

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

### CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA

August 9th, 1937.

**C.N.T.-U.G.T. pact establishes national relations committee; eliminates force in organization drives; does away with mutual violent attacks. "Mundo Obrero" attacks pact. "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 struggles 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, heading the counter-revolutionary bloc of bourgeois parties, Catholics and the discredited politicians of the old Popular Front, threw all the power of its organization, of its prestige as the direct agency of "the only friend of the Spanish people"—the Moscow government. It was the cajoling and bullying of the Moscow agents, their threats to remove the support to Spain on the fronts of international diplomacy that kept this pact from being consummated. In spite of the ardent wish of the preponderant majority of workers and peasants for a close understanding between the two powerful unions, which practically embrace the entire working class, this pact, although negotiated many a time and worked out so as to remove the slightest possible friction between both organizations, was constantly delayed by the steady pressure of foreign diplomacy and the Communist Party.

The blind alley into which the lat-

ter is now leading the Spanish revolution, the openly defeatist policy, the undisguised struggle against labor unions as such, the attempt to Fascize them by reducing them to mere cogs within the apparatus of militarized industries—all that had its effect even upon the more conservative elements of the working class. The result is the pact already reported by the press—the first important step toward a Revolutionary alliance of all workers of Spain.

The Communist organ *Mundo Obrero* is raging against it. It is against any independent policy on the part of the unions. It is against revolutionary democracy, opposed by the Communist party with its plan of concentrating all power in the hands of a single party—the newly projected Unified Marxist Party. And acting in response to the thunderings of the Communist press the new reactionary government of Catalonia has already struck out at the most widely read paper of Spain—the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Barcelona, *Solidaridad Obrera*.

This is only the beginning. The lines are drawn tighter for the inevitable battle, the bursting out of the irrepressible conflict between the forces of revolutionary proletarian democracy and the newly consolidated front of bourgeois reaction marching under the leadership of the Moscow agents in Spain.

## WAS THE BASQUE FRONT SABOTAGED BY VALENCIA GOVERNMENT?

(C.N.T.-F.A.I. Information)

The international press already reported the general outlines of the brutal attack carried against the Basque province by foreign troops and aviation. Everything reported about the heroism of the Bilbao defenders is in the nature of an understatement. 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 as to why the requests of the Basque government for airplanes 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 Bilbao, they tend to 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 FRONT THAT WAS SABOTAGED IN THE MOST INFAMOUS MANNER FOR THE REASON THAT MOST OF THE TROOPS ON THAT FRONT CONSIST OF ANARCHIST COLUMNS. As soon as the Negrin government took over command and General Pozas was appointed to head the Aragon troops, preparations

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\*The sabotaging of the Bilbao front is by now an established fact. No less a person than the President of the Basque government came out with such an accusation. And even the heavily censored Spanish press reflects to some extent the general anxiety and perplexity as to the strange inactivity of the Valencia government in this respect.

The Moscow government scored a temporary triumph in Spain but never before was it so completely dishonored as it is now, as the result of its victory.

## 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 Louzon, one of the best informed writers on Spain. This opinion is based on impressions, observations and interviewing 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 Louzon, editor of one of the most influential French radical magazines, *La Révolution Proletarienne*, 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 Louzon 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 Proletarienne*. The following is a brief summary of Louzon's article constituting one of the severest indictments of the Communist Party in Spain.

### Loss of Power by the Working Class

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. from the Valencia and Barcelona governments but the fact that workers' organizations like syndicates, various committees, which imposed their power side by side with the

bourgeois state, have now been completely deprived of this power.

The workers' patrols 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 on paper but in reality: all its members have been disarmed, the most active ones have been imprisoned

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## 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 tactic of the War Ministry controlled by the Communists 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 only in conjunction with the information now openly given out by the Communist press agents as to the plans made by the Communist controlled government to deal with "the Cabalero socialists and anarchists" that one can fully realize its provocative policy toward a front that is mainly defended by anarchist fighters. And it is the duty of

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## 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 capitalists, 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, having 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 improvised an army and put into work a rudimentary war industry. We had to create a new staff of officers for the army. We ran up against shortage of raw materials necessary to promote the war industries. And with all the deficiencies, with all the improvisations, we succeeded in stemming the impetuous drive of an army that

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## FASCISM CANNOT BE FOUGHT WITH THE AID OF A TOTALITARIAN PARTY

The ardent wish of the Spanish anarchists is to maintain the unity of all anti-Fascist forces, to prevent the breakdown of the united front which until now succeeded in holding the Fascist avalanche in check.

The Spanish anarchists realize the tragic isolation of the Spanish revolution, the weakness of the international proletariat manifesting itself in its inability to force the governments of the so-called democratic countries to lift their virtual blockade against the Spanish revolution instituted under the guise of various non-intervention schemes.

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 acceptance of a minimum program for the revolution.

This was no maudlin dream on their part, as 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 now, has brought a great change in the attitude toward a new social order on the part of the lower middle classes and the so-called free professions from whose ranks the non-revolutionary anti-Fascists are recruited.

Were it not for the intervention of the Moscow government, all those elements 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 tempos, of considerable concessions to the older order of things. And all that the anarchists of Spain were willing to grant in order to neutralize this important social force and, perhaps, to win it as a valuable ally.

The great mistake made by the anarchists of Spain was not in seeking some understanding with the socialist and liberal elements but in granting the status of an anti-Fascist factor to the Moscow agents working in Spain—to the Communist Party of that country. More than anyone else the Spanish anarchists should have been aware of the Fascist trend of the Moscow government, of its hatred of the revolution, of the irreconcilable conflict which must arise between any genuinely revolutionary movement and the immediate interests of the bureaucracy that is now ruling Russia in the name of the October revolution.

The Moscow government threw itself against the Spanish revolution not because of any ideological differences with the anarchists, not because it sincerely believes that the time is not ripe for a social revolution, that it has to be preceded by a bourgeois democracy. Its only reason for striking out against the revolution was that it saw in it an immediate threat to its own interests.

The Moscow bureaucracy fully realizes that a successful revolution in Spain along libertarian, democratic lines will efface its influence in the labor movement of Western Europe, will reduce the Third International to a shadow of a shadow and will bring about a resurgence of a powerful opposition movement in Russia itself. And even the remotest threat of such an opposition was sufficient to throw the Moscow government into a panic, to force it upon the bloody course which has startled the world to the realization 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 Fascist capitals. And were it not for the predatory design of German Fascism upon Russian territory, we would perhaps, see a gentlemen's understanding between Moscow and Berlin in respect of Spain, of the kind which now exists between Moscow and the French General Staff.

The anti-Fascist forces of Spain representing the liberal and socialist reformist elements were ready to compromise

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

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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. Now we keep on 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 impudently keeping on extending help to Franco, while the democracies, following a suicidal road, held themselves in restraint, aiding indirectly the Fascists by the "non-intervention" scheme 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 some democracies favoring aid and righting the former conduct. But we do not put any trust in that

tendency. We are convinced that this goes hand in hand with a plot now hatched against the Spanish people, against the revolutionary people.

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

Think of it, comrades: our cause is your cause. If Fascism triumphs in Spain, it will immediately become dominant in France. Germany will give vent to its hate which it feels for France since 1918. Italy will annex Austria and Hungary to its nascent empire. Germany will pounce upon Chekko-Slovakia, Japan will attack Russia. And the world will be trampled within a short time under the bloody yoke of the Fascist International.

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

Do not go back upon us in our hopes for this aid. Think of the tragedy now closing in upon us and you. Make it impossible that any aid be extended for the purpose of defeating us. Our victory here will open up vast possibilities which will benefit you in your struggle for liberty.

We trust you will be able to fulfil your duty. We do not ask for aid in men, your actual participation in the struggle is not absolutely necessary. We have enough fighters here to enable us to win the war. Hold your man-power in reserve for the coming conquests of the world proletariat. Hard battles are now in store and you have to be ready to act as defenders. What we ask now from you, workers of the world, is arms for the loyalist, revolutionary Spain.

Help Spanish anti-Fascism. Boycot Fascist trade. Send money for our cause.

Exert pressure upon your governments to have them adopt decisions favoring our cause.

Long live the united action of the world proletariat.

National Committee.

## 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 arbitrary force. We spread our propaganda. We addressed the peasants with manifestos, lectures and meetings. We showed them the economic and ethical superiority of the Collectives. The peasants have come to us themselves, without compulsion or imposition of any sort, asking us to help them, and we sent militants out to help them form agricultural Collectives. They have been told what significance the Collectives have for their liberation, and they are anxious to organize them. The Collectives are not isolated organisms, lacking solidarity, they are not centered upon themselves. The very essence of their existence is solidarity. If, in some locality, district, or region, a crop is lost or greatly reduced because of a long draught, a hail storm or any other atmospheric phenomenon, our peasants, in the Collectives don't have to worry about their economic future,

don't have to fear hunger, for the Collectives in the other localities, districts, or regions, consider it their duty to help them out disinterestedly.

### Thriving In Spite of Communist Opposition

Our Collectives did not receive any sort of government aid. On the contrary, if they received anything at all, it was obstruction and calumnies from the Minister of Agriculture—Communist—and from the majority of organizations that depend upon this Minister. Our Collectives have been alone, sacrificing and working prodigiously, suffering great discomfort and vexations which could only render them more determined than ever to carry on. Today, Collectives that were organized without any resources, are rich. All their success has been due to the enormous energies of our peasants and to agricultural technique.

Tielmes is a magnificent example of this. The Collective of Tielmes has actually at the

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 in armaments and enormous financial means flowing into Spain for that purpose, that was responsible at first in stiffening up the resistance of the non-revolutionary sector of the anti-Fascist bloc toward the revolution and then splitting widely this anti-Fascist front in order to crush the revolution itself.

Fascism cannot be fought with the help of totalitarian Parties, liberty cannot be won with the aid of those who now share with Mussolini and Hitler the distinction of being its grave diggers.

Is it only the Spanish anarchists that have failed to realize this very elementary lesson of recent history?

present time more than 1,000,000 pesetas.

The Collectives have increased so much in Castile, have become so popular among the peasants, that there are many towns today completely collectivized, under the control of the Regional Federation of Peasants, and the Regional Confederation of Labor (regional organization of the C.N.T.).

We must declare that the Federation of Land Workers, belonging to the U.G.T., has accepted the Collectives. We have thus been able to eliminate many conflicts that arose in the towns.

### New Spirit of Solidarity

This Regional Federation of Peasants has increased the wealth of Castile enormously, through the impulse it furnished the Collectives, the orientation given to the peasants, the intensified production. Actually the wealth of Castile has been tripled.

The Regional Federation of Peasants of Castile now has more than 100,000 members.

2,000,000 pesetas have been used for chemical fertilizers and machinery to improve the conditions of the peasants. Creation of schools, Experimental farms and laboratories to prepare a new generation of agricultural experts. Without any spectacular campaigns, more than 1,000 C.N.T. peasants came from Levante to help their brothers in Castile.

—From "Tierra y Libertad"

# WHITHER COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN?

## C.N.T. Rallies Proletarian Forces

(Continued from page one)

and the chiefs have "disappeared," that is, they have been assassinated. The same holds true for the workers' militias. Wherever there existed a local militia whose duty was to maintain respect for revolutionary order on the part of avowed or disguised Fascists, especially along the borders, these militias were completely disarmed, its most active elements imprisoned and a certain number assassinated.

In Barcelona and all over Catalonia, the only armed organizations which function publicly are the mercenary 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 control of the Valencia government which has delegated General Pozas to command this sector.

By means of the new militarization regulations which require all officers to be approved by the war minister, the officers corps are under the domination of the state. (However, a number of the police, especially among the Assault Guards, still favor the working class and the C.N.T.; the Aragon militiamen and many of their officers, have not yet forgotten their origin—and when the time comes they will be with the people and not with the state.) Moreover, the working class representatives are excluded from popular tribunals, from many municipal councils (which have now replaced the revolutionary committees) 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 or administration.

### Fascists Permeate Communist Party

The organization chiefly instrumental in this drive against workers' organizations is the Communist Party of Spain. This fact still perplexes many a person who thinks of the Communist Party in terms of its old struggles. But the Communist Party of Spain is anything but a proletarian party. Moreover, it is made up to a considerable extent of former Fascists, the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie.

The Spanish bourgeoisie has allied itself with the Communist Party not only because of the latter's program (defense of private property; returning land to former owners; letting small and middle class business men join labor unions), which in reality was their own program. The Communist Party became a protective shield for the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie.

Until recently almost any bourgeois could be held up on charges of being a Fascist sympathizer. Would he find any better means of avoiding suspicion than by carrying a Communist Party or U.G.T. (of Catalonia) card?

The Communist Party has not only become a party of the bourgeoisie as such; it has become a party of those who had most cause for seeking protection from proletarian justice. The liberal, genuinely anti-Fascist, elements had their convictions, their political affiliations 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 *Fascist Bourgeoisie*. Whether in Valencia (where the former regional secretary of the

Gil Robles' party, among others, is now a C.P. member) or in the villages some distance from Catalonia, the most active members of the Communist Party are former adherents of the "Patriotic Union," of the formerly well-known Fascist or monarchist organizations.

### Republican Spain In Fascist Hands

The political assistance given to Franco by the Communist Party shows itself in laxness towards members of Franco's *Falange Española* who openly recruit and propagandize in Loyalist territory. While known anti-Fascist prisoners incarcerated in the worst dungeons are forced to go on hunger strikes (such as the one that recently took place in the *Carcel Modelo* of Barcelona) to obtain conditions at least as good as those granted Fascist prisoners, the latter are set free to boast brazenly of their sabotage. They are liberated on indefinite "parole" if they pay a fine of several thousand pesetas.

### The Government Of Defeat

Bilbao's fall may be ascribed largely to Stalinist manoeuvres. To relieve pressure on the Basque forces Caballero had prepared a large-scale offensive on the southern Madrid front which would have had the effect of cutting the rebel army in two. For this offensive 75,000 completely equipped men were placed in readiness, but two or three days before it was scheduled, the Communist Party forced the resignation of the Caballero government and the first thing Negrin did was to recall these troops. Even when the Basque Minister sent a letter of resignation to Negrin (which the censor deleted from the Madrid anarcho-syndicalist daily *CNT*), the Premier refused to do anything for Bilbao. Only a month later was the Madrid offensive launched.

If the Negrin government continues and the sinister elements who put him into power are not eliminated, we can expect a new series of defeats; Franco will surely triumph and not only will the Revolution be lost but also the Republic.

While everywhere the workers' movement is bent on attaining comfort and security, the Spanish anarchists live for liberty, virtue and dignity. Perhaps his very loftiness of spirit will enable him to break the slavery of modern machinery and of big money. His spirit may yet have a mission outside of Spain.

—Edward Conze in "Spain Today"

### 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 being disarmed without any protest; in answer to the assassinations of its militants, to all the arrests (by now they number more than 800) it does not carry out any reprisals, but confines itself to respectable appeals and legal defenses.

Nevertheless its forces, so it appears, are intact. In Valencia as in Barcelona, the C.N.T. press is by far the most widely read. As one comrade put it, and 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 regained; and the follies of the Stalinists help the C.N.T. prestige to grow daily.

Finally, the economic conquests of the revolution have been kept almost in full. Dispossessed from political leadership, the working class still maintains its hold on the management of economic life.

We have an example thereof in Puigcerda. (A town near the French border where economic experiments of a very significant nature—they were described in a previous issue of the same magazine—were carried on by the anarchists.) The White terror unloosed by the Stalinist elements was particularly fierce in that place. A number of leading comrades were assassinated and a still greater number thrown into prison. The purpose was to smash the anarchist organization and wipe out the collectivist experiments. And with all that the anarchist organization rose up again after the severe blows, the collectives remained intact except for a few minor losses. The vicious Stalinist attempt to smash the work

of economic organization failed.

The situation prevailing in Puigcerda is characteristic of what is taking place everywhere. The policy of the C.N.T. is to wait until the storm passes.

### Weathering the Storm

And in the meantime they are careful to conserve everything they can; the policy is to hold as strongly as possible to those positions which are least attacked and most solid. At present these are the economic positions. The anarchists don't want to use up their energies now, but are conserving them for the time when a more favorable situation will give them an opportunity to take the offensive.

This is the traditional tactic of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. And in answer to foreign critics frightened by their continual yielding of primary positions, they invariably say, "This is not the first time we have been persecuted—and after each persecution we rise up again, stronger than ever before. This time the same thing will happen."\*

### Moral Power of C.N.T.

Such an optimism stems from the strength of the C.N.T., the kind of strength which, traditionally, is based not merely on their very large membership nor on the size of their treasury, but on their *moral power*.

By virtue of their principles, manner of action and general behavior, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. possess powerful and manifold roots in the Spanish proletariat. Thanks to this, they always have at their disposal a great number of militants who, when the first favorable opportunity arises, will be able to raise the red-black banner and, almost spontaneously, take proper action. Syndicalist action and anarchist morality are so deeply imbued within the Spanish proletariat that these attributes can never be separated from them; to destroy them would be to destroy the proletariat itself.

That is, undoubtedly, what explains, and perhaps justifies the present C.N.T. policy of watchful waiting.

\*Our Spanish comrades may yet find out that historic precedents are not an infallible rule to go by. The Stalinist counter-revolution is a much more terrible thing than the semi-Fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera or the nationalist government of Catalonia.

# WAS THE BASQUE FRONT SABOTAGED BY NEGRIN'S GOVERNMENT?

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began to be made for an offensive on this front which was to be directed against Huesca.

This offensive began already on June 13 and according to all indications Huesca should have been taken already. Unfortunately the Higher Command of the "Regular Army," who, while working together with the leaders of the C.N.T. troops still exercises the supreme authority, revealed such a stupendous inability which is nothing short of being suspicious. The impression given is that all the Command was interested in was to subjugate our troops to a formal discipline, and this, coupled with a series of tactical errors, resulted in the frustration of the offensive after having its heavy share in the loss of men and material. True, the Fascists got a good beating too,

but none of the objectives aimed at by the offensive was attained, creating for the first time a problem of tragic significance.

The militiamen feel themselves defrauded, betrayed and only the heroic will to struggle keeps them at their positions in spite of everything.

### ANARCHISTS ON THE FIRING LINE; STALINISTS IN THE REAR

One significant fact is to be recorded in this connection: the first lines before Huesca are held by the Ascaso division (C.N.T.) and the Lenin (P.O.U.M.) division while the P.S.U.C. (Stalinist) division and thousands of Assault Guards are kept on the second line. The militiamen fighting on the first line are under the impression that the first two divisions ARE TO BE VICTIMIZED IN THIS OFFEN-

SIVE SO THAT WHEN HUESCA IS TAKEN IT WILL BE THE COMMUNISTS AND THE ASSAULT GUARDS WHO WILL TAKE POSSESSION OF THE CITY. Altogether, the preferred treatment that the Communist division is getting as compared with the anarchist and P.O.U.M. troops is strikingly in evidence.

This alone is enough to give an idea of the terrible situation prevailing on some of the fronts, due only to the criminal political manoeuvres carried on through the government by the Communists and their reformist allies. The main concern of the latter is to crush the revolutionary movement and to speculate upon the anti-Fascist loyalties of our forces who bear in mind the nearness of the enemy and the necessity of holding the front in spite of all provocations.\*

Whatever the reasons for sabotaging the Bilbao front might have been they are clear in the case of the Aragon front. The Stalinist-bourgeois counter-revolution will rather betray the front—very suspi-

cious negotiations between the Communist leader Comorera and Mussolini's agents took place recently in Paris—than enable the C.N.T. troops to develop a successful offensive. And in the meantime their policy is, as the same paper points out, "to prevent the winning of the war, to strangle the revolutionary army, to decimate the militiamen by exposing them to the Fascists and to strangle the economy in order to make possible a peace with the Fascists."

\*The same is reported by the C.N.T. daily in Lerida (an industrial center in Catalonia) "Acracia," which writes:

"Now we know exactly why Huesca was not taken. The last operation at Santa Quiteria furnishes a good proof of it. Huesca was surrounded on all sides and only the betrayal of the aviation forces (controlled by the Stalinists) was responsible for the disaster with which this operation ended. Our militiamen were not backed up by the aviation and were thus left

## JUST OUT

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?" (in English)

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defenseless in face of an intensive machine-gunning by the Fascist aviation. This is only one of the numerous operations which ended in the same manner on account of the same betrayal on the part of the aviation."

## POLITICIANS TRY TO DEMORALIZE ARAGON FRONT

(Continued from page one)

every honest anti-Fascist to acquaint himself with the situation created on this front, the most obvious lesson of which is: *the Communist-bourgeois counter-revolution prefers a Fascist victory to a successful offensive which would lend prestige and a certain measure of increased strength to anarchist troops.*

### All For Victory

"At first," writes the correspondent of the French weekly *Libertaire*,\* "arms were refused under the pretext that the militia were not organized as a regular army. In order to obtain arms the militia allowed themselves to be reorganized into regular units topped by a military hierarchy. They allowed the interferences of the Central government into the inner mechanism of the army which had very little to do with the necessary co-operation on the fronts. They were willing to sacrifice a great deal in order to obtain the chance to take the offensive against the Fascists."

### Sabotage Continues

Armaments did arrive, although by far in meagre quantities. But they were mainly given to the Communist troops, the Assault Guards, the few International battalions. Very little of it fell into the hands of the anarchist and P.O.U.M. troops. And since the latter constitute the preponderant majority, also far excelling the others in their quality as fighters, this continued policy of depriving them of necessary

\*The following is a summary of a long article on the Aragon front appearing in "Libertaire," July 29.

arms foredoomed to failure the numerous offensives, the success of which might have saved Bilbao.

However, the aim of those offensives, as conceived by the Stalinist authorities (the General Staff is manned by Moscow agents) was not to save Bilbao but to decimate the anarchist troops by stabbing them in the back or exposing them to the Fascist fire. The story of those startling betrayals has already become familiar to the readers of our paper. The writer of this article adds a few striking details to this picture, telling how the anarchist troops, goaded on to an attack by promises of support on the part of aviation, were left to the mercy of the Fascist airplanes, and that is after the troops had already succeeded in carrying out brilliantly a series of attacks. And if those are repeated ten times in succession, there is certainly something more than mere tactical errors to the whole matter.

### Starving Out Aragon Troops

Betrayal of troops during the offensives is not the only means of breaking the morale of the Aragon militiamen. There is the even more effective method of literally starving them out of existence. This is done by

depriving them of all financial assistance and sabotaging their food supplies.

"Ever since the Central government took over control," writes this correspondent, "the financial boycott became accentuated. Most of the militiamen have not received their pay for a long time. In Bujaraloz, where the General Staff of the Durruti column is located, both—officers and soldiers—have not seen a cent for the last three months. They cannot wash their clothes for the lack of soap. In many a place visited after several months of absence I found comrades whom I knew well: now they looked pale, thin and visibly weakened. The physical state of the troops is such that they cannot keep up any prolonged exercises, they cannot march for more than fifteen kilometres a day. In the region of Farlete the troops live by hunting, without which they would have starved to death."

### Breakdown Sought by Politicians

The chief task aimed at by this deliberate disorganization is, as it is pointed out by the correspondent, to break the morale of the troops, to cause a wave of mass desertions which would enable the Bolshevik press to defame and dishonor the anarchist troops before the public opinion of the world. The Communist controlled aviation, which has been conspicuously absent during the major engagements, is kept ready for this emergency upon which the Stalinist efforts are now concentrated.

And if this Jesuitic plan fails there remains the simple method of obtaining the collaboration of the Fascist army in the task of encircling and exterminating the anarchist troops.

"Some time ago, one of the Ministers," writes this correspondent, "told the following to one of my friends who at that time, for a very brief period, shared that view with the Minister: let the Fascists deepen the front and then we will throw our dependable troops to cut off the retreat of the anarchist troops."

### Caballero Accuses

Is it a Machiavelian day dream on the part of an unprincipled politician? Judging by the hints thrown out by Largo Caballero in his last interview reported in the French press, the recent breakdown of the Teruel front (mainly held by anarchist troops), endangering the Madrid-Valencia railway line, took place not without the connivance of some people in the Valencia government.

And very soon we shall probably learn the full story of the tragedy lurking behind the Premier's cryptic remark.

## THE GREAT CRIME

Like Berneri's murder, the dastardly assassination of Nin—leader of the P.O.U.M. and prominent figure in the international revolutionary movement—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. In the period in which we are living now it is difficult to startle anyone by sadistic murders and assassinations. It is the low, dastardly cravenness of the act itself that constitutes the great challenge to the moral conscience of our times.

Crimes committed by Fascists do not arouse that challenge. We do not get stirred up by acts committed by degenerates and moral delinquents. But an outrage against our elementary moral feelings perpetrated by those who claim to represent a moral force arouses us to the highest pitch of indignation, revealing to us some deep-seated process of decay and disintegration.

The vile assassination of Nin 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, that is against moral degeneracy constituting its very essence. "Help us save democracy, help us in the crucial

struggle for civilization against barbarism" and under the accompaniment of those appeals the life of such a prominent man as Nin is bartered away by all those "highly principled" socialists and republicans for a few concessions made by the Moscow government.

And therein lies the ominous significance of Nin's murder. It revealed in a startling manner that the moral leprosy characterising the Fascism of Hitler and Stalin brands pervades our life to a much greater extent than what one is led to believe by official boundaries and demarcations. Those socialists, like Noske, who were responsible for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht ended up in becoming officials in the pay of Hitler's government. It will take a much shorter period to reveal the destination of socialists and liberals like Negrin, Prieto and Companys whose guilt for the murder of Nin is no less than that of direct agents in the pay of Moscow: together with their "democratic" consciences they will be "co-ordinated" in the new totalitarian scheme of things which will make Spain "safe for democracy" but terribly unsafe for anyone 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 on July 16 to protest 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 rounded out picture of the counter-revolutionary drive instituted by the Negrin government against labor militants of Spain, the

meeting unanimously voted a sharp resolution of protest to be sent to the Spanish government. The resolution "demands the right of free expression and organizational activities for all working class groups in Spain fighting for a new social order." It calls on the workers of Spain and throughout the world to "put such pressure on the People's Front government that it will cease the breaking of the anti-Fascist front and that an end be made to the use of Fascist measures to suppress working class organizations."

### PROTEST CHE-KA METHODS IN SPAIN

## FUNDS COLLECTED FOR SPAIN DURING JULY, 1937

By the U.L.O. of New York

Receipt No.	Amount
245—N. Y. Hungarian Joint Society (Jos. Nagy).....	\$60.00
246—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)—Picnic, July 4.....	157.13
247—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) .....	9.50
248—L. Brilliant — List Z-152 .....	15.00
249—Mohegan Colony (Bannister) .....	40.90
	\$282.53
PREVIOUS BALANCE .....	\$1108.25
	\$1390.78
Sent to A. Ganin, Paris (For Spain) \$1100.00—	
Transmission Expenses \$3.50 .....	1103.50
CASH ON HAND .....	\$287.28

## COMMUNISTS BREAK UP MEETING ON SPAIN

For several weeks Communist hoodlums have been disturbing our street meetings. Three weeks ago, at the corner of 14th Street and University Place, after failing to down the speaker with their shouting, someone sent in a call for the police and six radio cars came ripping into the meeting. Finding nothing amiss, the police withdrew and the meeting proceeded.

Last Tuesday evening, at the corner of Irving Place and 14th Street, after about an hour of shouting and throwing papers and fruit at the speakers, they formed a flying wedge into the speakers stand, which naturally smashed and forced the speaker to the ground.

This action brought the police, an extra cordon of which is on duty on account of the picket lines at the Automat Restaurant, and they cleared the street so that the meeting could not be resumed.

If we do not accept their bluff, we are unworthy of our own position and we deserve just

exactly whatever we are willing to take. Since we have no press or other means of counteracting the false stories they are circulating about our comrades in Spain, our only recourse is through street meetings and these meetings must be adequately protected or they will win their point in preventing us from even speaking about Spain. We used to have to fight the police and the reactionary element among the public — that was comparatively easy for there is some intelligence to be found, even among those elements — now we must fight the communists among whom there is no intelligence whatever and we must be prepared to speak to them in the only language they understand.

Out comrades, to the corner of Irving Place and 14th Street every Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock. It is the least we can do for our comrades who are giving their lives to save Spain from Fascism, be it imported from Italy, Germany or Russia. Come out and show your teeth.

Walter Starrett