

# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## CONTENTS

1: *The Socialist Revolution or Fascism.* 2: *The P. O. U. M. and the New Council of the Generality.* 3: *The Plenary Session of the Anarchist Trade Unions.* 4: *The Agrarian Question in Catalonia.* 5: *The Two Spains: Madrid and Barcelona.* 6: *Socialisation or Trades-Unionisation?* 7: *A Peace Congress for War*

## The Socialist Revolution or Fascism

*The violent struggle which is taking place in Spain is not, as the Stalinists and reformist socialists proclaim, a struggle between democracy and fascism, but a sharper phase of the world-wide battle already begun between fascism and socialism.*

*The POUM (the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, the fusion of the Workers and Peasants Block with the Communist Left as a result of the lessons of red Octobre 1934) has the duty of bringing the realisation of this truth to the workers who, in Spain, are fighting on the battlefield or working behind the lines for the development and the security of the proletarian revolution.*

*Nothing less than a proletarian revolution is being carried out in our country to-day. It has dropped like a rock into the stagnant water of reformism which the leaders of the IInd. and IIIrd. Internationals had made of the workers' movement in Europe. They would repeat in our case the crime they committed against Ethiopia, by offering the care of our defence to some organisation of the decayed League of Nations. But the workers of all countries have rebelled and forced their leaders to march forward according to their will. It was possible for French, English, American and even German and Italian workers—as well as the workers of the Soviet Union—to look on with a certain amount of unconcern when, by the democratic derivation given to the Ethiopian question, the opportunity of dealing a death-blow to Mussolini's fascism was lost. But they can not take up the same passive attitude when they see how the whole fascist world has arisen unanimously against the Spanish proletariat. Class sense has been able to do more this time than the preaching which the leaders of the proletariat had accommodated to their own interests.*

*After the first moments of stupor, seeing the heroic reply which the workers of Madrid and Barcelona gave to fascist provocation, proofs of solidarity from the proletariat of all countries were not slow in reaching the Spanish workers. A week had not gone by before there appeared in the workers' militias, which had been formed by every party, workers who had come from different countries all over the world to shed their blood side-by-side with their Spanish brothers. Once more the proletariat was more clear-sighted than its leaders.*

*At the very same time that the leaders were calling out to the world in general, in order not to alarm the bourgeoisie, that the struggle begun in Spain was only a prolongation of the struggle between democracy and fascism, (a political motto engendered by the Popular Front) the workers threw themselves into the struggle, certain that they were fighting, not for democracy, but in the final battle against the bourgeoisie. And*

*the bourgeoisie, instead of being deceived by this democratic gibberish, realised perfectly well the real significance of the military rising. Moreover, the bourgeoisie of all countries without exception, from the most «democratic» to the most fascist, had already taken a hand in preparing the fascist insurrection which they intended to be the tomb of the workers' movement in Europe for many years to come.*

*It was not without forethought that they chose Spain as their field of battle against the European proletariat. The Spanish proletariat had learned the lessons of October 1934, and the bourgeoisie knew that the workers who had fought then until they had triumphed over all the bourgeois state forces in the Asturias, constituted the proletariat who would offer the greatest resistance to the progress of fascism. They wished to destroy the germs of the revolution before the revolution could break out. They took the slogan «he who takes the offensive wins», and they attacked. But they were fated to return frustrated. The Spanish proletariat, hardened by an interminable series of struggles against the backward system of our country, with the October lessons still fresh in their minds, the wounds of two years' persecution from the reaction still unhealed, the spectacle of the German, Italian and Austrian workers always before their eyes, the Spanish workers were ready to perish to a man in the fight rather than to let themselves be vanquished. If they had been vanquished, it would have been by leaving to the conquerors a country in ashes and destitute of its proletariat. A proletariat so disposed is only beaten with the greatest difficulty.*

*Nevertheless, the excitement of the first combats once over, the army and the reaction once defeated, almost by bare fists, the Spanish proletariat were forced to see how the leaders of the big workers' organisations of all countries, adherents of the IInd. and IIIrd. Internationals, were to make a mockery of the spilt proletarian blood by proclaiming that the Spanish workers were struggling for the continuance of democracy and not for the establishment of socialism. Under this ambiguous slogan, in France and Belgium the leaders of the IInd. International, and the leaders of the IIIrd. International in the Soviet Union and other countries, proclaimed the neutrality policy to be the policy that would save our revolution; and they converted this policy into an infamous trick. Meanwhile Hitler, Mussolini, Oliveira Salazar and the bourgeois of England, France and every other country were not losing a second in sending help to the Spanish rebels and fascist generals whom they had changed into the «pioneers» of their class-war. Naturally, the bourgeoisie, well guided as usual in their class interests, knew*

that what was being fought out in Spain was not war between democracy and fascism, but war between socialism and fascism. By their suicidal and counter-revolutionary policy, the only thing the workers' leaders achieved was to put the Spanish revolution in danger and run the risk of letting the European working class be smothered by the fascist wave for a long time to come. This is what the high priests at Amsterdam and Moscow had in their power to do. Surface rectifications, more literary than effective, made in order to prevent the working masses from realising the counter-revolutionary path their leaders had intended to make them follow, have done no more than augment the responsibility of these leaders for the wrong they have done; for if they have been unable to defeat the Spanish revolution, the least they have done has been to cost the Spanish workers many more hundreds of lives than triumph would have cost, through a decided and energetic attitude of the whole proletariat united in our revolution.

But the foreign workers are not afraid. The Spanish workers, and the workers from other lands who are fighting side-by-side with them at the front, know that there are great difficulties to be overcome and hard battles to be won, but

they are not willing to let themselves be beaten. They will win because they know that they are fighting not only for themselves but also for the world proletariat who has placed its confidence in them. Although they realise the seriousness of the situation, they do not allow themselves to be overcome by the pessimism which has percolated through to certain layers of the international proletariat. They know that this is a fight to the death, without quarter, and they know what rôle history has reserved for them in the movement for the total emancipation of the proletariat.

Willing to give their lives, if need be, their blood to the last drop, they expect from you, workers of English-speaking countries, as from workers everywhere, your most effective solidarity.

Remember that our defeat would be your defeat, just as our victory must be your victory.

The POUM, at the head of the revolution, is the best guarantee that the revolution will not be set at naught or undone. We will not allow it, and neither will it be allowed by all the millions of workers who make up the red army of the Spanish proletariat.

## The P. O. U. M. and the New Council of the Generality

Ever since the creation of the present government at Madrid, with worker and Republican components, it has been clear that the former government of Catalonia, made up entirely of bourgeois parties, would not be able to last. The political situation in Catalonia had resulted in a contradiction, since, while obviously the rhythm of the revolution was more accentuated here, the government remained quite out of line with the general tendencies. Such a contradiction could not be maintained any longer.

Forseeing the development of the governmental crisis in Catalonia, our Central Committee in plenary session approved a concrete resolution fixing our attitude in the solution of such a crisis. Our party held, in a published declaration, that, given the provisional character which such a government would necessarily have, since it was principally being formed with a view of getting to the bottom of the military situation, it would be necessary to form a government of a working class character, although it would have in it a minimum proportion of representatives of the left petty bourgeois parties.

From our point of view a government gets its character from the program which it proposes to carry out. Our opinion remained fast on the necessity for a ministerial declaration of a socialist trend. The direct and active intervention of the C. N. T. was also necessary, since the C. N. T. reflects the feelings of large masses of radical workers. Upon these two conditions we would collaborate in the Council of the Generality.

We do not believe that it is necessary to add that the composition of the new government, including the terms of the ministerial declaration, have not given us complete satisfaction. We are naturally even less satisfied by the numerical proportion which has been conceded to us. Nevertheless we believed that in accepting collaboration, we were faithfully carrying out the agreement made by the plenary session of our Central Committee. General political circumstances forced all proletarian parties and organizations having combatants at the front to take concerted action.

Once all workers' parties are represented in the new council of the Generality, a series of urgent organizational problems can be attacked and solved with all speed, which is the essential mission of the Council.

All other questions are dominated by the question of the organization and reorganization of all aspects of the military struggle. The establishment of the unified command must be effected. A modern war is not won merely by the war-like spirit shown by the army; perfect preparation and organization are necessary. The essential condition for this is the establishment of a rigid and centralized command. Another problem dependant upon this has been revealed by two months experience; it is the coordination of all columns which up till

now have acted much too autonomously. It is necessary for them to be bound together and to give entire obedience to the command. And for this reason all parties having combatants at the front must be represented in the command.

But there are also the whole series of problems of the revolution which must be solved and guided in the direction of socialism. Participation of the C. N. T. delegates will make this task much easier, since the way in which the C. N. T. has been imposing new economic forms on it its own account will bring complications later on and is already a source of trouble. We admit that many of the practical decisions adopted separately by the confederated trade unions have not been sanctioned by the higher committees. Now, the representatives of the C. N. T., together with other workers delegates, are helping to establish the necessary revolutionary order.

We are in a transition stage in which the force of events has obliged us to collaborate directly in the Council of the Generality, along with other workers' organizations. The triumphant march of the civil war means the political development of the revolution which will bring its own demands. From the committees of workers, peasants and soldiers, for the formation of which we are pressing, will spring the direct representation of the new proletarian power.

**Comrades, do not let yourselves be misled by false reports in the foreign fascist press. We will win this war. The Spanish proletariat is prepared to give its life to the last man to accomplish this purpose. But our purpose is also yours. The victory of Spanish fascism would signify the doom of the European proletariat's struggle for freedom. It is therefore up to you to show that the word, «Proletarian Solidarity», is no idle phrase, but one of the most successful weapons in the struggle of the proletariat for freedom. We do not rely on Geneva or the Peoples' Fronts for support. The Spanish workers will be betrayed at Geneva just as Abyssinia was betrayed. The only real help will come from the proletariat itself. Therefore, comrades, send us weapons and munitions, send us aeroplanes. Start collections for weapons. Stop the exportation of military supplies for the fascism through strikes. Explain to your comrades the significance and seriousness of the Spanish events and demand the organization of proletarian solidarity.**

## The Agrarian Question in Catalonia

When one leaves the large towns of Catalonia (Barcelona, Lérida, Gerona), still burnie with the revolutionary atmosphere, one passes through villages where everywhere floats the red flag of the Marxist organizations or the red and black flag of the C. N. T. Peasants guard the entrances, gun on their shoulder and revolver at their side. One can measure then, with a feeling of immense security, the depth of the movement. The country is aligned with the town. The Revolution indeed reigns everywhere.

All problems, however, are not solved; far from it. Perplexities, even anxieties, still subsist. But one knows that from now on the peasants are in the movement. They themselves are persuaded of the importance of their rôle: «The key to the revolution is in the country», said the secretary of the peasants union affiliated to the C. N. T., the other day in an assembly of day laborers. And, in succession, all the speakers following him repeated this formula.

### THE REGIME OF PROPERTY IN CATALONIA

The land question presents itself in Catalonia under a completely different aspect from that in the rest of Spain. Other provinces have experienced the expulsion of the Moors and Spanish reconquest, accompanied by the creation of great fiefs; Catalonia, on the contrary, has remained a country of small and medium sized properties. In contrast to Andalusia and Estremadura where vast untilled domains spread everywhere, used only as pasturage for bulls or as hunting grounds for their proprietors, in Catalonia almost all the surface of the land is under cultivation. The smallness of certain holdings and the poverty of the cultivators explains the insufficiency of equipment and the use, for example, of wooden ploughs in certain regions. It is not here a question of putting the soil under cultivation, which must be the first consideration in the rest of Spain; in Catalonia the problem reduces itself to a question simply of rationalization and modernization.

In these parcelled out districts live some small proprietors who cultivate their own property themselves; some day laborers (in the few large states); a certain number of farmers, particularly in the Barcelona region and along the coast; and, above all, there is an immense majority of tenant farmers, called here «rabassaires», a few of whom have come into possession of a small peice of land which is far from sufficient to assure them a livelihood.

The rabassaire is the man who has cultivated, planted and worked the ground belonging to another, receiving in return a quarter, a third or even a half of the annual harvest, which is ordinarily paid in kind. Thus the ground belongs to the proprietor and the crop to the rabassaire until the harvest. From that moment on the rabassaire becomes merely a tenant who can be evicted at will. The last half of the 19th century was filled with the struggle between land owners and tenants, the former seeking to dispoil the rabassaires of their rights, the latter clinging to their contracts in order to have a minimum of security. The destruction of the grape vines by phylloxera was a boon to the proprietors and deprived a great many tenants of their security. During the first years of the century, the struggle continued under conditions very difficult for the tenants.

### THE PEASANT'S ORGANIZATIONS

A good part of the peasants of Europe are still unorganized. However, compared to the rest of Spain, and still more compared to a country like France, Catalonia is certainly the country with the greatest proportion of peasants affiliated to organizations.

These organizations, all of which are on a guild basis, are five in number, but of varying importance:

**The Union of Rabassaires and Workers**, confined to Catalonia, is by far the most important. It includes 35,000 members, that means, in fact, 35,000 responsible farmers or heads of families. It is not limited only to rabassaires but accepts other types farm of labor.

**The Peasant's Union**, affiliated to the C. N. T. (Anarchist trade unions), is composed solely of agricultural workers.

**The Federation of Land Workers**, affiliated to the U. G. T. (Socialist trade unions), has a membership of 500,000 agricultural workers in all Spain, but is of little importance in Catalonia.

**The Provincial Agrarian Union of Lérida and the Union of Land Workers of Gerona** are local organizations, influenced especially by P. O. U. M., and now negotiating a merger with the Union of Rabassaires.

The history of the Union of Rabassaires is intermingled with the struggle and progress of all Catalonian peasantry for the last 15 years. It was founded by the lawyer, Francesc Layret, and continued, after his execution under the dictatorship of Martinez Anido, by Luis Companys. It had for its immediate aim to obtain a reduction of ground rents, and as its final goal, access to the property of the farmers and peasants according to their slogan, «The land belongs to those who work it». It was therefore an organization for the defence of peasant rights, without a really revolutionary character.

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera brought its activity almost to a standstill, but it began to regain influence with the Republic of April, 1931. The Republic reduced the rate of groundrent to 4 percent of the fiscal value of the land. But keen disappointment awaited the Rabassaires, for the authorities and the courts sabotaged this law by automatically favoring the proprietors every time a case was brought up.

There was a compromise made in September, 1932, which was to serve as the forerunner for an agrarian law. The law hung fire in the midst of new conflicts. In 1933 a reduction in the ground rent was declared; in 1934 finally a rather weak preparatory law laid the basis for the stabilization of the situation of the rabassaires, allowed ownership to those who had worked a domain for 18 years and again decreed the reduction of rents to 4 percent. The proprietors were furious and began a campaign which obtained a denunciation of this law from the court of constitutional guarantees. Finally, in 1934, a definitive law was promulgated, even more conservative than the preceding one.

Throughout this period, thanks to the personal influence of Luis Companys, the great majority of the Union of Rabassaires remained under the influence of the Catalonian Left Republicans. At this time it attained a membership of about 25,000.

The events of October made a clean sweep of those few successes so hardly won. The peasants whose ground rent had been diminished were obliged to pay up the back installments, not only for the year 1934, but even for the preceding years. Those who were not able to pay were seized, evicted, thrown into prison. In 1935 the Madrid parliament voted a law favorable to the proprietors which was productive of mass evictions (more than 1,500 in Catalonia alone).

In face of the weakness of the Generality at the time of the October events and weighed down with accumulated disappointments, the Union of Rabassaires little by little turned away from the Catalonia Left Republicans and began to acquire a character of its own. In the February elections it presented two candidates (both of them elected) within the framework of the Popular Front, upon this limited and clear cut platform

(1) Reenactment of the two agrarian laws of 1933 and 1934.

(2) Restitution of damages suffered by evicted peasants, etcetera.

But the newly elected government of the Generality seemed to be in no hurry to satisfy these demands. On the eve of the 19th of July, the second point had become a dead letter. At the same time the revolutionary opposition was growing within the ranks of the organization. Since its Congress in May the Union of Rabassaires has unanimously proclaimed itself a class organization and has undertaken the formation of a program with socialist tendencies. In the country impatience is mounting and in some places the peasants have spontaneously occupied the land.

(to be continued)

## The Plenary Session of the Anarchist Trade Unions

We have followed with great interest the debates of the regional plenary session of the C. N. T. (Anarchist trade unions), chiefly through the reports given in «Solidaridad Obrera», which, as the official organ of the C. N. T., is the best source of information. Our interest and curiosity about the deliberations of the Confederation spring from our political concern with the new problems which the revolution creates and must create. The prestige of the C. N. T. weighs heavily in the workers' movement of this region and for this reason the C. N. T. has great responsibilities in directing the new economy and the structure of the new state.

Certainly the fundamental question of the moment should be the military question, because if the war is not won on the battlefields the revolution cannot be carried out behind the lines. But it must not be forgotten that war is a continuation of politics. In Catalonia we have the concrete case of a revolution which has had to destroy almost the whole of the old social and economic structure. As a consequence of this preliminary revolutionary work we should now be entering a period of construction and organization. In this respect various measures have been attempted and carried out, which, when put into practice, have turned out to be inadequate and, we may almost say, disturbing.

The regional plenary session of the C. N. T. trade unions of Catalonia ought, therefore, to face the various complex problems derived from the social upheaval in which we are taking part. We can say in all sincerity that the debates disappointed us and, in our opinion, brought no further clarification of the situation. At the present juncture any revolutionary organization of the proletariat should sense an increase of its political and directive capacity. It should give to the working masses under its influence rules of guidance which would allow them to undertake the practical tasks on all fronts and principally the tasks in the economic domain, which are the most complicated of all.

The chief problem of the workers' organizations and parties is to know how to pass from the phase of revolutionary

activities in opposition to capitalism to the next phase of taking up and solving the problems of the new economy which is in the making. Proletarian assemblies and congresses ought, in the present circumstances, to give their attention to these problems rather than those which are now out of date. But that is precisely what occurred in the regional plenary session of the C. N. T. Certainly the debates have concerned themselves with pointing out the problems which needed attention, but the result of this exchange of impressions has not been to pass resolutions of any practical use.

With regard to collectivization, various policies have been adopted which are too general and not precise enough to serve as guidance for the militants. The resolutions say that absolute collectivization of all industries must be reached gradually and progressively. Touching the bank question, they accept the point of view of the Economic Council, that is to say, that for the moment they accept intervention by means of workers' control until collectivization is reached. As to commerce, they agree to complete collectivization of distributive agencies, but in a gradual and progressive form.

The resolutions are not sufficient to cover all the tasks in perspective. There is one point that needs further clarification and on which it seems that the Congress neither debated nor decided anything. We refer to the rôle which the trade unions should play. This is a fundamental question since the way in which most of the trade unions are interpreting their mission is producing a confusion which we ought to avoid. Furthermore definite rules should be made which could be applied speedily and intelligently. Otherwise present confusion will be on the increase and will create further difficulties in the path of constructive development later on.

Nothing is further from our minds than to criticize simply for the sake of making objections. Our only desire is to find, in all the new problems which are in need of solution, the point of agreement between all the groups which have taken up a revolutionary class position.

## Two Spains: Barcelona and Madrid or the Revolution and the War

Between Barcelona and Madrid there are 400 miles and a revolution.

The Catalans are a people dressed in militia uniform and shirt sleeves, a trade union population, who, from the Ramblas de las Flores to the heights of Mont Aragon talk of nothing but the social revolution, and refer to the «bourgeois epoch» as if it were already as far from them as the Roman era. This is a people which is not merely correcting its mistakes by chance, but rather advancing further every day in the revolutionary perspective, defining and consolidating its revolutionary objectives:—The Committee of Antifascist Militia, Council of War, Economic Council, National Defence Council, Popular Law Courts and so on.

And Madrid? asks the reader. Isn't Madrid possibly the same dog in a different collar? No, on the contrary, it is the same collar on a different dog. The antifascist collar is the same throughout Spain; what has changed here is the dog.

Madrid is still Ortega Gasset's Workers' democratic republic, a republic at war defending its soil to the mixed strains of Riego's hymn and the Internationale, with as many other voices as care to take part in the chorus, so long as not one of them sounds louder than the others or breaks the harmony of the Republican concert.

Today Madrid, with the fascists in the Guadarrama resembles Paris with the Germans on the Marne. There is today, as there was then, the slogan: «They shall not pass.»

The gesture of the people of Paris made one of the most glorious chapters in the history of heroic patriotism. The attitude of the people of Madrid constitutes one of the most indomitable acts of our revolutionary epic, in the new history of the world proletariat. In Guadarrama they have done all, and more than all, against fascism. They shall not pass, and they shall not pass.

But then what?

Today military heroism is a primary necessity for revolutionary victory. In this respect we need not be sparing of our adjectives of admiration for the Guadarrama. But what about the rearguard?

Actually, the P. O. U. M., the F. A. I. and the C. N. T. are the only organizations which exist in a strictly revolutionary sense—in the sense of socialist revolution. All the other parties and organizations are in the war but not in the revolution. The rearguard—and how many times must we say it—is the revolution and the vanguard is the war. Without a revolutionary rearguard it will be very difficult for us to win the war, and impossible for us to make the revolution. There is no revolution without a civil war, but there are and always have been civil wars without social revolutions. For this reason we must not confuse the civil war with the revolution. The civil war is only a more propitious revolutionary stage for the proletarian revolution; it is not yet by any means the revolution itself. It is necessary, before everything, to identify

the civil war and the revolution, but it is not sufficient to confuse them. This identification can only be obtained by passing over the objectives of the civil war struggle and transforming them completely into our own objectives. Only then will we be in condition to win or to lose the war, to win or to lose the revolution: since in any other situation the best we would still lose the revolution.

And what is the case of Madrid? It would be idle and unjust to deny that Madrid is passing through a period of revolutionary tension of undeniable intensity; but it would be false and a betrayal of ourselves to say that Madrid has been capable, as Barcelona has, of rising to the circumstances. No, it is necessary to state openly that the Madrid government is following on the tail of the revolution and is doing nothing or very little to get control of it. The Madrid government persists in remaining within the bounds of the bourgeois democratic republic which the revolution has already passed over. Madrid makes the struggle against fascism an end in itself, which, if it is in agreement with bourgeois democratic principles, is not in agreement with the revolutionary ends of the Spanish proletariat. Those ends are: to carry the revolution through to its utmost consequences.

Here is the elemental difference: Catalonia is fighting against fascism for the consolidation of a government or a council of a frankly proletarian character, because it believes

that this is the only guarantee against the fascism of today and tomorrow. It is not enough to protect oneself from fascism; it is necessary to crush it. It is necessary to make our theme a living reality «to the end».

When will Madrid understand this palpable historical reality? We hope it will never be too late. The Guadarrama is doing well and Mont Aragon is doing better, and although the improvement may be small it is not a chance improvement. A workers' government or council in Madrid would give the antifascist struggle an impulse which would bring us incalculable advantages, both revolutionary and military.

Today more than ever this impulse is vitally necessary. Let us hope for it, and sincerely we do hope for it. But all the same we consider it one of our revolutionary duties to point out errors and propound our program. However many and deep may be the ideological differences which separate us from Madrid, they do not manage to separate us, even an «inch», in the close side by side collaboration which is the first demand of the struggle against fascism. We will neither give nor receive our criticism except on the most cordial plane of revolutionary democracy; any other attitude would be inconsiderate and disastrous, it would be a counter-revolutionary crime, a crime perpetrated not only against the Spanish revolution but against the world revolution whose future lies in our hands.

## Problems of the Revolution: Socialization or Trade-Unionization?

The worst thing that can happen to a revolution is for some of its activities to degenerate into caricature, unconsciously, of course, and not purposely on the part of those who carry out the measures.

We recognize that the transition undergone in Spain since the 19th of July has been very sharp and it is no easy matter to understand the new tasks and adapt them to the circumstances. Difficulty has arisen from the contradiction between mere democracy as upheld by the Popular Front leaders and the rapid pace acquired by the revolution from the beginning.

The Socialist and Communist Parties do not want to step outside the bounds of democracy and bourgeois economics; but the workers, with a sure class instinct, want to push the revolution forward to the end, forming the new organizations and developing the new economy, socialism.

On the other hand, the C. N. T., or Anarchist trade unions, representing the most radical workers, do not succeed in giving the director necessary to face the problems of the revolution. Confronted with concrete tasks their utopianism reveals its incapacity. Burdened with the weight of old conceptions and trying at the same time to face the realities of daily problems, it leaves practically all decisions in the hands of certain comrades and local committees. This has led to confusion and the appearance of isolated initiatives which need to be organized.

The only way to face the problems of the revolution is to create new organizations of the workers' united front to assume the administrative functions of the new power. We have pointed out that these organizations can be none other than the committees of workers, peasants and soldiers. An assembly made up of these committees would have determined in a democratic way the aims to be realized and the methods for attaining them. The policies of the Socialist and Communist Popular Front have prevented the formation of the new organization; the C. N. T.'s slogan of «trade unionization» has obscured the need for it.

What has come from all this? Under the exclusive responsibility of each party and workers' organization a multiplicity of committees has been created, without exact duties, many with a fervent revolutionary spirit, which they have not known how to turn to real practical use. Now it is these same parties and organizations which are frightened and alarmed by the «disorganization», and want to straighten out the tangled situation.

Due to this lack of a general plan, the socialization of some establishments has taken the form of a caricature, unnecessarily damaging to the interests of the most modest petty bourgeois, and even to that of the artisans. It has not always been clearly understood that we are now in the preliminary stage of the socialization of industrial enterprise, which does not necessarily mean the collectivization of shops in which only the owner works, or at the most has only one paid helper. This impatience and exaggeration has created a whole series of local problems which we are obliged to solve every day.

Where the faults, resulting from a wrong conception, have been most evident has been in the field of trade union control. It started from the idea that all which is used in the exploitation and manufacturing of industry should be the property of the trade unions. This meant that all the industry would become the property of the C. N. T. trade unions. (We say property because no other word can be used for the concept which was applied to it.)

As an example of this type of trade unionization, the Union of Public Spectacles has taken possession of all the theaters and cinemas of Barcelona, controlling each cinema house and denying the right to show more films than authorized by the Union. The hospitals are directed by the Medical Union, which has complete control of them. It is not necessary to say what happened to the tramways, taxis and busses, which the C. N. T. considers as absolutely its own property, even to the point of painting them red and black, the colors of its organization.

The exaggeration in some places is really enormous. A comrade informs us of what took place in Hospitalet. «Over there», he said, «they have occupied all the small places of business, such as food shops, meat markets, graneries, small electric plants and so on. Thanks to this it can be said that the attitude in Hospitalet is the most fascist in all Catalonia, because they have discredited the revolution and added to the discontent».

We know that these acts certainly have not taken place with the consent and approval of the higher union organizations; but the fact is that neither have they definitely and publicly denounced these acts. That the same union officials have discovered the errors that have been committed in the field of unionization and collectivization, is proved by the publication in a recent number of the «Solidaridad Obrera», the organ of the C. N. T., of an article headed «The Economic

## World Youth at Geneva, a Peace Congress for War

Confusion and betrayal characterized the liberal and Stalinist dominated World Youth Congress that met at Geneva from September 1st to the 7th. Just as the policies of the Congress bore the stamps of approval of the International League of Nations Association and the Young Communist International, so the Congress found its organizational roots in the activities of these two organizations. A joint congress was possible because both the league pacifists and the Stalinists had a joint purpose, namely, to utilize the pacifist cloak of the Congress to chain youth to the war machines of the so-called democratic, pro-League powers. The League pacifists desired this as a necessary phase of the fight for peace through military action against disrupters of the status quo. The Stalinists desired it as a method of winning youth for the peace policy of the Soviet foreign office and its propaganda arm among the workers, the Communist International, a policy that seeks to defend the Soviet Union through alliances with imperialist governments. The degree of influence the Congress will wield among youth will determine the extent to which both pacifists and Stalinists succeeded in achieving their common object.

If one takes the L. of N. A. viewpoint that peace depends upon the «nations» arriving at an understanding, then the youth of every nation, irrespective of their international political differences must come together to discuss international affairs. The delegations to the Congress were therefore organized on a national basis. That is to say one was not a Socialist or a liberal or a Christian but an American or a Frenchman or an Englishman. Each delegation was expected to represent the viewpoint of the «youth of their nation».

The result of this system was that the minority viewpoint could only be heard in a meeting of the national delegation. The Congress, with a few exceptions, heard only the view of the official spokesman of national delegations who gave the majority view. The question which will naturally be asked is what the revolutionary forces did to assert themselves and impress the Congress with their point of view. It is exactly this that made the whole affair so tragic. The writer approached the secretary of the Young Communist League of the USA, who is also a member of the executive committee of the Communist International, and asked what the Communists were going to do about the way in which the Congress was organized. His reply was that not only were the Communists satisfied but that he thought it was the only possible system.

We never have and never shall speak of all youth. Above all we are Marxists and Marxism recognizes the class struggle. In the first lines of the immortal «Communist Manifesto», Marx and Engels explain that the history of man up to our times is a history of class struggle. As we understand it youth is

Councilor of the Generality of Catalonia (note that it is the Council and not the Trade Union Committee), J. P. Fábregas, announces that while awaiting preparation and publication of rules that shall regulate the workers' control and the collectivization of industry, it is necessary that all trade union organizations suspend for a few days the actions they have been taking toward this objective, in order to avoid confusion and facilitate the work of the Committee of Workers' Control.»

That is to say that the C. N. T., which has been unable to give exact instructions to its organizations and has thereby created this disorganization, now strictly advises that they abide by the orders of the Economic Councilor, who nevertheless is a member of their organization as well as of the mixed government.

There are many other contradictions to be disclosed and orientations to be found in the diverse aspects of the revolution now under way. We propose to deal with these in future articles.

not a homogeneous class. Just the opposite. Youth consists of different classes, with diametrically opposed interests—namely, a proletarian and a bourgeois youth. Some of our comrades will ask us, «Why do you repeat such an elementary fact?»

Unfortunately, an important wing of the proletarian youth movement has completely forgotten this elementary fact. Not only has it been forgotten, but even the Marxist terminology has been abandoned and they have adopted the absurd and grotesque pretension of trying to unite all youth without regard to its class. At the Geneva Peace Congress youth attempted to unite its will for peace. Is there any greater absurdity? Peace? What does peace mean? We are not and will not be Pacifists. We decisively reject petty bourgeois pacifism upon several grounds. To maintain the present peace means to support the system of capitalist exploitation, which inevitably must lead to war. This kind of peace does not interest us. Furthermore the bourgeoisie makes use of this type to support the system of capitalist exploitation, which ridiculous hopes in the stability of the bourgeois regime. It is thus a means of holding back the proletarian youth from the revolutionary struggle.

In the Congress of Geneva the delegation best prepared to demonstrate these truths was the Spanish delegation. It should have declared that an understanding between the classes is impossible, and that the struggle must be waged between the revolutionary youth and the fascist youth, between socialism and fascism. Instead of this the delegation of the United Socialist and Communist youth declared that the working class youth in Spain is fighting for the bourgeois democratic republic.

Thus are fine-sounding phrases about international morality being coined with which new millions of young workers will be lured to their death in the trenches. Yesterday it was Woodrow Wilson's slogans of a «War to end all war» and a «War to make the world safe for democracy». Today similar watchwords are being given a new coat of brilliant paint, much of a fisherman decorates his bait, to lead a new generation of youth to death. Thus the Geneva Congress became a «peace congress for war».

Revolutionary Socialists everywhere must fight this Congress and its propaganda of death. Fears of isolation from youth are nonsense. Lenin stood isolated even among revolutionists at Zimmerwald in his fight for the reconstruction of a revolutionary international during the period of 1904 to 1906. We will really be isolated from youth if we swim along with the mass current of League pacifism and Stalinism and later become identified in the eyes of youth with the crimes which this current will perpetrate. Let us everywhere hold high the banner of Lenin, of Liebknecht, of Debs, the banner of revolutionary struggle against war, the banner which the Stalinists have thrown into the gutter and trampled upon in their dance of death with official pacifism. Let us assemble the revolutionary forces in every country to fight for the reconstruction of a revolutionary International that can lead the fight against imperialist war and lead the masses in the World Revolution.

### RADIO P. O. U. M.

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

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

## NEWS AND NOTES

### General mobilization in Catalonia

The Council of the Generality of Catalonia has decreed the military mobilization of all Catalan citizens between the ages of 18 and 40. The first step in carrying out this decree has been an order for compulsory military instruction. The Council of the Generality has also decided on the creation of a military flying-school, the mobilization of all civilian pilots and the intensifying of everything connected with war industries.

These measures are being adopted not because they are urgently necessary but to insure the better regulation of the war forces.

### The International «Lenin» column and Estrecho Quinto

The «Lenin» International column, composed of volunteers from many nations, which has been operating on the Aragon front, returned to Barcelona this week on leave. The militia-men of the «Lenin» column are the heroes of the taking of Estrecho Quinto and Monte Aragon, from which they drove back the fascist troops after having borne the brunt of fascist attacks for more than a month. The red flag is now flying in Estrecho Quinto largely due to the splendid fighting spirit and the power of resistance shown by the international column, which fought in the front line during the whole of this time, losing five men and bringing back many others wounded.

During their week's leave in Barcelona before returning to the front, members of the «Lenin» column broadcast a description of the taking of Monte Aragon and Estrecho Quinto in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Flemish and Arabic, from the P. O. U. M. radio station.

### The «Joaquin Maurin» column

On the 9th of October, the 2nd battalion of the «Joaquín Maurin» column left for the front at Madrid. Before leaving, the militia-men of this column gave out the following message: «We are conscious of our revolutionary duty. The forces which have been fighting in the vanguard on the Aragon front must not be missing in the defence of Madrid. We will fight to the end, until the total annihilation of the fascist troops and the total triumph of the Proletarian Revolution».

### The «Joaquin Maurin» Ambulance

The English workers have shown their solidarity with the Spanish comrades who are struggling against fascism, by sending this ambulance to the P. O. U. M. through the I. L. P. The «Joaquín Maurin» Ambulance is well equipped and will shortly leave for the front with Comrade Martin of the I. L. P. who brought the ambulance from England, together with other staff and nurses from the P. O. U. M. The arrival of this ambulance in Barcelona created great enthusiasm among the workers, and it took part in the 6th. October commemorative parade amid applause from our Spanish comrades.

### Help From The Marxist League

Fresh proofs the energy with which the worker's parties and organisations of other countries are working to lend support and collect money for the cause of the socialist revolution

in Spain reaches us very day. The Marxist League is raising money by organising a dance at which the decorations will consist of enlistment posters issued by the P. O. U. M.

### Money from Yugoslavia

A sum of 700 dinars, collected in a few hours in the hard and dangerous conditions of the workers' struggle in Yugoslavia, where the economic situation is painful, has managed to cross the various frontiers and reach the C. N. T. With it came this message: «Some comrades of the Stig send this modest sum to their brothers in Spain, with the homage of their burning admiration».

### Russian sanatoriums

The Soviet ambassador in Madrid has announced that the workers' organisations of the U. S. S. R. have, on their own account, offered to transport the wounded and convalescent of the «Spanish republican army» to Sanatoriums in Russia where they will be tended with the greatest care. We would like to know why the generous offer of the Russian workers excludes their class brothers who are fighting on all fronts in the ranks of the valiant antifascist militias. And we would like to say that we would have fewer wounded to be cared for if the Soviet Union, instead of offering us food and sanatoriums would send us aeroplanes and arms.

### Y. P. S. L. and P. O. U. M.

Comrade Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, last week addressed comrades in the U. S. A. and England from the P. O. U. M. broadcasting station, giving an outline of the Spanish situation to our comrades overseas, and calling for more effective international solidarity. He also wrote various articles for «Juventud Comunista», the P. O. U. M. youth organisation's paper, and for «La Batalla», the central organ of the party, and before leaving Barcelona arranged for measures of greater material support from the various workers' parties and organisations in the U. S. A.

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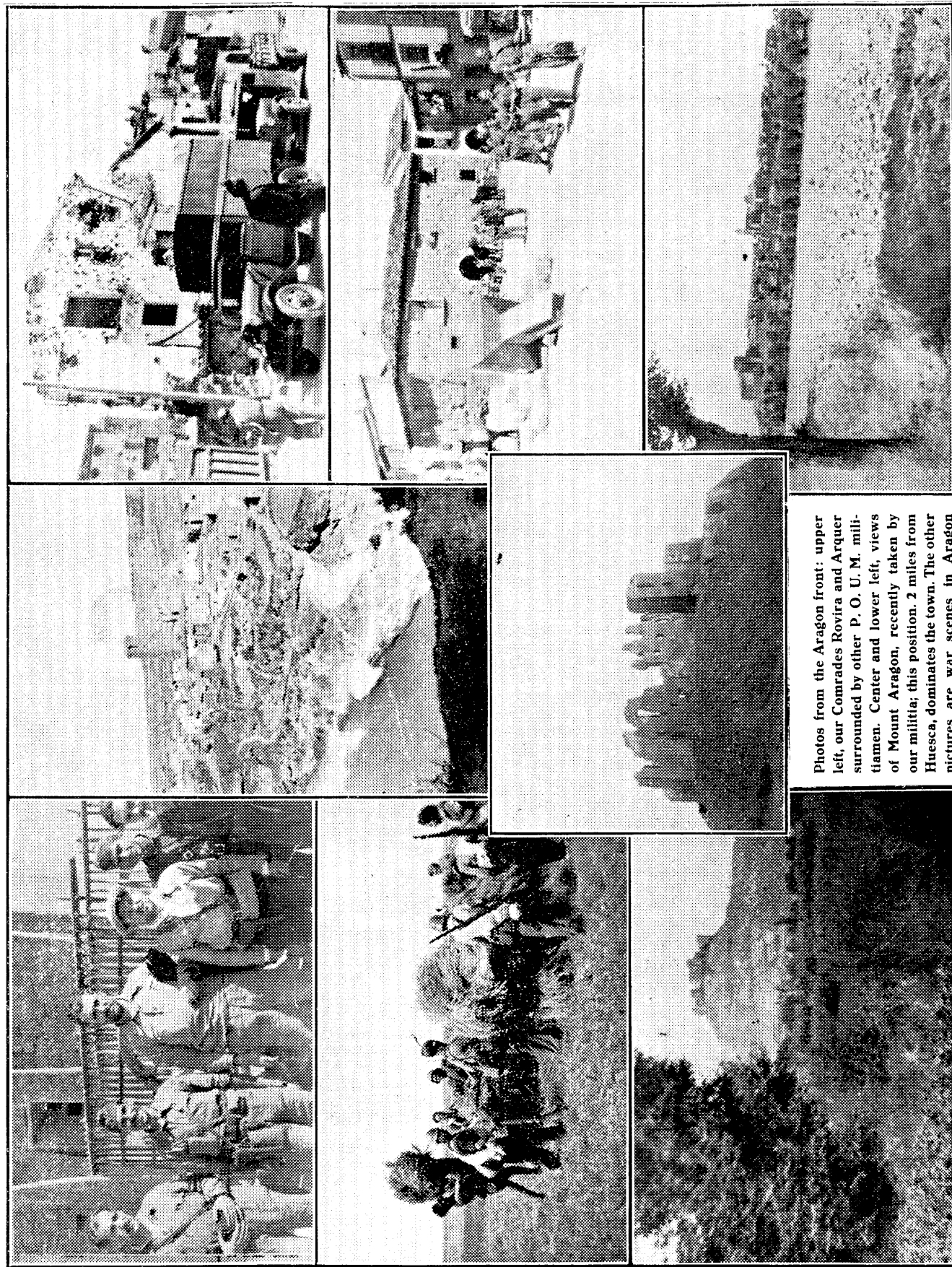
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Photos from the Aragón front: upper left, our Comrades Rovira and Arquer surrounded by other P. O. U. M. militiamen. Center and lower left, views of Mount Aragón, recently taken by our militia; this position, 2 miles from Huesca, dominates the town. The other pictures are war scenes in Aragón

# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

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## CONTENTS

- 1: For a Red Army of the Spanish Workers. 2: Declaration of Comrade Nin. The New Justice. 3: The Agrarian Question in Catalonia. 4: The Soviet Government's New Attitude toward Spain. 5: The Dissolution of the Antifascist Militia Committee. 6: Stalinist Vandalism at Madrid

## For a Red Army of the Spanish Workers

The difficult time of trial which the workers and peasants revolutionary impetus is passing through imposes upon us a primary duty: that duty is to face the facts.

The military fascists will not be able to gain even insignificant victories, once we realise that we have taken up our arms not merely to call a halt to fascism but to prevent it from ever again constituting a menace to the cause of the workers emancipation, and that we must crush it and put it to rout once and for all though the triumph of the proletarian revolution. So long as the revolution goes on triumphantly day by day, fascism cannot triumph. The revolution demands heroism, a spirit of sacrifice, class-consciousness. Only by maintaining the revolutionary morale of the workers, not by useless words, but by the unanswerable force of deeds, will we be able to add to the cry of «fascism shall not pass» the more effective reality of «we shall pass over fascism».

To conquer, fascism will go to the most barbarous extremes. But when we take into account the monstrous means to which the fascists have recourse, even when they are making war between themselves, we cannot be surprised that such proceedings are carried to their very limits when it is a question of strangling the revolution. But if all the workers organisations will work together, we will make fascism retreat to where the peninsula meets the sea.

In the cause, we find ourselves in complete agreement with the «professed aims» both of the recent governmental reforms in Catalonia and the new military measure looking towards a unified command and a more effective army: but this army must be the Red Army of the workers. Revolutionaries are not mercenaries; they are the autonomous heroes of the proletarian revolution. Without damaging the perfect right of everyone to express his political opinion and social ideas, it is necessary to keep the strictest discipline in the military sense and to carry out to the letter all orders coming from the unified command. From every combattant must be exacted unshakable revolutionary conscience and self-denial. But if it is necessary to abolish the Antifascist Militia Committee in order to avoid the dangers of dual power after its mission is accomplished, it is not necessary to recreate the army of the state, the tool of government, capable one day of being used against the people and against the cause for which we are struggling and daily offering our lives.

We object to the present measures which create an army other than the Red Army. The combattants of the revolution must not be the headless automatons who so efficiently click

their heels and do and die for Hitler and Mussolini. They must be the red army of the workers, fighting under a coordinated military command more capable of winning the war than the independent action of every political party's command. The unified command and the tightening of discipline are necessary, but after the model of Trotsky's army.

When Lenin in Russia asked Leon Trotsky to take over the War Commissariat; the bolshevik situation was desperate. They scarcely even had under their control the territory lying between Moscow and Petrograd. There were counter-revolutionary governments in the north, menacing the old capital. In Archangel, the Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucasus, the «whites» troops were advancing on Moscow irresistibly; they could count on the support of the whole of imperialist officialdom. France, England, Japan and the United States gave them war material



FOREIGN HELP

Beans! They think we shoot with beans!