

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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FOREIGN INTRIGUES IN LOYALIST SPAIN

BRITISH METHOD OF PAVING WAY FOR DICTATORSHIP—TRUCE ADVOCATED BY NEAR-FASCISTS—RUSSIA'S CONDITIONS FOR GRANTING BELLIGERENT RIGHTS TO FRANCO.

From time to time the silence enveloping the back-stage negotiations of foreign and Spanish diplomacy is punctured by persistent rumors of an armistice to be declared by the warring factions of Spain and which is to serve as the basis of a compromise peace acceptable to both sides.

Those rumors are not of recent origin. As early as in the first months of the current year the foreign and Spanish press (that was in the pre-Stalinist days when freedom of press was a reality in loyalist Spain) reported the fact that feelers were constantly being thrown out by foreign powers and by interested political groups on both sides of the Pyrenees with the view of establishing a common ground for peace negotiations.

Mysterious visits were paid by British battleships to Valencia and Barcelona, to be promptly followed by warnings in the C.N.T. press concerning shady manoeuvres on the part of some sections of the

anti-fascist front. And even Largo Caballero, then Premier of Spain, took official cognizance of such rumored negotiations by emphatically disavowing them and laying them at the door of the political groups that were busily intriguing against his government.

Near-Fascists In Responsible Positions

It stands to reason that with the triumph of the very same political factions in their struggle against Largo Caballero the rumors of back-stage negotiations for peace became more persistent from day to day. Somehow the official disclaimers issued from time to time by the Negrin government lacked the convincing tone of similar declarations made by Largo Caballero. Or was it because of the influx of elements that were as near to the fascists as Portella Valladares *) and Miguel Maura **) and whose

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*) Portella Valladares was appointed Governor General of Catalonia by the semi-fascist government of Leroux. Was instrumental in maintaining the military regime established in Catalonia after the revolt of 1934. Openly voiced his sympathies with the fascist generals on the eve of rebellion and was so well aware of the state of popular feelings toward his own person that he promptly made his way to France in disguise immediately after the success of the workers had become a fact.

Recently he was brought back from his exile by the Stalinist-Prieto government and was given back all his properties confiscated by the workers on the basis of the decree formerly issued by the Catalanian government and still main-

taining its legal force.

**) Miguel Maura, another reactionary whose importation from abroad and consequent proximity to the governing circles of loyalist Spain is one of the most ominous signs of the counter-revolutionary trend of the Stalinist-Prieto coalition.

By his family connections Miguel Maura is very near to the ruling circles of the Franco government. His brothers fought on the side of the rebels. He himself kept discreet silence in his exile but his previous record leaves no doubt as to where his sympathies lie. His record during the years of his participation in the first government of the Republic was such as to incur the most bitter hatred of Spanish labor.

Who Is Betraying The Anti-Fascist Cause?

*General Appointed to Discipline
Anarchists in Catalonia Arrested
On Charges of High Treason.*

While the Communist Party of Spain is busily concocting fantastic charges of espionage against the charges of espionage against the militants of the labor movement, treason has found its way to the very heart of the military apparatus which it built up as a bulwark against the forward course of the revolution of July 19.

The latest news is that a number of high-ranking military officials, very closely connected with the Communist Party, have been arrested on charges of high treason. Some were shot already, the evidence being overwhelming in proof of their openly treasonable activities.

Not a Single Militant Among Them

In this connection it is important to bear in mind that not a single anarchist or P.O.U.M. militant who

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POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS IN SPAIN MUST STOP

**EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS TO THE CONSCIENCE
OF THE WORLD**

**1936-1937.— Humanitarian Prison Reform Undone—Spanish
Bastille Again Serves Its Ghastly Purpose— Political Persecu-
tions Rampant Under Stalinist-Prieto Regime.**

On my first visit to Spain in September 1936 nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True, it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flag waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the Regional Committee in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they attain to complete power.

This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus clap-trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivized estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the Modelo prison. This is the place that harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades—Durruti and Ascasa, Garcia Oliver and many others—had been cell neighbors of Companys, the new president of the Generalitat.

I visited this institutoin in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal psychology. The director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving by the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T. F.A.I. men.

Back to Old Conditions

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Liberatrian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power.

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NOBLE CAUSE DEPRAVED

**BRITISH WORKER EXPOSES PARTY PROPAGANDA
IN INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES**

The International Brigades rendered great service to the anti-fascist cause in Spain. They came at one of the most difficult moments and by their heroic action they saved the hour for the Loyalist forces.

With all due recognition of their great services, one cannot ignore, however, the fact that they were intended not only for the purely military tasks of fighting fascism in Spain but also as a political tool in the hands of the Stalinist forces.

This is evidenced not only by their action: they were frequently employed, directly and indirectly, against revolutionary workers. The very manner in which they were indoctrinated and drilled for

their work in Spain shows clearly the design of the Party which was mainly instrumental in forming those units.

For one of the major tasks of those organizers was to isolate

C.N.T. MAJOR ORGANIZATION OF COUNTRY

"The harmony reigning in its ranks, the sense of responsibility displayed by its militants, the efficacy of its social and economic doctrine, render now the C.N.T. the major organization of the country."

"Fragua Social"

their members, proletarian in origin and revolutionary at heart, from any sort of contact with the anarchists in Spain in order to prevent any sort of fraternization with the revolutionary workers and peasants of that country.

How this task of isolation was (Continued from page three)

The
Cry
of
Civili-
zation



COME AND HEAR

The C.N.T. Delegation from Spain

AT A BIG MASS MEETING TO BE HELD
Thursday, December 23rd at 8:00 P. M.

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C.N.T. SPEAKERS:

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SERAFIN ALIAGA, Delegate of Spanish Libertarian Youth Organization.

Speeches will be translated into English by ANITA BRENNER

List of Speakers also includes:

NORMAN THOMAS, and

SAM BARON who recently returned from Spain.

Chairman: SUZANNE LAPOLLETTE

Admission 25c

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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A POLICY OF TREASON AND COWARDICE

"We still hear the argument that the general peace would be seriously endangered, had the French government opened its Pyrenean border to Republican Spain.

"This is an infamous perversion of truth! For had the French border been opened a month after July 19, we should not be living now under the horrible threat of a world war.

"At that moment the Loyalists were still superior in the air and on the sea. A month after July 19, the Republicans still had the trump cards in their hands. They bombarded Algeiras, Ceuta and Tetouan. They were in possession of the Malaga coast. They still held Toledo, Siguenza, Irun, San Sebastian, Bilbao, and Santander.

"Had Blum not yielded to the flatteries and blackmail of the British Foreign Office, the equipping of republican Spain could have been easily effected through both extreme points of the Pyrenean chain—Port-Bou and San Sebastian.

"Then the Aragon front and the Asturian miners would have obtained the needed armaments and neither Huesca nor Oviedo could hold out more than a few days. Then the Malaga coast would not be left defenceless. Madrid, protected on its flanks by Toledo and Siguenza, would be solidly reinforced and the government offensive would enter into its decisive phase.

"At any rate, Franco would never obtain its present success, the ground for which has been prepared by the criminal prevision of British diplomacy.

"Are these mere conjectures and speculations? No, much more than that. For the chances of certain victory were undermined not only by the Franco-British policy but also by the criminal ineptitude shown at that time by the Madrid government.

"It was because the government refused to turn over arms to the workers that the latter could not become the masters of Cordova and above all of Seville. Rather than place the proletarian forces in a position where they would rapidly squelch the fascist rebellion, as it was done in Catalonia, it was preferred to leave them without any means of defense. It was preferred to let the fascists seize strategic positions and all available stocks of armaments.

"But even after the loyalist militia had been placed in the position of inferiority, the position of the Franco troops was far from brilliant. The truth is that in spite of their inferiority in numbers and armaments, the loyalist militia held at bay the Franco troops made up of Moors, Carlists, and Spanish fascists.

"The opening of the Pyrenean frontier at that very moment, that is a month after July 19, would have given the republicans a superiority which would be overwhelming in view of their heroic courage.

"But this would signify the triumph of the revolutionary masses in Spain. This would have delivered a mortal blow to international fascism. This would have brought the hope of emancipation to the proletarian masses of the world.

"This would lead not only to the strengthening of socialism in France but, oh, horror! it would menace the privileges of the capitalists on the other side of the Channel. It is this that loomed so big in the eyes of the reactionary majority of the Commons, House of Lords, of the Government of His Majesty and its Foreign Office.

"There is no other explanation of the British policy. And as to the poor Popular Front Government of France, which only trailed obediently the British Foreign Office, all one can say of its attitude is THAT IT IS NOTHING SHORT OF TREASON AND COWARDICE."

"Le Reveil"

Read Our Literature on Spain

"THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN"

by Rudolf Rocker 15c
(a superb account of the latest developments in Spain)

"THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN"

by Dashar 10c
(Deals with the events leading to the October revolt of 1934)

"THE LIFE OF DURRUTI

..... 20c

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?"

by D. A. de Santillan \$1.00
(Presents the constructive ideas of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism)

WHAT REVOLUTION MEANT TO CATHOLIC CHURCH

MOST INVETERATE ENEMY OF REVOLUTION

The most inveterate enemy of revolutionary Spain is the Catholic Church. There is hardly a country in the world where the latter does not exercise its influence—at times a prevailing one—in favor of some sort of international intrigue directed at loyalist Spain.

The reason for this inveterate hatred is very simple. The Catholic Church in pre-revolutionary Spain was more than a church. It was the largest landowner, industrialist and banker of that country. The revolution hit it at the most sensitive spot: it deprived the church of its economic power—and that is why the Catholic Church remains adamant in face of the "fraternal" gestures of the Communist Party and its allies intended to win away the Catholics from their fascist allegiance.

Mockery of United Front

How mocking this attempt is to build a "united front" with the Catholic Church in face of the terrific blow dealt to its economic power by the revolution can be judged from the few excerpts quoted here from one of the latest books published (in Spanish) by the C.N.T. on the pre-revolutionary situation in Spain ("Proceso historico de la revolucion Espanola).

Jesuits In Economic Control

"Everyone knows of the fabulous financial power exercised by the Jesuits (order of Jesus) in Spain prior to July 19. The Jesuits were the major shareholders of the Spanish railways; they dominated the electric, gas, trolley and maritime

transport companies. They speculated on the Stock Exchange when an important gambling operation had to be carried out.

"The Jesuits controlled the banks, the Telephone Companies. In the latter they were represented by Marquis Urquijo, a well-known banker. Ruiz Senes, a Jesuit agent, was on the administrative boards of forty powerful corporations.

"The tentacles of this economic power extended to all big industries and larger commercial enterprises of the country, that is to say, almost the entire economy of the country was in their hands. The rest of the money of Spain was in the hands of the other religious orders, Bishops and other gentry who swarmed around the "House of God."

Pussyfooting Policy in the Past

The republican government of pre-revolutionary Spain pursued, as is known, the same kind of pussy-footing policy of conciliating those powerful enemies which is now advocated by the Communist Party. Nominally, the Jesuit order was dissolved by the Republican government, but the sources of its economic power remained intact.

The result was a "sit-down" strike on the part of the economic rulers of Spain. The political democracy of pre-revolutionary

Spain got the same kind of object lesson which the "democracies of other countries are now learning when challenging those that exercise the real economic power.

"Although the Jesuit order was dissolved, its economic interests remained intact; not only did its influence grow in the national economy, but it obtained the decisive backing of the High Powers.

"A basic attack was organized against the Republic. All the economic and financial organisms controlled by the Jesuits directed their batteries against the regime. The banks restricted their credits, perturbing the normal course of industry and commerce.

"Strikes were deliberately provoked by refusing the slightest concession to workers. Disorder was fomented in all branches of national life, while immense sums were poured out at the same time in order to create the "Popular Action" (the forerunner of the fascist organization of today) which was backed up by the sacristies, confessionals, banks, management of big industries and all those spheres where the Jesuits exercised their enormous influence."

And it is the same elements that are now being courted with the program of "freedom of worship" and appeals to our "Catholic brothers" which the present Stalinist-Prieto coalition, following in the footsteps of the impotent policy of the pre-revolutionary government, is trying to foist upon the country.

Just Received from Spain "THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY"

by Augustin Souchy
(a 48-page pamphlet describing the Stalinist plot in Barcelona)
IN ENGLISH

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POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS MUST STOP

"I Cannot remain silent in face of such barbarous persecutions"
—EMMA GOLDMAN

(Continued from page one)

I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment before my return to Barcelona I was informed that foreigners could not see the prisoners. I soon discovered the same situation, repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionists filled the prisons under the Negrin and Stalinist regime.

When I returned to Barcelona in the early part of October I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties comrade Augustin Souchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades.

Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognized me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregathered, surrounded by German, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotskism."

Revolutionary Zeal 'Rewarded'

These men from every part of the globe who had flocked to Spain, often begging their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco, were held captive.

Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any trace behind. Among the many was Rein, son of

the internationally known Russian Menshevik, Abramowitch. The most recent victim is Kurt Landau a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party and before his arrest on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andre Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

Inquisition Revived

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Bastille, Montjuich, was again being used to house political prisoners.

The infamous Montjuich whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, driven mad or to suicide. Montjuich, where in 1897 the Spanish Inquisition had been re-introduced by Canavos Del Castillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchist, had been kept for months in underground damp cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. I was in Montjuich were Francisco Ferrer had been murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church.

Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonizing cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly

purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column, freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automatons—members of the International Brigade had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the crass indifference to them on the part of their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance, party purpose and glory. All these and more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Honest Intellectuals Must Speak Out.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True, Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet state in 1922 are no longer with us. Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis the John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West, and others who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin Prieto and Communist regime.

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison I have left behind I will and must speak out.

December, 1937

SPANISH WORKING CLASS IS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY

An Interview with a Correspondent of Spanish labor press
 "SPAIN IS NOT RUSSIA"—ARMY PERMEATED WITH LIBERTARIAN SPIRIT—
 INCREASED MASS PRESSURE UPON GOVERNMENT

Our Comrade Beobachter recently returned from Spain where he spent close to a year studying the new revolutionary Spain in the making. In his capacity as correspondent for our Spanish press he covered the entire territory of loyalist Spain, having visited the fronts, collectives, factories and labor organizations.

—A number of influential newspapers in this country have been playing up Franco's victories in the north, as well as England's first steps toward recognition of the Fascist regime, as indications of the hopeless state of the Loyalist cause. What is the attitude of the great mass of Spanish workers and peasants toward predictions of ultimate Fascist victory?

—These influential newspapers never had much sympathy for the cause of the Spanish workers. They will be too glad to see Franco win. But on the basis of what I saw in Spain I became convinced that the masses of the Spanish workers and peasants are more than ever determined to win. And they will win ultimately. Let us not forget that they began their fight against Franco and his henchmen almost bare handed. Franco could not beat them. Give arms to the peasants and workers of Spain and they will win, with the courage and the indomitable will already shown by them on the battlefield.

—Courage alone cannot win battles. That confidence must be based also on something concrete. The situation of the Spanish workers would be hopeless, had they mere courage only with which to face the guns, tanks and hundreds of aeroplanes of Franco's armies.

—You are right. The time is gone when there was a gun for every three men and two of the three had to wait until the third man would be killed in order to get his gun. Although Franco has received from his Italian and German allies more abundant armament than the Loyalists, still the Loyalists have also succeeded in arming an army of 500,000 or 600,000 men with modern equipment. And some of their armament is better than that of the Fascists. One has also to take into consideration powerful psychological factors which may prove decisive in winning the ultimate battles.

—Has the morale of the Spanish workers and peasants fighting at the fronts and in the rearguard been affected by the aggression of counter-revolutionary forces set in motion by the May day provocations in Barcelona?

—To some extent, yes. The Stalinist-bourgeois counter-revolution, which has been in full swing since May, has brought to the mind of the revolutionary workers and peasants the realization that the enemy of their rights and their freedom is not only in front of them, but also at their back. This tragic situation has introduced into their midst the elements of distrust and internal strife which sap and undermine their energies and sabotage their struggle. Franco couldn't expect better help to further his actual victories.

For a moment, during these months of continuous provocations on the part of the counter-revolutionary forces put in motion since the actual government went into power, it seemed that the revolutionary front would go to pieces, and disaster would follow. The situation was saved only by the coolness and determination shown by the libertarian ranks in refusing to answer with guns the well planned and systematic provocations of the counter-revolution. This intelligent attitude on the part of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. saved the revolution from catastrophe.

—To what extent has the revolution been set back by the triumph of the Stalinist—Prieto bloc?

—It would fill volumes to give an adequate description of the acts of sabotage, violence and murder perpetrated by the Stalinist counter-revolution. I will dwell upon it to some extent in my coming articles exposing this policy, since it is my conviction that the principal help that the revolutionary working class of the world can extend to our Spanish comrades for the present, (there is no hope of help of a more concrete nature) is to unmask and to put a stop to the treasonable activities of the Stalinist-Priestist and bourgeois bloc.

—What accounts for the C.N.T. policy of concessions toward

In the following issue of the SPANISH REVOLUTION will appear some of comrade Beobachter's articles dealing with the various phases of the political and economic situation in Spain. In this issue we are presenting some of his views obtained in the following interview.

the aggression of forces that are openly in league against the revolution?

—The anxiety common among comrades abroad is also shared by many comrades in Spain, but the latter also realize that answering Stalinist violence with violence of our own would mean civil war in Loyalist Spain. But what chance would we have of winning the war against the fascists with civil war raging on our own territory?

The Stalinist counter-revolution may not be very much concerned about winning the war against fascism, and certainly it is opposed to revolution, but we want to win both of them. That is why, since the offensive of both fascism and Stalinist counter-revolution are too much for our strength, we must make concessions to the side which we at the moment consider less dangerous for the future of the revolution, in order to save our forces intact for the day when final accounts will have to be settled.

—What is the strength of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. forces on the battlefield?

—If we take into account all the members of our three organizations—C.N.T., F.A.I. and J.J.L.L. (Libertarian Youth)—we may reckon about 40% of the entire armed forces in the EJERCITO POPULAR, (Popular army) as belonging to the libertarian ranks. They are either under the command of men of our own organization or are distributed in the other divisions.

The latter fact, however, does not matter. Their loyalty to the libertarian organizations is above everything else and they will fight for our ideals when and if the time comes for it.

Let us clearly bear in mind that Spain is not Russia. If the Stalinist counter-revolution does not put a halt to its present course, someone will be eliminated from Spanish soil, but it will be the Anarchists who will do the work of elimination.

—By what means do the C.N.T.—F.A.I. organizations maintain the revolutionary loyalty of their members at the fronts in the faces of the continued attempts of the government controlled military apparatus to stifle any independent political attitude on the part of the rank and file of the militiamen?

—Due care is taken by the C.N.T.—F.A.I. organizations to keep control of their members in the armed forces. This, however, is not a matter for public discussion.

Our comrades abroad may well rest assured that the libertarian organizations in Spain will not be caught napping. And that is irrespective of what the government in control of the armed forces may try to do.

—We read about the growth of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. moral prestige and actual strength, notwithstanding the loss of political power. How does this growing strength manifest itself?

—In many a way. It shows in the closer bonds of solidarity among class conscious workers against the maneuvers of the politicians. It is also manifested in the ever growing underground propaganda against the government, which of late assumed sweeping proportions. The C.N.T. is also mainly instrumental in bringing about the increasing pressure exerted by the rank and file members of the more moderate organizations in the direction of a more leftward policy.

A striking example of this increasing pressure was manifested at the last congress of the U.G.T. of Catalonia, a union almost completely dominated by the Stalinists. And still, when it came to a question of control of industries, which the Stalinists leaders wanted to take away from the workers, who exercise now through the medium of their own syndicates, the rank and file membership rose against it and succeeded in carrying its point. This direct control of industry by the workers through their syndicates is just what the anarchists want and practice, representing in this respect the real feeling and wishes of the working masses of Spain.

ner of indoctrination against anarchists carried on in Brigades.

We quote the following from the French translation appearing in the "La Revolution Proletarienne" (Oct. 25) and not from the English original.

Slanders In Form of Warnings

"In Paris and in Spain we were strongly forewarned against the anarchists. In fact we were led to the conclusion that, like the fascists, the anarchists were the enemies of workers in Spain.

"We arrived in Barcelona by sea. In this connection we were told that the reason we were not sent by land was that the anarchists held the frontier and that we

would be shot by them.

"Our transport ship was torpedoed by a submarine: an Italian one, it seems. When the torpedo struck the ship, I jumped overboard and was picked up by a fishing boat, after having spent twenty-five minutes in the water.

Solidarity Speaks For Itself

"I was very much amazed to learn that the fishermen who saved me were anarchists. I was forewarned about the anarchists, having been told that they were our enemies and that they would shoot us. And here they came to our rescue, having saved me and many other comrades from drowning. Once landed

SPANISH MASSES ARE GETTING INTO A RESURRECTIONARY MOOD

The continued drive of the Negrin government to liquidate the conquests of the revolution of July 19 is meeting with an ever stiffening resistance on the part of the workers and peasants of Spain.

Already the government was forced to beat retreat on such important issues as militarization of industries and liquidation of peasant collectives. And, as is known already, the government, speaking through the official organs of the Communist Party and right wing of the Socialist Party, is even indulging at times in revolutionary phraseology such as the rather startling statement (startling when it comes from the lips of those who only recently berated any attempt to link up any revolutionary conquests with the anti-fascist struggle) that its avowed task is "to consolidate the revolutionary conquests."

Such statements, however, hardly deceive anyone. For they go hand in hand with a provocative policy of continued persecutions, of a fiercely partisan censorship, of arrests and official vilification of outstanding figures of revolutionary Spain.

No More Concessions

It is those attempts to break the anti-fascist unity that are bringing increased warnings on the part of the revolutionary press.

"We have already reached the utmost limit of our concessions—" writes "Castilla Libre," the daily organ of the Madrid C.N.T. organizations. Let no one demand from us more of those concessions! And let no one forget that the enemies of unity will always be regarded as enemies of the cause which we all defend."

A Dangerous Mood

An even more emphatic warning is given by the "Frente Libertario," an anarcho-sindicalist daily published for the soldiers of the Madrid front. In speaking of the growing resentment of the Spanish masses against the anti-revolutionary policies of the Negrin government, it warns of the possibility of a sudden outbreak of popular indignation.

The paper points out that the masses of Spain are becoming permeated with a dangerous mood, dangerous under conditions where the enemy is only within walking distance of the gates of Madrid. And unless the government put a stop to its policy of provocations this dangerous mood is liable to break forth in a catastrophic manner.

"There now exists and keeps growing from day to day a violently subversive spirit on the part of the masses, on the part of those who see their aspirations frustrated, their hopes of liberty and victory dashed to the ground. The people who are persecuted with ever greater intensity, who are denied elementary rights are now on the very brink of insurrection.

"The masses of Spanish people are now beginning to fondle the idea of armed insurrection with as much loving passion as they did in the July days" (that is prior the revolution of July 19.)

ashore, those anarchists extended to us such aid and sympathy which I will never forget. After having been treated in the hospital, I was taken into the house of an anarchist and was treated with the greatest kindness.

A Renegade At Work

"The same evening we took the train for Barcelona where we arrived late at night. We were told that we could not be led through the main streets of the city for the danger of being shot at by the anarchists. We were led through side streets and lanes to the Carl Marx barracks where we spent the night, having been ordered not to leave without a permit.

From Barcelona we went to Valencia, where Robert Minor, the American correspondent of the Daily Worker, addressed us repeating again the warnings against the anarchists. I began to realize that the whole matter was exaggerated and rather difficult to stomach."

NOBLE CAUSE DEPRAVED

(Continued from page one)

carried out is told by a British volunteer of one of those Brigades in the September issue of the British magazine "Controversy."

The experiences of this volunteer are in many respects typical. He joined the Brigade impelled by the sense of worker's solidarity and a desire to fight for ideals, only vaguely conceived by him, of revolutionary socialism.

While in Spain, he was appalled by the inequalities, rank favoritism and suppression of elementary rights which came to prevail in the International Brigades. Still considering himself a free Briton, he freely exchanged his opinions on

those matters with other members of the Brigade, which, much to his surprise, landed him in prison. And, indeed, it landed him so well that only by pure accident did he manage to get away after a long period of confinement.

The revolutionary integrity of this ordinary British worker is such, however, as to have him remain silent in face of the continued efforts, in the form of threats or coaxings made by the British authorities to elicit information from him as to the circumstances attending the recruiting and shipment of his unit.

But he did speak out, as a matter of proletarian duty, upon the man-

FOREIGN INTRIGUES IN SPAIN

British "Constitutional" Methods Paving Way for Dictatorship

(Continued from page one)

elevation to the rank of influential figures in the official circles lends credence to rumors, which a year ago sounded fantastic, of a possible understanding to be arrived by the loyalist and fascist governments?

British Plans And Official Denials

And now they have passed already the stage of rumors. We read of British plans for "pacification" to be achieved by the favorite British method which gave such "brilliant" results in Greece. The establishing of a "constitutional" monarchy, which until recently was only aired through subterranean channels, is now proclaimed as the semi-official policy of the British government.

But would the British government dare to give publicity to such plans did it not reckon upon some sort of backing in the official circles of the loyalist government of Spain?

Officially, of course, the latter maintaining its intransigence toward such proposals. "Anyone" declared Diaz, the secretary of the Communist Party in Spain "who would even consider the possibility of making transactions or compromises with the enemy could not for one minute maintain himself in power in our country." Less emphatic, but just as categorical in its tone, were the official denials of such negotiations issued by the Premier, Dr. Negrin.

Government Took Part In Conference

But here is what the French influential daily "Le Temps"—a paper which, as is known, is not given to sensation mongering writes about those negotiations.

"The future regime of Spain was already the subject of conversations among the foreign Ministers of several European countries and also between the latter and both parties of the Spanish civil war." (November 13)

The paper confirms the report of the British suggested compromise by way of bringing back the monarchy under Prince Juan, the son of the ex-king Alphonso. The "progressive" nature of such solution is such that it found ready support on the part of Germany.

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REVOLUTION**

THE FINANCIAL REPORT OF COLLECTIONS FOR SPAIN SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

It tells of a continued slump in our efforts on behalf of the heroic masses of Spain.

We are relaxing our efforts at a time when help is most urgently needed, when the struggle is entering into its critical phase.

The Spanish workers need now more and not less help.

Do not delay such help. Send it to the most genuine representative of the Spanish workers and peasants—the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c-o United Libertarian Organizations, 45 W. 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

A New Turn In Soviet Diplomacy

What the attitude of the representative of the loyalist government remains thus far is a diplomatic mystery. But the declaration made public by the Soviet representative in the Non-Intervention Committee, I. Maisky, as to the readiness of the Soviet government to grant belligerent rights to Franco after "substantial withdrawal of foreign troops may be more than a mere coincidence. For the very conditions suggested by the Soviet government and which, of course, were immediately embraced by the Communist Party of Spain, come dangerously close to those which underlie the rumored negotiations for a shameful peace.

Votes Instead of Bullets

"In connection with this turn in Soviet diplomacy" writes the "Arbeiter Politic," published in Alsac (as quoted by the "Spanish labor news") "We can readily understand the meaning of the declaration made by the Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, Diaz, a few days later, to the effect that the Communist Party has come out for a general plebiscite in Spain.

"The idea of such a plebiscite, as is well known, was initiated in England and France by those supporting the conclusion of the Spanish civil war through a shady compromise. In practice this means that an armistice must be declared and a plebiscite taken under circumstances that can well be imagined to exist in Franco's Spain.

"The Communist Party thus wants now to defeat fascism not with bullets but with votes."

They want More Than that

The Stalinist-Prieto coalition now ruling Spain knows, of course, more than that. But it also knows that in order to forestall the day of reckoning that is to come after the defeat of Franco's forces, the danger of foreign intervention and fascist invasion must not be removed. It was this threat that brought them to power and it is only by wielding this threat that they can hope to stay in power.

And it is when viewed in the light of this struggle against the revolutionary forces of Spain that the persistency of the rumors of peace negotiations assume their full significance, all the official disclaimers notwithstanding.

P.O.U.M. VINDICATED

"From an absolutely authoritative source in Spain I am able to report this week news which is good and at the same time unsatisfactory.

"The Minister of Justice, Senor Irujo, has informed the Cabinet that after thorough investigation of the charges made against the five P.O.U.M. leaders, he and his advisers have concluded that there is no case against them to present to the Special Tribunal for espionage. Following this report, the Cabinet considered what to do and decided by seven votes to two to liberate the prisoners quietly one by one.

"The minority of two was composed of the Communist Party representatives, who wanted the charges to be pressed. They regarded the matter as a major issue, and that it might similarly be regarded by Soviet Russia.

"In view of the importance of maintaining the unity of the Government and the co-operation of Russia, the question was reconsidered, and it was finally agreed to keep the prisoners in confinement without penal conditions, but not to proceed with the trial."

Fenner Brockway, leader of Independent Labor Party of Britain, in "The New Leader" (British publication) of Nov. 26.

WHO IS BETRAYING ANTI-FASCIST CAUSE? GENERAL POZAS ARRESTED

(Continued from page one)

were brought up before the Tribunals on trumped up charges of espionage were convicted. It is the more flagrant an evidence of the fantastic nature of such charges that the Tribunals were packed by yes-men of the War Commissariat controlled to a certain extent by the Stalinists.

Stalinist Appointee Arrested

Most sensational of all is the arrest of General Pozas, the supreme commander of the Catalonian forces. We quote the Swiss weekly "Le Reveil," (December 4) for information on this matter.

"Everyone remembers that following the May days in Barcelona, the Negrin government, which succeeded Largo Caballero, sent to Catalonia General Pozas with full civil and military powers. The latter became in fact a veritable dictator of Cata-

lonia. He was to reform, fortify and restore healthful conditions at the front as well as in the rearward.

"In reality, even in the military circles he was regarded as anything but an eagle. But like the Communist General Lister he distinguished himself in his work of repression against the workers of Catalonia *)

*) Ed. Note: We lack definite information as to whether General Pozas was a member of the Communist Party. Most of the prominent Generals of the old army now working with the loyalists did join this party, partly for camouflaging purposes and partly by class instinct, since the Communist Party, backed up by Soviet Russia, set itself up as the most formidable bulwark against the revolutionary workers.

We do know, however, that General Pozas took a very important part in the summer conference of the P.S.U.C. (Communist outfit of Catalonia) as one of the important figures in its high councils.

"It is reported, on good authority, that Loyalist Spain has been informed by the 'democracies' of Europe that no Spanish government will be 'tolerated' which may include representation of the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist labor federation) or of the U.G.T., if the latter is represented by the Caballero tendency."

(From the "Spanish Labor News")

"A COUNTRY THAT USES ALL METHODS OF FASCISM TO SUPPRESS OPPOSITION CAN HARDLY BE HELD UP AS A DEMOCRACY"—PROF. DEWEY.

And unless Negrin's government abandons the methods of its Russian mentors it will rapidly forfeit the right to appeal to the world in the name of democracy.

THE FATE OF THE LIBERTARIAN
REVOLUTION IS THE FATE OF
THE CIVILIZED WORLD

The "Spanish Revolution"
NEEDS YOUR AID.

MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN NOV. and DEC., 1937
By U.L.O., NEW YORK

Receipt No.	Amount
269—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	\$ 10.00
270—S. Gorelick, Kansas City, Kansas	15.00
271—Mohegan Group (Bannister)	5.00
	\$ 30.30
PREVIOUS BALANCE	\$602.82
CASH ON HAND	\$633.42

"Among the features that impressed me most in the revolution was the large laboratory brought into existence by the comrades of the C.N.T.

"It embraces 12 departments of science. The chief research work is agriculture and experiments are carried out on large estates.

"This laboratory can well be compared, on a smaller scale of course, with many such institutions outside of war-ridden Spain."

—EMMA GOLDMAN

"But for some time nothing was heard of this grand savior. The rather intriguing silence in regard to him was finally broken by information reaching us from Barcelona, to the effect that General Pozas was arrested on charges of high treason, while HALF OF HIS STAFF HAD ALREADY GONE OVER TO FRANCO."

"Independent News," a French news bulletin, informs on the same matter:

"It is affirmed in the military centers that the deposition and the arrest of General Pozas were motivated by the fact that the most advanced positions near Huesca conquered by the revolutionary troops were abandoned without any apparent reason.

"It is also reported that large stocks of war material have recently disappeared in a rather mysterious manner."

Treason Rife in The General Staff

The same bulletin reports drastic purges in the General Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) at the Aragon front.

"A large number of the members of the General Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) were shot for having aided their comrades to make their way to the fascist lines; others were executed on the same front for 'direct contact with the enemy'."

"It is those military men that engaged the full confidence of the Stalinists. Like the secretary of General Miaja, who afterwards became the aviator that bombarded Valencia, these officers and Commissars of the Karl Marx division belong to the growing number of Stalinists who are caught in the flagrant crime of treason and espionage."*)

*) To many, those wholesale betrayals may seem somewhat strange and incredible, although by now this very fact has already been officially verified. But one has to bear in mind that the Communist Party of Spain is essentially a middle class party which differs from other such parties by its recent origin and feeble roots in the population.

This means that it drew to its ranks not those middle class elements which were rooted in some kind of liberal traditions, but the politically amorphous elements who were forced into political activity by the pressure of revolutionary events and exigencies of anti-fascist struggle.

Their anti-fascist sentiment is counter-balanced by the fear of revolution. It is a vacillating element whose loyalty to anti-fascist cause is in inverse ratio to the fascist successes at the front.