



Photos from the Aragon front: upper left, our Comrades Rovira and Arquer surrounded by other P. O. U. M. militiamen. Center and lower left, views of Mount Aragón, recently taken by our militia; this position, 2 miles from Huesca, dominates the town. The other pictures are war scenes in Aragón

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

P. O. U. M.

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For a Red Army of the Spanish Workers

The difficult time of trial which the workers and peasants revolutionary impetus is passing through imposes upon us a primary duty: that duty is to face the facts.

The military fascists will not be able to gain even insignificant victories, once we realise that we have taken up our arms not merely to call a halt to fascism but to prevent it from ever again constituting a menace to the cause of the workers emancipation, and that we must crush it and put it to rout once and for all though the triumph of the proletarian revolution. So long as the revolution goes on triumphantly day by day, fascism cannot triumph. The revolution demands heroism, a spirit of sacrifice, class-consciousness. Only by maintaining the revolutionary morale of the workers, not by useless words, but by the unanswerable force of deeds, will we be able to add to the cry of «fascism shall not pass» the more effective reality of «we shall pass over fascism».

To conquer, fascism will go to the most barbarous extremes. But when we take into account the monstrous means to which the fascists have recourse, even when they are making war between themselves, we cannot be surprised that such proceedings are carried to their very limits when it is a question of strangling the revolution. But if all the workers organisations will work together, we will make fascism retreat to where the peninsula meets the sea.

In the cause, we find ourselves in complete agreement with the «professed aims» both of the recent governmental reforms in Catalonia and the new military measure looking towards a unified command and a more effective army: but this army must be the Red Army of the workers. Revolutionaries are not mercenaries; they are the autonomous heroes of the proletarian revolution. Without damaging the perfect right of everyone to express his political opinion and social ideas, it is necessary to keep the strictest discipline in the military sense and to carry out to the letter all orders coming from the unified command. From every combattant must be exacted unshakable revolutionary conscience and self-denial. But if it is necessary to abolish the Antifascist Militia Committee in order to avoid the dangers of dual power after its mission is accomplished, it is not necessary to recreate the army of the state, the tool of government, capable one day of being used against the people and against the cause for which we are struggling and daily offering our lives.

We object to the present measures which create an army other than the Red Army. The combattants of the revolution must not be the headless automatons who so efficiently click

their heels and do and die for Hitler and Mussolini. They must be the red army of the workers, fighting under a coordinated military command more capable of winning the war than the independent action of every political party's command. The unified command and the tightening of discipline are necessary, but after the model of Trotsky's army.

When Lenin in Russia asked Leon Trotsky to take over the War Commissariat; the bolshevik situation was desperate. They scarcely even had under their control the territory lying between Moscow and Petrograd. There were counter-revolutionary governments in the north, menacing the old capital. In Archangel, the Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucasus, the «whites» troops were advancing on Moscow irresistibly; they could count on the support of the whole of imperialist officialdom. France, England, Japan and the United States gave them war material



FOREIGN HELP

Beans! They think we shoot with beans!

with open hands. The Czechoslovakian prisoners had risen and formed an army under the command of Cayda and were giving the «white» generals powerful aid. The cities were falling one after the other. The industrial proletariat were exterminated «en masse», which shows that our fascist limit themselves to imitating, on broader and more perfected lines, the procedures of the Russian reactionaires.

From day to day Paris and London awaited the information that the Czarist flag was flying once again on the blue and gold towers of the Kremlin.

What did Trotsky have with which to face so many and such formidable enemies? Some undisciplined and chaotic militia made up of workers and peasants, in which many traitors were mingled. These militia did not obey their chiefs, they frequently refused to attack, they would disband and give away vital positions without resistance. Everything appeared to be lost.

Trotsky began at the bottom. He had scarcely arrived in Sviasl in his famous armored train when he happened upon the fugitives from Kazan and Simbirsk. They were terrified, having just fled from the «white» troops, throwing away their arms and abandoning their cannon. They were a panic stricken crowd, incapable or moral reactions, convinced of their military inferiority and of the inevitable triumph of the enemy. What was to be done with them? Trotsky lined up his scanty force, inflamed them with his words and began the offensive. Instead of defending himself in Sviasl, he went forward and took up his stand in Kazan. But at the same time he declared in effect the order which had been abolished in 1917, of the death penalty in the Russian army, and without hesitation had all those convicted of insubordination and cowardice shot. The officers were then respected. Orders were obeyed. Machine guns, manned by trusted Communists, were placed behind the battalions when they began an advance. If they retreated the

machine guns went off and they were caught between two fires.

The fate of the Russian revolution was decided on the Kazan front. These were memorable days. There were victories and defeats, advances and retreats, discouragements and acts of heroism; but in the end Trotsky did more than the proud Czarist generals. While Europe and America were awaiting the telegram announcing the entry of the «white» forces into Moscow, they received the official news from Sviasl that the Bolsheviks had taken Kazan.

The leader of the revolution then had to manage 16 fronts and a million men. He won on every side. He invaded Poland and reached the outskirts of Warsaw. But such a miracle was possible only because Trotsky, approved and backed by Lenin, who knew how to ally a sharp sense of reality to his theory, disciplined his oddly assorted militia while there was yet time and transformed them into solid and homogeneous unities. Well formed and submitted to iron discipline.

Spain today is also fighting against her «white» troops. They have their mercenaries from Africa and the help of European fascism. Let us face them as Red Russia faced hers. Let us build a disciplined army where disobedience, cowardice and treachery are payable by death. And then we will be invincible.

There is still much to be done in the rearward. We must fight to crush reaction which is struggling to raise its ugly head among us. In these moments when we are risking all to gain all, we cannot allow ourselves the sentimental luxury of being generous. War to the death with the spy and the ambushed enemy: Iron discipline at the front, and committees of workers and peasants behind the lines. The victory of the revolution will only be assured when the whole of economic and civil and military life rests with the workers and their committees.

Declaration of Comrade Nin

THE NEW JUSTICE

Comrade Andrés Nin, who represents the P. O. U. M. on the new worker-controlled Council of the Generality of Catalonia, recently spoke over the P. O. U. M. radio, giving the following declaration concerning the reorganization of the Popular Law Courts. Comrade Nin is a member of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. and one of the co-founders of our party.

To understand the present political situation, one must see its reflection in the measures adopted by the Generality.

The struggle which has begun is not between bourgeois democracy and fascism, as some believe but between fascism and socialism. It is an error to believe that so much blood was split in vain on the 19th of July. Only the persevering revolutionary action of the proletariat in power will be able to destroy all the bourgeois traces which are still rooted in the growth of the new social order.

The civil war has upset the balance of a social regime based on the economic power of a few over the immense majority of workers. The inevitable result of this has been economic disorder inside the new social structure which the Spanish proletariat is building today. On our definite intervention in the new destinies of the society which is springing up depends the fate, during a more or less lengthy stage, not only of the Spanish proletariat but of the world proletariat.

We can hope nothing of the bourgeois regime which is sinking. If the proletariat looks back they will only see the terrible vision of poverty and hunger. We can hope for nothing from those who fed us on promises while they were preparing the fascist infamy which the proletariat, arms in hand, repulsed in the memorable action on the 6th of October and then again for the second and last time on the 19th of July, 1936.

It depends on the consciousness which the proletariat has of the responsibility of its mission in this war whether their blood has been shed in vain or not. The worker must not

place his confidence in those who still speak of defending democracy. It is only a workers' government which today can achieve the new social order.

In Catalonia a government has been formed which ought to serve as an example and a stimulus to the proletariat throughout the rest of Spain. This government, formed of a workers' majority and with some representatives of the petty bourgeois, is step by step reaching each of the goals which it set up for itself. The P. O. U. M. participates in this government upon these two conditions: that the government should be formed by a workers' majority and that it should immediately take socialist action.

The principal objective of our participation in the government of the Generality is the initiation of a socialist program, and to make this effective we will concentrate our full strength. If, on the other hand, there was even a moment of vacillation concerning the work of socialization, believe me, Comrades, the P. O. U. M. would not remain a single instant longer in the post it occupies today.

At the formation of the new government the P. O. U. M. did not protest against the obvious injustice of giving it a much smaller representation than that called for by its political force. This injustice has been repeated in the new municipal councils which have just been set up.

The Ministry of Justice, which has been assigned to us, is of extraordinary importance at the present time. We do not look upon justice as an abstract concept placed above class interest and proffering impartial judgement. To Marxists, justice has always been in the class regime the most powerful weapon for crushing the enemy. Justice belongs to the ruling class. Before it was used in the defense of private property; today it is to be used in defense of economic socialization. Therefore we can say now that justice is in the service of the working class. We said at the beginning and we repeat again now, that we are in the council to legislate on what the proletariat has already achieved in the streets.

Nothing of bourgeois justice must remain. Everything must be remade from the beginning. For this reason the old Codes are of no use to us, since they were Codes to defend bourgeois property. The Republic did nothing to aid us. Their justice and laws did not even serve to prevent the civil war, which began on the 14th of April, when the monarchists, whom the republic allowed to go free, started to plot openly against the workers.

Today the Royal Code is still in existence. We believe in the necessity of destroying this machine which for centuries has been used in torturing the flesh of the proletariat. We take up the defense of the new order.

The Popular Juries have done good work, but they have their faults, one of them being judging of military offences according to the Royal Code. The offences arising from the civil war and the antifascist struggle itself oblige us to make new bodies and popular law courts throughout the province. The Popular Court which has been decreed is principally for the safeguarding of the proletarian conquests which contribute towards our victory in the war.

The Constitution of Popular Courts is the promise that we will mete out justice to all those who attempt, at their own risk, to dishonor the revolution by irresponsible conduct. The lists of offences with which the new court has to deal are those which have sprung from the tremendous tension of the struggle going on between the bourgeois and the proletariat; between the proletariat who are creating the new revolutionary legality and the bourgeois who have not resigned themselves to losing their private property and privileges.

The old courts were comprised of professionals specialized in applying a code which possessed every means of justifying and sanctioning the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Our Law Courts will cheat none since their mission is to defend the working class. The Councilor of Justice will see to it that the Law Courts are Workers' Courts. The accused may choose his own legal defender or may defend himself. Any citizen who chooses may defend the accused if necessary. In these Popular Courts cases are settled with speed; the time limit is 48 hours.

The court judges are in agreement with revolutionary concepts.

There have been some cases where the sentimentality of some people fomented the seeds of treachery in others, and further cases where kinship or friendship have interfered with revolutionary sentiments. This must be stopped, cost what it may. These are times of civil war and if the Law Courts allow themselves to show weakness it will be the death

of the revolution. The Courts must be strong against an enemy who possesses such a powerful ally in foreign fascism.

The Law Courts must also be without pity for those who dishonor the revolution.

We are taking the first steps in the transformation of justice but we will not stop here. We are going towards social transformation. We are going much further than these present decrees. The Law Courts are a supplement to the work our combatants are carrying out on the battlefields. We are at the head of the Spanish Revolution, and we know that the future of the Spanish and the word proletariat lies in our hands. With our gaze fixed on the proletariat of the whole world we proclaim our slogans to be «To conquer or die», and «For the triumph of the international revolution».

* * *

Everyone must realize the great importance of the new decree which has just been published under the signature of our Comrade Andrés Nin. It is an historical document. The revolutionary order, which is being built by the working masses, finds therein its legitimate expression, its legal guarantee. Justice assumes an absolutely new and concrete meaning and importance.

In Barcelona, four courts will be established, one each in the towns of Tarragona, Lérida, and Gerona. These courts will be formed of a president and eight representatives, one from each organization P. S. U. C., P. O. U. M., F. A. I. C., N. T., U. G. T., The Union of Rabassaires, Catalan Action and the Esquerra. These are the workers organizations and parties which, at the front with their militia, as well as behind the lines, are fulfilling the mission of building a new order. It will be noticed that the representation of the various working class tendencies has been fixed to include all the organizations participating in the Council of the Generality and the Town Councils, but at the same time overcoming the unfair and inferior numerical proportion given to our own party.

There are many other interesting aspects of the decree. Taken altogether, they are the product of a brain formed not by the knowledge of written laws and traditional authoritative codes, but by social life and the social struggle which make of our times a period of transition between two worlds: the world of exploitation and oppression of some by the others and the world of the liberation of humanity.

We congratulate Andres Nin. This comrade of our party has brought about the new revolutionary legality in Catalonia that will serve as an example everywhere.

The Agrarian Question in Catalonia

(Second part)

THE REVOLUTION AND ITS WORK

The July days therefore found the peasants ready for action. The response to the events in Barcelona was immediate. In all the villages the property of the reactionaries was confiscated; fascists, priests, and usurers were hunted out, imprisoned or executed. Where no peasant union existed, the Militia committees or Antifascist committees of the place took the affair into their hands. As for rents and dues, they were simply done away with. In a few days the place had been swept clean, ready for the work of organization and construction to begin. The Union of Rabassaires approves of these spontaneous actions and has circulated a slogan to this effect through the whole of Catalonia.

Less than a month after this the eleven points of the Economic Council appeared, three of which were concerned with the organization of the countryside:

«Collectivization of the large agrarian properties, which will be exploited by the peasant unions with the help of the Generality, and the compulsory union adherence of the producers exploiting small and medium sized properties.»

It is obvious that here we have, at one and the same time,

the legalization of the initiatives of confiscation and a step forward toward the collective regime of tomorrow.

In regard to the application of this point, the Generality promulgated a short time ago a decree on «obligatory unionism», of which we will give an extract further on, which aims on the one hand, at regrouping the peasants so as to carry on the collective acquisition of agricultural materials and, on the other, at the collective sale of the products of the entire village.

Besides this, the Union of Rabassaires and the various parties and organizations which aspire to win the support of the peasantry, are considering the means of dividing certain lands among the agricultural workers, who would become thus small owners with the same rights as the freed farmers and rabassaires.

PERSPECTIVES

This is only a question, as is easily seen, of the first measures. It now becomes a question of knowledge of peasant mentality which is still an unknown quantity. It is normal that in a revolutionary period, when everyone is working feverishly in his own corner, without always being able to take the whole into

consideration, and where changes in the state of mind of the masses often take place at lightning speed, the most varied opinions and affirmations should circulate on all kinds of questions. But no other subject finds so many contradictory replies as the subject of the peasants.

It is clear that the peasant knows what the revolution has given him and considers from now on that the revolution is his own. «After the Popular Front elections, you were still arguing whether you would turn 25% or 50% over to the proprietor. After the July events it is no longer a question of 50% or even 25%. The question is settled: you pay nothing any more», said Gorkin recently before an assembly composed chiefly of peasants, who greeted his statement with a tempest of applause.

It is clear also that in Catalonia the worker is not the enemy or even a stranger in the eyes of the country man, but that a real brotherhood unites them. In peasant meetings, calls to remember the military aid brought to the peasants by the town workers, exhortations to maintain this union and prophecies of future economic collaboration of the city and the country always bring a lively satisfaction to this profoundly attentive and often completely silent audience.

But the question which occupies the attention of the workers' parties and organizations is to discover how strongly the peasants are still attached to their little pieces of ground. Must one, to assure the whole sympathy of the peasants now, in this difficult period, let them parcel out the land as they wish to, thus making the organization of the society of the future even more difficult; or, should we, can we force them even now to the maximum of collectivization? «The peasant hates the owner but he loves ownership», we hear said on one hand. «The peasant wants the fruit of his labor but not the land», we hear said on the other.

This obviously reflects the fact that the peasant masses are at the present time in the midst of a process of evolution. In this respect the Union of the Rabassaires is a typical case. The influence of the Esquerra is practically liquidated, but none of the workers' organizations can claim to have succeeded it, and the Union appears to be very anxious to preserve its

own autonomy, at least outwardly. All that can be said is that the U. G. T. on one side and the P. O. U. M. on the other, have directing cells in the Union, and that certain centers, certain villages and many of the younger elements appear to be marching at an accelerated rhythm toward collectivization. The example of Raimat is one of the most favorable cases, since it was a question here of very large exploitations, of a semi-industrial nature; but there are even smaller cases which show the anxiety of the peasants to group themselves and even to take new steps: the inhabitants of a rather poor village, Tortella have been collectivizing their hog raising and sale of meat products for several months already. In certain places, since the July days, the peasants have decided to turn over to the union the ground rents which they have ceased to give the proprietor. Elsewhere, a group of peasants has written the P. O. U. M. to acquaint us of the decisions they have made: socialization of the land, regulation of wages and the hours of work.

On the other hand, the Antifascist Committees and the popular committees which have sprung up in every village, have had, in addition to their essentially political functions, to solve the economic and supply problems. From now on a good part of the Catalan peasants have the habit of organization, and, in a certain measure, of collective work. The decree on compulsory unionism was so carefully drawn that it looks as though it will meet with no serious opposition and, on the other hand, it has crystallized nothing and left a free expression for all initiative. This decree allows a revaluing of food products by the abolition of the middleman (the union is now responsible for his operation) and a rationalization of machinery. From the point of view simply of the economic returns, these are the essentials of what one would desire for Catalonia.

In the months to come we will undoubtedly witness a polarization in the peasant masses, which as yet does not exist. But all the actual conditions allow us to hope, and even to prophesy, that the Catalonian workers' revolution will not come into those conflicts with the peasants which are always so terrible for the proletariat.

(To be continued.)

The Soviet Government's New Attitude toward Spain

Possibly the most important international political event since the beginning of the civil war is the Soviet government's change of attitude toward Spain. This change has been indicated by two gestures, respectively of major and minor importance, but each in its own sphere the indication of a new policy: namely, the Soviet government's questioning of the non-intervention pact and the arrival of the first ship sent to Catalonia to help us in our struggle.

Whether its step toward breaking the pact was due to political astuteness or to a revolutionary attitude, and whether the sending of a supply ship was a stunt of Stalinist publicity or an act of proletarian solidarity, yet remains to be seen. However, these considerations do not prevent us from deriving a profound satisfaction from the realization that the Soviet Union is at least in some way favorable to our revolution.

We have severely condemned the previous attitude of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government, born of a proletarian revolution and a civil war against czarism and the bourgeoisie, could not remain neutral toward the Spanish civil war, toward an event upon which depends not only the future of the working class of Spain and the whole world, but also that of Soviet Russia herself. The Soviet government not only decided to remain neutral, but by its attitude influenced the French government to follow suit. On being consulted by the French government as to what attitude it would be wise to take toward the events in Spain, the Soviet government replied: the Franco-Soviet pact comes into play in case one of the two countries is attacked, but not in any case as the consequence of the affairs of a third country. This third country was Spain, where a struggle of life and death is going on between socialism and fascism, revolution and counter revolution. Abandon-

ed by the Soviet and English governments, the French government was unwilling to risk a war with Germany as the result of intervention in Spanish affairs. So it chose neutrality. This attitude of the French government we have also condemned; it ties their hands so that they cannot give us the support which is due to us, while it allows Hitler and Mussolini to give effective aid to the Spanish fascists.

Hitler and Mussolini, in spite of the non-intervention pact, have continued calmly to send aeroplanes and cannons to General Franco. The possible victory of Franco in the Spanish war forms part of the imperialist war plans of the dictators of Germany and Italy, as we have pointed out before. It is positive that between Hitler, Mussolini, Oliveira Salazar and Franco there exists a formal agreement. In return for the help he is now receiving, Franco has promised large concessions in the Balearics and the Canary Islands and even on the peninsula. If Franco should succeed in winning, Spain will automatically become the field of operations for European fascism in preparation for the coming war. Franco has not only had the audacity to promise Spanish territory, but he has also engaged the youth of Spain, whom he hopes to turn into fodder for fascism.

In Lenin's time Soviet Russia would have been the first to give help to the revolutionary workers of Spain or any

**ARMS, AMMUNITION AND
AEROPLANES FOR SPAIN**

DISSOLUTION OF THE ANTI-FASCIST MILITIA COMMITTEES

The Antifascist Militia Committees were the organs of workers power which developed spontaneously just after the July days. They were composed of representatives of all the workers' parties and organizations and the Popular Front bourgeois parties. The Committees varied in each town both in name and the proportional weight of their components. We shall describe the Central Committee at Barcelona.

In this committee there were 10 proletarian, 1 peasant, and 4 bourgeois representatives. The workers were represented by 3 delegates of the C. N. T. (or Anarchist Trade Unions), 3 delegates of the U. G. T. (or Socialist-Communist Unions), 2 delegates of the F. A. I. (or Anarchist Federation), 1 of the P. S. U. C. (or United Socialist and Communist Parties) and 1 of the P. O. U. M. The Union of Rabassaires had 1 representative. The Esquerra or Catalan Left Republicans, a bourgeois party, had 3 representatives and the Catalan Action which stands to the right of the Esquerra had 1 delegate.

Let no one think, however, that this was all being run without difficulty. The organizations which made up the Committees had up till the fascist rising looked upon each other as enemies. But, if their apprehensions did not disappear, at least the needs of the common struggle forced them into this union of all workers' organizations.

A period of dual power thus arose in Catalonia. These Committees, which were supported by the only armed force in existence, held the actual power. Acting in conjunction with the member organizations, the Committees helped arm the workers' militias and sent them to the front. It then organized, with the help of the food-stuffs and transport unions, the provisioning of the troops at the front and of the civil population.

Once the initial measures were completed, the steps necessary to the continuance of the war and the organization of the social revolution were put under way. Transportation in Catalonia was organized by the unions and the Committees. The War Committee organized hospital facilities at the front and behind the lines for the wounded; it established a strict control over press, radio and all means of communications. The Public Order Committee took over the functions of the old state police, to discover fascist traitors and otherwise guard the public safety. Acting through its member organizations and in collaboration with the Economic Council of the Generality, which was put under workers' control, the Committees began the organization of the socialized Catalan industry and established certain plants as munitions plants.

The Generality, under pressure from the workers and under the control their representatives on the Antifascist Militia Committee began the reorganization of the school system and the modifications of judicial procedure.

It is evident from this short description of confused responsibility that the period of dual power, so essential in the pre-revolutionary and early revolutionary phases, had outlived its usefulness and was leading to confusion and needless duplication.

The relation of forces which existed before the fascist uprising was of course modified during the revolutionary turmoil. And it naturally was modified in favor of the most revolutionary parties. It is impossible to estimate the quantitative strength; the street fighting and formal activity of the organizations does not lend itself to exact comparison. However, the parties like P. O. U. M. made in two months enormous advances in the growth of their strength. The Esquerra, furthermore, made little resistance to following the upward swing of the revolution. Those workers' organizations which wished to hold back the revolution in the name of equal speed for the revolution in the diverse regions of Spain, soon had to drop this policy, fearing to lose their influence. The programs which were adopted by the Antifascist Militia Committees were those proposed by the more advanced portions of the working class, and the P. O. U. M. played an important rôle in drawing them up. The initiative of the working class in economic and political fields was given legal recognition. New directions were given to coordinate the col-

other country, since the international revolution was then the fundamental objective of the Russian revolution. Stalin has not preceded as Lenin would have done. It is only fair to point out, in respect for the truth, that the change in Stalin's policy is not due to a rectification of conduct with regard to the march of the international revolution—in the vanguard of which the Spanish workers are today—but is purely and simply a reply to Hitler's attitude and the danger to the Soviet Union which his policy represents.

At the beginning of the Spanish revolution we interpreted the Stalinist government's unjustifiable attitude as a logical consequence of their centrist policy which had left them aside from the natural course of the revolution, thus making it dialectically impossible for them even to guess at coming revolutionary events. Stuck in one position, as was the Soviet government in its static centrist attitude, it was impossible to preserve a sense of the dynamics of the revolution. This made them unable to follow the ups and downs of the revolutionary movement, and since they are thereby unable to foresee the appearance of revolutionary events, the appearance of revolutionary phenomena takes them by surprise. In the face of these events, however, they are forced to act, and, in ignorance, to act according to guesswork. They do not proceed along the straight line of an assured policy, but swing from one side to the other, from right to left and left to right. Soviet Russia began on the extreme right and it is, of course, dialectically possible that she will reach the extreme left—that is our «hope». Meanwhile in her transit from one side to the other, she will certainly be at some stage favorable to our revolution.

We do not know up to what point Stalinist bureaucracy has undermined the proletarian state to allow it to take up the calm attitude of a spectator in the face of the Spanish events; but however far advanced the decomposition may be the Soviet Union cannot maintain its aloofness under the menace of fascism. With the further development of events, the contradictions in its own policy become more apparent; the Soviet Union's most vital interests are threatened and now the Soviet government, neither as nationalist bureaucrats nor as international revolutionaries, can remain neutral. Exactly what they will do is yet to be seen. Will they take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Spanish revolution to revindicate themselves in the eyes of the world revolution or will they be content to change their gesture, of sending supply ships into one of sending arms and aeroplanes—but only in defence of the bourgeois democratic republic?

In any case, as we have said before, this change of attitude will have extraordinary consequences. After Russia had done so, Czechoslovakia decided to adopt a similar attitude. And this attitude has moved the Belgian Socialists and the British Labour Party to declare themselves against the criminal neutrality policy.

How will the French government reply to this new situation? Will it keep its attitude of neutrality? This would mean utter unpopularity and discredit. Blum would fall from power in the midst of general condemnation. And the fall of Blum at the present time would simply mean the formation of a National government, probably presided over by Chautemps, or what comes to the same thing, that the French Front would replace the Popular Front; it means the «sacred union» with a view to the next war, for which the French Communist Party is openly preparing.

We do not believe that Leon Blum would commit such a colossal blunder. Seeing that the only obstacle in the way of the correction of his policy was the Soviet government's attitude, the change in the latter ought to determine a complete change in Blum's policy. May the cry of the working and peasant masses of France for «Aeroplanes, cannons and munitions for Spain» become an immediate reality. We need these essentials of victory. With them we will crush Spanish fascism and thus begin the crushing of world fascism.

For the Socialist Revolution

Not Bourgeois Democracy

lectivized concerns and at the same time repairing certain decisions made below which might injure the aims in view.

During this period, the Antifascist Militia Committee really held the power; the rôle of the petty bourgeois government was day by day fading away. The dual power definitely turned to the advantage of the second power. By the decision of the Committee itself this situation was clarified by the elimination of the Casanova government and by the formation of a new working class Council of the Generality to replace the Antifascist Committees. War developments and the participation finally accepted by the anarcho-syndicalists hastened the formation of the new government.

Today Catalonia possesses a government which is clearly proletarian, despite the participation of the Left Republicans and the Catalan Action. The attitude of the P. O. U. M. toward the new Council of the Generality was discussed in the last number of **THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**. The sharing of seats on the Council, on the terms demanded by the Anarchists, does not give enough weight to the P. O. U. M. The program, however, will be determined by the pressure of the most advanced elements. The Anarchists, restrained by two fears — the possible protest of their anti-parliamentary elements and the difficulty that such a Council may experience, have delegated only one of their chiefs to membership. It can be foreseen that future events may bring changes in this council.

In any case, with the creation of this new government, the Antifascist Committees had served their time. Furthermore to each of the «Commissariats» were attached committees formed on the model of the defunct Militia Committees. In its last session on October 1, the Central Antifascist Militia Committee decided to disband, thus giving its sanction to the new Council of the Generality.

Now the acts of the new government are awaited. Its preliminary steps, which we have discussed in other articles, are encouraging and demonstrate that the working class in Catalonia is actually in a position to build the new society. The revolutionaries have the duty of leading the steps of the Council into the path of proletarian revolution to assure complete power to the working class and an adequate program of social construction.

STALINIST VANDALISM AT MADRID

The counter-revolutionary excesses of the Stalinists have attained a new level in their raiding and destruction of the Madrid headquarters of the Juventud Comunista Ibérica (the P. O. U. M. Youth Section). This unbelievable provocation took place last Wednesday, October 21, when a band of about 40 armed Stalinist youth forced their way into our offices where they broke our furniture and tore down our flags.

As a result of this and of a complaint lodged by our party with the Minister of Justice and of the sympathy shown in the press, already 30 Stalinist youth have sought admission into our organization. Furthermore, the Executive Committee of the Anarchist Youth called upon our leaders suggesting a common action of the two youth organizations against Stalinist provocation.

World fascism is the normal symptom of the period of capitalist decline. The bourgeoisie will go to any lengths of brutality in order to maintain their private property. They have given their benediction to the Spanish generals who are taking «direct action». They applaud this attitude and desire its triumph. It is not only a question of the capitalists in fascist countries. It is an international affair. «Democracy», growing weaker and weaker, is paralysed, while fascism rushes to the attack. Norwegian «democracy» has imprisoned Comrade Trotsky. International «democracy» allows the sending of German and Italian aeroplanes against the Spanish workers. It is «democracy» that sabotages the heroic struggle of the Spanish proletariat.

Comrades, we are not fighting for bourgeois democracy, for the bourgeois democratic republic. We are fighting for the socialist revolution.

FALSEHOOD FROM SPAIN

Those who follow the events in Spain simply through the accounts given in the foreign press must inevitably begin, after a certain lapse of time, to lose faith in the news reports of both sides. The accounts are so contradictory that the public becomes disconcerted. Falsehood is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the enemy and the fascist press realizes that nothing strikes so deeply into public opinion as lies and rumors skillfully dissembled. It may be true that there is always a grain of truth in every lie, but certainly it is a very hard grain to find. In seeking it we must take into account the methods of propaganda used, with a careful analysis of notices published both in and out of Spain and, whenever possible, follow the items to their source and check their authenticity at the place from which they came. Nearly all the material in the foreign «neutral» press can be traced as coming from Lisbon, Burgos and Seville, where it is daily cooked up for international consumption by the fascist generals and their propagandists.

The rebels have studied in the school of German and Italian fascism and have made very good use of their time. They have learned their propaganda methods from Goebbels and his like and therefore know that there is no nonsense so foolish nor demagoguery so brutal that it cannot be accepted by the masses. The main point is that everything should be stated in a simple primitive form with concentration on a few points and persistent repetition in the form of hammered-in assertion, appealing not to the intelligence, but, as Hitler himself has admitted, to «peoples' weakness and bestiality». On the ground that the «masses are so obtuse that they will remember the simplest idea only if it is repeated a thousand times» the same phrase must be constantly reiterated, always with an increasing air of authority. Some of the impression thus made is bound to remain.

The fascists gain an advantage from this experiment in mass psychology. Since they are not concerned with reason but with «faith in the leader», a faith imposed by force of arms, they are able to turn falsehood to so powerful use. In the fascist structure the basic law is that the man with the greatest success is the man who can tell the biggest lie most astutely.

We cannot make an ally of falsehood. We are not playing the game of bourgeois politics which has become simply an unscrupulous method of reaping the largest benefits at the lowest cost. We are building a new social order which must stand on a basis of truth and justice. We do not need to defend with lies a cause which we value more highly than our lives, a cause which can bear the light of truth.

We must speak the truth and nothing but the truth. Yes, but we must also give our truths greater publicity to counteract fascist lies and slanders. It is easy to say that once we have won the war the truth will out. But meanwhile the campaign of lies of the enemy continues and earns them help from abroad which prolongs the war. It is a fact that people living abroad are willing to believe almost any nonsense set before them, however grotesque. Inside socialist Spain we are beginning, little by little, to realize the importance of this fact. The «neutral» newspapers are nearly all profascist due to the fact that their owners belong to the class which prefers fascist dictatorship to socialism. Their readers all over the world swallow their concoctions about the so-called «red terror», and we have as yet made no counter-efforts to explain the real state of affairs—that it is the Spanish fascist and their foreign legion who kill hundreds of captured workers, shoot the wounded in their beds, and violate and mutilate thousands of the defenseless.

We need your help. Your struggle is our struggle. Send us money and send us arms. It is not enough to be merely anti-fascist. The POUM appeals to you to put yourself definitely on the side of the Spanish proletariat in its struggle for a new social order and for the final crushing of fascism. Send your contributions to us, to the organisations of the workers themselves, to help in the socialist revolution.

NEWS AND NOTES

Gorkin for London, Paris and Brussels

Comrade Gorkin, of the POUM Executive Committee, together with Comrade Solano of the POUM's youth organisation (Juventud Comunista Iberica) will represent our party in the Brussels Congress against War and Fascism beginning on the 30th, where Comrade Gorkin will speak on «The mobilization of the working class of the world in aid of our Spanish comrades». Comrade Gorkin is also the POUM speaker at the Paris monster-meeting on the 23rd. of this month, in which Durruti, the anarchist leader, and Jaime Miravittles of the Esquerra Catalana (Catalan Republican Left) are likewise taking part, and at the meeting which is being organised in our favour by our comrades of the I. L. P. in London on October 25th.

I. L. P. Revolutionary Exposition

While in London, Comrade Julian Gorkin will also attend the Exposition which the I. L. P. is organising concerning the Spanish Revolution. In it will figure POUM posters, POUM publications, newspapers, and manifestos, and a special feature will be a collection of arms used against the fascists in the Spanish civil war. Money raised by the exposition is to be sent to the POUM.

A letter from Victor Serge

Victor Serge, the great revolutionary and well known writer, has written to assure the POUM that from the depths of Siberia and the prisons of the Soviet Union, all the oppositionists in the USSR, whether anarchists, tradesunionists or trotskists, are with us with all their hearts. Victor Serge knows the ideas and desires of the October revolutionaries, with whom he was imprisoned some months ago, and he feels he is fulfilling a duty in telling us that, if they could do so, many of them would be in our ranks today.

Visit of Comrade Sneevliet

The deputy of the Netherlands Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party, Comrade Sneevliet, who has just spent a few days with us, brought the revolutionary greetings of the workers of the Netherlands to the workers of Spain, together with 400 dollars for the POUM and an equal sum for another workers organisation, all of it collected among the workers of the Netherlands. During his stay, Comrade Sneevliet, who is the only trotskist to be elected deputy to any bourgeois government, broadcast from the POUM radio station a speech on the present situation of the workers parties and organisations in his country.

Money from Austria

In spite of fascist repression, large collections have been made by the Austrian proletariat in favour of the workers who are fighting for liberty in Spain. In various factories in Vienna, where subscription have been opened, workers have

suffered arrest. The police was later obliged to release them due to the energetic action taken by the other workers.

A Soviet ship

Great excitement was experienced by the workers in Barcelona this week at the arrival of the Soviet ship «Zierinin», which brought us provisions from the USSR. Crowds of workers thronged the docks as the ship made port, cheering its arrival. The POUM was well represented, and among the many red and red-and-black (anarchist) flags, waving on the quayside was to be seen one in Russian from our organisation which said; «The POUM appreciates the Soviet workers' aid to the Spanish Revolution». The POUM also hopes that the next ship will bring arms.

International Proletarian Solidarity

The appeal for an International Solidarity Fund, has made a deep impression on all sides. The amount collected so far totals 6,535,331 francs and other large gifts are expected.

The Swiss workers have sent ten tons of powdered milk, the equivalent of 80,000 litres of liquid milk, for needy mothers and children, and an ambulance.

The workers of the Argentine announce the sending of a shipload of provisions and clothing.

The American Labor Chest has raised 100,000 dollars to be sent immediately to Spain.
Y. P. S. L. and P. O. U. M.

Y. P. S. L. and P. O. U. M.

We have received a letter from the Young People Socialist League in Brooklyn, New York, expressing their sympathy with the POUM and hailing in us the only workers party in Spain possessing the revolutionary solution of the present problems of the working class. This letter, in which the YPSL asks for direct contact with our youth movement, was read in our daily English broadcast from the POUM radio.

«The Spanish Revolution» Is On Sale

Price two pence or five cents and may be ordered from:

(ENGLAND)

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, 35, St. Bride Street, London.

A. Boyd, THE MARXIST LEAGUE, 238 Edgware Road, London W. 2.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 3 Victoria Street, S. W. 1; London.

And from the divisional secretaries of the above organisations throughout the provinces.

(U. S. A.)

Arne Swabeck, The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th. St., New York City.

Ernest Erber, Y. P. S. L., 549 Randolph Street; Chicago, 111. Become a subscriber to «The Spanish Revolution» through one of the above organisations. Send in your order NOW.

Towards the World Revolution

LIFE IS HARD AT THE FRONT



Comrades:

Cold and rain have already started on the Aragon plateau; our comrades fighting for the workers' revolution have to stay for hours exposed to the weather; Gather sweaters and raincoats for them; do what you can to help win the Spanish revolution upon which depends the future of the working class.

(Photos from the Aragon Front)

WORKERS OF

THE WORLD

UNITE!

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:
The I. L. P.
The Marxist League
The Socialist League.
PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

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Y. P. S. I.
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Organs of Power in Catalonia

The present struggle in Spain is not between bourgeois democracy and fascism, but between socialism and capitalism. The proletariat is not fighting in arms for the democratic republic, and the international bourgeoisie is well aware of the fact. This the reason it lends such berajaced aid to the fascists in Spain, believing that only thus can the final triumph of the proletarian revolution be avoided. If the fascist powers in Europe thought that the end of this struggle would be a return to Azaña's Republic they would be very much less interested in the Spanish events. Fascism knows that when we win, the Socialist Revolution will come to its own throughout the world.

Bourgeois democracy in this country has had its day and passed into history. The working class is the only class which can have political rights in the new regime.

It is necessary to point out that the revolution in Catalonia is more advanced than in the rest of Spain. To say this does not mean that we do not believe in the revolutionary capacity of the Spanish proletariat. What is happening in the rest of Spain is that the big working class organizations are propagating, the confused ideology of the popular front and desperately trying to turn the workers' movement away from its socialistic direction.

The same thing would be occurring in Catalonia today if these same parties and organizations had the hegemony which they exercise in the rest of Spain. But here the movement took on a definite proletarian character from the very beginning because the two big workers organizations in Catalonia—the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T.—are not intoxicated with the popular front policy.

Here in Catalonia we have a government which, without being entirely working class, has so far worked along socialistic lines. The special circumstances of the present time have made possible and even inevitable a coalition with petty bourgeois parties. For this reason we were unable to deny our collaboration so long as the new government fulfilled two conditions: 1) that it had a workers' majority, and 2), that it should declare for the execution of a socialist program.

Obviously if it had been possible to continue with dual power in Catalonia with impunity, we would have prolonged it until the taking of full power by the workers, but we are facing a civil war and not an imperialist war. In 1917, the Russian Bolshevik party, in face of the imperialist war, was obliged to stay outside the provisional government exactly on ac-

count of this imperialist war for which the inevitable slogan was «Peace, peace at any prices». That not only served to put one the most revolutionary principles into practice, but also to unmask the bourgeoisie who were hiding their imperialistic ends under patriotic demagoggy. At that time the continuation of the war would have been a betrayal of the working class, and under these circumstances the party could not consent to enter into any kind of agreement with the parties who were in power. Hence their slogans against the provisional government and the war, slogans which did a great deal towards giving them power.

But of course the case in Spain is not the same. Here our war slogan is to continue «to the ends». The Catalan petty bourgeoisie cry «to conquer or to die» with us at the front, and whether we like it or not, we are forced to accept them as precious and indispensable help in our war against fascism. Furthermore the prolongation of dual power in Catalonia seemed like a contradiction in the face of the need for centralizing the power for the more effective struggle against fascism. Class collaboration has proved to be a crime when any party or organization which terms itself revolutionary follows on the tail of the petty bourgeoisie and plays the game of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the working class. But in Barcelona the question is: Are we collaborating with the petty bourgeoisie or are the petty bourgeoisie collaborating with us? Are we in Barcelona doing as Madrid does, following on the tail of the petty bourgeoisie and cheering the stabilization of the bourgeois democratic republic? Do not the P. O. U. M. and the comrades in the C. N. T. constitute a workers bloc sufficiently revolutionary to be able to give a revolutionary orientation to the council of the Generality capable of making it advance towards the revolution and its social concepts? Are the C. N. T. and the F. A. I., in spite of their idealist philosophy which revolutionary events are fast removing from them, petty bourgeois organisations?

We have been able to secure a workers majority in the Council of the Generality. Certain orthodox marxists, who believe that there must not ever be any variation from copying the Russian revolution, are unable to draw consequences from the admitted differences of our revolution from the Russian (among other things the question of the trades-unions). The Council of the Generality is nothing more or less than a tactical product of the necessities of the present moment, both political and military and is not by any means an end in itself.