

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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CATALONIAN CRISIS STILL PENDING C.N.T. DEMANDS REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

Supplementary Bodies of Workers Control Possible Solution of Crisis

The reports coming from Barcelona on the last Catalonian crisis have been very vague. We still do not know the exact nature of the shifts taking place in the cabinet as a result of this crisis, nor have we any basis for an evaluation of those results in political terms. Whether the revolutionary workers represented by the anarchists of Catalonia lost or won, or whether a stalemate has been produced leading to a postponement of the solution—we are not in a position to tell.

We do, however, learn something on the initial phase of the crisis from the latest French and Barcelona papers dealing with the circumstances leading to it and the first days of its development.

We are reprinting a direct communication from Barcelona appearing in the last issue of the French anarchist weekly, "Libertaire," April 2:

POLITICAL CRISIS WAS DUE TO COME

"If one can note with great satisfaction the improvement of the military situation in Spain, one has also to note at the same time a turn for the worse in the relations among the anti-Fascist sectors.

"The Catalonian crisis which, at the moment these lines are being written, is already one week old, has created very serious difficulties. The basic cause of the latter are the differences which for more than a month have separated the C.N.T.—followed by the great mass of Catalonian people—from the political and trade-union factions, such as the P.S.U.C. (the United Socialist-Communist Party) and the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers) which is compensated for its numerical weakness by the support given it by Soviet Russia, which threw all the weight of its power behind the politicians.

Anarchists Attacked by Politicians

"Until now our comrades of

the C.N.T. and F.A.I. did not hesitate to sacrifice a great deal for the sake of anti-Fascist unity. But those sacrifices were not reciprocated.

More and more are the anarchists represented before the

Continued on page four

"The National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) demands that the workers should be the ones to mark out the road to be followed. We are convinced that the workers will be able to administer the affairs of Catalonia as successfully as they have been administering the factories, fields and mines. No one who is earnestly desirous of triumphing over Fascism can fail to recognize that the moment has arrived **WHEN THE WORKERS THEMSELVES HAVE TO TAKE OVER THE DIRECTION OF WAR AND FINANCES IN CATALONIA.**

"The Catalonian workers know perfectly well what their responsibilities are: they know better than anyone else what measures to take in order to increase production and to intensify the struggle against Fascism. And as to the maintaining of order, it is the workers who should be charged with it for no one else knows better who are the open and the hidden enemies of the anti-Fascist movement.

"There is no hatred or rancor within the working class; we are convinced that when the workers assume the responsibility of administering the government of Catalonia, perfect order will be established in the political, economic and social life of the country.

"We do not deny the sincerity of the other anti-Fascist sectors, but since war and revolution demand discipline, it is just and logical that the majority of the population should assume the directing role."

—(From the statement on the Catalonian crisis issued by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin, 3-27-37.)

STATEMENT OF BARCELONA F.A.I.

The Local Federation of Anarchist Groups published a manifesto concerning the political crisis in Catalonia in which it formulates the basic demands of this organization, which are:

(1) That Cabinet seats in the Catalonian government be apportioned according to the strength of every organization.

(2) The immediate annulment of the Public Order Decree (Ed. note: reorganization of police along reactionary lines) concocted by the government and its substitution by another decree in consonance with the aspirations of both trade-union organizations (the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.).

(3) To punish severely every manifestation of self-seeking and anti-revolutionary morality.

(4) Immediately to purge the armed bodies (militia and police forces) of Fascist sympathisers who have crept into war fronts as well as into the central bodies of the government and the responsible committees of the rear.

—From "Solidaridad Obrera," 3-28-37.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CATALONIA ONLY EMERGENCY SOLUTION

(From *Journal Des Nations* Geneva)

Until now only a provisional government has been formed. Negotiations about the formation of a regular government are still pending.

The provisional government has a reduced cabinet consisting of 2 C.N.T. representatives, 2 Left Republicans, 1 U.G.T., 1 Rabassaires (Tenant Farmers).

The crisis has not yet been solved. The slogan of the C.N.T. is to win the war and go on with the revolution at the same time.

It presented a document in which it laid down the following conditions for the formation of a government:

- 1) A new plan for the reorganization of the police.
- 2) The carrying out of the proposed agrarian reform.
- 3) The reorganization of the Councilors Departments.
- 4) The dissolution of Committees for the Regular Army. (Ed. note. Committees set up by the politicians in order to wrest the control of the army from the Councilor of Defense, which Department is in the hands of the anarcho-syndicalists.
- 5) The control of the following ministries: Defense, Inner Affairs (Police), Economy, Agriculture and Finance.

Who Is Behind Moves to Seek Reconciliation with Fascists?

Sensational Exposures Made by Revolutionary Press

It is yet to be proved which of the two dangers facing revolutionary Spain is the greatest: the open invasion of fascist powers or the camouflaged pressure of the European "democracies" exerted in the direction of disarming the revolution and liquidating all its conquests.

Of late this pressure took the form of a diplomatic manoeuvre to end the civil war by bringing about a peaceful arrangement between the moderate section of the anti-fascist front and the fascists. This would require the violent elimination of the "extremists"—all the revolutionary elements—the strangling of the revolution and the setting up of a conservative bourgeois republic with a few democratic trimmings.

EVEN CABALLERO

PROTESTS

This is no mere suspicion on the part of the radical opinion. Caballero had to take official cognizance of the existence of such diplomatic pressure. "On the other side of the border—he said in the official statement issued about a month ago—one hears a great deal of talk about intervening in order to compel us to bring the struggle to an end."

(Continued on page three)

BUILD A UNITED
FRONT OF ALL
LIBERTARIANS FOR
THE DEFENSE OF THE
SPANISH REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Juan P. Fabregas was the C.N.T. representative in the first cabinet of the Catalonian government. He held the post of the Councilor of Economy until the cabinet crisis of three months ago. Now he is heading the Finance Dept. of the Economic Council. His recent speech on the economic factors of the Spanish revolution drew great attention by its constructive approach to the problems of the economic revolution now going on in Catalonia.

We are giving here a brief summary of the speech, the greater part of which appeared in *Solidaridad Obrera* (March 16 and 17):

Mobilizing The Economic Front of The Revolution

The country is slowly coming to realize that victory on the battlefield is impossible without a revolutionary reconstruction of the complex national economy, without bringing the finances and credit relations into some order. That demands the mobilization of the rear, the setting up of a single economic command, which is just as important as a single

command on the front. The lack of coordination of economic efforts may prove disastrous in every respect.

Plan of Economic Organization

The basic unit of this single economic organism is the Shop Council which in turn forms a Factory Management Commit-

(Continued on page three)

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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April 23rd, 1937

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Everyone knows of the heroic role played by the anarchists in the defense of the Basque cities—Irun and San Sebastian. The valor shown by the anarchists elicited the admiration of every one who followed up the epic struggle of those days.

But in the Basque provinces the anarchists are in the minority. And although one of the basic ideas of all the concessions made by the anarchist movement was to secure certain rights for its members in those provinces where they are in the minority, in the Basque provinces the anarchists were eliminated from any participation in the direction of affairs.

The latter was in the hands of the Catholics, moderate republicans. The socialists and communists preferred a united front with the Catholics to that of the revolutionary minority represented by the C.N.T.

As a result the Basque province became the weakest link in the line of anti-Fascist defense. Its orientation was upon London even more than upon Paris, and London was interested in keeping the province in a purely defensive position, using it when the opportune moment comes for the purposes of breaking up the solid anti-Fascist front.

That this opportune moment is not far off is shown by the recent action of the Basque government in arresting the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. and the editorial staff of the daily anarcho-syndicalist paper published in Bilbao—capital of the province.

A still more ominous aspect of this attack is the seizure of the printing shops AND THE TURNING OVER OF THOSE PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The meaning of it is clear. The Communists are a party to this outrageous attack upon the anarchists of the Basque province. The offensive against the Spanish revolution started by Moscow ever since it began intervening in the Spanish affairs has already entered the stage of open aggression. The period of hypocritical professions of loyalty to the common cause of proletarian unity has come to an end.

No one heard of the Basque Jesuits and Communist bureaucrats in those heroic days when poorly armed anarchist battalions were defending the approaches to Irun and San Sebastian. But now that through the powerful support of Paris and London they have gained the upper hand, they are striking out against those organizations who were mainly instrumental in keeping the Basque province from falling into the clutches of General Mola.

In the Basque province the anarchists are in the minority, but in other provinces they are not. To attack them in Bilbao in the outrageous manner already reported is to provoke reprisals in Catalonia, Aragon and Levante. That means the break up of the united anti-Fascist front. Is that what the new London-Moscow united front is aiming at?

REVOLUTION A WEAPON AGAINST INVADERS

The Italian armies were not defeated by superior military equipment or skilful strategy. They were disintegrated by revolutionary propaganda, by carrying over to the workers and peasants in Fascist uniforms the message of their brothers in Spain.

That message was effective because it told of actual achievements and not mere expectations. The Italian soldiers were stirred by the news that the Spanish peasants took possession of the land, that Spanish workers are in control of the industries, that a resolute struggle is carried on by the Spanish people for a NEW SOCIAL ORDER, answering the aspirations of the common man all over the world.

Would the Italian soldiers respond as readily to the message of a bourgeois republic? Would abstract slogans of liberty

SPANISH GOVERNMENT TRAILING PEOPLE IN ACHIEVEMENTS

Revolution Has to Be Deepened

The policy of republican Spain has been determined until now by three primary concerns:

(1) Not to do anything which might displease the European powers, and particularly the "Western democracies" and Soviet Russia.

(2) To keep the government in the hands of the ruling clique of 1931-1934, that is, the ministers and functionaries of the bourgeois democracy.

(3) To abstain from any financial measure which might frighten away the bourgeoisie.

This policy, let us speak out openly, brought republican Spain to the verge of ruin. And this is so for the following reasons:

LEANING ON A BROKEN REED

The powers defending the Versailles Treaty always regarded the Spanish republicans as their auxiliary troops only. Those powers confined themselves to the defense of their traditional positions on the Rhine, Danube and the colonies, leaving Spain at the mercy of the Fascist powers like "a bone to gnaw at." This attitude is now absolutely clear: every week aeroplanes, commercial ships, cargoes belonging to France, England, Russia, Scandinavian countries are attacked, destroyed or captured by the pirate ships of the rebels or the Fascist powers. All those acts, every one of which is in itself a *casus belli*, do not evoke as much as a platonic protest.

On the other hand, the democratic governments go to the limit in raising all kinds of difficulties for the Spanish government. They are checked in this course only by fear of being altogether unmasked before the anti-Fascist opinion upon which they have to lean in their respective countries.

WANTED: A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY DIRECTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The retaining at the head of the government of the same set of politicians which was dominant in the years 1931-1934 led to the discrediting and the paralysis of the anti-Fascist bloc; and that was not compensated by an increased standing or a gain of authority within the country.

As far as the foreign countries go, we saw already, that their attitude could not be any more hostile had Spain even become the country of an integral social revolution. Whatever regime comes to prevail in Spain, it will hold the same place in the preoccupations of the European diplomats.

But the workers of the world who now actually turn away from Spain as from a country whence war might be spread to the rest of Europe, will turn toward it with all their fervor if they see before themselves a people triumphing over its politicians, capitalists and militarists, audaciously proclaiming the program of a world revolution.

PEASANT COMMUNES IN CATALONIA AND ARAGON

Bourgeois Correspondent Impressed

In most of the Aragon villages and in a great number of rural communes of Catalonia, the COLLECTIVE has come to take the place of individual or family peasant households.

The individual plots are cultivated in common in order to obtain an economy of effort, a better distribution of work, greater security for everyone and the fuller satisfaction of one's needs. Children, sick people, old persons are put in care of the community. The collective also provides the elementary

necessities, instruction, the means for cultural advancement for every member. Those who prefer to live outside of the collectives are free to do so, being granted the right to cultivate their individual plots of land. But they are deprived of the advantages accruing from life in the collectives and, it stands to reason, of THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPLOITING SOMEONE ELSE'S LABOR.

Notices of the following type, issued by the Council of the agricultural co-operative, are to

and democracy have the same stirring effect as the simple story of how lands were confiscated by peasants, communes built up, and how workers' committees came to take the place of capitalists?

Revolutionary propaganda is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the Spanish workers and peasants in their fight against Fascist invaders. But that weapon can be effective only if revolution goes hand in hand with war, if the great masses of the Spanish people do not fall for the insidious propaganda of the politicians of various shades aimed to check the forward course of the revolution under the pretext that now the time is not ripe for it.

The Italian debacle has proven once more that revolution and war are inseparable, that the strength of the Spanish workers and peasants lies in the revolutionary message they are now carrying to the world.

And the greater the message the better are the chances to win.

PEASANTRY CAN BE WON OVER ONLY BY A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

The peasants ardently hoped for the Republic, but all the latter gave them were broken promises, misery and the Civil Guards.* If anything can reconcile the peasants with the republic it is not State socialism or private capitalism, but the epics of libertarian communism characterizing the period of Buenaventura Durruti in Aragon; it is the black and red flag of war on the exploiters, of agrarian collectivism and federalism, without capitalism and the State. The living proof thereof is Caspe, at one time a reactionary city, and now the revolutionary capital of the Aragonian peasants and workers.

* (Ed. note: the old repressive apparatus, retained by the republicans after the crumbling of the monarchy and frequently used by them against the recalcitrant peasants.)

FINANCIAL POWER OF BOURGEOISIE UNCURBED

There remains the "liberal" bourgeoisie of Spain, with the petty-bourgeois elements trailing behind. But the influence of the former consists mainly in the control of currency, bank accounts, mercantile and bureaucratic functions, the key positions of which are entirely in its hands. And that is precisely why the bourgeoisie jealously watches that no measures be taken to undermine its position in this respect.

Until now it was not even deemed necessary to withdraw the guaranty from the banknotes retained by the Franco government which were backed up by the credit of the National Bank of Spain. Those banknotes now command a premium on the foreign market due to the double stamp of the insurgent and the loyalist government.

The new Spain has to show its real face to the world of international labor by completely rejecting the tutelage of the bourgeoisie which has already arrived at the stage of moral, material and intellectual bankruptcy.

—From "L'Espagne Nouvelle"
(A French anarchist weekly)

be found in every village:

1) All work and harvesting are to be performed collectively.

2) All agricultural machinery is socialized and placed under control of the village committee.

Work in common gives excellent results, every one working with great ardor and sincerely. All material difficulties which appeared at the beginning have already been straightened out.

Many are the difficulties that the workers and peasants of Catalonia have to overcome. But nothing will undo the effects of this powerful example and the logic of facts.

(From an article by the correspondent of a bourgeois French paper *Tunis Soir*.)

After the Revolution

What?

a book by SANTILLAN
will be ready for print soon.

The price is \$1.00

if ordered right now.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST WORKERS OF CATALONIA HOLD CONVENTION

We already reported in the last issue of the *Spanish Revolution* about the convention of the Catalanian C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist unions). The French anarchist weekly *Libertaire* gives some more details of this historic convention representing the great majority of workers and peasants of Catalonia. (The population of Catalonia is 4,000,000; membership of the unions represented at this convention is 1,200,000.)

War and anti-Fascist Front Discussed

"The sessions of the Convention were animated by pointed speeches of the delegates presenting their solutions on all the problems posed by the war and revolution.

"All delegates were of the unanimous opinion that in order to carry out the constructive program of the C.N.T. it is necessary in view of the international coalition of Fascist powers, to organize a powerful army.

"The collaboration in the government was recognized as an exceptional measure necessary

during the struggle against Fascism in order to create a real power capable of counteracting the international support received by the Fascists.

"The collaboration given by the C.N.T. will be loyal and sincere, but the C.N.T. demands the same sort of loyalty on the part of the other anti-Fascist sectors.

Agrarian Program Adopted

"The agrarian problem was fully debated. The following resolution, adopted as a result of those debates, will be of first-rate importance for the war and revolution.

1) "Socialization and municipalization of the land.

2) "No one should possess more land than he is capable of cultivating with his own efforts or that of his family. Possession of land should be only in the nature of usufruct.

3) "All the big estates and those lands that are not cultivated by individual households are to be collectivized, provided there is a sufficient number of people desirous of working those

lands collectively. The collectives created in this manner should be controlled by responsible organizations.

4) "In case no voluntary collectives present themselves in a certain locality, the lands are to be parcelled out to individual peasants. But it is understood that hiring of labor by individual peasants is to be done away with.

5) "Following the decree of compulsory syndicalization, the entire agricultural economy is to be placed under control of peasant unions. (Ed. note: on the meaning of compulsory syndicalization see Fabrega's speech in this issue of the *Spanish Revolution*.)

6) "A Federation of Collectives is to be formed, working in conjunction with the peasant unions. Agricultural collectives are to be recognized as legal entities.

"The working class of Spain not only had to meet with the forces of Franco, Italy and Germany, but with the more cunningly organized support from the British ruling classes. LONDON BIG BUSINESS IS SOLIDLY LINED UP BEHIND FRANCO.

"Undoubtedly Russia had given valuable aid, but it should never have been accompanied by any kind of political domination. IT WAS A SHAMEFUL THING THAT THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF ARMS HAD BEEN THE ATTEMPTED DOMINATION OF THE WHOLE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN SPAIN."

From a speech by McGovern (British M. P.) at the annual conference of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (I. L. P.)

tion demands the integration of both essential organizational principles — that of workers' unions and cooperatives.

Socialization of Foreign Trade

Foreign trade should be monopolized by the Economic Councils. This has not yet been carried out due to obstacles of a political nature. (Ed. note. It was blocked by the bourgeois politicians.) But the centralization of the commercial operations of import and export is of vital necessity for the progress of the revolutionary economy, and sooner or later this will be achieved, leading to a vast expansion of the Foreign trade on the basis of a scientific study of world markets on one hand and the full utilization of the potentialities of a socialized economy on the other.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one) tee. Those Committees do not form a special bureaucracy since the hours for business meetings are set apart from regular hours during which members of those committees work alongside the rest of their fellow workers.

Next in order is the setting up of Economic Councils for every industry, having for their aim:

- The technical organization of production.
- Administrative control.
- Statistics.

The co-ordinating organ of the Industrial Councils is the Regional Economic Council, made up by delegates from the Industrial Councils of every region. The task of each Council is to direct the general production of the region, to supervise the general administration of industries and obtain the fullest statistical service.

Such are also the general lines along which the Supreme Economic Council of the entire country should be built.

It is composed of the delegates of the Regional Councils and it has for its function the general direction of the economic life of the country, the establishing of fixed norms of work, and the working out of general policies for foreign trade.

Peasant Unions to Link Up

Village Economy With Collectivized Industries

In the villages the main out-

lines of the policy established at the beginning of the revolution still hold good. *Collectivization must be voluntary in its character* and the individual farmer must be helped and encouraged in the same way as the collective.

This should be done through compulsory syndicalization. That means that the peasant unions become the intermediaries between the peasant and the city economy. They help him to purchase seeds, fertilizers, machinery, obtain credit for him and at the same time store and sell his products in the city market.

Toward a Socialized Commerce

The full collectivization of wealth demands the total absorption of commerce by the great distributive organizations of workers. The new revolutionary economy is rapidly marching toward this goal, but for the time being private commerce carried on by petty traders still plays an important role. The latter organization and private trade should not be disturbed, but a policy must be worked out of gradually turning over to the distributive organizations of workers (syndicates) the entire trade of the country. This will enable the Economic Councils to determine the consumptive needs of the country and the surplus left for exports.

And while the organization of industry should proceed on the basis of syndicates, the distribu-

CORRESPONDENT OF LIBERAL DAILY TELLS OF ANARCHIST DEMANDS

What are the present internal troubles which are being experienced by the Spanish loyalists? Some idea of the division of opinion may be gained from a recent series of leading articles in the C. N. T., the daily newspaper published by the anarcho-syndicalists in Madrid.

This paper advocates a worker's revolutionary alliance between the Socialist and Anarchist trade unions (U. G. T. and C. N. T.). It argues that to win the war a social revolution aiming at syndicalization of industry and agriculture must first be achieved. And it criticises the Premier Largo Caballero for not himself supporting the plan.

The anarchists are bitter against those who argue "that the first thing must be to win the war or that account must be taken of international opinion." The Peninsular Committee of the F. A. I., chief anarchist organization, recently resolved that "all ministries must be under the control of trade union organizations."

The C. N. T. and F. A. I. have also criticised the Ministry of Marine for the loss of Malaga, have demanded that shiploads of war material recently landed in Spain should be put at the disposal of workers, and have attacked the censorship (Ed. note: communist controlled) for trying to restrain their propaganda.

The anarchists want to squeeze out the remaining liberal (bourgeois) elements and tendencies in the Catalan and Valencia governments, and desire that both war and revolution be carried on solely by the united trade unions in the different regions.

It may perhaps be assumed that behind the generalities published about the Catalan political crisis there is a wish to bring the anarchists who are numerous in Catalonia to a less extreme frame of mind.

—"Manchester Guardian" April 3.

SENSATIONAL EXPOSURES MADE BY REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

(Continued from page one) Caballero charged his political enemies—the left Republicans with lending a willing ear to this talk from certain high quarters abroad. But the conservative French paper *Le Temps* goes further in deciphering this statement by Caballero.

SPECULATING ON THE FALL OF MADRID

"The possibility is not altogether excluded that certain people in the anti-fascist sectors are lending a willing ear to the conciliatory murmurings coming from the other side of Pyrenees.

"The fall of Madrid and the ensuing political disorder would favor the formation of a moderated government consisting of Left Republicans and Socialists of the Prieto shade. Such a government would be responsive to offers of mediation presenting republican Spain a better way out than a hopeless struggle."

REVOLUTIONARY PRESS CHARGES PLOT

The bourgeois press only speculates on the fall of Madrid, but the anarcho-syndicalist paper *Solidaridad Obrera* comes out with an open accusation to the effect that certain powers, together with some sectors of the anti-Fascist front, were plotting to deliver Madrid to the enemies in order to force a policy of reconciliation with the Fascists.

"A foreign army invades our soil in support of absolutism, but England and France, frightened

by the revolutionary drive of our people, are placing themselves on the side of reaction, secretly organizing things in such a manner as to lead to a pact by way of delivering Madrid into the hands of the Fascists."

WORKING THROUGH THE BASQUE GOVERNMENT

La Batalla, the P.O.U.M. daily in Barcelona, comes out with even more striking revelations.

"It is several months already since those powers started in this direction (reconciliation with the Fascists). In this work they have the support of the Valencia government, which is a prisoner of the so-called international democracy . . .

"... This is no mere fantasy. The negotiations with the Fascists were started through the Basque government. Everyone knows about it. The manoeuvres were camouflaged by the negotiations carried on through the Red Cross International. If those negotiations are broken up, this will be due to some military move undertaken by the Fascists. (Ed. note: this was written before the Fascist offensive on the Basque front. The latter and its political repercussions fully corroborate the view expressed by the writer of the article.) But with all that the obscure manoeuvres coming from the Basque government, the nature of which is fully understood by everyone, are still going on."

CABALLERO PLANS TO LIQUIDATE THE REVOLUTION

Before the Fascist revolt of July 19th, Largo Caballero was known as a "left socialist." The rising ground swell of popular discontent was making itself felt to an ever greater extent and Caballero, an astute politician who always kept his ear close to the ground, felt that the old reformist line of the Spanish Socialist Party had to be changed somewhat in response to popular pressure.

As a surprise to his fellow bureaucrats of the labor unions Caballero began to flirt with the idea of a social revolution. Almost overnight the erstwhile Labor Councilor of the fascist dictator Primo De Rivera became the "Spanish Lenin." And it stands to reason, of course, that during the first months of the revolution, before the government consolidated its power, Caballero tried to play up to the revolutionary sentiments of the great mass of workers and peasants who were dominating the political scene at that period.

This revolutionary infatuation did not last very long. Caballero does not have to cater to the revolutionary workers any longer. He feels safe now behind the support given to his government by Soviet tanks and airplanes, and also by the European "democracies" whose main weapon of offense against the Spanish revolution is the threat of giving full sway to Hitler and Mussolini in their interventionist plans. At least Caballero feels sufficiently safe to talk, although in a veiled manner, about liquidating the revolution. Such was the gist of the interview given to the representative of the conservative French paper *Le Temps*.

NO BOLSHEVISM OR "ANARCHY"

"It is difficult to say," Caballero said in this interview, "what course Spanish life will take for the near future. A transitional period of confusion is not altogether out of place, but we will never let anyone impose bolshevization or anarchy upon us. (Ed. note: Bolshevization of Spain is not in the program of the Communist Party. The welcome given this statement by the Soviet press shows that this was directed not at the communists but at the revolutionary elements of present day Spain. "Anarchy" is not meant in the dictionary sense.)

"The confiscation or actual control of enterprises are but temporary things. Purely accidental organisms (Ed. note: workers shop committees are dubbed by a socialist Premier as accidental)

Workers' Solidarity Knows No Bounds

The following letter was received from Progressive Miners of America, Local Union No. 1, Gillespie, Ill.:

March 26th, 1937.

Mr. Radinowsky,
Dear Sir and Brother:

You will find enclosed check for Five Hundred Dollars, for the defence of the Spanish workers in Spain. At our last regular meeting of Local Union No. 1, an appeal was made in the defence of the Spanish workers and a motion was made to assess our members 25c., for the above purpose. A receipt in return will be greatly appreciated. by this local union. This is our way of assisting our Spanish brothers in their heroic struggle for a complete victory and a workers' government.

William M. Fulton, Rec. Sec.

John Fisher, Pres.

Just Received from Spain

One of the most beautiful albums it has ever been our pleasure to view. It contains 31 soul-stirring water color plates about 10½ by 14 inches, the finest examples of the lithographers art, depicting scenes of revolutionary struggle and reconstruction.

Any description we might attempt to give of this book would be inadequate. It IS beautiful. The quantity is limited and the price is only one dollar (worth \$10.). Postage twenty-five cents.

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Jack White

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45 W. 17th St. N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:

We want to inform you that we are BROADCASTING FROM BARCELONA STATION E.C.N. 1, RADIO CNT-FAI ULTRASHORT WAVE 42, 88, FREQUENCY 6995, 1 KCS every night in various foreign languages As your readers will surely be interested, it would be useful to have this radio-program published in your paper.

With fraternal greetings,
AUGUSTIN SOUCHY.

took hold of enterprises, but this emergency period already belongs to the past.

"From now on the government will direct this evolution in its economic and technical aspects. It may nationalize the big enterprises, municipalize public services (Ed. note—State capitalism on a large and small scale) or turn over the big land estates to workers' collectives. (Ed. note: the workers and peasants saw to it themselves. And Mr. Caballero may have just as much difficulty in taking away the factories from the workers' syndicates as he would if he attempted to take away the confiscated land from the peasant collectives.) But all this is already being done abroad.

FEDERALISM REJECTED

"The Spanish republic will retain the same political form which it had before the revolution. The greatest facilities for interior administration will be granted the Basque and Catalonian governments. But there can be no question of complete autonomy. Nor will Spain become a Federal Republic modelled after the United States of America. (The political ideas of the founders of the American republic are much too progressive for Mr. Caballero.)

LESSON OF MOORISH INVASION IGNORED

"As to Morocco, I can say that contrary to the misconceptions that arose abroad on that subject, the government is firm in its resolve not to give up its mandate over Morocco (Ed. note: this "mandate" was obtained as a result of the most outrageous invasion of an independent country. The rape of Morocco is comparable in its defiance of basic conceptions of International Law to the conquest of Abyssinia. And nothing, perhaps, better qualifies the kind of "socialism" Mr. Caballero professes than this sanction of a great historic wrong which already produced its tragic repercussions in the invasion of democratic Spain by Moorish armies.)

Catalonian Crisis Still Pending

(Continued from page one)

public opinion as the ones who are mainly responsible for the economic disorders caused by the revolution and the stagnation on the military front of Aragon, which was directly due to the deliberate abandonment of this sector by the Valencia government.

A Campaign of Enlightenment

"The anarchists reacted to this provocative policy quite vigorously. An intensive educational campaign through the medium of numerous mass meetings—more than a thousand of them were held in Catalonia—was organized throughout the country. All that brought to the light and established before the public opinion of Catalonia the real causes of inertia forced upon the militia of the Aragon front.

"The Catalonian crisis threatened to have its repercussions in the Valencia government whose evident partiality for the sectors where Marxists predominate taxed the good will of the C.N.T.

Patent Sabotage of Aragon Front

"The C.N.T.-F.A.I. put up some sort of an ultimatum to the Catalonian government to remedy the situation on the Aragon front by arming the five newly mobilized classes of population. The government declared, however, that it lacks the necessary financial means for it since the Valencia government refuses to advance them to the Catalonian government.* That was why our comrade Iglesias (Councilor of Defense in the Catalonian government) was led to turn in his resignation, soon followed by the resignation of other C. N. T. representatives in the cabinet.

*(Ed. note. The anarchist papers pointed out in connection with that, that considerable financial means are in the hands of private people and that it is necessary to tackle this source by pursuing a more drastic policy in regard to the middle classes.)

"There were other reasons such as the reorganization of

FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING FEBRUARY and MARCH

Receipt No.		
182—	Mohegan Group (Bannister)	\$ 13.00
183—	J. Osis (List 219)	5.00
184—	Sam Hartman	6.00
185—	Mohegan Colony Group (thru Bogen)	43.00
186—	H. Rezanowich, Montreal Canada (List 167B & 173)	11.00
187—	Anthony Treglio, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
188—	F. Makarenko (List 195)	4.50
189—	Znanje (Knowledge), Chicago, Ill.	43.25
190—	George	5.00
191—	Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	10.50
192—	Edwards and Stephen (List 471)	5.50
193—	List 171 (via Murashkes, N. Y.)	5.35
194—	J. Smelowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
195—	Mohegan Colony (I. Bogen)	7.00
196—	Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	3.50
197—	J. P. Samusen (Collected at meeting Branch 16425 Russian Org. Roova)	7.35
198—	Man Group, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
199—	Fairfield Carter, Hubbard Woods, Ill.	50.00
200—	One Big Union Club, N. Y. C.	7.00
201—	E. Triner, c-o Bannister, Mohegan Colony	5.00
202—	Progressive Miners of America, Local No. 1, Gillespie, Ill.	500.00
		\$738.95
	Pub. Feb. 8th Issue, \$5,636.92—Sent to Spain, \$5,482.41—Bal.	154.51
	ON HAND	\$893.46

"It was told that the Italian prisoners gave a two-part rendering of 'Bandiera Rossa' which cannot be easily improvised. They must have practised the song at home in spite of the authorities." . . .
—"Manchester Guardian"

police. The C.N.T. demanded the control of the latter and this also was a contributing cause of the crisis.

*(Ed. note. The C.N.T. never accepted the decree on the police reorganization, the counter-revolutionary nature of which aroused the revolutionary workers to such an extent that the law was kept in temporary abeyance. The C.N.T. sent out instructions to all municipal police departments not to disband in favor of the newly established centralized force.)

Safeguards of Revolutionary Control

"It is quite certain that from now on the C.N.T. will demand certain guaranties in order that the sacrifices made by it for the maintaining of an anti-Fascist front be not lost for the revolutionary cause.

"It is in this sense that Valerio Mas, the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. declared yesterday in *Catalunia*, the evening paper of the C.N.T., that the crisis might be solved by having the cabinet made up in the same way as the previous one but supplementing every Department of the Ministry with a consultative body formed by representatives of workers' unions and political parties."

"It is quite clear that such a body will not remain consultative in character, that it will gradually transfer the real power from the Ministries to the unions."

The Barcelona anarchist paper *La Noche* interprets this suggested solution in the same manner:

"If every Ministry Department is supplemented by a Commissariat represented by the workers' unions which are affected by the work of the Ministry, the decisions of the latter will inevitably come to represent the will of the syndicates. The Ministry in that case will be nothing else but the executive organ and the official representative of the Commissariat built up by the unions as supplementary bodies of the Ministries."

Read Our Literature On Spain

The Truth About Spain

by Rudolph Rocker . . . 5c

The Revolutionary

Movement in Spain . . . 10c