

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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MILITARY DICTATORSHIP FOR SPAIN PLANNED BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE

General Miaja Approached with this Plan

WINSTON CHURCHIL REVEALS DIPLOMATIC GAME

It is quite in line with the general conspiracy of silence regarding the truly significant aspects of the Spanish situation that the bourgeois press almost entirely ignored the amazing proposals for "pacification" of Spain made by Winston Churchill.

They are amazing not in themselves—anything could be expected from the Most Honorable leader of the die-hard faction of the Tory Party—but by the semi-official stamp of approval given to those proposals. In fact, they were timed so well with other similar, although more veiled, utterances of Eden and other official figures as to give the impression of political soundings—feelers thrown out by the government through its unofficial spokesman to test the reaction of the country to the schemes now being worked out behind the scenes.

"Neutral" Dictatorship for Spain Proposed

What was the nature of those sensational proposals?

Mr. Churchill declared it an encouraging fact that Germany, France, Italy, Britain and Russia

"were acting together in a way which represented the concert of Europe and was a shadow of the idea of law." And it is this jungle law that Mr. Churchill wants to be applied to the larger task of strangling the Spanish revolution. This would be achieved by the following plan:

1) "The five great Powers whose fleets are now acting nominally in a common policy, after agreeing among themselves, would offer to the Spaniards a solution."

This solution would be a dictatorship of the four Powers "extending over a period of six years, in three stages."

The first stage would be that of pacification or as Churchill puts it, of "restoring peace, order and giving the country time to cool down."

The second a "hybrid government imposed on Spain from without."

The third stage—and here the "democratic" conscience of Mr. Churchill speaks out—(as is known, Mr. Churchill has of late been referring quite frequently to the

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ANARCHISTS IN BARCELONA STILL HOLD POSITIONS INTACT

Stories of Defeat Not Borne Out by Scanty Reports

Not before the exact terms of the understanding reached between the anarchists of Catalonia and the representatives of Valencia will have become known, will we be able to evaluate the results of the recent disturbances in terms of revolutionary gains or losses.

One thing is clear, though: the fighting did not end in a defeat of anarchist forces as represented by some journalists. Even the Telephone Exchange building was given up only as a result of negotiations and not physical superiority. The workers' suburbs are in the hands of the anarchists and the criminal attempt to disarm the anarchists had to be given up by the authorities.

In itself the latter represents a distinct success: the fighting did instil some wholesome lessons of respect for the anarchists into the minds of those who were relying too much on the strength of "Russian armaments." It is quite possible, however, that the value of this lesson may be reduced to naught by further concessions and compromises in the political field.

Spanish anarchism has shown itself equal to any test in the field of open battle. The same, however, can hardly be said about back stage manoeuvres, negotiations at close doors and political bargaining.

READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

COME AND HEAR ABOUT LATEST EVENTS IN SPAIN A MASS MEETING

with the participation of
M. GARCIA Who Just Returned from Spain
WILL BE HELD ON MAY 21st, at
Tarmo Club

2365 FIFTH AVENUE — Near 125th Street
Meeting Begins 8 p.m. sharp — Hall Closes 11 p.m.
Speakers:

M. GARCIA - C. TRESKA - S. WEINER
and others.

FIGHTING IN BARCELONA PROVOKED BY COMMUNIST AND REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS

Writing of the political crisis of a month ago, the correspondent of the liberal *Manchester Guardian* found it necessary to point out that "behind the generalities published about the Catalan political crisis there is the wish to bring the anarchists, who are numerous in Catalonia, to a less extreme frame of mind."

This holds true to a much greater measure in respect to the recent events in Barcelona. Behind the clashes and street fighting there was the provocative policy of the bourgeois-communist bloc of politicians, their suicidal plan "to bring the anarchists to a less extreme frame of mind" by facing them with the alternative of an armed struggle.

Last Crisis Prelude to Present Conflict

This policy, relentlessly pursued ever since the combined forces of the Catalan counter-revolution found themselves strong enough to challenge the anarcho-syndicalist unions, became even more evident after the settlement of the political crisis of a month ago. The solution of the crisis was no solution at all. It left the political situation as it was before the crisis. The only change effected was the setting up of a Supreme War Board to work in conjunction with the Defense Councilor of

the Catalonian Government.

In practice it meant that the republican and communist politicians who were manoeuvring to wrest the control of the army from the anarcho-syndicalists saw their chance by throwing the weight of the Supreme War Board, presided over by Companys and controlled by the bourgeois - communist bloc, against the Defense Councilor. Instead of the unofficial Committee for support of the Popular Army, which before the crisis was gradually reaching out for control of the army, the politicians had now an official body invested with all the moral authority of a Supreme representative organ.

Conflict Deliberately Provoked

And it is very characteristic of the frame of mind of those who talk incessantly about national unity and a united front in face of the Fascist danger that the first real advantage scored in this political manoeuvring was used immediately to provoke an armed struggle with an organization which, according to every impartial observer, represents the majority of workers in Catalonia. Having failed in their policy of attrition—the crisis was dragged out for 18 days—they decided upon a course of frontal attacks, starting with an attempt to disarm the workers and the revolu-

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REVOLUTION IN SPAIN CANNOT BE CHECKED

AN INTERVIEW WITH EDITOR OF SPANISH PAPER

Comrade M. Garcia, editor of the local weekly, "Cultura Proletaria," just returned from Spain where during several months he had the opportunity to study the situation at close quarters.

In the interview obtained from him we touched only upon the most general problems of the revolution. A more detailed treatment of the situation will be given by comrade Garcia in a series of articles to be printed in the coming issues of the "Spanish Revolution."

Fascist Invaders Will Be Defeated

—What is the general expectation of the great mass of the Spanish population in regard to the outcome of the Civil War?

—Everyone expects the ulti-

mate victory over Fascists as a matter of course. This confidence is not just the manifestation of a buoyant optimism or an ardent faith. It is based upon the patent signs of growing military and economic strength.

"The army is rapidly improving its fighting quality. The stock of ammunition is growing, war industries are increasing their output. The army has made tremendous strides in respect of equipment, training and organization. The military schools and training camps are turning out an ever increasing number of officers and military experts.

"In respect to man power, time also plays the hand of the loyalists. The same holds true of economic conditions which keep on improving in our prov-

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tion in regard to the State. The anarchists, we are told, who formerly ignored the role of the State, came to see the light, having at first been forced to become a part of the State apparatus and then gradually converted to its protagonists.

There is, however a great difference between using the State as a protective shell of society during an emergency period and displacing society by a totalitarian State, albeit in the guise of a revolutionary dictatorship.

This point is well brought out by D. A. de Santillan in an article written for the anarcho-syndicalist daily, "Solidaridad Obrera." (D. A. de Santillan—writer and economist, Minister of Economy in the former Catalonian Cabinet.)

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

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May 21st, 1937

THE INCIPIENT CAMPAIGN OF DETRACTION

The latest dispatch sent by Lawrence Fernsworth to the "New York Times (May 11) about the Barcelona disturbances represent the first attempt to present some coherent picture, if not of the disturbances themselves at least of the background of their development.

It is, of course, full of inaccuracies and is obviously inspired by official reports and versions emanating from the Communist headquarters. Thus the P.O.U.M. is slandered once more in the typically Stalinist fashion, made even more reprehensible by the ostensibly objective tone of reporting. (Mr. Fernsworth has lived long enough in Barcelona to know that this is nothing but vile slander. His former articles on the same subject—written before the Communists reached that stage of power which holds in awe the average journalist—give the lie to it.)

Nor is there any truth to the statement that the C.N.T. incurred the resentment of Catalonian peasants by forcing collectivization upon them. It is a deliberate slander. It is enough to read the daily anarchist press in Catalonia to see that this statement was inspired by a Communist press agent. Voluntary collectivization and solicitude for the welfare of the individual peasant proprietor are the basic tenets of the C.N.T. program, daily dwelt upon and expounded in the daily press.

The incident mentioned by Fernsworth (Faratella) was not due to any attempt to force collectivization. Faratella was one of the few Fascist nests in Catalonia. (Its population voted for the reactionaries in

the February elections of 1936). The very presence of the C.N.T. was a source of conflicts which finally flared forth in an armed clash.

As to the unpopularity of the C.N.T., the author does not specify the kind of people the C.N.T. is unpopular with. It may be so as far as the middle classes are concerned—and Mr. Fernsworth feels perhaps more at home among the latter than among the workers and peasants whose sentiments toward the C.N.T. certainly do not show any signs of cooling off.

But there is objective evidence to disprove the impressionistic statement of Mr. Fernsworth. "Solidaridad Obrera" is the most widely read paper in Catalonia. It has a circulation of 210,000 while no socialist or Communist paper reaches above 30,000. It has the majority of workers with it: there is not an important branch of industry in Catalonia that is not controlled by the C.N.T. And unlike the U.G.T. which opened wide its doors to the middle classes and the petty-bourgeoisie, the C.N.T. membership is, according to the "Herald-Tribune" correspondent, "of old standing." That is, it consists of genuine workers who have gone through a long and bitter school of militant fighting under the monarchy, the Fascist dictatorship of Primo De Rivera and the Azana republic.

And contrary to the flippant assertions of Mr. Fernsworth, this accumulated reservoir of labor militancy stored up within the C.N.T. will "bear out its claims" if and when the time comes for a "test of public strength."

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

The primary business of a newspaper is reporting of facts and events. It may fail in its interpretation of such facts, it may even be guilty of admitting a strong bias into the reporting of facts, but as long as it succeeds in presenting a coherent story it fulfills the minimum demand we present to a newspaper.

Judging from this point of view, the reporting of the last events in Barcelona falls below the barest minimum. The general account given in such a lead-

ing newspaper as the "New York Times" (and this holds true of the others as well) simply does not make sense at all.

What did happen in Barcelona? What was the outcome of the armed struggle on the streets of that city? What were the terms of the understanding reached at by the warring factions?

There is not even an inkling of it in the reporting done by the high-salaried, top-notched correspondents of those papers. The accounts submitted by them

Revolution in Spain Cannot Be Checked

(Continued from page one)

inces while progressively deteriorating in the Fascist controlled provinces.

Workers and Peasants For Revolution

—What are the expectations of the population in regard to the continuation of revolution after the war?

—The great mass of workers and peasants are solidly behind the idea that the social revolution must be carried to its logical end upon the completion of the war. This sentiment is not confined to the more radical workers of the anarcho-sindicalist union (C.N.T.). It is shared by the rest of the workers and peasants who, whatever the attitude of the reformist leaders might be, are bound to have their say in the long run.

—What is the attitude of the bureaucratic leadership of the reformist union (U.G.T.) to this general expectation?

—The bureaucracy of the U.G.T., as well as the political parties, are against the social revolution, but the pressure of the great mass of workers and peasants will compel them to change their recalcitrant attitude. After the war this pressure will become irresistible, for in the long run it is the workers' unions that exercise the real power.

—Wherein does this power mostly manifest itself?

—It shows mostly in the grip upon economic life obtained by workers' and peasants' unions. In Catalonia all the big industries have been socialized. In the rest of Spain socialization came to prevail in most of the larger enterprises.

"Workers' and peasants' syndicates are not only in control of production but also of the main avenues of trade. Exchange between city and country is mainly carried on by syndicates. Private trade still lingers on, but in spite of the solicitude shown on its behalf by the poli-

tical parties it is rapidly losing its economic positions to workers' syndicates and peasant cooperatives.

Social Revolution in the Villages

—How far did the revolution penetrate the villages?

—The revolution is working colossal changes in the life of the Spanish peasants. The expropriation of big land estates, the wiping out of feudal vestiges, the strong collectivization movement are changing the face of the Spanish village.

—What is the general arrangement in regard to ownership and cultivation of land?

—Things are still in a state of flux, but we can already discern the general features of the social order which is now crystallizing in the villages.

"All the expropriated lands pass into the ownership of the municipality which disposes of it through the peasant syndicates. And it is the latter that actually control the land and the agricultural economy as a whole.

"Peasant holdings are not interfered with. In many cases the owners of such holdings are allotted additional land from the general fund obtained by expropriating the vast land estates. The land, of course, does not become the private property of the peasant. The latter only enjoys the right of usufruct.

—How strong is the collectivization movement among the peasants?

—The collectivization movement is not fostered from above nor is it forced upon the peasants by an outside agency. It springs from the peasants themselves. Most of the expropriated lands pass into the hands of peasant collectives now swarming all over the country.

"The sweep of this remarkable movement is tremendous. And on the basis of all that I hazard the prediction that **within a short time collectives will become the dominant form of peasant economy throughout Spain.**"

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

The Truth About Spain
(by Rudolph Rocker)5c
The Revolutionary Movement in Spain... 10c

On the contrary: everywhere I saw anarchist flags, wall papers and placards. Every day new groups of Libertarian youth are being organized, and our meetings are very well attended.

"I congratulated our comrades on those signs of success. 'Come back in three months and Levant will be even better than Catalonia!' the secretary of the propaganda section told me.

"Indeed, the future belongs to the Libertarian Youth!"
(From "Le Reveil"—an anarchist weekly published in Geneva.)

FUTURE BELONGS TO LIBERTARIAN YOUTH

"It is in Valencia that the Young Libertarians have their regular monthly conferences to discuss the problems facing them. I had the pleasure of attending the last April conference represented by delegates from all provinces. Even Asturias, which for a number of months could not send any delegates, was represented at this conference.

"The Catalanian delegation opens the congress with a detailed account of the work and are mostly characterized by gaps, omissions and silly chatter about incidentals of the struggle.

Is it the censorship that is responsible for those incoherencies? Hardly so. A biased story presented in a coherent form is even more acceptable to the censorship than vague hints and enigmatic reporting.

It is the censorship imposed from within, the policy of silence adopted by the bourgeois press in regard to events of Spain (outside of military events) that is responsible for this state of affairs. The Spanish revolution is taboo to the bourgeois press—it cannot even be talked about. It has to be ignored as much as possible, and when some of its striking events do reach the public ear, attempts have to be made to present it in that unintelligible manner in which correspondents write about some strange and curious affair lying outside the ordinary world of events.

History may be made on the streets of Barcelona, but there is certainly not an inkling of it in the reporting of the bourgeois press.

propaganda done by the comrades in that region.

"They are followed by the Aragonian delegates who express their indignation at the government which continues boycotting the Aragon front in point of supply of arms. If the Libertarian Youth accepted mobilization, it was in the hope of undertaking an offensive on the military fronts. But the front still lacks sufficient arms, while the assault guards and civil guards are recalled from the front and given the best equipment.

"The comrade from Levant also reports of the latest counter-revolutionary manoeuvre of the government.

"In Valencia the government imprisoned 214 comrades from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., many of them valiant fighters of the "Iron Column," thus paralyzing their energetic struggles at the front.

"The Asturian delegate tells of the split between the Young Socialists of Asturias and the Socialist Party of that province. The Young Socialists regard the position of the Party as too reformistic and want to work along more revolutionary lines.

"My travels in the province of Valencia brought me great surprises. I thought I would find much hostility to the anarchists.

"Some of the Italian tanks operating in Spain bear the following signs: We are going to Madrid; from Madrid to Paris, and from Paris to Moscow."
(From C.N.T. anarcho-sindicalist daily in Madrid.)

PEASANTS OF ARAGON ARE FOR COLLECTIVES

Aragon is the most revolutionary province of Spain. The libertarian elements, which came to power upon the arrival of workers' contingents from Barcelona, did not have to compromise as much as the anarchists of Catalonia. The spontaneous impulse of the peasantry toward collectivization was not hampered and thwarted as in the other provinces. Hence—a higher degree of socialization, more advanced forms of village communism and the control of all strategic positions by the revolutionists. (Even the moderate union—General Union of Workers (U.G.T.) is swept into this revolutionary work. In no other province, with the exception of Asturias, are the bonds of solidarity between the anarcho-syndicalist union—C.N.T.—and the socialist U.G.T. as strong as they are in Aragon.)

Is it true, however, as it is alleged by the slanders of the Stalinist press—that this regime has been imposed upon the peasantry by force, and that the latter is resentful of the collectivist "experimentation"?

We find an answer to this question in the description given

by the Italian anti-Fascist paper, "Giustizia e Libertà" of the general effect produced by the new social order upon the Aragonian peasantry. ("Giustizia e Libertà" is a republican and not an anarchist paper, and the testimony of its correspondent cannot be taken as party propaganda of any sort.)

New Social Order Deeply Appreciated by Peasants

"My close contacts with the peasants during my extensive travels in Aragon convinced me that the change of regime (collectivization of peasant economy) has made felt its advantages to the peasants in the most direct and immediate manner.

"None of the villages of this province is faced any longer with the spectre of starvation haunting the peasant communities for generations. The standard of life of the entire population has improved considerably. But above all it is the sense of economic security that wrought its beneficial effect upon the morale of the peasant population. A new joy pervades the life of the hardy Aragonian peasant. The manifest benefits of the new social

system strengthened the spirit of solidarity among the peasants, arousing them to greater efforts and activity. (Ed. note: as reported in one of the previous issues of the "Spanish Revolution," the sowing area of the Aragon province is now 40% larger than any of the previous years.)

Free Initiative and Not Orders From Above

"The economic experiments undertaken by those village communities are of great value and are bound to occupy a prominent place in the crystallization of the definite social order of the Spanish revolution.

"To me its greatest value lies in the fact that it does not emanate from a central power, that it is not dictated from above according to a special scheme to be applied everywhere in the same manner. The new social order springs spontaneously from the free initiative of every community.

"It is the principle of federalism put into practice in its most complete form. As soon as the revolutionary process started on its way, private property was abolished and every municipality was given full freedom to organize new life in the form it deemed best for the well-being of its members."

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL SUSPECTED IN SPAIN

At a recent meeting at the Monumental Bullring, the representative of Catalan Regional Committee of the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist union) summarized the three main currents in anti-Fascist camp:

1) Those who think that the movement of July 19 can be interpreted simply as a rebellion of the armed forces, and therefore they must fight for the return of democratic Republican legality.

2) Those who think that everything should be regarded from the point of view of the war, without modifying the structure of the rearguard for fear of international complications.

3) Those who believe that this is not a mere military rebellion, but a profound social revolution.

Revolution Represents National Need

These are the Republicans, the Marxists and Anarchists respectively. The speaker maintained that the anarchist point of view is the only one representing the genuine needs of the Spanish workers and peasants. In a sense this point of view could be called national since the others are dictated by the pressure of foreign interests. The latter wish Spain to be no more than a democratic political entity within the strategic grouping of certain powers.

England Chief Enemy of Revolution

England, he said, was perfectly aware of the significance of the Spanish revolution. That is why English diplomacy is working hard to prevent it. Neither England nor France would allow Hitler's or Mussolini's triumph in Spain. But on the other hand they do not want a speedy victory on the part of the loyalists. Their plan is to let the struggle drag on until the extremists on both sides had been exhausted. Then they would propose an armistice and some form of conciliation. That is why their plan of international control was met with a widespread suspicion throughout Spain.

Power of Revolution Lies with Industrial Union

(Continued from page one)

The article is too long for our paper, but even the fragmentary portion reprinted here will enable the reader to grasp the main principle of anarchist tactics in Spain, which consists not in ignoring the reality of the State as such but in gradually displacing it by the new social organs created by the revolution.

Collaboration in the Government

"Quite a long time prior to the July days (Fascist rebellion) we maintained that the formula for the coming Spanish revolution must be sought along the lines of collaboration of all progressive forces. In place of totalitarian ideas of dictatorship we upheld the possibility of a harmonious cooperation and a mutual understanding among all currents of socialism.* We said it prior to the events of July 19 and we reaffirm it now.

"After the first victory against the Fascist generals we realized that we were faced with a protracted war of surpassing importance. We also realized that the hour had not yet arrived to do away with the government functions. Just as it was necessary to have a fit instrument for the carrying on of the war—the army—so was it also necessary to have an organ which would co-ordinate and centralize all the resources and energies of the country, that is—the mechanism of the State.

* (Ed. note: The practice of the last few months has shown that such an understanding is hardly possible with the pseudo-communist party of the Moscow brand, which divorces socialism from elementary notions of ethics. And without such ethics pacts and agreements become only mere scraps of paper to be swept away at the first opportunity.)

State Accepted Only As An Emergency Institution

"We are against the State and militarism, but, having accepted war, we must also accept the army and the State. This does not imply that we give up our struggle against war, militarism or the State as situations or institutions that do not correspond to the human ideals of peace, work and happiness.

"Our participation in the war and the government does not mean that we gave up our basic beliefs in the possibility of building up a social order without political and economic parasitism.

Where Lies the Main Line of Revolutionary Activity

"Our real power is not the government institutions we might control. It does not consist in controlling more or less Ministers in the Cabinet. Our legitimate, authentic power is in the factories, mines, means of transport and villages. It is in the organization of production, distribution and consumption.

"Society can live without a government, but it cannot live without agriculturists, without industrial workers, miners, navigators. And he who has in his hands the big factories, means of transport and land, has also the power, the entire power.*

* (Ed. note: The author does not ignore the obvious idea that such economic power cannot be exercised where the political power of the State apparatus is controlled by hostile forces. His point is that political power is in itself but a small part of the revolution. Without economic power, that is without developing the capacity of organizing economic life through their own organizations, the workers and peasants will be robbed of the fruits of the revolution by the very State apparatus the control of which was obtained for purely defensive purposes.)

Fighting In Barcelona

Provoked by Politicians

(Continued from page one)

controlled by socialist and communist bureaucracy) signed a solemn pact with the anarcho-syndicalist unions pledging loyal cooperation in the carrying out of the basic tasks of the revolution.

What has changed since that time that it was necessary to embark upon a policy which, were it even successful, would endanger the struggle against Fascism? Were the anarchists recalcitrant in their attitude toward other forces? Did they show any tendency toward monopoly of power? Did they pursue a policy precluding any cooperation of other parties on the basis of the generally accepted revolutionary conquests?

The Spirit of Pact-Breaking
If anything, the anarchists were too yielding, too eager to obtain the co-operation of others in the basic tasks of war and

And it was only last October that the leaders of the Catalonian U.G.T. (moderate union

Power of Revolution Lies With The Syndicate (Workers' Union)

"While war is carried on, we can also advance a great deal along the lines of social reconstruction. But this progress can be made outside of or against the State. What we can do from within the government is to facilitate the official legalization, recognition and sanction of what the revolution had already accomplished in the factories, fields, in the customs and conventions of the people. But we do not ask that the government should make the revolution.

"Our power is not in the Ministries. It is in our Syndicates, in the constructive capacity shown by them now that all doors for free initiative are open to workers' organizations.

controlled by socialist and communist bureaucracy) signed a solemn pact with the anarcho-syndicalist unions pledging loyal cooperation in the carrying out of the basic tasks of the revolution.

What has changed since that time that it was necessary to embark upon a policy which, were it even successful, would endanger the struggle against Fascism? Were the anarchists recalcitrant in their attitude toward other forces? Did they show any tendency toward monopoly of power? Did they pursue a policy precluding any cooperation of other parties on the basis of the generally accepted revolutionary conquests?

The Spirit of Pact-Breaking

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revolution. Had the republican and communist politicians meant what they promised in their solemn pledges and pacts signed with the anarchists 7 or 8 months ago, the road would be open for a harmonious, truly democratic, co-operation of all forces on the basis of some compromise solution of the problems facing the revolution.

Such compromise was, however, barred by the spirit shown by the bourgeois-communist politicians, a spirit fully revealed by the idle talk about "liquidating the C.N.T." and "getting rid of it in some manner," indulged in at the very beginning of the revolution. (See M. E. Ravage's article in the "New Republic," Dec. 9.) It was this spirit, buttressed up by the material aid of the Moscow and Valencia governments, that dictated the policy of pact-breaking, of sabotage and deliberate provocations pursued ever since the Catalonian government was formed.

Communist Policy Leading

to Civil War

The fruits of this suicide policy are already showing up. Now it is only a little skirmish leading to an armed truce and insignificant gains. But is there any doubt that given the same spirit and the blind suicidal policy on the part of the politicians, and a new civil war will flare up with all the ominous consequences entailed by it?

For Barcelona is not Kronstadt and the Spanish anarchist movement is much more of a hard nut to crack than the Russian anarchist movement of twenty years ago.

WHY IS SOVIET RUSSIA OPPOSED TO REVOLUTION IN SPAIN?

"The rabid opposition to the continuation of revolutionary policies is mainly due to pressure of foreign powers," declared the C.N.T. representative at one of the big mass meetings held recently in Barcelona. In mentioning those powers, the speaker omitted any explicit reference to Soviet Russia, although implying it in many of his statements.

In fact, the government of Soviet Russia now holds one of the foremost places among the enemies of the Spanish revolution. That a party which grew out of the October revolution should turn so fiercely against a similar revolution in another country is one of the most tragic ironies of modern history.

What accounts for that policy, for the sudden ardor for democracy on the part of those who have stifled every manifestation of democracy in their own country? This question is taken up by the editor of the French anarchist weekly "Libertaire" who writes the following on this subject.

"Spain wants to be republican and democratic"—this is what "Izvestia" writes, interpreting

ing the will of the Russian government rather than the sentiments of the Spanish workers.

Soviet Imperialism

"This manoeuvre has its explanation in Soviet imperialism, which demands Franco's defeat on one hand—since a fascist Spain would become an integral part of the German-Italian bloc—and on the other hand the setting up of a Republican government which would join the triple alliance of France, Britain and Russia.

"There remains a third solution: the triumph of the revolutionary proletariat and the rejection of any compromise with the imperialist bandits. Of this third solution the Russian government does not want to hear nor speak.

Spanish Revolution Feared By Stalin's Government

"This is feared not only because it would mean the loss of an ally in the coming war. It would entail much more serious consequences. The victory of the Spanish workers would have the same repercussions as the October revolution. Even more so than the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917 would it signify the

beginning of the ultimate struggle against the bourgeoisie.

"Stalin, the builder of 'Socialism in one country,' does not want this struggle. In France he leads the communist party along the roads of social peace, fighting for a "strong" France in which all social struggles would be in a state of lethargy, a "united" France ready to march against Germany at the bidding of the general staff. And in the same manner Stalin wants to have a "republican and democratic" Spain ready to join the Russian military game.

Revolution Upsets Russian Plans

"Those calculations were frustrated. Our comrades who, faced with the greatest difficulties of the civil war, are building socialism step by step are not going to let themselves be robbed of the fruits of their victory. And, besides: is there any one that really believes that a political democracy of the French type can hold out in Spain?

"Social movements are like elemental forces. They also have their destiny. The Spanish experiment is going full steam ahead. And in no wise is it ready to curb itself at the order of the Russian dictator."

Military Dictatorship for Spain Planned by England

(Continued from page one)
great democracies of the west": is it by way of anticipating the coming struggle to "make the world safe for democracy?" would "probably" see the revival of Parliamentary institutions.

There is very little in this scheme that would prove unacceptable to General Franco. But the other side may object quite strenuously. Mr. Churchill is quite ready to meet this emergency.

"If one accepted—he proposes in his plan—and the other refused, then the Powers could all unite in giving their favor and support, which should be overwhelming, to the side which did accept the means of peace."

Churchill's Proposals Acted Upon by Britain and France

As it was pointed out, those proposals do not represent an individual opinion of an influential political figure. They incorporate the basic principles of the British and French policy in regard to Spain. And what is more: they are being acted upon by their diplomatic agents who are now busily engaged in weaving a noose around the Spanish revolution.

Here is what the "Solidaridad Obrera" of April 22 ("Solidaridad Obrera"—anarchist-syndicalist daily in Barcelona) reveals in conjunction with those proposals. (The same is corroborated by the British and French papers—"Daily Herald" and "Depeche de Toulouse.")

"Franco's failure brought to life another plan to make Spain safe for his policies. The so-called plan of international control represents but its first phase.

"A 'neutral' dictatorship is set up. The candidate for this dictatorship is General Miaja.

"Under the presidency of this dictator a political and pacifying dictatorship is formed.

"Discrete soundings have already been made among the generals of both camps."

General Miaja Groomed For Dictatorship

"La Depeche de Toulouse" reports that General Miaja was also approached with this plan.

"General Miaja," writes this paper, "is regarded as one who is singularly fit to head such a dictatorial government. It is believed that a number of Generals in Franco's army, as well as the majority of the soldiers in his army will be quite glad to accept him, while the soldiers of the Government army will remain loyal to him, his prestige being quite great among them."

According to the same reports, General Miaja declined this offer. Under the circumstances, he could not help doing it: neither his "prestige" nor his very influential friends in the government would be able to stand very long between him and the firing squad, did he show himself susceptible to the offers of the British and French agents. But the very fact that such plans are being broached openly by semi-official spokesmen of the British government points to a very ominous phase of development.

Government Policies Play the Hand of British Diplomacy

Several months ago Britain, while working under cover to bring about such a "solution," professed strict neutrality. Things must have moved in the direction of British policies to enable its coming out openly with proposals of that sort. The very impunity with which its agents are weaving their net of conspiracy in collaboration with the influential circles in and around the government points to the same lesson.

Miaja and other generals are approached with the view of setting

up a dictatorship. But who has been building up their prestige and standing? Who endowed them with the great military and civil powers they are enjoying now? Who was stubbornly resisting any attempt of the revolutionary workers to impose the most rigid control over the military experts?

In the long run it is the policy pursued by the socialists and communists of Spain of gradually depriving the workers' and soldiers' committees of their power, of stifling the revolution and turning over the control of the country into the hands of the old gang of so-called "democratic" politicians that is playing the hand of British diplomacy.

Britain knows it. It knows how to bid its time. It hopes that the work of strangling the revolution will be done for it by the democratic government.

And "when the Moor has done his work" . . . Is it that the British government considers the situation ripe to tell the Moor to go?

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REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE DEFIED

COMMUNISTS BUILD SECRET CHE-KA

One of the solemn pledges made by all signatories of the pact of mutual defense against Fascist invasion was to establish a form of popular justice which would make impossible any form of political persecution within the anti-Fascist ranks.

And, indeed, the forms of such justice have been fully worked out and incorporated in the Popular Tribunals, the functioning of which presents one of the best achievements of the revolution in Spain.

The Spirit of Lynch Law Asserting Itself

It would seem that the party that has been shouting the loudest about the defense of democracy would show itself the staunchest defender of democratic rights in the field of justice. Those, however, who know how deeply immersed the Communist Party is in the spirit of Lynch law will hardly expect any loyalty on the part of that party to this revolutionary attempt to work out higher forms of justice.

And, indeed, wherever the Communist Party of Spain succeeded in entrenching its positions, its first act was to set up some sort of a Che-Ka which, acting with the connivance of the authorities, already grew into a sinister and hated power, tending to displace the Popular Tribunals.

Secret Che-Ka in Murcia

Thus, for instance, the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (April 22) reports that in the city of Murcia a secret Che-Ka was in operation for some time. The general public was aroused by sudden disappearances of people, among them a number of prominent members of the C.N.T.

The police was strangely inactive, showing that this secret body enjoyed some protection in the "higher spheres." The city was terrorized for quite a time until the C.N.T. took matters into its own hands.

The result of this investigation was the detention of bands of assassins which, according to a document signed by the Popular Front Committee, Libertarian Youth Organization and the local Federation of the C.N.T., belonged to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, however, was strangely silent on that matter. Nor was the government of that province very explicit about it: the threads of this criminal conspiracy led quite unmistakably to His Excellency's cabinet.

The C.N.T. was instrumental in unearthing this underground Che-Ka, but in view of the high protection offered this band in so-called "responsible" quarters, it has no illusions about any vigorous action. (It did succeed in putting those Communist assassins behind the bars). That is why it issued a solemn warning to all those elements that any further attempt to import what the Bulletin calls "foreign systems of political dictatorship and terror" will be met with the classical methods of reprisals which the C.N.T. had been using against the Spanish tyrants and inquisitors.

International Libertarian Committee Against Fascism in Spain Detroit, Mich. — Financial Report — April 27th, 1937

Funds collected so far \$7,202.01
Funds sent to this date 6,019.95
General Expenses 514.98
Funds on Hand at this date 667.08

For the Committee, E. VIVAS, Fin. Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY VERSUS CAPITALIST CONTROL

French workers unloading the British merchantman Sarastone here in the presence of international control officers—who were watching in case arms were concealed on board—suddenly went on strike. The dockers objected to any search for arms which would have been destined for the Spanish government forces. The control officers who are British, Italian and German, have protested to headquarters that the French workers are preventing them from carrying on their work. They insist on viewing the rest of the cargo. "Le Temps"

U.L.O. FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING APRIL

203—Frager (Freedom Group)—East Side United Front Meeting \$7.00
204—J. Frager—U.L.O. Mass Meeting Comm. 32.50
205—Royal S. Maultsley, N. Y. C. 1.00
206—I.O.P.—Minneapolis, Minn. 1.00
207—Zare Werlinick, I. W. O. 4032, Croation Frat. Union Lodge 125, Slovene Nat. Ben. Soc. Lodge 210, McKees Rocks, Pa. 62.65
208—Mark Epstein, Mohegan Colony 60.00
209—Libertarian Group, East Side Comm. 7.00
210—W.C. Br. 693 & Int. Lib. Group from San Francisco 143.17
211—Mohegan Colony Group (Bannister) 25.00
212—Ben Osichosky 1.00
213—Jennie Carliph 1.00
214—E. Belopol (thru Murashko), Philadelphia, Pa. 4.00
215—W. H. Salmi, List 200-201 5.75
216—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) 11.25

Corrected bal. pub. Apr. 23 should read, instead of \$893.46 . . . \$1143.46

\$1505.78
Sent to Spain May 13, \$1400.00—Expense, \$12.50 1412.50
Balance on hand \$93.27