WORKERS RESIST REACTIONARY MOVE

CABLEGRAM FROM BARCELONA
JUNE 22, 1937

No municipalization without workers' consent, says C.N.T.

Drive intensified against agricultural collectives.

Esquerra (Republican Party of Catalonia) recognizes workers as leading element.

ED. NOTE The latest move to wrest control of the industries from workers' unions was initiated by the Communist Party under the guise of a campaign to place the industries in the hands of the municipalities. The C.N.T. is not opposed to municipal control provided it goes hand in hand with a certain form of workers' management. But it is most emphatically opposed to the present plan of turning over the industries to a purely, political body into which the Catalanian Communists, acting in conjunction with the reactionary government of Valencia, tend to transform the present municipalities by eliminating the unions from any participation in municipal administration.

The move made in the direction of the workers' organization by the Esquerra (Left-Republican organization of Catalonia) points to a very significant tendency. The liberal elements are beginning to see themselves in a party which until recently let itself be towed merely by its semi-Fascist elements and that is today the P.S.U.C. (Unified Communist Socialist Party).

The defeat of the P.S.U.C. proposal (to take away the Public Services and entertainments from workers' organizations and to turn them over to the municipalities) reported in the last cablegram from Barcelona (Spanish Revolution, June 18) probably, has something to do with this latest self-assertion of the liberal elements of Catalonia.

C.N.T. MAPS PLANS TO FIGHT REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT

No Collaboration with Reactionary Government

Immediately after the last political crisis the National Committee of the C.N.T. called a plenary session of all the regional Committees to deal with the situation. The decisions taken at that session were of great importance in determining the attitude adopted by the C.N.T. organization in face of the continuing provocation of the new reactionary government.

The C.N.T. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEW GOVERNMENT

(Fron Combat Syndicaliste and Spanish Bulletin of C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

It was decided:

a) Not to collaborate in any form, direct or indirect, with the new government.

b) To start an intensive campaign of propaganda criticizing the work of the new government, exposing its counter-revolutionary character, its slave nature and its plans to negotiate a shameful peace with the Fascists. This propaganda should be extended to the war fronts and placed within the reach of the soldiers in the army.

c) To arrive at an understanding with the U.G.T. in order to carry on jointly the opposition to the Government.

d) To do everything possible in order to have those decisions accepted by the workers at the point of production, in their syndicates and in other places where joint action with the workers of the U.G.T. can be obtained. And everywhere a persistent campaign should be carried on in favor of a revolutionary alliance with the U.G.T.

The Spanish Revolution has not been crushed but it is in danger!

STATE CAPITALISM AIM OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN CATALONIA

"Municipalization" Program Disciplined—Former Agents of Private Monopolies Become Sudden Converts to Municipal Socialism—Communist Leader Pledges Cause of Foreign Capital.

Counter-Revolution Is Manoeuvring

From the very first period of its formation the counter-revolutionary bloc headed by the Communist Party of Spain set itself the clearly defined objective of liquidating the Spanish Republic by July 19. Its aim was to restore the capitalist system, to wrest political and economic control from the labor organizations, to form labor unions by beating them into submission and transforming them into an obedient tool of the State, and finally, to turn over the latter into the hands of a single, totalitarian Party representing the interests of "the nation as a whole." (The Communist drive to merge the Socialist and Communist Parties, as it was done in Catalonia, to dissolve the proletarian organizations of youth in an "all-national" organization embracing Catholic and bourgeois Republicans and manipulated by a hand-picked dictatorial committee.)

The aims of the counter-revolution have by now become sufficiently clear. Not so, however, its tactical line. The revolution, although weakened considerably by the last defeats and turning points, is still too formidable a force, at least in its potential power of resistance, to be sundered in a frontal attack. Hence the flanking movements, the constant ouflaging of a pseudo-revolutionary slogans characterizing the tactics of the counter-revolution.

State Capitalism in the Guise of Municipalization

And one of the clearest examples of such a flanking movement is the latest drive initiated by the Communist and bourgeois parties of Catalonia, to "municipalize" the transport and Public Service industries now held by worker's unions.

In Catalonia, as is known, the big industries were taken over by the workers immediately after the events of July 19. Transport and Public Service industries were the first to be taken over, and it was in those industries that the workers achieved the most signal success in spite of the tremendous handicaps incident to the transition period. The workers, to say the attitude of the Communist and Republican (the nationalist Esquerra) parties was that of rank hostility. Confined at first to a whispering campaign, the attacks of those elements assumed the form of open vilification as soon as the sworn enemies of the revolution found themselves safely sheltered from the workers' wrath under the embrasure of Russian tanks and aeroplanes.

Counter-Revolution Speroned by By Outcome of Barcelona Events

However, until the recent shift of political forces in Catalonia and the rest of Spain on serious attempts were made to dislodge the workers' organizations from their positions of economic supremacy. The violent campaign of defamation, of fear and ridicule upon the "official economic experiments" as the Communist press labeled all the collectivizations, led only to systematic sabotage and occasional legislative sallies on the part of the bourgeois-Communist bloc designed to set up additional difficulties in the way of economic reconstruction along the lines of a syndicalist revolution.

The political victory of those elements during the last month emboldened them to a more vigorous drive against collectivizations. Now, they believe, the moment has arrived for wresting economic control from the labor unions and lodging it, if not in the hands of the former masters, but in those of the working class.
SHIELDING CLASS ENEMIES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

COMMUNIST ASSASSINS OF REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS SENTENCED TO DEATH BY POPULAR TRIBUNALS

Norman Thomas writes in the Nation that “there is a Spanish proverb which says ‘The Latin proverb is to be taken as a general principle, though it is not always possible to preserve it. Left Republicans must join the Communists.’ Norman Thomas forgot, however, to add that with the Spanish workers and peasants this is no more a matter of a matter: to them it has become a grim reality which they feel keenly in their daily struggles against their class enemies.

Are they isolated cases of Communist revenge against anarchist peasants? The Solidaridad Obrera, in its exposition of the working of the Popular Tribunals in the Basque Country, states that in the last two months the Chester-Ka massacre in Arzua has been followed by an enormous increase in the number of similar cases. In the last three months the Popular Tribunals have sentenced 300 people to death.

FASCIST SEARCHES

These are the very elements that form the driving force of the Fascist state. It is not so much a case of a mass of people, but rather of a concentration of that force in the hands of the Fascist state. It is a case of a state that has developed in Spain and is being used to suppress political opposition.

Slander and Bloodshed,

Treason and a cowardly policy on the part of the leaders of the Basque Government. The Basque officials and the Basque Government ideas and the Basque Government—all of which have been taken over by the Basque Government and are being used to suppress political opposition.

The Soviet state has been used to suppress political opposition.

NEW GUEIZE

It was the old traditional enemies and the new enemies of the Popular Front, and they became active in the Popular Front under the old name as soon as they obtained informed support of the Popular Front.

The headquarters of the Popular Front were thoroughly attacked by members of the Communist Party and a special armed body sent for that purpose at the behest of the Communist Party. All attempts to coordinate the operations of the various resistance groups were frustrated, and for some time the organization was rendered and directed by the Communist Party.

Those acts were stoutly defended by the Madrid Communist daily Mundo Obrero. The demands of the C.N.T. press and organizations for an investigation of the participation of the culprits were rejected by the powerful influence of the Communist Party of Madrid. The Mayor of the town was still in charge of the Obrero as a sincere anti-Fascist and revolutionary of great integrity.

POPOPULAR TRIBUNAL LOOKS INTO CASE OF TERRORIST GANG

This very revolutionary, together with a small group of characteristically otherwise convinced,” the Communist Party of the neighboring town of Villamayor, found itself several days after the prison bars, freed with the graces of the worst criminals and raped and murdered. And along with those two leaders there were also brought to trial the most prominent members of the Communist organization, all of whom took part in the assassination of the C.N.T. members of the peasant unions and other groups.

This whole gang was placed on trial before the Popular Tribunals for the assassination of the peasants and a daughter—ah!—who entered up the whole community.

WHY ARE THE COMMUNISTS AGAINST ANARCHIST TERROR? The proceedings unfolded a macabre picture of terrorism carried out by this Communist clique against the peasant population, of blackmail of the most brutal kind, of robbery, rape, and murder. The terror of the Popular Tribunals was absolute and beyond death.

In this connection one can, perhaps, understand, why the Communist Party was showing so little enthusiasm for the Popular Tribunals, trying to substitute for them a more refined form of the Russian Cheka, or clamoring for more plausible Courts of Urgency?

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STATE CAPITALISM

AIM OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

at least in those agencies which would facilitate the gradual transfer of the collectivized enterprises into the hands of the capitalists.

Sudden Conversion to Municipal Socialism

One of such recently discovered facts is that in the municipal legislature, Small as it may resemble the outspoken centralism of the Communist Party all over the world, in Catalonia this Party has all of a sudden become a zealous convert of "municipal socialism." Its latest slogan (and, of course, it is launched in common with its closest ally — the butcher's union) is: "Public Services and transport should be run by the municipality, and not by the union." "The public interest of the entire city population stands above the private interests of the workers' unions." Municipalization Against Workers But Not Capitalists

But where, asks the "Solidari- dad" of the "Daily Worker," a Socialist daily in Barcelona, were those zealous defenders of the public interests when private capital was in control of transport and Public Services? Prior to the events of July 19, neither the Communist nor members of the "Esquerra" showed the slightest inclination to take away from the transport and Public Services the capitalists and turn them over to the municipality. How is it, the paper asks, that those very elements became so solicitous about the larger interests of the general city population as a whole now that the workers’ unions came into possession of Public Services?

Workers’ Interests Should Be Supreme in a Class Society

And, the same paper continues, the movement designed to represent the interests of the working class even in the remotest fashion place the so-called public good above those of the workers’ organizations if a class society is still in existence, as is still the case in Catalonia? What is that "general public" in whose interests the workers’ organizations have to be uprooted from the private control of the economic control? The petty bourgeoisie, the middle classes, are still numerous as they are in a majority of Catalonia: it is the bureaucrats who are jealous of the growing economic strength of worker’s unions in that it is the workers themselves that have to be "protected" against socialist organizations.

What Municipalization Means To Communists of Catalonia

The answer has already been given by the Communists of Catalonia. What they mean by a municipality is not a democratic expression of the general will of the community as a whole, but an agency that could be opposed to the workers’ syndicates and from which the latter could be excluded, for along with this drive for "municipalization" the Communist Party initiated a campaign to eliminate the C.N.T., the municipal administration.

And since the preponderant majority of the workers of Catalonia belongs to the C.N.T. (1,200,000 membership out of the total population of 4,000,000) the workers should not let themselves be drawn into a bloody struggle in spite of the provocations constantly used in order to have them come out in the streets.

B The SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR CONTINUOUS AID

(Continued from page one)

g) "The comrades should not be let themselves be drawn into a bloody struggle in spite of the provocations constantly used in order to have them come out in the streets.

(i) In case the U.G.T. reverses its present attitude and takes part in the movement to support the government, the National Committee is to call immediately a Plenum of all Regional Committees in order to lay down its basic tactical line for the movement. The Plenum also decided to unfold a special campaign, attacking the Communist Party and its satellites on a national scale.

Defense of Economic Conquests of Revolution

A Committee was designated to carry out work to substantiate the plan of legal and revolutionary defense of the economic positions gained during the Revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY OF CATALONIA IS A RATIONAL AND JUST SYSTEM

A LIBERAL VOICES OPINION

The new revolutionary economy of Catalonia is now being violently attacked by the Conspirators Party as a "ridiculous experiment," a "product of inhumanity," the "dictatorship of the butcher." We are putting before the eyes of the Spanish ambassador in Belgium, evaluating from a very conservative point of view the character of the collectivized economy of Spain.

"It is yet too early to present any exact evaluations of the economic results of the system. We are still in a stage which does not permit us to see clearly what the future holds for this system. There are certain collectivized industries which found it very easy going because the workers and industry had not been very eager yet to enable the further functioning of the industries. There are, however, industries that lack liquid funds and that have to be kept going by the Catalan government by way of credit advances.

"Others succeeded in maintaining the good result due to the proper demand obtained.

"There is a rational and just system. It has to overcome a great many obstacles. It has a luminous and hopeful future ahead of it." (From Le Monde, Geneva, June 12)

MOSCOW TRIALS ON SPANISH SOIL

(Continued from page one)

spokesmen like Jesus Hernandez and Pansanella upon the leaders of the U.G.T. and Largo Caballero himself, are now a part of the defeatist throng which is spreading a snarling anti-socialism. And both—the anti-Spanish and anti-Loyalist—may do well to ponder the sinister significance of the P.O.U.M. arrests in Barcelona and the imprisonment of the Nationalists.

Signs are not lacking to show that a new and more determined phase of Moscow policies are being taken up, and more to the point by those who were flirting with the Communists in the first period of the revolution. The Left-Socialists press is becoming more and more outspoken in its criticism of the Communist Party. The revolt within the Uni- fied Socialist Youth controlled by the Communist Party is growing from day to day. Telegrams pouring in from the other Communist groups are pouring in from every corner of Spain.

The Socialist Party of Madrid took a stand against the Com- munist Party. The same was done by the Valencia and Asturias organi- zations. These pressures may have very little effect on the policy of the Negro Government but in a way may be an earnest of the rising up the generally socialist opinion of Spain to the fascist and imperialist applica- tions of Moscow policies and may in the long run have a great effect on the more acute internal transformation of the Revolutionary Alliance of all the Left forces struggling against the fascist and imperialist forces of Spain which will dip the sniffer socialists into a Communist authoritarian dictatorship cast by Russia's intervention.
COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

Socialist Protests Persecution of Collectives

A TYPICAL PEASANT MOVEMENT—COLLECTIVES IMPERATIVE ECONOMIC FACTOR—WHO IS OPPOSED TO AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES—COMMUNIST MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE BACKS VILLAGE "KULAKS"—Socialist Protest Communist Policies

To many people the attitude of the Communist Party toward the collectives and peasant syndicates of Spain seems incredible. They find it hard to reconcile the present policy pursued in Spain with championing the cause of peasant collectives a few years ago.

It is, therefore, of interest to read the letter of protest sent to the Communist Minister of Agriculture by the Secretary of the Peasant and Land Workers' organization, belonging to the Spanish U.G.T. Its General Secretary, Ricardo Zalabala, is a member of the Socialist Party and the region (Badajoz) referred to in his letter is one in which the C.N.T. influence is weaker than that of the Socialist Unions.

The picture unfolded in this document is one which is frequently described in the anarchist press. The Communist Party allies itself with the most reactionary element of the peasant population. Its agents carry on a violent campaign against peasantry and the full backing of the officials of the Department of Agriculture which is controlled by the Communist Minister and it is very characteristic that this letter of protest sent by a U.G.T. organization and signed by a member of the Executive Committee of this organization was turned down by the Communist administration of the "Chardid," the Madrid organ of the U.G.T. (It appeared in full in the anarchist-syndicalist daily C.N.T.). Here we present a very brief summary thereof:

How Collectives Were Formed

The province of Badajoz is a war zone province. The breakdown of the old order in the first period of the revolution brought forth a spontaneous movement of the peasants, who held a general convention in the month of November and decided to confiscate all the lands belonging to the Peasant, to form an agricultural co-operative and a collective in every village. (Ed. note: the report belies the slanders of the Communist press agents that the confiscations are forced upon the peasants by the "extremists.")

Collectives Voluntarily Accepted

The confiscated lands were disposed of in the following manner: those that wanted to cultivate their lands individually got their proportionate share in land and equipment and the rest who decided, by their own free will, to work collectively kept their lands and equipment in common.

This decision was more moderate than the government decree of October 7, according to which the disposal of confiscated lands was to be decided by the majority and not left to the free will of every peasant. The work done by the Peasant Communist was legalized by the decision of the government representative who fully approved their proceedings and methods of work.

Outside Agenicia Stirs Up Anti-Fascist Propaganda

For the last few months, however, certain political elements (the "extremists" as are the Communist Party), acting under instructions from above, began to unfold a propaganda campaign for the breaking up of the collectives and the parceling out of their land and equipment. In spite of the most intensive campaign of those agents only 7 out of 47 communities yielded to this propaganda. And as it was to be expected, the break-up of those 7 collectives only resulted in the enrichment of the economically stronger peasants ("kulaks"), while the rest, having lost the economic security of collectives, soon found themselves in the grip of the richer peasants.

Majority of Peasants for Collectives

The preponderant majority of peasant communities held fast to their collectives. Their economic success is testified by the fact that the area under cultivation has grown considerably and that they have become an important factor in provisioning the Front.

With all that the violent campaign (the report points out that it is directed from some outside source) has been gaining in momentum. Of late, it came to open assaults upon the collectives by certain elements who seemingly have all the protection of the official agencies. Every assault brings in its wake the "mediation" of the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture who invariably decides in favor of the attackers. The collectives are gradually deprived of their equipment and land by this persistent method of assault and government intervention.

Some of the superintendents have so palpably reactionary in their nature as to stir entire peasant communities into a frenzy of resistance. Such, for instance, is the attempt to take away from the collectives one of the finest estates and give it back to a former owner, an ex-Fascist, implicated in Fascist activities and released only because of personal influences in high quarters.

Acting Under Orders From Above

When asked to explain this strange behavior, the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture told point blank that he is acting under orders of the C.N.T. and that his supervision of Agriculture is controlled by the C.N.T.

TRUE ANTI-FASCISM IS REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERTARIAN

One of the most hopeful aspects of the present situation in Spain is the gradual reawakening of the liberal opinion to the Fascist danger implied in the totalitarian policies of the Communist Party of Spain. Not only are the left Socialists breaking away from the anti-revolutionary bloc created by the Communist Party, but in the Republican Party, representing to a great extent the liberal opinion of the country, one hears more and more authoritative voices calling for the acceptance of basic revolutionary achievements, a more sympathetic attitude toward the C.N.T. and a revulsion of anti-Fascism by way of transcending the old formulas of political democracy.

The Communist Party, with its insistence on bourgeoisie Republic and its animosity toward any more extraterritorial legislative act, has the best opinion within the anti-Fascist camp. And there is no question where it would find itself now, were it not for the powerful foreign organizations.

We quote here excerpts from answers given by Fernando Vacluz, a prominent intellectual and Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works, to the questionnaire sent out by the C.N.T. anarchist-syndicalist daily in Madrid.

WHAT IS ANTI-FASCISM?

"What meaning do you attach to anti-Fascism?"

"Anti-Fascism should be the exact contrary of Fascism." "Fascism means monopo-

lism and imposes the dictator-

ship of the Party. Anti-Fascism

should therefore advocate a posi-

tion clearly emphasizing demo-

cracy, liberty and humanitarian values: this is what is called before the State, liberty above authority. Any movement that fails to em-

phasize all that, becomes in-

fected with the Fascist spirit.

"Fascism is also a collectivist system. In Germany it calls it-

self "National Socialism," and the

anti-Fascist position should be to organize work on the

basis of the syndicates (ed. note: compare this with the

community into a frenzy of re-

sistance. Such, for instance, is

the attempt to take away from

the collectives one of the finest

estates and give it back to

a former owner, an ex-Fascist,

implicated in Fascist activities

and released only because of

personal influences in high

quarters."

"Acting Under Orders From Above"

When asked to explain this strange behavior, the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture told point blank that he is acting under orders of the C.N.T. and that his supervision of Agriculture is controlled by the C.N.T.

It is against this tendency on the part of the official representative of the government, against the persistent campaign carried on by the Dept. of Agriculture with the view of undermining and destroying collectives that the General Secretary of a Socialist union, a member of the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. raises his sharpest protest.

And it is in the light of his revelations that one can understand why the Peasant Federation of another province—Le-

vante—branded the Communist Minister of Agriculture as Public Enemy Number One.

Government?

"In Spain there are three organized forces whose collaboration created the anti-Fascist Front. None of these forces should be cut off from any participa-

tion in this union. The TOTALITARIAN IMPOSI-

TION OF ANY OF THOSE MOVEMENTS WILL REN-

DER OUR REVOLUTION STERILE AND IMPOTENT.

STALINISM WILL NEVER TRIUMPH IN SPAIN

"Social dogmatism and the system of political obedience would perish when the total elimination of a country which was brought up in the Jesuitic school of submission but the vast majority of the country, which is rebellious, libertarian, almost to the point of turning it into a faust, will never allow this perdition of the peo-

ple's soul."

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