

## BARCELONA GIVEN UP WITHOUT FIGHT BY NEGRIN GOV'T

(Continued from Page 1)  
ernment prosecutor; Jose Vega, civil governor of Toledo; and Jaime Ayguade, who, as Minister of Public Order of the Catalan government, on May 3, 1937 ordered the police to drive the C.N.T. workers out of the Telephone Building of Barcelona, precipitating a week's armed street fighting.

All press dispatches from the frontier state that the Loyalist government is preparing to evacuate Catalonia.

**Retreat Not Justified**  
Strategic retreats are often justifiable, in civil war as in wars between nations but, as observers pointed out, Barcelona and the neighboring industrial area encompassed the major industrial area possessed by the Loyalists.

Military observers of various countries, stationed at the frontier, were puzzled to explain why the Loyalist army did not make a stand in Barcelona, or at least immediately north of the city to protect the munitions factories around Sabadell.

The explanation is not to be sought in military but in political factors.

**How Bolsheviks Fought**  
There were periods during the Russian civil war of 1918-1920 when the Bolshevik regime was in worse plight than the Spanish Loyalists. Hemmed in on all sides by Allied and White Guard armies, the Bolsheviks fought back despite lack of food and ammunition. Surrender was out of the question.

At one point the Bolsheviks held little more than a section of Petrograd and Moscow provinces. Banking on subversive political work inside the interventionist and White Guard territories as a more potent weapon than its own armament, the Red Army extricated itself and went on to victory.

In the face of this great historical precedent, the Negrin government's alibi of lack of food and ammunition must be viewed skeptically.

**Workers Not Warned**  
Even if that were sufficient reason for evacuating Barcelona, it does not explain why thousands of trade union militants, marked for death by the fascists, were never given a chance to flee. When retreats were necessary during the Russian civil war, the workers were given time to retreat with the army.

But so suddenly and without warning did the government evacuate its troops from Barcelona, that many workers were still busily engaged in erecting barricades, unaware of the government's decision to abandon the city, when Franco's troops came down the avenues.

**Face Firing Squads**  
While thousands of fascist prisoners were left behind to be freed by Franco's troops, it appears that great numbers of anti-fascist workers, imprisoned by the Negrin government in its assaults on the collectivized factories and farms, were left behind to face Franco's firing squads.

Such ardent pro-Loyalist correspondents as Vincent Sheean and Herbert L. Matthews have cabled horrifying descriptions of the utter disorganization which has transformed the retreat into a rout. Sheean, after a survey of north Catalonia, flatly declares the war is over. Matthews says that "only a miracle" can save the Loyalists.

Not dispersed by a destructive battle, the Loyalist forces can have been dispersed for one reason: treachery and cowardice of the government leadership. Soldiers were reported to be stationed at the frontier to turn back deserting officials and officers.

Plotted upon the Spanish masses as "the government of victory" the Peoples Front regime has demonstrated that its sole capacity is to organize defeats. It remains at the helm now only to further the rout of the anti-fascist forces. Its bombastic promises to continue the struggle serve to enable it to continue the rout.

**Still Suppresses Workers!**  
The government does not stop the fascists, but it has plenty of time and forces to continue, even now, its repressions against the workers. It announces the suppression of an anarchist "uprising" at Puigcerda by the carabinieri (police). Fighting between Stalinists and anarchists is reported from several north Catalan towns.

Government officials can flee to France, but the vast masses must fight or die. This is literally the alternative for hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers and peasants, their names already in Franco's files of those slated for execution. For the rest of the workers, a fascist regime would mean endless humiliation and slow starvation.

Surrender is out of the question. But to fight back, to regain lost ground, requires that these workers take the fight into their own hands, repudiate the treach-

# Why the Defeats In Spain? --- By FELIX MORROW

"THE SALVATION OF SPAIN LAY, FIRST OF ALL, IN FOLLOWING A POLICY OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN, AND IT WAS ABANDONED FOR THE FATAL PERSPECTIVE OF CURRYING FAVOR WITH THE 'GREAT DEMOCRACIES.' THE UNUTTERABLE TRAGEDY OF THE SPANISH WORKERS IS THAT THE CRIMINAL POLICY OF THEIR STALINIST-SOCIALIST-ANARCHIST LEADERSHIP PREVAILED TO THE BITTER END."

Why was Barcelona abandoned without a fight? Why is the Loyalist army fleeing, disorganized and demoralized? Why is Franco winning? Every anti-fascist wants to know the answer to these questions. Every anti-fascist must know the answer, if we are to defeat fascism elsewhere.

The social-democrats, the Stalinists and the anarchists answer by blaming the "great democracies" for not providing the Loyalists with food and ammunition. This explanation of the Loyalist failure to make a stand at Barcelona is given weight by reports that military experts on the scene make the same explanation. Indeed, it seems as simple as two plus two equals four: the Loyalists couldn't be expected to fight without food and ammunition. Hence, the blame for the collapse of the Loyalists must be laid at the door of the "great democracies."

### FEAR OF REVOLUTION

But this answer explains nothing. For it could be foretold—and we did tell this, over and over, since the outbreak of the Spanish civil war—that the "great democracies" would not provide the Loyalists with the means of warfare. We pointed out that the rulers of the "great democracies," the capitalist class in France, England and America, could not be shaken from their realization that a Loyalist victory in Spain would mean a socialist revolution in Spain. No amount of protestations that the future Spanish government would be a democratic-capitalist regime, no amount of Stalinist-Socialist repressions of the revolutionary elements in Spain, could reassure the Roosevelts, Chamberlains and Daladriers. Why should the Spanish masses maintain capitalism after they had finished off Franco? And a socialist revolution in Spain would light up Europe.

The "democratic" rulers were therefore determined from the first to give no decisive aid to the Loyalists. No matter who stood at the head of the government in the democracies, that decision of the capitalist class was enforced. When "comrade" Blum was Premier of France, his People's Front government obeyed that decision, for so long as the capitalist class retains its property, it is the real ruler of a country, and socialists and Stalinists who sit in the government act as capitalist flunkies.

### WORKERS' AID STEMMED

The only conceivable situation in which the capitalists would consent to substantial exports of arms to Spain would be if to say "No" meant revolution at home. Had the French working class directly threatened overthrow of capitalism, then to save themselves for the moment the French capitalists might have agreed to open the frontiers.

But the Stalinist and socialist leaders, when the great revolutionary strike wave of June-July, 1936 threatened like a tidal wave to engulf the capitalists of France, turned that wave into the channels of collaboration with the capitalists in the government. The capitalists, having thereby been saved from the danger of revolution, were able to refuse to provide arms for Spain.

Therefore, even if we accept the simple explanation that the collapse of the Loyalists is due to lack of arms and ammunition, we must blame for this lack, not the "great democracies," but the Stalinist and socialist traitors to the working class who made it possible for the French and other capitalists to refuse arms for the Loyalists.

Furthermore, if outside food and ammunition were so decisive, we must stigmatize the Stalinist regime of the Soviet Union as a betrayer of the struggle against fascism. Why didn't Stalin provide arms and food for Spain? Could not a country of 170,000,000 people covering one-sixth of the earth provide the Loyalists with enough supplies to prevail in a country of 25 millions?

### STALIN'S ALIBIS

The Stalinist alibi, in the first months of the civil war, was that the sea-route from Odessa to Barcelona and Valencia was too long to make possible arms and food shipments. But in November, 1936 supplies were sent from Russia, especially for the defense of Madrid. Why did these shipments cease?

The fact is that Stalin, seeking an alliance with France and England, sought to demonstrate his usefulness and reliability to the "democratic" capitalists by relieving them of the fear of social revolution in Spain. In return for scanty supplies, he got the anarchists and socialists to agree to a governmental coalition with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in Spain, and secured a free hand for the Spanish Stalinists to destroy, by all methods including assassination, the revolutionary elements in Spain.

When Stalin was through with this bloody and counter-revolutionary work, the French and English rulers were still determined to "appease" Hitler and Mussolini by letting Franco win in Spain. Whereupon Stalin washed his hands of Spain altogether; no more supplies came from Russia.

Even if one accepts the explanation that the Loyalists have collapsed because of lack of food and ammunition, therefore, it is clear that those responsible are: the Second and Third Internationals which, subservient to the "democratic" capitalists and Stalin, made it impossible for the Loyalists to secure outside supplies.

### DEPENDENT ON FALSE ALLIES

But this is only a partial explanation. Real

light must be sought within Spain itself. Indeed, we say without hesitation: the collapse of the Loyalists is due to their dependence on Stalin and the "democracies." The Caballero and Negrin governments staked everything on securing the aid of Stalin, Daladier and Roosevelt. To secure this aid, they became the puppets of those whom they were courting, and were therefore partners in the "appeasement" of Hitler and Mussolini. One has only to recall that the Caballero and Negrin governments agreed to the infamous "non-intervention" system!

To secure the outside aid which never came, the Stalinist-socialist-anarchist bloc destroyed the inner forces and program which could have led to victory. They had it in their power to disintegrate Franco's forces in Andalusia and Morocco: the peasant boys and Moorish peasants who constituted his army. How? By two fundamental moves:

### REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

1. Nationalization of the land. The most powerful weapon the Russian Revolution had in defeating Allied and White Guard armies on twenty-two fronts was the rousing of the peasantry by giving them the land. The Spanish peasantry were even more land-starved than the Russian. The decree nationalizing the land and turning it over to the peasant committees for tilling brought the peasantry of Russia over to the Bolsheviks. Not only in Bolshevik-controlled territory, but behind the Allied and White Guard armies, where the peasants seized every occasion to conduct guerrilla warfare, spy on the enemy, desert and cause desertions. Before this elemental power of the peasantry, the White Guard armies melted away.

The same process could have taken place in Spain. Instead, currying favor with the Anglo-French bloc (and with Stalin who demanded subservience to this bloc), the Stalinist-socialist-anarchist leadership maintained private property in Spain, sent punitive expeditions of police to destroy the collectives which sprang up in the first months, restored their lands to landowners, and gave the peasants no hope for economic betterment.

Instead of word seeping into Franco Spain of a new life under the Loyalists, peasants in territory captured by Franco could report only the repetition of the old regime. The Loyalist policy made it possible for Franco to retain his army of peasant sons.

### FREEDOM FOR MOORS

2. Freedom for Morocco. The Moors had no reason to look upon the Spanish workers as their brothers. For both the Socialist-Azana government of 1931-1933, and the bourgeois-socialist-Stalinist government of February, 1936 left the

Moors under the dictatorship of the Foreign Legion. A break with this past policy, a decree granting absolute independence to Morocco, would have opened an entirely new period in the relations between the Moorish peasantry and the Spanish masses. If overthrowing Franco would mean independence for their country, the Moors would have revolted against Franco.

But, subservient to England and France, the Caballero and Negrin governments would not decree freedom for Morocco. The "democracies" wanted no revolt in Morocco as a flaming example to the French and English colonies! Abdel-Krim, the leader of the Moroccan Rif, exiled by France, asked Premier Blum to let him go to Morocco to organize a revolt against Franco. Blum refused! (The negotiations on behalf of the Rif leader were conducted by Moise Rosenberg with Blum; an interesting sidelight is that the facts are in the hands of the Anarchist International organization, which has never made them public!)

With no perspective of freedom, the Moors wreaked their vengeance for past humiliations on the Spanish mainland . . . under Franco's leadership.

### TRAITORS AT THE HELM

Azana, Barrios, Companys, the Basque capitalists, all the "left" bourgeoisie, disloyal to the core, finding themselves only by accident on the workers' side of the barricades, were permitted to "lead" the fight against Franco. The result was the open betrayals at Bilbao, Santander, Gijon, Malaga, Toledo, etc., etc. The worker and peasant militias could not prevent these betrayals; their elected officers were deposed, their committees dissolved, and they were ordered on pain of death to give unquestioning obedience to their bourgeois officers.

The roster of the crimes committed against the Spanish masses by their Stalinist-socialist-anarchist leadership cannot be continued in detail here. Enough has been indicated, however, to make clear our point: the salvation of Spain lay, first of all, in following a policy of class struggle in Spain, and it was abandoned for the fatal perspective of currying favor with the "great democracies."

The unutterable tragedy of the Spanish workers is that the criminal policy of their Stalinist-socialist-anarchist leadership prevailed, to the bitter end. Imprisoned, terrorized, assassinated, crushed by every conceivable means by the Loyalist government, the revolutionary elements never were able to establish the revolutionary party that could challenge the treacherous reformist leadership.

That is the real tragedy of Spain. Let it not be repeated in France and America!

## NEW CRISIS NEAR IN EUROPE OVER COLONIAL ISSUE

(Continued from Page 1)  
possession of the world by force and then defend the robbery with moral theories is perhaps comforting and certainly convenient for the possessor, but is uninteresting, immaterial and without obligation for the have-nots."

**Europe Has Jitters**  
For weeks now London and Paris have been waiting to see where the next blow was going to fall. In the process both capitals developed a first class case of the jitters. Mussolini began his unofficial campaign for a slice of France's empire—mentioning Corsica, Tunisia, the Somaliland port of Djibuti in the Red Sea, and even Nice and Savoy in France proper.

Daladier staged a tour of the North African colonies and Corsica as a demonstration of French determination to resist and succeeded last month in preventing Chamberlain from bargaining away some part of French holdings when he went to Rome for an inconclusive parley with Mussolini.

**Slows Eastward Drive**  
Meanwhile between Mussolini and Hitler a less obvious tug-of-war was in progress. Hitler's whole orientation after Munich was towards the East—i.e., toward the Soviet Union. He signed a declaration of friendship with France and embarked upon a diplomatic and propaganda campaign designed to facilitate a German thrust through the new Carpathian Ukraine toward the greater Ukraine that now forms part of Poland and of the U.S.S.R.

Mussolini exerted counter-pressure, sending his foreign minister, Ciano, to Budapest and Belgrade, and in other ways indicating to his axis ally that the time had not yet come to turn faces exclusively eastward. Italy had to be assured of her loot in the Mediterranean first.

It is not merely to please his axis partner that Hitler agreed—as he apparently has—to slow up his eastward drive. There have been many straws in the wind recently concerning a possible Soviet-Nazi understanding of some kind. Walter Duranty called the card on this right after the Mundanis of the Daily Worker, there is a pact and despite the indignant have been indications of careful soundings going on by both the Nazis and the Kremlin bureaucrats.

**No Mention of Russia**  
In his speech on Monday Hitler delivered his usual tirades against Bolshevism and the Jews but omitted entirely his usual references to the Ukraine and the Soviet Union. In Moscow the press simply ignored the Fuehrer's speech, while Pravda featured, without comment, a London editorial about the possibility of a Soviet-Nazi understanding.

These things never happen by accident in present-day international politics. Having been left out in the cold by his "democratic" friends, Joseph Stalin may very well make a pool of some kind with Hitler. That possibility remains one of the major imponderables in international affairs.

It also explains why Japan is still coy about clinching a military alliance with Germany. Last week the chief Japanese diplomats in Europe met and reportedly decided to shelve the idea of converting the so-called anti-Comintern pact into a hard and fast military alliance. Japan, whose eyes are still fixed on the maritime provinces of the Soviet Union, does not want to wake up tomorrow to discover that its Nazi ally has suddenly become a "friend" of Joseph Stalin.

**Spanish Tragedy Is Prelude**  
While this question remains undecided and while Roosevelt continues his drive to swing this country into the pro-war column, Hitler and Mussolini are driving toward a new squeeze play on Britain and France for a colonial settlement. The last act in the Spanish tragedy, now all but concluded, is serving as the curtain raiser for the broader tragedy about to be enacted.

**Play For Another Munich**  
The issue of war or peace will depend on how the cards fall in this ghastly game of international poker. There are already reports of demonstrative German and Italian troop movements near the Libyan border in North Africa by Italy, near the Dutch border by Germany as a threat to Britain.

Hitler and Mussolini are playing for another Munich that will give them what they want. Chamberlain and Daladier still don't know whether the price will be more than British and French capitalism can afford to pay. Their attitude may also depend in part upon the assurances they get of American support in the event of war—and this Roosevelt has now promised them.

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## WORKMEN CIRCLE PUSHES S. P.-OLD GUARD FUSION

NEW YORK—Five Workmen's Circle branches in New York, calling for fusion of the Socialist party with the Social-Democratic Federation, last week issued an invitation to other branches for a conference on Sunday, February 5, for "exerting moral pressure upon both wings of the Socialist movement" for unification.

"We feel confident that the ideological issues which brought about the split in the former Socialist party have almost entirely disappeared and that there is now no logical justification for the present said situation," the call to the conference states.

Apparently the conference is to be addressed by spokesmen from both the Socialist party and the Social-Democratic Federation, for the document says that the conference will be addressed by "prominent speakers from the Socialist Movement."

The date set for the conference is on the heels of the February 3 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party where, it is a foregone conclusion, final steps will be taken for fusion with the Old Guard. The cut and dried plans are indicated by the calling of the Workmen's Circle conference in advance. The conference is designed to provide "popular" sanction for the fusion with the pro-Roosevelt, pro-war Old Guard.

**RYAN, LINCOLN BRIGADER, TO SPEAK AT S.W.P. MEET**  
CHICAGO—Bill Ryan, a member of the Lincoln Battalion who recently returned from the trenches of Spain and Alba Ryan who spent many months as a nurse for the Loyalist armies will speak on the "Tragedy of Spain and Its Consequences" at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party to be held Sunday, Feb. 5, at 3 p.m. at the Capitol Building, 159 North State Street.

## New York Y.P.S.L. Honors Three Revolutionary Chiefs

NEW YORK—More than 250 youths filled Webster Manor auditorium last Friday night at a meeting of the Young People's Socialist League to honor the memory of Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, three outstanding fighters in the struggle against militarism and war.

Ernest Erber, national educational director of the Y.P.S.L. told the audience how these three socialist leaders fought against the capitalist war mongers in their own countries, as well as the "people's frontists" in their own parties. Erber showed how a similar struggle must be conducted by the young workers today against the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration.

He urged the youth to fight for the transference of "all war funds to unemployed youth." He called upon the students to insist that

## LIKE CHILDREN

It is hardly necessary to comment on the following passage from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson's reminiscences, now running in the Saturday Evening Post. She is describing a visit she and President Wilson paid, in 1918, to an American hospital in France:

Having been through the wards, we were shown the very modern operating room. I was counting the minutes until we could get away and breathe God's pure air free from the odor of disinfectants and anesthetics, when the doctor opened a door and stood back for me to enter. Never shall I forget that awful sight! The room seemed to be turning upside down, and through a mist I saw human forms with faces so distorted and mutilated that the place seemed an inferno. I think for an instant only my will to hold on and not let them see my horror kept me from fainting.

Suddenly I heard the doctor's even voice saying to my husband: "Yes, this is the facial ward. You see, we put them all up here together, so they won't get sensitive about seeing people and sort of help each other. If each were off to himself they would not know about the others, and would get morbid and self-conscious." This brought me up with a jerk, and I have never ceased to be grateful to that wise doctor. I felt so ashamed that I should grieve faint at merely looking at what these

boys were enduring without a murmur. There they were, some with their entire noses blown away, some totally blind, others with chins and half their faces gone. Well, I shook myself free of horror and stayed on and talked, and told them how proud I was just to touch their hands. My husband made a little talk to them as they gathered around him like children. . . .

### AMERICAN FUND GROUP FORMED IN NEW HAVEN

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—A local sponsoring committee of the American Fund for Political Refugees and Prisoners has been organized in this city. Consisting of many well-known labor and liberal leaders, the committee has already begun a wide campaign to open the doors to the worker-refugees.

Among the members of the committee are the following: Dr. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School; Dr. Arthur Mizener, Yale; Jacob Belfort, prominent labor attorney; Harry Feinmark, Pres. A.F. of L. Central Trades and Labor Council; Frank Trauner, C.I.O. steel organizer; Alex Driessens, secretary New England Cigar-makers Council; Mrs. Celia Rostow, a leader among the Connecticut League of Women Voters.

### Hails Greek Unification

With unlimited confidence in the principles and ultimate vic-

## POULIPOULOS, IN METAXAS JAIL, GREET'S FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Writing from his dungeon cell, P. Pouliopoulos, secretary of the group of Greek Communist Internationalists in the jail of Aigina, Greece, has greeted "with the greatest enthusiasm" the foundation of the Fourth International.

In the name of his imprisoned fellow revolutionists, comrade Pouliopoulos pledges "our undying will to continue fighting from the depths of the Metaxas dictatorship's dungeons . . . for the liberation and final victory of the Greek proletariat."

P. Pouliopoulos, ex-secretary of the C.P., escaped from prison several months ago. A reward of \$25,000 was placed on his head, and he was re-arrested soon after. With others of his comrades he is today in the jail of Aigina.

### Marxist School Will Open February 27th

The Marxist School announces its Spring terms to be held at Irving Plaze Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C., beginning Monday, February 27, 1939.

The courses will be:

- I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—Sam Gordon B. J. Widick  
A course dealing with the concrete day-to-day activity of the trade unionist. Special attention will be given to those problems presented by members of the class. Mondays, 7:15 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00
- II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—James Burnham Albert Goldman Max Shachtman  
New parties, new leaders, new political currents are appearing on the American scene. Three lectures offer a Marxist analysis of: the new "New Deal"; the middle class in politics three parties; Labor in politics; Fascism in the U. S.; Revolutionary politics in the U. S. etc. Mondays, 8:15 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.
- III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM?—John G. Wright  
A course for those who want to explore the facts and documents about the history of the "Left Opposition" in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the left-wing movement in other countries that grew into the Fourth International. Tuesdays, 7 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

A series of lectures given in conjunction with the Partisan Review.

Phillip Rahv—A General View of Proletarian Literature.

William Phillips—Marxism and Literary Criticism.

James T. Farrell—The American Novel.

Delmore Schwartz—Contemporary Poetry.

Dwight Macdonald—Left Wing Journalism.

F. W. Dupee—Two Political Novelists: Malraux and Silone.

All those registering for this course will receive free a half-year's subscription to the "Partisan Review." Tuesdays, 8:50 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.25.

V. LABOR JOURNALISM—James Casey.  
A practical course in which reporting, editorial writing, copy reading and headline writing, make-up, etc., will be taught. Wednesdays, 7:15 P. M. to 8:40 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

VI. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novak.  
The Civil War of 1861—1865. A Marxist analysis of how the American bourgeoisie completed its revolution. Wednesdays, 8:50 P. M. to 10:15 P. M. Six sessions, \$1.00.

Registration is now going on at the school office, 116 University Place and at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, New York City, from 1 P. M. to 8 P. M. Registrations will also be accepted by mail to the school office or by calling Stuyvesant 9-0567.

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