SPAIN

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

NEW YORK, MAY 21st, 1937

Price 3 cts

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP FOR SPAIN PLANNED BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE

General Miaja Approached with this Plan

WINSTON CHURCHIL REVEALS DIPLOMATIC GAME

It is quite in line with the general conjecture of almost everyone regarding the truly significant aspects of the Spanish situation that the bourgeoisie press almost entirely ignored the amusing proposals for "pacification" of Spain made by Winston Churchill.

They are amazing out in their selves—anything could be expected from the most Honorable leader of the die-hard faction of the Tory Party, who of course can give the most moral stamp of approval to those proposals. In fact, they were timed as well with other similar, although more veiled, utterances of Eden and other official figures as to give the impression of political sources—news-gatherers thrown out by the government through its unofficial spokesmen to test the reaction of the country to the schemes now being worked out behind the scenes.

"Neutral" Dictatorship for Spain Proposed

What was the nature of those sensational proposals?

Mr. Churchill declared it as encouraging and encouraging that Germany, France, Italy, Britain and Russia were acting together in a way which represented the concert of the great powers in Spain. This would be achieved by the following plan:

1) The five Great Powers whose forces are now acting nominally in common policy, after agreeing among themselves would refers to the Spanish a solution.

This solution would be a dictatorship of the four Powers "expiring over a period of six years, in three stages."

The first stage would be that of pacification or as Churchill puts it, "putting things in gear," and giving the country time to cool down.

The second a "hybrid government imposed on Spain from without.

The third stage—and here the democratic" conscience of Mr. Churchill speaks out (as is known, Mr. Churchill has at least been suffering quite frequently from the"

(Continued on page four)

ANARCHISTS IN BARCELONA STILL HOLD POSITIONS INTACT

ANARCHISTS IN BARCELONA STILL HOLD POSITIONS INTACT

Stories of Defeat Not Borne Out by Scanty Reports

Not before the exact terms of the understanding reached between the anarchists of Cataluña and the representatives of Valencia will have become known, will we be able to evaluate the results of the recent disturbances in terms of revolutionarv gains or losses.

One thing is clear, though, the fighting did not end in a defeat of anarchist forces or representation by some terrorists. Even the Telephone Exchange building was given up only as a result of negotiations and not physical superiority.

The workers' suburbs are in the hands of the anarchists and the criminal attempt to disarm the anarchists had to be given up by the authorities.

In itself the latter represents a distinct success: the fighting did instil some wholesome lessons of respect for the anarchists into the minds of those who were relying too much on the strength of "Romanian arms."

However, that the value of this lesson may be reduced to nothing by further concessions and compromises in the political field.

Spanish anarchism has shown itself ready to any test in the field of open battle. The same, however, can hardly be said about both stage manoeuvres, negotiations at close doors and political bargaining.

READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

Power of Revolution Lies with Industrial Union, Not the State

COME AND HEAR ABOUT LATE EVENTS IN SPAIN

A MASS MEETING

with the participation of M. GARCÍA Who Just Returned from Spain

WILL BE HELD ON MAY 21st, at

Tarma Club

2365 FIFTH AVENUE—Near 125th Street
Meeting Begins 8 p.m. sharp — Hall Closes 11 p.m.

Speakers:

M. GARCÍA - C. TRESCA - S. WEINER

and others.

The participation of the Spanish anarchists in the present government is interpreted by many as a full reversal of the anarchist position in regard to the State. The anarchists, we are told, who formerly, under the rule of the dictators, came to see the light, having at first been forced to become a part of the State apparatus and then gradually converted to its protagonism.

There is, however a great difference between using the State as a protective shell of society during an emergency period and displacing society by a totalitarian State itself in the guise of a revolutionary dictatorship.

This point is well brought out by D. A. de Bartolín in an article written for the anarcho-syndicalist daily, "Solidaridad Obrera." (D. A. de Bartolín, General Secretary of the Spanish Federation of Anarchist-Cumunist Cabinet.)

(Continued on page three)
REVOLUTION IN SPAIN
(Continued from page one)
ites while progressively dete-
in the Fascist controlled provinces.

Workers and Peasants
For Revolution—
What are the expectations of the population in regard to the continuation of revolution after the war?
The very presence of the C.N.T. as a source of conflicts which finally flared out in an armed clash. As to the unpopularity of the C.N.T., the author does not specify the kind of people the C.N.T. is unpopular with. It may be as far as the middle classes are concerned—and Mr. Fernoweth feels perhaps more at home among the latter than among the workers and antistas whose sentiments toward the C.N.T. certainly do not conform in any way to those of communist.

But there is objective evidence to disprove the impressionistic statement of Mr. Fer-

Solidarity Or War?
The widest read paper in Catalonia. It has a circulation of 12,000,000, and is said to be the most expensive in the world.

Herald-Tribune correspondent of the Catusian delegation opened the congress with a detailed account of the work and activities of the C.N.T. Here, as elsewhere, the attempt is to present an accurate picture of the situation, as it is in the C.N.T. The government is responsible for its actions, and the people are responsible for their opinions.

And contrary to the flippant assertions of Mr. Fernoweth, this accumulated reservoir of labor nullity stood up with

The primary business of a newspaper is reporting of facts and ideas. This extends to the interpretation of such facts, it may even be guilty of admitting a strong bias into the reporting of facts, but as long as it succeeds in presenting a coherent picture it fulfills the minimum demand made upon it by the readers.
PEASANTS OF ARAGON ARE FOR COLLECTIVES

Aragon is the most revolutionary province of Spain, both for its libertarian elements, which came to power upon the arrival of the First Division to Barcelona, and for its lack of compromise towards the central government. Barcelona, while not as revolutionary as Aragon, did not have to compromise, as the anarchists of Catalonia. The spontaneous solidarity of the peasants toward collectivisation was not hampered or thwarted as in the other provinces—high degree of socialisation, more advanced forms of village community, and the control of all strategic positions by the revolutionaries. (Even the moderate union of Radical Union of Workers (U.G.T.) is into this revolutionary work. In no other province, with the exception of Asturias, are the hounds of solidarity between the anarchists-and-socialists-C.N.T.—and the socialists-U.G.T. as strong as in Aragon.)

Is it true, however, as it is alleged that the peasants of Aragon are the Stalinists—this that revolution has been imposed upon the peasantry by force, and that the latter has consented to the collectivisation "experiments"?

We find an answer to this question in the description given by the Italian anti-Fascist paper, Il Popolo d’Italia, of the effect produced by the new social order upon the Aragonese peasantry. ("Ciutadans d’Aragon!" is a republican and not an anarchist paper, and the testimony of its correspondent cannot be taken as party propaganda of any sort.)

New Social Order Deeply Appreciated by Peasants

"My close contacts with the peasants during my extensive travels in Aragon convinced me that the change of regime (collectivisation of peasant economy) has made felt its advantages not only to the peasantry, but to the entire rural population. The standard of life of the entire population has improved considerably. But above all it is the prosperity of agricultural production that brought its beneficial effect upon the morale of the entire rural population. It has fortified the life of the hardy Aragonian peasant. The manifest benefits of the new social system strengthened the spirit of solidarity among the peasants, arousing them to greater efforts and activity. (Ed. note: as reported in a previous issue of the "Spanish Revolution," the soybean area of the Aragon province is now 40% larger than it was before the revolution—i.e., larger than it was before the revolution.)

Free Initiative and Not Orders From Above

"The experiments undertaken by those village communities are of great value and are of great importance. Not a single peasant during this period has heard of his community being the prey of any sort of state authority.

"It is the principle of feder- ate put in practice in its most complete form. As soon as the new streets are started..." said a peasant, "our way, property statute abolished and every municipality holding elections..."

The future will bring prosperity and some form of conciliation. That is why their plan of international control was met with a widespread suspicion throughout Spain.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL SUSPECTED IN SPAIN

At a recent meeting at the Monumental Bullring, the representatives of the C.N.T. (anarchist-syndicalist union) summarised the three main currents in anti-Fascist camp:

(1) Those who think that the movement of July 19 can be interpreted simply as a rebellion of the armed forces, and therefore they must fight for the return of democratic legality.

(2) Those who think that everything should be regarded from the point of view of the war, without modifying the structure of the rearguard for fear of international complications.

(3) Those who believe that there cannot be a purely rebelion, but a profound social revolution.

Revolution Represents National Need

These are the Republicans, the Marxists and Anarchists respectively. The speaker maintained that the anarchist point of view is the only one representing the genuine needs of the Spanish workers and peasants. In a sense this point of view could be called national since the others are dictated by the pressure of foreign interests. The latter wish Spain to be no more than a democratic political entity within the strategic grouping of certain powers.

England Chief Enemy of Revolution

England, said he, was perfectly aware of the significance of the Spanish revolution. That is why English diplomacy is working hard to prevent it. Neither England nor France would allow Hitler’s or Mussolini’s triumph to go unchallenged, they do not want a speedy victory on the part of the loyalists.

Their plan is to let the struggle drag on until the extremists on both sides had been exhausted. They will then buy truce and some form of conciliation. That is why their plan of international control was met with a widespread suspicion throughout Spain.

Power of Revolution Lies with Industrial Workers

(Continued from page one)

The article is too long for our paper, but even the fragmentary portion reproduced here will enable the reader to grasp the main principle of anarchist society in Spain, which consists not in ignoring the reality of the State as such but in gradually displacing it by the new social organs created by the revolution.

Collaboration in the Government

"Quite up to the early days of the July Days (Fascist rebellion) we maintained that the formula for the economic solution must be sought along the lines of collaboration, a compromise between all elements of the industrial organisation. A place of totalisation ideas of dictatorship we upheld the possibility of a harmonious cooperation and a mutual understanding among all currents of socialism." We said prior to the events of July 19 and we reaffirm it now.

"After the first victory against the Fascist gendarmes we realised that we were faced with a question of war, a war of greater complexity than we had previously experienced. It was really then that we began to be aware of the need to solve the problem of the government."

State Accepted Only As an Emergency Institution

"We are against the State and militarism, but, having accepted this we must also accept the State and the State. This does not imply that we give up our struggle against war, militarism or the State as such, but it does imply that we no longer consider the State to serve as a保卫 force.

"Our participation in the war and in the government is not to give up our basic ideas in the possibility of building up a new order without political and economic paralysis.

Where Lies the Main Line of Revolutionary Activity

"Our real power is not the govern- ment, but it is not in the hands of the mass of the people. Our legitimate, authentic power is in the factories, mines, and major economic institutions of transport and villages. It is in the organization of production, consumption and consumption.

"Society can live without a govern- ment, but it cannot live without agriculture, without industrial workers, miners, navigators. And the factory has in its hands the big factories, means of transport and industry, and through these the wealth of the nation.

"Ed note: The author does not ignore the obvious idea that such economic power cannot be exercised by the State, since the political power of the State apparatus is controlled by the military and the bureaucracy and the latter is subservient to the economic interests of the rich."

Power of Revolution Lies With the Syndicate

(Workers’ Union)

"While war is carried on, we can also preserve a great deal along the lines of social reconstruction. But this reconstruction must be based on the government to facilitate the official legalisation, recognition and sanction of the trade unions. And already accomplished in the factories, the struggle of the workers for the right of association, the organization of the state workers."

The Syndicate is the only sincerely revolutionary organisation, the only one which will not be destroyed by the revolution but will be re-formed and utilized for the needs of the revolution by the very State apparatus the control of which must be transferred to workers’ organi- zations.

Fighting In Barcelona

Fighting In Barcelona

Provoked by Anarchists

(Continued from page one)

Provinces of Aragon (controlled by socialist and com- munist bureaucracy) signed a solemn pact with the anarchistic syndicalists pledges loyal cooperation in the carrying out of the basic tasks of the revolutionary movement.

What has changed since the July days that it was necessary to embark on a policy which were declared to be successful, to abandon the struggle against Fascism? Were the anarchists reallqten in their attitude toward other forces? Did they show any tendency toward monopoly of power? Did they pursue a policy of excluding or repressing any cooperation of other parties on the basis of the generally accepted revolutionary conquests?

The Spirit of Fact-Breaking

If anything, the anarchists were too yielding, too eager to obtain the co-operation of others in the basic tasks of war and revolution. Had the republican and communist politicians meant what they promised in their solemn pledges and pacts signed with the anarchists 7 or 8 months ago, the road would be open for a harmonious, truly democratic, co-operation of all forces on the basis of some compromise solution of the problems facing the revolution.

Such compromise was, however, barred by the spirit shown by the anarchists and the other communist politicians, a spirit fully revealed by the idle talk about "liquidating the C.N.T." and "getting rid of it in some manner," indulged in at the beginning of the revolu- tionary movement as Ravach’s article in the "New Republic," Dec. 9.) It was this spirit, bit- tressed up by the material aid of the Moscow and Galicia governments, that dictated the policy of fact-breaking, of sabotage and deliberate provocations pursued ever since the Catalan government was formed.

Communist Policy Leading to Civil War

The fruits of this suicide policy are already showing up. Now it is only a little skirmish leading to an armed truce and in which not a single shot has been fired. Yet, any doubt that the given the same spirit and the blind suicidal policy on the part of the politicians, and a new civil war will flare up with all the ominous consequences entailed by it.

For Barcelona is not Kron- stadt and the Spanish anarchist movement is much more of a healthy nut to crack than the Russian anarchist movement of twenty-years ago.
WHY IS SOVIET RUSSIA OPPOSED TO REVOLUTION IN SPAIN?

"The rabid opposition to the continuation of revolutionary policies is not the result of threats to the prestige of foreign powers," declared the c.N.T., representative at one of the last conferences of the trade unions, recently in Barcelona. In mentioning those powers, the speaker omitted any explicit reference to Soviet Russia, although implying it in many of his statements.

In fact, the government of Soviet Russia holds one of the foremost places among the enemies of the Spanish revolution. That a party which grew out of the October revolution should turn so fiercely against a similar revolution in another country is one of the most tragic ironies of modern history.

What accounts for that policy, for this streak ofReactionary democracy on the part of those who have stilled every manifestation of democracy in their own country? This question is taken up in the coming war. It would be by the editor of the French an ardent worker in the libertarian and democratic spirit, who writes the following on this subject:

"Spain wants to be repub-
l
c
lican and democratic"—this was what "Istvand" writes, interpreting events in 1917 would signify the beginning of the ultimate struggle against the bourgeoisie.

"Stalin, the builder of Socialism in one country, does not want this struggle. In France he leads the communist party in the neighborhood of the roads of social peace, fighting for a "strong" France, in which the working class would be in a state of lethargy, a "united" France ready to march again against Germany at the bidding of the general staff. And in the same manner Stalin wants to have a "revolutionary and democratic" Spain, in order to join the Spanish minority party.

Revolution Upsets Spanish Plans

"Those calculations were frustrated. Our comrades who faced the greatest difficulties of the civil war, building socialism step by step to not let themselves be robbed of the fruits of their victory. France is the only country in which one really believes that a political democracy of the French type can hold out in Spain. Social movements are like elemental forces, it is they who have their destiny. The Spanish experiment is going full steam ahead. And in no wise is it ready to curb itself at the order of the Russian dictatorship."

Military Dictatorship for Spain Planned by England

"Discouraged soundings have already been made among the generals of the Spanish war." General Mijas was appointed to this post.

General Mijas Groomed for Dictatorship

"La Depensa de Tolouse" reports that General Mijas was also approached with this plan.

"General Mijas," writes this paper, "is regarded as one who is singularly fit to head such a dictatorship. The government is believed to have a number of generals in France's army, as well as the majority of the military of the country. These generals will be quite glad to accept his offer, knowing that the government army will remain loyal to him, his prestige being quite great among them.

According to the same reports, General Mijas declined this offer. Under the circumstances, he could not help doing it: neither his "patriot" nor his very influential friends in the government would be able to stand very long behind him if the firing squad, did show him all appeals to the officers of the British and French agents. But the very fact that such plans are being handled openly by semi-official spokesmen of the British government points to a serious phase of development.

Government Policies Play the Hand of British Diplomacy

The conservative press in Spain, while working under cover to bring about such an "solution," professed to be the hand of the British and French agents. But the very fact that such plans are being handled openly by semi-official spokesmen of the British government points to a serious phase of development.

Order from JACK WHITE

45 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE DEFIED

COMMUNISTS BUILD SECRET CHE-KA

One of the solemn pledges made by all signatories of the pact of mutual defense against Fascist invasion was to establish a form of popular justice which would make impossible any form of political persecution within the anti-Fascist ranks.

And, indeed, the democratic rights of the just, already legally established, have been fully worked out and incorporated in the Popular Tribunals, the function of which presents one of the best achievements of the revolution in Spain.

The Spirit of Lynch Law Asserting Itself

It would seem that the party that has been shouting the loudest about the defense of democracy would show itself the staunchest defender of the old barbarism.

Those, however, who know how de Jo immersed the Communist Party is in the spirit of Lynch law will hardly expect any loyalty from the so-called "progressive" parties to this revolutionary attempt to work out higher forms of justice.

And, indeed, wherever the Communist Party of Spain succeeded in adding to the three elements that any further attempt to support a Che-Ka which, acting with the consensus of the authorities, already grew into a sinister and hated power, tending to displace the Popular Tribunals.

Secret Che-Ka in Murcia

Thus, for instance, the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (April 22) reports that in the city of Murcia a secret Che-Ka was in operation for some time but no public arrest was made by sudden disappearances of people, among them a number of prominent members of the C.N.T.

The policy was drastically effective, showing that this secret body enjoyed some protection in the "higher spheres." The city was terrorized for quite a time until the C.N.T. took matters into its own hands.

The result of this investigation was the detention of bands of assassins which, according to a document signed by the Popular Front Committee, Libertarian Youth Organization and the local Federation of the C.N.T., belonged to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, however, was strangely silent on that matter. Nor was the government of that province very explicit about it: the threat of a general conspiracy led quite unwillingly to his Excellency's cabinet.

The C.N.T. was uninstantial in unearthing this underground Che-Ka, but in view of the high protection offered this band in the so-called "responsible" quarters, it has no illusions about any vigorous action. (It did succeed in putting those Communist assassins behind the bars.) That is why it issued a solemn appeal to the workers to support the government call "foreign systems of political dictatorship and terror" will be met with the classics of methods of reprisals which the C.N.T. had been using against the Spanish tyrants and inquisitors.

International Committee Against Fascism in Spain


Funds collected so far: $7,202.01

Funds held in Bank: $1,999.95

General Expenses: $514.98

Funds on Hand at this date: $667.08

For the Committee, E. VIVAS, Fin. Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY VERSUS CAPITALIST CONTROL

French workers unloading the British merchantmen Sarumana here in the presence of international control officers—who were watching in case arms would be unloaded—saw the deck suddenly went on strike. The dockers objected to any search for arms which would have been destined for the Spanish government forces. The control officers who are British, Italian and German, have protested to headquarters that the French workers are preventing them from carrying out their work. They insist on viewing the arms as the property of the state."

U.L.O. FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING APRIL

205—Fanger (Ferndale Group)—East Side United Front Meeting. $7.00

200—Fanger (U.O.O.)—U.O.O. Meeting. $1.50

205—Royal S. Naesby, N. Y. C. $1.00

205—G.O. (Mines-钢管) Fund.—270 S. Spring St. $1.00

205—Zona Weilach, 1 W. O. 4532, Detroit Union Lodge 125, 20th Meeting, 10th Session. $4.50

205—Mark Epstein, Michigan Colony $6.00

205—W. C. B. 6947 & Int. Lab. Group from San Francisco 1.50

205—Baron Colony, Berlin $6.00

205—Ben Ostebeck $1.00

205—Jennie Carlson $1.00

205—W. H. Salts, 220-230 W. $1.00

205—Michigan Colony (Bansait)

$242.52

Corrected bal. apc. April 23 should read, instead of $1439.46... $1439.46

Sent to Spain May 13, $1400.00—Expense, $12.50

Balance on hand. $99.27