

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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MOSCOW TRIALS ON SPANISH SOIL

ARREST OF P.O.U.M. LEADERS — TOWARD A "CO-ORDINATED" PRESS — LEFT-SOCIALISTS TURN LEFT — THE RISING GROUND SWELL OF REVOLUTION

Next to the fall of Bilbao the most important news item coming from Spain is the brief report about the arrest of the P.O.U.M. leaders, army officers and leaders of other organizations, all charged, in the true Moscow style, with complicity in the Fascist plot.

There has been no confirmation of this report nor any further details. There is little doubt, however, that some sinister plot against the revolutionary elements is being worked out by the Moscow agents. Whether "leaders of other organizations" means the anarchists or members of some other organization, but the arrest of Andreas Nin, Gorkin (the editor of *La Batalla*) and other P.O.U.M. leaders signifies the beginning of the offensive against the revolution, hinted at in the speeches of the Government leaders and compared with which the recent provocations in Barcelona are only feeble beginnings.

The long hand of Moscow did not reach out suddenly for its Spanish victims. It was gradually preparing the ground for this sudden coup, laying the stage for a trial (if the victims will survive the tortures of the Madrid Che-Ka) which will, perhaps, surpass in its infamy the ones that were recently held in Moscow. And before everything else it prepared the effective strangulation of public opinion.

Control of censorship is one of the prices extorted by the Russian Government in exchange for material aid. As a result, the independent press of the country, with the exception of that belonging to the anarchist and left socialists, is gradually being "co-ordinated" in the Nazi fashion. The anarchist press is beginning to feel the heavy hand of the Moscow Fascists to an increasing extent.

Blank spaces are on the increase on the pages of anarchist papers and the frequency with which the latter are fined, suspended and closed up points very clearly to the ultimate designs of the Moscow-controlled government in regard to the anarchist press.

The left-Socialist Press is meanwhile spared, although, judging by the vicious attacks of the Communist (Continued on page three)

WORKERS RESIST REACTIONARY MOVE

CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA

JUNE 22, 1937

No municipalization without workers' consent, says C.N.T.

Drive intensified against agricultural collectives.

Esquerra (Republican Party of Catalonia) recognizes workers as leading element.

Ed. note The latest move to wrest control of the industries from workers' unions was initiated by the Communist Party under the guise of a campaign to place the industries in the hands of the municipalities.

The C.N.T. is not opposed to municipal control provided it goes hand in hand with a certain form of workers' management. But it is most emphatically opposed to the present plan of turning over the industries to a purely political body into which the Catalonian Communists, acting in conjunction with the reactionary government of Valencia, tend to transform the present municipalities by eliminating the unions from any participation in municipal administration.

* * * * *

The bow made in the direction of the workers' organization by the *Esquerra* (Left-Republican organization of Catalonia) points to a very significant tendency: The liberal elements are beginning to assert themselves in a party which until recently let itself be towed meekly by its semi-Fascist elements and their Stalinist ally—the P.S.U.C. (United Communist Socialist Party).

The defeat of the P.S.U.C. proposal (to take away the Public Services and entertainments from workers' organizations and to turn them over to the municipalities) reported in the last cablegram from Barcelona (*Spanish Revolution*, June 18) probably, has something to do with this belated self-assertion of the liberal elements of Catalonia.

C.N.T. MAPS PLANS TO FIGHT COUNTER-REVOLUTION

"No Collaboration with Reactionary Government"

Immediately after the last political crisis the National Committee of the C.N.T. called a plenary session of all the regional Committees to deal with the situation. The decisions taken at that session were of great importance in determining the attitude adopted by the C.N.T. organization in face of the continuing provocation of the new reactionary government.

The C.N.T. Attitude Toward The New Government

(From *Combat Syndicaliste* and Spanish Bulletin of C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

"It was decided:

a) "Not to collaborate in any form, direct or indirect, with the new government.

b) "To start an intensive campaign of propaganda criticizing the work of the new government, exposing its counter-revolutionary nature and its plans to negotiate a shameful peace with the Fascists. This propaganda should be extended to the war fronts and placed within the reach of the soldiers in the army.

c) "To arrive at an under-

standing with the U.G.T. in order to carry on jointly the opposition to the Government.

d) "To do everything possible in order to have those decisions accepted by the workers at the point of production, in their syndicates and in other places where joint action with the workers of the U.G.T. can be obtained. And everywhere a persistent campaign should be carried on in favor of a revolutionary alliance with the U.G.T.

(Continued on page three)

The SPANISH REVOLUTION HAS NOT BEEN CRUSHED BUT IT IS IN DANGER!

STATE CAPITALISM AIM OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN CATALONIA

"Municipalization" Program Deciphered—Former Agents of Private Monopolies Become Sudden Converts to Municipal Socialism—Communist Leader Pleads Cause of Foreign Capital.

Counter-Revolution Is Manoeuvring

From the very first period of its formation the counter-revolutionary bloc headed by the Communist Party of Spain set itself the clearly defined objective of liquidating the revolution of July 19. Its aim was to restore the capitalist system, to wrest political and economic control from the labor organizations, to fascize labor unions by beating them into submission and transforming them into an obedient tool of the State, and finally, to turn over the latter into the hands of a single, totalitarian Party representing the interests of "the nation as a whole." (The Communist drive to merge the Socialist and Communist Parties, as it was done in Catalonia, to dissolve the proletarian organizations of youth in an "all-national" organization embracing Catholics and bourgeois Republicans and manipulated by a hand-picked dictatorial committee.)

The aims of the counter-revolution have by now become sufficiently clear. Not so, however, its tactical line. The revolution, although weakened considerably by the last defeats and compromises, is still too formidable a force, at least in its potential power of resistance, to be assaulted in a frontal attack. Hence the flanking movement, the camouflaging policy, the pseudo-revolutionary slogans characterizing the tactics of the counter-revolution.

State Capitalism in the Guise of Municipalization

And one of the clearest examples of such a flanking movement is the latest drive initiated by the Communist and bourgeois parties of Catalonia, to "municipalize" the transport and Public Service industries now held by worker's unions.

In Catalonia, as is known, the big industries were taken over by the workers immediately after

the events of July 19. Transport and Public Service industries were the first to be taken over, and it was in those industries that the workers achieved the most signal success, in spite of the tremendous handicaps incidental to the transitional period of a revolutionary economy.

Needless to say, the attitude of the Communist and Republican (the nationalist *Esquerra*) parties was that of rank hostility. Confined at first to a whispering campaign, the attacks of those elements assumed the form of open vilification as soon as the sworn enemies of the revolution found themselves safely sheltered from the workers' wrath under the umbrage of Russian tanks and aeroplanes.

Counter-Revolution Spurred on By Outcome of Barcelona Events

However, until the recent shift of political forces in Catalonia and the rest of Spain no serious attempts were made to dislodge the workers' organization from their newly won economic strongholds. The violent campaign of defamation, of heaping ridicule upon the "infantile economic experiments" as the Communist press labeled all the collectivizations, led only to systematic sabotage and occasional legislative sallies on the part of the bourgeois-Communist bloc designed to set up additional difficulties in the way of economic reconstruction along the lines of a syndicalist revolution.

The political victory of those elements during the last month emboldened them to a more vigorous drive against collectivizations. Now, they believe, the moment has arrived for wresting economic control from the labor unions and lodging it, if not in the hands of the former masters, (Continued on page three)

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

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July 2, 1937

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.

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)

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 Tribunal, 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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STATE CAPITALISM 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 Catalonian 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 Catalonian 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 Catalonian 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."

"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 Catalonian government by way of credit advances.

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

Conspiracy Nears Its Climax

This interdependence still remains. And the Communist Party, which is gradually swallowing up the old "Esquerra," has become the heir to those allegiances and loyalties. Comorera, the leader of the Communist Party of Catalonia, goes on a mysterious trip to Paris, has some mysterious dates with the former financial magnates of Barcelona and comes back with the slogan of municipalization of Public Services, elimination of the C.N.T. from municipal administration and the necessity of making peace with foreign capital.

The Solidaridad Obrera is striking alarm: "the Revolution is in danger." And well it may do so. The gigantic conspiracy of French and British capitalism, acting in conjunction with the Soviet Government and its allied agencies—the Communist Party of Spain and Catalonia—is already nearing its climax.

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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 coordinated 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 Harnandez 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.

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 Revolu-

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

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.)

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!

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 reevaluation 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

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.”

Street Corner Meetings on Spain

are held every

THURSDAY EVENING

by the U.L.O.

of New York City.

Place of meeting:

COR. of E. 10th STREET

and SECOND AVE.

Meetings Start at 7 P.M.

THE U.L.O. GROUP OF MOHEGAN COLONY
will hold a

P I C N I C

SUNDAY, JULY 4th, 1937

On Murashko's Lawn

LISTON OAK, Spanish Correspondent for British
and American Press, will Speak on His
EXPERIENCES IN SPAIN