

# 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.

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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 price». 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 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. 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 end». 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.

This Council is a medium through which we ought to begin the revolution which we mean to carry through to its utmost consequences, a council which we gradually transform according to the demands of the revolution until its total disappearance.

The council of the Generality is a political experience which we are obliged to attempt to-day, but which, if it fails tomorrow, will leave our political prestige unblemished, since at the appearance of the very earliest symptoms of counter-revolutionary decomposition, we will be the firsts to put the working class on their guard against it. We have entered this Council with our full personality, with our whole program, with our flag flying, in the service of the proletariat. But the day when this government turns away from a revolutionary course, or

when it inclines consciously or unconsciously towards petty bourgeois policy and ideas, the P. O. U. M. will immediately withdraw all collaboration and cease to form part of it.

We are not struggling to defend this power which, by the character of its structure, is bound to disappear. If, by the time we finish the war, our socialist aims have been reached, the petty bourgeoisie, as a class will already disappeared. The petty bourgeoisie is not the bourgeois class, it is only the public instrument of the ruling class. If we triumph, and triumph as the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie will be assimilated by the workers. If we fail, it will attach itself to the bourgeoisie. Its economic fate is in our hands. It cannot take the power as the ruling class because its moment in history has already passed by.

## Collectivization of Industry in Catalonia

One of the most important problems of the revolution behind the lines is that of the collectivization of the means of production and exchange. The success of the working class in the new social order depends to a large extent upon the solution of this problem.

There are two opposite tendencies which express themselves in the approach to this question. One holds that it is necessary to win the war before treading the path of socialistic reform, that is to say that they wish to maintain the «status quo» as before the 19th of July. They desire to compensate the capitalists who have lost their property.

The other tendency, that of our own party, holds that the armed struggle of the workers against fascism at the front should be synchronized with the revolution behind the lines. Our delegate to the Economic Council of Catalonia, interpreting the line of our party, proposed that no compensation should be paid to the former owners.

Whilst the P. S. U. C. and the Republican Left upheld the compensation, the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T. believed that the only compensation to the former owners should be «opportunity to work, or if unable to work, social insurance, under the same conditions as other workers».

The C. N. T. or Anarcho-Syndicalist delegates, agreed in principle to our proposal, and promised to join with our representative in opposing the bill but afterwards changed their attitude and voted in the opposite direction. The bill was finally passed, backed by the Left Republicans, the U. G. T. (Socialist Unions), the P. S. U. C. (the Socialist-Communist Party), and the C. N. T. This decree grants compensation to the capitalists.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE PREAMBLE

necessary to organize production and to direct it into such a channel that the only beneficiary shall be the community, the workers, who will also assume the administrative function in the new social order. This means a suppression of the concept of rent which is not earned as a result of labor. The system of social-economic organization of heavy industry shall be collective production.

The substitution of collective for private property, as understood by the Council of the Generality, means the collectivizing of the property, that is to say the capital, of large enterprise, while allowing private property in consumption goods and small industry to remain.

The revolutionary force of the working class, now arisen in arms to crush fascism, leads to this change from the economic and social structure which hitherto existed. One of the basic problems raised by this new situation is that of the organization of production, which should put the productive units into operation and regulate their activity according to social needs.

But collectivization of industry means little if the growth is not directed. Therefore the Economic Council was charged to discuss the foundation of an Industrial and Commercial Credit Bank which would give aid to collectivized industry. It was decided to group industries into large concentrations, so

as to assure the maximum returns and to get the best advantage from foreign trade. In addition, the Council was entrusted with the study of the formation of a research organization that would give technical assistance to collectivized industry, thus assuring the maximum of efficiency and progress for industry.

### THE DECREE.

Art. 1. Industrial and commercial enterprises in Catalonia shall be classified into a) collectivized enterprises in which the administrative responsibility shall rest with the workers employed there represented by a Workers' Council, and b) private enterprises in which the administration is in charge of the owner or manager, with the cooperation and financial control of the the Committee of Workers' Control.

Art. 2. All industrial and commercial enterprises shall be forcibly collectivized if employing over a hundred workers, as well as those smaller than this whose owners have been declared fascist or have abandoned the enterprise. However, enterprises of less than a hundred can be collectivized upon the agreement of the majority of workers and the proprietor. Those with 50 to 100 workers can be collectivized, upon the agreement of three quarters of the workers. The Economic Council can grant collectivization to any other enterprise whose importance to the national economy would not warrant private management.

Art. 10. The administration of the collectivized enterprises will be in the charge of a Workers' Council chosen by the workers in a General Assembly.

Art. 11. The Workers' Councils will assume the duties and responsibilities of the former Boards of Directors and Managers of the corporations. They will be responsible in their administration to the workers and to their respective General Councils of Industry.

Art. 12. The Workers' Councils shall take into account in the fulfillment of their commission that their productive operations shall fit into the the general plan of the General Councils of Industry, thus coordinating it with production as a whole.

Art. 20. The Workers' Council can be fully or partially relieved of its charge by the workers, meeting in General Assembly, or by the General Council of Industry, in case of obvious incompetence or resistance to the policy laid down for them.

Art. 21. In industries and businesses not collectivized Committees of Worker Control must be created.

Art. 22. The Committee of Workers' Control shall control working conditions, finance and production in collaboration with the owner and technicians.

Art. 24. The General Councils of Industry shall be formed as follows: four representatives from the Workers' Councils, eight representing the trade unions in proportion to the membership of each of them.

Art. 25. The General Councils of Industry shall draw up general working plans of their various industries, leading the Workers' Councils and shall be charged with the regulation of production as a whole.

## THE STALINISTS AND HISTORY

In the Spanish edition of «International Press Correspondence» the Communist organ, appears an article commemorating the second anniversary of the events of October, 1934. The article, which is signed by the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, begins, «Today marks two years since the Spanish people rose in arms to defend the democratic republic against fascism».

It is incredible that the Communist Party should twist historic facts in this flagrant manner. Who was it who tried to defend the democratic republic in 1934? Lerroux and the Robles, and all those who brought the foreign legations and Moors to Spain to shoot the Asturian miners. Apparently the Communists have forgotten that the Asturian miners set up a commune which carried socialization much further than does the present revolution. The miners were not defending the democratic republic for the simple reasons that, after the bloody repression of the Asturian movement, the same republic still continued to govern with Zamoras, Lerroux and Robles. These men who spilled so much blood of the Communist workers in Spain were the pillars of the so-called «democratic» regime. Only the Stalinists seem to be ignorant of these facts. How can the members of the Third International tolerate their leaders, who distort one of the most glorious pages of history? The reason for this distortion is made plain in the same manifesto. They repeat, «the enemy is the same as in October 1934». Has nothing happened during the last two years? Is not the struggle today more vital and terrible, this time not for or against the democratic republic, but a fight of the whole proletariat and peasantry against international fascism?

The Stalinists still call out for a regular army to defend the bourgeois republic. This will not be a red army of workers and peasants fighting for the socialist revolution but a force to be used to uphold the bourgeois state apparatus. This is a policy which cannot be understood by the working masses or even by the rank and file of the Communist Party, but it is accepted by «good» Stalinists.

Just as the Catholics have always falsified history to suit the faith of their followers, so the Communist Party today asks its members to close their eyes to the truth.

Art. 26. The decisions reached by the General Councils of Industry shall be executive orders, binding all Workers' Councils and private enterprises.

Art. 27. Each General Council shall keep in touch with the Economic Council of Catalonia to whose policies it shall adapt itself at all times.

Art. 35. Once the inventoried credit balance of any firm has been established and the debits deducted, it will be registered with the Economic Council of the Generality, in order that the balance, if any, may be placed at the credit of the beneficiary «as a social compensation».

Art. 36. In making this compensation a discrimination shall be made between the claims of foreigners and the claims of Spanish owners, whether they be Public Savings and Loan Institutions, Credit Banks, private persons or Spanish companies. For this purpose, claims will only be considered in cases where ownership dates before July 19 th.

Art. 37. The social compensation for the foreign owners shall be fully recognised by the Generality. Its value shall be estimated in Spanish money.

Art. 38. The compensation for Spanish owners shall be suspended for later determination.

Art. 39. For the small industries and commercial establishments already collectivised before the publication of this decree, the Economic Council shall study and propose a just social compensation. To that end, the Economic Council shall be open to receive the claims of the interested parties up till November 30th.

### THE PROPOSALS OF THE P. O. U. M.

The decree proposed by the P. O. U. M. representatives on the Economic Council was the same as the above measure passed by the Generality, with the following exceptions:

1. Article 35. does not say «as a social compensation».
2. Articles 36. to 39. were dropped and instead, the P. O. U. M. decree read: «Art. 36. The property claims of foreign subjects shall be evaluated and «paid» in Spanish money».
3. The P. O. U. M. decree included an additional section outlining an «Industrial and Credit Bank of Catalonia to attend to the needs and requirements of collectivised industry».

## The Militia and the Unified Command

The necessities of the struggle, felt more sharply every day, have forced the organizations directing the fight against fascism to decree a general mobilization and a training of reserves. This act has put into concrete terms the need already recognized for a unified command of all the militia at the front.

These developments in Catalonia coincide with the mobilization decreed by the Madrid government to reinforce its army and to convert the militia into the regular army of the country. For this reason the mobilization in Catalonia and the move toward unifying the command have awakened misgivings among the militant revolutionaries, who from the start have been struggling heroically against armed fascism.

Militant revolutionaries cannot allow themselves to be converted overnight into plain soldiers. They cannot put themselves under a military discipline which has nothing to do with the revolutionary discipline of the organizations corresponding to their political ideals. In their role as revolutionary workers they want to know exactly what their situation is to be once militarization has been decreed, and what will be their future relations with the new military command. Their attitude is absolutely right.

If we were facing an imperialist war, or simply a civil war between two factions of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary workers had gone in on the side of one of the factions, as representing a comparatively progressive element, they would not have compromised their organisations in the affair. In

either of these cases they could act with complete independence. In case of an imperialist war they would act to provoke a defeatist situation in the army of their own country; in case of a bourgeois civil war they would try by means of their class organizations to pass over and beyond the most advanced bourgeois fraction in order to displace it and themselves take over the direction of the revolution. This is the situation as we found it in Russia in 1917, admirably turned to advantage by Lenin and Trotsky in order to carry through the proletarian revolution to triumph for the first time in history. Certain aspects of this situation are similar to the concrete circumstances facing Madrid today. Although we may say that a government with a workers' majority exists, it does not guide the country according to a program of revolutionary action. That is to say that it does not fight fascism like a workers' government with advanced ideas, but simply remains within the narrow limits of bourgeois democracy.

Is the situation the same in Catalonia? Not by any means. It is true that petty bourgeois factions are represented in the Catalan government, but for better or worse they have allied themselves with the workers in the struggle against fascism. For this reason the government does not fulfill all our aspirations. We have never denied wanting a strictly working class government, the more so since the name of «workers' party» is not always the guarantee of a clear revolutionary position, as sufficient examples in Catalonia and Madrid go to show. But even if the present Catalan government is not entirely

working class, still it was formed under revolutionary inspiration. It was not created in order to rein in the revolutionary action of the masses, but to guide this action and give it new legal forms which would make impossible the rebirth of any of the old bourgeois democratic formulas.

These guiding principles must be applied to the organization of the army fighting on the front under the control of this government. The militias cannot be transformed into an army under exclusively military control while the control of the workers' political organizations is discarded. This would mean taking such a backward step that the sacrifices made by the workers in this struggle could scarcely be justified. It would be against all the postulates of the organizations with the greatest revolutionary responsibility. In plain terms, we refer to our party the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. These organizations have said clearly at one time or another that they will not allow the struggle which the proletariat is waging against the bourgeoisie, backed by military and international fascism, to be considered merely as a struggle against fascism without ulterior consequences. Simultaneously with our victory in the present struggle must come the triumph of socialism, or else our sacrifices will have been in vain, and that cannot be tolerated by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia.

However, the prolonged nature of the struggle and the technical perfections which the fascists have at their disposal (thanks to the daily aid they receive from Hitler and Mussolini under the «neutrality» pact) have forced us to change the somewhat anarchic organization of our workers' militias. There must be an absolute unity in the military command, doing away with the personal initiatives which have existed in the various units.

But we must say again that, given the composition of the Council of the Generality and the declaration which it made at its formation, this unity of military command need not be taken to mean the denial of the political character of the militias in their new structure. Under no condition must the military technicians be in absolute control of the combatants, irrespective of the revolutionary organizations which have made possible the heroic effort which the working class is making to crush fascism and carry through the social revolution.

In military questions there must be complete obedience to the technicians, who in turn cannot act except under the direct control of the organizations which lend life to the army by the force of their revolutionary ideals. In the political domain there must be complete exclusion of the military influence which sooner or later would be bound to turn the combatant into an automaton and absolutely remove his revolutionary will. If this should ever happen, we could say that the army of the revolution was dead and that, in an enormous backward step, we have allowed our revolution to place itself on a plane of fighting for democracy, a character it has never yet had in Catalonia.

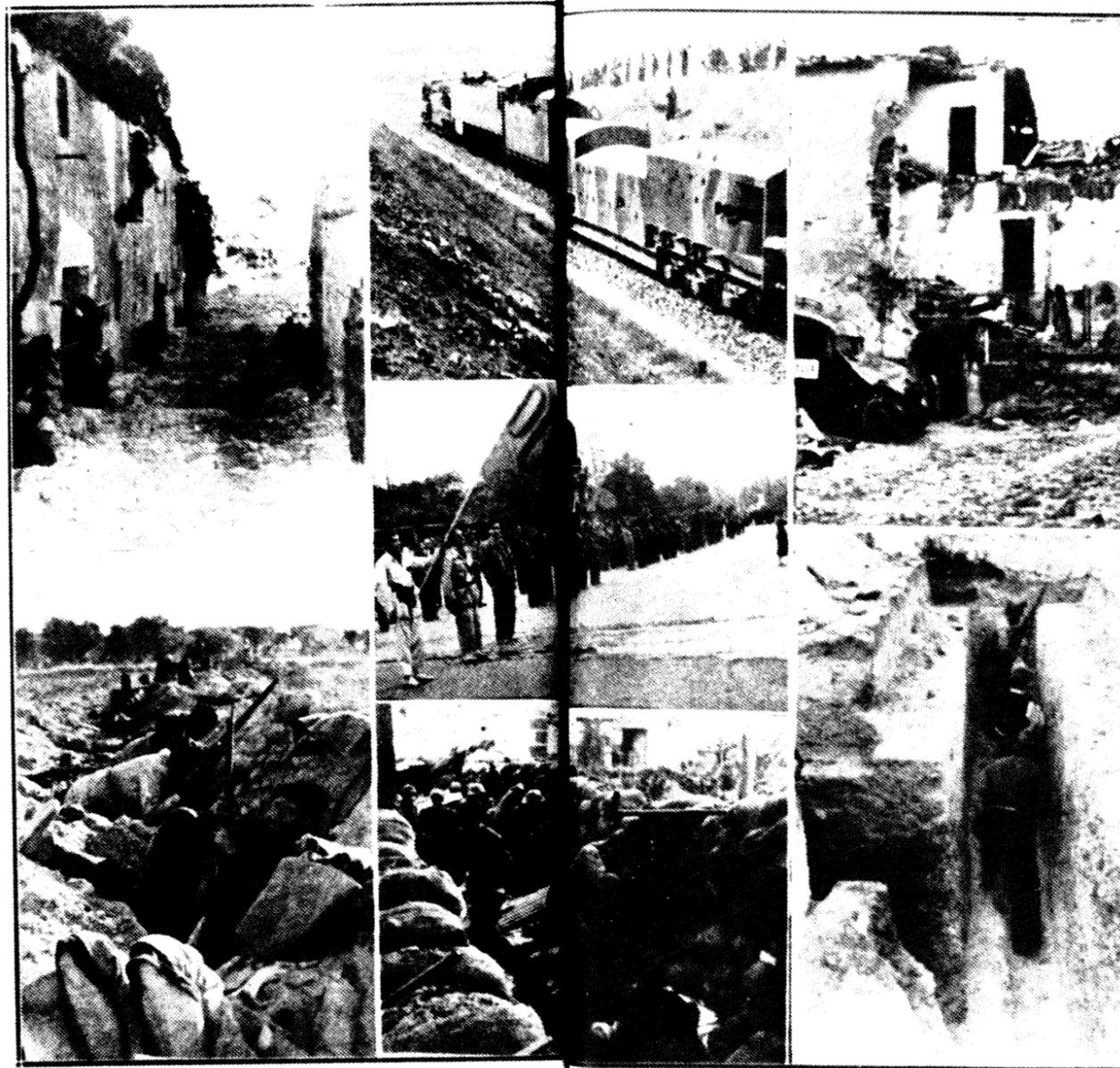
These are the indispensable premises for the new organization. They are the guarantees which the revolutionary workers have the right to exact. Otherwise our party, which puts the triumph of the revolution above everything, would find itself divorced from the new trend of events, as would our comrades of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I., since they are also organizations which have not laid aside their revolutionary class principles.

## RADIO P. O. U. M.

The P. O. U. M. broadcasting station is Radio Barcelona E. C. P. 2., wave length 42 metres. There are broadcasts in English every evening except Sundays, from 6.40. p.m. to 7 o'clock.

All comrades who listen-in to P. O. U. M. broadcasts are cordially invited to send comments and criticism to this office. It will help the organisers to know how the P. O. U. M. radio program is received in other countries.

# THEY SHALL NOT PASS



Some views from the Madrid and Aragon fronts. Centre: P. O. U. M. militia sends another column to the front from Madrid. Above: A captured train near Madrid

## The English Bourgeoisie against the Spanish Revolution

«Comrades, we know that you are on our side, and we know how many proofs you have already given of your solidarity. But we need more proofs and more help still, and we demand your aid for the total emancipation of the working class of the world.»

Gorkin's message to the working class of England and the

bourgeoisie everywhere, is the friend of war and fascism, the oppressor of the proletariat, and that the non-intervention pact has been for them one more profitable way of crushing the proletariat in the interests of the owning class.

As far as England is concerned, the neutrality pact may not have been a screen for sending arms to the rebel fascists, but it has been the excuse for standing by to let the other bourgeois powers do so, at the same time as very efficiently tying the hands of the English proletariat and attempting to prevent their solidarity with the people of Spain.

All readers know by this time of the disgraceful detention by the English police and the Government of our comrade Gorkin, when he landed in England to address the English working-class. This act of stifling a manifestation of proletarian solidarity between England and Spain was committed only a few weeks after the English police force had cleared the streets by violence in favour of a fascist manifestation under Oswald Mosley. Only at the last moment, when the proletariat, massed in their thousands on the street in spite of the repeated charges of the mounted police, plainly showed that Mosley and his pro-Hitler, pro-Mussolini Blackshirts would only march through the East End of London over a barricade of human bodies, was the Government cowed into calling off the march. The proletariat would have shown the same iron will this time, but the police and the bourgeoisie were in a position of advantage. Before his friends could reach him, our comrade Gorkin was hustled into a cell where he was guarded under lock and bar by a detachment of police until an aeroplane was fetched especially to take him off English soil. The efforts for his release made by Comrades Fenner Brockway and McNair who are in a position to demand certain rights from the reactionary British Government were of no avail. The English bourgeoisie knew the enthusiasm with which the presence of Comrade Gorkin, bringing the message of the Spanish people, would be greeted by their working class, and they were determined not to allow their position to be menaced.

But the British proletariat were not to be entirely cheated. In his cell, comrade Gorkin wrote them the following message:

«Workers of England, neutrality at the present juncture is a crime against the proletariat. Hitler and Mussolini have not remained neutral. They have helped Spanish Fascism, both before and after the beginning of the civil war, both before and after the signing of the non-intervention pact. In exchange for war material to win the Spanish civil war Franco has promised to give the Balearics to Mussolini and the Canary Islands to Hitler, and will allow Morocco to serve as a field of operations for Italo-German Fascism the day a world war breaks out. Franco stands for war and fascism throughout Europe. The English government, in their hatred of the struggling Spanish proletariat, close their eyes to this fact, but proletarian and Liberal opinion in England must realise the great danger implied in a victorious Spanish fascism.

The proletariat must not tolerate the criminal attitude of the imperialist government. They must not tolerate it because they represent the cause and the future of human liberation, which is being compromised at the present time. Comrades of England, we need your help, your support. You cannot allow fascism to assassinate us without interference. You must defend and save us and then we can save the world proletariat from the spectre of fascism. To do this, you must give us arms in abundance and money to buy them. Send us these arms! Collect this money for the militia-men fighting so courageously on all the fronts throughout Spain.

The reactionary press announces our cause as lost. Already it has given out the fall of Madrid. But, on the contrary, Madrid is struggling heroically to defend itself. Its fall cannot be easily brought about. The proletariat of all Spain and of the world is fighting side-by-side with the proletariat of Madrid. The problem is not the need of men and fighting courage—both men and courage abound in Spain. The problem is war material. We need aeroplanes, tanks and cannon to fight against the aeroplanes, tanks and cannon of Mussolini and Hitler, to defeat fascism in Spain and then, strong in our victory to destroy European fascism with the help of the world proletariat. We must have arms, arms arms! The Spanish proletariat asks for them in defence of the world proletariat.»

facts of his detention by the English bourgeoisie in their attempt to break the bonds of proletarian solidarity while giving their full support to fascism, ought to be printed across the front page of every workers' newspaper, plastered on every boarding, branded into the brain of every reader until it is fully understood that the English bourgeoisie — like the

## The Agrarian Revolution in Spain

In a previous number of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION we have dealt with the agrarian problem in Catalonia. It will now be necessary to give some supplementary information concerning agriculture in Spain.

In Spain there are 50,182,000 acres of cultivated land. Of this area, 5,860,000 acres are divided into 5,127,000 holdings; on an average this comes to less than one and one fourth acres per holding. On the other hand, 18,740 proprietors occupy 22,250,000 acres; each holding in this case being on an average 1,250 acres. Finally, 967 landowners monopolize 36,250,000 acres which is on an average 25,000 acres per estate. Let us add, by way of comparison, that 498,000 proprietors possess but two and a half acres of land. These figures mean that less than a thousand landlords are in possession of five times as much land as 5,000,000 small cultivators.

In Castille, the Levant, Andalusia and Estremadura, the percentage distribution of cultivated land (because there are still vast regions entirely uncultivated) is as follows: 33 % of the owners have less than 250 acres, 67 % have more than 250 acres. The large owners occupy then at least two thirds of the cultivated land.

As we have indicated in a previous article, agrarian reform was never achieved under the republic. In spite of the promises made, the violent opposition of the great land-owners was too big an obstacle for the feeble Spanish republic. Then came the fascist revolt. The peasants supported the working class in the July events and later bravely took their place by the side of their comrades on the battle fields of the civil war. The revolution in the country and in the small peasant villages had its repercussions in the agricultural sphere. The peasants who had fought against fascism had gained rights which had satisfied their desire for freedom.

We have given examples in Catalonia of the large estates abandoned by their owners being confiscated by the peasants and collectivized. The working class political organizations and unions, fully aware of their duty toward their allies the peasants, aided and even initiated these changes in ownership. This was besides an integral part of their program of revolutionary transformation of Spanish society.

In the Levant, a rich region producing fruits and rice, the question was solved in the same manner. All the orange production has either been collectivized or else submitted to operating plans perfected and controlled by workers' and peasants' organizations. The export of oranges this year is assured by an export committee of orange production which has made connections in France and elsewhere with the large scale importers. These measures adopted and achieved by the initiative of the workers received legal sanction in Catalonia and the Levant.

The Economic Council of Catalonia particularly placed

## The Anarchists and the Land Question

In general it seems that the Spanish Anarchists have postponed the immediate achievement of anarcho-communism which means the suppression of all forms of government. Under the influence of the other workers and peasant parties they are accepting every day and in all spheres, measures designed to assure the transition from the capitalist to the collectivist society of the future.

The following is an extract of a resolution of the anarcho-syndicalist peasant-unions at their congress which met at Barcelona from the 5th to the 7th of September.

«The small peasant owner, tied to his piece of land, regards his holding as part of his own life. We believe that he views with distrust anyone who wishes to deprive him of his land, even with the motive of bettering his conditions. Therefore we bring forward the following proposals.

«1. To proceed with the establishment of the collectivization of land in such a way that the small owner would not be deprived of his land. In order that the small proprietor shall

among the first items in its program the collectivization of the land. The end in view is not only to maintain past levels of production but to reorganize agriculture so that a definite advance can be made over the old archaic systems of the former landlords whose principal method was the employment of an abundance of manual labor paid with starvation wages. This explains besides why the Economic Council of Catalonia has refrained from imposing on the small peasant owners those measures of socialization which would have partly defeated the task undertaken, by harming the morale of the countryside as well as hindering production.

One can understand that there is a certain amount of resistance from the socialist viewpoint to the unfortunate division (as opposed to collectivization) of the large estates. But looking at it from this same point of view it is necessary to take measures which, while satisfying the aspirations of the peasantry also open up the extraordinary possibilities of agricultural production. Authentic estimations have shown that by adopting modern methods of agriculture in Spain it would be possible to support a much larger population in comfort.

The government of the republic has not shown the same haste in giving satisfaction to the small cultivators. Some time ago it adopted a tardy measure which may, however be regarded as the first step to the agrarian revolution. This measure only deals, for the moment, with those owners who have participated in the fascist movement.

The «Gaceta», the official organ of the government of the republic, publishes the following decree from which we give some extracts.

Article I. The expropriation of the estates belonging to persons or corporations taking part directly or indirectly in the revolt on the 18th of July against the republic is hereby authorized to take place without compensation.

Article II. In order to determine what persons are affected by this measure there will be constituted a local Committee consisting of trade union and workers representatives with delegates from the Popular Front. This committee will draw up the list of these proprietors who, having supported the rebel movement by money, etc., are liable to be classed as fascist enemies of the republic.

Article IV. The peasants in the locality or immediate neighborhood of the confiscated estates will be entrusted with their working and with the returns from them according to certain regulations, which can be summarized as follows; large estates are to be handed over to the peasants' organizations in the locality. The members are to vote on the question of collective cultivation. Small holdings confiscated under the decree are to be given to the peasant or peasants working the land. Collectivization of separate small holdings is to be encouraged.

not sabotage our work or become our enemy, we recommend that the private cultivation of land should be respected in principle. However, nothing should be done that would obstruct the development of land already collectivized. We are convinced that mechanical, chemical and technical methods of production will be better brought about by the example furnished by the collectivized centers, than by forceful methods. With less effort, greater production will be obtained and a new era of life will be opened, raising the cultural standards of the workers.

»2. All expropriated land will be administered by the trade unions and workers collectively for the benefit of the union members and, indirectly, of all land workers.

»3. The trade unions will control the production and purchase of the supplies necessary to the small owner who still continues to cultivate his land as mentioned above.

»4. Co-ordination between the trade unions and the collectivized centres, in order to redistribute the available supplies of labor to those centres lacking hands.»

## The New Position of the Anarcho-Syndicalists

### THEY DEMAND A PLACE AT MADRID

Upon the grounds that it is dominated by the Socialist Party and denies participation to trade union forces, the Anarcho-Syndicalists (the C. N. T.), are now asking for representation in the Madrid Government in proportion to their numbers.

For some time now, the C. N. T. through its press, has been advocating the construction of a National Defense Junta to take over all governmental power. In it would be represented all political and trade union organizations which are at present taking part in the armed struggle against fascism. In spite of all the tenacity of the C. N. T. the proposal for a National Junta has not been accepted by the other parties composing the present government. Now it appears that the C. N. T. is no longer making a definite issue of the nomination of a National Defence Junta, and that they are willing to participate in the government even in its present form.

The press of the C. N. T. in Catalonia, however, does not speak out sufficiently clearly. It states the problem in such vague terms that it seems as though the C. N. T. is merely asking for participation in the government, based only on the numerical forces which they possess as representatives of the Spanish working class. That is to say, that they ask to enter the cabinet without stating upon what footing nor in accordance with what program.

In our opinion, it is not simply a question of the C. N. T. and other working class forces, which are not represented in the government, coming in and taking part in it. It is a question of the whole composition of the government and the program it intends to carry out. For us, the name—National Defense Junta—is of no importance whatsoever. The only things which matter are its content and its achievements.

**It is to you, workers of all countries, that these articles are addressed. You understood, at the very beginning, that the struggle of the workers in Spain is not only our class war. The emancipation of the Spanish working class will be the emancipation of the workers of the world.**

**Workers of the world, you have a duty towards us. Every hour, every moment, you must fight for definite support for the Spanish revolution.**

**You must boycott deliveries of arms and munitions to the rebels.**

**You must force your government to abandon its false neutrality policy. The whole world knows that the fascist countries of Germany, Italy and Portugal are supplying the fascists with arms.**

**We demand the right to purchase arms in the open market. We are waging a fight on behalf of the whole international proletariat. This is your fight as well as ours.**

**HELP US!**

### THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE SOCIALIST-COMMUNISTS IN CATALONIA

An agreement to work together has been reached between the C. N. T., P. A. T., U. G. T. and P. S. U. C. This fact is very important to the course of the revolution, since it supports a harmony of action in Catalonia between the two trade union organizations and the two parties which give them political inspiration.

It seems to us that the program which they have established is aiming at strengthening the Council of the Generality and tying the decisions and activities of the trade union organizations to it. Although they do not admit it, they seem to imply that the Council, in its present composition and structure (discussed in our bulletin of October 21st), ought to persist throughout the revolution. The problems of the new organs of power and the new structure of the social order are forgotten.

The pact is a flagrant contradiction of the position which the C. N. T. has held; on the other hand, it is in direct agreement with the opinions defended by the P. S. U., which consist in guiding all the revolutionary impulses of the working masses within the limits of the bourgeois democratic republic.

Their first point can have no other effect, since it particularly says, without leaving room for any doubt, «We have contracted a formal promise to carry out the agreements and decisions of the Council of the Generality and will bring all our influence and the apparatus of our organization to bear upon helping the application of this promise».

Both through «Solidaridad Obrera», the organ of the Anarchist trade unions in Catalonia and «C. N. T.», their official organ in Madrid, the Anarchists have repeatedly stated that there must be no confusing of the issues of the Spanish revolution. Nevertheless, by the agreement announced yesterday, the whole workers' movement remains tied to the worn-out state machine of the petty bourgeoisie. This strengthens the republican state and practically prevents the development of the new bodies which have risen out of the revolution and those which, like the trade unions, already existed.

Due to the necessity of the struggle against fascism, we have been forced to accept direct participation in the Council of the Generality. But this collaboration only means to us a transitional stage on the road to the formation of an entirely working class government. Our slogan is: «Proletarian democracy through a workers government; committees of workers, peasants and soldiers and a constituent assembly».

## Subscribe to «The Spanish Revolution»

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*Without revolutionary theory*

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## NEWS AND NOTES

## Trotsky and the Press

Comrade Leon Trotsky has determined to call a case for slander against a Norwegian communist newspaper and another fascist paper. He protests against telegrams published by them with regard to the Zinoviev trial. The notices accuse Trotsky of having taken part in organising the assassination of Kirov and preparing various attacks on other Soviet leaders. Thus the lying attacks of the bourgeois and stalinist press against the great revolutionary continue.

## Finance and Fascism

The Huelva district, where the greatest Spanish copper mines are found, was occupied by General Mola's troops towards the end of August and since then the exploitation of both mines and workers has been resumed, with a consequent rise of 25 per cent in the price of stock in the Rio Tinto company. The Rio Tinto company is located in Lombard Street, London, and has a capital of 3,750,000 pounds. The president of the Rio Tinto is Sir Auckland Geddes, so that the attitude of the London city press towards the civil war gives us no surprise. The House of Rothschild also holds considerable interests in mines and metallurgical enterprises in Spain, as does the powerful Societe Miniere et Metallurgique de Penarroya, with its central office in Paris and a capital of 309,375,000 francs. It need therefore scarcely astonish us that there are quite a large number of financiers who are willing to make the same kind of sacrifices as Juan March who is financing the Spanish rebels.

## Rebuilding Spain

A Basque government has recently been established composed of the Basque nationalists and workers forces. The province of Valencia has also asked for autonomy. This situation still has to be legalized. The same autonomy will be given to the rest of the peninsula when it is completely in our hands.

What does it mean? It means that the former structure artificially overcentralized and against the facts of history, geography and the need of economic development, like so many other things, has been outgrown by the progress of the revolution.

It was the old classes and the old castes which founded this artificial national unity which they have disrupted by their own insurrection.

## Our American and Canadian comrades

Comrade B. J. Field, of the United States and comrade W. Krehm of Toronto, Canada, have spent a few days with us on their way to the International Congress against War and Fascism which began in Brussels at the end of October.

These two comrades, who are the delegates of the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party, have brought the expression of the solidarity of the working class of America and Canada to the Spanish working class, together with money collected to help us in our struggle. During their stay, Comrade Field spoke to the workers of England and the United States from the P. O. U. M. broadcasting station.

## McNair for Spain

Our comrade McNAIR, of the I. L. P., will soon be with us here again. The POUM have great pleasure in welcoming him back, especially as he has been so active in England in the cause of the Spanish proletariat and their struggle against fascism.

## Czechoslovakia

In spite of the fact that this government has forbidden collections in aid of the Spanish struggle, the workers in Prague continue to hold meetings and raise money in our favour. In the course of a few days, 5,000 crowns have been collected there. In Pressburg, 2,740 crowns were collected. A football team from Germany which came here to play an international game took advantage of the opportunity to give 100 marks to their class brothers in Spain.

## Italy

In spite of all Mussolini's vigilance, the workers of Milan, Genoa and Trieste daily distribute leaflets and handbills which explain what is going on in our country. The secret police find it quite impossible to stop this revolutionary propaganda.

## Germany

The infamous Gestapo have arrested more than 70 workers in a factory at Aix-la-Chappelle for having sent money to their brothers in Spain.

## Belgium

More than a million francs have been collected here. A «day for Spain» has also been organised.

## Switzerland

«The World Writers League for the Defence of Culture» have condemned, in a special telegram, the systematic strangling of the free will of the people which they believe to be the result of the so-called non-intervention policy.

## Listen in on Radio P. O. U. M.

We are on the air with English broadcasts every night except Sunday at 6: 40 to 7 o'clock, Spanish time, 42 meters short wave.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Many of our readers have written to us about questions regarding the situation here. We find it impossible to reply personally to all the enquiries made, but we intend to devote part of our space to answering these queries in our future issues. We invite our readers to write to us on any question connected with the Spanish Revolution. We shall do our best to clarify the situation.

Address your letters to:

«Spanish Revolution»

10, Rambla de los Estudios / BARCELONA

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NEXT WEEK

*War at the front and  
revolution behind the lines*

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

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## The C. N. T. and the Madrid Government

During the last twenty-four hours an event of such importance has taken place that the whole face of the Spanish situation may be changed. We refer to the entry into the Madrid government of three responsible members of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I.

The collaboration of the anarcho-sindicalists in a government, even to the extent of abandoning the scruples which they showed as to name at the time of taking part in the Council of the Generality of Catalonia, means that, although our Anarchist comrades may not be giving up their libertarian principles, they are at least allowing them to be modified by reality.

We would congratulate the anarchists if we thought that they had taken a step towards the path which would lead them to collaborate with other workers' organisations for the establishment of a proletarian regime without petty bourgeois admixture. If this rectification had come at the proper time, the objective circumstances in Catalonia would have been such that it would have been possible to form an entirely working class government for an earlier victory over fascism and for the realisation of the revolution.

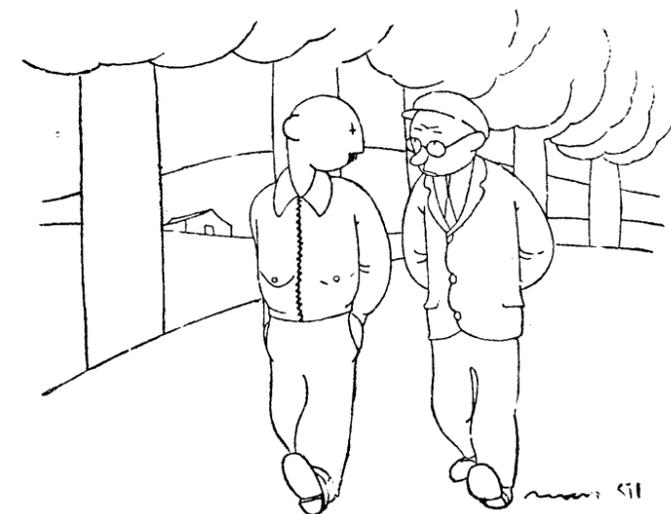
As it is, we greet the entry of our comrades of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. into the Madrid government with pleasure but without complete satisfaction. Up till now we have given our support to the idea of their entry, and have joined with them in their attitude. Now we fear that the hasty solution found to the difficulty—due to the strong pressure of the fascists on Madrid—will not make of the new Government at Madrid the Government needed for the revolution, but only a broader Popular Front Government.

When the government of the Generality of Catalonia was formed we were not satisfied. We desired the formation of a workers' government based on the revolutionary organisations of the masses. However, we accepted a place in the Council because it was formed by a workers' majority, and because it made a declaration in its entirety that it would do nothing to put a brake on the revolutionary impulse of the proletariat, but would, on the contrary, guide it towards the revolution. As we have said before, the day it forsakes the path of this policy, our collaboration will come to an end, since for us it is not merely a question of sharing out ministerial appointments (if it had been, we should never have accepted the proportion allotted to us), but a question as to whether it was

possible or not to give a greater impetus to the revolution from the Government of Catalonia by affirming the positions we had already gained.

On the constitution of the Madrid Government, the same circumstances as those attendant upon our entry into the Council of the Generality with the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. have not been forthcoming. Neither the government itself, nor the president in its name, have made any declaration of a change from its position in the defence of bourgeois democracy. They have not announced any change in their critical attitude towards Catalonia, or against the continued existence of an army which gives such preponderance to the military caste.

The C. N. T. itself has of course made a declaration of principles in face of this collaboration.



«English is hard to understand, isn't it?»

«Yes, for instance, take «neutrality»; you spell it one way, and pronounce it another and it means something quite different.»