

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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MALAGA FALL SPURRED REVOLUTIONARY ENERGIES

Workers Mobilize Resources for Defense of Revolution

The fall of Malaga electrified the revolutionary workers of Spain to a new gigantic effort to crush the Fascist aggressors. The realization that the capitalist democracies of the world, far from extending any aid to the Spanish people, are conniving at the intervention of Fascist powers by their criminal farce of "non-intervention" policy, only stimulated the Spanish workers in their feverish war activity. The slogans are self-reliance, dependence upon the efforts of the revolutionary workers and peasants themselves and stamping out of the still lingering maudlin hopes of assistance on the part of the impotent democracies of the capitalist world.

The decisions reprinted below were taken at the last Plenum of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia). Similar resolutions were adopted by the organizations of Libertarian youth and the Plenum of the C.N.T. unions. They all express the resolute mood now surging up among the revolutionary workers of Spain.

F.A.I. DEMANDS GENERAL MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

"To draw all able-bodied men into the Popular army,

"To employ all the mobilized men on the fronts and in the work of building fortifications.

"To show the greatest attention to the work of fortifying the coasts, to the fleet and aviation.

"Suppression of all useless work and places of corruption.

"To bring up the efficiency of the war industries to the highest level.

"To mobilize for war purposes the financial resources of the enterprises, banks, syndicates.

"To establish the family wage (Ed. note: an equalitarian form of remuneration approaching the principles of communism).

"To obtain the frank, permanent and efficient cooperation of the Central government in accordance with the needs of all the fronts (Ed. note: an important demand, since until now such cooperation has not been forthcoming).

"To purge the ranks of high military command and subject them to the control of the anti-Fascist organizations.

"To work in an intelligent, co-ordinated and intensive manner in order to exploit all the natural resources.

"To increase agricultural and industrial production for the inner consumption and foreign trade.

"To push forward the socialization of the economy as a basic measure which, combined with the revolutionary spirit, will lead to higher levels of production, will make possible the equalization of economic conditions, mutual help among various industries, rationalization of consumption in accordance with the requirements of the moment, the suppression of vexing privileges and the doing away with chaos in production.

"To mobilize all the syndicates for large-scaled production.

"To advance the revolutionary conquests of the workers."

—*Tierra y Libertad*" (Feb. 20)

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WORKERS DEMAND VIGOROUS ACTION

MILITARY SPECIALISTS SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY WORKERS—ANARCHISTS DEMAND

"All of us agree that the military activity of our forces must correspond to a general plan, must be directed by a single and capable leadership. But experience also taught us some other things of great interest. UNFORTUNATELY, COMPETENCY IN MATTERS OF MILITARY TECHNIC AND LOYALTY TO THE POPULAR CAUSE ARE FREQUENTLY AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER. THAT IS WHY THE PROLETARIAT DEMANDS THAT THE REALIZATION OF A UNITED MILITARY COMMAND SHOULD GO HAND IN HAND WITH A RIGOROUS CONTROL OF THE MILITARY TECHNICIANS BY RESPONSIBLE MILITANTS OF WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

"We believe that this is a just demand. The loyal military technicians should not feel vexed over those necessary measures of precaution. Just the contrary: the latter should be interpreted as an awakening of the conscience of the revolutionary proletariat, manifesting itself in a demand for a direct and responsible intervention in the carrying on of the war.

"We must keep in mind that, after all, in the struggle against Fascism it is the future of the working class that is mostly at stake. Nothing should therefore be gainsaid against the desire of the working class to assume full responsibility of the struggle. And, moreover, we can state that a united military command will become possible only when the right of the workers to control the military chiefs is fully recognized.

"MILITARIZATION? UNIFIED COMMAND? YES; BUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATIONS."

—*"Solidaridad Obrera"* (February 16th.)

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY BASIS OF NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Federalism is a fighting slogan in revolutionary Spain. It expresses more than regional autonomy. It stands for the basic aims and aspirations of a revolution that is directed not only against the economic order of capitalism, but also against the antiquated political structure—the State.

What is the nature of this federalist struggle, its achievements and present orientation,—all that was dealt in a brilliant speech delivered by Juan Lopez, the anarchist Minister of Commerce in the Central government.

Summary of Lopez' Speech

From its very inception, the C.N.T. waged a relentless struggle against the all-absorbent centralism of the Spanish State. Those historic struggles have already put their imprint upon the Spanish life. The conquests already achieved in this field set into motion a number of so-called federalist movements

which in reality have very little to do with the genuine federalist idea for which the revolutionary workers of Spain have been waging their historic battles. The bourgeois federalism which tries to make capital of the genuine federalist sentiments of the people is in reality becoming more and more of an obstacle in the winning of the war and the revolution.

Revolution and Not Defense of Bourgeois Democracy

The political parties, who in reality express the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, cater to a great extent to the bourgeois federalism. Their manoeuvres, directed against the C.N.T., are the continuation of the old policy of defending the bourgeois democracy against the revolutionary pressure of the working class. Now the same elements come out saying that "this is no time to speak of revolution, that we are at war and our attention should be centered upon winning

Government

Continues

Sabotaging

The loss of Malaga and the bombardment of Barcelona stirred up the great mass of workers, who prior to these events, were gradually sinking into a sort of indifferent attitude towards the war. Now the general demand is for activity, for sacrifices, for a definite effort to put all the energies at the service of the war. The syndicates of the C.N.T. approved the decision to give millions of pesetas for fortifications, war industries and armaments. The construction workers agreed to stop all work and to devote themselves exclusively to the building of fortifications. They are going to place at the disposal of the War Department 40,000 workers and all the material they now possess.

At its Plenum the F.A.I. demanded that the syndicates and the Central government devote their efforts to the rearming of popular militias. In the future, says the F.A.I., there should be no more vacillation and playing of politics. The war must be won, whatever cost it may involve. This is the vehement desire of the F.A.I., of the C.N.T. and the people in general.

And more than that: all the comrades are disposed to sacrifice everything in order to maintain unity among the anti-Fascists. Even those who take a more or less passive attitude are ready to make those sacrifices. They are ready to suffer all kinds of privations, to work day and night and to place at the disposal of the government all the energies necessary to crush Fascism. All are unanimous on that point.

GOVERNMENT LACKS WILL TO FIGHT

But, personally, I believe that the government, the petty-bourgeoisie and many of the Marxist leaders are not up to the situation, and much less are they disposed to concede what the people demand. They lack sincerity. They lack the desire (Continued on page four)

the war to the exclusion of everything else."

But the Spanish people are not fighting for the democratic republic which represents nothing but a paper constitution. They are fighting for a revolution which has already become the dominant fact in the present life in Spain. It is a revolution, the exact economic and moral results of which cannot yet be predicted, but the main line of development of which has already

(Continued on page three)

READ and SPREAD the

"SPANISH REVOLUTION"

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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WAR AGAINST FASCISM MEANS SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The tactics of silence employed by the defenders of bourgeois democracy in regard to the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish workers and peasants have lately given place to open challenge and denunciation. More and more we hear it said that the anarchist policy of going ahead with the work of revolutionizing the economic and social life during the war is hampering the struggle against the Fascists and is seriously undermining the chances of ultimate victory.

"Why not concentrate all our energies on the war and let matters rest until the war is won? Why not postpone the task of social reconstruction until peace is established and the mind of the people is freed from the haunting fear of Fascist invasion?"

Twenty years ago the very same arguments were used by the landowners, bankers, big manufacturers and the ruling military caste of the old Russia in their frantic attempt to halt the wave of the rising popular discontent. And their arguments were echoed by the wishy-washy socialists, by the tired radicals, by the frightened petty-bourgeoisie and the uprooted intellectuals. They all threw in their forces on the side of the reaction in order to check what seemed to them mere blind impatience on the part of the great mass of workers and peasants, who refused to listen to reason and to postpone the realization of their revolutionary hopes until the war is won.

History has already passed its verdict upon the question as to whether the masses of Russian workers and peasants were right in their seeming impatience to realize their revolutionary aspirations. The socialist parties that dared to set themselves against the irresistible revolutionary urge were swept off into the junk pile of history. And it is this fate that the socialists and communists of Spain are preparing for themselves now in their attempt to copy the inglorious tactics of the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists of twenty years ago.

For revolution is not something that can be dispensed with during a war against Fascism. It is a vital necessity, an indispensable condition for the final triumph of this struggle. It was forced upon the Spanish workers and peasants by the need of organizing the economy of the country. The latter HAD to be wrested from the hands of saboteurs and wreckers whose sympathies with the Fascist cause is a matter of general knowledge.

The Spanish workers HAD to confiscate factories or set up their own controlling organs in the various enterprises. Had they not done it, the economy of the country would have plunged into chaos and disorder which would have made impossible the mobilization of resources for the carrying on of the war against the rebels. Where the workers failed to do it, the State had to step in, bringing in its wake the inefficiency and bureaucratic demoralization characterizing every attempt of the State to intervene in the economic life.

And once the workers began to take over the main functions of economic life, they could not stop half way. The same necessity which impelled the workers to undertake the first revolutionary steps is now driving them further along the same revolutionary road, leading to the establishment of a planned economy of a libertarian nature.

The interests of the war demand it to an even greater extent than the revolutionary ardor of the workers and peasants. It is the socialized factories that form the backbone of the war industries and in order to bring them up to the highest level of efficiency a general plan of a coordinated economy is needed which will embrace every line of activity.

Credit has to be socialized in order to enable the socialized industries to function in a normal fashion. Agriculture has to be collectivized in order to raise the general productivity of those provinces that found themselves shut off from the bread producing regions. And speculation has to be fought along the lines of socialized commerce, otherwise the front and the city workers will be starved out as they were twenty years ago in Russia.

And in pushing vigorously those plans for the deepening the revolution, the Spanish anarchists are responding not to any doctrinal schemes but to the imperative necessity of saving the country from economic collapse and securing the material base for the carrying on of the heroic struggle against international Fascism.

Revolutionary Workers of Barcelona Are With the Anarchists

Of late the socialist and communist politicians have fallen upon the device of staging mass demonstrations purporting to show the loyalty of the masses of workers and peasants to the bourgeois democratic republic. Where the genuine sentiments of the masses lie, however, is shown by the demonstration organized in Barcelona along the same lines by the politicians.

The story of how this carefully planned demonstration was carried away by a spontaneous outpouring of anarchist workers is told by the special correspondent of the French anarchist weekly, "Libertaire," March 4th.

Planning Indirect Rebuke at the Anarchists

Last Sunday a manifestation of a peculiar character took place in Barcelona. This demonstration was organized by the political parties of the United Front, chiefly under the leadership of the United Socialist-Communist party and the Catalanian U.G.T., which, as it is known, is fully controlled by the Communists. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. were not even invited. It is beyond doubt that, realizing fully well the preponderant influence of the anarchists in Catalonia, some politicians conceived the idea of placing the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in difficulties by indirectly turning against them the mass demands of this demonstration.

This manifestation was to come as a wind-up of a campaign waged by the United Socialist-Communist party in favor of a SINGLE command, a SINGLE political power, a SINGLE army, under the three-fold slogan: ONE COMMANDER FOR THE ARMY, A SINGLE GOVERNMENT, A SINGLE FLAG!

The apparent neutrality of those formulas disguised the devout wish of the Stalinists—publicly expressed by them in their press and elsewhere—to see the rapid disappearance of the economic organisms and movements created and put to life by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. on the day after the revolution.

C.N.T. Runs the Show

However, those puerile designs were brought to naught by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. The regional committees made a very wise decision—they invited the adherents of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. to this manifestation.

ALTHOUGH NO MORE THAN ONE APPEAL WAS PRINTED IN THE C.N.T. PRESS, a great number of workers' syndicates responded, their members having turned out in overwhelming numbers to the demonstration.

After the marchers of the U.G.T. and United Socialist-Communist party filed by, stepping slowly to the tunes of mili-

tary marches (of a non-revolutionary character) there came out the anarchist organizations headed by the known militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

One of the most striking things about the anarchist paraders was the abundance of youth in their ranks. The bands played revolutionary hymns and countless black and red flags waved over the procession of revolutionary marchers.

What gave particular meaning to the participation of the anarchists in that manifestation were the slogans displayed on the numerous placards.

Here are some of the main slogans: "War, yes! But also Revolution." "A Single Command? Yes! But Under the Control of the Workers' Organizations." "Enough of Politics in rear! More Men Are Needed at the Front." "Equal Armaments for all the fronts (Refers to the policy pursued by the Central government of starving out the anarchist-controlled Aragon front) "A Revolutionary, Popular Army!"

Those slogans were loudly applauded by the thousands of workers who crowded the sidewalks of the streets where the paraders were marching. The applause of those enormous crowds sounded as a fit reply to the indirect manoeuvres of those who pretend to fight against Fascism by liquidating the revolutionary gains and by trying to undermine the influence of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

WHAT IS GOING ON BEHIND THE FASCIST LINES?

The outcome of the heroic battle now waged against Fascism in Spain will be decided not only on the battlefield. The rear, the degree of cohesion and efficient organization of economic life, will play as big a role in determining the final result.

In this respect the social disintegration and economic collapse characterizing life in the Fascist-held provinces of Spain are very significant. It resembles closely the similar process of disintegration which years ago proved to be decisive in sapping the power of the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia.

Some idea of what is going on in the Fascist provinces is given by the correspondent of the Moscow paper "Pravda." He writes that not only are the workers intransigent in their bitter hatred of the Franco regime—strikes, rebellions take place constantly—but also the great mass of peasantry.

PEASANTS ARE RESTIVE UNDER FRANCO'S REGIME

"The peasants are becoming more and more restive. True, the Fascists were quite liberal in their promises to the peasants. 'Just prices' and even 'liberation of the land from exorbitant' figured prominently in their program. But the peasants do not believe the Fascist demagoguery, for the facts of daily life give the greatest lie to such demagoguery.

"The peasants see that their situation is becoming worse. November 15th Franco ordered a reduction of the wages of land workers. Requisitions, legalized marauding,

violence embitter the peasants. The slightest resistance on their part is met with severe repressions: fruit trees are cut down, cattle is killed, houses are burned and wholesale executions undertaken.

"The peasants refuse to supply the rebel troops with provisions, they do not want to cultivate the fields, declaring a sort of strike of their own. As a result the Fascist provinces are threatened with a shortage of bread and that is in spite of the fact that the wheat-producing regions are in the hands of the Fascists.

"The peasants harass the lines of communications, blow up roads, and support to an ever greater extent the struggle of the irregular troops. Such guerilla warfare has been markedly on the increase in the Fascist rear.

SPANISH REGULAR TROOPS NOT RELIABLE

"The rebels cannot rely upon the regular troops. Their basic cadres comprise the Foreign Legion, Moors, Germans and Italian troops. The Spanish soldiers desert in increasing numbers. True, desertions are made more and more difficult. Espionage in the Spanish divisions is highly developed and the slightest manifestation of disloyalty is severely punished. But that cannot check the wave of desertions.

"The rebellious mood among the regular troops is so outspoken that the latter cannot be used for police functions: in many cases soldiers refused to act as policemen and executioners. In Coruna, soldiers refused to shoot at a demonstration

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of workers; in Seville they also refused to execute republicans. Open rebellion among regulars is becoming a frequent occurrence. During the month of January such rebellions took place in Coruna, Cordoba, Oviedo. It is the foreign troops that are sent to quell such rebellions and it is the foreign troops that are becoming the mainstay of Franco's government."

MOVING TOWARD AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF CATALONIA

"Since July 19th," writes A. D. Santillan, prominent anarchist economist and at present Councilor of Economy in the Catalanian cabinet, "the relations between Madrid and Barcelona have been characterized by a sabotaging attitude on the part of the Central government. One could write volumes on it, and I am sure that the information contained in such volumes would horrify the public opinion."

As an example of this sabotaging attitude on the part of the central government we have the recent Franco-Spanish commercial treaty drawn up in such a manner as seriously to cripple the efforts of the Catalanian workers in building up the revolutionary economy.

The French magazine *La Revolution Proletarienne* (Syndicalist) Feb. 10, writes about this pact:

Central Government Monopolizing Trade with France

"This commercial pact presents another aspect of a more serious nature, bearing directly upon the revolutionary struggles of the Catalanian workers.

"The partial clearing system

which is going to be legalized by the treaty places the commerce between Spain and France in the hands of the Spanish government. In fact it is the central government alone that, according to this treaty, has the right to deal with France. It will be impossible to buy or sell in France without the approval of the Central government.

"That means that Catalonia, and even more so the Catalanian workers' organizations, will have to get Largo Caballero's O.K. in order to buy or sell in France. The entire economic life of Barcelona will depend upon the will of the Prime Minister of the Valencia government.

Forging Another Link In the Economic Blockade of Catalonia

"The Central government has already carried out a financial blockade of Catalonia by refusing to place at the disposal of the latter a part of the gold reserve kept by the Bank of Spain, and also by refusing to pay for the necessary purchases made by Catalonia. At one time this blockade policy led the C.N.T. to consider seriously the eventual

possibility of having to march on Madrid. And now, with the Franco-Spanish treaty signed, the Central government will be able to add the weapon of economic blockade to the one of monetary blockade which it has been applying.

"Catalonia is going to be submitted to constant pressure, the aim of which is to starve out and exhaust the Catalanian workers so that they will have to abandon the revolution and be led back to the pale of bourgeois 'law and order'—the basic aim of those who now run the Central government.

The blockade of the revolution is now gaining added power."

(Ed. note—The article does not sufficiently take into account the power of resistance of the revolutionary Spanish workers. Until now they succeeded in thwarting the machinations of the Stalinist—bourgeois block. Nor will they be checked in their revolutionary course by the added difficulty thrown in their way by a trade treaty adroitly formulated by designing politicians.)

Only anarcho-syndicalists Have Constructive Program.

"We, anarcho-syndicalists, were always accused by the political organizations that we had no plan, no program, that we did not know how to apply our revolutionary conceptions, that we lacked a sense of reality.

"What actually took place, however, is something which appears as a sheer paradox to our political adversaries. What resulted is the seemingly paradoxical fact that during the seven months of war and revolution our political adversaries failed to advance any plans and programs, while the C.N.T., from the very first days of the revolution, gave an example of creative capacity and realistic vision of the political and economic life of Spain. It was the C.N.T. that put forward plans, presented a program, marked the secure road to be followed by all the anti-Fascist forces."

(Juan Lopez, C.N.T. rep. in the Central Gov.)

Russia Withdraws Help, Correspondent of Liberal Paper Writes

The well informed Spanish correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

"Further detachments of Italian troops arrived in Spain just before the prohibition of volunteers came into force. Their total strength is estimated about 10,000, so that there are now at least about 70,000 Italian troops in Spain.

"Amongst the war material shipped to Spain from Italy this month was a consignment of 100 Caproni bombers, which arrived in an aircraft carrier. IT DOES NOT SEEM THAT ANY RUSSIAN VOLUNTEERS OR WAR MATERIAL HAVE REACHED SPAIN DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS. INDEED, IT WOULD SEEM THAT RUSSIA HAS GIVEN UP HER INTERVENTION ALTOGETHER. (Ed. note. Emphasis is ours).

"All figures relating to numbers of troops—whether Spanish or foreign—in Spain are conjectural, but as far as can be judged at the moment, there would seem to be between 30,000 and 40,000 volunteers on the government side and 90,000 to 100,000 on the rebel side, the latter, of course, being supplied with an incomparably superior armament."

In another issue of the same paper (Feb. 27) the correspondent writes:

"When these Italian 'volunteers' reached Spain a good many of them turned out to be 'anti-Fascists' who had only 'volunteered' so as to be able to fight for the Spanish government. They went over to the government side at the first opportunity. This would seem to prove the contention that some at least of the Italian troops who have been dispatched to Spain are genuine volunteers."

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY—BASIS OF NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE

(Continued from page two) been traced by the efforts of the proletarian forces.

The First Phase of the Revolution

During the months of war the popular forces, very often confounded with the petty-bourgeoisie and republican parties, took over the organs of economic life and the old military apparatus. This is only the first phase of a revolution which does away with the old forms of life and brings about the birth of a new society. But it is time to give articulate expression to the urgent need of building up the new organs of this new society which should firmly guarantee the newly won revolutionary positions.

The anarchists, who were always reproached with the lack of constructive plans, advanced a number of concrete solutions of this problem, while the political parties not only showed a plentiful lack of such plans, but did everything possible to prevent the concrete plans of the C.N.T. from being carried out.

That attitude on the part of the political parties is to be accounted for by their desire to turn back the clock of the revolution and avail themselves of the revolutionary conquests of

the Spanish workers. Their aim is to take the economic power away from the hands of the workers' syndicates and concentrate it in the hands of the State. **Bourgeois Federalism Obstacle to Successful Course of Revolution**

The constructive plans of the C.N.T. are also undermined by the bourgeois federalism. The revolution cannot go on without evolving some plan for economic unity, for mobilization of resources, coordination of efforts. Without such plans the revolution will be faced with disaster. And it is the centrifugal tendencies of bourgeois federalism that work against this economic unity.

The C.N.T. is fighting this sort of federalism because it savors greatly of the spirit of Fascism which is bound to die with the victory of the working class. It has to be destroyed, for under the guise of federalism it aims to combat the revolutionary aspirations of the working class which are directed toward the abolition of all frontiers.

Did the C.N.T. Capitulate?

The political parties who try now to capture the commanding positions in the state cater to this sort of nationalism. They are encouraged in the policy by the mistaken belief that the C.N.T.

capitulated, that it abandoned its basic position and this, they believe, leaves them a free field in their efforts to bring everything under the control of the state, to solve every problem by legislation and to eliminate the syndicates (workers' unions) from any control of social life.

But the C.N.T. did not abandon its positions. Just the opposite: more than ever does it stand on guard against the manoeuvres of the political parties. The power of the workers' union is not going to be undermined, try hard as the political parties may. The C.N.T. still upholds the basic idea of proletarian federalism which stands not for isolation and absolute independence, but a system of mutual agreements and understanding.

C.N.T. for a Co-ordinated Economy

Spain has enough resources to win the war, provided an intelligent effort is made to co-ordinate all the work in their utilization. That means that the various regions must give up the idea of absolute economic independence.

Federalism is premised upon a certain degree of economic and social unity of the country. It means that a certain gradation of freedom must be established for all communities. There are certain fields like justice, cultural work where they should enjoy complete freedom. But in such matters as the supply of men and supplies for the carrying on of the war, the mobiliza-

tion of economic resources, the communities should be subject to the interests of the whole.

Agreement with U.G.T. Basic to Realization of Revolutionary Plans

The necessities of war and revolution demand a practical plan that could be put into immediate practice.

This cannot be achieved without arriving at a basic understanding with the workers of the U.G.T. The latter have already gone through a valuable school of political experience. They have learned the "value" of the bourgeois democratic republic and the necessity of a united front with the anarcho-syndicalist workers of the C.N.T.

What prevents those sentiments for unity from being actualized is the sabotaging attitude of the political parties who still wield some influence with the U.G.T. workers. But the movement for unity is acquiring too great a sweep for the politicians to stop it.

The understanding with the U.G.T. may soon become a fact. And the basic provision of this understanding will be the assurance that the control of economic life will remain in the hands of workers' unions and not of the State, that the workers through their respective industrial unions will control, direct, administer and organize the economic life of revolutionary Spain.

After the Revolution What?

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COPING WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

Gaston Leval is one of the most prominent figures in the Spanish anarchist movement. Writer, propagandist, economist, he has been working from the very beginning of the revolution at one of the most responsible positions, helping to frame the general course of the anarchist policy as it emerged after the first few months.

He was recently interviewed on the economic situation by the correspondent of the French anarchist weekly, *Libertaire*.

Cause of Food Difficulties

—Could you tell me what is the economic situation in revolutionary Spain?

—Barcelona and other important cities of Spain are short of certain kinds of food. This gave rise to criticisms, at times assuming a very sharp character and mutual accusations. In reality those accusations are unfounded.

“The Fascists have under their domination the greatest part of the country which produces wheat and other cereals: that is, Castille and a good part of Andalusia.

“They also control those provinces which have most of the live stock of the country, that is the provinces of Galicia and Estremadura. We have some cattle in the provinces of Biscay, Santander and Asturias, but it is impossible to ship them over since those provinces are cut off from the Mediterranean coast.

Revolutionary Initiative Overcoming Difficulties

—Is anything being done to remedy this situation?

—Yes, a great deal! Much more than what is generally supposed, more than what is known in the official circles. But all that is due to the initiative of the masses themselves.

“In all the villages intensification of production figured among the urgent tasks. In Catalonia, as well as in the provinces of Levante, our comrades unfolded a very intensive propaganda for the enlarging of the area under cultivation of wheat.

“The collectivization of the big land estates made possible such an enlargement. On the other hand the peasant syndicates, mainly those belonging to

the C.N.T., not only issued propaganda slogans to that effect, but also furnished the peasants, the small landowners with seeds, fertilizers which they could not obtain before.

“Much of the land that had been lying fallow for a number of years has been cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. I can assure you that in many places the coming harvest will be increased two-fold and even three-fold. We may say that the provinces that are now free from the Fascist domination will soon become self-sufficient as far as the principal food items go.

Measures Taken to Remedy

Cattle Shortage

—And what is being done about the situation in regard to live stock?

—At first, cattle were consumed without giving any thought to their replacement. The general belief was that war would not last long. But soon the situation had to be faced and again it is the initiative of the syndicates and peasant collectives that led to the necessary measures.

“The peasant collectives bought up the cattle sold for meat, put them in the collectivized stables and used them for reproduction. Very often they bought cows, pigs, sheep abroad—in France, Holland and Switzerland—and it is due to such measures that cattle raising is spreading to regions where it was unknown before.”

Industry Hampered by Lack of Raw Material

—And how about the industries? —There, too, we ran up against difficulties which have to be taken in consideration when speaking of the present produc-

tion. At first the capitalist mechanism had to be smashed and while we had to rebuild the economic mechanism we also had to attend to the pressing needs of war, which took away three fourths of our best militants. But there are other difficulties. As it is in other countries, Spain has not got a province which possesses raw materials and the finished manufactured products.

“In Catalonia, for instance, the textile industry is the most important one. In normal times it occupies about 300,000 workers but it has to import cotton from Egypt and the United States. And now that the commercial relations are broken up, a great number of factories have to stand idle on account of the shortage of raw material.

“Coal which generally comes from Asturias is lacking. We are not getting iron from the Biscay provinces, copper from the Rio-Tinto mines.”

—But in view of the lack of coal, how can the factories be kept going?

—Some of the factories had to close up. Those that keep going owe that to the electric stations. Almost all the waterfalls and dams are in our hands. Production of electricity has not fallen off; nor would there be a drop in all other branches of industry had we the necessary resources.

Economic Upswing Expected

—Could not the falling off in the general production be laid at the door of the collectivization? —No. Anyone can see that what happened to us will happen to any country that is deprived of raw material.

“It stands to reason that mistakes were made in the attempt to grope through our way. But in general we cannot complain of our experiment. It is due to the latter (the revolutionary policy of socialization) that production was kept up. If raw materials arrive tomorrow, industry will rapidly assume its normal course. It will even surpass the pre-revolution level. This is already the case with agriculture.”

TREASON DISCOVERED WITHIN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The latest papers arriving from Spain contain the sensational information that the anarchists have come out with definite charges against the Under-Secretary of War, General Asensio. He is accused by the anarchist press of treasonable activities, of deliberately preparing the surrender of Malaga.

This General is the right hand man of Largo Caballero and because of the backing the latter is giving him, the anarchists also demand Caballero's resignation. They are against having the tragic-comedy of Azana's defense of the General Franco and Mola repeated in face of the general knowledge of their preparation of the revolt.

Here is what the anarchist paper “Nosotros” writes about it:

“Although it may grieve the minister of war (Largo Caballero), the people are above everything else. The people accuse General Asensio of actively preparing our defeats. Largo Caballero should give up the ministry of war, should resign, should no more hinder the work of purging the ranks of high military command; this demand comes from below, from the midst of the great masses of people who suffer and struggle.”

Even the organ of the Communist Party, “Frente Rojo,” which faithfully supported Largo Caballero's policies, had to echo this popular clamor for the General's dismissal:

“Contrary to what Largo Caballero says, we affirm that General Asensio was not cooperating loyally with the government.”

As it is known to the reader, Caballero only made a gesture of resigning: he is still the Premier of the Central government. The interests of a united front are kept above everything else in the present situation. But the fight against treason from within will continue. The anarchists are not relaxing their revolutionary vigilance.

According to the latest news we have received, General Asensio is now under arrest.

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity.

It is your fight as well as theirs.

HELP THIS HEROIC STRUGGLE.

Send contributions to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORKERS DEMAND ACTION

(Continued from page one)

to put into action the false promises made by them daily. They lack the desire to mend the situation so that there should not be another Malaga. In other words, things won't change unless the people rise up against this farce. For the evident fact is that the Marxist leaders and the petty bourgeoisie hate the revolution and the Spanish anarchist movement.

CABALLERO TRIES TO DICTATE CONDITIONS

In spite of the demands of the people for the arming of our militia, Largo Caballero and the leading elements among the Marxists continue their policy of withholding such arms unless their plans and the plans of Moscow are accepted. Both contributed directly to what happened lately. Malaga was lost because they were given wide powers. And whatever reverses took place are due to the fact that those elements hate the revolution and anarchism more than they hate Fascism. Every worker here is well aware of it. Our comrades abroad

should apply themselves to denouncing this betrayal.

There are enough resources here to enable us to win the war even if a complete blockade is established. Why aren't they made use of? Because the Marxists. (Ed. note—Socialists and Stalinists) haven't got the slightest desire to do it.

ANARCHISTS PUT ON PRESSURE

Our comrades are already getting tired of all that and, responding not to the exclusive desire of the anarchist movement but to the general demand and discontent, they are going to demand from the Valencia government that it clarify its position. A demand is going to be made that part of the gold supply be spent immediately, that fortifications be built and that a general offensive start soon. Either the Valencia government and the Marxists will give in to those demands or the anarchists will take the initiative into their own hands and will denounce the intrigues carried on against the anarchist movement and the triumph of the war.

—M. GARCIA.

(From “Cultura Proletaria”)

Who Undermines The United Front?

We already reported (Spanish Revolution Mar. 12) about the attempt made by the Catalonian anarchists to put an end to the vicious form of polemics entertained by the various sectors of the anti-Fascist front. The rabid campaign unloosed against the P.O.U.M. began to react quite seriously upon the general morale of the anti-Fascist united front.

The conference called by the anarchists for purposes of putting an end to it, adopted resolutions condemning this form of polemics. It was attended by every organization in Catalonia, WITH THE EXCEPTION

OF THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE U.G.T. UNIONS CONTROLLED BY THAT OUTFIT. (Some unions of the U.G.T., like the Wood Worker's Union, for instance, sent in their approval of the conference and resolutions adopted by it.)

Can there be any doubt as to where the root source of moral disruption of the anti-Fascist united front lies? It lies not in the sentiments of the Spanish people but in the actions of those who have learned to listen to the master's voice coming from Moscow.

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