

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGHTING IN BARCELONA?

**The background of the recent outbreak in Barcelona and the sinister role played by the Catalanian Stalinists are portrayed here by one who made a close study of the situation in Catalonia. Marcelino Garcia, the writer of this article (editor of the "Cultura Proletaria") spent close to six months in Spain. He was in the thick of events and, unlike the correspondents of the bourgeois press, he did not have to fall back upon journalistic gossip and official propaganda for his information.*

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF COMMUNIST AND BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS

The responsibility for what took place in Barcelona does not lie with the Fascist elements, which, according to slanderous reports of the bourgeois press, have found their way into the ranks of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., but upon the sectarians of the official Communist Party of Catalonia, who, in order to crush the revolution, have allied themselves with all the corrupt elements of the country, with the forces of reaction, with the Chiefs of the Civil Guard (the old reactionary police force of the country) and with certain elements of the Assault Guards (a comparatively new police force built up after the fall of the monarchy).

In other words, the responsibility for what has happened—and for what is going to happen in the future—rests squarely upon the shoulders of Moscow sectarians and their bourgeois allies. The communists in this case pursue their old tactics of splitting and betraying, of reaching out for full control or destroying those proletarian movements which refuse to bow to their dictatorial will.

THE MEASURE OF A MOSCOW LEADER

This manoeuvre of control or destruction, of making alliances with the bourgeoisie and provoking conflicts with the workers is, of course, directed by Moscow. But the latter's agent in Catalonia is Comorera, the most prominent leader of the Communist Party in that province.

It will, therefore, be necessary to say a few words about this gentleman. Comorera is a criminal type in every respect. Essentially, he is a reactionary bourgeois, lacking any political scruples and ready to sell himself to the highest bidder. He betrayed and cheated his comrades whenever he had the opportunity to do so.

Officially, Comorera was a socialist. But actually he was innocent of any political convictions. His highest aspiration is to make money and live well. He became the chief agent of Moscow policies ever since the merger of the Socialist and Communist parties of Catalonia took

TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF SPANISH WORKERS

A CABLEGRAM FROM VALENCIA

May 24, 1937

Catalan U.G.T. unity program demands state control of industries, end collectivizations and equal salaries. C.N.T. rejects.

In Valencia U.G.T.-C.N.T. unity is growing.

Ed. Note. In Catalonia the U.G.T. is controlled by the Communist Party and the "unity" program bears the imprint of the latter's policy to liquidate the revolution in Catalonia. The program is in the nature of a transitional measure designed to facilitate such liquidation.

State control of industries means wresting control from the syndicates who since July 19 have been running industries in Catalonia. Putting an end to collectivization would frustrate the great peasant movement in Catalanian villages which has for its aim the complete emancipation of the rural population from the power of the city usurer and private trader. And in

the light of the sharp differentiation of incomes in Soviet Russia, presented there as the last word of socialism, one can very easily understand the particular hatred of the Moscow-controlled party toward one of the most progressive aspects of Catalanian revolutionary economy—the equalization of salaries and wages.

In the rest of Spain the U.G.T. is independent of the Communist Party, although it cannot altogether escape its influence. That is why the movement for unity between the U.G.T. and C.N.T. finds less obstacles than in Catalonia. And therein lies one of the most hopeful aspects of the present situation in Spain.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF BARCELONA EVENTS

British Comrade Presents Issues and Events of the Tragic Struggle

Reprinted from Glasgow Paper "Barcelona Bulletin"

Barcelona, May 5th, 1937

You all have heard by this time that there is trouble in Barcelona. The trouble broke out on Monday afternoon, the 3rd, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the quietest time of the day here, as the shops are all closed, and every one is either home or eating in a restaurant, or drinking his afternoon coffee, the Civil Guards seized the telephone building by force. As the move was quite unexpected, they succeeded in disarming the militiamen in charge there, and so gaining control.

We knew about in on Monday afternoon, but although there was a feeling of electricity in the air, and some fighting on the Plaza Cataluna, nothing further happened during the afternoon. At night time, when we went to return home, there were patrols out everywhere. At one corner we would meet the civil guards, and the next the C.N.T. guards. All men were stopped and searched for arms. We were stopped because we had a man with us, but they made no attempt to search us at all, not even the police.

We were told to go by the back way when we left the Casa, although place. And he fully answered all the qualifications demanded by Moscow from its hired agents.

While he was Councilor of food supplies, our comrades from the Investigation Squad found 900 sacks of potatoes hidden away by him. That was at the time when the Barcelona workers couldn't buy potatoes at all, having been deprived of them for nearly two months. In the midst of a great bread scarcity

(Continued on page two)

we were warned about going out at all, as there was fighting on the Plaza Cataluna. In going through the back way, we had to pass through a square where the Generalitat Buildings are all around. There were some men in front of us, and they were arrested and rushed into the building. We were not close enough to see all that took place, and although we would have liked to get closer, we were prevented by the guards. When we got out of the Square, and were almost emerging on the Ramblas, we were stopped again, but this time it was by several of our own people (C.N.T.-F.A.I.) and we knew some of them.

As the day wore on, the firing

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ATTEMPTED COUP THWARTED BY HEROIC RESISTANCE OF BARCELONA WORKERS

FRENCH MARINES SUPPORT CATALONIAN STALINISTS

The more detailed information given by the British, French and Spanish newspapers enable us to piece together a more complete story of the events taking place in Barcelona in the first week of the month of May. And it fully confirms the view developed in the previous issue of this paper, namely: the so-called revolt of the anarchists in Barcelona was no revolt at all; it was an act of self-defense against an open attack of the counter-revolutionary forces organized under the banners of the Communist Party and the Catalanian petty-bourgeois groupings.

A Plot in Preparation

The attack had been planned for a long time. The manifesto issued by the C.N.T. after the events points out that plans for an attack upon the C.N.T. were made in the month of April and it was only due to the vigilance of our comrades that those plans were thwarted at that moment.

The political crisis was a part of the same conspiracy, the proof of which is that in spite of the considerable concessions made by the C.N.T. in order to have the crisis solved amicably, the same elements continued their drive in the direction of curtailing the power of the revolutionary bodies.

An attack was made upon the border town of Puicerda, punitive expeditions were sent against several anarchistic villages, pressure was exerted to put into practice the decree abolishing Workers' Patrols and placing all power into the hands of the old police forces. This decree was suspended under the pressure of the C.N.T., but now the talk of its renewal was coupled with an equally reactionary attempt to abolish the Popular Tribunals and replace them

became terrific: the police were firing from their building further up the street, and from nearby houses, and the C.N.T. were replying from the Casa, from the balconies and from the roof. The C.N.T. have plenty of guns, and machine guns and bombs; and the other side seem to have the same. The noise is terrible. Already there have been many killed and wounded.

There have been deliberate shootings-up on the part of the civil guard of members of the C.N.T. A motor left here yesterday afternoon, and it was stopped just up the road, and the occupants forced to alight. They were shot deliberately in cold blood. Some say that the callous, cowardly shooting was done by the U.G.T. I am not sure of that. But if the culprits were not members of the U.G.T., they belonged to the civil guard (police). They also shot up two motors full of C.N.T. people and refused to let the ambulance attend to them. But

with urgency courts composed of appointed magistrates.

Member of Former Fascist Organization Leader of Plot

All that, however, was but a prelude to the vaster plan of seizing power by a sudden coup which would make the Stalinist-bourgeois coalition the undisputed masters of Catalonia.

Who was heading the conspiracy?

There was Artemio Aiguade. (Now rewarded for his treachery with a cabinet seat in the new counter-revolutionary government of Valencia). Here is what the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Valencia (*Fragua Social*, May 13) writes of this closest ally of the Catalanian Stalinists:

"A few months ago a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was unearthed in Catalonia. It was headed by Denkas, the leader of the separatist organization (closely allied with the Italian Fascists). The President of the Parliament, Casanova, involved in this plot, escaped abroad. The Chief of Police, Reverter, was

(Continued on page three)

it is safe to realize that the Communist Party is a menace to the workers in their struggle. It is a party upholding reaction and desiring, loving and seeking power and place, which means also self.

There has been a proposal from

(Continued on page three)

The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c/o U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

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Vol. 1, No. 19



June 4, 1937

A CHANG-KAI-SHEK FOR SPAIN

The Government of Betrayal

No sooner did the first news of the changes within the Spanish government reach us than the newspapers began to carry accounts of the renewed drive of the "democratic" powers for an armistice in Spain.

This is no mere coincidence. There is a close connection between the recent political developments in Spain and the vigorous pressure for "a non-partisan government" now openly exerted by England and France through the League of Nations and the Non-Intervention Committee. The new government was formed not only to fight the revolution within the country, not only "to give guarantees against communism in Spain," as the New York Times correspondent assures us, but also to negotiate some sort of a compromise with England and France which would inevitably lead to the realization of the infamous plans of Messrs. Churchill, Eden and Delbos.

And surely the new government is not a government of victory. For how can victory be won if the C.N.T.—that is, more than half of the Spanish workers and peasants according to the socialist daily in Valencia "Adelante"—is eliminated from taking part in the organization of this victory? A government formed for the express purpose of fighting this most active force in the life of Spain, a government lacking even the support of the socialist unions, of (the most dynamic elements within the Socialist Party itself—such a government cannot carry on successfully a war against fascism.

The power of this government lies not in the support of the anti-fascist workers and peasants but in the powerful backing of England, France and Russia. It was the latter that was instrumental in forcing the governmental crisis and in eliminating the labor unions from the government. The crisis was preceded by a violent campaign carried on against the Largo Caballero government by the Communist Party of Spain. And can there be any doubt that the latter's policies are dictated by the exigencies of Russia's foreign diplomacy?

But Russia's policies in regard to Spain are closely linked up with those of the French government. And the latter, even according to the conservative "Le Temps," exerted powerful pressure upon the Spanish government in order to effect some sort of a compromise solution of the present conflict. This paper even forecast in one of its March issues the formation of the Negrin government with the backing of the communists, pointing out that such a government would be quite susceptible to the suggestions of foreign powers about settling the war through some sort of a compromise.

It will have to accept such a compromise as the sole guarantee against the revolutionary forces pressing from within. Like Thier's government in 1871, which effected a shameful peace with Bismark in order to assure his support against the gathering revolutionary storm, the present counter-revolutionary government of Spain, whose main reason for existence is the frantic fear on the part of the reactionary elements of the tremendous revolutionary forces unloosed by the struggle against Fascism, will have to cast about for some military support within the country against the revolution.

Such a military support can be built up only on the basis of a dictatorship of the kind which is openly advocated by England and silently pursued by the Russian and French governments. A CHANG-KAI-SHEK FOR SPAIN—THIS IS THE REAL AIM OF ALL THREE POWERS and the present "democratic" government is only a necessary step toward the realization of this aim.

For democracy in Spain means social revolution. Where, according to every objective testimony, the great mass of workers and peasants ardently desire basic changes in the social structure, an adequate expression of their will must take the course of revolutionary policies. The present so-called "democratic" government has been formed for the purpose of thwart-

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGHTING IN BARCELONA

(Continued from page one)

Comorera left for Valencia, issuing orders not to give out flour from the mills until he would come back. And, indeed, the Barcelona workers had to do without bread for several days, waiting until Comorera came back from his Ministerial voyage.

BRIBING THE POLICE AND LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

While the masses of Barcelona population were deprived of bread and potatoes, the bourgeoisie, the important personages in the police and political parties were plentifully supplied with the two products so essential in the food diet of the Barcelona workers.

What was the aim pursued by Comorera in those policies? It was to gain for the Communist Party and its petty-bourgeois allies the sympathies of the police forces. That is why he kept on pampering them, also promising the reactionary elements that by uniting forces with him, they would be able to put a stop to socialization and collectivization. And what's more, he promised the old police forces that the Workers' Patrols (defense body built up by the revolution) would be abolished and the authority of the old police would be established in full.

WIDE OPEN TOWN PROMISED BY COMMUNISTS

Comorera also promised those elements a monopoly of gambling and prostitution places, the opening of cabarets and other similar joints closed up by the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

The editor-in-chief of "Solidaridad Obrera," (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Barcelona), the genuine representative of the working masses of Catalonia, has in his possession a series of documents showing that during all this period of war and revolution those very elements—the police and politicians allied with Comorera—authorized and protected gambling, prostitution and the sale of passports to Fascists at the price of 7,500 pesetas per passport.

And it is those elements that now accuse our noble comrades of belonging to the Fascist "fifth column," of being the "uncontrollables," and of other infamies launched against militant revolutionaries. This is done by those who commercialize vice, who hope to make vice itself a factor in their

struggle to crush the revolution.

COMPROMISING DOCUMENTS NOT MADE PUBLIC FOR REASONS OF UNITY

The editor-in-chief has many more documentary proofs of the same nature, but the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. forbid their publication for the present moment. They did so in order to avoid a monumental scandal at the very moment when unity was so necessary. The comrades of the Regional Committee hate with all their soul those counter-revolutionary, base and morally degrading acts, but above all they want unity now. And so the greatest infamies are passed in silence while the communist, socialist and bourgeois press unloose their venomous attacks against the anarchists.

IT IS TIME TO SPEAK OUT

But is it possible to keep silent when the enemies of the revolution are made to appear before the world as true revolutionists and true revolutionists as "traitors of the revolution," "uncontrollables" who, according to communist slanders, are even detested by the F.A.I. and C.N.T. organizations themselves?

Is it possible to permit the slandering of our best comrades by those who live upon prostitution, gambling and robbing the people? Is it possible to keep on tolerating such things as stealing tanks with the help of faked documents in order to deliver them to the Civil Guard forces who were being prepared by Comorera, the Communist Party and its petty-bourgeois allies for an assault upon the anarchists?

Can we pass in silence such facts as publicly charging our comrades with not complying with the decrees of the Catalan Government while sending out secret instructions to the Peasant Union (Rabassaires) and the petty-bourgeois organizations not to comply with the collectivization and socialization decree?

Could our syndicates permit the abolition of Workers' Patrols if they are fully aware that the aim of this decree was to disarm the people and turn over the control to those forces who sold themselves to the bourgeoisie for the promise of getting the spoils of a wide open town?

Was it possible to tolerate a situation whereby avowed Fascists are allowed to cross the border with

passports faked by the politician gang of Barcelona? The reason why the latter fulminates so much against our comrades from the border towns of Purgcerda and Port Bou is because the latter confiscate the contraband of the Fascist gentlemen who cross the border with the protection of the Barcelona politicians.

WHAT EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW OF THE CATALONION SITUATION

Let everyone know that those who accuse the anarchists of being "uncontrollables" and "counter-revolutionists" are those who defend favoritism, special privileges and moral corruption, those who want to prevent the people from going on at the same time with the war and revolution.

And it is with those elements that the Moscow-directed communists have allied themselves. They did it because they lack strength or numbers in Catalonia and that is why they went for support to those elements who always hated and still hate the proletariat.

COMMUNISTS IN CATALONIA DRAW MAIN STRENGTH FROM PETTY-BOURGEOISIE

In Catalonia the organizations controlled by the P.S.U.C. (United Socialist-Communist Party; in reality a Moscow outfit) have close to 400,000 members, but only 50,000 of them are workers. Where do the rest come from? The truth is that their members are recruited from the Left bourgeois parties, from the ranks of merchants, factory owners, store keepers, proprietors of dubious places—all those whose interests are threatened by the revolution.

Why does the P.S.U.C. accept those elements? Because it has no forces in Catalonia to oppose the powerful C.N.T.-F.A.I. organizations which in Catalonia have more than a million members. That is why they have rallied all the counter-revolutionary elements in order to make war against the C.N.T.

The Communists want to crush the anarchist movement in Catalonia and that is the reason why they have allied themselves with the bourgeoisie, protecting its interests and trying to prevent the anarchists from carrying out their revolutionary plans.

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ing the will of the great mass of workers and peasants and that is why it must become an obedient tool of foreign governments.

And like all such tools it will be discarded when its usefulness is gone. Today it still serves the purpose: it camouflages the drive for a military dictatorship by its speciously democratic character. But let the revolutionary forces weaken for a moment and the drive for such a dictatorship will become irresistible. Already the first act of this "democratic" government was to dissolve the Madrid municipality and to turn over the civil power to General Miaja.

This is only the first step in the long range "democratic" policy of the Stalin government, which, acting in conjunction with the French General Staff, is working tirelessly in the direction of setting up a dictatorship in Spain as the only guarantee against the victory of revolutionary forces.

And the price of this guarantee will be not only the defeat of the most ardent hopes of the Spanish workers and peasants, another Paris Commune on a much vaster scale, but national humiliation such as is already indicated in the British and Belgian (with the concurrence of Vatican) plans for the "pacification" of the country and the restoring of "orderly democratic government."

ATTEMPTED COUP THWARTED BY BARCELONA WORKERS

(Continued from page one)

shot. Denkas himself is now enjoying the hospitality of Fascist Italy.

"Artemio Aiguadé, the Councilor of Public Order, (police) belonged to the same separatist group. And in his capacity of Chief of Police forces he used the latter as a weapon against the C.N.T."

Soviet Consul the Guiding

Brain of the Plot

Working hand in hand with this gentleman was the representative of the Stalinist outfit, Rodriguez Salas, who, according to the French weekly *Libertaire* took orders from Antonov Ovseenko in working out the plans for his unprovoked attack against the anarchists. (*The "Libertaire" claims that it has valid proofs of the fact that anarchist prisoners were grilled in the central quarter of the Catalonian Communist Party by Russians.*)

The plan worked out by the Stalinists was to seize control of the chief strategic centers of Barcelona, to disarm the anarchists by a sudden attack and to paralyze all possible resistance on their part. That was why the Telephone Exchange was chosen as the first place of attack, the orders for such an attack having been issued by the directing committee of the P.S.U.C. (Stalinist outfit).

Conspiracy Checked By Spontaneous Mass Resistance

But like the Fascist plans of nine months ago this latest plot was frustrated by the spontane-

ous resistance of the great mass of workers. Even the British papers (*Daily Herald* and *Manchester Guardian*) point out that the first ten days were marked by a thoroughgoing victory of the anarchist workers.

A considerable part of the police forces remained neutral, refusing to take arms against the workers. Many of the police were disarmed by the anarchists who easily overcame the forces sent against them, marching from the suburbs toward the center and surrounding the government buildings.

French Marines In Aid of Conspirators

Having been defeated in their first attempt to seize power, the same conspirators, acting through President Companys, began to issue frantic appeals for help addressed to the soldiers on the front, the Valencia government and the French government.

If the militia on the Aragon front heard this appeal they must have interpreted it in their own manner. It was either ignored or understood in the sense of having to defend the Barcelona workers against the conspirators. The French papers report that one company of militiamen left for Barcelona to fight with the workers.

The French government, however, responded very heartily. Immediately a detachment of French marines was landed in Barcelona and on May 7, according to "*L'Espagne Nouvelle*," the Government palace was guarded by French military

forces, coming from the French warships, which stood on watch in the harbor with their canons menacingly directed at Barcelona.

Results of Conciliatory Policy

How the Valencia government responded to the same appeals for help is already known to the readers. Coupled to that was the conciliatory policy of the leading C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations which tried to keep the movement within the confines of self-defense. It is as a result of this policy that the victory of the first few days, which placed the entire Catalonia within the hands of the C.N.T. forces, ended in a compromise solution with the attendant loss of a few important strategic positions. The anarchists retained their arms, their control over the major functions of economic life, but their demand for the dissolution of the reactionary shock troops was circumvented by meaningless promises, and in the government itself the position of the anarchists shrunk to a still smaller place than that held in the old Council.

Hope of Revolutionary Unity

Reason of Conciliatory Policy

What accounts for this conciliatory policy on the part of the

tended to see the struggle through to the bitter end, I would not worry. It is not the result but the compromise that hurts. For the compromise brings no peace. And that is terrible. The struggle will break out again and again, and each time the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will have less and less chance. And the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will lose everything, because they are so much finer than the Communist Party, and by their sacrifices and struggle have made the defeat of Fascism possible.

Letters are neither coming in nor going out.

Barcelona, May 6, 1937

Possibly, the Valencia Government will step in, and if the C.N.T.-F.A.I. do not agree to its decrees, an attempt will be made to force the Anarchists into submission. I wish I could see the end. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. must stand firm or they are lost. They want the Inner Committee of the Generalitat dissolved, and control in the hands of the syndicates. This demand must be secured.

Back to Normalcy

Barcelona, 9th May, 1937.

I sent you a letter dealing with the trouble here two or three days ago. At that time things were not at all settled. Now things are quite quiet and seemingly back to normal again, though I am afraid it is more seeming than real.

The cuttings you sent all blamed the anarchists for the trouble, but they were not in any way whatever to blame. They have all the time adopted an attitude of conciliation and have compromised themselves almost out of existence in their eagerness to preserve anti-fascist unity. They ought, when this thing was thrust upon them, to have made a definite stand and put an end to it once for all and taken control. This will happen again, and each

leading elements of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.?

Judging by the latest issues of the C.N.T. papers the main deterrent in the pursuit of a more resolute policy is the fear of seriously impairing the growing chances of a genuine understanding with the more moderate section of the working class—the socialist unions of the U.G.T.

Such chances are growing from day to day. The U.G.T. workers are swept to an ever greater extent into the revolutionary work of reconstruction, and it is their pressure that makes itself felt in the greater willingness of the bureaucratic leadership of the U.G.T. to arrive at some sort of an understanding with the C.N.T. on the basis of the acceptance of certain elementary ideas in regard to the revolution.

An understanding of this sort is viewed by the C.N.T. as a great victory, justifying temporary concessions. For above all, the anarchists prize revolutionary proletarian unity which to them is the best guarantee against the possibility of the revolution degenerating into some sort of dictatorship.

time their compromising will further and further weaken them, and their enemies will take advantage of their decency, because they are quite unscrupulous.

Workers Are With Anarchists

The anarchists demanded the disarming of the Police Guards and Assault Guards. But these guards still carry their arms, and they won't be disarmed no matter what promises may have been given by the Government. While the conferences and discussions were going on the anarchists ceased fighting, and not a shot was fired from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Casa. We were in it all the time and can vouch for that, but the other side still continued to fire, and shot up any stray motor cars, and held up people on the streets. Now the attitude adopted by the Government (the Generalitat) is as though the anarchists had been in the wrong and they had to come in and keep peace, when it was they, the Government of the country, that made war on the people, who had to defend themselves against those who are supposed to defend them. Barcelona is full of Assault Guards, and they strut about the streets in groups of three and four, never singly, their barricades are still up in many places and still manned, although ours have been taken down. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have been far too weak and the others have been aggressive all the time. Of course the intention was, on the part of the Generalitat, supported by the U.G.T. and the I.S.U.C. to try and take their arms from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. They may even have wanted to cause the militia to return from the fronts to defend the anarchists so that there might be caused a crisis that would permit interference from the outside. In view of these possibilities it was necessary to put an end to the uprising and not play into the hands of the Government and the "Communists." But the anarchists should not have conceded all along the line. They should have taken a firm stand and refused to discuss peace until those who caused the trouble were disarmed

ANARCHISTS GAIN IN CASTILE

In Castile (central province of Spain), prior to the Fascist rebellion, the anarcho-syndicalist organization (C.N.T.) was in the minority. With all that the organization succeeded in drawing the great mass of Madrid workers into a series of revolutionary strikes and mass actions of an unprecedented sweep and intensity.

Less favorable was the position of the C.N.T. organization in the Castilian villages. It was more difficult to reach by anarcho-syndicalist propaganda, the simple peasants of that province. There, the U.G.T. (reformist unions controlled by socialists and communists) reigned supreme. Incidentally, this affords another illustration to the naive Marxist theory which linked up Spanish anarchism with primitive peasantry.

But now the C.N.T. is no more a minority organization in Madrid. Its Madrid membership is as large as that of the U.G.T. Likewise, astonishing progress is being made in the Castilian villages. Entire organizations leave the U.G.T. to join the C.N.T. This has become a thorn in the eyes of the Communist Party which tries to use the U.G.T. unions as an instrumentality for the attainment of dictatorial power.

That is why the Communists (Stalinists) fall back upon terror in their frantic attempts to check the growth of the anarcho-syndicalist organization in the province of Castile. During the last month more than eighty comrades were killed in Madrid as a result of systematic assaults organized by the Stalinists. In Villanueva alone (a village in the Toledo province) 16 C.N.T. members were assassinated by Communist militiamen who were not even a part of local police forces.

The Communist representative in the Madrid Defense Council, Cazorla uses his position of Chief of Police in order to persecute the C.N.T. militants in the most furious manner. Recently he even arrested as a would-be Fascist one of the most outstanding military figures, comrade Verlardini, the Chief of the Staff of the Mera division (an anarchist division noted for its heroic part in the battles on the Madrid and Guadalajara fronts.) This comrade, of course, had to be released soon, since even General Miaja qualified this act on the part of the Communist Chief of Police as an "inadmissible" one.

—(From the German Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., No. 42)

and disbanded. They could have done that, because the support of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona is very definite yet. The workers are all with them.

BRITISH COMRADE REPORTS BARCELONA EVENTS

(Continued from page one)

the Generalitat to form a new Government, and ensure a stopping of hostilities. But the C.N.T. want the police (civil guard) disbanded, and brought under the control of the syndicates in future. There is a settlement coming, I think. They intend to make a compromise. There is a conference at the Generalitat, and everything is being blamed on the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Police, both Esquerria, but Communist Party supporters or sympathisers, because the Generalitat does not want to admit the Communist Party influence behind the trouble. The C.N.T. will agree to a compromise. The C.N.T. want the trouble stopped because there are so many issues at stake. On one thing they are definite. The Minister of Interior, and Rodriguez Salas, the Chief of Police, must be dismissed. Until these dismissals take place, the C.N.T. will not talk of anything else. The new Government is to put an end to hostilities and bring about peace. Even as they are sitting discussing, the firing is going on, and we have seen from some of the windows civil guards attempting to take up further posi-

tions to be in a better position to attack the Casa.

I do not think there is any solution except the elimination of the Communist Party and the small bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie will be finished if their economic power is taken from them, but the Communist Party must be cleared out of everything, especially of the U.G.T. and the Generalitat. And the C.N.T. must keep control of everything.

Vive La F.A.I.

The Generalitat issue the Ration Cards. Many women came here this morning who had been at the Generalitat this morning to have their cards renewed. Because they were F.A.I. members, the Generalitat refused to renew them. The Government officials said with a sneer: "Vive la F.A.I.," and when the women replied: "Yes, Vive la F.A.I.!" the officials threw the cards back at them, and said, "Then get your ration cards from the F.A.I."

The Policy of Compromises

It is a terrible business. If I thought that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in-

FAMOUS ANARCHIST THINKER ASSASSINATED BY BARCELONA CHEKISTS

The International anarchist movement suffered a heavy loss. Camillo Berneri, one of the most brilliant anarchist thinkers, a great and inspiring figure, such as is frequently found in the intensely idealistic Italian anarchist movement, was murdered by the Communist agents in Barcelona.

He was murdered in the same vile manner as Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Dragged out, together with his companion, from his house at the day the fighting began in Barcelona, he was found dead on the streets two days later, his body pierced by bullets and slashed open with a knife.

It was a premeditated murder, since Berneri was taken out from his home and not found fighting on the streets. He was on the proscription list of the sinister alliance—the unholy alliance of Stalinists, corrupt police officers and underworld characters of Barcelona. He was singled out because of his great services in the cause of the Spanish revolution, the services of a powerful, trained

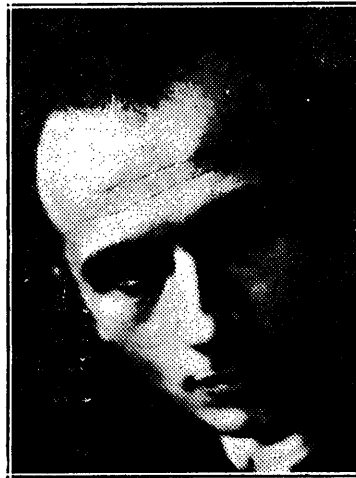
intellect and a noble character thoroughly permeated with the spirit of the revolutionary teachings of anarchism.

Camillo Berneri came to Spain together with many other heroic Italian comrades now fighting on the numerous battle-fronts. He came there after fifteen years of life as an exile, haunted by the democratic governments of France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. A professor of philosophy in one of the Italian universities (before his escape from Italy in 1926) he placed his vast culture and learning at the service of the anarchist ideal.

In Spain he joined the militia fighting at the Aragon front. But later the Italian and Spanish comrades prevailed upon him to take over the editing of an Italian paper in Barcelona (*Guerra di Classi*). Under his editorship the paper became one of the most powerful publications, exercising an influence far exceeding the relatively small circle of Italian anarchists in Spain. He brought his great knowledge of theory

and history of the revolutionary movement to bear upon the complicated problems of the revolution, exercising a profound and ever increasing influence upon the vanguard of the anarchist movement in Spain.

And as a result of that Berneri became one of the best hated men in the Stalinist and bourgeois circles. And he also became a marked man, one of the first to be picked out according to the secret list of the secret Che-Ka now built up by the Moscow agents in Spain. (Berneri was taken out by a



CAMILLO BERNERI

Anarchist Thinker Assassinated by Communist Agents

leaders now come out with statements which not even the representatives of the catholic Basque government dare backing up. For even the latter have to pay lip service to the profoundly social nature of the struggle now going on in Spain. But here is what the Secretary of the Unified Socialist Youth writes in the socialist daily *Claridad* (May 1):

"We are fighting for a democratic republic and not for a socialist revolution. This is not a tactical manoeuvre on our part. We are not deceiving anyone by saying that we are fighting for a democratic republic. We are sincere about it, for we realize that if we fought for a socialist revolution in our country we would assure victory to the Fascists."

The Hand of Moscow Government

The answer is simple. Nothing has changed in the Spanish situation to warrant a radical turn of the erstwhile revolutionary youth into the direction of extreme reformism. It is the intervention of the powerful outside agency—the Moscow government—that wrought such powerful changes.

The intervention of the Moscow government, backed up as

THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION

OF SPAIN IS IN DANGER

It is threatened not only by the Fascist powers, but by the still more dangerous coalition of France, England and Soviet Russia, all leagued against the revolution.

The more reason for all libertarians to unite in defense of it.

Build a Federation of Libertarian Organizations throughout the whole country.

company consisting of six Assault Guards and six Communists.)

The most evident sign of Fascist degeneracy is the hatred of men of intellect, of honest thinkers and fearless searchers after truth. In picking a man of that calibre as the first victim of the secretly planned purge, the Stalinists have shown once more to what extent they infected the socialist movement which the same terrible disease which is now haunting the life of the people in Germany and Italy.

it was by military aid given at one of the most critical moments of the Spanish struggle, was accompanied by a tremendous pressure on the leadership of the united socialist youth. The result was a "merger" between the numerous, widely influential Socialist Youth and the insignificant Communist Youth.

It was a curious form of "merging," since it was not preceded by any discussion or any democratic procedure of consulting the rank and file of the Socialist Youth organizations. It was engineered from the top in a purely bureaucratic manner. **The leaders of the Socialist Youth decided upon it, and immediately upon the merging taking place they joined the Communist Party, not even as rank and file members, but as members of its Central Executive Committee.**

A Totalitarian Tool of An Aspiring Dictatorship

This simple act of betrayal on the part of the leadership of the Socialist Youth organization placed the latter under the complete domination of the Communist Party. Its press, as it is proven by the ex-editor of the socialist paper *Claridad*, Leoncio Perez, is controlled by communists. It follows slavishly the line laid down by Moscow, having launched a vicious campaign against the "trotskyites" (a year ago its leaders were quite sympathetic to Trotsky's cause) and having renounced everything they fought for since the October revolt of 1934.

Their first act was to call for a merger with the Catholic and Republican youth, to transform the erstwhile revolutionary organization into a colorless conglomeration of heterogeneous

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elements whipped into shape by a totalitarian dictatorship.

Revolts Within and Without

This policy could not but run up into powerful opposition of the revolutionary elements within and without this organization

It stands to reason, of course, that the Libertarian Youth set itself resolutely against the policies of the Communist auxiliaries among the youth. Of no less importance, however, is the wave of revolts and oppositionary outbursts which this policy provoked within the membership of the Unified Socialist Youth.

The Asturian member of the Central Executive Committee of this organization resigned in protest against the reformist policies and dictatorial methods of the Communist leadership. A vigorous protest against those very policies was raised by the Levante (Valencia) locals and prominent Madrid members. (The ex-editor of the Socialist daily *Claridad*).

And as the editor of the C.N.T. daily pointed out in connection with those revolts (C.N.T. May 4): "We witness now within the Unified Socialist Youth not an ordinary crisis but a volcanic agitation which is bound to break forth soon with a tremendous force. This will lead not to the death of this organization, which contains thousands of active militants, but to the wiping away of the treason against revolutionary principles committed by its present leaders."

WHITHER PROLETARIAN YOUTH OF SPAIN?

The Bankruptcy of the Communist-Controlled Organization

Next to the Communist Party in importance as an anti-revolutionary factor in present day Spain is the so-called Unified Socialist Youth, an organization which, contrary to its name, is not a genuine organization of socialist youth, but is a synthetic product created by the Communist Party and inflated by it to the measure of a sizable factor.

Socialist Youth for Revolution a Year Ago

Nominally, it is still predominantly socialistic in character. Its membership consists of sincere socialists with a good sprinkling of active revolutionists. And how could it be otherwise?

Only a year ago it was in the forefront of revolutionary struggles. The Socialist Youth was the main prop of the left-wing faction within the Socialist Party. Its leaders declared themselves in favor of an immediate social revolution, of a closer understanding with the C.N.T.-

F.A.I. and a resolute struggle against the economic roots of Fascism. No other organization—that is outside of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.—reflected as much the leftward swing of the Spanish masses which became so noticeable after the October revolt of 1934. And certainly the sensational course of the last year events could not have reversed the direction of popular sympathies. If anything the Spanish masses have become more, and not less revolutionary during the last year.

Reformists Overnight

How is it that the very same organization which only a year ago fought so stubbornly against the reformist policies of Prieto and other leaders of the "old guard," declares now through its General-Secretary (Santiago Carillo) that "anyone who fights for socialization is a Fascist agent"? (Quoted from *Acracia*, April 28.). How is it that its

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