

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY EXPOSED

STRIKING PROOFS OF FRENCH AND BRITISH COMPLICITY IN THE STALINIST PLOT

D. A. de Santillan, the ex-Minister of Economy in the Catalonian Cabinet, was interviewed by the reporter of the anarcho-syndicalist daily "Solidaridad Obrera" on the last events in Barcelona. During this interview comrade Santillan made several statements of great significance, fully revealing the international ramifications of the Stalinist plot against Catalonia. THE CATALONIAN STALINISTS ACTED IN FULL CONCERT WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS IN ORDER TO CRUSH THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF CATALONIA—this is what comrade Santillan, whose previous statements were always characterized by a great deal of reserve and a sense of responsibility, tells to the workers of Barcelona.

And it is time that those statements should be made known to the class conscious workers of every country in the world.

International Plot Against C.N.T. and F.A.I.

"—What is your impression of the last events?"

"—There is no doubt that the events followed a preconceived plot which has no precedent in the history of the social movement. This is proved by the fact that fifteen days before the events took place in Barcelona they were already announced in the diplomatic circles of European powers.

"It was given out in those announcements that now that the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have been displaced from their leading places in Valencia and Madrid, a decisive battle will be given shortly to the anarchist movement in Catalonia. The same predictions were made in Paris by persons closely connected with the Catalonian government.

French and Spanish Cruisers Sent Before Events Began

"—How will you explain the arrival of foreign cruisers to our port a few hours before the armed strife began?"

"—This is an additional proof

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DRIVE IS ON

CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA

June 7th, 1937

Government outlaws workers patrols. P.S.U.C. proposal to municipalize services, entertainment, defeated.

ED. NOTE: The outlawing of Workers' Patrols—defense bodies built up by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia after July 19th—is in keeping with the counter-revolutionary drive initiated by the Negrin government in response to the dictates of its London and Moscow masters. It is a provocative act designed to bring about a repetition of the Barcelona events of the last month.

The P.S.U.C. proposal (P.S.U.C.—a Stalinist outfit bearing the name of Unified Communist-Socialist Party) is not guided by genuine principles of local autonomy. As it is pointed out in the summary of the F.A.I. report printed in this issue, municipalization means wresting control from the unions who at present run transport industries, municipal services and amusements.

C.N.T. BRANDS REACTIONARY ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTY

A Statement by The National Committee of the C.N.T.

THE PARTY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

We are no more bound to maintain silence which we had imposed upon ourselves for the sake of anti-Fascist unity. Until now we were silent, for we held that above everything else comes the need of maintaining a state of collaboration among all sectors of the anti-Fascist camp against the common enemy.

But we cannot and should not keep silent now that the counter-revolutionary position has been manifested in a clear and open manner, now that the vilest political manoeuvre has been crowned with success.

The Communist Party, acting in close collaboration with the bourgeois parties and the right wing of the Socialist Party, has successfully carried out a political manoeuvre, started two months ago and culminating in the provocation recently brought about in Barcelona. The purpose of the latter was to create a situation favoring the recent political crisis and the formation of this government, a veritable Kerensky government, working

toward the same ends as the government formed in Russia in a similar situation.

The Communists were instrumental in forming this national combination. THIS SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IS IN REALITY THE PARTY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

Unscrupulously it sacrificed the Spanish workers on the altar of its devious international policy and the tactics of the Third International which consist in preventing a situation whereby the revolutionary conflagration of Spain and the socialist experiments within our country would displace the official Communist parties from their position of influence, opening thereby a new vista for the hopes of the great masses of people.

This is what the people should know. And the people do know it.

And it will be the people that will have the last say on this matter.

(From the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., May 25, 1937.)

of the premeditated character of the events. Much before the first shot rang out in Barcelona, French and British cruisers were racing toward our port, as though having a prophetic foreknowledge of what was going to happen.

"In view of all that, one may ask: how much of faith in the triumph of the anti-Fascist cause remains in those circles who go out begging foreign protection against the workers?"

(From "Solidaridad Obrera," May 13.)

SPANISH GOVERNMENT OPENS OFFENSIVE AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY CONQUESTS

C.N.T. and F.A.I. Appeal for International Solidarity

"Spanish Proletariat Will Have to Fight On Two Fronts"

The Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) is now preparing a report on the origin, development and consequences of political events leading to the formation of a bourgeois government in Valencia.

We are reprinting here a portion of the summary of this report printed in the last issue of the French anarchist weekly "Libertaire" (May 27).

Compromise Was Necessary Under Circumstances

"The seizure of the Telephone Exchange in Barcelona was the beginning of a series of steps in a premeditated plot. The workers of Barcelona were indignant, they wanted to oppose those reactionary measures. But we knew well what was at stake.

"Our comrades who knew the deep causes of the international conspiracy set up against them saw clearly that under given conditions victory would not be possible. Our comrades had arms and we could probably hold out for a few weeks, but a military attack on the part of the Valencia government, backed up by a military intervention of foreign powers, would have led to our extermination. It is for this reason that we did not accept the struggle and made everything possible to put an end to the fratricidal strife.

Anti-Revolutionary Drive Continues

"Our adversaries took advantage of the weakness of the revolutionary proletariat in order to carry into effect their cherished plans.

"The Communist Party was the spearhead of this reactionary drive. It provoked a political crisis in Valencia in order to eliminate the C.N.T. The

Minister of Interior in Caballero's cabinet sided with Caballero in his policy of putting an end to the conflict in Catalonia by conceding certain guarantees to our government.

"The measures adopted by the Minister of Interior did not satisfy the political parties: they were not severe enough. The new government does not consider itself bound by this compromise.

Divisions Within the U.G.T.

"Within the socialist camp differences became accentuated during the last few months. Two clearly distinct tendencies began to crystallize within the U.G.T. The Executive Committee of the U.G.T. sided with Largo Caballero; but in Catalonia and in Madrid the Communists conquered all the leading positions within the U.G.T. The elimination of Caballero's government was at the same time a coup directed against the U.G.T. itself, Largo Caballero being its president.

The Negrin Government Answers the Desires of the French-British-Russian Bloc

"The struggle against the communists was very difficult for the very reason that the latter were backed up by Russia

(Continued on page three)

A PROTEST MEETING

AGAINST GOVERNMENT TERROR IN SPAIN

DIRECTED AGAINST WORKERS AND PEASANTS

will be held on

ON FRIDAY, JUNE 18th, 1937 — 8 P.M.

AT STUYVESANT CASINO — 40 SECOND AVENUE

Speakers:

CARLO TRESCA - FRANK GONZALEZ
WALTER STARRET - JACK WHITE
and others

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Vol. 1, No. 20



June 18, 1937

THE MASTER'S VOICE

Will Diplomacy Achieve What Fascist Tanks and Aeroplanes Failed to Do?

No one who followed up the political development in Spain during the last few months will be greatly surprised at the reported proposal to "neutralize" Madrid by having the Loyalists withdraw from it while pledging the Fascist high command to abstain from any attacks upon the evacuated city.

The proposal, as reported in the "New York Times" of June 7, emanates from the Spanish government itself and it seemingly fits in with the general plans of the so-called "democratic" coalition of the Great Powers to enforce a truce upon the struggling forces in Spain.

It is only the first step in the direction of such an armistice. The newly formed government must be given more time to organize the counter-revolutionary forces within the country and to stifle effectively any movement of protest against such infamous proposals. At the present Mr. Negrin still finds it necessary to allay the aroused public opinion by making a gesture at intransigence. He still speaks the language of the old government, scorning the idea of negotiating with the Fascists about an amicable settlement.

But Mr. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, who, previous to his diplomatic trip to Brussels, had an amicable talk with Mr. Litvinov concerning the Spanish situation, declares to the Belgian journalists: "If we could only bring about the acceptance of an armistice, we should be very near to the end of hostilities; we all were in agreement to make such an attempt." ("Manchester Guardian," May 22.)

The same paper in its issue of May 24 reports that "the British government is taking soundings in the capitals of the principal countries concerned about the possibility of a truce in Spain." And can there be any doubt that when the Negrin government speaks its authentic voice as it did in its last proposal to "neutralize" Madrid, it is done at the bidding of Messrs. Litvinov, Eden and Delbos?

The master's voice is the voice of those gentlemen, for it is their pressure that brought about the fall of Largo Caballero's government and the formation of the new, counter-revolutionary government against the will of the great majority of workers and peasants of Spain. The preponderant majority of the population of loyalist Spain is organized in the anarcho-syndicalist and socialist unions—the C.N.T. and U.G.T.—and both are inalterably opposed to the new government.

And so is also the army, made up of the most militant members of those two organizations. The army is restrained in its urge to put an end to the counter-revolutionary machinations by the realization of the supreme necessity of maintaining unity against the Fascist enemy. But it is bidding its time, waiting impatiently for the time when it will be able to turn its arms against the counter-revolution at home.

The "democratic" coalition of Foreign powers knows it. The reactionary forces within the country rallying around the Communist Party and its bourgeois allies are also fully aware of it. They all know that the revolutionary workers and peasants, now comprising the majority within the army, will present a heavy bill for all their sacrifices in the struggle against Fascism, that the slogan "let us first win the war and then proceed with the revolution" will be used with deadly force against those whose only reason for issuing it was to bid for time in order to organize a counter-revolutionary bulwark against profound social changes of any kind.

That is why they are all anxious to arrive at some sort of settlement with the Fascists. The club used so effectively in order to bludgeon the revolutionary forces into temporary submission is not going to be let down. The Fascist threat which served so well its purpose of keeping the revolutionary workers and peasants "within the bounds of reason" when dealing with the enemy at home — the crystallizing counter-revolutionary coalition of the bourgeoisie and Communist politicians—is not going to be allowed to vanish from the Spanish horizon.

"NATION" BELIES ITS LIBERAL TRADITIONS

Liberalism sits lightly on the shoulders of its official protagonists in this country. Its force is spent in fighting minor battles on the domestic front and by a bizarre twist in its inner development it turns to an almost pathological adulation of dictatorship and its methods when dealing with anything concerning Russia and its foreign policies.

How this twist manifests itself in the case of the "Nation" stooping to the role of a Stalinist Press Bureau in its reports on Spain is shown here by the former collaborator of this magazine, who had earned the reputation of being one of the best informed journalists on Spain.

A witty journalist once remarked that the difference between the *Times* and the *Journal* is this: that the *Journal* lies all the time, but the *Times* lies only when it is important to tell the truth.

This little definition can now be extended to cover the *Nation*, also, in due recognition of how it handles all matters affected by the Communist Party line. Most of its own contributors and even its ex-editor, Oswald Garrison Villard, were shocked by its cynical evasion of the issues raised by the political executions in the U.S.S.R. This has now been equalled and surpassed by its indictment of the revolutionary Left which the Popular Front authorities in Spain are trying to suppress in order to consolidate a government that will:

1. Satisfy London-Paris that capitalism is safe in Spain, and,
2. Manoeuvre a "peace without victory"—before Fascism, that is capitalism, is too obviously defeated.

"Nation" Aware of Real Issues

The *Nation* knows very well that the recent clash was preceded by a long struggle between the P.S.U.C. (Third International) and the C.N.T., F.A.I., and P.O.U.M. It also knows what the struggle was about. It knows the P.S.U.C.

position — parliamentary bourgeois republic—was and remains in conflict with the C.N.T.-F.A.I.-P.O.U.M. position — for a socialist Spain. The *Nation* furthermore knows that this fundamental difference between the two sides, is a class difference, which determines the two different attitudes toward the war: P.S.U.C. (C.P.) "Win the War, then see about the revolution," as against the C.N.T.-F.A.I.-P.O.U.M. "The War and the Revolution are the same; neither can be won without the other."

France and Britain Dictate Policies

For the P.S.U.C., for the C.P., for the bourgeois and reformist ministers in the Popular Front government, for the London Foreign Office, for the *New York Times*, and for the *Nation*, to carry out revolutionary measures means to jeopardize the war; "treason" is the word they all use.

London and Paris want the revolution "cleaned up," and Moscow, for the sake of the "status quo," which it believes guarantees peace, is willing. Since most of the Popular Fronters believe that they cannot win the war without Moscow, they haven't much choice . . . and so,

ANARCHIST FIGHTERS AT THE FRONTS

In speaking of the remarkable self-discipline, valor and fighting ability shown by the anarchists at the war fronts, the *Solidaridad Obrera*, May 8, (anarcho-syndicalist daily) writes the following:

"The Fascists have already felt the hitting power of the self-disciplined battalions of the C.N.T. on the Southern front. On the Central sector it is the C.N.T. divisions that obtained the greatest victory of the war.

"In Asturias 25,000 C.N.T. militiamen left for the defense of Bilbao, having sworn not to leave the Basque province until victory is obtained. In the Basque province the five columns organized by the C.N.T. are now the ones that inspire the greatest confidence in the defense of that province.

"On the Aragon front a technical commission inspecting the army expressed its admiration of the order and discipline prevailing in our brigades."

Above all the counter-revolution now rallying around the Negrin government and directed from the foreign capitals—fears a decisive crushing victory over Fascism. And it is as the first step in the gigantic conspiracy to forestall such a victory that the erstwhile monarchist, and now the plenipotentiary representative of the Negrin government in Paris, came out with the sensational proposal to undo the fruits of the most heroic struggles of the Madrid proletariat by "neutralizing" the city and leave it at the mercy of a "gentlemen's agreement" with "gentlemen" of the type of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler.

for weeks now, many of the revolutionary advances made in July, August, and September, have been gradually undermined and liquidated. The major obstacle to a complete liquidation, one complete enough to satisfy the non-Intervention Committee, was the C.N.T. in the government. It was necessary to create a situation which would drive its ministers out of it, and a typical provocation manoeuvre that any sophisticated journalist could easily recognize, was employed. We all know how to interpret its classic equivalent, 'strikers fire on police.'

Who Is Served By Official Propaganda?

This familiar story was more or less covered up with the cries of treason! in-league-with-Fascists! etc., etc., whose international manufacturers and the wholesalers we also know. The press reported the hand out, for the same reasons that the press always reports a striker-cop fight as an "attack" by strikers. The *Nation* gave the same version, though aware that there was a considerable tale to the comet, because certain of its writers are afraid of the truth. They think they are serving the "Loyalist" cause by ignoring the class-war issues and events, and by lying about them. But what is happening already, in London, Paris, Moscow, Geneva, and Berlin, makes clear who is really being served.

Anita Brenner.

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THE DRIVE AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY CONQUESTS

(Continued from page one)

and that Russian supplies play a decisive role in the anti-Fascist struggle. We realize that comrades abroad have been wondering of late why we did not use a more adequate language in regard to the communists. One has to look for the cause of our moderation in the need anti-Fascist Spain has of Russian supplies, without which we anarchists could not carry on the struggle.

"During the government crisis the U.G.T. played a double game. The bourgeois and Communist influences are so strong within this organization that its revolutionary sector, that is the one which is inclined to work with us, was paralyzed. The result was the formation of the Negrin government from which the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. were eliminated. That meant a victory not only for the bourgeois-communist bloc but also for France, England and Russia who had obtained what they wanted.

The Immediate Perspective

"Our participation in the government was not in the nature of a collaboration in a parliamentary State but more or less in the nature of a revolutionary alliance of all the anti-Fascist forces. During this time we effected profound reforms and changes in the social life, and that formed the common link uniting all of us.

"All that has come to an end. What will follow now is the liquidation of all the conquests of the proletariat. And the

ground has been well prepared for it.

"In Catalonia the supplying of the food was sabotaged by the communists while we were in charge of it. But now that we are not heading it any longer, the work of provisioning the city goes on quite well since we, unlike the communists, do not sabotage but extend all our facilities to those who are in charge of it now. But all that was done by our adversaries on purpose, their aim being to produce the impression that everything went wrong when we were in power.

A General Offensive is Being Prepared Against the Revolution

"A similar situation exists on the Aragon front. Of late, 5,000 rifles and one million rounds of munition arrived from Valencia. Soon a number of tanks, automatic arms and aeroplanes will be sent to the Aragon front. Until now we were deprived of those arms necessary for an offensive.

And if now, with the arrival of armaments, a large scale offensive is undertaken, it will be easy to say that this is the work of the new General sent from Valencia.

"It is to be assumed that a general offensive will be undertaken against the collectivizations. The Catalonian U.G.T. at its last regional conference of May 17 came out with the slogan: "the transport of Barcelona should be municipalized." This means that the transport workers of Barcelona should be elimin-

ated from the control of this industry. (Ed. note: *The transport industry in Barcelona is now run by the Union of Transport Workers.*) It is quite possible that action will be taken against the agricultural collectives, especially in Valencia. And, quite likely, a coup will be effected in Aragon where our influence is very great and where socialization has reached an advanced stage.

The Spanish Workers Will Have to Fight on Two Fronts

The Spanish revolution has come to a turning point in its development. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. are in opposition. From now on we shall have to defend ourselves against the reaction.

"During the last 10 months it was comparatively easy to win the aid of the international proletariat in our struggle against the common enemy: Fascism. But now the Spanish proletariat has two enemies: 1) Spanish Fascism backed up by international capitalism on whose side are arranged Soviet Russia and the 'democratic countries. And in Spain itself international capitalism has its accomplices in the Left republicans, the socialists and the Communists.

"The C.N.T. and F.A.I. have now to face the most difficult problems. We hope that you will realize our difficult situation and that you will support us in this struggle with all the means at your disposal.

The Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I.

ater was assassinated, having been hot at his back and his belly slashed open with a knife. Domingo Ascaso was killed in the center of the city. The nephew of Francisco Ferrer was assassinated by the Communists while escorting his mother on the street. Having been wounded at the front, he came to the city on convalescence. He was walking with a cane and could not take part in the street fighting.

PROVOCATIONS CONTINUE

AFTER SETTLEMENT

On May 5th, a committee comprising two members from the National Committee of the C.N.T. and two from the Executive Board of the U.G.T. arrived in Barcelona. They immediately entered into a conference with the local committees and the government but it was not possible to pacify the fighting forces on the same day.

After the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. issued a common appeal to lay down arms and resume work, the Communists and police attacked the headquarters of the Leather Workers' Union destroying everything they found within the premises. Other syndicates such as a local branch of the Unions of Sanitary and Distribution Workers were also attacked.

A FASCIST NEST

In the central part of the city the comrades from the C.N.T. and F.A.I. were detained, disarmed and imprisoned. In the workers' suburbs the proletariat took energetic measures against the forces of "law and order." In Sans a violent battle took place between the workers and the police. The barrack of the latter was taken by assault and 400 policemen were taken prisoners. In their

According to the reports of many Italian refugees who succeeded in crossing the French border serious disturbances are expected as a result of the state of unrest prevailing throughout the country, and especially in Piamonte and Lombardia. Numerous placards have appeared in many places with the slogans: "Down with Fascism! Down with Mussolini! Long live the Spanish Republic and its defenders!"

The same unrest is to be noted in the Army. In spite of the rigorous censorship it became known that a regiment quartered in Savona rebelled when ordered to leave for Spain. A great number of soldiers were arrested and about two hundred of them were shot.

It is also known that a great deal of sabotage is practiced in the ammunition factories working for Fascist Spain.

—Solidaridad Obrera, 21-vi-37.

MR. BLUM'S NEUTRALITY

The embargo placed by the French government on the shipment of armaments to the Spanish loyalists almost immediately after the beginning of the civil war, was not prompted by the fear of war or international complications. The fear of revolutionary Catalonia was much more of a determining factor in evolving this policy.

The incident related here by one of the defenders of Irun fully confirms the latter view. At the most critical hour the French government withheld ammunition sent to Irun by Catalonia, but as soon as Irun fell, that very transport of armaments was shipped out to the Fascists who had just taken control of the city.

This was not just an act of sabotage on the part of some Fascist-minded officials. Representations were made to the government through the French ambassador. Blum's cabinet was fully apprized of this particular situation. The withholding of necessary arms could not have been effected without the express approval of the French government which seemingly was interested in delivering a blow to revolutionary Catalonia by enabling the Fascists to drive in the Irun wedge between the latter and the Biscay province.

Here is what Colonel Ortege—not an anarchist but just an honest military expert who had

barrack the workers found monarchist and Fascist insignia. In spite of that the prisoners were treated humanely, having been released as soon as calm was established. The same was done with other arrested and disarmed policemen and Communists.

A SPONTANEOUS MASS MOVEMENT AND NOT THE WORK OF "UNCONTROLLABLES"

No one can say that this mass movement was the work of "uncontrollables" or provocateurs. Anyone who had a chance to walk the streets of the populated workers' suburbs on the afternoon of May 3, that is at the time when the movement just started, will have to admit, unless his aim is deliberately to slander the anarchist movement, that it was a spontaneous popular movement, a sudden outbreak of protest of the masses themselves against the intolerable provocations of certain elements within the government.

taken part in the defense of Irun—relates about the part played by the French government.

Withholding Catalonian Armaments from Irun Defenders

"In Hendaye we had a trainload of ammunition and three cannons sent to us from Barcelona via France. Those armaments were Spanish and not French and they could have been delivered to us without violating the non-intervention agreement.

Irun Could Have Been Saved

"With those armaments we could have saved Irun, but we could not get them out of France. I made many representations on that account to Herbet, the French ambassador, but I never got any reply. Almost every day I used to cross the border in order to take the necessary steps about the delivery of that shipment of ammunitions, but all my efforts were in vain. I was given 'the round about' without even being able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of the whole matter.

Ammunition Shipped to Fascists

When we had to abandon Irun, I crossed the border at 7 o'clock in the morning. And it was then, just at the moment when the Fascists were entering the city, that orders were given, as if by accident, to ship that trainload of ammunition to Irun."

(Quoted from *La Revolution Proletarienne*, April 25, 1937.)

We Expect Soon

A PAMPHLET FROM SPAIN

on the BARCELONA EVENTS

by AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

(In English)

And We Have For Sale:

"The Life of Durruti".....20c

"The Truth About Spain"

by Rudolph Rocker.....5c

The Revolutionary Move-

ment in Spain" by Dashay

10c

THE TRAGIC DAYS IN BARCELONA

The Armed Proletarian Plebiscite

From the French Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

On May the third, Barcelona learned again of the power of the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Catalonia. Just as it happened on July 19, the entire workers' population of Barcelona mobilized within a few hours.

This movement was a veritable plebiscite. All the workers' suburbs, all without any exceptions, were transformed into C.N.T. fortresses. The barracks of the police, Republican and Communist militias located in those suburbs sided with the workers or declared themselves neutral as it was the case with the Communist barracks of Sarria.

CLASS DIVISIONS SHOWN IN THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FORCES

The workers' suburbs of Barcelona remained faithful to the C.N.T. and will always remain so. The old police, the Republicans and the Communists dominated the bourgeois sections and the central part of the city inhabited by those social layers

of population from whom the above mentioned groups issue.

But it is not all the police forces that took part in the fight against workers. Many of them remained passive and it was only a small number of them that let themselves be swept into the struggle against the workers of the C.N.T.

COMMUNIST OUTRAGES

A general strike was declared immediately. Only the war industries continued functioning. The police and the Communists attacked some of the C.N.T. syndicates, the revolutionary workers in turn attacked the police barracks and the locals of the reformist parties from which shooting was directed at the workers in the streets. The headquarters of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. was under steady fire during those days.

And again the C.N.T. lost invaluable comrades. The Italian anarchist Berneri was arrested in his house by the Communists and a day

"THEY WANT TO CONVERT SPAIN INTO A COUNTRY OF SMALL PROPRIETORS, THAT IS A COUNTRY OF SLAVES" . . .

Socialist Leader Characterizes Policy of Communist Party

One of the officially announced tasks of the newly formed counter-revolutionary government of Spain is to fight the agricultural collectives and the peasant syndicates—the prime movers of the great agrarian revolution sweeping the country since July 19.

And it is quite in keeping with the general role assumed by the Communist Party in consolidating the counter-revolutionary bloc that the leading part in this drive against the revolutionary peasants belongs to the Communist Ministers and party leaders.

Uribe, the Communist Minister of Agriculture, thunders against the peasant collectives and syndicates, upholding the rights of the individual proprietor (the village "kulak") and the speculator.

Whose interests does the Communist Minister represent?

We find an answer to it in the statement made by Ricardo Zallialza, a member of the Executive Board of the U.G.T. (socialist controlled unions) and General-Secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, belonging to the same organization.

The statement (it appeared in the Socialist paper *Adelante*, and was reprinted in the anarcho-syndicalist daily *CNT*), was made in answer to the open threats of the new Government made through its Communist mouthpiece—the Minister of Agriculture.

Reactionary Elements in the Villages Want to Destroy Collectives

"Our primary concern now is to make secure the revolutionary

conquests, and above all to protect the collectives organized by our sections against whom a world of enemies rose up.

"The reactionaries of yesterday, the erstwhile agents of the big landowners, are given all sort of assistance by the Government, (ed. note: the Agricultural Department is controlled by Stalinists) while we are deprived of the very minimum of it or are even evicted from our small holdings.

What Stalinist Plans Amount To

"Those very reactionary elements are now planning to seize all the collectivized estates, to parcel out the land, to divide up the live stock, olives, vineyards and crops now belonging to the peasant collectives. They aim to deliver a crushing blow to the agrarian revolution and to convert Spain into a country of small proprietors, that is a country of slaves.

"They want to take advantage of the fact that our best comrades are now fighting on the war fronts. Those comrades will weep with rage when they find, upon coming home from the war fronts, that their efforts and sacrifices were of no avail, that they only led to the victory of their enemies of old, now flaunting membership cards of a proletarian organization. (Ed. note: those elements are now the mainstay of the Communist Party.)

"The Federation of Land Workers will defend its work with all means at its disposal against all those who want to fall back upon old solutions favoring the small proprietor at the expense of agricultural worker."

THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION

OF SPAIN IS IN DANGER

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

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

Build a Federation of Libertarian Organizations throughout the whole country.

WAR COULD HAVE BEEN

WON A LONG TIME AGO, IF . . .

PROMINENT ANARCHIST ACCUSES POLITICIANS

—Is it true that the Valencia government is not very generous with the Aragon front?

—Yes, it is true; for had we obtained arms, or money to purchase arms, at the very beginning of the Fascist revolt, Catalonia would have been able immediately to put into field 100,000 militiamen resolved to put an end to the military uprising.

"This is what we proposed to the Giral government in Madrid before the Largo Caballero government had been formed. Giral accepted our proposal, having issued orders to place at our disposal the means necessary for arming Catalonia. But before this plan was put into effect Giral's cabinet fell and the plan of arming Catalonia dissolved into smoke. The new government did not want to see Catalonia winning the war, for this would have led to the spreading of the Catalan example to the rest of Spain.*

Financial Sabotage

—Is much ammunition now manufactured in Catalonia?

*Ed. Note. As it was frequently pointed out by the international press of the radical movement, the changed attitude of the Central government toward the arming of Catalonia came as a result of the pressure exerted by the Russian government.

—Not as much as we need and as we might be able to produce.

"We know that not only is the Central government very little generous with armaments for the Aragon front, but it is equally tight when it comes to taking out money from the Spanish Bank in order to keep the Catalan war industry going.

—There was a time—Santillan told us—when we lacked nearly everything. We lacked raw materials for the manufacturing of arms or money to pay the workers employed in the war industries.

"After having asked the government for aid in vain, we began printing our own money in order to get out of the economic straits. We were rebuked by the Central government, it being deemed by the latter that this would force down the rate of our money abroad. But since we had no way out, we declared ourselves ready to embark upon such a course. By now, however, we have arrived at an understanding with the Central government concerning this matter. Our war industries are now financed, although insufficiently, by the Central government."

From an interview with D. A. De Santillan. (D. A. De Santillan — prominent anarchist thinker, Minister of Economy in the former Cabinet of the Catalan government.)

(Reprinted from "Cultura Proletaria.")

SOCIALIST YOUTH REBELS

Toward a Revolutionary Alliance

The anarchist daily in Valencia, "Nosotros," May 27, (it appeared again after its recent suspension by the authorities) reports that the United Socialist Youth organizations of the Levante province (one of the most influential sections of the national organizations), issued a manifesto sharply attacking the present government.

As it was pointed out in the recent issue of the "Spanish Revolution," the National Committee of this organization fell, through some very mysterious process, into the hands of the Communist Party. Its classic method of dealing with those stirrings within the Socialist Youth organizations was to brand them as the work of Fascist agents and Trotskyites.

The "Nosotros" points out, however, that these thunderings seem to have very little effect on the wave of indignation and protests against the treachery of the Communist Party now sweeping the ranks of the Socialist youth. A truly democratic convention of this organization, (and democracy vanished in the latter as soon as the Communists seized control), according to this paper would show how closely allied in their sentiments are the great masses of anarchist (Libertarian) and Socialist Youth of Spain.

And the last events are rapidly forging a revolutionary alliance between the two in spite of all the attempts of the Communist leaders to spike it.

(Ed. Note. The interview was held before the latest political development in Barcelona and in Valencia. The situation is now more difficult than the one Santillan had in mind when speaking to the correspondent of "Cultura Proletaria.")

The interview, however, is of value inasmuch as it throws light on the first phase of the revolution before the dark shadow of Russian intervention began to loom on the horizon of political struggles.)

THE ANARCHISTS DEMAND

Full respect for the revolutionary proletariat, the spinal column of our victory.

To recognize that to wage war against Fascism is to defend the Revolution.

To grant the proletariat freedom of action in its achievements.

To do away with the policy of manoeuvring, demagoguery and slanders.

To secure freedom of press and organization for all the revolutionary sectors.

To root out all the camouflaged Fascists.

To uphold loyally all the compromises arrived at and to forego all attempts to establish dictatorship of any kind on the part of anyone.

To ratify the Revolutionary Workers' Alliance between the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist unions) and U.G.T. (Socialist controlled unions).

—From the Spanish Bulletin of C.N.T.-F.A.I., May 28.

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

Receipt No.	Amount
217—Znanje, Chicago, Ill.	\$19.65
218—Zare Werlenceh, McKees Rocks, Pa.—Concert auspices Ben. Lodges 125 CJW—Lodge 210 SNFY and 4302 TWO	36.25
219—J. P. Samusen—Collection Branch 16 & 25 Roov	9.50
220—Bannister—Mohegan Colony	5.00
221—Anna Shore	2.00
222—M. Grishkan—J. A. F.	495.00
A. Koyin, New York	5.00
223—John Raunio, Superior, Wyoming (Proceeds of Dance)	99.50
224—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	43.55
225—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	2.80
226—E. Trainer (Through Bannister)	5.00
227—Freedom Group (Frag.	14.67
228—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	12.75
229—L. Schlesinger35
230—Phila. U. L. O. (James Price, Sec'y) List 197	5.50
231—Henry Oja, Zinn, Minn. (Social Affair at Swan Club Hall)	18.05
	\$774.57
PREVIOUS BALANCE	93.28
TOTAL ON HAND	\$867.85