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 responding to the Spanish people, are consoling the intervention of Fascist powers by their criminal force of "non-intervention" policy, only stimulated the Spanish workers in their feverish war activity. Their slogans are self-reliance, dependence upon the efforts of the revolutionary workers and peasants themselves and stamping out of the still lingering monarchist 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,
nationalization of consumption in accordance with the require-
ments of the moment, the suppression of vexing privileges and
the doing away with chaos in production.

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

"To advance the revolutionary conquests of the workers.

— Tierra y Libertad" (Feb 20)

Read Our New Pamphlet
on Durruti
The Life and Work of Buenaventura Durruti .... 20c also
The Truth About Spain by Rudolph Rocker .... 5c
The Revolutionary Movement in Spain by Dasher ... 10c

WORKEKERS 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 FRE-
QUENTLY AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER. THAT IS
WHY THE PROLETARIAT DEMANDS THAT THE RE-
ALIZATION OF A UNITED MILITARY COMMAND
SHOULD GO HAND IN HAND WITH A RIGOROUS
CONTROL OF THE MILITARY TECHNICALS BY RES-
POSSIBLE MILITANTS OF WORKERS' ORGANIZA-
IONS.

"We believe that this is a just demand. The loyal mili-
tary technicians should not feel vexed over those necessary
measures of precaution. Just the contrary: the latter should
be interpreted as the awakening of the revolutionary proletarian,
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 gained against
the desire of the working class to assume full responsibility
of the struggle. And, moreover, we can state that a unified
military command will become possible only when the right of
the workers to control the military chiefs is fully recog-
nized.

"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 ex-
preses more than regional au-
tonomy. It stands for the basic
ains and aspirations of a revolu-
tion that is directed not only
against the economic order of
capitalism, but also against the
organized political structure
of the State.

What is the nature of this federalist struggle, its achieve-
ments and present orientation—
all that was dead in a brilliant
speech delivered by Juan Lopez,
the anarchist Minister of Com-
merce in the Central govern-
ment?

The summary of Lopez' Speech

From its very inception, the C.N.T. waged a relentless strug-
gle against the all-absorbing cen-
tralism of the Spanish State. Those historic struggles have
already put their imprint upon the Spanish life. The conquests
are 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
battles of today, which tried to
mass into the genuine federalist sentience of the people
in reality becoming more
and more of an obstacle in the
winning of the war and the revolu-
tion.

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
federation. Their manifestoes
were directed against the C.N.T.,
in the continuation of the old pol-
icy of defending the bourgeoisie
against the revolutionary pres-
ture of the working class.

Now the same elements come out saying that "this is a
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 bom-
bardment of Barcelona stirred up
the great mass of workers, who
prior to these events, were gradu-
ally making a shift of indifference
towards the war. Now the general
demand is for activity, for sacri-
fices, for a definite effort to
put all the energies at the service
of the revolution, which represents the
C.N.T. approved the decision to
give millions of pesos for fortifi-
cations, war industries and am-
munitions. The construction work-
ers 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
every day. They are actually making a

At the Plenum the F.A.I. demanded
that the syndicates and the Central
government devote their efforts to the
raising of popular militias. In the
future, the F.A.I. there should be an army of workers, of
the working class, a real people's army.

And more than that: all the con-
mands are disposed to sacrifice every-
thing in order to maintain unity
among the anti-Fascists. Even those
who take a more or less passive atti-
tude are ready to make those sacri-
fices. They are ready to suffer all
kinds of privations, to work day and
night and to place at the disposal of the
Communist movement all the means
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 so much against Fascism, but much less are they disposed to con-
side, what the people demand. They
look aghast. 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 regime, they are fighting for a revolution bring-
ing but a paper constitution. They are fighting for a revolu-
tion which has already become the
dominant fact in the present
life in Spain. It is a revolution, the
exact economic and moral re-
sults of which cannot yet be pre-
fected, but the main line of
development of which has already
(Continued on page three)

READ and SPREAD the
"SPANISH REVOLUTION"
Revolutionary Workers of Barcelona Are with the Anarchists

Of late the socialist and communist movement in Catalonia has faltered upon the device of staging mass demonstrations purporting to be in the line of the masses of workers and peasants to the democratic social republic. Where the genuine sentiments of the masses of workers and peasants are assumed by the demonstration organized in Barcelona along the same lines by the anarchists.

The story of how this carefully planned demonstration was carried away by a spontaneous outburst 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 revolutionary nature 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 Federation of Spain (U.C.T.O.), as it is known, is fully controlled by the Communists.

The C.N.T. and F.A.I. were, however, a great deal beyond what can be called collaboration. It is beyond all that, realizing fully well that the present condition of the anarchists in Catalonia, some politicians conceived the idea of having the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in no wise unite to the national demonstration against them the mass demonstration of the workers and peasants.

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 civilian and efficient organization on all economic lines of activity, will play as big a role in determining the final result of the war as the social disintegration and economic collapse characterizing life in the Fascist provinces of Spain is very significant. It resembles closely the similar phase of disintegration which years ago proved to be decisive in mapping the power of the counter-revolutionary forces in Spain.

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 intensifying their bitter hatred of the Franco regime—strikes, rebellions, which place constantly—but also the front mass of peasants.

PEASANTS ARE RESTIVE UNDER FRANCO'S REGIME

"The peasants are becoming more and more restless. True, the Fascist regime was agreed upon without the consent of the peasants. 'Just Notice' and even 'liberation of the peasants' are developed into strong and powerful policies in their province. But the peasants do not believe the Fascist demagogy, for the facts of daily life give the greatest satisfaction to the democratic forces."

"The peasants see that their situation is no better; in November 15 Fascist orders a reduction of the wages of laborers. Repressions, legalized murders, violence embitter the peasants. The slightest resistance on their part in matters of reserve reproduction, fruit trees are cut down, cattle is killed, homes are burned and wholesale sabotage undertaken by the landlords.

The peasants refuse to supply their animals and crops as they do not want to cultivate the fields, declaring a sort of strike of the peasants. An extraordinary condition. The peasants are threatened with a rapid increase of bread. The situation is a spire 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 an ever greater extent the struggle of the irregular troops. Such waifs and strays, not marked on the increase in the Fascist rear.

SPANISH REGULAR TROOPS NOT RELIABLE

The rebels cannot rely upon the regular troops. Their basic endame comprise the foreign Legion, Moors, Germans and Italian troops. The Spanish soldiers desert in great numbers. The chances of the fascists are made more and more difficult. Espionage in the Spanish divisions is developed through the use of the police policies with increasing frequency. There is no check on the desertion of the Fascists.

The rebellion among the working people is an inescapable fact. The select monarchical government has indirectly allowed the latter cannot be used for police purposes. It is understood, in fact, and refused to act as policemen and as such. In Coruna, soldiers refused to shoot at a demonstration of workers; in Seville they also refused to execute republicans. Open rebellion among regular troops for the first time during a depression of foreign arms. 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. Sanfilli, prominent anarcho-syndicalist and present member of the Council of Economy in the Catalanic 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 hurt the public opinion."

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

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

Catalan Government Monopoly

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

The partial clearing system which is going to be legalized by the treaty places the commonwealth of Spain in France and France in the hands of the Spanish government. In fact it is the central government which, according to this treaty, has the right to deal with France. It will be impossible to have or sell in France without the approval of the Central government.

"That means that Catalonia, and even more so the Catalan 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 Madrid government."

Forging Another Link in the Economic Blockade of Catalonia

"The Central government has already carried out a blockade of Catalonia by refusing to place at the disposal of the latter part of the gold reserves kept by the Bank of Spain, and also by refusing to pay for the necessary purchases made by Catalonia. At one time a trade treaty adhering to the C.N.T. tendency was on the point of being concluded by the C.N.T. to consider seriously the eventual possibility of having to march on Madrid, parallel with the Franco-Spanish treaty signed, the Central government will be able to add the weapon of economic pressure 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 Catalan workers so that they will have to abandon the revolution and led back to the pale of bourgeois "law and order" - the basic aim of those who now run the Central government."

Russia withdraws

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

(Edb. note - The article does not sufficiently take into account the freezing activity of the revolutionary workers."

"Until now they succeeded in obtaining the machinations of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc."

"Will they be checked in their revolutionary course by the ad- ded difficulty thrown in the way by a trade treaty adversely formulated by designing politi- cal circles?"

"The Central government will be able to add the weapon of economic pressure to the one of monetary blockade which it has been applying."

(Signed) (J.L., C.N.T. rep. in the Central Gov.)

Socialized Economy - Basis of New Political Structure

(Continued from page two)

be traced by the efforts of the proletarian forces.

The First Phase of the C.N.T.

During the months of war the popular forces, very often confronted with the petty-bourgeois and republican parties, took over the organs of econom- ic life and the old military appar- atus. The victory 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 ur- gent need of building up the new organ of this new society which should firmly guarantee the newly won revolutionary posi- tion of the Spanish workers. Their aim is to take the economic power away from the hands of the workers' syndicates and concen- trate it in the hands of the State. The C.N.T. proposes a Programme to the Central government to" SUCCESSFUL COURSE OF REVOLUTION

The concept of plans of the C.N.T. are also undermined by the bourgeois feudalism. The revolution cannot go on without economic unity, for mobilization of re- sources, coordination of efforts. Without such plans the revolution will be faced with disaster.

And it is the centripetal ten- dency of bourgeois feudalism that work against this economic unity.

The C.N.T. is fighting this sort of opposition that subverts 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 feudalism it aims to prevent the revolution from reaching the working class which are directed toward the abolition of all classes.

Did the C.N.T. Capitalize?

The political parties which try now to capture the commanding positions in the state are the ones which have been capitalized 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 feudalism it aims to prevent the revolution from reaching the working class which are directed toward the abolition of all classes.

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Spain has enough resources to win the war, provided an intelli- gent effort is made to coordinate all the work in their utilization. That means that the various re- gions 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 among the C.N.T. communities. There are certain fields like justice, cultural work where they should intercede, by complete and total freedom of nationalistic. But in the whole they are the supply of men and supplies for the carrying out of the war and mobilization of economic resources, the communities should be subject to the interests of the whole."

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

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

This cannot be achieved with- out arriving at a basic under- standing between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. The latter have already gone through a valuable school of political experience. They are the only ones that can uphold the bourgeois democratic republic and the necessity of a united front with the anarcho-syndicalist workers of the C.N.T.

What prevents those senti- ments for unity from being ac- tualized in the sabotaging at- titude of the political parties who still wish some influence with the U.G.T. and C.N.T.?

The movement for unity is acquiring too great a sweep for the politi- cal parties to stop it. The understanding with the U.G.T. may soon become a fact. And the basic provi- sion 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.
COPING WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

Gaston Leval is one of the most prominent figures in the Spanish anarchist movement. Since 1918, he has been working from the very beginning of the revolution at one of the most responsible positions, helping to frame the general anarchist policy as it emerged after the first few months.

He was recently interviewed on the economic situation by the anarchist weekly, Libertaire. His views on the Canute C.N.T., not only issued propa-
ganda slogans to that effect, but also furnished the peasants, the small landowners with seeds, fertilizers which they could not

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

Measures Taken to Remedy

Cattle Shortage

"And what is being done about the cattle situation?"

At first, cattle were consumed without any attempt to replace them. The general belief was that war would not last long. But soon it became clear that cattle raising is spreading to all parts of the towns where it was unknown before.

Industry Hampered by Lack of Raw Materials

"And how about the industries?"

"There, too, we ran up against a difficulty which has to be taken in consideration when speaking of the present produc-
tion. At first the capitalist mech-
anism had to be smashed and while we had to rebuild the econ-
omic mechanism we also had to attend to the pressing needs of war, which comprised three-fourths of our best militants. But there are other difficulties. As for example, Spain has not got a province which possesses raw materials and the finished industrial products."

"In Catalonia, for instance, the textile industry is the most important one. In normal times it occupied around 300,000 workers but it has to import cotton from Egypt and the United States."

COPING WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

TREASON DISCOVERED WITHIN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The latest papers arriving from Spain contain the sensational information that the anarchists have come out with de-
fin: e charges against the United Front Government. It is accused by the anarchist press of treasonable activities, of deliberately preparing the surrender of Malaga.

This is the right hand man of Lafayette and because of the backing the latter is giving him, the anar-
chists also demand Lafayette's resignation. They are again having the tragic opera of Azan'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 "Notos" writes about it:

"Although it may grieve the minister of war (Largo Caballero), the people are above everything else. The people accuse General Azensio of actively preparing our defeats. Largo Caballero should give up the ministry of war, should resign. He should no sooner hide the work of purging the ranks of high military command; this demand comes from below, from the midst of the greatest 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 a General's dismissal:

"Contrary to what Largo Caballero says, we affirm that General Azensio was not coope stealing lightly with the govern-
ment."

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 the attempt of a new front within will continue. The anarchists are not relaxing their revolutionary vigilance.

According to the latest news we received, General Azensio 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. Radinsky, Treasurer, United Liber-
tarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORKERS DEMAND ACTION

(Continued from page one)

COPING WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

Who Undermines The United Front?

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

The renunciation called by the anarchists for purposes of putting an end to it, adopted resolution condemning this form of polonius. It was attended by every organization in Catalonia, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF:

C.N.T. BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH (Barcelona)

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Normal Wave Length: 225.55 meters - FREQUENCY

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45 W. 17th St., New York

M. GARCÍA

(From "Culture Proletaria"

OT THE UNIFIED SOCIALIST COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE U.L.O. UNIONS CONTROLLED BY THAT OUTFIT. (Some unions of the U.L.O., like the Wood Worker's Union, for in-
stance, were in their approval of the conference and resolutions, adopted by it.)

Can there be any doubt as to where the root source of moral decay lies, in the attitude of the anti-Fascist united front left? 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.