

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

CONTENTS

1: The Problem of Power. 2: The Workers Defend «La Batalla». 3: The Role of the Anarchists; Reformism; Revolution. 4: The P. O. U. M. and the Middle Class. 5: Trade Union Unity. 6: La Editorial Marxista. 7: News and Notes

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.

(Continued on next page)

It would have sufficed to want to destroy the impotent remains of capitalist power definitely and to institute the power of the working class. But the working class parties and organizations which had the most influence did not want this. The Communist Party faithful to the scandalously reformist orientation of the Third International, has consecrated its forces from the first moment to diverting the revolution into the channel of a democratic republic and class collaboration. The Socialist Party has followed the same road, in spite of the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm of the greatest part of the masses who follow it.

The C. N. T. - F. A. I. deserves to be impeached apart. The workers of the Confederation threw themselves into the struggle with admirable spirit. Their tremendous class instinct led them to take energetic, audacious, revolutionary action. But their magnificent impulse has been considerably neutralized by the traditional anarchist conceptions of power. The militants of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. realize that the titanic struggle which is developing in Spain now demands important corrections; but they do not dare to carry these to their logical conclusion. Correction of their inveterate apoliticism has led them to participation in the governmental organs, that is to say, collaboration with the bourgeois parties. If they arrive, with us, at the conclusion that the only solution of the situation is a workers and peasants' government, the revolution will be saved. What obstacle can there be to this? It is easier to make the workers of the C. N. T. understand the consistency of participating in a revolutionary workers' government, than of collaborating with a capitalist democratic government. Can the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat be an obstacle? We will not dispute over mere words. What is important is to agree on their content. And we have not the least doubt that the anarcho-sindicalist workers are convinced, with us—practical experience has demonstrated it—of the necessity of smashing the capitalists, of denying them all political rights, of not letting them breathe again until the workers have destroyed the roots of all possibilities of a restoration of capitalism. Destroy all classes, and as a result revolutionary power will become superfluous and human society will be freed of the chains of the state. Do they hate the term «the dictatorship of the proletariat»? We can do without it. And we will all contribute—you, anarchists and we, revolutionary Marxists, that this total power of the proletariat—absolutely indispensable during a certain period—be based on the most ample form of workers' democracy and not transform itself, as happened in the U. S. S. R. into the dictatorship of a bureaucratic caste.

If the C. N. T., the F. A. I. and the P.O.U.M. who already agree on the most important matters, could come to an agreement over this fundamental, immense prospect would open before the revolution. The clarity of the objective pursued would produce a rebirth of confidence among the workers; the revolutionary tension of the masses would recover the rhythm of the first months; their enthusiasm would be wonderful, behind the lines as well as at the front.

The objective, on the other hand, is relatively easy to reach. The working class is not yet completely disarmed. It retains strategically important positions. Its specific weight power is enormous. Nothing can be done without it. And, if it wishes, nothing can be done against it. Although not so favorable as in the first months, the balance of forces is such that the working class, in the present circumstances, could take power without the recurrence of an armed insurrection. It is enough to bring into play all its armed force with the irrevocable decision to carry the revolution through to its final conclusion.

But how must the workers' and peasants' government that we propose be formed? Basing his position on the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx held that the working class cannot limit itself to setting into motion the machinery of the capitalist state, but that it must destroy it. Herein lies the necessity, not only of annihilating the whole bureaucratic mechanism of the capitalist state, but also its fundamental institutions, and, in the first place, the Parliament, a remnant of the period of the «democratic» domination of the bourgeoisie, or, to put it in other terms, of the «democratic» political form of the capitalist dictatorship.

The source of the new power cannot be the Parliament, but rather the organs which have surged up from the revolution and which express the will of the masses more faithfully. This is why our party proposes the calling of a **Constituent Assembly of delegates of the factory committees, of the peasants' organizations and of the combatants at the front, from which would spring the Workers' and Peasants' Government and the fundamental lines of the Constitution which would govern the new Spain, freed from the oppression of the capitalists and the landlords.** A Workers' Government formed from above would be a step forward in the present situation, but would not be the government which the interests of the revolution imperatively demand.

There is no time to lose. If we wait we assist passively in the systematic and progressive reconstruction of the mechanism of capitalist power; the Spanish working class will have lost the exceptional occasion which history offers it to emancipate itself and give a tremendous impulse to the world revolution. **AFTERWARDS** it will be too late.

We must strike while the iron is hot.

A L L F O R M A D R I D !

Madrid has offered to the entire world an extraordinary example of resistance to the armed hordes of all the fascists united. For months Madrid has resisted the most violent attacks of the mercenary forces of Moors and legionaries, of Germans and Italians; for months she has endured the barbarous bombardments of German and Italian aeroplanes; for months, too, she has been subjected to all kind of material privations. Fascism will not succeed in subduing red Madrid.

New contingents of foreign troops have begun an offensive on the Guadalajara front, intending to cut communications. The workers, combatants from all Spain, who struggle on the fronts of Madrid, give new proofs of their limitless heroism. New pages of

the history of our revolution are being written at these moments on the Guadalajara front.

Now, more than ever, Madrid needs our aid, our solidarity. They are our brothers; it is our cause which is being decided on the battlefields near the capital. Whatever we have must be offered and placed at the immediate disposal of the valiant fighters on the fronts of Madrid.

*Men for the Madrid Front!
General mobilization!
Attack on all fronts!
Supplies for Madrid!
Everything for Madrid!*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.U.M.

The Workers Defend "LA BATALLA" Persecution of "LA BATALLA" TO ALL WORKERS

The Council of Defense of the Generality ordered the suspension of «LA BATALLA» for four days, starting March 17, upon the charge of having eluded the control of the war censor by publishing reports which had recently been punished by a fine of 5 000 pesetas.

«LA BATALLA» can prove by the galley proofs submitted daily to the Censor Office that it has not evaded the censorship of anything which could be considered logical and necessary at the present time. All telegrams and reports referring to military operations have been submitted to the censor and have repeatedly suffered from the red pencil, as have those of the other papers.

Readers of «LA BATALLA» can plainly see that the heavy penalty sprung from the desire to silence a revolutionary workers' newspaper.

The Government of the Generality was forced to lift the four day suspension of LA BATALLA after two days, so great was the stirring of the workers.

* * *

«It Is Time We Opened Our Eyes»

The news worries us very much. LA BATALLA, the central organ of the P. O. U. M., has been suspended in Barcelona. The suspension is a significant symptom.

We already knew of the persecution in Madrid of members of this party, which, once having bridged doctrinal differences, we consider revolutionary because of its decisive conduct in the struggle against criminal fascism.

The violence with which our comrades of the P. O. U. M. were attacked in Madrid obliged us pay attention to that fact, to learn from it what might be used by the Government, at a later date, to turn against larger sectors of the revolutionary proletariat, in which the F. A. I. holds a predominant place. We consider revolutionary because of its decisive conduct in the struggle against criminal fascism.

We knew of the raids on the printing works of EL COMBATIENTE ROJO and on the broadcasting station of this party in the capital of Spain. We never thought, however, that in Catalonia, where the P. O. U. M. plays an important part in the political concert of the autonomous region, the capitulating middle class would dare to initiate such sharp attacks.

Has the P. S. U. C. attained positions of sufficient advantage over the revolutionaries?

Or is this governmental abuse a trial of what some day—in our country things happen with amazing rapidity—may be used against the citadel of our organizations.

The suspension of LA BATALLA is deeply significant and, together with other similar facts, shows grave symptoms. It is time to open our eyes and prepare our line of conduct.

Our brothers, taken from the clear mountainous heights of Liberty to the infamous darkness of gaols, teach us imperative duties to be fulfilled. To save them for a free and creative life means saving the revolution from treacherous hands ever trying to strangle it.

NOSOTROS, likewise unjustly suspended, raises its protest in order that the struggles of the Russian steppes may not come to the plains of Castille.

From the Anarchist «Nosotros» — Valencia.

Militia Too

From «ALERTA», published by the fighters at the very gates of Huesca:

«The thousands of fighters of the P. O. U. M. demand the cancellation of the suspension of «LA BATALLA». While the men of the P. O. U. M. Militia fall fighting against fascism, behind the lines they are insulted and their sacrifices are mocked. The suspension of «LA BATALLA» is a proof of it.»

The increasing danger, due to the furious offensive of national and international fascism, has excited a tremendous reaction from the working class of our country. The proletariat, thanks to whose heroic force the military rebellion was crushed in the principal cities of Spain, has understood with its sure instinct that only a new effort on its part, only the greatest possible effort can give the struggle a great enough drive to finish fascism: attack on all fronts, send all useful men to the field of battle, place at their disposal all the arms behind the lines, as well as those of such organizations as the forces of public order; in a word, to make a supreme effort to win the war and push the revolution forward. The working class knows that it can only count on its own initiative and its own force and that its decision signifies the automatic mobilization of all the forces of the people.

The events of the last days make this supreme mobilization of all force and all energy more necessary than ever. Now more than ever the working class needs adequate organs of expression, which will interpret its feelings, recognize its anxieties and its irrevocable decision to struggle until the final victory. In these circumstances, to deprive the working class of one of its organs is to weaken the front of the working class and to give arms to the enemy. And if this organ represents the will and the sentiment of a party, which before the 19th of July had struggled boldly against reaction and after the 19th of July had sacrificed its best elements in the armed struggle against fascism, to suppress this is an insult to those who have fallen gloriously in the struggle, is a mockery of the sacrifices made and an aid to those who are trying to smash the movement of emancipation of the working class. For these reasons the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. considers it absolutely imperative that its journalistic contact with the working class should not be interrupted. And we are absolutely sure that we can count on the sympathy and unanimous aid of this class, the working class, which has fought for scores of years for the liberty of the press, and which in the present circumstances hold the least diminution of this liberty totally inadmissible. Today, as ever, we defend the interests of the working class and devote all our strength to the struggle against fascism on every ground.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.U.M.

* * *

The Revolutionary Youth Front Protests

«The Revolutionary Youth Front makes public its protest against the suspension of a revolutionary paper: the workers' daily «LA BATALLA».

«In this suspension we see an attack on the freedom of criticism, so indispensable to the advance of the revolution, and an attempt to silence revolutionary forces, such as was made in the suspension of the Madrid «C. N. T.» and the Valencia «Nosotros».

«The Revolutionary Youth Front likewise expresses its decision to struggle energetically for the respect of the freedom of criticism and expression of the working class, since without it the revolution is seriously threatened.»

«Long Live «LA BATALLA», the Newspaper of the Revolution and of the Working Class!»

The Iberian Communist Youth.

**AGAINST FASCISM
AGAINST REFORMISM
FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHISTS

Two Studies By JUAN ANDRADE

REFORMISM

Hitherto in all revolutions that have taken place, Anarchists have not intervened directly, nor have they been able to influence seriously the course of events. This was simply due to the fact that Anarchism as an organized force did not possess sufficient numerical strength to count in the revolutionary action. Only in Spain and in certain South American countries does Anarchism possess sufficient weight to throw it into the balance of events and to determine their course. For these reasons Spain presents us with a case where Anarchism finds itself faced with the necessity of passing from theory, or better expressed, from idealism, to revolutionary practice. **The Spanish revolution is in realty the testing ground of international Anarchism where it is obliged to reveal to workers what it is capable of achieving.**

The time is past when anarchism could take refuge in a position of «apolitical» opposition in order to isolate itself from all political activity. In fact the C. N. T. has become transformed into a political party which even has its responsible ministers in the Governments of Valencia and Barcelona.

It is becoming clear to all that we are rapidly approaching an attempt to strangle the revolution completely. The petty-bourgeois which were believed to be dead, are reviving and are in the process of reconquering the levers of power, with the benevolent complicity of the reformist elements of the labor movement. The conquests of the workers since the 19th of July are being annihilated. All activities are being placed within the strict limits of bourgeois legality, i. e. the capitalist state apparatus.

The C.N.T. possesses sufficient weight to be able to influence the course of events in one sense or another. But this it can only do if it arrives at a concrete and consistent opinion concerning the present crisis and concerning the duty of the organisations that represents the aspirations of the working class.

From the very first, knowing that we did not dispose of sufficient forces to change completely the trend of things, we tried to make clear to the anarchist comrades the rôle that belongs to them in the development of the revolution, and the need for pursuing a well-defined line of action. We must state frankly that each day there becomes more apparent a contradiction between the public statements of the anarchists and their real, practical policy. We have reached a point where it is no longer possible to wangle out of issues by postponing their solution or simply by means of phrases. Between denouncing reformist socialism as «professional politics» and playing the game of the reformists there is a distance that the anarchists have travelled without transitional development. We are well aware that abstract idealism is easily given to corruption. The best way of doing away with «irresponsibility» is not to fall into the concept of «responsibility» in the sense of the old social-democratic gentry.

The reformist parties and organisations, the U.G.T. and the Socialist and Communist Parties, know perfectly well the road that they are travelling. Unfortunately we are unable to say the same thing of the C. N. T. A party as a rule defines its positions through its spokesmen and its press. If a neutral foreign observer attempted to deduce from the columns of «Solidaridad Obrera» which attitude the C.N.T. was adopting towards the various problems posed by the revolution, we feel certain that he could arrive at no coherent conclusion. And still more perplexing is the task for Spanish observers who have not only the Anarchist press to go by, but also the independent acti-

vity of various sections of the C. N. T. and the conduct of its ministers in the government.

One of the most constant paradoxes that the activity of the C. N. T. provides us with daily, is that of political pacting, which, even though they might not mean very much, in practice serve to shatter the effective revolutionary unity of the working class.

Recently the Confederation has begun once again to advance its slogan for a revolutionary working class alliance. We welcome this since it expresses our own point of view as well. But the propaganda for the revolutionary Workers' Alliance is meaningless if it is not followed by an agreement between the proletarian organizations, on the basis of a concrete revolutionary program. Launched in an abstract fashion and accompanied by a day-to-day policy of acquiescence in the mutilation of the revolution, the slogan only reveals the utmost political confusion.

The C. N. T. concludes pacts, enters compromises which limit its liberty of action and make it the accomplice of the petty bourgeois policy of strengthening the positions of the democratic republic. At the same time its organizations, or at least some of them, carry on an irresponsible activity of extremist phrase-mongering, and finally at times its press, and more frequently its public speakers, adopt more or less correct positions through sheer revolutionary instinct. It would be impossible to imagine a greater contradiction.

Those people with whom the C. N. T. comrades, strong in their «concept of responsibility», are pleased to travel, know where they are going, and by flattering the Anarchists they are managing to strengthen their counter-revolutionary positions. At the same time, although we stand closest to them, the Anarchists are ready to tolerate a campaign of incitation against us, without realizing that they are thus paving the way for a similar attack against themselves.

The C. N. T. Tightens Its Organization

The C.N.T. has issued a very interesting document: centralizing authority in the Regional Committees. It is signed by the National Committee of the C. N. T., delegations of the F. A. I. and of the Libertarian Youth. It is addressed to all the trade union locals. It states that only the Regional Committees can declare mobilizations, give orders etc. The Regional Committees are the only bodies empowered to act on political questions. No mobilization can be carried on at the front except with the express consent of the military chiefs and the political commissars. The Federations of Industries and the Committees of different branches of industry are no longer authorized to issue slogans—only the central directing body, the Regional Committee, can do this. All who do not act according to these rules and agreements will be publicly expelled from the organization.

These steps are significant, as they indicate the extent to which the C. N. T. is changing its organization and theory in face of the present situation.

REVOLUTION

The Spanish revolution presents especial peculiarities, not only as compared with the Russian revolution, but also with the revolutionary movements which arose since the Great War in Germany, Hungary and Austria. Our revolution brings a whole train of experiences which should be of value to the future of the international workers' movement.

In the majority of countries where revolutionary movements have arisen, the politically organized working class was distributed between two great parties: the reformist (social democrat) and the revolutionary (communist). This situation became clear and the workers could choose, without any complications, between the agents of capitalism within the workers' camp and the unflinching defenders of the social revolution.

The problem in Spain in 1936-1937 is quite different. The two «Marxist» parties, formerly so irreconcilable in all countries, now find themselves in agreement in their democratic, reformist, counter-revolutionary policies. On the other hand, two tendencies which were traditionally irreconcilable, the revolutionary Marxists (of the P. O. U. M.) and the Bakuninists (of the F. A. I.) now hold similar ideas concerning the hopes and perspectives of the revolution.

In Spain, we find the following parties in the workers' movement: the Socialist Party (split into right, centre and left, the majority of this latter strongly influenced by Stalinism, but in certain respects more progressive), the Communist Party (which still to many workers represents the revolutionary tradition of the Russian October), the Anarcho-Syndicalists of the C. N. T. - F. A. I. (which represents the masses with their great revolutionary instinct, but is politically confused) and the P. O. U. M. (which assumes the functions of the Communist Party in the days of the International of Lenin and Trotsky).

For the first time in the history of a great revolution Anarchism is playing a leading rôle. Furthermore, it is taking part with an extraordinary influence based upon its tremendous numerical strength and its great influence among the working masses. Hitherto, Anarchism has not taken a decisive part in any European revolution, but in Spain to-day it does.

It can be said that the future of the course of the Spanish revolution absolutely depends upon the attitude taken by the C. N. T. and the F. A. I., and upon the ability of their leaders to guide the masses under their influence. The possibility of the revolutionary Marxist party, the P. O. U. M., turning itself into a great mass party which could succeed in taking the lead in the revolution, is limited by the existence of Anarchism, with its magnificent history of struggle and sacrifice. The disillusioned worker, turning away from the democratic tendencies of the socialists and communists, has a greater inclination to join a powerful organization such as the C.N.T.-F.A.I., which holds radical positions even if they are not applied in fact, than to join a minority party which is bothered by all sorts of material difficulties. The workers already in the C.N.T. in general do not see the need of leaving it to join a revolutionary Marxist party, because in contrasting the surface revolutionary positions of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. with the simply democratic ones of socialism and Stalinism they believe that the tactics and policies of their organization still hold the guarantee for the continued development of the revolution toward the building of a socialist economy. In this sense, all those who hold a strictly sectarian, schematic concept of how a minority with a correct political line can rapidly become a decisive force, can learn a valuable lesson from the events in Spain.

These are not just theoretical comments — they are real facts. We must face them, not hide them, and we must try to find a solution. Whether or not the revolution is successfully achieved in Spain depends entirely upon the policy which our party pursues with respect to the C. N. T. - F. A. I.

In the present circumstances, the most pressing need is the constitution of a Revolutionary Front between the two most advanced workers' organizations: the P. O. U. M. and the F. A. I. In the post-war revolutions of Europe, the problem consisted in gathering all the revolutionary workers into the Communist Party. In Spain, the problem of the Revolutionary Front does not consist simply in regrouping all the workers in one party but rather in getting a united front between the two organizations which in fact agree substantially in their immediate outlook towards events.

The difficulties in the way of the rapid development of a great mass party which would assume the effective leadership

THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT



The Revolutionary Youth Front Points the Way

of the struggle, can be largely resolved by the establishment of the Revolutionary Front between these organizations. At first sight, it may seem to think that two organizations of such widely different points of view could come together to form the powerful revolutionary vanguard which is needed. However, it must be remembered that **nothing is left of classical Anarchism in the acts and political conduct of the two great libertarian organizations of Spain: the C. N. T. and the F.A.I.** As they themselves say, they have had to sacrifice their ideology in face of the circumstances. In fact there still exists a definite contradiction between their ideological statements and their practical application. The Revolutionary Front, with its Marxist contribution, would afford them the standards which they eagerly seek and which they fail to find except to make concessions to the democratic and reformist groups.

Furthermore, we must remember that it is always preferable for informed revolutionary Marxists, who aspire to have an active influence upon the course of events, to make concessions to instinctively revolutionary confusion rather than to any reformist or bourgeois group. Revolutionary instinct can be informed, but reformism cannot turn into revolution. In any case, in the present Spanish situation it is impossible to think of the sudden growth of a party by means of individual proselytizing. The solution for the revolutionary minority lies,

(Continued on page 6)

THE P. O. U. M. AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

In our struggle for the revolution a factor of the utmost importance is to win the so-called middle class to our cause. In every country the conquest of this intermediate and oscillating class is attempted in the struggle between the capitalists and the workers. This is especially true in the concrete case of Spain, where the middle class is of great specific importance, where it is of a greater size than the working class. And it can be said in general, that the working class cannot triumph completely if it fails to win the middle class to its cause. That is, then, the problem in Spain. Nevertheless, how can we win over the middle class, how can we succeed in attracting them to our camp, how can we utilize them as an auxiliary force without falling under their domination?

The middle class is incapable of realizing an independent policy as are the capitalists and the working class. Their rôle in history has been reduced to that of an auxiliary agent, although an agent of primary importance. So they are either following the workers or supporting the capitalists. All their intentions of working as an independent force, all their attempts to restore a liberalism where free competition would guide economic policies and all their attempts to conciliate the two fundamental classes now disputing the power have been crowned with more and more open disaster.

The most characteristic feature of the middle class is its repugnance for any events of a social character which might be called disorderly or disturbing. All its policies can be reduced to the clamour for a state of order where there would be no signs of class conflict. The middle class does not understand that all of these disorders and disturbances are always the direct consequences of the economic chaos which reigns in our present society, that is to say, an immediate reflection of the anarchy of the capitalist system. For this reason one of the most immediate objectives of the revolutionary proletariat is to bring this class to see that as capitalism is a state of extreme chaos and economic disorganization, only socialism represents order. The order of socialism must be described as one based on a preconceived, planned economy, one where the established plan corresponds at any given moment to the necessities of the community, but not to those of a group or groups of capitalists who work solely for their private gain.

We must, then, win to our cause, to the cause of the revolution, the so-called middle class. How? We must make them see that faced with all kinds of solutions, more or less utopian, the working class has concrete methods for solving each and every one of these problems. They must be made to understand that the solution to their problems, that the order and social peace to which they aspire, can only be found through a change in the present economic structure, that is to say, by

the way of the revolution. We must demonstrate to them that we, the revolutionary working class, are not going against their small interests, against their present ways of life, against their small shop or industry. The transition to socialism cannot be made suddenly, avoiding the necessary intermediate steps. For this reason the working class in power cannot precipitate an inopportune socialization without studying the problem, but at the first can take over only the most easily socialized and important industries. At this moment it can only go—and this is a more than sufficient guarantee of the revolution—as far as the socialization of the heavy industry, transportation, the large commercial enterprises and, above all, banking. Socialization of the small industries and shops does not interest us because it would result in economic damage and occasion much waste. Since it would cost more to socialize these small industries than to let them remain as private property, it would be better to incorporate them into the socialized sector when the time arrives by means of agreement and by the example of a better way of living.

Stating the problem in its essence and in the light of Marxism, it would not be difficult to realize an authentically revolutionary policy which would attract the middle class to our cause. So far well enough, but it is one thing to attract the middle classes to the revolution, and another to form a coalition with them in the interests of the capitalists. That is why we were against the Popular Bloc and against the Republican parties, which, in general, have done little from April, 1931 up till the present but betray the interests of the middle class itself. We oppose giving the middle classes a decisive rôle as a governing force which would allow them to act as the agents of the capitalists, but we uphold their economic claims and the solution of their interests within the framework of the revolution. In this statement there is not the slightest equivocation or the least duplicity. And we interpret in this manner, not only the classical policies of Lenin, but also the sentiments of the working class in the interests of the revolution.

From this explanation which we have given of our policy respecting the middle class our objectives can be deduced: socialization of the heavy industry and the large commercial enterprises, of transportation and especially banking.

All political liberties are nothing, and are doomed to disappear, if they are not guaranteed by social emancipation and economic guidance. For this reason the question of power appears again, a stark necessity. Only a government of the workers, surging from their own revolutionary depths, can forge an adequate instrument; only this kind of a government can emancipate the working class and the middle class and only such a government can lead us to victory and to socialism. Only one government: a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

TRADE UNION UNITY

The workers of Spain are organized in the Anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (C. N. T.) and the Socialist General Workers' Union (U. G. T.). Since the revolution began, the problem of trade union unity has become more pressing every day, especially in Catalonia where most of the industry has been collectivized. In Catalonia, the unions have lost their character as instruments in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters and have taken on more the character of administrators in the economic field and directors of the new collectivist organizations. But an orderly administration and the complex problems of socialist organization make a single trade union structure quite indispensable.

The attitude of the two federations, of course, depends upon their political positions, which in turn depend upon the organizations wielding control over them.

The C. N. T. has grown considerably since July. Workers in heavy industry have gone to the C. N. T. It is predominantly influenced by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.), which is dedicated to overthrowing the capitalist system.

The U. G. T. has also greatly increased its membership, but its recruits have been from the reformist workers and the middle class. In Catalonia, it has fallen almost completely under the influence of the P. S. U. C. (Stalinists), who are against the revolution, and who are playing a high-handed game with the U. G. T. to block effective socialism.

Thus the reformist and revolutionary tendencies come face to face in the question of trade union unity.

The problem of trade union unity is taking on the characteristics of a political problem of the deepest interest to the working class. To the question of a single union for each profession, there are innumerable secondary questions which crop up in every town to make trouble between the workers' organizations. Moreover, dual unionism necessitates a duplication of jobs, of organization, of transactions and of material facilities. It means a duplication of work for a single purpose and an excessive trade union bureaucracy.

The Catalan Secretariat of the U. G. T., has published a reply to the unity proposals of the Barcelona Central of the C. N. T., in which it states its position on trade union unity. The document, penned in abstract phrases in praise of unity, is fundamentally a formidable barrier to unity. Throughout, it attempts to revive the existing differences in order to justify postponing the reality of unity.

The statement of the role and character of the trade unions given in this document is fairly accurate: «The trade union should be the grouping of the working class regardless of their political ideas, but clearly class conscious. The joining of the various ideologies within the trade union organization will only be possible with a true internal democracy: free discussions in the assemblies, free election of responsible comrades of each of the unions, without regard to their political ideas.»

But there is a great way between the word and the deed. Between their theory and their daily practice, between the published statement of the U. G. T. of Catalonia and what takes place from day to day, there is an essential difference. The majority of the U. G. T. trade unions of Catalonia do not hold deliberative assemblies. The leaders of the U. G. T. elevate themselves to the position of savants, who interpret the situation, decide questions and take positions without paying any attention to the mass of union members. Calling themselves representatives of the U. G. T., members of the Unified Socialist Party sit in the Council of the Generality, where they pursue a policy that has not been accepted by the regional Congress of the U. G. T. What is still worse, they turn the official newspaper of the U. G. T. into the voice of the P. S. U. C. and a tribune to slander and attack comrades active in the ranks of the U. G. T. itself.

The activities of the trade union bureaucracy are well known and we are not deceived by the contents of their statements. A favourite tactic of the trade union bureaucracy is to delay their response to the questions of interest to the working class to which their attention may be called.

To the proposal of the Barcelona C. N. T. to hold joint membership meetings of the two unions in order to achieve genuine trade union unity, the leaders of the U. G. T. reply that what is needed is to set up contact committees in each locality—committees which, it has already been plainly shown, have no real effect and which serve no other purpose than to delay the basic problem. To accept the U. G. T. programme is to continue dual unionism.

Now is no time to speculate about trade union unity, and still less to rekindle the old hatreds. Unity is absolutely necessary and must be achieved in spite of the difficulties placed in its way by the bureaucrats. The workers know its importance, and in the final analysis they will impose unity.

A single trade union federation will be the creative force of the new society. This union cannot have any particular narrow, sectarian character.

The economy, the heritage of the community, should be administered and organized with the cooperation of all. A continued rivalry between the trade union organizations would rob them of their force again and perpetuate the selfish motives of individual profit, nurtured by capitalism. This cannot be tolerated.

REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 5)

then, in having sufficient tactical flexibility to guide the acts of its allies.

There are some to whom the powerful influence of Anarchism in the Spanish Revolution only proves the political incapacity of the Anarchists. To these people, many of whom call themselves Marxists and Revolutionaries, our only task would be to let the «Anarchist experiment» take place so as then to be able to proclaim its death, historically speaking. That is a stupid interpretation of Marxism, without relation to the actual facts and without interest in contributing towards moulding the course of history.

The collapse of Spanish Anarchism would mean the collapse of the fanatical faith which many workers, certainly the most generous and enthusiastic ones, have placed in the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. The problem, then, of the revolutionary Marxists consists in helping these organizations to overcome their prejudices and to provide them with a leadership.

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 Edgeware 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.

Socialist Book Shop, 35 So. Dearborn 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.

LA EDITORIAL MARXISTA

Everywhere in Catalonia, in the kiosks and bookstores, in the villages, in the hospitals and refugee homes and on the Aragón front, one sees the pamphlets issued by the EDITORIAL MARXISTA of the P. O. U. M. Since July 500,000 copies of various publications have been distributed.

After October, 1934, the Editorial Marxista had been working under ground, turning out quantities of revolutionary materials under the initials S. A. P. Last July it came out into the open again. Its aim is to bring the fundamentals of revolutionary theory to the workers, and, since in time of revolution vital problems come up regularly, the work of teaching Marxist theory has to be pushed intensively. Since July, the average rate of publication has been one pamphlet a week. The regular sized book editions have averaged 4000, whereas ordinary non-revolutionary well-known authors always average less than this for Spain as a whole. The pamphlets are now turned out in editions of 25,000 and have doubled this figure.

The pamphlets of the EDITORIAL MARXISTA, in Spanish and Catalan, can be used in other countries where Spanish is read. Consult back issues of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION for lists and prices. Comrades who are interested may order a sample bundle of the different pamphlets by sending 2s. or 50 cents. Forward the money through the I. L. P., 35 St. Bride St., London.

The Editorial Marxista announces the following pamphlets in Spanish at the price of 30 centimos:

«Political work in the Red Army», by S. Guashev.
«The Military Program of the Communists», by Bukarin and Preobrazhensky.

A Revolutionary Workers Front

NEWS AND NOTES

Comrade Wolf Killed in Action

The staff of the International Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. is deeply grieved by the sudden loss of one of its most able comrades, Herbert Wolf, of the German section, who, during a visit to the Huesca front, took part in an attack by the shock troops of our party in the course of which he was killed.

Comrade Wolf, of the German Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) has worked for several months as the editor of the German bulletin of the P.O.U.M., «DIE SPANISCHE REVOLUTION», which he established and succeeded in making the most attractive paper of our party. He worked faithfully and brilliantly and when the occasion called he lay down his life for the Socialist revolution.

The Balance

According to data furnished by the Madrid City Council, since November 7th the fascist bombs and shells have destroyed within the city 980 buildings, wholly or partially, of which 14 were schools, 8 churches, 9 old people's and orphan's homes, 4 hospitals, 2 museums and one the Academy of History and Languages.

The victims number 907 killed outright and 2889 wounded, of whom 370 have died. Furthermore, 430 have disappeared.

These figures do not include heavy damages in the suburban towns.

Red Generation

is the new monthly review (in Spanish) of the Iberian Communist Youth, which appeared on March 15. It will serve as their theoretical organ. The size is 32 pages and the cost 50 centimos.

The P.O.U.M. militia on the Huesca front are now publishing their own daily paper, «Alerta». It is at the center of their efforts to forge a Red Workers' Army of the Revolution.

The workers' revolution has a new champion—another newspaper of the P. O. U. M. and the J. C. I. of the Valles Oriental, published in Granollers «Lluita» (Fight) appears in Catalan. We salute our contemporary, which is a new exponent of the Socialist Revolution.

P. O. U. M. Postcards

We have put on sale a collection of 24 picture cards reproduced from posters, some of which have appeared in this bulletin. The collection sells at 2.40 pesetas, or the price of each card is 10 centimos. Order from the General Secretariat of Propaganda, Plaza del Teatro 2, Barcelona, Spain

Donation From Scotland

The I. L. P. Section of Larkhall, Scotland, has sent a donation to swell the Rotogravure Fund of «La Batalla». Foreign donations are quite welcome, in as much as this machinery must be purchased abroad and the exchange rates make it very expensive in terms of Spanish money.

The Public Order Decrees

In our last issue, we discussed at length the Public Order Decrees. The authorities find it much easier to pass laws for disarming the workers than to actually disarm them. After the C. N. T. councillors have voted for these laws, the F. A. I. finally awakens to their significance and demands their repeal. The Generality Government has issued several confused notes concerning their application. We say they should speak out clearly.

We believe that the capitalist and reformist elements of the Generality Government want to put a veil over these decrees, to leave them unenforced for several weeks, until an opportune occasion arises to apply them by surprise.

As ever, we stand for a **Public Order** under the control of the working class.

RADIO P. O. U. M.
Station E. C. P. 2. - 42 meters.
English every night at 8.
Greenwich time.

American Sailors Against Franco

The revolutionary Spanish workers are most encouraged by the news from Boston that the International Seamen's Union has threatened the British Consulate in New York with reprisals if the ship «Linaria» leaves for fascist Spain to deliver nitrate to Franco, with a scab crew hired to replace the original striking British sailors.

Student Help

At Oxford and Cambridge, a lively campaign to support the Spanish workers' cause is under way. At Oxford metals, food and clothing are being collected in almost every one of the 30 colleges.

In the women's club the students are knitting sweaters for the Spanish militias.

At Cambridge, two meetings were held for the aid of Spain and another in memory of John Cornford, Cambridge student, killed on the Cordova front.

Likewise in Bulgaria a number of student organizations of various tendencies have set up a committee in aid of Spain, which has collected 30,000 levas.

Italians in Spain

The entire world should know the truth: Spain is being invaded. It is absolutely certain that four Italian divisions—and probably six—are operating on the Guadalagana front.

THE INVASION OF WORKERS' SPAIN

By Africans of various races	78,000
Germans	39,000
Italians	82,000
Irish, Poles, etc.	12,000

Total 211,000

(Some observers estimate the number of Italians much higher.)

From the hundreds of Italian deserters and prisoners on the Guadalajara front, many enlightening facts were learned. There is a special post for correspondence from Italy.

Among documents found was a mobilization order to join the ranks of the 35th Legion NUSN at La Spezia, November 25, 1936, with the threat of summoning those who failed to appear before the fascist courts.

Many of the Italians were heads of families, who had been unemployed and thought they were getting a new start in life in Ethiopia.

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 Crisis of the Government of Catalonia. — 2. Revolution vs. Counter-Revolution. — 3. The Thirteen Points. — 4. Treachery at Malaga. — 5. Catalonia Loses Her Army. — 6. The Democratic Countries Against the Spanish Revolution. — 7. The Agrarian Question in Spain

THE CRISIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA

After twelve days the crisis of the Government of the Generality continues in the same state as on the day it first broke out. The unexpected decision of the President of the Generality in appointing a restricted government from above, instead of facilitating a solution, has only complicated and deferred it. This threat of a «coup d'état» has miserably failed, covering the actor with ridicule and considerably diminishing his authority, already badly damaged. The result can be foreseen. If the former Government, constituted with the support of the organizations represented, was unable to stand up, what fate other than complete failure can await the new manoeuvres of the President? The idea of hurriedly naming a government, simply because the organizations concerned cannot reach an agreement, is most dangerous.

In these circumstances, a solution is only possible if based upon concessions of principle.

Will the C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalists) give in again? It appears improbable. The evident retreat made by the revolution during recent weeks has produced a lively discontent in Anarchist circles. This discontent among the workers of the C.N.T. is growing every day, and the recent Congress, of the Catalan trade unions ordered the directing committee not to retreat a single step further.

Will the P.S.U.C. (Stalinists) give in? If the C. N. T. stands firm by its position, the P. S. U. C. can only do likewise, because it lacks the strength and the prestige to govern against the C. N. T. and the P. O. U. M., the organizations which represent the revolutionary will of the masses of Catalan workers and which hold strategic positions.

In this case, a government analogous to the original one would be formed, but with a reinforcement of the positions of the C. N. T. Without doubt the solution would be as transitory as the earlier ones, because the basic problem in question is the problem of power, and the problem has no solution other than that proposed by our party—the formation of a government made up exclusively of the representatives of the workers' parties and organizations, which would immediately put into effect a series of socialist measures (such as envisaged in the 13 points framed by the Central Committee of the P. O. U. M.) and call a Congress of delegates of Workers' and Peasants' Unions and of soldiers, from which would spring the Workers' and Peasants' Government so badly needed in the present circumstances.

ANDRES NIN

The C. N. T. councillors have not taken over their posts; the Government was still-born; the crisis continues and at the very time we write these lines no solution can be found.

The C. N. T. and the P. S. U. C., the two principal rivals, stubbornly hold to their positions. The former, demands fundamentally, as a necessary condition to their continued collaboration, the modification of the Public Order Decrees, decisive support for socializing large agricultural estates, the encouragement of industrial collectivization, a rigorous cleansing of the armed forces, the setting up of advisors in each of the Councils made up of delegates from the other organizations represented in the Government, etc. The reformists flatly refuse these demands and themselves demand the immediate application of the Public Order Decrees, oppose all attempts to socialize the countryside, desire a slow pace in collectivizing industry and demand full authority for the Councilors without interference by the organizations.