the revolutionary forces against the counter-revolution. It signifies the beginning of a united front of proletarian organizations against politicians.

Against this united front of workers' organizations, the Communist Party, heading the counter-revolutionary bloc of bourgeois parties, Catholics and the discredited politicians of the old Popular Front, threw all the power of its organization, of its prestige as the direct agency of "the only friend of the Spanish people"—the Moscow government. It was the cajoling and bullying of the Moscow agents, their threats to remove the support to Spain on the fronts of international diplomacy that kept this pact from being consummated. In spite of the ardent wish of the preponderant majority of workers and peasants for a close understanding between the two powerful unions, which practically embrace the entire working class, this pact, although negotiated many a time and worked out so as to remove the slightest possible friction between both organizations, was constantly delayed by the steady pressure of foreign diplomacy and the Communist Party.

The blind alley into which the lat-

ter is now leading the Spanish revolution, the openly defeatist policy, the undisguised struggle against labor unions as such, the attempt to Fascize them by reducing them to mere cogs within the apparatus of militarized industries—all that had its effect even upon the more conservative elements of the working class. The result is the pact already reported by the press—the first important step toward a Revolutionary alliance of all workers of Spain.

The Communist organ *Mundo Obrero* is raging against it. It is against any independent policy on the part of the unions. It is against revolutionary democracy, opposed by the Communist party with its plan of concentrating all power in the hands of a single party—the newly projected Unified Marxist Party. And acting in response to the thunderings of the Communist press the new reactionary government of Catalonia has already struck out at the most widely read paper of Spain—the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Barcelona, *Solidaridad Obrera*.

This is only the beginning. The lines are drawn tighter for the inevitable battle, the bursting out of the irrepressible conflict between the forces of revolutionary proletarian democracy and the newly consolidated front of bourgeois reaction marching under the leadership of the Moscow agents in Spain.

DEMORALIZATION OF ARAGON FRONT SOUGHT BY POLITICIANS

What Is Back of Reverses at Teruel Front?

Before the ousting of the anarchists from the supreme control of the Aragon front the favorite tactic of the War Ministry controlled by the Communists and their reformist allies was to starve out the front in respect of heavy armaments so as to render it inactive against the strongly fortified positions of the Fascists at Huesca and Saragossa. Now, with the assumption of the supreme control of this front by the very same elements, their tactics have become much more outspoken and cynical.

The lengths to which they go in order to demoralize, disorganize and physically exterminate the heroic fighters on the Aragon front are almost unbelievable. It is only in conjunction with the information now openly given out by the Communist press agents as to the plans made by the Communist controlled government to deal with "the Caballero socialists and anarchists" that one can fully realize its provocative policy toward a front that is mainly defended by anarchist fighters. And it is the duty of

(Continued on page four)

WAS THE BASQUE FRONT SABOTAGED BY VALENCIA GOVERNMENT?

(C.N.T.-F.A.I. Information)

The international press already reported the general outlines of the brutal attack carried against the Basque province by foreign troops and aviation. Everything reported about the heroism of the Bilbao defenders is in the nature of an understatement. But one thing should be known by everyone: the aid extended by the Valencia government was practically nil. Up to the very last moment no explanation has been given as to why the requests of the Basque government for airplanes to aid Bilbao were ignored. The Basque troops had to carry on an unequal struggle which ended in a terrific slaughter. And as to the military and political consequences of the fall of Bilbao, they tend to be disastrous in their nature.*

TREASON RIPE ON ARAGON FRONT

For more than a month, talk was heard about helping the Basque province by attacking on other fronts. One of such fronts, most frequently discussed, was the Aragon front. AND IT WAS THIS FRONT THAT WAS SABOTAGED IN THE MOST INFAMOUS MANNER FOR THE REASON THAT MOST OF THE TROOPS ON THAT FRONT CONSIST OF ANARCHIST COLUMNS. As soon as the Negrin government took over command and General Pozas was appointed to head the Aragon troops, preparations

(Continued on page three)

*The sabotaging of the Bilbao front is by now an established fact. No less a person than the President of the Basque government came out with such an accusation. And even the heavily censored Spanish press reflects to some extent the general anxiety and perplexity as to the strange inactivity of the Valencia government in this respect.

The Moscow government scored a temporary triumph in Spain but never before was it so completely dishonored as it is now, as the result of its victory.

WHITHER COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN?

Republic Undermined by Fascist Forces From Within - Fascists Flocking to Communist Party - C.N.T. Weathers Counter-Revolutionary Storm.

Fascist counter-revolution has made enormous gains in loyalist Spain during the last two months—such is the opinion of Robert Louzon, one of the best informed writers on Spain. This opinion is based on impressions, observations and interviewing done during his recent trip to Spain.

Fascism is gaining not because of any startling victory on the war front, but because it has gained a firm foothold among certain sections of the so-called Popular Front, and mainly because the Communist Party, by its social composition and policies, has become the analogue of the Fascist parties in Italy and Germany.

Robert Louzon, editor of one of the most influential French radical magazines, *La Révolution Proletarienne*, is no sensation-monger. The startling statement made in regard to the Communist Party of Spain is not made in the heat of polemics or by way of proving a pre-established point. Robert Louzon tells in simple language things he had seen in Spain, the general reports circulating in the workers' circles but withheld from the press by a vigilant censorship.

This story is told in the last issue of the *La Révolution Proletarienne*. The following is a brief summary of Louzon's article constituting one of the severest indictments of the Communist Party in Spain.

Loss of Power by the Working Class

The most striking change observed by the author since the month of May is the loss of power by the working class. By that he does not mean the elimination of the C.N.T. from the Valencia and Barcelona governments but the fact that workers' organizations like syndicates, various committees, which imposed their power side by side with the

bourgeois state, have now been completely deprived of this power.

The workers' patrols in Barcelona and the surrounding territory have disappeared. This working class police which functioned since last August together with the state police was dissolved last month, not only on paper but in reality: all its members have been disarmed, the most active ones have been imprisoned

(Continued on page three)

C.N.T. APPEALS TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Comrades, workers, proletarians of the world! We have now the anniversary of the Fascist uprising in Spain. International Fascism in its eagerness to conquer positions, to obtain domination of the entire world, financed the plotting of a rebellion carried out by the capitalists, clericals and militarists.

They believed it would be an easy task to tame our rebellious people. But their designs met with a resounding failure. The people, the Spanish proletariat, having few arms but a great deal of courage, threw itself into battle, having crushed the traitors in the most important cities.

Half of Spain remained in the hands of the reaction, and

given the unconditional help of international Fascism, having at its disposal thousands of Moors, Germans and Italians, the assistance of the General Staff of the German army, and also an abundance of war material,—the reactionary forces undertook the conquest of the other half of Spain held by the proletariat.

We fought as best we could. We improvised an army and put into work a rudimentary war industry. We had to create a new staff of officers for the army. We ran up against shortage of raw materials necessary to promote the war industries. And with all the deficiencies, with all the improvisations, we succeeded in stemming the impetuous drive of an army that

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FASCISM CANNOT BE FOUGHT WITH THE AID OF A TOTALITARIAN PARTY

The ardent wish of the Spanish anarchists is to maintain the unity of all anti-Fascist forces, to prevent the breakdown of the united front which until now succeeded in holding the Fascist avalanche in check.

The Spanish anarchists realize the tragic isolation of the Spanish revolution, the weakness of the international proletariat manifesting itself in its inability to force the governments of the so-called democratic countries to lift their virtual blockade against the Spanish revolution instituted under the guise of various non-intervention schemes.

And because of this lack of international support the Spanish anarchists were compelled to slow down their course of revolutionary transformations, to arrive at an understanding with other anti-Fascist forces on the basis of a common acceptance of a minimum program for the revolution.

This was no maudlin dream on their part, as some are led to believe on the basis of the tragic situation now created for the Spanish anarchist movement as a result of this policy. The brutal attacks of Fascist barbarism, the immediate danger of extinction of the elementary cultural values by which the average man lives now, has brought a great change in the attitude toward a new social order on the part of the lower middle classes and the so-called free professions from whose ranks the non-revolutionary anti-Fascists are recruited.

Were it not for the intervention of the Moscow government, all those elements would not find within themselves sufficient strength to fight the workers' revolution. They would have to accept it, throwing, of course, their weight on the side of moderation, of slow tempos, of considerable concessions to the older order of things. And all that the anarchists of Spain were willing to grant in order to neutralize this important social force and, perhaps, to win it as a valuable ally.

The great mistake made by the anarchists of Spain was not in seeking some understanding with the socialist and liberal elements but in granting the status of an anti-Fascist factor to the Moscow agents working in Spain—to the Communist Party of that country. More than anyone else the Spanish anarchists should have been aware of the Fascist trend of the Moscow government, of its hatred of the revolution, of the irreconcilable conflict which must arise between any genuinely revolutionary movement and the immediate interests of the bureaucracy that is now ruling Russia in the name of the October revolution.

The Moscow government threw itself against the Spanish revolution not because of any ideological differences with the anarchists, not because it sincerely believes that the time is not ripe for a social revolution, that it has to be preceded by a bourgeois democracy. Its only reason for striking out against the revolution was that it saw in it an immediate threat to its own interests.

The Moscow bureaucracy fully realizes that a successful revolution in Spain along libertarian, democratic lines will efface its influence in the labor movement of Western Europe, will reduce the Third International to a shadow of a shadow and will bring about a resurgence of a powerful opposition movement in Russia itself. And even the remotest threat of such an opposition was sufficient to throw the Moscow government into a panic, to force it upon the bloody course which has startled the world to the realization of the close affinity between Moscow and Berlin.

The Spanish revolution is much more of an immediate threat to the Soviet bureaucrats, and that is why it came to be hated by the latter as much as it is feared and hated in the Fascist capitals. And were it not for the predatory design of German Fascism upon Russian territory, we would perhaps, see a gentlemen's understanding between Moscow and Berlin in respect of Spain, of the kind which now exists between Moscow and the French General Staff.

The anti-Fascist forces of Spain representing the liberal and socialist reformist elements were ready to compromise

C.N.T. APPEALS TO WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(Continued from page one)
was superior to ours in point of organization and equipment.

Now, at the end of one year, we count with a flourishing army. War material is not lacking. Now we keep on advancing in our struggle, confident of obtaining an ultimate victory although at the cost of countless sacrifices and thousands of human lives.

During this year the Fascist imperialists were impudently keeping on extending help to Franco, while the democracies, following a suicidal road, held themselves in restraint, aiding indirectly the Fascists by the "non-intervention" scheme at first, and then by the "control" plan. And during this very year those who wanted to avoid war were actually led to favor it by allowing Fascism to improve its positions.

Now there surges up a tendency on the part of some democracies favoring aid and righting the former conduct. But we do not put any trust in that

tendency. We are convinced that this goes hand in hand with a plot now hatched against the Spanish people, against the revolutionary people.

And in such a situation, after a year of continuous and endless fighting, we only want to ask you to intensify by all means your aid to our cause.

Think of it, comrades: our cause is your cause. If Fascism triumphs in Spain, it will immediately become dominant in France. Germany will give vent to its hate which it feels for France since 1918. Italy will annex Austria and Hungary to its nascent empire. Germany will pounce upon Chekko-Slovakia, Japan will attack Russia. And the world will be trampled within a short time under the bloody yoke of the Fascist International.

For us, the revolutionaries of Spain, there is only one salvation: your aid. This is the only effective weapon. It is the only one that will not fail us.

Do not go back upon us in our hopes for this aid. Think of the tragedy now closing in upon us and you. Make it impossible that any aid be extended for the purpose of defeating us. Our victory here will open up vast possibilities which will benefit you in your struggle for liberty.

We trust you will be able to fulfil your duty. We do not ask for aid in men, your actual participation in the struggle is not absolutely necessary. We have enough fighters here to enable us to win the war. Hold your man-power in reserve for the coming conquests of the world proletariat. Hard battles are now in store and you have to be ready to act as defenders. What we ask now from you, workers of the world, is arms for the loyalist, revolutionary Spain.

Help Spanish anti-Fascism. Boycot Fascist trade. Send money for our cause.

Exert pressure upon your governments to have them adopt decisions favoring our cause.

Long live the united action of the world proletariat.

National Committee.

C.N.T. Delegate Reports Success of Peasant Collectives in Castile (Central) Province

No Forced Collectives

We have some 230 Collectives. We never employed any arbitrary force. We spread our propaganda. We addressed the peasants with manifestos, lectures and meetings. We showed them the economic and ethical superiority of the Collectives. The peasants have come to us themselves, without compulsion or imposition of any sort, asking us to help them, and we sent militants out to help them form agricultural Collectives. They have been told what significance the Collectives have for their liberation, and they are anxious to organize them. The Collectives are not isolated organisms, lacking solidarity, they are not centered upon themselves. The very essence of their existence is solidarity. If, in some locality, district, or region, a crop is lost or greatly reduced because of a long draught, a hail storm or any other atmospheric phenomenon, our peasants, in the Collectives don't have to worry about their economic future,

don't have to fear hunger, for the Collectives in the other localities, districts, or regions, consider it their duty to help them out disinterestedly.

Thriving In Spite of Communist Opposition

Our Collectives did not receive any sort of government aid. On the contrary, if they received anything at all, it was obstruction and calumnies from the Minister of Agriculture—Communist—and from the majority of organizations that depend upon this Minister. Our Collectives have been alone, sacrificing and working prodigiously, suffering great discomfort and vexations which could only render them more determined than ever to carry on. Today, Collectives that were organized without any resources, are rich. All their success has been due to the enormous energies of our peasants and to agricultural technique.

Tielmes is a magnificent example of this. The Collective of Tielmes has actually at the

with the social revolution, but it was the Moscow government that blocked any compromise of that sort. And it was the powerful pressure of Moscow, mainly exerted through its support in armaments and enormous financial means flowing into Spain for that purpose, that was responsible at first in stiffening up the resistance of the non-revolutionary sector of the anti-Fascist bloc toward the revolution and then splitting widely this anti-Fascist front in order to crush the revolution itself.

Fascism cannot be fought with the help of totalitarian Parties, liberty cannot be won with the aid of those who now share with Mussolini and Hitler the distinction of being its grave diggers.

Is it only the Spanish anarchists that have failed to realize this very elementary lesson of recent history?

present time more than 1,000,000 pesetas.

The Collectives have increased so much in Castille, have become so popular among the peasants, that there are many towns today completely collectivized, under the control of the Regional Federation of Peasants, and the Regional Confederation of Labor (regional organization of the C.N.T.).

We must declare that the Federation of Land Workers, belonging to the U.G.T., has accepted the Collectives. We have thus been able to eliminate many conflicts that arose in the towns.

New Spirit of Solidarity

This Regional Federation of Peasants has increased the wealth of Castille enormously, through the impulse it furnished the Collectives, the orientation given to the peasants, the intensified production. Actually the wealth of Castille has been tripled.

The Regional Federation of Peasants of Castille now has more than 100,000 members.

2,000,000 pesetas have been used for chemical fertilizers and machinery to improve the conditions of the peasants. Creation of schools, Experimental farms and laboratories to prepare a new generation of agricultural experts. Without any spectacular campaigns, more than 1,000 C.N.T. peasants came from Levante to help their brothers in Castille.

—From "Tierra y Libertad"

WHITHER COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN?

C.N.T. Rallies Proletarian Forces

(Continued from page one)

and the chiefs have "disappeared," that is, they have been assassinated. The same holds true for the workers' militias. Wherever there existed a local militia whose duty was to maintain respect for revolutionary order on the part of avowed or disguised Fascists, especially along the borders, these militias were completely disarmed, its most active elements imprisoned and a certain number assassinated.

In Barcelona and all over Catalonia, the only armed organizations which function publicly are the mercenary state police: Assault Guards, Civil Guards and Carabineros.

Militarization Takes Effect

The same situation exists in the army. The Aragon forces, formerly commanded by the workers, are now under the control of the Valencia government which has delegated General Pozas to command this sector.

By means of the new militarization regulations which require all officers to be approved by the war minister, the officers corps are under the domination of the state. (However, a number of the police, especially among the Assault Guards, still favor the working class and the C.N.T.; the Aragon militiamen and many of their officers, have not yet forgotten their origin—and when the time comes they will be with the people and not with the state.) Moreover, the working class representatives are excluded from popular tribunals, from many municipal councils (which have now replaced the revolutionary committees) and the workers "section committees" no longer function; hardly a week goes by without the promulgation of a new decree eliminating the C.N.T. and U.G.T. from some council or administration.

Fascists Permeate Communist Party

The organization chiefly instrumental in this drive against workers' organizations is the Communist Party of Spain. This fact still perplexes many a person who thinks of the Communist Party in terms of its old struggles. But the Communist Party of Spain is anything but a proletarian party. Moreover, it is made up to a considerable extent of former Fascists, the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie.

The Spanish bourgeoisie has allied itself with the Communist Party not only because of the latter's program (defense of private property; returning land to former owners; letting small and middle class business men join labor unions), which in reality was their own program. The Communist Party became a protective shield for the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie.

Until recently almost any bourgeois could be held up on charges of being a Fascist sympathizer. Would he find any better means of avoiding suspicion than by carrying a Communist Party or U.G.T. (of Catalonia) card?

The Communist Party has not only become a party of the bourgeoisie as such; it has become a party of those who had most cause for seeking protection from proletarian justice. The liberal, genuinely anti-Fascist, elements had their convictions, their political affiliations of long standing. It was those who were interested in avoiding suspicion of being Fascists that joined the Party.

That is why the C.P. became not merely the party of the bourgeoisie, but the party of the *Fascist Bourgeoisie*. Whether in Valencia (where the former regional secretary of the

On Isonics party, among others, is now a C.P. member) or in the villages some distance from Catalonia, the most active members of the Communist Party are former adherents of the "Patriotic Union," of the formerly well-known Fascist or monarchist organizations.

Republican Spain In Fascist

Hands

The political assistance given to Franco by the Communist Party shows itself in laxness towards members of Franco's *Falange Española* who openly recruit and propagandize in Loyalist territory. While known anti-Fascist prisoners incarcerated in the worst dungeons are forced to go on hunger strikes (such as the one that recently took place in the *Carcel Modelo* of Barcelona) to obtain conditions at least as good as those granted Fascist prisoners, the latter are set free to boast brazenly of their sabotage. They are liberated on indefinite "parole" if they pay a fine of several thousand pesetas.

The Government Of Defeat

Bilbao's fall may be ascribed largely to Stalinist manoeuvres. To relieve pressure on the Basque forces Caballero had prepared a large-scale offensive on the southern Madrid front which would have had the effect of cutting the rebel army in two. For this offensive 75,000 completely equipped men were placed in readiness, but two or three days before it was scheduled, the Communist Party forced the resignation of the Caballero government and the first thing Negrin did was to recall these troops. Even when the Basque Minister sent a letter of resignation to Negrin (which the censor deleted from the Madrid anarcho-syndicalist daily *CNT*), the Premier refused to do anything for Bilbao. Only a month later was the Madrid offensive launched.

If the Negrin government continues and the sinister elements who put him into power are not eliminated, we can expect a new series of defeats; Franco will surely triumph and not only will the Revolution be lost but also the Republic.

While everywhere the workers' movement is bent on attaining comfort and security, the Spanish anarchists live for liberty, virtue and dignity. Perhaps his very loftiness of spirit will enable him to break the slavery of modern machinery and of big money. His spirit may yet have a mission outside of Spain.

—Edward Conze in "Spain Today"

C.N.T. Is Marking Time

What is the C.N.T. doing in this situation? In a word, the C.N.T. is, more or less, keeping quiet for the time being. Its patrols are being disarmed without any protest; in answer to the assassinations of its militants, to all the arrests (by now they number more than 800) it does not carry out any reprisals, but confines itself to respectable appeals and legal defenses.

Nevertheless its forces, so it appears, are intact. In Valencia as in Barcelona, the C.N.T. press is by far the most widely read. As one comrade put it, and this seems to be the general opinion, the C.N.T. was never as strong as it is now, because the prestige which it lost when in power is being regained; and the follies of the Stalinists help the C.N.T. prestige to grow daily.

Finally, the economic conquests of the revolution have been kept almost in full. Dispossessed from political leadership, the working class still maintains its hold on the management of economic life.

We have an example thereof in Puigcerda. (A town near the French border where economic experiments of a very significant nature—they were described in a previous issue of the same magazine—were carried on by the anarchists.) The White terror unleashed by the Stalinist elements was particularly fierce in that place. A number of leading comrades were assassinated and a still greater number thrown into prison. The purpose was to smash the anarchist organization and wipe out the collectivist experiments. And with all that the anarchist organization rose up again after the severe blows, the collectives remained intact except for a few minor losses. The vicious Stalinist attempt to smash the work-

of economic organization failed.

The situation prevailing in Puigcerda is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The policy of the C.N.T. is to wait until the storm passes.

Weathering the Storm

And in the meantime they are careful to conserve everything they can; the policy is to hold as strongly as possible to those positions which are least attacked and most solid. At present these are the economic positions. The anarchists don't want to use up their energies now, but are conserving them for the time when a more favorable situation will give them an opportunity to take the offensive.

This is the traditional tactic of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. And in answer to foreign critics frightened by their continual yielding of primary positions, they invariably say, "This is not the first time we have been persecuted—and after each persecution we rise up again, stronger than ever before. This time the same thing will happen."

Moral Power of C.N.T.

Such an optimism stems from the strength of the C.N.T., the kind of strength which, traditionally, is based not merely on their very large membership nor on the size of their treasury, but on their *moral power*.

By virtue of their principles, manner of action and general behavior, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. possess powerful and manifold roots in the Spanish proletariat. Thanks to this, they always have at their disposal a great number of militants who, when the first favorable opportunity arises, will be able to raise the red-black banner and, almost spontaneously, take proper action. Syndicalist action and anarchist morality are so deeply imbued within the Spanish proletariat that these attributes can never be separated from them; to destroy them would be to destroy the proletariat itself.

That is, undoubtedly, what explains, and perhaps justifies the present C.N.T. policy of watchful waiting.

*Our Spanish comrades may yet find out that historic precedents are not an infallible rule to go by. The Stalinist counter-revolution is a much more terrible thing than the semi-Fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera or the nationalist government of Catalonia.

WAS THE BASQUE FRONT SABOTAGED BY NEGRIN'S GOVERNMENT?

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began to be made for an offensive on this front which was to be directed against Huesca.

This offensive began already on June 13 and according to all indications Huesca should have been taken already. Unfortunately the Higher Command of the "Regular Army," who, while working together with the leaders of the C.N.T. troops still exercises the supreme authority, revealed such a stupendous inability which is nothing short of being suspicious. The impression given is that all the Command was interested in was to subjugate our troops to a formal discipline, and this, coupled with a series of tactical errors, resulted in the frustration of the offensive after having its heavy share in the loss of men and material. True, the Fascists got a good beating too,

but none of the objectives aimed at by the offensive was attained, creating for the first time a problem of tragic significance.

The militiamen feel themselves defrauded, betrayed and only the heroic will to struggle keeps them at their positions in spite of everything.

ANARCHISTS ON THE FIRING LINE; STALINISTS IN THE REAR

One significant fact is to be recorded in this connection: the first lines before Huesca are held by the Ascaso division (C.N.T.) and the Lenin (P.O.U.M.) division while the P.S.U.C. (Stalinist) division and thousands of Assault Guards are kept on the second line. The militiamen fighting on the first line are under the impression that the first two divisions ARE TO BE VICTIMIZED IN THIS OFFEN-

SIVE SO THAT WHEN HUESCA IS TAKEN IT WILL BE THE COMMUNISTS AND THE ASSAULT GUARDS WHO WILL TAKE POSSESSION OF THE CITY. Altogether, the preferred treatment that the Communist division is getting as compared with the anarchist and P.O.U.M. troops is strikingly in evidence.

This alone is enough to give an idea of the terrible situation prevailing on some of the fronts, due only to the criminal political manoeuvres carried on through the government by the Communists and their reformist allies. The main concern of the latter is to crush the revolutionary movement and to speculate upon the anti-Fascist loyalties of our forces who bear in mind the nearness of the enemy and the necessity of holding the front in spite of all provocations.*

Whatever the reasons for sabotaging the Bilbao front might have been they are clear in the case of the Aragon front. The Stalinist-bourgeois counter-revolution will rather betray the front—very suspi-

cious negotiations between the Communist leader Comorera and Mussolini's agents took place recently in Paris—than enable the C.N.T. troops to develop a successful offensive. And in the meantime their policy is, as the same paper points out, "to prevent the winning of the war, to strangle the revolutionary army, to decimate the militiamen by exposing them to the Fascists and to strangle the economy in order to make possible a peace with the Fascists."

*The same is reported by the C.N.T. daily in Lerida (an industrial center in Catalonia) "Acracia," which writes:

"Now we know exactly why Huesca was not taken. The last operation at Santa Quiteria furnishes a good proof of it. Huesca was surrounded on all sides and only the betrayal of the aviation forces (controlled by the Stalinists) was responsible for the disaster with which this operation ended. Our militiamen were not backed up by the aviation and were thus left

JUST OUT

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?" (in English)

by D. A. de Santillan

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defenseless in face of an intensive machine-gunning by the Fascist aviation. This is only one of the numerous operations which ended in the same manner on account of the same betrayal on the part of the aviation."

POLITICIANS TRY TO DEMORALIZE ARAGON FRONT

(Continued from page one)

every honest anti-Fascist to acquaint himself with the situation created on this front, the most obvious lesson of which is: *the Communist-bourgeois counter-revolution prefers a Fascist victory to a successful offensive which would lend prestige and a certain measure of increased strength to anarchist troops.*

All For Victory

"At first," writes the correspondent of the French weekly *Libertaire*,* "arms were refused under the pretext that the militia were not organized as a regular army. In order to obtain arms the militia allowed themselves to be reorganized into regular units topped by a military hierarchy. They allowed the interferences of the Central government into the inner mechanism of the army which had very little to do with the necessary co-operation on the fronts. They were willing to sacrifice a great deal in order to obtain the chance to take the offensive against the Fascists."

Sabotage Continues

Armaments did arrive, although by far in meagre quantities. But they were mainly given to the Communist troops, the Assault Guards, the few International battalions. Very little of it fell into the hands of the anarchist and P.O.U.M. troops. And since the latter constitute the preponderant majority, also far excelling the others in their quality as fighters, this continued policy of depriving them of necessary

*The following is a summary of a long article on the Aragon front appearing in "*Libertaire*," July 29.

arms foredoomed to failure the numerous offensives, the success of which might have saved Bilbao.

However, the aim of those offensives, as conceived by the Stalinist authorities (the General Staff is manned by Moscow agents) was not to save Bilbao but to decimate the anarchist troops by stabbing them in the back or exposing them to the Fascist fire. The story of those startling betrayals has already become familiar to the readers of our paper. The writer of this article adds a few striking details to this picture, telling how the anarchist troops, goaded on to an attack by promises of support on the part of aviation, were left to the mercy of the Fascist airplanes, and that is after the troops had already succeeded in carrying out brilliantly a series of attacks. And if those are repeated ten times in succession, there is certainly something more than mere tactical errors to the whole matter.

Starving Out Aragon Troops

Betrayal of troops during the offensives is not the only means of breaking the morale of the Aragon militiamen. There is the even more effective method of literally starving them out of existence. This is done by

depriving them of all financial assistance and sabotaging their food supplies.

"Ever since the Central government took over control," writes this correspondent, "the financial boycott became accentuated. Most of the militiamen have not received their pay for a long time. In Bujaraloz, where the General Staff of the Durruti column is located, both—officers and soldiers—have not seen a cent for the last three months. They cannot wash their clothes for the lack of soap. In many a place visited after several months of absence I found comrades whom I knew well: now they looked pale, thin and visibly weakened. The physical state of the troops is such that they cannot keep up any prolonged exercises, they cannot march for more than fifteen kilometres a day. In the region of Farlete the troops live by hunting, without which they would have starved to death."

Breakdown Sought by Politicians

The chief task aimed at by this deliberate disorganization is, as it is pointed out by the correspondent, to break the morale of the troops, to cause a wave of mass desertions which would enable the Bolshevik press to defame and dishonor the anarchist troops before the public opinion of the world. The Communist controlled aviation, which has been conspicuously absent during the major engagements, is kept ready for this emergency upon which the Stalinist efforts are now concentrated.

And if this Jesuitic plan fails there remains the simple method of obtaining the collaboration of the Fascist army in the task of encircling and exterminating the anarchist troops.

"Some time ago, one of the Ministers," writes this correspondent, "told the following to one of my friends who at that time, for a very brief period, shared that view with the Minister: let the Fascists deepen the front and then we will throw our dependable troops to cut off the retreat of the anarchist troops."

Caballero Accuses

Is it a Machiavelian day dream on the part of an unprincipled politician? Judging by the hints thrown out by Largo Caballero in his last interview reported in the French press, the recent breakdown of the Teruel front (mainly held by anarchist troops), endangering the Madrid-Valencia railway line, took place not without the connivance of some people in the Valencia government.

And very soon we shall probably learn the full story of the tragedy lurking behind the Premier's cryptic remark.

THE GREAT CRIME

Like Berneri's murder, the dastardly assassination of Nin—leader of the P.O.U.M. and prominent figure in the international revolutionary movement—will rank as one of the greatest crimes of our time.

It will rank as such not by the brutal manner in which it was perpetrated. In the period in which we are living now it is difficult to startle anyone by sadistic murders and assassinations. It is the low, dastardly cravenness of the act itself that constitutes the great challenge to the moral conscience of our times.

Crimes committed by Fascists do not arouse that challenge. We do not get stirred up by acts committed by degenerates and moral delinquents. But an outrage against our elementary moral feelings perpetrated by those who claim to represent a moral force arouses us to the highest pitch of indignation, revealing to us some deep-seated process of decay and disintegration.

The vile assassination of Nin is in the nature of such an outrage. It is perpetrated by those who appeal to the whole world to help them in their fight against Fascist barbarism, that is against moral degeneracy constituting its very essence. "Help us save democracy, help us in the crucial

struggle for civilization against barbarism" and under the accompaniment of those appeal the life of such a prominent man as Nin is bartered away by all those "highly principled" socialists and republicans for a few concessions made by the Moscow government.

And therein lies the ominous significance of Nin's murder. It revealed in a startling manner that the moral leprosy characterising the Fascism of Hitler and Stalin brands pervades our life to a much greater extent than what one is led to believe by official boundaries and demarcations. Those socialists, like Noske, who were responsible for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Kai Libknecht ended up in becoming officials in the pay of Hitler's government. It will take a much shorter period to reveal the destination of socialists and liberals like Negrin, Prieto and Companys whose guilt for the murder of Nin is no less than that of direct agents in the pay of Moscow: together with their "democratic" consciences they will be "co-ordinated" in the new totalitarian scheme of things which will make Spain "safe for democracy" but terribly unsafe for anyone to disagree with the latest pronouncement coming via Kremlin from the "greatest Leader of all nations."

CHICAGO LEADS THE WAY

A mass meeting was held in Chicago on July 16 to protest the suppression of workers' organizations and the arrest of revolutionary workers by the government of Spain.

The meeting was sponsored by the following organizations:

United Libertarian Organizations, Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Party of Cook County, Revolutionary Workers' League, Communist League of Struggle.

After having listened to the speakers presenting a rounded out picture of the counter-revolutionary drive instituted by the Negrin government against labor militants of Spain, the

meeting unanimously voted a sharp resolution of protest to be sent to the Spanish government. The resolution "demand the right of free expression and organizational activities for all working class groups in Spain fighting for a new social order." It calls on the workers of Spain and throughout the world to "put such pressure on the People's Front government that it will cease the breaking of the anti-Fascist front and that an end be made to the use of Fascist measures to suppress working class organizations."

PROTEST CHE-KA METHODS IN SPAIN

FUNDS COLLECTED FOR SPAIN DURING JULY, 1937 By the U.L.O. of New York

Receipt No.	Amount
245—N. Y. Hungarian Joint Society (Jos. Nagy).....	\$60.00
246—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)—Picnic, July 4.....	157.11
247—Mohegan Colony (Bannister).....	9.50
248—L. Brilliant — List Z-152.....	15.00
249—Mohegan Colony (Bannister).....	40.90
	\$282.51
PREVIOUS BALANCE.....	\$1108.21
	\$1390.72
Sent to A. Ganin, Paris (For Spain) \$1100.00—	
Transmission Expenses \$3.50.....	1103.50
CASH ON HAND.....	\$287.22

COMMUNISTS BREAK UP MEETING ON SPAIN

For several weeks Communist hoodlums have been disturbing our street meetings. Three weeks ago, at the corner of 14th Street and University Place, after failing to down the speaker with their shouting, someone sent in a call for the police and six radio cars came ripping into the meeting. Finding nothing amiss, the police withdrew and the meeting proceeded.

Last Tuesday evening, at the corner of Irving Place and 14th Street, after about an hour of shouting and throwing papers and fruit at the speakers, they formed a flying wedge into the speakers stand, which naturally smashed and forced the speaker to the ground.

This action brought the police, an extra cordon of which is on duty on account of the picket lines at the Automat Restaurant, and they cleared the street so that the meeting could not be resumed.

If we do not accept their bluff, we are unworthy of our own position and we deserve just

exactly whatever we are willing to take. Since we have no press or other means of counteracting the false stories they are circulating about our comrades in Spain, our only recourse is through street meetings and these meetings must be adequately protected or they will win their point in preventing us from even speaking about Spain. We used to have to fight the police and the reactionary element among the public—that was comparatively easy for there is some intelligence to be found, even among those elements—now we must fight the communists among whom there is no intelligence whatever and we must be prepared to speak to them in the only language they understand.

Out comrades, to the corner of Irving Place and 14th Street every Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock. It is the least we can do for our comrades who are giving their lives to save Spain from Fascism, be it imported from Italy, Germany or Russia. Come out and show your teeth.

Walter Starrett