

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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IS THE GOVERNMENT COALITION BREAKING UP?

PREPARING GROUND FOR AN ARMISTICE—MUTUAL CHARGES OF DICTATORSHIP PLANS—"WAR DEMANDS DICTATORSHIP," SAYS COMMUNIST PAPER—C.N.T. WARNS BOTH CAMPS.

"The biggest news in Loyalist Spain—writes the *New York Times* correspondent in one of the latest issues (Nov. 13) of that paper—is not military but political. The executive committee of the Communist Party of Spain is holding a plenary meeting."

This meeting, as the correspondent intimates in his dispatch, is held for no less a purpose than to decide upon the further course of the Party in regard to the Negrin government, since the latter "felt it advisable to move away from Communist toward bourgeois policies."

COALITION BREAKING UP

Making all the necessary allowances for the political illiteracy characterizing the dispatches of the Spanish correspondent of the *New York Times* (*) the fact still remains that a rift has shown up in the Unholy Alliance of the Communist Party and the bloc of right socialists and republicans whose triumph several months ago, leading to the formation of the Negrin government, marked the first severe defeat of the socialist revolution in Spain.

Signs of an incipient rift between the two allies in the government coalition have been multiplying of late. The most significant of them is the recent order issued by the War Minister, Indalecio Prieto, (leader of the right socialists) forbidding any partisan propaganda on the part of the military command of the army.

This order, as even as staunch a defender of the Stalinist cause in Spain as Louis Fisher had to admit, was mainly directed against the Communists and signified a considerable victory on the part of the Prieto faction in the subtle game of moves and counter-moves characterizing the incipient phase of struggle between the two

political factions. We get a clearer idea of the significance of this move when we take into consideration the following facts pointed out by the *Independent News* (French edition) of Oct. 31.

STRUGGLING FOR THE CONTROL OF THE ARMY

"The Stalinist were practically the only ones to hold the higher positions of command in the army. Thanks to Alvarez del Vayo (ex-War Minister and a socialist with strong Stalinist leanings), the communists captured the actual command of the greatest number of military units. They did it by placing their own men in those positions or by drawing the old officers—through their own free will or by force—into the ranks of their party. That is why the Communists cannot forgive Prieto his latest move depriving them of their preponderant role in the army."

THE RIFT IS WIDENING

The fight for the control of the army command is only the beginning of a much more serious rift having deeper causes and pointing to more serious consequences.

(Continued on page Four)

*) Ed. note: It is even more than mere political illiteracy to oppose Communist policies to bourgeois policies in Spain. Everyone knows—and Herbert L. Matthews emphasized it many a time in his dispatches—that the Communist Party was unalterably opposed to anything savoring of communism in Spain, unless one means by communism the kind of political regime characterized by the wholesale executions now taking place in Soviet Russia.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

Underground Anarchist Publication Reports Treason Among Communist Officers

The journal "*Amigo del Pueblo*," an anarchist underground publication in Barcelona (publications that refused to submit to the infamous censorship) writes the following of the recent operations on the Aragon front:

In the operations taking place in the Zuera sector six brigades took part: two brigades from the Karl Marx division, one brigade from the Durruti division (C.N.T.), the Red and Black brigade (C.N.T.) and two brigades from the Lister division (made up of the so-called mixed brigades, with a heavy preponderance of Stalinist controlled officers).

The operation failed and that was mainly due to the defection of the Karl Marx division. Fifty officers and six hundred privates of this brigade went over to the fascists. (*) As a result of those desertions an entire battalion of our troops was cut off.

Following those desertions, thirty officers of the Karl Marx division were shot by orders of the highest Military (Continued on page three)

*) Ed. note: Like their party in Catalonia (P. S. U. C.) the military units of the Communist Party were recruited from the anti-proletarian elements, bitterly hostile to the revolution of July 19. Those troops, strongly permeated with the semi-fascist spirit of their social environment, were quite "reliable" when used against the revolutionary workers and peasants of Catalonia. It was a different story, however, when they were sent against the fascist enemy. They voted with their feet, showing by wholesale desertions where lay the genuine sympathies of the members of the former monarchist and semi-fascist leagues, now crowding the rather too hospitable doors of the Communist Party in Catalonia.



"SPAIN WILL BE A TRUE WORKERS' DEMOCRACY IN WHICH NONE OF THE GROUPS NOW FIGHTING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WILL PREDOMINATE.

(From a speech by A. LOPEZ, anarchist ex-minister of commerce)

SPANISH REVOLUTION IS NOT DEAD

FROM A COMMUNICATION SENT TO AN ARGENTINIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST PAPER ("Organización Obrera") BY A DELEGATION OF ARGENTINIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNIONS (F.O.R.A.) NOW VISITING SPAIN.

"Our first contact with Spanish realities produced a favorable impression. Spain is now a crucible where a new humanity is being molded. The country is going through a complete reevaluation of its old values, which is astonishing in its degree.

"As to the economic life of the country, were it not for the shortage of certain articles, no one would say that free Spain is now facing a war which in a way is perhaps unexampled in history.

The situation of our movement cannot be judged from the confused and contradictory reports of the bourgeois press. Contrary to what is believed abroad, the C.N.T. movement has not been destroyed nor has it been subdued. We actually have about 18 dailies published by our movement. Magazines and weeklies are published in hundreds. The daily paper with the largest circulation in Barcelona is "*Solidaridad Obrera*" (official organ of The Catalonian C.N.T.) In Madrid the most widely read daily is our paper "*Castilla Libre*" (official organ of the Castilian C.N.T.). Many streets bear the names of the C.N.T. institutions.

"There are evident signs of a social transformation. Those show only a beginning of the new social structure. But it is a beginning nevertheless. A great deal is to be done yet.

"Were it not for the complete blockade which almost all governments now maintain against Spain, and also for the great weakness shown by the international proletariat, the inner situation would be greatly eased."

MADRID SOCIALISTS PROTEST COMMUNIST TACTICS

"Either the Communist Party Change its Tactics Or It Will Have to Be Eliminated as An Enemy of the Spanish Republic"

Many a socialist and liberal in this country regard the attacks delivered by our press against the Communist Party of Spain as being prompted by a sectarian spirit which is prone to magnify the nature of grievances and wrongs, at times quite genuine, for the sake of scoring a partisan point.

We are therefore reprinting portions from a long document issued by the Socialist organization of Madrid against the Communist Party. It is a left-wing organization, that is, one which for a long time felt itself much nearer to the Communist Party than any other grouping. No other organization greeted so enthusiastically the collaboration of U.S.S.R. as the left-wing groups within the Socialist Party. Even before the fascist revolt, they upheld the idea of a close understanding, and even some sort of or-

ganizational merger, with the party of the Third International. And, significantly enough, it was the right wing within the socialist party headed by Prieto, that is exactly the faction which now is showing the greatest tractability as far as taking orders from the Kremlin government goes, that threw itself resolutely against such an understanding.

Now the socialists of Spain speak on the basis of more than a year's experience in trying to obtain this understanding. They learned that the only form of collaboration the Moscow government believes in is the one of complete domination on the one part and utter self-effacement on the other. How ruinous such a policy is under the tragic conditions of present day struggle in Spain is shown by this document which no socialist, liberal or any honest anti-fascist has a right to ignore.

"On this Party we place the principal responsibility for the misfortunes that the republican cause has suffered during the past three months, and for the misfortunes yet to come if those tactics do not stop soon. Three

months ago we had a real anti-fascist front in Spain. All the political parties and trade unions collaborated directly in the control and the responsibilities of the war. Today this unity is broken and each day the prospects (continued on page two)

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THE MADRID BARRICADES OF TODAY MAY BECOME THE WORLD BARRICADES OF TOMORROW

There is a great deal of indignation now shown in certain quarters over the semi-official recognition granted by the English government to Franco.

England, we hear now the frequently repeated outcry, betrayed Spanish democracy for the paltry consideration of insuring the safety of her investments in the fascist-held territory of Spain. The myopic view of the trader prevailed over that of the statesman. Even the larger interests of the Empire as a whole, its future, now menaced by the rise of fascism, were sacrificed for the sake of Spanish investments, the role of which in the total of British economy cannot be very high.

Those wrathful outpourings of indignation generally come from people who believe that England did try, perhaps ineffectually but with some degree of sincerity, to act as a barrier against fascist invasion of Spain. People wondered at the apparent weakness of English diplomacy in that matter, but they attributed it to anything but wilful machinations in behalf of Franco.

The truth is, however, that England favored intervention as much as Mussolini. The difference was that England aimed at a CONTROLLED INTERVENTION, one that could be administered in nicely calculated doses, measured out in accordance with the original aim of crushing the Spanish revolution and imposing upon the Spanish people a puppet government as responsive to the dictates of Downing street as the dictato in Lisbon.

The English government favored intervention not only because of the British investments in Spain. Much greater fears than the loss of investments were raised in the ruling circles of Britain by the news of the workers issuing triumphant on the streets of Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia. It was the specter of revolutionary uprisings, of a new proletarian offensive which seemingly vanished from the European scene ever since the tragic defeat of the post-war revolutionary movements of Europe.

The ruling classes of England knew well the electrifying effect which a successful revolution in Spain is bound to have upon the exploited masses of South America, where British investments play a predominant role in the present economic set-up. And it also knew that the commotion set up by the new center of revolutionary perturbation will reach out in all directions and not only along the lines of racial and cultural affinities.

From the very beginning of the revolution in Spain the Tory government showed its deep concern over its spread in that country and elsewhere. Its role as the sponsors and the principal actor in the miserable farce of Non-Intervention was determined by those fears, the full expression of which was counter-balanced by imperialist rivalries in the Mediterranean.

It isn't the British government that betrayed the Spanish workers and peasants by its latest diplomatic move. Nothing else could be expected from a government which, as the leader of the British Labor Party characterized it, "is but the expression of the CRASSEST mercantile interests."

It is the workers and liberals of Britain and France, who remain passive in face of the treacherous policies of their government toward loyalist Spain, that can be charged with betrayal of the highest sort. For by their supine attitude they betrayed not only the elementary principles of international solidarity but their immediate interests and the interests of European culture as a whole.

The Madrid barricades of today may become very soon the barricades of Paris, Prague and London. And it is the tragedy of the workers and liberals of the democratic countries that they have not yet realized the urgent need of throwing all their resources behind their first line of defense now running from Madrid to the Aragon front.

WE HAVE SACRIFICED SPAIN FOR THE SAKE OF GENERAL PEACE

—LITVINOV.

(From a speech delivered at the League of Nations, September 29, 1937.)

MADRID SOCIALISTS PROTEST SPLITTING TACTICS OF COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page one)

for unity are worse. This in the first place, is the fault of the Communist Party which conspired from the beginning to remove all individuals and organizations from power who did not submit to the imported slogans of that party; later they hurled those figures to the ground whom they themselves had placed upon a pedestal, when they saw in them an obstacle to their partisan drive, both in the army and in the state departments.

Dictatorship Of "Select"

It based itself upon the pleasing theory that the political parties, and particularly the Communist Party, are privileged bodies, almost divine in their origin, upon whom falls the mission of guiding public policy, and that the trade unions must merely work and blindly obey the new and select aristocrats, as if those who have a manual or intellectual profession had less capacity for statesmanship than those who have made politics their sole profession, and at times, such politics! (*)

A Policy of Discord and Disunion

"This party has declared war to death against those in the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. who oppose a totalitarian policy, which can hardly be considered

*) The readers of our paper are well familiar with the drive instituted by the Communist Party and its stooges from the reformist politicians of the Socialist Party to deprive the trade unions—both the C.N.T. and U.G.T.—of any independence in political and economic matters and to reduce them into the position of a "corporation" in a fascist state.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

2,500,000 "UNCONTROLLABLES"

According to the last reports, the membership of the C.N.T. has reached the total of 2,500,000. 200,000 of its members are enrolled in the militia fighting at the front.

On September 5th the C.N.T. organization of Madrid held a mass meeting in the biggest hall of the capital. Loud speakers were installed in three other theatres and in the streets, all of which were crowded with workers.

As to the quality of the C.N.T. membership—new members have to be sponsored by old members of good standing who have been four years with the organization—it is generally admitted to be highly satisfactory. The mixed commissions named by the anti-Fascist bodies to purge all those organizations have revealed a percentage of loss on the part of the C.N.T., as due to those purges, which was much below that of the U.G.T. (socialist-controlled trade union) and the political parties.

IN THE F.A.I. THE PROPORTION OF SUCH "UNDESIRABLES" WAS ALTOGETHER NEGLIGIBLE. (Ed. note: and still the politicians speak of the "uncontrollables" of the F.A.I.!)

The Congress of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation) held in Valencia was attended by delegates representing 158,680 members. This takes on especial significance in view of the fact that only those are admitted into the F.A.I. who have proven their revolutionary worth, have fought as militants at least since January 1936 and were co-opted by some anarchist group.

a dictatorship of the proletariat. (*) It has broken the unity of action between the antifascist sectors, which would have been preparatory to united working class action, and this, in turn, preparatory to united political action. It has broken the cordial relations that existed between this Party and the Left Wing of the Socialist Party since the Revolution of October and during the first months of the military insurrection of 1936. And now they have even the audacity to say that it is we who have changed our policy.

War Strategy At the Service of Party Ends

War is a tragic thing, but the Communist Party has not hesitated to put it at the service of its absorptionist policy.

"If the recent and ill-fated operations of Brunete, that the best military experts had previously condemned to failure, had been due solely to purely military errors, we would have nothing to say except to demand the punishment and removal of those responsible for so much useless bloodshed. But in these operations the military objectives were subjected to political ends, to the glorification of the Communist military commanders who wanted to show the superiority of a Government that could return and save Madrid in contrast to a Government that they accused of having abandoned the city.

They wanted to show that a victory which was so easy to obtain had not been won before because of the would-be irrational resistance of those who preferred reflection and caution to the futile bloodshed and to the eager pursuit of partisan Communist aims.

*) To our opinion it can. The dictatorship of proletariat in its classical conception leads inevitably to a totalitarian state.

Caballero's Government Destroyed

"The Communist Party has destroyed even more. It destroyed a government that was the most national in scope, and efficient both at home and abroad the most efficient that Republican Spain has had since the beginning of the war, as well as a unity of action on the part of all the parties and trade unions, and an understanding among the workers parties that was the support of political unity. It has also destroyed the confidence of the soldiers at the front and the workers in the rear.

Bushmen's Ethics

"We regard unfavorably the campaign of compulsion and persecution carried on by the Communist Party at the fronts and in the rear, as militating against all equity, and revolting to the Socialists who uphold the dignity of their Party and their dignity as men. Injustice and unbridled favoritism have never been used as means of Socialist recruiting in Spain, and the ill-advised directors of Spanish section of the Communist International should take this into account. . . .

Undermining International Prestige of Republic

We would also point out the regrettable consequences of the Communist Party policy in Spain on the international plane. There were those who believed that the elimination of the trade unions and the left wing Socialists from the Government as a result of the crisis of May, would stimulate the sympathies of European and American democracies toward the Spanish Republic, but the results have been quite opposite.

Unfavorable International Reaction

On the one hand the reactionaries in the democratic countries saw in this change of governmental policy a weakening of the antifascist front and, therefore, an increased moral support for the fascists, which had repercussions in the attitude of the governments of these countries in measure of the influence of the fascists. On the other hand, broad sections of the liberal and democratic opinion in these countries, including large masses of the international proletariat, see in this government a hegemony of the Communist Party. These suspicions have been reinforced by certain occurrences in connection with the 'public order' (*) as well as by the outrageous campaign of persecution carried on by the Communist Party Press, which have alarmed the international conscience."

*) Ed. note: the work of the secret Che-Ka.

WE STILL HAVE A NUMBER OF SPANISH ALBUMS FOR SALE Beautiful Pictures Depicting Every Phase of the Heroic Struggle in Spain.

Order from U.L.O., Jack White 45 W. 17th St., New York City

—from L'Espagne Nouvelle.

WORK OF BUILDING NEW SOCIETY STILL KEEPS ON

PEASANTS BUILD NEW ECONOMIC FORM OF LIFE

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Spanish revolution is the constructive, and at times leading, role assumed by the peasantry in the work of rebuilding the economy along collectivist lines.

Contrary to the Marxist dogma, which assigns to the peasantry a passive, if not a recalcitrant, role in the process of revolutionary reconstruction, the Spanish developments have shown the example of a powerful mass movement of peasants consciously directed toward aims of a free socialistic economy.

This movement is greatly hampered by the sabotaging efforts of the Marxist politicians (of the Communist and Socialist Parties), now wielding the supreme power of the State. In spite of all that, the achievements of the revolutionary peasants have been so great as to become an integral part of the new socialized economy. A widely spread net of peasant collectives and syndicates, federated into provincial and national organizations, have already succeeded in solving a number of problems which in themselves would have raised insuperable obstacles to the revolutionary work of reconstruction carried on by the proletarian organizations of the city.

The province of Leyante is one of the strongholds of this peasant movement, organized into the Union of Land Workers (affiliated with the revolutionary, Caballero wing of the U.G.T.) and the Regional Peasant Federation, belonging to the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) Of the two the latter is the more powerful one, leading in point of numbers, influence and economic initiative.

Some idea of the economic achievements of this organization and its general line of endeavor can be obtained from our summary of an article appearing in the *Nueva España Antifascista*. (A weekly published by the United Spanish anti-Fascist Organizations of France.)

Village Economy Administered by Peasant Organization

The Regional Peasant Federation (of the Levante Province) is an economic organization of revolutionary peasants which arose in response to the urgent need of a close co-ordination of

the activities of the various peasant communities immediately after the days of July 19th.

At first this peasant union concerned itself with the task of administering the lands confiscated from the Fascists. This it did in conjunction with the local municipalities which gradually regulated the revolutionary process of revolutionary redistribution of land.

Then came the spontaneous movement of collectivization, sponsored not only by the former proletariat of the village but also by a great number of peasant owners of small holdings. The collectivization movement gave rise to numerous problems and difficulties, all of which were overcome not only in virtue of the tenacity and persistence of the peasants in every collective, but also due to the existence of an all-embracing organization like the Regional Peasant Federation.

The latter had to bring order into and harmonize agricultural production throughout the entire province. Not only collectives but the economy of individual peasant holdings had to be integrated into a larger scheme en-

abling the peasants to deal with the cities, foreign countries and maintain a high production level in a period of great stress.

A Co-operative and Collective Combined

Here is a description given by the author of this article of some of the aspects of this co-ordinating work carried on by the Union.

"The source of wealth is in the Syndicate (Union). The latter is the technical organ of the Revolution. It comprises both—peasant collectives and owners of individual holdings.

"The first consume part of their produce after having made a general estimate of the local needs. The rest is turned over to the local storehouses. The owners of individual holdings keep close contact with the Syndicates and the storehouses. The Syndicate draws the balance of what every village needs. (Every branch has its 'statistical chart of production and consumption' upon which are marked the production, consumption, the surplus of every community and also the articles it is short of.) The surpluses are sent to the storehouses of the County Federations, which in turn do the same work on a larger scale.

"Those County Federations are organized in accordance with the transport and communication lines of the province. (Ed. note: the old lines of political subdivision are ignored in this purely economic organization.)

Federative Principles of Organization

"Some County Federations have been unfolding work of an exemplary nature. Such is, for instance, the Federation of Segorbe. That County has five large storehouses which

were 'given the works' prior to the execution.

"Following the numerous arrests taking place in connection with the raids upon the union headquarters, the Chief of the Lister Division addressed himself to the people of Aragon saying that from now on the collectives have to disappear from the soil of Aragon and that 'free trade' is to reign supreme.

"Similar raids were also made upon the cultural clubs and the headquarters of libertarian youth. Libraries were wilfully destroyed, furniture and stage properties smashed, schools broken up and the heroic efforts of the libertarian workers and peasants to raise the cultural level of the Aragonian masses were almost wiped out overnight. (*)

*) Ed note: According to the latest information, the communist pogrom makers of the Lister Division were considerably curbed in their organization—smashing ardor. The collectives of Aragon have proven a rather hard nut to crack, and as Louis Fisher informs us in the *Nation*, "the government is turning its energies to the building of collectives." The turn is rather abrupt and it may be but a tactical move of passing significance. But its results

function in a marvelous manner. Products arrive from every village and are redistributed in accordance with the consumption needs of the entire population. A County Council of Economy is operating successfully, and so is the County Committee, consisting of delegates of every village.

"And since no County is economically self-sufficient, it was necessary to set up a center of distribution and financial aid for the entire province. Such have been established in Valencia, the central seat of the Regional Federation with its General Treasury."

Voluntary Adhesion

The basis of all this remarkable work is voluntary adhesion of every economic unit. Every organization—from the lowest unit to the County Federation—has a right to withdraw its funds from the Central organization, the only limitation being

that the local Syndicate or Committee cannot do it directly, but must do it through the County Federation to which it belongs.

Middlemen Eliminated

And as a result of this revolutionary reconstruction carried on by these mass organizations of anarchist peasants, the villages of that province got rid of the middle man whose services constituted a heavy charge upon the peasantry.

By now, as the writer points out, "there have vanished private banks, usury in all its forms speculation, brokerage and the so-called free trade."*

* It is quite in line with the counter-revolutionary role of the Communist Party in Spain that one of the main planks in its program has been the restitution of "free trade" in the villages, that is, the restoration of the parasitic power of the middle man who was forced out not through any confiscations but through the gradual economic pressure of an organized peasantry.

TOWARD INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

With the passing of the political power into the hands of parties and social layers hostile to the organized labor movement of Spain, many expected the full restoration of the bourgeois regime of the period preceding July 19.

This, however, did not take place. The economic revolution has been slowed down, and even halted in some cases, but not turned back. The main reason thereof lies in the fact that the labor unions have acquired a tremendous economic power, have become the decisive economic factor. And it is against this economic power that the political power of the parties very often finds itself helpless, although, of course, in the long run a hostile centralized and Stalinist-controlled State apparatus may find ways and means of curbing the economic power of the labor unions.

SELF-RULE IN THE PLASTERING INDUSTRY

As an example of this slow accumulation of economic power in the hands of workers' organizations, we bring here the case of the plasterers of Barcelona who are organized into a section of the Industrial Union of Construction Workers.

"The Central Collective of Plasterers extends its sphere of activity over Barcelona and its surroundings. It began to function from the first days of the Fascist revolt.

"Once the transitional period was over, there have been set up, upon the basis of federative principles, administrative Councils for technical and union purposes.

"Like other industries, the plastering trade did not escape the difficulties of the time: the lack of economic means and, what's more, the upheaval incidental to the concentration in the hands of a single administration of all the enterprises formerly administered by hundreds of bosses.

"In spite of all that, this industry, which before July 19 was in a state of decline, is now in full swing of activity.

"The following facts will bear out the previous statement:

"1) Instead of hundreds of bosses there is now only one administration successfully run

by a few comrades.

"2) A collective has been set up assuring regular work to two thousand workers.

"3) A central workshop and storehouse have been set up in accordance with the latest work of technic. The details of hygiene and sanitary installation are studied with great interest. All the improvements introduced in the work cost more than a million pesetas, a sum which the bosses would never sacrifice for the well-being of workers.

"5) A section has been formed for the purpose of taking care of accidents and sickness. It collects about ten thousand pesetas a week in this kind of insurance.

"In addition, it is to be pointed out that the improvements in work were introduced without raising the price of construction. Before the collectivization, such improvements undertaken by the former bosses would inevitably lead to a general rise of construction costs."

have already shown in the check placed upon the campaign of smashing collectives in Aragon, conceived by the Stalinists a year ago and recently attempted by the Lister Division.

ENEMY WITHIN

(Continued from page one) Tribunal. The political commissar of the Division Trueba—a member of the P.S.U.C. (Stalinist outfit in Catalonia) was relieved from his post."

Fleeing Before The Fascists

Lister's division has been given a great deal of publicity by the Communist press. The reason is that it is being used mainly against the "inner enemy"—the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain. But here is the record of some of its units told by the same paper.

"At the conquest of Belchite (an important strategic center at the Aragon front) something happened which might have had very sorry consequences had it not been for the rapid action of the 25th division (C.N.T.). The forces of the Lister division gave way fleeing before the enemy and thus opening a breach in the circle around Belchite. The gap was immediately liquidated by the cavalry of the 25th division which threw itself into the breach and

closed up by its heroic action the vise tightening around Belchite."

Brave Toward "Inner" Enemy

Like the Russian Cossacks in the old Imperial Army the special divisions built up by the Stalinist for repressive purposes show their greatest valor in dealing with recalcitrant workers and peasants. Lister's division has covered itself with the same "glory." While fleeing before the fascists, it set out bravely, under orders from the Communist Party, to conquer revolutionary Aragon. We quote from the same publication.

"In the first days of September the Lister division arrived in Caspe (capital of Aragon province).

"Shock troops of this division (trained and inspired by the Communist party) broke into the headquarters of the Supreme Council of Aragon and the trade unions of the city. Comrades that were arrested near the town were so maltreated that their first impression was that they

IS GOVERNMENT COALITION BREAKING UP?

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"It is quite possible, writes the same magazine, that we shall soon come to see an open struggle between Prieto and the Stalinists, similar to the one which took place between the Caballero faction and the present government coalition. This will signify that the Stalinists do not trust Prieto any longer and that they intend to get rid of him, or that the latter feels himself sufficiently strong in his reactionary position and that he hopes to find foreign help outside of Soviet Russia.

CHARGES OF BETRAYAL

"Paris became during the last weeks the meeting place of the emissaries of those two factions. The Prieto emissaries had several meetings with the elements of the Right Republicans, and particularly, Portella Vallada and others who recently took part in the opening session of the Parliament.

"It is true then, as it is charged by the Stalinists, that Prieto is preparing the ground for an armistice? Or that a military dictatorship is being contemplated, to be headed by a General who is popular in Spain (Miaja) and who would establish 'order' in both warring camps?"

TOYING WITH IDEA OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The writer of this article (in the *Independent News*) does not doubt the authenticity of those rumors but he believes that the Stalinists are not against the plan of military dictatorship as such but against one that is not exercised by people taking orders from Moscow. And as to armistice, the only consideration they will be guided by are the foreign interests of Soviet Russia which may or may not accept such a "solution" depending on its relations with France and England.

That the Stalinists are not altogether averse to plans of military dictatorship is shown by an excerpt from the Communist controlled paper *Claridad* quoted by the anarcho-sindicalist daily "C.N.T." with the view of bringing into the limelight of public opinion the ominous meaning of the communist threats and warnings.

"The state of our economy—writes the communist paper *Claridad*—and the discords and struggles among parties and anti-fascist organizations compel us to say that war is the synonym of dictatorship and that this term must be given all the significance flowing from a political situation like ours."

In the same issue of the C.N.T. (Oct. 16) the editor of this paper points out in his report on Catalonia that the Communist publications write now rather too often about "the necessity of establishing a dictatorship of war."

DICTATORSHIP NO EMPTY THREAT

And in preparation for such plans they have perfected their organization working within the army for this purpose.

It is against this organization that Angel Pestaña (leader of the Syndicalist Party) delivered his indictment in his speech made at the opening session of the Spanish Parliament.

"... We succeeded in building up a Popular Army, but I must warn the Minister of Defense, the government and the Spanish people that the Popular Army is now being undermined by another organization permeating its ranks. I have proofs, documents of a highly incriminating nature pointing to the existence of such an organization, giving names and showing the methods used in order to capture the Army..."

C.N.T. ISSUES WARNING

The rivalry between the two political factions mainly responsible for the inroads of counter-revolutionary in Spain has already blasted the hopes, once carefully nurtured by the Stalinist agents, of building up a totalitarian party by way of merging the Communist and Socialist parties. And with the hopes of building such a totalitarian instrument of dictatorship have also gone overboard the expectations of a rapid and easy transition to a totalitarian regime via the monopolization of power by such a "unified Party" and the elimination of all other factors.

The growing rift between the two reactionary forces of loyalist Spain has given added power to the libertarian forces of the C.N.T. which is now courted by both factions with the hope of using the tremendous power of this revolutionary organization for the weakening of the rival faction.

It is, of course, nothing but a brain-spun chimerica of the politician mind. (*) The C.N.T. raises its warning against both factions, against any attempt to set up a dictatorship.

"Whatever proposal of a dictatorial nature will be advanced—warns the official organ of the C.N.T.—regardless of whatever source it may issue from, will meet the most determined resistance of the entire anti-fascist movement, which is now firm in the defense of the liberties it has conquered and which it deems necessary for its further development."

*) Ed. note: It is quite characteristic of the petty rancor borne by the so-called "revolutionists" from the Trotskyite camp that they quite credulously seize upon those attempts made by the politicians to court favor with the C.N.T. as proof... of the latter's capitulation before the Stalinists.

Letters from Vancouver (British Columbia), from the lumber camps of Oregon and Washington, from mining towns of Illinois and West Virginia, from the big cities of the Eastern and Western coasts.

Some enclose modest contributions but all tell of their appreciation of the "Spanish Revolution," of the work carried on by it on behalf of the libertarian cause of Spain.

"I think your Bulletin is very important (though I am not an anarchist but a socialist) because you print NEWS, which can hardly be said of the "Nation" and "New Republic" since they long gave up the pretense of being impartial." This from Hubbard Woods, Ill.

And here is another one from Los Angeles, Cal.:

"A few words as to the very good articles in the "Spanish Revolution." They do show up—black on white—what the revolutionists of yesterday are capable of doing."

We could quote numerous letters to the same effect received from all parts of the country, all of them showing that the pioneering work started a year ago by the United Libertarian Organizations of New York City, is beginning to bear fruit. At last the Truth About Spain is beginning to reach out to the far corners of our country

But a paper cannot exist on praises and acknowledgements of its importance, even when supplemented by an occasional contribution. **WE DO NOT DRAW A CENT FROM THE MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN** and it is only our friends and sympathisers that we can appeal to for support.

Such support is urgently needed. Our deficit is growing and unless all those that realize the supreme importance of the libertarian cause in Spain come to our aid immediately, the situation may become critical beyond any remedy.

We do hope the friends of the "Spanish Revolution" will respond to our appeal as they did before. In the past they helped us to overcome similar situations by rushing funds for the paper.

Do not postpone similar aid now.

Very little war material is now arriving from Russia. At the same time there is good reason to believe that the loyalists are adequately supplied with all they need except that they are rather short of aeroplanes and pilots—their inferiority to the rebels in the air is very marked.

Most of the war material now arriving in Spain is unloaded at

Barcelona, and the loyalist war industry in Catalonia is rapidly expanding. It would seem that the Government is being transferred from Valencia to Barcelona not so much because it was menaced at Valencia but because Barcelona has become the great loyalist stronghold in a political as well as in a military sense.

—Manchester Guardian, Nov. 5.

"THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN"

By RUDOLF ROCKER
(Book Review)

The new pamphlet by Rudolf Rocker "The Tragedy of Spain" stands out as a timely, informative and highly illuminating account of the Spanish situation. Its main virtue is that it presents a coherent story of the Spanish struggle, of its historical background and most salient events. And, needless to say, now that this struggle is approaching its climax, the knowledge of how it unfolded during this year, what forces determined its main course, is indispensable to anyone who wants to follow up intelligently the maze of events characterizing the present day developments in Spain.

What is the "tragedy of Spain" according to the author? It isn't only that the Spanish revolution became exposed from its very first day, to the powerful blows of the Fascist powers. The real tragedy lies in the fact that the so-called "friends," upon whom it had to rely and with whom it had to co-operate, acted in the same role of interventionists. And it is the exposure of these "friends," undermining the revolution from within, that is brilliantly achieved by Rudolf Rocker in his masterly account of the events of the Spanish struggle.

He does it, first, by showing the extent to which those "friendly, democratic powers" are involved in the economic exploitation of Spain. This is followed up by a general analysis of the position taken by the Soviet government in regard to Spain. Rocker shows that, in the light of the struggle taking place within Russia itself and finding its tragic expression in the monstrous slaughter of Stalin's political adversaries, Kremlin's policy toward Spain could not be but that of a counter-revolutionary power, interested mainly in checking and thwarting the revolutionary development and not just helping the Spanish proletariat in time of distress.

The analysis is followed up with a chronicle of events, well documented by numerous excerpts from the Spanish press and other foreign papers. The picture drawn by this chronicling fits in well with the analysis. We see a people starting out courageously to rebuild its shattered social structure; we read of the magnificent work achieved by the revolutionary workers and peasants, and that under the terrific stress of daily warfare against the coalition of Fascist powers; and together with the author we feel the new hope awakened by the genuine solidarity of anti-Fascist forces achieved in the first months of the revolution—a novel and refreshing sight after so many years of tragic discord and sectarian splitting of forces.

And then the blight descends. With the first shipments of Russian armaments come also the wave of pogrom-agitation against the P.O.U.M., ever widening plots against the C.N.T.-F.A.I., attempts to break up the hard-won anti-Fascist unity and the injection of extraneous, purely Russian issues, with all the venom and hatred characterizing their growth in the land of their origin.

No one who is genuinely interested in the Spanish situation can afford to miss the story, told by Rocker in his pamphlet, of how these plots worked themselves out in practice, reaching their climax in the Stalinist May days putch in Barcelona. For it is only the knowledge of the terrific forces against which the Spanish revolution has to contend that enables one to realize the tragic greatness of the struggle in Spain, a greatness flowing from the basic idea, well expressed in this pamphlet, that "the fate of the libertarian revolution is the fate of our civilized world."

M. E.

Read Our Literature On Spain

"The Tragedy of Spain"

by Rudolf Rocker 15c

The Revolutionary Movement in Spain,

by Dashar 10c

(Deals with the period prior to the Revolution of July 19.)

The Life of Durruti 20c.

also

"After the Revolution What?"

by D. A. de Santillan

(in English) \$1.00

Snow has fallen on the Argon highlands and winter is soon to make its showing on the austere plains of Castille.

Another hard year of winter campaigning, of trench warfare, facing a powerful enemy fully equipped and supplied by the munition plants of Germany and Italy.

Those hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers and peasants now doggedly holding on against terrific odds are not fighting their own battle only.

It is your battle as well, the battle of every worker and liberal in this country and all over the world.

Remember: the bones and skull emblem of barbarism and destruction has been hoisted triumphantly over one of the largest South American countries and soon the mailed fist will begin knocking at our own doors.

And it will do so with greater force the greater the triumph of its robot battalions in Spain.

Remember: in helping the valiant fighters in Spain you help your own cause, you protect your own hard won liberties which are soon going to be assaulted by the same enemies that are dealing out death to thousands of Spanish workers, peasants, women and children.

Help! Send your contributions to our fund to aid the heroic people of Spain.

Every cent collected goes directly to the most genuine representative of the Spanish workers and peasants. It goes to feed and clothe the orphans of war, the refugees from fascist provinces. It goes for medicines so badly needed by the Spanish people.

Send funds to I. Radinowsky
c-o United Libertarian Organization
45 West 17th St. N. Y. C.