SHELTER CLASS ENEMIES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

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CLASS TERROR AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY PALESTINIANS

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

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THE FALL OF BILBAO

A Tragic Warning to Anti-Fascist Spain

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

It fell not because of lack of heroic resistance on the part of the workers and peasants. The fighting qualities of the rank and file troops of the Basque army have been fully tested in the incessant battles and clashing offensives carried out when ever 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 if the Third Republic fell. But 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 saved the Fascists their long-desired victory. 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 numbers.

"Not even the Invincible heavy gun," writes the correspondent of the "New York Times," "could have destroyed some of these underground fortifications with their three ar- mored concrete tiers and block houses spaced about these miles above the city. To conquer Bilbao, it was necessary to storm the very insignificant garrison of 200 people to that of 50,000."

FASCIST EARMARKS

Thus the military elements that form the driving power of the Fascist movement all over the world—wielding the knife of industrial terrorism, and the Kissel of the fascist curtailed. Moreover toward workers' militias, the fascist bands are the terror of the people and the agents of revolution. And the very fact that there are such men is a serious blow to the Fascist movement.

SUTILATIONS AND TORTURES

In Catalonia, during the recent weeks, many workers were executed by the Fascists in the so-called "lookout fashion." Berruguete's body (Bere- gunate)—one of the greatest men in the history of the world, was thrown or hung or trampled or burned or assassinated by the agents of the sector Che-Ko in Barcelona. Among the Fascists, one of the above mentioned was found all sliced up with a knife.

There are reports of horrible miscarriages of justice practiced against the anarchist militants by the agents of the Communist Che-Ko. These reports have been confirmed by the authorities who have not made any attempt to hide the facts.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS

Only people with a Fascist mind can possibly understand the need for a flagrant violation of the laws of humanity 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)
REVELATION OF THE ECONOMY OF CATALONIA IS A RATIONAL AND JUST SYSTEM

A LIBERAL VOICES OPINION

The new revolutionary economy of Catalonia is now being vigorously attacked by the Communist Party as a "ridiculous experiment," the "product of infantilism," "the dictatorship of intellectuals." It is a curious development to be 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 crude conclusions as far as the economic results of the system. We are in a stage in which it is not possible to see too clearly what the future holds for this system. There are certain collectivized industries which it is easy to identify, and the workers have a sufficient number of examples to enable them to understand the functioning of the industries. There are, however, industries that lack the leadership and funds that are needed for a systematic development of the industrial plant."

"Others are providing some evidence of the good market obtained for their products. And with these industries the lack of capital is an obstacle to them."

(End note: the statement was made about two months ago. Since then a great deal has been accomplished by way of knitting up the industries into a well-organized financial system.

A Rational System

"Cooperatives and their 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 FEW STAGNATIONS."

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

(Moscow, June 12)

C.T.N. FIGHTS COUNTER-REVOLUTION

(CNNT from page one)

(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 are born in the heat of the revolution when they were an important factor in the economic reconstruction of the country and that they have followed the revolutionary road in favour as circumstances permitted them to do so.

f) In these councils the comrades should try to arrive at understanding with the so-called 'old guard'-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 of the Republican Left than among the Stalinists of Spain.)

The SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR CONTINUOUS AID

The general sense of the resolutions introduced by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. committees to call immediately a Plenum of all Regional Commissaries in order to lay down the basic tactical line for the movement.

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

Defense of Economic Conquests of Revolution

A Committee was designated by the Plenum to work out a plan of legal and revolutionary defense of the economic positions gained during the Revolution in the towns of municipal administration and the taking over of the most important economic units of the municipalities would mean the passing of economic control of the middle classes and the personal interests of the Catalan cities. It means the rule of the bureaucrat, the Fascist economy along the Italian model, an economic system not 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 Fascists (Fascist Party) are drawing strength from the very social classes which were mainly interested in the triumph of Fascism in Italy and Germany. The boundary line between the "Esquerra," and the Communist Party of Catalonia is very tenuous. (Even Eichhorst, the pro-Communist correspondent for the New Republic has admitted that "most of the municipalities in Catalonia are not free from the influence of the Fascists, and the Fascist trend of the past few months has increased the influence of the Fascists among the members of the catalanist political life.") And it is bound to vanish in some few months, not because of the elections' result, but due to the two parties involved by the economy of State Capitalism.

Planning to Re-establish Power of Capitalist State

In the capital state, however, the economic control of Financiera-Capitalist State, the Red Fatherland, has its main strength. The National is reorganizing the State financial corporations which controlled the entire in the revolution prior to July 19. In the past the bourgeoisie parties of Catalonia were the political agents of those corporations, mainly controlled from the financial centers of London and Paris. The U.C.T. and C.N.T. workers were as closely interrelated with those State public corporations as the factories and the financial interests of New York city.

The Spanish workers are striking alarm: "The Revolution in danger." And well it may do so. The gigantic conspiracy of French and British capitalists, acting in conjunction with the Soviet Government, is really a declaration of war against these agencies—the Communist Party of Spain and Catalonia is already nearing its climax.

We Expect Soon

A PAMPHELLE FROM SPAIN on the BARCELONA EVENTS by AUGUSTIN SOUCHY (In English)

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COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

Socialist Protests Persecution of Collectives

A TYPICAL PEASANT MOVEMENT—COLLECTIVES IMPORTANT ECONOMIC FACTOR—WHO IS OPPOSED TO AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES?—COMMUNIST MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE BICKS VILLAGE "KULAKS"—Socialists Protest Communist Policies

To many people the attitude of the Communist Party toward the collective peasant syndicates of Spain seems incredible. They find it hard to reconcile the present policy pursued in Spain with the charge of persecution 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 socialistic 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 Union.

The picture unfolded in this document is one which is frequently described in the anarchist press. The Communist Party, it is argued,陷 the collective peasant syndicates, and the result is that the C.N.T. influence is weaker than that of the Socialist Union.

The picture unfolded in this document is one which is frequently described in the anarchist press. The Communist Party, it is argued, has been attacking the peasant syndicates in order to strengthen the influence of the C.N.T. in the countryside.

TRUE ANTI-FASCISM IS REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERTARIAN

One of the most hopeful aspects of the present situation in Spain is the gradual re-emergence 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, these moves are being followed with interest by the majority of the officials of the Democratic Party, which is controlled by the Communist Minister.

It is at this very tendency on the part of the official representative of the government, against the Spanish anarchists, that is carried on by the D.A.P. 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 this light of his revelations that one can understand why the Peasant Federation of another province—León—denounced the Communist Minister of Agriculture as Public Enemy Number One.

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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 Jussieu 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 the penetration of the people's spirit."—Stalin

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and SECOND AVE.

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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 Fascism. Million 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 headlong. They had to improvise their own system of defense, for the old democratic State had broken down. The democratic government of Arana 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 destruction 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 the beginning of a great anti-Fascist struggle which turned back the seemingly irresistible wave of world-wide reaction, but also the opening date of a great social revolution, the second one of our time, coming as the successor and the heir of the October Revolution.

(Continued on page two)

UNIONS FORGING A NEW REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

The key to the revolutionary situation of Spain and its immediate perspectives lies now to a certain extent in the hands of the U.G.T. unions, that is to say in the 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 homogeneous 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. of the Gaullists—which is opposed to the persecutions of C.N.T.-F.A.I. and to the 930 thousand affiliates as against the 650 thousands of Moscow followers. In Valencia, after the liquidation of the gaullist government, manifestos were published.

(Continued on page four)

TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

Judged by the surface indications of its government policies, the C.N.T. is now rapidly taking 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 take over to the country the dictatorship of a single, totalitarian Party—all that represents the fullest denial 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 organizations of Valencia. It was a brazen speech, having as little of elementary political integty 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 “improve the iron discipline” upon an economy that “has been for too long a time in the hands of workers’ organizations.”

(Continued on page four)

This government of “the great majority of workers” was formed by way of uniting 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. Espasa Conspiracy—Italian Agents Head Nationalist Party of Catalonia—Communist Leader Maintained Close Relations with Moscovito’s Agents—Secret Plots to Paris.

The elimination of the C.N.T. from the central government of Spain was not an unprovoked evil. It feed the opportunists 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 openly, to point an accusing finger in the direction of those who were mainly responsible for the hallucination 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 sanguine censorship and a general reluctance to push matters to a breaking point. The C.N.T. is using its lawful bearing, but it does use them with telling force on those occasions when it has to appeal to the public opinion of revolutionary Spain.

PUNISHING REVOLUTIONARIES

FOR “COUNTER-REVOLUTIONERY”

The last manifesto issued by the C.N.T. is in the nature of such appeal. It was issued in reply to the growing campaign of the Catalan Stalinists and their semi-Fascist allies of the “Fierst Cicles” to punish those who, according to them, “instigated the counter-revolutionary rebellion of the month of May.”

This campaign has already borne fruit. The French daily “Le Temps” (June 12) writes that “the Courts are continuing their investigation into the cases of those who are held responsible for their last revolt in Barcelona. Among those who are soon to be indicted is also M. Lstieles, the re-electret of Defense (member of the C.N.T.)” who are these “revolutionaries” that dare accusing the heroes of July 19th of counter-revolution.

The C.N.T. comes out in this manifest with startling exposures of the nature of the plot hatched against the Barcelona workers. It charges the press of false accusations, direct complicity of Italian agents in the gigantic provocation of May the third. And it proves that those very individuals who are now in the forefront of the campaign to punish known revolutionists for an allegedly (Continued on page three)

HOW POLITICAL CRISES ARE MADE

SECRET COMMUNIST INSTRUCTIONS REVEALED

Of late we have been hearing a great deal about new political crises in Catalonia. This is a common story of every way, reaching us in the form of floating rumors and enigmatic official releases.

Two things, however, stand out clearly. Each of these attempts to provoke a political crisis in Catalonia is the same hand which guided the downfall of Caballero’s government and the elimination of the C.N.T. The Communist Party continues in its efforts to bust out of existen se 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, Priet- to and other socialist politicians are gradually identifying themselves to 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"
FORGING A NEW UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

(Continued from page 1)

July 19, 1937

The GREATER PROMISES OF JULY 19

(Continued from page 1)

by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. youth organizations. The head- quarters of the two organizations display the banners of both organizations... The Council of Economy of Valencia formed by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. pursues even more radical policy than the one of Catalonia. All enterprises employing more than 50 workers are collectivized (in Catalonia 9,000 enterprises totaling 100,000 employees). 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, 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 markedly sabotaged by the representatives of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. 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 this 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 "La Revolucion Proletaria"—varies with every province in its social composition and policies pursued. In Catalonia the U.G.T. is strongly marked in making 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. congress of this province two separate lists of candidates were submitted: socialist and communist. The Socialist ticket was carried by a preponderant majority. And it is also in Asturias that the C.N.T. and U.G.T. work hand in hand, having both signed a long time ago a pact of revolutionary alliance.

Land Workers Form United
Stand Against Communists

"In Valencia the situation becomes more and more like that of Asturias... This province is primarily an agricultural region. The most important problem is that of land and the organizations of land workers are the basic force in the labor movement of that province. It is on the question of land that the C.N.T. organization takes the same stand as the C.N.T. It violently opposed to the Stalinists, the defenders of private property and all anti-socialist collectivist policies.

"The U.G.T. of Levant (province of Valencia) is definite for a united front in agricultural matters. It undertook collectivizations of a large scale throughout the province..." An Irrepressible Trend

As it is to be seen, the government is in the process of killing off the U.G.T. —its oldest and most rooted organizations—arising more and more toward revolutionary alliance with the C.N.T. No amount of external manipulation of control positions captured here and there by the Stalinists will change this process of radicalization going on within the U.G.T. The idea of a revolutionary alliance of the two organizations is apparently disintegrating under the dictatorship of political parties that have struck deep roots.

And in the gradual realization of this idea the workers of the world will be sufficient to the struggle will unfold within the U.G.T.

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This offer will be void in such a manner that the C.N.T. will see itself compelled to refuse collaboration. Thus we shall have no reason to appear before public opinion as those who sincerely desire to cooperate with all (anti-Fascist) sectors.

As it was pointed out, our campaign activities are to be used by the Communist Party to dispute the authenticity of this document. But is it really necessary? This document was stamped to strengthen the spirit of machinations and treachery by which the Communist Parties all over the world seek to make it the only and the infamous laborite of the said "National" and "Non-fascist" parties that will fail to recognize its parentage.
WHO PLOTTED UPRISING

IN BARCELONA?

(Continued from page one)

counter-revolutionary plots" were in effect an attempt to produce the proper British and British agents but with the representatives of Mussolini and Franco.

SURVIVORS OF FORMER PLOTS

"The struggle against our movement in Catalonia—writes this mani-
testo—has been going on for a long time. The Communist, "Estat Ca-
rollist," a newspaper, was in service of the Spanish fascists. He was also frequently seen with other prominent figures of the fascistic movement who live now in exile.

"It is also known that Conner was maintained close relations with the elements of "Estat Catala" refugees and with Connerino and Casas. Connerino was visited by Connerino in the former's house and this visitation was arraigned in Connerino's place.

In the light of these events it becomes clear why Connerino, whose activity was amalgamated with his life as an exalted member of the "Estat Catala," is being tried in Spain. But the whole conspiracy is being tried in Connerino's place.

The known facts of the investigation are as follows: Connerino was one of the main figures of the Fascist movement in Spain. His collaboration with other leading figures of the Fascist movement is the reason why his trial is being held here instead of in Catalonia.

Polo, another police agent of the former Catalan government, the member of the Fascist espionage organization.

IS IT A MERE COINCIDENCE

Only.

Let us add to all this previous information that the fascists were preparing in the province of Barcelona and that Connerino, a known Fascist, was one of the main figures of the Fascist movement in Spain.

COMMUNIST LEADER MEETS

FASCIST AGENTS

"April the 20th Connerino, the chief of the Communist Party in Catalonia, was in Paris. Among other persons he visited the secretary of the Party, and asked for help in connection with the legal and political problems of the Fascist movement in Spain.

The meeting was attended by the following people: Connerino, chief of the Fascist movement in Spain, and one of the main figures of the Fascist movement in Spain. The meeting was attended by the secretary of the Party, and asked for help in connection with the legal and political problems of the Fascist movement in Spain.

FASCIST CONSPIRATORS

AT WORK

The separatists could not recon-
figure themselves to the fact that the "Estat Catala" movement was a tool of the Fascist movement. In the first place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement. In the second place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement. In the third place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement.

Prominent figures in the separatist "Estat Catala" movement.

[...]

The Fascist movement has become a tool of the Fascist movement. In the first place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement. In the second place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement. In the third place, the Fascist movement was a tool of the Fascist movement.

A LETTER FROM SPAIN

The presentation of revolutionaries by the Negro government continued unabated. We are printing below a further communique from the Negro press received up to date. The following account is essentially a description of the activities of Castro Villacorta on July 4 by Charles Orr who went to Barcelona in August, 1936 and has served more as a critic of the Spanish government and the Free French.

Dear Comrade Ocar:

My wife, Lea, and I have been evacuated from Valencia following twenty days in jail. All the other foreign countries of the P.O.U.M. and many of the P.A.T. who were arrested are still in jail, and the only ones freed, which was probably due to persuasion from the old bastions of the Spanish Republic, are two American friends of the American Consul, and a few who were seen in the Valencia government.

The counter-revolutionary forces of the Falangists have consolidated their position, and the Valencia government is becoming more open to the idea of adopting Fascist-like methods of repression against the communists and anarchists. The clandestine press is being controlled by the Falangists, and the underground organization of the CNT is now used as a pretext.

Anarchist Press Most Influential

With its 220,000 circulation, the "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarchist-syndicalist daily) is the most important newspaper in Catalonia and Spain. "La Vanguardia," (Left Republicans of Catalonia) follows it with its 150,000 circulation. "Franquismo Social," the Catholic daily, has 100,000 circulation. "La Voz de España," the far-right paper, has the largest circulation in that city. "Adeleide" (socialist) daily and "Frente Rojo" (Communist) have only five and three thousand respectively. "Casteilla Libre" and "CNT" (anarchosyndicalist dailies of Madrid) have 35,000 and thirty thousand circulation each. "Casteilla Libre" sells more than any other newspaper in Madrid. The number of newspapers published by the CNT, P.A.T., and "Libertarian Youth" organizations is now over the 200 and counting the numerous "Information Bulletin." A few of the left wing leaders of the P.O.U.M. are in hiding. Nij has been tried to Murcia, where, as you know from the express in Jull, the Casteilla has been operating for a long time under Santiago Carrillo. Gori, Andrade, Aragon, Benet and Esteban are in prison in Valencia. So are Hugo Oberle and Vidal Kaptinsky. They are charged with murdering a military court set up for that purpose in the town of Fraternally.

JUST OUT

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?" by D. de la Sainthill (In English) Price One Dollar Order from J. Briner, Libraria Publishers 45 W. 17th St. New York C. N. Y.

We Expect Soon

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TOWARD A NEW JULY 19th

(Continued from page one) The speech was full of violent threats to theCatoli- cism, labor unions, and the workers' organizations, including the Anarcho-Syndicalists. The speech was delivered in front of a large crowd of workers and the Anarchist movement was being targeted by the Catholic Church and the government. The speech was aimed at creating a climate of fear and intimidation among workers and the Anarchist movement.

Government Falls In Line

It was then a key moment in a speech at a party gathering, Hernandez outlined a policy for the government which had been working hard not to offend ever since. Immediately after the delivery of the speech a wave of persecutions and arrests swept across the land. The government appointed the National Syndicalist Front to implement the plan of the Stalinsists to liquidate the P.O.U.M. which had finally been carried into effect by an election of the party. In his speech, Negrin, the man with a consuming passion for democracy**, gave his official sanction to the vile slander and charges against the Anarchists, 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 professing socialism and democracy, alleging a struggle for a “democratic Spain,” authorize the vile outrage of democracy. Right in the face of this, the government has gone from one to the other of the monstrous statements fabricated by the Fascist mentality of Moscow’s agents.

The P.O.U.M. and What’s After

The outwitting of P. O. M. M. 

*Louis Fisher writes 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.” The former democratic sensibilities must have been greatly heightened in virtue of his long sojourn in Soviet Russia, and an ardor, if not disinterested, services in behalf of the great “architect of democracy,” Joseph Stalin.

All commands are urged to let nothing interfere with their plans to participate in this, the first large open air demonstration which the anarchists have taken part since the Second of May.

July Nineteenth marks the turning point of the anarchist movement. In the results of the elections on that day, the fate of the anarchist movement of the whole world depends.

Silence in the face of the continued round-the-clock march of the Communist Party of Russia, transplanted for the present within the hallows of the Vatican Church, 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. U. (Federacion Unica de Trabajadores) as the Communist that it is, the Communist that it is, the Communist that it is. The campaign of political force, secret arrests, night raids and finally open murder.

The spectacle of the bloody week of May Third in Barcelona is surely already the more significant in the light of the studied, undeniable, counter-revolutionary tactics that have been employed by the communists during all the months of this year, as soon as they began to feel the growing strength.

They are determined to struggle the Revolution in Catalonia, which they will stop at nothing, absolutely nothing!

This meeting is an instrument to communicate the heroic, spontaneous, and mutual solidarity of the people of Barcelona. They are where they are, not because of the Fascist patch of the generals and their descendents, not because the world thinks that they are the only men 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 country. The tentative list of speakers includes: Carlos Trescas, Llion Ocas, Marcellina Garcia, Harry Meyers, and members of our own council, including the local Anarchist 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. What is the present situation of the anarchist groups?

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 collective is now more bitterly fought by the Communists than by the Socialists. Everywhere 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 coexistence movement among the poor peasants.

And it is those elements, which prior to the revolution were known as Fascist and monarch 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.

The sharpest attacks against the Communist Party and its Ma-
had no effect of the working class, but by its own organized bodies. 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 government 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 pro-fascist majority which does the fighting and the ruling up of the country.

FUND COLLECTED FOR SPAIN DURING JUNE, 1937

BY THE U.L.O. OF NEW YORK

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MOSCOW’S HAND IN BARCELONA

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

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

The U.G.T. (Spanish confederation of organized labor organized by a middle class membership) is all of a sudden covered with the disgrace it has no place in the government and that its functions can be delegated to the Communist Party. The latter and the semi-Fascist "Es- tat Cataluña" (there is a touching harmony in the work of the two outfits) raised all of a sudden the question of the responsibility for, what they call, the Barcelona rebellion demanding the elimination and punishment of those who opposed in any manner the usurpation of a plot jointly hatched by the agents of Moscow and Roosevelt.

And the liberals? The "mystic democrats" and company.

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

We Expect Soon
A PAMPHLET FROM SPAIN
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BY AUGUSTIN SOUCHY
(In English)

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A LANDMARK OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TRIUMPH

Everyone remembers the success stages of the campaign unleashed against the C.P.U. in the Catalan reaction. The mounting tide of aggression and provocations leading to the outlawing of this organization began its onward sweep with the elimination of the C.P.U. from the government. The insipid pre-elections instituted against its members and its torture chambers now used to extort confessions, all that has its beginnings in the first political crisis provoked by the G.P.U. agents in Catalonian.

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

The P.O.U.M. is the C.N.T. in a different form. The C.N.T. is a confederation of anarcho-syndicalist, labor unionists, not unlike the P.O.U.M. in Spain.

READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

IS VALENCIA NEGOCIATING PEACE WITH FRANCO?

The latest news reaching us from Spain revive again the rumors, quite persistent at one time, of negotiations for a truce going on between the Valencia government and the rebels. This time, as it is reported by the New York Evening Telegram (July 27), it is the rebels who are mainly responsible for spreading these rumors, while the loyalist sources are quite emphatic in denying them. Any report of the conflicting and obscure news it may seem be a piece of dexterous propaganda on the part of the Fascists, released in order to increase the international standing of the loyalists. There is another news however, not always appearing in the American press, leading us to believe that there is much more to those rumors than clever propaganda.

Franco Changes Orientation?
From Paris, as reported by the New York Times of July 23, come vague hints of a possible re-orientation of Franco's foreign policies. Franco, according to those reports, is willing to deal with Mussolini and Hitler provided Paris and London help him to arrive at some sort of an understanding with the other side. This rather mystical news item is substantiated to some extent by a very explicit report carried by the Manchester Guardian of July 26, according to which Stalin, greater than Russia. And much as its government may be swayed by Moscow, it cannot altogether ignore the wave of protests against its Moscow-inspired methods to deal with the revolutionists.

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

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

The role of this organization in the Spanish revolution has now been acknowledged even by its enemies. It is a role far out of proportion to its numbers, although judging by the last report, the organization is far from being negligible in this respect. Its main strength, however, lies not in numbers but in the quality of its membership. It is primarily an organization of revolutionists, though not in the odious (Continued on page two)

INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS AGAINST MOSCOW
METHODS IN SPAIN

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

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

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Anarchist Union of France
Appeals to International Public Opinion

"The agents of Russian imperialism are attempting to undermine within the Spanish government...

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

"The C.N.T. daily of Madrid Larguilla Libre and the P.A.I. daily in Valencia Multitana were suppressed. Majorlibros (Little Books) and the weekly ideas were also abolished. Solidaridad Obrera announces in a strongly worded article that swaying arrests were made in Barcelona and a number of foreigners detained. In the same way, the paper's editor, who is on trial for the policy of petty pretensions directed against the homeless revolutionaries, fled with many of his followers to France. An article appearing in the same paper Free Voice dealing with the disappearance of Martinez, the secretary of the Revolutionary Front

(Continued on page four)
COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS SPAIN TOWARD A CATASTROPHIC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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Vol. 1, No. 23

August 6, 1937

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

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

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

Toward a Revolutionary Alliance

"The decision of the C.N.T. organization on the conflict in Barcelona was unanimously approved by all the C.N.T. organizations of other provinces because no organization wanted to have civil war in the rear guard. Outside of Catalonia the trend is very strong toward a policy of alliance with the U.G.T. It’s true innovative and the U.G.T. are becoming deeper as a result of this alliance policy. We know, for instance, that the Spanish section of the C.N.T. is not recognized by the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. But what the Communists omit to say is that Caballero’s derivatives represented the C.N.T. in the U.G.T. with 950,000, while the Communists only had 650,000. (Ed. note: the latter came mainly from the Catalan C.U.T., an organization which, as we pointed out on many occasions, is non-proletarian in its social composition). The tendency to liquidate the C.N.T. by a revolutionary tendency are beginning to say now that they are against the bourgeois republic, for a workers revolution. All that creates a very favorable environment for a closer understanding between the two large organizations. Immediately after the May events and the formation of the Negro Cabinet, the C.N.T., by means of the U.G.T. and the Catalan and Socialist Youth, the U.G.T. declared itself very strongly against the bolshevism and the Catalanist P.S.U.C."

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

"All the foreign information about our situation is unfortunately based mainly upon Catalonia, as though the latter were outside of Spain. This is wrong. In Catalonia the situation is w-o-b, we have little possibilities. It is in the other provinces the C.N.T. always had the opportunity to fight—face such worse conditions and still it has been successfully coping with those adverse factors."

"Take, for instance, the Central provinces. In Madrid itself, the C.N.T. has many strong members as the U.G.T. In the villages the influence of the C.N.T. is on the increase. The peasants are establishing libertarian communions in the villages. In the task of provisioning Madrid the C.N.T. clubs play the most important role, supplying the Spanish civil war, being possible that Vaa Zealand will be entrusted with a most important mission in this respect, with the charge of interpreting the views of an arbiter in the conversations on the Spanish war."
REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS
OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

To many the political ascendancy of the counter-revolutionary forces headed by the Comunard Party of Spain signifies the end of the revolutionary movement of 1936. Doubtless, it is an important step in that direction, but the counter-revolutionary forces have yet to look far ahead of them. The economic revolution achieved by the anarchists in Spain, and especially in Catalonia, is of far-reaching a nature that much more than an adroit manipulation of political caucuses, even when backed up by threats of withdrawal of foreign financial in oments, will be necessary to undo it.

Some idea of the extent of these revolutionary changes in the economic field can be gained from the following excerpts taken from Robert Lezouon's article on the present situation in Catalonia appearing in the La Presse française (Robert Leuzeon -- prominent French writer and economist).

Social Revolution an Accomplished Fact

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

"This is something which is not altogether grasped here in France (and even less, of course, in other countries). The social revolution, that is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie for the benefit of the workers, the passing of the means of production into the hands of the workers, has not only begun but has nearly been fully carried out in Catalonia and the adjacent provinces.

The Extent of Collectivization

"Almost everything has been collectivized.

"You go to a hotel, in nine cases out of ten it will be a co-operative hotel, and not a restaurant—you find the same situation. You want to get a cup of coffee at the bar and you find a co-operative bar where you can only buy coffee and tobacco.

"You have to take a railway—there are only socialized railroads to take you. You want to order a suit of clothes— the co-ordinated tailors will take your measurements. You go out shopping in the big stores—and, of course, you find them all co-operativized.

"With this difference, however: alongside of the C.N.T. initials you will also see those of U.G.T. (As in other countries, the white collared employees are workers also, and a co-operative is a section of them belonging to the U.G.T.). If you take a taxi, it will be a C.N.T. taxi; the cabmen in the taxi will probably say that the results arc excellent.

"Already last August I wrote that the Public Services were well run in Barcelona. Nine months later, I can state the same, with this difference, that the equipment in all those Services is now of the modernest and latest type, and managed by workers, continue functioning without the slightest hitch. The hotels are kept just as well as before, and the leather goods are now being turned out in the new workshops.

Economic Achievements Menaced by Stalinist Counter-Revolution

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

"Since these lines have been written, the drive against the non-cooperative order has acquired a much greater momentum. Now it is conducted under the slogan of nationalization, municipalization, although everyone knows that these catchwords intends to hide the real meaning of a counter-revolutionary and imperialistic program. Will that drive succeed? A great deal depends, of course upon the political situation, but there is no doubt that it will fail.

A LANDMARK OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TRIUMPH

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

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

PROTEST PERSECUTIONS OF REVOLUTIONISTS IN SPAIN

The workers, who have not only begun but have nearly been fully carried out in Catalonia and the adjacent provinces.

Agricultural Collectives

"In the part of Aragon now held by the republican troops there is not a village which does not have a collective farm. Now those collectives embrace the entire population of the villages— others include only a certain portion of it. In the province of Os de Balaguer there are 115 magnificent orchards, the richest agricultural region of Spain and one of the richest of the world, agricultural collectivization has been pushed very far.

"The members of those agricultural collectives work in common their own lands as well as those which are taken away from the rich landlords.

Socialized Industry and Agriculture Succeed

"All those socialized enterprises get along very well. Insofar as one can judge from the outside, that is from the point of view of the traveler, I can say that the results are excellent.

"Already last August I wrote that the Public Services were well run in Barcelona. Nine months later, I can state the same, with this difference, that the equipment in all those Services is now of the modernest and latest type, and managed by workers, continue functioning without the slightest hitch. The hotels are kept just as well as before, and the leather goods are now being turned out in the new workshops.

The Guadarrama Guiding Hand of Political Crimes

"Those who still find it necessary to exploit the slogans: "for a democratic Spain" for their own political purposes do not want to have those questions discussed. We cannot accept the variable pattern followed by all the political crises produced in Catalonia and in Spain until now is causing some hard thinking even in those places which have been most favorably disposed toward the present rulers of Spain. One guiding hand is too clearly discernible in all these affairs. The same hand, which wrote out instructions for provoking such crises, has been busily engaged in keeping the political life of revolutionary Spain at constant turmoil, in plotting, intriguing and scheming, in uniting a government that won based upon the precarious majority of workers and peasants and putting in its place small minorities which can only pave the way for a military dictatorship.

The Tragic Situation

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

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

"See excerpts from this important document in the last issue of Spanish Revolution.
LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM IN ARAGON

Next in line for an attack by the advancing counter-revolution is the political and economic order of Aragon. A movement is now on foot to do away with the autonomous region of that province, to dissolve its Supreme Council and to destroy what its supporters call the political body of the Spanish Revolution—the administrative councils of that region.

In order to grasp the reasons for this campaign of hatred against revolution introduced by the Stalinist-Nationalist block one has to realize that in no other province have the ideas of libertarian communism been carried out to such a great extent as in Aragon, and that the anarchists there are even more of a pre-ponderant force than in Catalonia. This is the main reason for the present campaign of the counter-revolution.

THE SITUATION

In Aragon there are numerous libertarian communities, which have been called the Comunidades, a word meaning communes or agricultural cooperatives. These were built up after the war by the peasants in many localities that lay in areas where the landlords had previously divided up the land.

These communities are not only the result of political and economic conditions, but also the natural outcome of the local history of Aragon. In that province the Spanish Revolution has been most closely connected with the life of the peasants.

In Aragon there are still living among us some of the last remnants of the original Spanish Revolutions. These remnants have preserved the memory of the original Spanish Revolution, and they are the ones who are now defending it with all their might.

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TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE
CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA

August 8th, 1937.

C.N.T.-U.G.T. past establishes national relations committee; eliminates force in organizing drives; does away with mutual violent attacks. "Muñoz Obregón" attacks past. "Solidaridad Obrera" suspended for five days.

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

Against this united front of workers' organizations, the Communist Party, leading the counter-revolutionary bloc of bourgeois parties—Catholic and the discredited politicians of the old Popular Front, with all the power of its organization, of its prestige as the direct agency of "the only friend of the Spanish people"—the Moscow government, was the caucading and polluting of the Moscow agents, their threats to remove the slightest slightest friction between both organizations, was constantly delayed by the steady presence of foreign ambassadors and the Communist Party.

The blind alley into which the latter is now leading the Spanish revolution, the openly fascist policy, the unorganized struggle against fascists in such a way as to force the passport and make use of the apparatus of the fascist police and salute them as the "Bilbao defenders" in the face of the Fascist provocations of the Provisional government. But one thing should be known by everyone: the aid extended by the Valencia government was practically nil. Up to the very last moment no explanation has been given to the Workers' Government as to when the Basque government for air-planes to aid Bilbao were ignored. The Basque troops had to carry on an unequal struggle which ended in a terrific slaughter. And as to the military and political consequences of the fall of either of the Basque provinces, the whole of Spain, the Basque provinces, will be disastrous in their nature.

TREASON RIPE ON ARAGON FRONT

For more than a month, talk was heard about helping the Basque province by attacking on other fronts. One of such fronts, most frequently discussed, was the Aragon front. And it was this fact that was sabotaged in the most insidious manner from the C.N.T.-A.O. front that, as soon as the Negrín government took over command and General Pozas was appointed to head the Aragon troops, preparations (Continued on page three).

* The sabotaging of the Bilbao front is by now an established fact. As soon as the President of the Basque government came out with such an accusation. And even the heavily censored Spanish press reflect to ascertain the general anxiety and perplexity as to the strange inactivity of the Valencian government in this respect.

The Moscow government scored a temporary triumph over the C.N.T.-A.O. front, but now it is faced with a complete disorganization as it is now, as the result of its victory.

DEMORALIZATION OF ARAGON FRONT Sought BY POLITICIANS

What Is Back of Reverses at Teruel Front?

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

The lengths to which they go in order to demoralize, disorganize and physically exterminate the heroic fighters on the Aragon front are almost unbelievable. It is not in conjunction with the information now openly given by the Communist press agents as to the plans made by the Communist controlled government to deal with the "Caballerismo socialists and anarchists" that one can fully realize its provocative policy toward a front that is mainly defended by such fighters. And it is the duty of (Continued on page four)

WHITHER COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN?

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

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

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

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

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

Loss of Power by the Workers' Government

The most striking change observed by the author since the month of May is the loss of power by the working class. By that he does not mean the elimination of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. from the Valencia and Barcelona shah governments but the retreat of the Workers' organizations like syndicates, various committees, which imposed a power side by side with the bourgeoisie state, have now been completely deprived of this power. The workers' parties in Barcelona and the surrounding territory have disappeared. This working class police, which functioned since last August together with the state police was dissolved last month, not only in paper but in reality: all its members have been dismissed, the most active ones have been imprisoned.

(Continued on page three)

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

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

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

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

We fought as best we could. We improvized an army and put into work a rudimentary war industry. We had to create a new staff of officers of the army. We ran up against shortages which it was necessary to solve to promote the war industries.

And with all these deficiencies, with all the improvisations, we succeeded in stemming the impenetrable drive of an army that (Continued on page two)
C.N.T. APPEALS TO WORKERS OF THE WORLD

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

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

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

During this year the Fascist imperialists were impatiently keeping on extending help - a digression for the sake of the revolutionaries.

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

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

We are not for the intervention of the non-revolutionary government, we would not find within themselves sufficient strength to fight the workers' revolution. They would have to accept it, throwing, of course, their weight on the side of moderation, of slow tempo, of considerable concessions, of minimum requirements for a social order. We shall go to war with the Fascist imperialists, following a suicidal road, held in itself in restraint, holding indirectly the Fascists by the nose at first, and then by the "control" plan.

And during this very year those who wanted to avoid war were actually led to favor it by allowing Fascism to improve its positions.

Now there surges up a tendency on the part of the non-revolutionary aid and righting the former conductor. But we do not put any trust in that tendency.

We are convinced that this game cannot be won with a plot now hatched against the Spanish revolutionaries.

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

Think of it, comrades! our cause is your cause. If Fascism triumphs in Spain, it will immediately spread to France. Germany will give voice to its hate which it feels for France since 1918. Italy will annex Austria and Hungary to its naucran empires. Germany will pounce upon Chodh-Slovakia, Japan will attack Russia.

And the world will be trapped within a short time under the bloody yoke of the Fascist International.

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

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

No Forced Collectives

We have some 230 Collectives. We never employed any coercion or dictatorship in order to spread our propaganda. We addressed the peasants with manifestos, lectures and meetings. We showed them the economic and social imperiousness of the Collectives.

The peasants have come to us without any coercion or dictatorship. The only thing we can do is to help them, and we sent millinists out to help them form agricultural Collectives. They have formed many without our help.

The Collectives have for their liberation, and they are anxious to organise them. The Collectives are co-operatives, enterprises, to which the peasants belong and in which they have a right. They are not centered upon themselves. The very essence of their existence is solidarity. If, in some locality, districts, or region, a crop is lost or greatly reduced because of a long drought, a hailstorm or any other atmosphericphenomena, the Collectives do not demand money from the Collectives don't have to worry about their economic future, with the social revolution, but it was the Moscow government that blocked any compromise of that sort. And it was the powerful pressure of Moscow, mainly exerted through its support of the so-called "Moscow faction" which helped to bring about the resolution of the close affinity between Moscow and Berlin.

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

The anti-Fascist forces of Spain representing the liberal and social reformist elements were ready to compromise...
WHITMER COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN
C.N.T. Unions, Proletarian Forces

(Continued from page 19) and the chisels have "disappeared," that the yard has been "occupied." The same holds true for the workers' militias. Wherever there exists a local militia whose duty was to suppress the armed peasantry, the order on the part of armed or disguised Fascists, especially along the border, these militias were completely disarmed, and their members imprisoned and a certain number assassinated.

In Barcelona and all over Catal- 
a, the trade unions, organized into the workers' militia, which function purely are the mer-
cenary state police: Assault Guards, Civil Guards and Carabineros.

Militarization Takes Effect

The same situation exists in the army. The Aragon forces, formerly commanded by the workers, are now under the direction of the Ministry of War, which has delegated General Focas to command this sector.

By means of the new militariza-
tion regulations which require all officers to be approved by the war minis-
tery, the military forces are giving the domination of the state. (How-
ever, a number of the police, espe-
cially among the Assault Guards, still favor the working class and the C.N.T.; the Aragon militia and many of their officers, have not yet forgotten their origins—and when they do they will not forget the people and not with the state.)

Moreover, the working-class represen-
tatives hold the posts of chairmen of the Valen-
tia tribunals, from many municipal councils (which have now replaced the communal councils) and the workers "section committees" no longer function; hardly a week goes by without the promulgation of a new decree eliminating the C.N.T. and U.G.T. from some council of administration.

Fascists Permeate Communist Party

The organisation chiefly instru-
mental in infiltrating the workers' organisations is the Communist Party of Spain. This fact still per-
plexes many a person who thinks of the C.N.T. in terms of its old struggles. But the Commu-
nist Party of Spain is anything but a proletarian party. Moreover, it is made up to a considerable ex-
tent of former Fascists, the most rea-
tionary elements of the bourgeois class.

The Spanish bourgeoisie has allied itself with the Communist Party not only because of the latter's pro-
gram (defense of private property; returning land to former owners; splitting small and middle class busi-
ness men join labor unions), which in reality was their own program. But the Communist Party helped to form a protective shield for the most re-
anctionary elements of the bour-
gueoisie.

Until recently almost any bour-
gieg could be held up on charges of being a Fascist sympathizer. The C.N.T. has always been more in favor of seeking means of avoiding suspicion than by carrying a Communist or U.G.T. (of whatever color) card.

The Communist Party has not only become a part of the bour-
gueoisie as such; it has become a part of those who had most cause to be revolting against the bour-
gueoisie (the Trotskyite or the Leninist trade unionists).

The liberal, greenly-

anti-Fascist, elements had their own disputes and their own affilia-
tions of long standing. It was those who were interested in avoiding suspicion of being Fascists that joined the party.

That is why the C.P. became not merely the party of the bourgeoisie, but the party of the Fascists and the U.G.T. in Valencia (where the former regional secretary of the

C.N.T. is Marking Time

What is the C.N.T. doing in this situation? In a word, the C.N.T. is, more or less, keeping quiet for the time being. Its patrols are, indeed, being disarmed. It is giving in answer to the assassinations of its militias, to all the acts (by now they number more than 800) it does not reject them but confines itself to respecting appeals and legal defenses.

Nevertheless its forces, so it ap-

pears, are intact. In Barcelona, the C.N.T. press is by far the most widely read. As one can understand, this seems to be the general opinion, the C.N.T. was never as strong as it is now, because the prestige which it lost when in power is being re-
gained; and the failure of the Stalinists helps the C.N.T. prestige to grow daily.

Finally, the economic committee which the government restored almost in full. Dispossessed from the factory councils, it is carrying on its class maintenance in all the factory struc-
tures. We have another case of Piégay.

(A town near the French border where economic ex-
gitations are carried on under the super-
vision of the government. The C.N.T. was expelled from the factory unions. It has been refunded. The purpose was to smash the anarchist organization and wipe out the cul-

ture. And with all that the anarchist organization rose up again after the severe blow, the collectives reorganized intact except for a few minor losses. The victims Stalinist attempt to smash the C.N.T. and U.G.T. But the workers, the Bases, the people of the country refused to be defeated. And all that the Stalinist organization rose up again after the severe blow, the collective reorganized intact except for a few minor losses. The victims Stalinist attempt to smash the C.N.T. and U.G.T. But the workers, the Bases, the people of the country refused to be defeated.

The situation prevailing in Piégay is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The situation in the workers' movement is in the process of revitalization and in the process of becoming very effective. The situation prevailing in Piégay is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The situation in the workers' movement is in the process of revitalization and in the process of becoming very effective.

While everywhere the workers' movement is bent on attaining comfort and security, the Spanish anarchists live from hand to mouth and place the condition of the very least of them before that of the very least of them before the condition of the workers' movement. Their struggle is to maintain their position.

The situation prevailing in Piégay is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The situation in the workers' movement is in the process of revitalization and in the process of becoming very effective.

Weathering the Storm

And in the meantime they are care-

full to conserve everything they can; the policy is to hold as strongly as possible those areas which are less attacked and least assailed.

At present these are the economic positions. The anarchists don't want to have their energies dis-

applied, but are conserving them for the time when a more favorable situa-

tion will give them an opportunity to take the offensive.

This is the traditional tactic of the C.N.T. and the P.A.I. And in answer to foreign critics frightened by the political situation, they willingly say, "This is not the first time we have been in a revolutionary crisis. We sur-

ceved it again, stronger than ever before. This time the outcome is different.

Moral Power of C.N.T.

Such an optimism stems from the strength of the C.N.T., the kind of strength which, though small, rather than being the product of a mere number of membership or on the site of their treasury, but on their idealism. The fine spirit of their principles, mili-

tion of action and general behavior, the C.N.T. and the P.A.I. possess pow-

erful and manifold roots in the Spanish proletariat. Thanks to them, they always have their disposal a great number of militants who, when the first favorable opportunity arrives, will be able to raise the red-black flag and, almost spontane-
ously, take proper action. Sym-

chronic action and anarchist solidarity are to be deeply imbued within the Spanish proletariat that these attrib-
utes will be ever-present in them; to destroy them would be to destroy the proletariat. That is, unlimited, which ex-

plains, and perhaps justifies the C.N.T.'s policy of watchful waiting.

"Our Spanish comrades may yet find out that historic precedents are not an insurmountable rule to go by. The Spanish counter-revolution is a much more terrible thing than the anti-Fascist dictatorship of the Stalinist govern-

ment of Catalonia.

JUST OUT

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?" (in English) by D. A. de Santillan

Price One Dollar

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Dearest John in face of an in-

cressful machine-playing by the Fascist aviation. This is only one of the numerous operations by which the Fascist govern-

ment on account of the same be-

trayal on the part of the avia-

tionary. The situation prevailing in Piégay is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The situation in the workers' movement is in the process of revitalization and in the process of becoming very effective. The situation prevailing in Piégay is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The situation in the workers' movement is in the process of revitalization and in the process of becoming very effective.
THE GREAT CRIME

Like Berneri’s murder, the dastardly assassination of Negrin is an indication of the acute concern with which the Communist party treats the prestige of its leaders. The prominent figure in the international revolutionary movement whom the Stalinists have killed will rank as one of the greatest crimes of our time. It will rank as such not by the brutal manner in which it was perpetrated, but because of the false impression that the party has given of the moral degeneracy of its leadership.

The vile assassination of Negrin is in the nature of such an outrage. It is perpetrated by those who appeal to the whole world to help them in their fight against Fascist barbarism. ...it difficult to understand the real extent to which one is led to believe by official statements and denunciations. These statements, however, are not responsible for the murder of Negrin as little as the direct agents in the pu of Moscow; the world, without knowing the real causes, will be “co-ordinated” in the new totalitarian scheme of things which will make the world “safe for democracy” but very unsafe for any attempt to disagree with the latest pronouncement coming via Kremlin from the “greatest Leader of all nations.”

CHICAGO LEADS THE WAY

A mass meeting was held in Chicago yesterday (July 16) to protest against the suppression of workers’ organizations and the arrest of revolutionary workers by the government of Spain... The meeting was sponsored by the following organizations: United Libertarian Organizations, Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Party of Cook County, Revolutionary Workers’ League, Communist League of Struggle.

After having listened to the speakers presenting a round picture of the counter-revolutionary drive instigated by the Negri government against labor militants of Spain, the meeting unanimously voted a sharp resolution of protest to be sent to the Spanish government.

PROTEST CHE-KA METHODS IN SPAIN

Funds collected for Spain during July, 1937

By the U.L.O. of New York.

Receipt No. Amoun
245—N. Y. Hungarian Joint Society (Joe Nagy) $60.00
246—Malaguen Colony (Buenos Aires) —(Picnic), July 4 —152.1
247—Malaguen Colony (Buenos Aires) —(Picnic), July 4 —9.0
248—L. Malaguen Colony —(Buenos Aires) —15.0
249—Malaguen Colony (Buenos Aires) —40.9

$282.5

Previous Balance $1106.2

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