

## 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.

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## 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

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## 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!*

## « A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY »

*We have continually held that the question of the army was of fundamental importance of the future of the revolution. In recent weeks we have had to stand against the current to maintain our slogan of «A Revolutionary Army». Only this kind of an army can assure us the victory. We have stood against the People's Army because it does not correspond to the needs of the hour—the hour of the workers and the revolution. We are against the non-political, anti-fascist army, neutral towards the class struggle, because such an army always ends in the service of the counter-revolution. We want an army of the working-class, a political army at the service of the revolution. This is the real difference between our position and that of the reformists.*

After a certain number of military reverses of the governmental Etat-Major, the loss of the town of Málaga has brought the question of the anti-fascist army to the attention of all the Spanish anti-fascist organisations. We know that Málaga was given up to the Italian Fascists almost without resistance. The responsibility for the loss of Málaga falls entirely on the Etat-Major of the government forces stationed at Valencia. The cause for this check was not the absence of a regular army and a united command, since the forces which should have defended the town were under the orders of a commander who had been named by the War Minister of the central government of the Spanish Republic and who received his orders from this Minister. The danger of leaving the conduct of the war in incapable hands or to those who are ready to betray even the simple anti-fascist republican cause is clearly seen.

The impression produced by the fall of Málaga has been used by the reformists to attempt purely and simply the reconstruction of the old bourgeois army. In Catalonia, among many other more or less absurd projects, an effort has been made to get the Generality to embrace the conception of a **regular People's Army**. In Valencia, where the Spanish Government is now in residence, manifestations, stimulated by some of the leaders of the U. G. T., have been organised in order to cover up the responsibility of the Government in the conduct of the war and to confine the anti-fascist organisations within the sphere and influence of the Republican Government. It is perfectly clear that, as on other occasions, the revolutionary organisations (those who take their stand on the principles of the Social Revolution) have been the object of bitter attacks and violent threats under cover of the campaign for the **People's Army**. These revolutionary organisations, that is to say, the P. O. U. M., the F. A. I. and the C. N. T., while they accept the principle of the creation of a powerful army to vanquish the fascists, are not prepared to agree that this army be given the character of a **so-called neutral army**, which will eventually be in reality **the strongest possible weapon in the hands of the capitalists and the reactionary forces against the workers**.

To assume that in the actual conditions of Civil War, through which Spain is passing, the army should be neutral is to be either as ignorant as certain Catalan Socialists or as hypocritical as the Spanish Stalinists. The history of the revolutionary struggles of the past proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the armies which were brought into being during these epochs were definitely political. Without going back to Cromwell and the English Civil War, one can cite the example of the work of Carnot during the French Revolution. Carnot considered that an army was an armed political organisation, that is to say an army with definite political principles serving the revolutionary cause. Trotsky, when he founded the Soviet Red Army, based himself on the same principle and used the army as an instrument in the service of the workers and of the proletarian Revolution. In all these armies there were political commissaries, in whom the soldiers placed their

confidence, and, being themselves under the control of the workers' organisations and responsible for the political evolution of the Revolution, these commissaries had as their mission the task of giving to the army its character as an instrument of victory for the transformation of the existing social regime.

The Spanish Stalinists are not unaware of these historical facts. It must not be forgotten that on the central front, where the so-called People's Army is entirely under the control of the Communists through the intermediary of the central Government and its General Staff, this army actually possesses political commissaries. Seeing, however, that the Stalinists are the best defenders of the bourgeois democratic Republic and consequently the enemies of the revolutionaries and that the political commissaries are under their control, this army has clearly and definitely taken on the character of a bourgeois army in the service of the Republic. The political commissaries have been the agents of the transformation of an army, basically proletarian and revolutionary in character, into an army placed at the service of the awakening bourgeoisie. The watchwords of the Socialist campaign in Catalonia, «Win the war!», «People's Army!», «United Command», «Only one flag, that of the Spanish Republic» in reality hide the fundamentals of the question in order to deceive the masses and to draw them along the pathway of reformism against the revolutionary tendencies of the workers. If these watchwords do not hide this anti-revolutionary policy, they are simply empty formulas, in so far as all the organisations, including the revolutionaries, are in favour of a strong, disciplined army and a united command.

The P. O. U. M. states that the present army cannot be a politically neutral army but must be based on the revolutionary class struggle and in the service of the working and exploited population, an army which must be the guarantee of victory now and the defender tomorrow of the revolutionary conquests of the new revolutionary society.

The P. O. U. M. is in favour of compulsory military service, but only for the workers and peasants. We are not prepared to allow the bourgeoisie to have the honour of bearing arms in defence of the interests of the workers.

Mobilization is an excellent measure, but it can only be realised practically if it is possible to give to the sections which are called up the arms which are necessary to make them into fighting units. Owing to the resistance of the Valencia Government, these arms have not been supplied to Catalonia. We of the P. O. U. M. draw attention to the fact that to mobilise four or six further age groups in addition to those which have been already called up will cause a serious economic problem, as it will be necessary to keep them in the barracks until it is possible to send them to the front. The P. O. U. M., therefore, desiring to bring constructive proposals, is of the opinion that, instead of simply mobilising age groups which will be ineffective, it would be much better to institute **compulsory military instruction** to be carried out after work hours in such a manner that when it is necessary to call up the future age groups they may be able to go immediately to the front. By these means the men will be ready and the economic problem will be avoided.

The P. O. U. M. is not opposed to the **United Command**. It insists, however, upon its being controlled by the workers' organisations, not only in a revolutionary spirit but also because **the United Command exists on the Aragón front as well as on the other fronts of the peninsula, and on this front, defended by the Catalan troops, the control of the Valencia Government has given contrary results to those expected. Every offensive by the Catalan troops has been held back for months and the slogan «Why do we not attack on the Aragón front?» has been turned today against the best defenders of the bourgeois Republic and the authority of the Governments of Valencia and Barcelona. Everyone knows that the reasons for the lack of offensive on the Aragón front are due as much to the lack of orders to attack as to the insufficiency of arms, two things which are beyond the control of the Catalans.**

The P. O. U. M. demands also the control of mobilization and the recruitment of the officer class by the workers' org-

## WE MUST ACT

In an article which appeared in the Syndicalist newspaper, *La Noche*, Comrade Jaime Balius put the workers on guard against the advance of the counter-revolution, which is to day evident, and he proclaimed the necessity for immediate action without any more retreats.

«We find ourselves in a epoch similar to that which was advances on the part of reaction, are pleased to see that our anxiety is now shared by the evening paper of an organization with which we fundamentally agree concerning the present revolutionary epoch and the rôle of the working class. We are also pleased that the errors which have been committed are now realised and that it is admitted with that frankness and sincerity which should always characterise true revolutionaries.

«We find ourselves in a similar epoch to that which was experienced in France during the eighteenth century Revolution when the suspension of the clubs was demanded and in a similar moment to that which existed in Soviet Russia when the elimination of the Soviets was called for.

«It is not necessary to look for historical parallels. We are the responsible parties, we who hold the Revolution in our hands, we who are retreating before the historical importance of the moment and who are afraid of the cannon of foreign ships. We are delivering up the Revolution to parties who will inevitably strangle it. Is not this true? Are we doing our duty in the present circumstances? Certainly not.

«In the Spanish Revolution the dissolution of the Workers' Committees and the Workers' Patrols is being called for. There is no doubt that we are now in the counter-revolutionary tide.

«Each moment in the life of the peoples has its own special characteristics. If we do not put through the necessary readjustment, the result of the development of daily events will have antagonistic political and social effects on the Revolution. During the last seven months of war we find innumerable examples. We, the Anarchists, have arrived at the limit of our concessions. If we continue to give up our positions there is no doubt that in a short time we shall be overwhelmed and the Revolution will simply be another souvenir. It is for this fundamental reason that it is necessary to develop in our movement a new orientation.

«To lead the masses to the battle-fields, it is not right to assume that their revolutionary desires should be crushed. Exactly the contrary should be the case. It is necessary to strengthen the Revolution still further, in order that the workers can go forward with a fresh vigour to the conquest of a new world, which during these moments of indecision is nothing more than a promise.»

The responsibility for what is arising falls principally on those who exercise control over the powerful masses of workers and who, occupying important and decisive positions, have abandoned them little by little to the parties which would eventually strangle the revolution and which have been given too much prestige from certain sources. This counter-revolutionary manoeuvre, carried through with tenacity and perseverance, reached its culminating point in the attempt to form a People's

Army of the old style, that is to say bourgeois-minded, with a predominance of professional officialism and only one flag—the «republican», or what is the same thing, the «bourgeois». This manoeuvre was carried out in connection with the re-organization of the Public Order Services, a re-organization which has no other aim than the suppression of the organs of control created by the Revolution and the substitution for them of instruments of bourgeois repression. The blow struck at the Revolution could not have been more adroit. The democratic bourgeois state is thus able to dispose entirely of the coercive forces, the Army of Power. From this point the total disarmament of the working classes, the supreme aim of the bourgeoisie in all Revolutions, is only a step.

**Will this pathway of concessions fatal for the revolution be continued or eventually will there be a re-action? It is not too late for this. The workers still hold important positions. It is essential to consolidate them resolutely and to concentrate on the task of reconquering those which unfortunately have been lost. The working class, thanks to whose heroism Fascism could not gain the striking victory which had been expected, the working class whose blood has been so generously shed in the trenches and which is disposed to die rather than to accept the triumph of the most barbarous of reactions, this class will never consent to return to the past. The experiences of five years of the «democratic republic» have been sufficiently painful to prevent their being renewed, thereby creating the conditions favourable for a new and victorious attack of Fascism.**

The moment is grave and decisive. The whole future of the proletariat is in the melting pot. The P. O. U. M. on many occasions has uttered the cry of warning. Will this warning be heard by the other revolutionary organizations? The unbelievable concessions made in connection with the re-organization of Public Order have awakened in us the gravest anxiety. But the article with which we are dealing and the manifesto published by the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. give us ground for hope.

**«Not another step backward. It is the hour of action. Save the Revolution!»,** says Comrade Balius.

**«Win the war. Yes, but to this effort add that of leading the Revolution.»** says the manifesto of the Regional Committee of the C. N. T.

This same manifesto also denounces «the obvious interest of certain political and trade union organisations to deviate the true revolutionary currents of the country by means of the war atmosphere—a war, however, so tragic that we must not speculate with it.»

If these positions, which have been fought for by us with will and insistence, are transformed into clear and resolute action, the Revolution, which is today in mortal peril, will be saved.

Andrés Nin.

anizations. It is impossible to put the recruitment and the formation of the new army in the hands of an officialism of which the political aspect and the general interests are in almost all cases doubtful. Further, the popular Officer's Training College must no more have the right to commission new officers only on the basis of their level of education and of their belonging to middle class or lower middle class circles. The working classes have given sufficient proof during the last seven months of their spirit of initiative, and it is from their ranks that the officer class of the new revolutionary army should and can be formed.

**The political commissaries and the Soldier's Committees,** having a definitely revolutionary political line, are the guarantors of the revolutionary spirit in the new army. Everything which is against this principle is against the social revolution.

The P.O.U.M. cannot admit for a moment the pretensions of a new project that the «War Commissaries» should be named by the command, that is by the officers.

Such is the position of the Spanish Worker's Party of Marxist Unity on the formation of the new army. A regular army, but at the same time a revolutionary army. The war in Spain is not a war for national independence but a **class war**. The P.O.U.M. conscious of their role as the vanguard of the Revolution, are not prepared to follow those reformists who have ceased to be revolutionary even during the epoch of the revolution. The P.O.U.M. are confident that in this fight to impose a **Regular Revolutionary Army** they will not be alone. At their side will be the other clearly revolutionary organizations, that is to say the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the Anarchist Youth.

# THE PUBLIC ORDER DECREES

*After much lobbying and discussion, which wore down the weak resistance which some organizations put up, the Council of the Generality of Catalonia has achieved its work, with the approval of the Public Order Decrees. All the conquests, all the posts of surveillance behind the lines achieved by the revolution, have now been taken away. The Guard Patrols, that is, the armed bodies directly controlled by the revolutionary organizations, have been dissolved. It is not only the reformists who can now rest in peace; the spies of the «fifth column» can do the same.*

*The creation of a new Internal Security Corps is combined with a series of manoeuvres against the spirit and letter of the revolution, commencing with our expulsion from the Government of the Generality, which was the first open attack against the revolutionary movement. Since then four months have passed, during which the reformists have day by day administered one blow after another to the revolution. The «new order» announced so extensively by proclamation, poster and demonstration, and to-day proclaimed officially, clearly means a return to former times, or specifically to the situation prior to July 19th. It is the democratic «order» which has been against the working class. This is the republican, democratic «order» which they want to present as above and apart from classes and which they now impose with the compliance of all the parties and organizations represented in the Generality.*

*The dissolution of the various armed bodies—such as the National Republican Guard, the Security and Assault Guards, the Investigation and Surveillance Corps—will be more nominal than real. Their members will make up the principal troops of this new body called the Internal Security Corps. On the other hand, the dissolution of the Guard Patrols means the disarming of the working class. They were too revolutionary*

**The Councils of Workers and Soldiers and the Committees of all the corps and bodies of Public Order would be abolished. The officers, guards, pensioners and chiefs would be prohibited from belonging to any political or trade union organization, and finally, it is proposed to re-establish censorship (for all printed matter, publications and daily or weekly papers).**

Every one of these reforms is an attempt against the working class, against the conquests of the revolution, and a guarantee of the capitalist order which they would re-establish. The Councillor would hold all the force of Public Order in his hands; in the local communities, the working class would be abandoned and disarmed. The surveillance of the frontiers, of vital importance at this time of war and revolution, would pass uncontrolled into the hands of the bodies in which the working class has just learned by sad experience that it cannot place any confidence. The Councils of Workers and Soldiers, which should be a guarantee and control, would be eliminated. **And what is still more counter-revolutionary, the bill would prevent the workers in the Corps of Security from belonging to the political and trade union organizations, which means that they would be isolated from their class, preserved from any revolutionary contacts, all for the sake of turning them into automatons at the service of the capitalist class, all for the sake of realizing the traditional aspirations of reaction.**

Regarding the re-establishment of the censorship, little needs to be said. Every class-conscious worker understands the monstrosity of this attempt, which is made to smother the voice of the working class, to facilitate the work of those who would check the revolution, confining it within the narrow limits of the democratic Republic. Let it be understood that in opposing this attempt we do not oppose the establishment of a censorship of a purely military character.

We have exposed in a general way the character of the reform of Public Order which is being prepared, and which, conscious of our revolutionary duty, we must denounce before the working class. This project must not be allowed to pass.

## The Old Guards are Unreliable

### ATTEMPTED ESCAPE

Details have just been made public of the attempted flight to France of thirty members of the old Civil Guard. These men were incorporated into the new National Republican Guard but failed to remain loyal and escaped, armed, from Barcelona in a truck and two private touring cars. They reached Olot, where the workers of the town, who had been previously warned, attempted to stop them. The guards fired on the workers without stopping and they replied, killing the chauffeur of the truck and one of the guards. The cars escaped once more and then were abandoned by the fugitives, who escaped on foot to the mountains near Oix. The police and militia of this and the neighboring towns, numbering about one hundred, finally rounded up the 27 guards and the bodies of four more were discovered.

The object of the escape was to reach France and then get back into Spain in order to join forces with the rebels.

Although the various Guards corps existing before the 19th of July were drawn from the privileged classes. We do not wish to question the loyalty to the workers' cause of a large sector of the new National Civil Guard. We must cite this evidence of the unreliability of the body as a whole, however. This is the Guard which the Government of the Generality, dominated by the Republicans and Stalinists, is hurriedly reconstituting and rearming to replace the Workers' Guard Patrols.

### Another Provocation

The counter-revolution is advancing rapidly. It comes one step after another, sure that no-one will dispute it, because the threat of the war excuses—to the faint-hearted—every step of the «strong government».

Last week the reformists and the Left Republicans defied the working class again. Comrade Rodes of the P. O. U. M. of Lerida, who has been the Chief of Police (Commissar of Public Order) all through the most difficult moments, has now been removed from his office. A BOURGEOIS councillor replaces a WORKERS' COMMISSAR. He was dismissed because he was a revolutionary worker, with no other motive or pretext because he was a worker and the other a bourgeois.

Comrade Rodes does not merit the confidence of the self-styled democratic Generality, but he has the confidence of the working class of Catalonia.

### SELL OUR BULLETIN

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 Marxist Group, 25 Aubert Park, London, N. 5. 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.

for the remains of the old official staff, a staff unable to adapt itself to the revolution but which has led us to such disasters as Malaga.

*The Council of the Generality, however, went still further. It went to the point of prohibiting all guards, pensioners and officers from belonging to any political or trade union organization, under pain of immediate expulsion if they disobey this reactionary measure. In this way, by prohibiting trade union membership, they try to prevent the revolutionary organizations from direct control over the activities of the men in this corps. They would turn them into simple automatons in the service of the Democratic State—in the final analysis, of the capitalist state.*

*As we warned, the manoeuvre has been achieved. The fate of the revolution is at stake. This is evidently not understood by organizations which, day after day, express their adhesion to the revolution but whose policies attempt to maintain a unity of no benefit to the revolution and benefit only reformism. Here we again touch the problem of power, to which we have often enough called attention. We repeat: by their social composition and by the balance of their representation, the present Governments—of Valencia as well as of Catalonia.—continually hold the representatives of the revolutionary organizations imprisoned. This is an aspect of the policy of reformism: to make them accomplices of their own crimes.*

*Towards this Public Order Decree our Party has but one duty: unceasingly and publicly to denounce it; to work with all our might for its repeal; to help the working class to maintain its own order and its own vigilance corps. Only bodies under the power of the working class can guarantee the revolution, the revolution for which we shall fight to the last. Our slogan—to conquer or die.*

The working class of Catalonia must prevent the capitalists, with the effective aid of the reformists, from reaching their proposed objectives. For our part, we reject the bill in toto and strongly hope that the C. N. T. and the F. A. I., whose revolutionary sentiments cannot be doubted, will decisively share our opposition. The bill must not pass. To accept it would be to deliver ourselves, bound hand and foot, to the capitalists and to assist in the creation of the armed bodies destined to crush us.

The Public Order must remain in the hands of the working class. To assure this, the Security Committee must be left in its present form. A Security Corps must be created, based fundamentally upon the Guard Patrols. Only this will guarantee Revolutionary Order, which is necessary to a victory at the front.

The Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M.,

### Proposal of the P. O. U. M. Guards

A single corps, under the control of the Guard Patrols and the Investigation Groups. The working class organisations to administer and control the single body.

Clean out the undesirable elements of the old armed corps. The chiefs and officers elected in general assemblies of the guards and agents.

Incorporate within the unified corps all the elements of the old armed forces which have demonstrated their loyalty to the workers' cause.

The Committee of the Investigation Groups and Guard Patrols of the P.O.U.M.

# Against the Party of the Revolution

## THE TRUTH

## THE SLANDER

THE VALENCIA PROVINCIAL COUNCIL DENOUNCES THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE P. O. U. M.

The Provincial Council of Valencia has published the following note:

«In view of the campaign of abuse, led by a certain party represented in this Council against the P. O. U. M., a campaign which goes to the point of calling this party a part of the 'fifth column', which if true would imply the complicity of all the anti-fascist parties of Valencia with the counter-revolutionary elements, and which, being untrue, is an abuse against all of us, our organizations unanimously decide:

I. As representatives of our organizations, we declare our condemnation of the anonymous campaign of slander against the P.O.U.M., calling it counter-revolutionary, fascist and even an agent of Hitler and Franco. This campaign, in fact, favours only the interests of reaction and fascism.

II. As a corollary of this declaration and this condemnation, we are resolved to treat as allies of fascism, as hidden enemies of the working class and likewise as saboteurs of anti-fascist unity, all persons who, either individually or representing any organization whatsoever, repeat the phrases of this unworthy campaign. If the P.O.U.M. can be slandered to-day, tomorrow other workers' and political organizations of the anti-fascist front will be subjected to slanderous attacks.

Valencia, February, 23, 1937.

### And the Town Council of Tarragona

On February 22, the Town Council of Tarragona heard a report from the Political Committee of the P.O.U.M., after which the following resolution was unanimously carried:

I. To protest against the campaign waged against the P.O.U.M., which is represented on the Provincial Council, and to condemn the unworthy language which is employed against this Party.

II. To declare that all the members of the Provincial Council are sincere anti-fascists representing genuinely anti-fascist organizations.

Tarragona, February 22, 1937.

Signed by the C.N.T., the Esquerra, the Peasants' Union, the P.O.U.M. and the Action Catalana.

### What the Other Revolutionaries Say

For the sake of the truth, we must say that it is not the P.O.U.M. which has cultivated this literature, which strikes us as frankly inadmissible. (The C.N.T. of Madrid, central organ of the C.N.T.)

We shout with all our lungs: Enough! Enough! It is not right that they should try to eliminate an organization which has fought and is fighting along with the others for the triumph of the Spanish revolution. (Manifesto of the Libertarian Youth.)

The P.O.U.M. and the Iberian Communist Youth declare that they are not connected with Trotskyism, which, has attacked them many a time, and likewise are not connected with Stalinism, which attacks them to-day. That does not mean that they are enemies of the Soviet Union. (C.N.T., Madrid.)

It is nonsense which no one believes, even those who write it, to say that the P.O.U.M. serves fascism. The P.O.U.M. has demonstrated that it is clearly anti-fascist and genuinely revolutionary. (From the speech of the Mayor of Gerona, Expedito Duran, of the C. N. T., during the session of the Town Council of 12.2.37.)



TEAR OFF THE MASK!!

This poster appeared in the streets of Madrid



THE P.O.U.M. IS A VANGUARD OF THE FASCISTS IN OUR OWN CAMP.

This 3 column head appeared in "Mundo Obrero", January 29 th.

### LA BATALLA Suspended!

The counter-revolutionary suspension of LA BATALLA, under the pretext of military censorship, has been withdrawn, after the armed workers of the P. O. U. M. turned out in mass to guard the press and sell the paper!

# The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.

The Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. was not established with the present needs in view. It is as old as our party, born with the Workers' and Peasants' Block. At that time it was devoted entirely to helping comrades who fell in the factory or the street, struggling against their capitalist masters. It worked underground. Like the Prisoners' Aid Committee of the C.N.T., to have tried to function legally would have meant its death. It was very effective in bringing aid to our comrades.

### SINCE JULY

Since the 19th of July, it has been rendering extraordinary services. Comrade Maruny, the General Secretary, showed us the lists of thousands and thousands of pieces of clothing, overcoats, sweaters and woollen blankets, sent to the front or given to militiamen during leaves, and records of money grants, meals, shelters and so on.

It is also a great service to provide accurate information about the militiamen and to carry messages between them and their families. The Red Aid has a notable information service. While taking these notes in the Pelayo St. headquarters, we noticed how well the statistics and information are organized. Even the families of militiamen of other organizations are able to get information about their men at the front through the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. For this purpose, a daily courier carries information, packages and mail back and forth to the front.

### HELP FOR MADRID

Unfortunately sectarianism has entered the field of aid to the fighting workers. The Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. sent sixty tons of provision to the fighters in the capital of the republic and more than 4,000 articles of clothing. The International Red Aid has used every means to disparage the magnificent work of our Red Aid, which in the case of Madrid achieved better results than the other organizations.

Their latest manoeuvre against our organization has been to exclude the P.O.U.M. from the Committee for the Aid of Refugees and from the «Madrid Week» campaign. As long as the workers prefer to give aid through our organization its services cannot be stopped by such persecution.

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

On September 21, after much work, the first sanatorium of the P.O.U.M., the «Maurin Sanatorium», was opened. It is



located on the slopes of Mount Tibidago, outside Barcelona, in two magnificent villas formerly belonging to fascists. The first pavilion contains a garage, a special dining-room for comrades employed there, a kitchen, a fully-equipped laboratory, a living-room, two dining-rooms for patients, convalescent rooms, a library and two floors of bedrooms with a capacity of eighty patients, and a roof garden. The second pavilion has thirty rooms and an X-ray apparatus. A new «Germinal Vidal Sanatorium» is being opened near Barcelona to supplement the work of the «Maurin Sanatorium». It has a capacity of thirty-five beds.

In the Pyrenees, near Alp, is a feudal mansion which until recently housed the luxury of the ruling classes. The Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. turned it into a sanatorium for the comrades injured in the struggle against fascism—the Sanatorium Pedrola. More than 9,000 pesetas were spent in equipping the sanatorium, and an expert staff was assembled.

### REFUGEE AND SCHOOL COLONIES

In spite of the obstruction by another organization, our Red Aid has done much to help the refugees by maintaining many refugee colonies.

We would mention particularly the Rosa Luxemburg School Colony at Beuga with 24 children, the Luiz Grossi Colony at Alp with 45 refugees, the Maxim Gorki Colony at Fruit with 40, the Isidro González Red Colony near Lérida with 330 refugees, as well as colonies in Aiguafreda with 19 refugees, in Tarragona with 39 children, in Vilasar de Dalt with 40 refugees, in Balaguer with 30, and in Sardañola with 200, not to mention the smaller homes.

We have not the space to mention all the activities of the Red Aid. We can only record how much we were impressed with the comrades in charge, whose tenacity has brought about the great work of solidarity of the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. It stands ready to help everyone in need, with no trace of sectarian feeling.

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## A P. O. U. M. Library

The P. O. U. M. local of the Gracia district of Barcelona has founded a large public library, with reading rooms and lending library, for its members and sympathizers. It is no accident that the library is housed in the same building with the headquarters and assembly rooms of the party local. The library is at the service of the revolution. It is a useful weapon against our class enemy and in the building of socialism.

The origin of this library is interesting. When the workers of Barcelona took up arms and freed their city of the military-fascist bandits, the capitalists saw their world sinking, and many of them had such guilty consciences that they fled abroad. Their luxurious mansions were confiscated by the workers' organizations and are now in the service of the parties and trade unions. Thus the Gracia Local of the P. O. U. M. came into possession of the villa of a wealthy Marquis. It is spacious, with room for offices, club rooms and assembly halls. Several rooms are used for the library. In a large, comfortable reading room, the best French and Spanish newspapers are available. The library itself has about 10,000 volumes, largely obtained from confiscated dwellings. The collection is truly international, an indication of how international was the enemy of the Spanish workers.

The best English, French and German literature stands beside the Spanish and Catalan. A large collection of German books was made from the libraries of the fleeing Nazis, who found it too hot here after the departure of their Consul. It is interesting to note that with few exceptions these gentlemen went in especially for books which were forbidden and burned in Germany. The library is particularly rich in historical, natural science, scientific and geographical works, with many artistic and literary volumes as well. Much Marxist literature has been newly added.

Most of these books await the day when there is more

(Continued on next page)

## NEWS AND NOTES

## A PLOT

## Stalinists Steal 10 Tanks

Since the P. O. U. M. was put out of the Council of the Generality, the workers of Barcelona have not taken so seriously the professions of ANTI-FASCIST UNITY, so insistently preached by the middle class and Stalinist parties. Everyone was rudely shocked, however, when 10 tanks were taken from the Barcelona warehouse by means of falsified documents and hidden in the Voroshilov Barracks. The Lieutenant Colonel of these Barracks (of the P. S. U. C.) at first denied that he had them, later admitted that he had five and finally the ten. He now claims to have only followed «orders».

## «Comarades»

This is the name of a new publication of the P. O. U. M. and the Iberian Communist Youth of the town of Olot, now appearing in Catalan.

## Another New Weekly

Our party has another new weekly paper, «Guia», the organ of the Pins del Vallés local.

## Picture Stories of Our Struggle

The first number of «Socorro Rojo» (The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.) was such a success that the new issue is being expanded to eight pages. Although the titles and text are in Spanish, 90% of the space is devoted to a picture story of the heroic struggle of the revolutionary Spanish workers. This review can be obtained in bundle orders at 25 centimos per copy; we recommend it to the comrades everywhere.

## Trade Union Unity

Representatives of the two trade union federations, the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., for the provinces of Zaragoza, Huesca and Teruel, met together at Caspe on February 26th and agreed to the fusion of the two organizations in these provinces. A basis of representation was also accepted.

## Municipalization Urged

The urban property must become the patrimony of the organized working class and should be administered by the Town Council in co-operation with the Trade Union Centrals. The former owners should in no wise be indemnified, as the reformists and republicans demand. The P. O. U. M. will stand firmly by this position, as it did when the Council of the Generality was discussing the collectivization decree.

The working class should stop the reformist manoeuvres to indemnify the owners by making them bondholders in a municipal enterprise, which would mean adding to the number of idle owners.

In view of this danger, the P. O. U. M. urges the workers of Barcelona to socialize the urban wealth and real estate and to municipalize the public services, as several of the Catalan towns have already done.

(From page 7)

leisure to enjoy them. Today, when our comrades and militia men on leave find a little time, they turn either to the technical books, such as ballistics, topography or geometry or to the political works, such as the history of the Russian revolution, the class struggle in Spain, and various socialist and Marxist books.

The Spanish, as well as the English, German and French comrades, back from the front on leave, want to see what has happened while they were fighting. We often take them to our library, which we believe to be a socialist institution inasmuch as it aids our political struggle behind the lines, and points the way to a higher culture in which the whole people shall participate.

Our party, in the name of the Spanish Revolution, sends its warmest «Salud» to the revolutionary workers who have come to our frontiers but who are prevented by international democracy from coming to our aid.

To understand the attitude of the so-called democratic powers toward the Spanish revolution, we must go much deeper than the fact of their being «democracies».

Whether democracies or not, these powers are, first of all, capitalist powers. Consequently they are by their very nature interested in combatting everything which threatens the basis of their economic regime.

Just as they fought the Russian revolution from the beginning, not consenting to treat with the Soviet Union until she had renounced her original revolutionary positions, they now do everything they can to avoid a socialist republic in Spain whose very existence threatens the capitalist regime itself.

This explains how, in face of the fascist military insurrection sustained by Germany and Italy, other powers have remained neutral, even if their neutrality leads to the victory of Franco. In fact, for the English and French capitalists, a fascist Spain is preferable to a revolutionary Spain.

But, when it became evident that a victory of Franco was not possible due to the resistance of the Spanish workers, Germany and Italy increased their intervention to the point where Spain was being turned into a colony, semi-German and semi-Italian. Only then did France and England begin to feel uneasy over the results of a victory which would seriously threaten their imperialist positions, while strengthening the rival bloc at the same time.

The problem of the so-called democratic powers, then, is to avoid both the victory of Franco and of the working-class. They must find a way between the two extremes of fascism and social revolution; they must impose a third «solution»: the victory of the legitimate government on a basis of respect for democracy. To that is due: 1. The efforts to establish international control, destined to prevent Italy and Germany from putting Spain completely under their power. 2. The aid from Russia, which is just enough to resist Franco, but not to defeat him. 3. The defensive tactics of Largo Caballero, whose object is to prolong the war in order to fatigue the two opposing camps. 4. The propaganda of the official Communist party and of those socialists under Moscow's influence, propaganda whose aim is to hold the Spanish workers within the bounds of capitalist democracy at any price.

All this is a plot directed against the Spanish revolution. Only the working-class, with its revolutionary conscience, achieving a revolutionary unity, will succeed in unmasking and defeating this plot. Then the revolution will be possible.

**RADIO P. O. U. M.**  
Station E. C. P. 2.  
English every night at 8.  
Greenwich time.

## 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

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ANDRES NIN

## THE PROBLEM OF POWER

The fundamental ideas of Marx on the subject of power can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. The state is an instrument of coercion at the service of the dominant class with the object of oppressing the other classes.

2. While classes exist, the state exists and its abolition cannot be «agreed» upon or «decreed».

3. The proletariat, if it wants to defend its interests, must struggle for the conquest of power which it must utilize to create a new society without classes.

4. To break the resistance of the capitalists — the exploiting class will never renounce its privileges — and to undertake the organization of a new society on socialist bases, the proletariat, on taking power, must temporarily install its class dictatorship. This period of transition between capitalism and communism is inevitable. Without it, the emancipation of the workers is impossible.

5. «The working class cannot limit itself to taking into its own hands the state machine and putting it into operation as it is for its own ends» but must destroy it, creating its own organs. (Example which can serve for orientation: the Paris Commune.)

6. With the disappearance of classes, the state, properly defined, disappears, yielding its place to purely administrative institutions. «A government of men is replaced by the administration of things.»

7. In order that the working class can fulfill its historic mission, an indispensable condition is that it organize itself into a class party, independent of the others and with an independent class policy.

From these seven propositions, it develops that the political doctrine of Marxism is based on two fundamental ideas: the conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The working class, in its struggle for its emancipation, does not hurl itself only against the economic force of the enemy class, but also against its political force. The conquest of political power is an

indispensable condition of the socialist transformation. In September, 1920, the Italian workers occupied the factories; but as the power remained in the hands of the capitalists, they frustrated the revolution, which was rapidly advancing, and, as a consequence of this, created the necessary conditions for the rapid and victorious advance of fascism. In our country, as an answer to the military fascist rising, the workers in arms, occupied the factories, mines and shops, destroying the economic power of the capitalists; but they did not complete this action with the conquest of the political power, but gave the enemy class the possibility of going ahead to reconstruct the disorganized mechanism of the state, to place it at the service of its own interests and to utilize it against the proletarian revolution.

This profound error of the working class will have irreparable consequences for the cause of its emancipation if it does not decide to react energetically. The fascist insurrection of the 19th of July created all the objective conditions for the conquest of power. The state mechanism had become so seriously disorganized that it had ceased to exist. The forces of public order were demoralized, indisciplined and disinherited. The army was destroyed. All the juridical mechanism was liquidated. The local organs of power were virtually suppressed, replaced by revolutionary committees. The proprietors of the land were expelled. The factories and shops were confiscated. The arms, indispensable premise of victory, were in the hands of the workers and peasants, the absolute masters of the situation. And, as a corollary of this state of affairs, there was the feeling, among the exploiting classes and the middle class masses, that the former regime had disappeared forever.

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