

# What Next In Spain?

By HERBERT ZAM

WITH the military-fascist counter-revolution in Spain in its last throes, it is necessary to take stock of the breath-taking events. The present movement is not an isolated incident, but a phase of the development of Spain toward proletarian revolution. It shows, definitely and beyond dispute, that the struggle in Spain between Socialist revolution and Fascist counter-revolution cannot be compromised by a middle-of-the-road bourgeois republic. Either Socialism or Fascism! There is no middle ground.

It shows that all learned talk about the "peaceful road to Socialism" is but pacifist twaddle. For in Spain Socialism was not being established. The Republic was merely granting the workers elementary concessions usually connected with the bourgeois revolution. But the reactionary big - capitalist - landlord - Catholic Church alliance could not tolerate even these reforms. In the last analysis, the Spanish workers do not have any such choice between "peacefulness" and "violence" as the utopians like to picture. They have a choice between the permanent violence and bloodshed of the counter-revolution, and the temporary violence of the Socialist revolution which will put an end to all violence forever.

## Republic Asleep

The Republican government was caught napping by the counter-revolution. This is a rather mild term. For the government had done everything to make it easy to prepare a successful coup d'etat. All the reactionary militarists were kept at their posts. The few who were "punished" were merely helped thereby.

For example, the military leader of the counter-revolution, General Francisco Franco, an outstanding reactionary plotter, was "exiled" by being made commander of the Canary Islands where he could plot in peace. Others were "punished" by being placed in charge of the Foreign Legion and other troops in Morocco, with the result that they assumed control over these

## PLEDGE LOYALTY TO THEIR CLASS



With their fists clenched in Socialist salute, these young Madrid workers pledge their loyalty to the working class while Jose Castillo, young militia lieutenant, lies in his coffin, a martyr to the cause of workers' emancipation.

forces to throw against the Republic.

In Spain itself, the preparations for the rebellion proceeded almost openly, with the Fascists enjoying full "democratic" rights. There is no doubt that the rebellion was well-planned, well-prepared, nationally organized. It came close enough to being successful to show how dangerously unstable social conditions in Spain are. Indeed, the failure of the counter-revolution is not due to its military inadequacies but rather to the mass resistance of the workers and revolutionary sections of the peasantry.

Even the capitalist press recognized that the decisive factor in the fighting was the armed workers' battalions. The Asturian miners, with dynamite, the tools of their trade converted into a weapon of war, took the rebellion in the rear and paralyzed the march on Madrid. In the army and in the fleet, the rank-

and-file soldiers and sailors rapidly put an end to attempts at counter-revolution by arresting their officers and electing new commanders from among the ranks.

The main reliance for the defeat of the counter-revolution was not in the "formal" troops of the government, but in the extra-legal troops of the working class. The Government was itself compelled to arm the workers and accept the help of the Labor militia, just as Kerensky accepted the help of the workers and revolutionary troops when he was threatened by Kornilov.

## Will They Dissolve?

When the counter-revolution is crushed, will the workers' militia dissolve? Will they give up their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the next coup d'etat?

A dual power has been established in Spain. The official government represents the bourgeois revolution which, in the period of capitalist decay throughout the world, cannot even carry out its own tasks. The armed workers' troops represent the Socialist revolution, which in its course will also complete the work left undone by the bourgeois revolution.

The Kornilov counter-revolution in Russia was followed within two months by the proletarian revolution. Nobody can predict whether the proletarian revolution in Spain will come within two or twelve months. But one thing is certain—history has placed the proletarian revolution on the agenda of Spanish events as the next stage of development.

Out of the present chaos in the proletarian movement in Spain there must crystallize a power which will make this perspective the hub of its program. Whether this power will be the left wing of the Socialist Party, led by Caballero and Javier Bueno, or a Socialist-communist alliance, or the "Alianza Obrero," the united movement of all the revolutionary proletarian forces, remains to be seen.

The present counter-revolution is neither an accident nor was it unpredictable. If the bourgeois republic does not give way to a proletarian republic there will be other attempts at counter-revolution, as well as more indirect methods by the counter-revolutionary landlord-capitalist alliance to seize political power. Indeed, reaction is nurtured andism.

grows strong under the wings of the Republic, which preserves the economic power of the landlords



Francis A. Henson, New York Socialist visiting in Spain, who took an active part in routing the Fascists in Barcelona.

## MILITIA IN ACTION



Here are Madrid Socialist militiamen receiving bombs and other ammunition before they left for the mountain passes to hold back successfully the Fascist advance.