For a Red Army of the Spanish Workers

The difficult time of trial which the workers and peasants revolutionary initiative 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' revolution. And they are not, must crush, and get it to rout once and for all through 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 measures 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 combatant 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. The必备的武器是胜利的新政体。

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 «white» 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!
Declaration of Comrade Nin

The New Justice

Comrade Andreu Nin, who represents the P. O. U. M. on the new worker-controlled Council of the Generality of Catalonia, has just signed the following declaration concerning the recent developments in the Popular Councils and the future of the Republic.

"We have been given the task of building a new order. It will be a working-class order. We shall be building it on the basis of the work of the councils and the rights of the working class."

The Agrarian Question in Catalonia

(Second Part)

The Revolution and its Work

The July days therefore found the peasants ready for ac-

tions and actions and actions, and the people of Catalonia waiting for the moment to rise up in the name of the revolution. The moment came. The people rose up and fought for the republic. The working class, the people of Catalonia, the people of Spain, were determined to fight for their freedom. They fought for the republic and the republic was saved."
other country, since the international revolution was then the fundamental object of the Russian revolution. France, it had not yet been preceded at least by Lenin would have done. It is only fair to point out that the German revolution not preceded as Lenin would have done. It is only fair to point out that the German revolution was intended as a revolution that would provide the Social Democratic parties in Europe with a new program. The change in Russian strategy was due to the fact that the German revolution was not yet complete. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks continued to work towards the establishment of a workers' state in Russia. This was achieved by the Bolsheviks' victory in the October Revolution, which established the first socialist state in the world.

The Soviet Government's New Attitude toward Spain

Possibly the most important international movement ended on the same day as the Spanish Civil War. This change of attitude toward Spain, which has been both symbolic and substantive, is due to the fact that the Soviet government has changed its policy. The change is now being implemented, and it is having a significant impact on the Spanish Civil War. The Soviet government has decided to support the Republican cause, and it is doing so in a way that is different from its previous support. The Soviet government has decided to support the Republican cause, and it is doing so in a way that is different from its previous support. The Soviet government has decided to support the Republican cause, and it is doing so in a way that is different from its previous support.

The Soviet government's new attitude toward Spain arises from the recognition of the following facts:

1. The Spanish Civil War is not only a conflict between two political parties, but also a conflict between two economic systems. The Soviet government recognizes this, and it is supporting the Republican cause because it believes that the Republican cause is fighting for the cause of socialism.

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The Soviet government's new attitude toward Spain is a significant development, and it will have a profound impact on the Spanish Civil War. The Soviet government's new attitude toward Spain is a significant development, and it will have a profound impact on the Spanish Civil War. The Soviet government's new attitude toward Spain is a significant development, and it will have a profound impact on the Spanish Civil War.

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FAKEHOOD 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. The whole second power might injure the aims in view.

The Antifascist Militia Committee recently held the power; the title 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 Comintern and the formation of a new working class Council of the Generality to replace the political developments and the participation finally accepted by the antifascist-workers hastened the formation of the new government.

It is becoming disconcerted. Falsehood is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the enemy and the fascist press regularly uses it to its utmost power. Only a very small number of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. The sharing of Madrid headquarters with the Juventud Communista Iberica (the Antifascists) has been only one of their chiefs to membership. It can be seen 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 purpose. Furthermore to the cCommittees were attached committees formed on the model of the detent Militia Committees. In its last session on October 1 the Central Antifascist Militia Committee decided to disband, thus giving its mandate to the new Council of the Generality.

The new act of the Spanish government is awaited. Its pre-occupations, steps which we have discussed in other articles, are evident and demonstrated. We, the workers of Catalonia are actually in a position to build the new society. The revolutionaries have won the right of the Council to enter into the path of proletarian revolution to assure complete po-

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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.

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.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Vol. 1 No. 3

Barcelona, November 4, 1936

Please regist...


AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:
The Marxist League The I.L.P. The Socialist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

AGENTS FOR U. S. A.: The Marxist League

PRICE IN U. S. A.: 6c.

ED. ORGANS:


CONTENTS


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 for such bitterness and fear on the part of the fascists in Spain, believing that only thus can the final triumph of the capitalist revolution be attained. If the fascist powers in Europe thought that the end of this struggle would be a return to Auver's Republic they would be very much less interested in the Spanish events. For this reason 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 with 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 preparing the conjoint victory of the popular front and desperately trying to turn the workers' movement away from its socialist 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 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 socialist lines. The special circumstances of the present time made possible and even inevitable a coalition with petty bourgeois organizations, the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T., and we have not relented in 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 an immediate transfer of power to the workers, giving it the necessary dictatorship to carry this through.

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 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 account of this imperialist war for which the inevitable slogans were Peace, peace at all costs. That not only served to put one of the most revolutionary principles into practice, but also to unmask the bourgeois who were hiding their imperialistic ends under patriotic demagogy. 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. Revise 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 seems to continue into the future. The Catalan petty bourgeois parties are now trying to carry on the civil war, 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 concentrating the power for the more effective struggle against fascism. Class collaboration proved to be a crime when any party or organization which terms itself revolutionary followed on the tail of the petty bourgeoisie and played the game of the bourgeois at the expense of the working class. But in Barcelona the situation is different; we are 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 bourgeoisie 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 Generalitat capable of making it advance towards the resolution and its social concepts? Are the C. N. T. and the P. A. R. in spite of their idealistic philosophy which revolutionary collaboration is not removably from them, petty bourgeois organizations?

Now we have been able to secure a workers majority in the Council of the Generalitat, 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 tender-union). The council of the Generalitat is making more or less than a two-fold product of the necessities of the present moment, both political and military and is not by any means an end in itself.