

## NEWS AND NOTES

## English Workers Send Aid

The English boat «Pacheo» has arrived at Valencia with 100 tons of provisions sent from London and destined for Madrid. The Committee has gathered the support from workers' organisations in all parts of England. The Spanish workers are deeply grateful for this new evidence of solidarity abroad. The workers are standing together, and thus they will be invincible.

## Boycott Franco

The three Scandinavian ships bound for ports of the fascist part of Spain are still tied up in England by order of the Scandinavian Sailors' Union, which is supported by the International Union of Transport Workers. This is an example for workers everywhere.

## Equal Rights for Women

A new decree has just been published by the Valencia Government affecting the status of women in Spanish life. No sex distinction will be made in civil life; women have the same rights in law as men and can exercise all civil functions and rights.

In marriage, neither of the parties has command of the other; both are equally obliged by mutual and loyal consent to live together, remain faithful and aid one another. The expenses of maintaining a home rest equally on both partners, according to their respective means and working capacities.

The new decree represents a very big step forward in the rights of women. What is most important, when one realizes the status of women in Spain in the past, is the recognition of their equality with men.

## Reformists Unity

The left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party, under the leadership of Largo Caballero, but guided in fact by agents of the Communist Party within the Socialist Party, announces that it is starting a campaign in the Socialist Party for unity with the official Communists, such as the one that led to the disappearance of the Young Socialists.

We are certainly not against the unity of Marxists. We were the first to give the example of unity with the founding of the P. O. U. M. in November 1935, long before the fictitious fusions rushed through since then. However, we hold that the unification of Marxists is only progressive when realised on a revolutionary basis, as in the case of the fusion of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc and the Communist Left. The precedent which the Stalinists and Left Socialists cite for their unity does not arouse great hopes. The fusion of the youth sections of the Socialist and Communist Parties resulted in the new organisation, the United Socialist Youth, which is the most right wing workers' organisation in Spain, and destroyed the magnificent forward march of the Young Socialists since October 1934.

Nothing else can come of the fusion now proposed. Those who are promoting it know this. Let them fuse, however. In this way confusion will be ended and the workers will know where to turn to find the reformists of all varieties, who are trying to hold back our revolutions.

\* \* \*

# For Revolutionary UNITY!

Imp. Nova Ibèria / Barcelona (España)

## The Valencian City Council

On the evening of February 3rd, the new municipal Council of Valencia was founded, with a comrade of the C. N. T. as mayor and of the U. G. T. as deputy mayor. The body will be composed of six representatives of the C. N. T., six of the U. G. T., three of the F. A. I., three of the Socialist Party, three of the Communist Party, two of the P. O. U. M., two of the Valencian Left, two of the Left Valencian Party, two of the Spanish Left, three of the Republican Left, three of the Republican National Union and two of the Syndicalist Party—thirty five in all.

## Workers Front?

Representing the P. O. U. M. in the Valencian town Council are the Comrades José Grimalt and Edward de Sirval, the latter the brother of the journalist assassinated in October by the Legionaries in the Oviedo prison.

The Communist Party alone raised its voice against the admission of these two comrades and the party they represent. All the other parties accepted their places, but the Stalinists instead, insulted our delegates, and as usual, called them agents of Hitler and Mussolini. To cap it all, they withdrew from the Council, as they already had from the Valencia Provincial Council.

Who breaks the workers front?

## The Trend

On February 3 the Council of the Generality of Catalonia decided that collectivization of the dairies is illegal. Meetings are to be held with representatives of the two trade union centrals which have already carried out such collectivization to find a solution for this «problem».

## SELL OUR BULLETIN

Frequently the path of human history depends upon the action of a relatively small group of revolutionaries who show the way for the masses to follow. Now is the time, comrades, to learn the pitfalls as well as the correct way to the workers' society. Study the events in Spain—the hopes and dangers of this present revolutionary situation. Read the English bulletin of P. O. U. M.—the SPANISH REVOLUTION. Order a bundle and sell it.

**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION** can be had through our agents for two pence or five cents a copy. Order from:

The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St. London.

The Marxist League, 238 Edgware Road, London, W. 2.

The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th Street, New York City.

The League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party (U. S.) 126 E. 16th Street, New York City.

The L. R. W. P. (Canada) 4, Alexander St., Toronto, Ontario.

Friends of Workers Spain, Box 785, Chicago, Illinois.

Ernest Erber, 549, Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**, 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

Other agents are requested. Money for the P.O.U.M. can be sent by money order or the American Express Co. to the I.L.P. London, to be forwarded to us here.

# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

The I. L. P.  
The Marxist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

PRICE IN U. S. A.: 05

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios

BARCELONA

## CONTENTS

1: A Government of Workers and Peasants. 2: The 58 Decrees. 3: The Republicans Lift Their Heads.  
4: The Revolutionary Youth Front 5: The Youth of the P. O. U. M. 6: At the Front

## A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT

The fall of Malaga is being used to bolster up a political program which has failed a thousand times. The capitalist democracy of the middle class, like those pseudo-Marxists who are unable to believe in the creative force of the working class, floundering up to its neck in the swamp of its failure and weakness, instead of retiring from the public scene, tries to clear itself of the recent military defeats. Thus we see the President of the Government in his recent speech at Valencia—at the close of a demonstration of three hundred thousand persons—stating that «the Government needs deeds, not words». May we suggest to Largo Caballero and his camp who it is that has acted with deeds and who with words? Useless verbiage has accompanied all the acts and policies of the government. With speeches and more speeches, our democrats have paralyzed all offensive action; with the subterfuges of a small-time lawyer, they have stood in the way of a war industry and a coordinated economy, the very things which we need. On the contrary, it has been the working class which has at all times offered its all—its life. In exchange for what? In exchange for a gun—a gun which it has not received in the majority of cases—with which to win the war and assure its revolutionary conquests.

It is now, however, with the fall of Malaga, which demonstrates the incapacity to which we were referring, that they try to reinforce the governmental policy of annulling the revolutionary action of the workers' organizations. They speak loudly of a «strong government». A «strong government?» It sounds good. It can be said without the least hint of what they really want; but what they really want is perfectly obvious to us: under the present circumstances, a strong government, that is, a strengthening of the power of the present ruling clique would be realized at the expense of the revolutionary independence of the workers' organizations; or, more clearly stated, at their absolute and total submission to the policies of the middle class. It is coming to the light as a large scale manoeuvre, which our party, with its firm revolutionary stand, must oppose with all its might. What is needed to win the war is not a strengthening of impotence; what is necessary is rather a 100% revolutionary program.

The Revolutionary Youth Front, in its great inaugural meeting, and the Anarchist paper, «Solidaridad Obrera» have taken the stand that the army needed is a revolutionary workers' army, an army which springs from the working class and which is directly controlled by the workers' organizations. This is precisely our position. Not the «regular» or «peoples» army—such vague terms—but a revolutionary army alone can lead us to victory. But such a class army cannot be organized by a government whose program is typically middle class; it can be organized only by a revolutionary government, a government of the working class, a Workers' and Peasants' Government. A «strong» government such as is now being called for

is not only a bluff, but a danger as well. It is a danger since it would be imposed at the cost of the workers' organizations and as a mortgage on their revolutionary program.

A strong government means a strengthening of the middle class program. It is a fresh attempt to revive and fortify a policy which has worse than failed. No-one can speak of a strong power to win the war, because to win the war they must always count on the working class. If the war has not been won, it is due exactly to their policy and not to the workers, who have always been ready to fight. The workers, with their revolutionary action, have never obstructed the victory over fascism, as has the government with the pretext of winning the war by opposing the revolution. What is more, a «strong government» cannot solve the problems that now confront the whole Iberian Peninsula, this can be done only by a Workers' and Peasants' Government, which will know how to organize a really victorious force through its revolutionary program.

Against every manoeuvre of the middle class we will oppose our revolutionary action. Against a «strong government» we will impose a Workers' and Peasants' Government. This alone is the guarantee of victory; this alone can win the war and make the revolution.



«A Fascist Prisoner.» «And just imagine! He's a Spaniard.»

## 58 Decrees to Smother the Revolution

The middle class is making a come-back. To halt the democratic revolution during the two years following the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, the republicans and reformists then in power issued a thousand or more decrees. They succeeded in strangling the revolution. Now they are at it again. Between the 8th. and 12th. of January they issued more than 58 financial decrees. Not only a legislative record, but a counter-revolutionary monument. Their aim is to «return to normalcy» in all realms.

The basic character of the financial decrees relating to the municipalities, numbers 1 to 9 of the series, is that they are aimed against municipal autonomy and that they attempt to imbue the municipalities with the same middle-class spirit that now guides the general policy of the Government of the Generality. In the preamble of the decree dealing with municipalization, there is to be found the most fervid praise of the «unquestionable zeal and service to the revolution» shown by the political and trade union organisations of all Catalonia, which, at the outbreak of the fascist uprising, took over and ran on their own account the various public services. It was this that «made it possible for the large centres of population to reassume a normal aspect without a break in continuity.» After having openly recognised the success of the workers in replacing their exploiters, the Councillor of Finance goes on to tell us that «after six months the return to normal conditions in every possible respect makes it necessary at present to contemplate and study all questions having a bearing on the above-mentioned services.»

The explanation of this contradiction is to be found in the provisions of the new decree. The first article sets forth that the town councils of Catalonia must propose to the Councillor of Finance **within a period of thirty days, if they believe it advisable, the municipalisation of those enterprises, or that part of them, which is concerned with the provision of public services within the territory under the jurisdiction of the Town Council.** The second article empowers the Town Councils to propose the municipalisation of industrial activities, **within the same districts, that have hitherto remained in private hands.** According to the third article a mixed commission, made up in each case of functionaries nominated by the Councillor of Finance and by the representatives of the Town Councils, will make the final recommendations in relation to each municipal project.

The Government of the Generality will, of course, have to decide upon these recommendations. This is what the Councillor of Finance calls returning to normalcy. We do not know concretely what sort of normalcy he is referring to. It is certainly no allusion to the normalcy obtained by the workers in taking over the operation of those public services abandoned by the fascist capitalists. Nor is it a question of restoring the state of affairs that existed before the fascist uprising, since the municipal law of Catalonia declares that all matters relating to the municipalization of public services and municipal corporations are under the **exclusive jurisdiction of the town Councils**, and that the latter may make such decisions, not «within thirty days», but whenever they consider such an enactment to be the public benefit. In resumé, the decrees on municipalization are an attack against municipal autonomy and constitute another obstacle placed before the socialization of our economy.

The decrees on municipal finance first establish the principle—which we have always advocated—that nobody is in a better position than the Town Councils themselves to appreciate the ability of the citizens to pay taxes. But this is followed by the ruling that provisionally during the present cir-

umstances, the Town Councils can «propose»—and the Government must provide the authorization—how they will balance their budgets.

Decree 12, 15, and 16 deal with the appropriation of buildings, and prepare the way for evicting the workers' organisations from the fine buildings they have been using since July 19th.

Decrees 13 and 14 set up a Commission of Reparation and Aid. One article expresses the purpose clearly: «All those citizens who fulfilled the conditions of residence in Catalonia prior to July 1936 shall have the right to compensation for damage occasioned by the rebellion.»

Decrees 17 to 29 refer to Banks and Stock Markets. They dissolve Commissions, Juntas, and Committees, set up new ones, and elaborate rules. In no ways do they socialise the banks. They only create and dissolve committees to gain time.

30 and 31 deal with the saving banks, 32 to 34 with Insurance Companies.

37 creates an Authority for Foreign Trade Studies.

38 and 39 impose a sales tax, to include sales of co-operatives, and collectivised establishments and those under workers' control. The municipalities will get not more than one fifth of the revenue. This tax might have been imposed between 1931 and 1934 when the Esquerra was in power in Catalonia, but was not thought of until the workers were organising their own economy. Why is this? Because they are more eager to prejudice the New Economy than that of the capitalists.

41—43 impose new taxes including heavy stamp taxes which will impede the collectivization of industry.

44 deals with the wiping out of the debts of tardy taxpayers by utilising the current accounts that they might have in Banks. This would be a fitting measure if it had the purpose of taking away from the bourgeoisie some of the wealth heaped up at the expense of the workers. It would be an excellent decree in the hands of a Workers and Peasants Government. In the hands of the Esquerra it will only serve as eye-wash.

45 is the most unpopular of all the decrees. It taxes the use of radio receiving sets.

46 and 47 deal with the supply of water power and mineral waters.

48 is the most unfortunate decree of all. It suspends all rents for almost two months—until March 1. Instead of municipalising the real estate and turning the rents to purposes of war and social welfare as proposed by the P. O. U. M. in a detailed bill, the question is postponed.

49 to 58 deal with Housing Inspection, Government Finances, and radio broadcasting.

Comrade Taradellas and the Esquerra, it seems, are about to smother the revolution with decrees.

\* \* \*

### REVOLUTIONARY LERIDA

Lérida, the red city of the Segre, vibrates with the will for the social revolution, of which it will not be robbed, whatever the cost.

During recent weeks, the Spanish and Catalan bourgeoisie have attempted to halt the revolution and cut off the autonomy of the town governments, vital cells of the new society. Tarradellas has been charged with this sad task—through his already famous decrees.

If the working class in arms let the towns lose their own personality it would soon pay dearly. The revolutionary forces of Lérida—the P. O. U. M., the C. N. T., the F. A. I. and the Peasant's Union—decided not to sacrifice the personality of that city and in a recent session of the Town Council they voted the socialization of real estate, a project opposed by the middle class—the Esquerra, Action Catalana and their P. S. U. C., imitators, all of whom voted against it.

## The Republicans Lift their Heads

They are issuing manifestos, making speeches. They venture to take the lead, suggesting political solutions. What has happened?

The Republicans, representing the middle classes have played a lamentable rôle. They led the Republic of 1873 to its ruin. They opened the way for the restoration of the monarchy. Thereafter they were unable to fight manfully against the semi-feudal reactionary monarchy. They have only served to divert the working class from the path of its revolutionary emancipation.

After the Second Republic was proclaimed they had but one preoccupation: to stop the revolution. They knew that under the economic and political conditions reigning in Spain, the democratic revolution would turn into a socialist revolution. The working class would take the power. They set up institutions of republican order, of capitalism, against this. By opposing the revolution, they led the Republic into the arms of the counter-revolution.

After this experience they temporarily lost control of the masses. They were thrown down and it seemed that they could not rise. The working class grouped around the Workers' Alliance, through which it made the October struggle. Thanks to that effort, the workers were able to stave off a reactionary dictatorship and obtain the electoral victory of February, 1936.

But the republicans returned. They succeeded in getting the key positions in the government of the country. How was this possible? It was possible only because reformist socialism and official communism of Spain were converted to bourgeois republicanism. They both destroyed the Workers' Alliance to form the Peoples' Front. They again entrusted the leadership of the masses and of the Republican state to the republicans. And again the republicans, for fear of the revolution, were on the point of delivering us to the counter-revolution. The black biennium\* was their work, and so was the military fascist rising.

After the outbreak of civil war, for five months the republicans were silenced. They acquired the habit of raising the clenched fist. They listened solemnly to the «Internationales». At times they seemed more revolutionary than the real revolutionaries. They revealed a capacity to adapt themselves to all ideologies: socialism, communism, anarchism. Was it not the working class which was leading the struggle? Their instinct of self-preservation counseled them to adapt their step to that of the workers.

**When, at the beginning, revolution was in the air, they too spoke of revolution. Later they limited themselves to anti-fascism. Later, the defense of the democratic republic. Finally, they have started to speak of national unity and the defence of the fatherland.**

At the same time, they speak of the great Soviet democracy, and Stalin, its great leader. They flatter Rosenberg and Antonov Ovseenko, the Soviet Consul in Barcelona. They take the presidency of the Congress of United Socialist Youth. They take part in the meetings of the Red Aid. The bounds of the Peoples' Front have room for this and for still more.

Yes, opportunism is a great thing! It allows one to change his position and his language as often as it seems convenient.

And now the republicans raise their heads. They claim openly that they have always held the same positions. Azaña, who had almost been forgotten by everyone, returns to speak to all Spaniards. One of these days will he not announce that he proposes to govern for all Spaniards? **He is the president of the Republic of all Spaniards even those who went astray.**

What has happened? In the first place, the capitalist republicans have come to feel themselves so strong, not just by virtue of their own strength but by virtue of that which the reformists have lent them. This is what happened to the Republic during its first two years, and again after the elections of February, 1936. This what they wish to bring about again. Before they betrayed the Jaca insurrection and the Asturias; now they betray the revolution.

\* «El biennio negro» refers to the two black years of the Spanish workers which cover the period between the elections of November 1933 and those of February 1936.

## Our Red Flag

According to the latest reports from the Aragon Front, attempts are being made to have the flags of the various organizations withdrawn and replaced by a single flag—the Republican Flag—to be used by all organizations.

*For three quarters of a century, the workers movement has advanced under one banner—the Red Flag of Marxism; three quarters of a century, during which our banner—the emblem symbolising the struggle of the working class—has become a deeper and deeper red. Every day its colour is deepened by the blood of our heroic martyred comrades. The Red Flag which stands for struggle, sacrifice and faith in our ultimate victory over all the forces of reaction, terror and counter-revolution, this our banner shall ever be held high. Pride in our banner and our cause shall ever strengthen us, provided that our banner be held constantly aloft. To haul down this banner would be to renounce it, and this would be a renunciation of our revolutionary programme. Can we allow it to be pulled down now, when the struggle is at its highest pitch? Can we allow the symbol of a bankrupt regime to be nailed in its stead? No, we cannot allow it, particularly in the fields of battle, in the places captured from the fascists at the cost of the lives of our best militants. Our flag cannot be hauled down. Our party will not stand for it. If other organizations want to give in to this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre they may do so, but the Red Flag with the four letters P. O. U. M. will remain aloft as the emblem of the revolutionary workers and as a guarantee of victory.*

## Two Imperialist blocs

In connection with the Spanish civil war two definite blocs have been formed: that of Berlin, Rome, Lisbon, Tokio and that of Paris, Moscow, London. The first of these wishes to further the victory of Spanish fascism at all costs, in order to convert Spain into a colony and a center of military operations against its rivals. The second bloc wishes to prevent the victory of fascism, but is equally determined to prevent the revolution at any price. A revolutionary Spain would give an impetus to the international revolution and would destroy the diplomatic «status quo» in Europe. A bourgeois democratic and parliamentary Spain, «united nationally against the invader» impoverished and worn out by the civil war, could easily be made to accept the protection of the bloc of Paris-Moscow-London and would support its diplomatic treaties. This goal can only be attained through an armistice. But the belligerents refuse to accept such an armistice at present. That is only because it is necessary to prepare the moral and material conditions for its acceptance. That is what is being actively carried out through the application of a well calculated plan to which we have made repeated reference.

**The effort is being made to confront us with the following dilemma: If the fascists triumph, Spain will have to wage war in support of the bloc of fascist countries; if the present war is ended by means of an armistice controlled by the Paris-Moscow-London bloc, Spain will be compelled to fight a war against the fascist countries. This will not be a war, as they try to make us believe, between democracy and fascism; it will be a war between rival imperialist powers. The fact that Russia forms part of one of these blocs does not change the issue at all, since Stalin has abandoned the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, anti-war policy in order to conclude pacts with one group of imperialists against the other.**

Are we to remain silent in face of such perspectives? If we were to do so we should be committing suicide as a revolutionary party and be betraying the Spanish and international working class.

# THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FRONT

## EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES

**Alfredo Martinez (of the Libertarian Youth):**

«Comrades: the Libertarian Youth, in organizing this meeting in favour of the Revolutionary Youth Front, shows the desire of the working youth to help in the triumph over fascism and the victory of the Revolution...»

**Comrade Solano (Secretary of the Iberian Communist Youth):**

A Revolutionary Army must be created. The People's Army, but composed of revolutionary workers. Not a pretence of a neutral army, outside the political struggle. Franco's army is not a neutral army, nor was the army of the Czar. All armies are political, and we want an army controlled by the workers' organizations—the army of the Spanish workers' revolution, of the international workers' revolution.»

**Amador Franco (for the Libertarian Youth of the Aragon Front):**

«The time has come to say that the Aragon front is impatient to attack and all the militiamen agree on this.

«The advance of the workers brought their columns to the gates of the three capitals of Aragon. And the military action was paralyzed. Why? Because the front was starved. While Malaga was being attacked, all of our front called for an advance. But there was no advance on account of the boycott of this front.

«This must be ended. The Aragon front is the key to victory. The boycott plays into the hands of fascism.»

**Ramon Vallejo (for the Syndicalist Youth):**

«Now is not the time for speeches. We seek the union of all workers and in the first place of the revolutionary youth.

«Cities have been lost, but none won. Has this been due to lack of courage on the part of the workers? No. It is the fault of the Command and situation behind the lines. Too much consideration has been given to international politics, which has paralyzed our offensive. The Revolutionary Youth Front will overcome this inertia.»

**Fidel Miro (Secretary of the Regional Committee of Libertarian Youth):**

«This meeting marks the beginning of a new period of the Revolution, a rekindling of the fire and spirit of July 19th. The unity of all sectors must be sincere and loyal. No one should slander any other organization.

«Six months have not solved the problems of the new economy.

«The Revolution must go forward or else the counter-revolution will advance.»

**CONCLUSIONS (submitted to the President of the Generality after a huge parade to his headquarters):**

1. General mobilization.
2. All heavy arms to the front; taking of all economic and military measures necessary to a quick winning of the war.
3. Reaffirmation of true anti-fascist unity.
4. Taking the necessary steps for a revolutionary army, navy and aviation, the guarantee of victory.
5. Centralized power for the command of the armed forces and the governmental leaders.
6. No more counter-revolutionary retreats. The people desire that the events started on the 19th of July be carried through to victory—in the war and the social revolution.

To this end, the Revolutionary Youth Front will start, on Wednesday next, to collect the guns behind the lines, no matter who holds them, and, beginning Saturday, will require that every citizen doing useful work should carry a document from one of the two trade union organizations, stating that he does useful work. Whoever lacks such a document will be mobilized for work in the fields and on fortification. To carry this out, the Revolutionary Youth Front stands entirely behind the Government of the Generality and the National Government.

The greatest youth meeting ever held in Barcelona, both in size and in revolutionary enthusiasm, had been that of the Iberian Communist Youth of the P. O. U. M. on Sunday, January 31st. Some 8,000 persons, the majority of them Youth, crowded the Gran Price and demonstrated their will to achieve the revolutionary slogans of the P. O. U. M. This meeting, however, was surpassed on February 6th by the outdoor mass meeting of the Revolutionary Youth Front, called by the Anarchist Libertarian Youth by way of opposition to the Youth Front of the Stalinist, Reformist, Republican and middle class youth. It coincided with the new upsurge of revolutionary energy among the Catalan workers, and concretely demonstrated their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The common basis for the Revolutionary Youth Front has been signed. The Working Youth of Catalonia leads the way, as it did before October 1934, with the Workers' Alliance.

The Revolutionary Youth Front is faced with great responsibilities and great possibilities. The revolution is threatened and the Revolutionary Youth Front must be in the vanguard of its defence.

We salute the Revolutionary Youth Front. Forward Comrades!

In the Plaza de Cataluña, the heart of Barcelona, was held the huge meeting of the Revolutionary Youth Front, arranged by the Libertarian Youth with the participation of various other revolutionary youth organisations. This meeting was in direct revolutionary opposition to the Youth Front which calls upon all Spanish and Catholic youth to join upon a national basis. The masses of revolutionary youth turned out, surpassing all expectations and indicating the state of mind of the working youth.

The appearance of the great square—so well associated with revolutionary conquest—is hard to describe, so great was the crowd. Young workers were everywhere with red or red and black banners and signs. Among the slogans were seen the following: «Málaga the Revolutionary Youth Front will avenge you», «Down with reformism», «To Win the War We Must Make the Revolution», «The Communist Student Federation Fights for the Workers' University» and «The Guard Patrols are a Guarantee for the Revolution». Such signs were seen arriving from all directions, many from the railway station where the Youth poured in from the countryside in special trains arranged by the Libertarian Youth and the Iberian Communist Youth together.

The bands of the Anti-Fascist Militia and of the Lenin Barracks played the «Sons of the People», the «Internationale» and other revolutionary hymns, while the crowd stood with clenched fists.



## CONSTITUTION

1. We believe that the Revolutionary Youth Front can not be achieved without recognizing the social and economic transformation undergone by the Spanish people since July 19th. Therefore all the organizations entering this front engage themselves to further this social transformation and to defend the revolutionary conquest already obtained. Our union shall give us the strength to triumph — **TO WIN THE WAR AND MAKE THE REVOLUTION** — which is the mission of the **REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FRONT**.

2. To definitely and continuously take care that the relations between the Trade Union Centrals should become ever more cordial until Trade Union Unity is achieved, in the interest of the economic life of Spain.

3. To launch an intense campaign to obtain representation in the political and social administration of Spain of all anti-fascist tendencies in proportion to the armed forces they represent, so that we may thereby tie the bonds of the working class more firmly and establish the political and social hegemony of the working class, and through this effective and uniform educational campaign lead to the cessation of narrow, sectarian activity of parties or groups. In our meetings, campaigns and press, we shall not eulogise any particular doctrine in the name of the Revolutionary Youth Front but shall dedicate all our acts to uphold the morale of the fighting men and to assure them that the youth behind the lines will carry through their ardent desire for freedom, preserving the full autonomy of the affiliated organizations, that they may expound their ideas, tactics and aims, and keeping throughout these campaigns complete respect and consideration for the others represented on this Front, as well as for the other organizations allied in the anti-fascist struggle.

4. In the social field we believe that in as much as all of the anti-fascist tendencies are federalist, this should be the political-social system which should rule the Iberian towns. Henceforth we should procure the fullest autonomy for each region, district and town.

5. We believe that to give the anti-fascist forces the greatest efficiency the people's army must be given a revolutionary character. We hold it necessary to establish a unified command, controlled by the workers' organizations. The military command of the revolutionary people's army should be the faithful expression of the revolutionary aspirations of the fighters, in order that there may exist that mutual confidence indispensable to the victory over fascism! This Revolutionary Youth Front will struggle for a cleansing of the People's War School and for the prior right of entry of the Young Fighters therein.

6. The affiliated organizations demand that all the armed troops, guards, carabineros, soldiers, marines and people's militia should receive the same pay. We demand an energetic cleansing of the bureaucracy, a reduction of large salaries, suppression of the duplicity of office holders paid by the state.

7. The Revolutionary Youth Front assumes the task of clearing away the parasites and enemies of the Revolution and of the anti-fascist cause remaining behind our lines. All those whose age and physical condition permit their doing useful labour should bear a document giving evidence of their occupation, or otherwise they should be mobilized for work in the fields, on fortifications or to fight at the front. At the same time, The Revolutionary Youth Front shall at all times strive for socially useful labour and a selection of production. The Revolutionary Youth Front shall undertake an intense campaign for adapting all industries to the war needs, and for socialization of banking, transportation, and heavy industry.

8. The Revolutionary Youth Front will stand by the Peasant Youth to obtain for them full rights to the land, socialization of the land, creation of peasant collectives, and leave freedom of production to those small proprietors who require no hired help to cultivate their lands. We shall show the need of respecting the work of the peasant in all its aspects and we shall ever reveal more clearly the inter-relations of town and country.

9. We propose the national coordination of production under the control of the two Trade Union Federations, the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. In view of the important rôle of cooperatives as an anti-capitalist force, the Revolutionary Youth Front proposes that they be respected and incorporated into the new socialist society.

10. The Revolutionary Youth Front undertake as a necessary premise that every youth belonging to any participating organization shall join as a worker of the C. N. T. or the U. G. T., except for students who belong to professional organizations.

## BY-LAWS

1. To enter this Revolutionary Youth Front it is necessary to accept the above constitution.

2. All organizations of working youth and all students, sport and military youth organizations which are revolutionary and anti-fascist are eligible to join the Revolutionary Youth Front.

3. This Revolutionary Youth Front shall establish relations with all the anti-fascist Youth Fronts in the world, stirring them to bring effective support to the Spanish working class which is fighting against fascism and for the **SOCIAL REVOLUTION**.

Signed by  
**THE SYNDICALIST YOUTH (SYNDICALIST PARTY).**  
**THE YOUTH OF THE FEDERAL IBERIAN PARTY.**  
**THE FEDERATION OF COMMUNIST STUDENTS (POUM).**  
**THE WORKERS' SPORT UNION.**  
**THE UNION OF COOPERATIVE YOUTH.**  
**THE IBERIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH (POUM).**  
**THE YOUTH SECTION OF THE «FREE WOMEN».**  
**THE FREE THOUGHT STUDENT FEDERATION.**  
**STUDENTS OF THE C. N. T.**  
**LIBERTARIAN YOUTH OF CATALONIA (ANARCHIST).**

\* \* \*

## Stalinist Slogans

The United Socialist Youth of Catalonia, the Stalinist, Republican spearhead of the «Youth Front», not only refused to participate in the «Revolutionary Youth Front», but attained new heights of nationalism and reaction in its campaign against the working-class youth. Here we reproduce the three hand bills passed out on February 3rd in Barcelona over the signature of the J. S. U. (United Socialist Youth).

## CATALONIA IN DANGER!

On the Aragon front the German and Italian fascists are preparing a strong offensive, and they are preparing to land troops on the coasts of our Catalonia.

**YOUTH OF CATALONIA, ARISE, AND CATALONIA WILL BE FOR THE CATALANS FOREVER.**

J. S. U., Barcelona.

## THE YOUTH

of Catalonia do not want a «REVOLUTIONARY» youth which stays behind the lines asking for much bread but no sacrifices.  
 J. S. U., Barcelona.

## THE YOUTH DEMAND

compulsory military service  
 a regular People's Army  
 iron discipline  
 no more literature and a

**GOVERNMENT WHICH TENACIOUSLY AND MANFULLY ENFORCES ITS DECREES.**

J. S. U., Barcelona.

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

The Enlarged Central Committee of the Iberian Communist Youth (J. C. I.), the youth organisation of the P. O. U. M., met in Barcelona from January 29th to 31st. More than 200 delegates gathered from Catalonia, Aragon, the Levant, and Madrid, to represent the revolutionary youth of Spain.

The J. C. I. has more than 10,000 members in Catalonia. 4,000 of its militia men are fighting on the Aragon and Madrid fronts. It has a large press, which spreads the slogans of revolutionary youth throughout the whole of Workers' Spain. Its central paper, «Juventud Comunista», has a weekly circulation of 16,000, while all of its publications have a total circulation of 40,000. These figures give some idea of the importance of the J. C. I. and of the influence which it exercises over the working masses.

The following is a short summary of the resolutions adopted:

Serious problems confront the young workers and peasants. Since the capitulation of the united socialist and communist youth, which demand unity with the catholic, and even with the fascist-minded youth, under the slogan «The Youth Front», there now exist only two revolutionary youth organisations—The Libertarian Youth, and the J. C. I., whose slogan must be—«The Revolutionary Proletarian Youth Front».

The J. C. I. demands the building of a revolutionary army, based on soldiers' committees, and not the creation of the regular army, as called for by the reformists.

The J. C. I. insists on the preservation of bodies which sprung spontaneously from the working class during the first days of the struggle, namely the control committees and patrol guards which are composed of representatives of various sections of the workers, and which are the basis of the future workers democracy, and the one and only safeguard of the revolutionary regime.

The J. C. I. demand that the law giving political, civil, and legal rights to young workers 18 years of age should be extended to the whole of Spain. This law was proposed by our Comrade Nin, the former Minister of Justice, and was adopted by the Catalan Government.

The J. C. I. calls on the peasant youth to create in the country a spirit favourable to collective work.

The young workers are moreover called upon to enforce the revolutionary slogans in the realm of culture, and to build a true class culture. It is they who, free from the vices of reformism, can launch against the bourgeois culture the most energetic struggle.

In the resolutions adopted by its enlarged Central Committee, the J. C. I. has given further proof that the young



workers understand the revolution, and has shown how they intend to solve the special problems of youth.

The J. C. I. is the advance guard of the Spanish Revolution. It has given its best militants to the revolution, and will continue to give them, in the fight for the victory of the workers revolution and socialism.

## SOLDIER ASSEMBLY

### Self-government at the Lenin Barracks

A few days ago there took place a meeting of all the soldiers of the infantry regiment at the Lenin Barracks in Barcelona. More than 1,300 enlisted workers were present.

The committees of the various companies had met previously and had agreed upon a code of discipline to be presented to the assembly. After a free discussion the following rules were adopted:

1. Daily assemblies of the men will be held at 8 A. M. and at 3.30. Any comrade who is absent from these without valid reason will be punished with three days of hard labor, the character of this latter is to be determined by the soldiers' committees.

2. All who do not accomplish their duty will be punished in the manner set forth in the first article.

3. All comrades found gambling, drunk, or guilty of immoral acts will be punished with six days of hard labour on fortifications.

4. Comrades who commit deeds that infringe upon the principles of hygiene and cleanliness, will be compelled to clean what they have dirtied, and the fact will be made public before their company.

5. Comrades who contract venereal diseases as a result of negligence and who fail to notify the sanitary service, will have their names made public, and will be punished. Those whose case is chronic will be treated.

The present code is applicable to officers as well as men without distinction of grade.

A further article provides that all recruits who have deserted from the barracks will be sought for by the soldiers committee under whose jurisdiction they find themselves, and after their readmission, shall appear before the Committee, which shall apply the punishment merited by their counter-revolutionary behavior.

## AT THE FRONT

«Hell, it's raining again!»

«Well, what the hell are you moaning about? It's raining on the fascists too.»

But rain and fascist bullets do not dampen the spirits of my I. L. P. comrades. We are at present in a small village; we are entirely surrounding the fascists and holding the major part of the road to Saragossa. The fascist position is not a comfortable one. We are in dugouts, two or three men each. All our English section is together, although, of course, we are side by side with our Spanish comrades and a jolly fine set of fellows they are. The dugouts are as nice and comfortable as can be expected under the conditions.

When we arrived we at once set to work to make our «home» as English as possible. We made a dug-out large enough to accommodate both our Spanish comrades and ourselves, which we named the «town hall». Here each day we have lessons in Spanish. The lessons last about one hour a day and must be taking effect as I see that some of our boys are getting «well off» with the Spanish women comrades who do our cooking, which I can assure you is good. At least our captives said so.

On the first night of opening our «town hall» we gave a concert to our Spanish comrades and believe me, I wish we hadn't. We have to give one every night now, and all you can hear all day is «Pop-Eye the Sailor Man», which undoubtedly is the favorite. «O. K., Baby», comes in for its share of popularity also. Our Spanish comrades obliged with a concert too, and one in particular was a beautiful singer. He was once a bank clerk, and gave up a safe and comfortable position to fight for the workers. There are dozens like him in our ranks: no thought of reward, just a sincere desire to defeat fascism.

Our duty during the day consists of guarding our positions. I should say day and night; our boys do two hours on and ten off.

We have made the usual raids which are carried out at night, just to make sure the enemy is still where we want him.

In the week since we have been in this position we have had sixteen fascist deserters. I am best able to write about three prisoners and their dog, whom I was personally responsible for conducting to our commander. They came across to us at about 3 p. m., so you can imagine the risk they took. They preferred to face death rather than stay where they were. When they approached our lines, our Spanish comrades

met them with open arms and they kissed one another like long lost brothers.

This is the story they told to us while they ate (and did they eat). They were conscripted into the fascist forces, and they said that desertion was rife. As a preventive the fascists warned them that in the future their families would be made to suffer, in what manner they did not say. They were commanded by a German officer who had with him four German N. C. O's. These were the only members left of a group of one officer, four N. C. O's and twelve men.

Their clothes were torn and their underclothes in a filthy state. We made them strip and gave them some of our own clothing. They were like wolves at the food and ate at least eight men's rations. The dog we kept for a mascot; we named him Franco in memory of his former sufferings, which is perhaps an insult to the dog. He cannot tell us whether he is happy or not, but at least he gets three meals a day, which is something he never got before.

The prisoners told us that the officer and the four N.C.O.'s were brutal to them. I have no doubt that their decision to desert was prompted as well, by the propaganda that our Spanish comrades sent across through amplifiers from twelve midnight to 6 a. m. as a way of passing the night.

I trust that the people at home and elsewhere will believe what I have written, and take with a pinch of salt the capitalist tales they read about us; we are British; we are British mother's sons fighting for a cause which we know is right. Cast your memories back to 1914-1918 when we fought for a cause which the capitalists told us was just right when we butchered our brother workers for their profit. This time, however, we are fighting for the right to live for our profit.

I ask all our comrades at home to do all they can to help us, as it is for them, as well as our Spanish comrades, that we are fighting and willing to give our lives that fascism may be defeated, and that workers of every creed may live in peace. To all our friends at home, we are all happy, well clothed and well fed, but I ask you to do all you can to help, as all the soldiers are not as well off as we are. Send donations and woolen clothing to the I. L. P. at 35 St. Bride Street, London, E. C. 4.

To the workers of the world, SALUTE and good luck.

Yours sincerely,

One of the I. L. P. boys.

### EMERGENCY RESOLUTION OF THE I. L. P. PASSED AT THE LONDON WINTER DIVISIONAL CONFERENCE, 1937.

This Conference decisively condemns the attacks on P. O. U. M. by the Spanish C. P. (endorsed by the C. I.) and the Soviet Government's representatives. These attacks are based upon the present non-revolutionary policy of the C. I. which is bitterly opposed to the idea of the Spanish Revolution.

The success of the Spanish workers depends upon the ability of all Revolutionary Workers to defeat this campaign, and we pledge our full support to all actions in defence of the Spanish Revolution.

As a first step to this end we call upon the N. A. C. to take the lead in the formation of a Commission of Inquiry from the International Movement to investigate the charges made against P. O. U. M.

\* \* \*

### THE I.L.P. TELEGRAM TO CABALLERO

Largo Caballero,

President of the Council of Ministers, Valencia.

In the name of the Independent Labour Party and its parliamentary minority we energetically protest against the seizure of the P. O. U. M. radio at Madrid and the suspension of their newspaper «Combatiente Rojo» and we beg in the interests of the antifascist struggle and the Revolution that the full rights be restored to the P. O. U. M. in Madrid and throughout Spain.

Independent Labour Party,

Maxton, President. Fenner Brockway, General Secretary.

## SELL OUR BULLETIN

Frequently the path of human history depends upon the action of a relatively small group of revolutionaries who show the way for the masses to follow. Now is the time, comrades, to learn the pitfalls as well as the correct way to the workers' society. Study the events in Spain—the hopes and dangers of this present revolutionary situation. Read the English bulletin of P. O. U. M.—the SPANISH REVOLUTION. Order a bundle and sell it.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION can be had through our agents for two pence or five cents a copy. Order from:

The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St. London.

The Marxist League, 238 Edgware Road, London, W. 2.

The League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party (U. S.) 126 E. 16th Street, New York City.

The L. R. W. P. (Canada) 4, Alexander St., Toronto, Ontario.

Friends of Workers Spain, Box 785, Chicago, Illinois.

Ernest Erber, 549, Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

Other agents are requested. Money for the P.O.U.M. can be sent by money order or the American Express Co. to the I.L.P. London, to be forwarded to us here.

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Red Pictures

The Red Cinema Club, attached to the Central Educational Secretariat of the P. O. U. M., commenced its activity last Sunday with a private showing of good pictures for the party comrades. This presentation was such a success as to warrant enlarged activity. The Commissariat of Propaganda of the Generality is already publicly presenting good Russian pictures, with wide publicity.

## As Before July 19th

The Central Government at Valencia has imposed upon the Customs Guards the absolute obligation of preventing its members from joining any political or trade union organization, and even from attending meetings connected with such organizations. They must limit themselves to the enthusiastic fulfillment of their duty to the legitimate government. Those who fail to do this will be punished under the code of Military Justice.

## In Madrid

Our Comrade Romualdo Fuentes, militant from the section of Llerena, and political commissar of the «Lenin» Battalion, which has been fighting so bravely on the Madrid front, has fallen, gravely wounded, while storming, together with other P. O. U. M. forces, a fascist trench. The magnificent role of the P. O. U. M. on this front has cost us more than thirty comrades; our party has once more shown its great capacity for revolutionary heroism.

## P. O. U. M. Textile Conference

Sunday morning, February 14th, the P. O. U. M.'s Conference of the Textile Industry was held in Barcelona under the direction of Comrade Oltra Pico. The principal conclusion favoured were:

1. Trade Union Unity (of the rival federations),
2. The immediate establishment of the General Council of the Textile Industry
3. Establishment of Industrial Unions (one centralised union to cover the whole industry)
4. Gradual and progressive socialization of the Textile Industry.

## Another P. O. U. M. Radio

In addition to the short wave stations E. C. P. 1 and E. C. P. 2 (42 meters), at Barcelona, the P. O. U. M. announces the opening of its station E. C. P. 3 at Lérida.

This new station will be on the air from noon till 2 P. M. and 6 to 9 P. M. with a normal wave length of 214 metres, and from 9 till 10 P. M. (Greenwich time) with a short wave length of 39 meters. Reception reports welcomed. Write to RADIO P. O. U. M., Barcelona.

## American Comrades

Comrade Harry Milton, the first of the Debs Column to arrive in Barcelona, is now at the Aragon Front with the I.L.P. contingent.

Comrade Hugo Oehler of the Revolutionary Workers' League has arrived in Spain to stay until the Barcelona Congress.

\* \* \*

## CORRECTION

In the lead article of our last issue it was erroneously stated that «This is the first revolution to succeed since the Russian Revolution.» The article in «La Batalla» from which it was translated rather meant «This is the first major revolutionary attempt since the Russian Revolution.»

## «Emancipación»

The interests of the woman worker will be deferred in «Emancipación», the fortnightly organ of the Womans' Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. This publication in Spanish will treat the problems directly affecting the woman in these moments of revolutionary transition.

«Emancipación» will be the magazine of the working women, who will see reflected in its diverse departments, those questions of personal and political life which require realistic solutions. For further information address the Women's Secretariat of the P. O. U. M., Rambla Estudios, 10.

## «The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.»

The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M. has just brought out the first number of a splendid illustrated review, the returns of which will go to help the refugees and orphans of the Revolution. On smooth paper, it possesses perfect reproductions of original photos of the stirring struggle on the Madrid and Aragon fronts, and of the results of the bombardments. It includes, likewise, pictures of the life of orphans in the Soviet Union and in Spain, and a resumé of the activities of the Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.

This review, which is really a document of our struggle in pictures, is sold at 25 centimos.

Comrades! Buy «The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.» to help those who have given their all for the revolution.



## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

The I. L. P.  
The Marxist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

PRICE IN U. S. A. 05

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios

BARCELONA

## CONTENTS

- 1: The Blockade of Revolutionary Spain. 2: A Revolutionary Army. 3: We Must Act. 4: The Public Order Decrees. 5: The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M. 6: The P. O. U. M. Library.

## THE BLOCKADE OF REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

The recent decisions of the London Committee mark a new phase in the attitude of the great powers towards the civil war in Spain. With the participation of "neutral" France and England along with the aggressors, Italy and Germany, a land and sea blockade of Spain is being organised.

What do the great imperialist powers want?

From the first, the attitude of the fascist states, Italy, Germany and Portugal, has been evident. They watched the preparation of the fascist uprising with favour. They encouraged and sustained it. They boldly brought it their effective support, in arms, munitions and men. No pact has succeeded in restraining them from helping their vassal, for which they have all acquired incontestible territorial and economic advantages.

Imperial England and democratic France are bound, in this as in other European problems, to advance the democratic London-Paris-Moscow bloc against the fascist bloc. The policy of England and France, the former leading the latter, has been directed as much against a revolutionary Spain as against the puppet Franco, behind whom the threatening fascist powers are hiding. The European democracies fear the revolution more than fascism and their major concern has been to localize the Spanish civil war.

The success of Franco would be a direct threat to the democratic bloc. The triumph of the Spanish workers, on the other hand, would threaten the privileges of world capitalism. In face of this alternative, Russia, in spite of her direct intervention, stands beside the democratic imperialist bloc, giving her support only upon the condition that the capitalist republic be maintained in Spain.

After repeated open violation of the non-intervention pact on the part of the fascist powers, Fran-

ce and England have brought about a blockade of Spain. What will be the result?

The blockade will not help the Spanish Revolution. It has already been applied against it. Since February, 20, France has closed her frontier to Catalonia, preventing foreigners from passing. She is taking rigorous measures of control. Her haste is far ahead of that of Portugal or Italy and Germany.

Who will stop the mercenaries of the fascist countries, disguised as "volunteers" for the Spanish Legion, from landing in the rebel ports? A French or British navy? No sanctions are provided.

Who will control the coasts and ports of the loyalists? The German and Italian navies, ready to renew their cowardly aggression against the civil population!

The experience of these seven months of civil war, which has demonstrated the impotence of the democratic countries in face of the aggression of the fascist powers, justifies our scepticism regarding the results of the control.

There is a direct relation between the date of March 6th, first chosen for beginning the control, and Franco's latest offensive against Madrid. In as much as this attack has failed again, the blockade of the fascist coasts will not be applied as yet.

The blockade of Spain is a coercive measure on the part of those who would force the workers to abandon their revolution and to conclude a shameful peace with their worst class enemies, under pain of being strangled.

The Spanish workers can expect no help from the democratic governments of Europe. They are however resolved to defend their revolutionary conquests to the end.

Workers of the world, help them!

Down with the blockade of revolutionary Spain!