

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

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## THE GREATER PROMISES OF JULY NINETEEN

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

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

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

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

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

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## UNIONS FORGING A NEW REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

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

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

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

### Majority for Revolutionary Policy

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

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## TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

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

### Opening Shot of Communist Offensive

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

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

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

## WHO PLOTTED THE UPRISING IN BARCELONA

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

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

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

### PUNISHING REVOLUTIONISTS FOR "COUNTER-REVOLUTION"

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

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

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

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

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

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## HOW POLITICAL CRISES ARE MADE

### SECRET COMMUNIST INSTRUCTIONS REVEALED

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

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

### The SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR CONTINUOUS AID

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

(Continued on page two)

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

READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

## ALL OUT ON UNION SQUARE MONDAY, JULY 19th

MASS MEETING to commemorate the first anniversary of the Spanish Revolution.

SPEAKERS: Liston Oak, Carlo Tresca, Sam Weiner, Harry Meyers, Robert Strong and others.  
Chairman: Walter Starret.

MEETING BEGINS 5:00 P.M.

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations of New York

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## THE GREATER PROMISES OF JULY 19

(Continued from page one)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## FORGING A NEW UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

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

### Negotiations with C.N.T.

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

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

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

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

### Communist Influence Strong Only Among Non-Proletarian Elements

"The U.G.T.—writes the well informed correspondent of the "La Revolution Proletarienne"—varies with every province in its social composition and policies pursued. In Catalonia the U.G.T. is petty-bourgeois in its make-up (store keepers, small shop owners and artisans). It was created by the Stalinists and is now completely dominated by them.

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

### Land Workers Form United

#### Stand Against Communists

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

## HOW POLITICAL CRISES ARE MADE

(Continued from page one)

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

### Communist Instructions

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

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

"Conversations with the Val-

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

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

### A Strong Government

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

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

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

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

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

### An Irrepressible Trend

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

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

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

## WHO PLOTTED UPRISING IN BARCELONA?

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

### SURVIVORS OF FORMER PLOTS

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

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

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

### FASCIST CONSPIRATORS

#### AT WORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

### COMMUNIST LEADER MEETS

#### FASCIST AGENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### IS IT A MERE COINCIDENCE ONLY?

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

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

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

ant syndicate is 180,000 strong.

### C.N.T. on the Front

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

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

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

the government.

### COMMUNIST ALLIES

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

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

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

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

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

## A LETTER FROM SPAIN

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

Dear Comrade Oak:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fraternally,

Charlie Orr.

## C.N.T. STILL REMAINS A FORCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Anarchist Press Most Influential

With its 220,000 circulation the "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarcho-syndicalist daily) is the most important newspaper of Catalonia and Spain. "La Vanguardia" (Left Republicans of Catalonia) follows it with its 135,000 circulation. "Fragua Social," the C.N.T. daily of Valencia, has the largest circulation in that city. "Adelante" (socialist) daily and "Frente Rogo" (communist) have only five and three thousand respectively. "Castilla Libre" and "CNT" (anarcho-syndicalist dailies in Madrid) have thirty-five and thirty thousand circulation each. "Castilla Libre" sells more than any other newspaper in Madrid.

"The number of newspapers published by the C.N.T., F.A.I. and "Libertarian Youth" organizations is close to sixty, that is without counting the numerous Information Bulletins."

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## TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

(Continued from page one)

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

### Government Falls In Line

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

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

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

The outlawing of P. O. U. M.

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

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

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

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

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

### F.A.I. Comes Next

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

tion in the Popular Tribunals. This ruling evoked many protests from all kinds of Popular Front organizations but the government is following the dictates of a party which places obedience to Moscow above the public opinion of its own country. Today it is the P.O.U.M. tomorrow it will be the F.A.I., C.N.T., the left wing socialists, (who are already branded as camouflaged fascists), any sort of opposition, any independent movement and opinion.

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

### Revolution Is Not Dead

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among other questions asked were also the following:

1. Who opposes the peasant collectives?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—From "Manchester Guardian"

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

Receipt No.	Amount
232—Libertarian Group (Ruth)—List 465 . . . . .	\$5.45
233—Libertarian Group (Ruth)—East Side United Front . . . . .	8.50
234—Louis . . . . .	42.50
235—Dorothy and Charlie, W. Va. (Ruth) . . . . .	2.00
236—Freedom Group (Sarah Cohen) East Side United Front . . . . .	8.50
237—One Big Union Club (Peterson) E. S. United Front . . . . .	8.50
238—P. Rachmanenkov, Baltimore, Md. . . . .	28.00
239—For Spanish Fund . . . . .	3.00
240—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) . . . . .	17.50
241—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) . . . . .	11.00
242—Branch Svijetlo No. 4301 and Lodge Mir Medju Name No. 228—Roman Vidas, Lyons, Ill. . . . .	84.70
243—Grodins Shops, via J. Frager . . . . .	8.50
244—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) . . . . .	12.25
	\$240.40
PREVIOUS BALANCE . . . . .	\$867.85
TOTAL ON HAND . . . . .	\$1108.25