

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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ENGLAND PLOTTED FALL OF MALAGA

Famous Spanish Scientist Charges English Diplomacy Works in Collusion with Mussolini

MODERATE REPUBLICANS IN LEAGUE WITH ENGLAND

Immediately after the fall of Malaga, as soon as the first details of this military catastrophe reached the population, rumors of direct betrayal on the part of military leaders began to spread far and wide. The refugees, militia men arriving from that front brought striking details of the conduct of military authorities which could hardly be explained in any other terms but those of deliberate, calculated betrayal.

At first those rumors were confined to market places, factories, fields, passing from mouth to mouth, finding ready acceptance among the workers and peasants of Spain. Soon, however, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations began to take official cognizance of those persistent rumors. The ever growing denunciatory evidence brought by the direct participants of the struggle for Malaga left no doubt that the fall of that revo-

lutionary stronghold was due to foul play and not to causes of a purely military nature.

Anarchist Charges of Betrayal Corroborated by Government Representative

The campaign for an official inquiry into the conduct of military authorities raised by the anarcho-syndicalist organizations soon bore fruit. Although violently opposed by the leading political parties, whose ostensible faith in the reactionary generals was a part of their shrewd policy to tame the revolutionary forces by building up the authority of army leaders, the exposures of the anarchist press focussed the attention of anti-Fascist Spain upon the strange behavior of the Under-Secretary of War, General Asensio and his right hand man Colonel Villalba, who was in direct charge of military operations of the Malaga

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PEASANT UNIONS STRENGTHEN HOLD UPON ECONOMY

The strength of the Spanish revolution lies in the field of economic achievements much more than political victories. While forced to compromise with its open and hidden enemies in the political field, it is forging ahead in its work of economic reconstruction.

A good example of those achievements is the work carried on by the Peasant Federation of the Levant Province (Valencia), reported in the anarchist daily of Valencia (*Nosotros*, April 10 and 13).

Anarcho-Syndicalist Peasant Organization the Legitimate Organs of the Revolution

After the Fascist revolt of July 18th, the peasant unions belonging to the C.N.T. took over the regulation of economic life in the villages. The chaos created by the fighting during the first weeks was rapidly overcome by the unions who immediately plunged into the work of economic rehabilitation.

The spontaneous organizations of the first days soon gave way to a regularly constituted Federation of Peasant Unions, which took upon itself the work of organizing production and distribution along the lines of revolutionary justice.

Sweep of Revolutionary Achievements

How deeply the revolution affected life in the villages is to be seen from the following figures (for the Levant Province): 5% of the villages established an integral form of communism, socializing the land, tools of production and houses. In 25% of villages 70% of the wealth has been socialized.

In 70% of the villages socialization attained 50% of the wealth.

Communists Back Rich Peasants

Socialization was carried out

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CATALONIAN POLITICAL CRISIS SOLVED

The new Catalonian Cabinet:
C.N.T.

1. Defence
2. Economy
3. Public Service
4. Social Aid

Left Republicans

5. Finance
6. Security (Police)
7. Education

Union of Tenant Farmers

8. Agriculture

U.G.T.

9. Food Supplies
10. Public Works
11. Justice

As the reader will notice the representation, with the exception of minor reshufflings of positions within the cabinet, (thus Comorera, who incurred the hatred of Barcelona workers by his sabotaging work in the Food Supply Councilorship has been given the position of a Councilor of Justice) remains the same.

The struggle, however, revolved not only around the control of certain Councilorships. It was the adoption of certain policies that became the central point of the severe political crisis. Information is still lacking on this point, but judging from indications the compromise solution represented by the present make-up of the cabinet was conditioned upon the adoption of certain demands in regard to basic policies presented by the C.N.T.

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COUNTER-REVOLUTION CHECKED IN CATALONIA

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES

The general interpretation of the recent political crisis in Catalonia is that the anarcho-syndicalist organizations have finally decided to call a halt to the advancing forces of counter-revolution represented in that province by the united front of Stalinist and petty bourgeois politicians. As the well informed correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" (alas, even this seemingly objective newspaper draws its information from Communist and bourgeois sources, which fact well accounts for the strong anti-anarchist bias of its correspondents) puts it, "this meant that the anarcho-syndicalists believed that the time had come to put into practice at least a part of their original program."

That this type of counter-revolution, mainly parading under the slogans "we need a strong, united government" has been making rapid strides during the last few months is known to everyone. Just as it is known to every intelligent person that the assistance given by Stalin to the Spanish anti-fascists is accompanied by an intensified drive to force off the revolutionary workers from the important positions won after July 19th.

DRIVE AGAINST REVOLUTION IN CATALONIA

One of those positions is the control of the army in Catalonia. As is known, the preponderant majority of militia men fighting on the Aragon front belong to the anarcho-syndicalist unions. The latter were the first to send their contingents to the battle front, and being in the majority throughout the province, they also yield the greatest number of recruits for the mobilized

contingents.

This alone entitles the anarcho-syndicalist organization to a controlling position in the defence of the province, apart of course, from the fact that being in control of the economy of that country they can link up the work of defense with the necessary economic measures much more successfully than any other organization.

SUBTERFUGE METHODS USED TO TAKE AWAY CONTROL OF ARMY

The Stalinist-bourgeois bloc, realizing that as long as the army remains under the control of the revolutionary organization, there can be no hope for their plans for liquidating the revolution, began to center their efforts upon finding subterfuge means of taking away the control of the army from the Councilor of Defense, who is a member of the C.N.T.

A vicious, slanderous campaign was unloosed against the Aragon troops by the Stalinist and bourgeois press. The Aragon militia men were accused of downright cowardice. (Particularly revolting were the speeches of Communist leaders at the recent Madrid conference of the United Youth, that is Communist-Socialist and . . . Catholic.) The fact, of course, was that the Aragon front was being systematically starved out in respect of ammunition by the Valencia Government and the financial branches of the Catalonia government.

Everyone knows about this sabotage, constituting as it does one of the most sordid pages in the history of the anti-Fascist war. But to the

(Continued on page three)

NO MORE CONCESSIONS TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

C.N.T. Speakers Declare

A very good idea of the position adopted by the Catalonian C.N.T. during the last political crisis is given by the speeches delivered by the prominent militants of that organization at the huge mass meeting held by the C.N.T. in Barcelona.

The first to speak was Joaquin Cortés who referred to the tragedy of a republic without republicans, a republic which respected private property and kept on attacking the C.N.T. The events of July 19th brought an end to that state of things. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. fought heroically and, after having obtained a victory over the fascists on the streets of Barcelona, they extended a friendly hand to the other elements of the anti-fas-

cist front.

This friendly policy was not reciprocated. A campaign of slander and obloquy was unloosed against the C.N.T. and F.A.I. The latter, however, declares that it will not let itself be provoked into entering upon a course of a ruinous fratricidal strife. But it says at the same time: *enough of this policy of truckling down to the counter-revolution.*

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

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May 7th, 1937

TOWARD A NEW
JULY NINETEENTH

This article reprinted from the French anarchist weekly "L'Espagne Nouvelle" is put here instead of an editorial because of its outspoken language and clear enunciation of policies toward which the anarchist movement of Spain is moving very rapidly.

It expresses the unofficial view of the revolutionary workers and peasants now fighting under the banners of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. And it crystallizes in a very vigorous form the growing sentiment for a more resolute policy of struggle against those who in the long run may present an even greater danger for the revolution than its outspoken enemies—the Fascist interventionists.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TREASON

The "strong government" of Largo Caballero is essentially a government of treason which delivered the country into the hands of Fascist generals after having prepared the road for it by its anti-labor laws and peasant massacres of 1931-1934. It cannot render any useful service to the struggling masses of the country.

Collectivization, revolution, armed struggle against Fascism and international solidarity, all of which are gradually being stifled by the rebuilt State, have been checked to an ever growing extent and brought to a standstill during the last two months.

The political crisis of Catalonia cannot be solved by redistributing the Cabinet seats, or by evolving a new scheme of proportional participation in the government by the impotent and domesticated representatives of the various anti-Fascist organizations of the working class. But from the depth of the masses there rises up the demand, the popular drive toward a "NEW JULY 19th."

A new July 19th means in Spain the sweeping away of the bourgeois republic which does not offer to the anti-Fascist people any hope of political unity, economic power, military victory or international support.

It means the regaining of full rights and full initiative by the syndicates, collectives, workers' and peasant committees, sailors' and soldiers' councils which were always the vehicles of great popular victories.

A new July 19th means to enable the unions to mobilize and socialize all the national resources: currency, raw materials, means of transportation, arms and munitions, industrial and agricultural equipment as well as means of consumption now belonging to the privileged few, the parasites and speculators of all kinds.

It means the dissolution of the police forces of the State, parliamentary bodies, political parties, bureaucratic institutions, all that to be done in measure that the new forms of administration are created.

And, primarily, a new July 19th means the realization of a revolutionary alliance of all the proletarian organizations on the basis of socialism and liberty.

Outside of this program of immediate realizations there can be no hope of "winning the war" or attaining social justice in the near future.

ANARCHIST SLOGANS

Spain will never go back to the days of exploitation and tyranny!

Spain will never go back to bourgeois democracy!

Spain will not become again a victim of capitalism and politicians!

Spain is blazing the road to a new life of work and peace!

Spain is forging ahead with a proletarian revolution, which is bread and freedom!

Spain is rebuilding its economy upon socialist foundations!

Spain will be a new world, open to all free men!

Spain will not permit that a dictatorship of any kind be imposed upon the people!

Spain will vanquish Fascism and will become the country of a triumphant social revolution of free producers!

(From the Bulletin of C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

FRENCH CONSULATE NEST
OF FASCIST ESPIONAGE

By now there are very few people who take seriously Leon Blum's outpourings in favor of Spanish democracy. Few, however, would believe that the diplomatic service of the French United Front government, presided over by an alleged "apostle of democracy," has become an instrumentality of Fascist espionage and sabotage in Catalonia.

But it is true, nevertheless. The sensational exposure of this fact is made not by a radical paper, but by a moderate liberal Madrid paper ("Politica") which recently revealed before its readers the workings of the French Fascist organization. (Quoted by Barcelona paper "Batalla" 8-iv-37.)

According to this Madrid paper, the agents of this Fascist organization ("Croix de Feu") work through the French consulate in Barcelona, which acts as a go-between and a camouflage for the conspirators.

Smuggling over Capital and Valuables with the Help of the French Consulate

The smuggling over of capital and valuables belonging to the Fascists is carried on by the Fascist organizations with the help of the commercial attaché of the French consulate, who owes his position to the recommendations of the Fascists working in the Ministry of Commerce.

Ships of the French Government at the Service of Fascist Conspirators

The Fascist underground organization of Barcelona communicates with the agents of the Franco government with the help of the officials of the French consulate. At the service of those gentlemen are ships specially reserved by the French government for official purposes. A number of Fascist agents are accommodated by the French authorities in their frequent trips to France.

Passport Forgery

Those agents are not necessarily French subjects. The consulate goes very far in extending passport services to Spanish Fascists. In fact, it maintains something which really amounts to a regular passport forgery.

The French government pays the passage for all those spies, smugglers and conspirators. But fare is collected by the Fascist organizations. Every agent has to donate to the latter a certain sum equalling the passage fare. Quite a tidy sum has thus far been collected by the French and Spanish Fascist organizations.

Is the French Government Unaware of All That?

All this is done not a thousand miles from the Foreign Ministry, allegedly in the hands of an outspoken Fascist, but in a city which was always regarded as the next door neighbor of France.

Is it possible that the revelations made by the Madrid liberal paper are not known to the socialists of the United Front Government of France?

PEASANT UNIONS STRENGTHEN
HOLD UPON ECONOMY

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by the poor and middle peasantry. The upper crust of peasantry formerly belonging to the clerical, semi-Fascist parties, violently opposed this spontaneous process of socialization. Not being able to sail under their own colors, they are camouflaging their work by setting up organizations under the official protection of the Communist Party. And, paradoxically as it may seem to some, the Communist Party is now throwing all the weight of its organization in support of those elements who are the worst enemies of the spontaneous peasant movement for socialization and self-help along co-operative lines.

Extending the Work of Socialization

Socialized agriculture was faced from the beginning with great difficulties. Lack of credits, dependence upon exports, sabotage of the middlemen and government officials. Those difficulties, however, were gradually overcome after long and arduous struggles.

The credit problem was solved by setting up a Confederal bank run by the Peasant Federation. Technical problems were tackled with the help of the technicians organized into a special union which works in conjunction with the C.N.T. Peasant Syndicates. A number of subsections have been formed for the promotion of special cultures.

The most complicated problem was that of export. Some markets were cut off due to the civil war. Germany absorbed

40% of the orange exports, and now, of course, it dropped out completely.

In addition, the export was in the hands of large firms who were hostile to the revolution. Some of the foreign representatives of those firms are known as the most ardent supporters and financial backers of the revolution.

At first, it was necessary to make use of this apparatus, the peasant federation lacking the necessary experience and connections for the carrying on of the export trade.

Soon, however, the peasants found out that the old apparatus of private dealers could not be used to any advantage to obtain even the minimum of cooperation found in the transactions of ordinary merchants. The hatred of the work carried on by the peasants was so great and palpably evident on the part of the exporters that the Peasant Federation was compelled to build an exporting organization of its own.

This more than justified the efforts devoted to it. Within the comparatively short time of a few months this exporting organization achieved marvelous results.

New foreign markets were found, the middle men eliminated and exports raised to a figure mounting high above the years of "normalcy."

Government Impeding the Work of the Federation

The Federation of Peasant Unions feels now strong enough to undertake the feeding of the

army, direct exchange with the cities and bartering with foreign countries. It is, however, hampered in this work by the opposition of the government which throws all kind of obstacles in its way: from invoking the obsolete tariff law to curtailing under every pretext credits due to the peasants organizations in virtue of the great part played by their funds in bolstering up the financial structure of the government.

Communist Minister Enemy No. 1

The attacks upon the Peasant Federation and socialized agriculture are launched quite openly. Uribe, the Communist Minister of Agriculture, is known as the greatest enemy of the Peasant Unions. His policies favor the middlemen at the expense of peasant co-operatives, the rich peasant at the expense of socialized agriculture. He already provoked a number of conflicts in various parts of the country, going so far as to invoke the use of armed forces of the government police (assault guards) against collectivized villages.

And that is why he was singled out as enemy no.1 by the militants of the Peasant Federation when asked as to the basic sources of the sabotage used so openly against its reconstructive work. Their answer was that the sabotage emanates mainly:

1. From the Minister of Agriculture.
2. The organization of rich peasants (the Spanish Kulaks) organized by the Communist party.

Such is the irony of history.

Read and Spread the "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

UNITED FRONT? YES, BUT FOR REVOLUTION AND NOT REFORMS

INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY OF UNITED FRONT OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

United Front of Revolutionary Youth

—What led you to create the Revolutionary United Front of Catalonian Youth?

—Before creating this United Front we entered into negotiations with the United Socialist Youth and other organizations making up the United Youth Front. (Ed. note: all those outfits are controlled by the communists.)

But we ran up against the demand of the Unified Socialist Youth to expel the Iberian Communist Youth (of the semi-Trotskyite P.O.U.M.) and to eliminate from our program anything that savors of revolutionary demands. And, besides, under no conditions are we going to be a party to a united front with catholics. (Ed. note: such a united front is demanded by the Stalinists.)

All those considerations impelled us to create a united front with the young workers of Catalonia whose ideas coincide with ours.

Recognition of Social Revolution Basic Condition of Acceptance

—What are the preambles of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth?

—In order to join this United Front an organization must recognize the economic and so-

cial transformation undergone by Spain since July 19th, and the necessity of upholding the revolutionary conquests of the working class.

The two basic considerations dictating the program of the United Front of Revolutionary youth are: to win the war and make the revolution. Our activity unfolds along military and political lines.

On the military front we aim to organize and train the working class youth for the struggle against Fascism and for the revolution. While we are organizing battalions of revolutionary youth, we are also trying to give the entire working class youth a military training comprising the handling of arms, grenade throwing, tank fighting and manning of fortifications. We intend to make the popular army into one that will not only fight against Fascism, but also for revolution.

All Power to the Working Class

In the political field the principal aim of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth is to maintain an effective unity among the youth and also to create an atmosphere favoring such unity.

It is in this sense that the United Front of Revolutionary Youth backs up the C.N.T. de-

mand for united action on the part of the syndicates.

We also demand that the revolution follow a course of progressive development and that all power be vested in the hands of the working class and the economy be managed by the syndicates. We are for socialization of industry and agriculture, respecting at the same time small property and especially peasant small-holdings.

Socialization to us does not mean collectivization of enterprises by its employees. It is the industrial union that is to proceed along those lines. It is only the latter that will be able to establish a national plan of production answering the needs of war and revolution.

Revolutionary Youth and Left Republicans

—What is the attitude of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth to such organizations as the Left Republican Youth?

—We want to fight against Fascism and we accept all possible assistance. But we cannot fight for a bourgeois democratic republic. The working class of Spain is fighting for the revolution and all its efforts are directed upon this aim. We anarchists do, however, respect those elements of the petty-bourgeoisie who realized that the historic mission of their class belongs to the past and that for the present they have to join forces with the proletariat in order to build up a socialist society.

—*Libertaire*, 15-iv.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION CHECKED IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

Communists and Left Republicans of Catalonia this served only as a pretext for forming the so-called "Committee for the Popular Army" which, by getting all the support—official and unofficial—of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc, began to arrogate to itself the functions of the Councilor of Defense. Those very people who were shouting themselves hoarse for "a strong government" were the first ones to undermine the work of its most important branch by encouraging officious meddling of anonymous organizations set up in the manner in which the Communist Party manages to bring to life all "spontaneous" mass organizations of the wooden soldier type.

ATTEMPT TO DISARM CATALONIAN REVOLUTION

The work of that Committee was backed up by the combined forces of Catalonian counter-revolution. And when all of them failed to achieve their basic task of wresting control of the army from the anarcho-syndicalists, they opened up a drive to transfer the Aragon troops to another sector of the front. What it would mean for the future of Catalonian revolution everyone with the least bit of political experience can easily guess. It was a move similar to the one contemplated by the Kerensky government in its attempt to remove the revolutionary troops from Petrograd and deliver the city into the hands of the "loyal" troops of General Korniloff.

It is against those manoeuvres that the C.N.T. representatives in the government struck out by turning in their resignation. And whatever solution the Catalonian political crisis may find, the C.N.T. will not resume its place in the government unless an end be made to the

attempt of undermining the work of the Defense Councilor, who works in cooperation with all the other representatives of labor organization.

DEMANDS OF THE C.N.T.

The first demand of the C.N.T. is then the dissolution of all those recently created committees for the Popular Front. Of no less importance is the demand to subject the police bodies to a rigorous purge and granting the right to members of the police force to join labor unions.

A very important demand figuring in the general program upon which the C.N.T. conditions its joining of the government is creating in each Councilorship a sort of a vigilance committee represented by labor unions. The Councilorships run by the C.N.T. representatives are in reality a consultative body consisting of various labor organizations.

It is not so, however, in the other Councilorships, which tend more and more toward the bureaucratic type of a bourgeois Ministry. The C.N.T. demanded that this tendency be checked by reverting to the original design of the Catalonian Council which was to be in the nature of a co-ordinated body of the manifold activities of economic and social organizations and not a government in the accepted sense of the word.

Those are the minimum demands which the anarcho-syndicalists regarded in the nature of elementary safeguards against any further encroachments of the counter-revolution. And whatever solution the government crisis may find, it is certain that those elementary demands of the C.N.T. will be fully recognized and embodied in the program of the new council.

BREATHING THE AIR OF FREE MEN

There was a medieval saying in regard to the liberating effect produced by the city upon the mentality of the village serf: "the city air makes free men."

The same may be said about the effects produced by the libertarian atmosphere of a great anarchist center on the regimented mentality of the Catalonian Stalinists. For careful as the latter were in selecting their bureaucratic apparatus (elections, as is known, are observed in the breach rather than in performance), they could not altogether insulate it against the libertarian ideas permeating the air of Barcelona.

Thus we learn from the Barcelona papers that the entire Local Committee of the United Communist - Socialist Party (P.S.U.C.) was deposed by orders from above, without even having been given a chance to defend itself. The charges made

against this Committee are those of MANIFESTING A CON-CILIATORY SPIRIT TOWARD THE C.N.T.

Barcelona is the center of revolutionary energies of Catalonia. It expresses the will of the rest of the country in every domain of social activity. The bureaucratic apparatus that took upon itself to depose the Local Committee of the Barcelonian organizations does not express the will of the organizations of the rest of the country. It is not the case of a Central Committee versus a powerful Local Committee of the most influential organization.

For it is clear—and in Barcelona no one makes a secret of it—that those high-handed methods emanated not from any body of Catalonian workers, bureaucratized as they might be by a perverted system of organization. It comes from the same source

No More Concessions To Counter - Revolution

(Continued from page one)

The following speaker was Fabregas, the former Councilor of Economy. He pointed out that international capitalism rose almost unanimously against the conquests and revolutionary achievements of the Catalonian workers and that now it is engaged in a general offensive of

which has been extorting its Shylock price for the services rendered the Spanish people in its desperate struggle against Fascism.

The workers of Barcelona know where to look for this source. And the day they will get hold of the secret codes of the Soviet Consulate, they will also find the messages instructing how to deal with a "recalcitrant" Committee of an ostensibly independent organization of Catalonian Communists and Socialists, who have breathed the free air of a revolutionary city sufficiently long to have dared to entertain an opinion of their own on the question of how to deal with an organization representing the preponderant majority of workers.

an economic and financial nature against the revolution.

Counter-revolution has made considerable progress in Catalonia. The government crisis taking place in the month of December was the first step in this direction.

The petty bourgeois parties have always been flirting with counter-revolution, although paying in the long run very dearly for it. And against this attitude which mainly finds its expression in the campaign carried on against the C.N.T., the proletariat must act with full force.

What Precipitated the Crisis

Domenech, the former Councilor of food supplies, unfolded before the listeners a picture of the gradual ripening of the crisis and its final precipitation.

The C.N.T.—he said—did not aim at domination and monopoly of power. But it had to strike out against the intrigues conducted against it, having for their aim to displace and dishonor the C.N.T.

The C.N.T. could not subscribe any further to the policies pursued by the government in regard to police reorganization, carrying on of the war and economic life.

It was intolerable that merchants and intermediaries should be brought back to economic power by making them members of a labor organization. (Ed. note: policies pursued by the Communist party in building up the U.G.T.) It was an intolerable state of affairs when those who are a part of the anti-Fascist front deliberately organized street demonstrations of women and children against us. (Ed. note: the anarcho-syndicalist press pointed out that the instigator of those demonstrations was Comorera, the Councilor of Food Supplies, Secretary of the United Communist Socialist Party and . . . errand boy of the Soviet Consul.)

The C.N.T. is ready to come to an understanding with other elements in order to solve the crisis in the speediest manner. But it will do so only in the light of its basic aims which are those of winning the war, making the revolution and establishing Libertarian Communism.

FREE SOCIETY GROUP OF CHICAGO

announces that the drawing for the raffle scheduled for May 1st has been postponed till the night of their Entertainment and Dance, May 22nd, at 1241 No. California Ave. Send all money and tickets to B. Yelensky, 3332 Potomac Ave., Chicago not later than May 12th.

CATALONIA FORGES AHEAD

Political events always loom large in the eyes of the general public; especially during the spectacular period of revolutionary struggles such as Spain is undergoing now. And very often those events assume such importance as to overshadow the basic processes of the revolution which, influenced as they might be by political struggles, are determined by altogether different factors.

That is taking place now in regard to Catalonia—the vanguard of the Spanish revolution. The attention of the general public is centered upon political struggles—shifts in the Cabinet, changes in the government, the correlation of forces fighting for power. But alongside of those struggles deeply significant processes of social reconstruction are unfolding their course. Is the general public aware of them to the same extent as it is of political changes?

Catalonian workers are now in control of the industries. How is this new economy functioning? How does it meet the difficulties inevitably arising during a revolutionary period?

WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES FACING THE SOCIALIZED ECONOMY OF CATALONIA?

Some idea of those difficulties is given by the editorial writer of the Valencia anarcho-syndicalist daily *Fragua Social*, who writes on that subject (*Fragua Social* 3-iv):

"The principal industries of Catalonia were tributaries of foreign countries. Its most important industry—textiles—cannot exist without cotton, which has to be imported. But importation is difficult now. How can this difficulty be overcome?"

"How could Catalonia obtain coal necessary for its railways and other industries? Where could it get lead, copper, iron, aluminum, which are indispensable for the war, and other metallurgical industries?"

"Catalonia built its industries on the shaky basis of importations. And now this very fact puts to a very severe test the capacity of the country to organize an economy adapted to national possibilities and oriented upon the building up of a free socialism.

CATALONIAN WORKERS OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

"Catalonia, however, is gradually overcoming those difficulties. The Technical Department of the Council of Economy rallied the best brains of the country in the work of building up the

England Plotted Fall of Malaga

(Continued from page one)
front.

The result of those exposures was the dismissal of General Asensio and the arrest of Colonel Villaba, who will soon be brought up before the Popular Tribunal on charges of treason. One of the star witnesses against the latter is the Governor of the province of Almeria (the province adjoins Malaga), who lately came out with an official statement fully corroborating the charges made by the anarchist press in regard to this General Staff delegate at the Malaga front.

Who Was Back of the Malaga Betrayal

And now that we have the official avowal of the fact of betrayal on the Malaga front,* the question arises: who was back of these counter-revolutionary generals? who is responsible for placing them in positions of such importance in spite of their reactionary past and associations?

*(Ed. note. Those official statements effectively silenced the slanders issued by the Communist press after the fall of Malaga. We hear no more of "anarchist inefficiency" and "Trotzkyite agents" as being the main cause of the military debacle on that front. The Communist press, which fought so bitterly against workers' control of the military staffs, talks now

shamefacedly about the possibility of treason nestling in those high quarters.)

Those are the questions asked by the famous Spanish scientist, Gonzalo de Reparaz (now a member of the C.N.T.), in his article on that subject appearing in the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Barcelona (*Solidaridad Obrera*, April 11).

Malaga Betrayal Engineered by British Diplomacy

His answer is that Britain was working through groups influential in the Spanish government to bring about the fall of Malaga and, if possible, the surrender of Madrid. England, he states in that article, is guided in her Spanish policy by "the firm purpose of destroying the Spanish revolution, the nightmare of the British lords and bankers in whose eyes the danger of the revolution looms larger than that of Italian challenge in the Mediterranean."

But how could this purpose be realized?

"The plan of the Fascists was

country. (Ed. note: the Council is run by the C.N.T.) It is working out for every industry comprehensive and rational plans which are immediately put into practice. The Research Laboratories of the Department are opening up new horizons and possibilities. And as a result, Catalonia has discovered new sources of subsoil wealth and is soon going to make its industries independent of foreign imports.

SUBSTITUTES FOR COTTON

"The technicians study the problem of replacing cotton with some substitutes. Already flax fibres and hemp are being introduced; credits have been opened for that purpose and the moment is not far off when these fibres will have become an important item of a large textile industry.

"A substitute has also been found for jute which will make the country independent of this imported raw material.

INTENSIFIED EXPLOITATION OF MINERAL WEALTH

"New vistas have been opened in respect of mineral wealth. The revolution created new industries. The extraction of coal has trebled. In about a few months from now Catalonia will be able to produce 6,000 tons daily, which is sufficient for the needs of its transport and industries.

In conjunction with that, the gigantic plan of electrification of Catalonia has already entered the phase of practical realization. The first part of this program—the electrification of railroads—is being carried out. Upon the completion of those plans, the cost per mile will be reduced from three pesetas to seventy centimos.

"The exploitation of lead, copper, zinc mines, has grown tremendously. New discoveries of mineral sources are being made. The technician and manual worker work hand in hand for the common welfare and the results are surprising."

This successful reconstruction of the economy described by the editorial writer has nothing in common with the type of economic recovery found in the capitalist countries. For, as the paper states it, "the point of departure of all the heroic efforts directed toward rebuilding the economy is the socialization of wealth" and that is why, "in spite of their lack of experience, the revolutionary workers of Catalonia are facing successfully the difficulties incidental to the building up of a new economy."

very simple: it was to take Malaga and, perhaps, Almeria; then to swoop down upon Madrid, which would fall an easy prey to the Fascists. This would force the reds to ask for an armistice imposed upon them by France and England.

Conservative Bourgeois Democracy—Aim of British Policy

"But since England is a 'liberal' country, it would propose that the 'wishes' of the Spanish people should be taken into consideration and a bourgeois democratic republic be formed without the admixture of anarchists or Marxists.

"The English government was told that in loyalist Spain there are sane and reasonable elements who are ready to steer the ship of the Spanish state along a less hazardous course than that of the Social Revolution. Secretly, the English government got in touch with the representatives of those elements, unfolding before them the plan of truce and control."

Sabotaging the Defense of Malaga

It was in cooperation with those elements that British plans for the surrender of Malaga and Madrid were worked out. That such plans were carried out by the British allies in the Spanish

government is evidenced not only by the patent betrayal of military commanders but by other, no less striking facts.

"Our fleet," writes the scientist, "which was to take off for Malaga as soon as the danger of attack appeared, did not even make a single stir. Was it because it was not ready to go? No, it was only because it was not sent there."

"A huge armada of motorized forces was allowed to move along the coast toward Malaga, and then peacefully encamp in Torremilinos, without being harassed by a single shot of our artillery. What was the cause of that?"

Stiffened Resistance to Revolution is Due to Same Influences

The defeat of Italian armies north of Madrid brought to naught those plots carefully hatched in London. The fall of Malaga did not bring the revolution upon its knees, but spurred

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it to a greater effort.

That is why the attention of the same forces was transferred upon the rear. A victory by revolutionary forces must be prevented by all means, and in the first place—the organization of the forces within Catalonia. Hence the political crisis and the resistance of the politicians to revolutionary forces, which our writer lays squarely at the door of British diplomacy.

The purpose of the latter is "to work in the rear with the help of the politicians, to paralyze military action and to give time to Mussolini to prepare an offensive on a much larger scale than the one waged north of Madrid."

Mussolini and Hitler Carry Out British Policies

For if and when Mussolini succeeds in carrying out his contemplated large-scaled offensive, he will have to come to an understanding with England. The latter already succeeded in "convincing" Hitler that the solution of the Spanish crisis lies along the lines of a moderate bourgeois republic. Mussolini will be made to see the situation in the same light. And as our writer phrases it, "if the beavers, who are so busily engaged in building up dams against the revolutionary torrent, succeed in completing their work, the result of it will be not a state of Italian or German stripe, but a republic, shaped in London and manipulated from there by invisible wires."

But in the long run it is the Spanish workers and peasants that will have the last say and not London or Paris.

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