

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

The I. L. P.
The Marxist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

Y P S L
The Labor Book Shop

PRICE IN U. S. A. 05

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios
BARCELONA

CONTENTS

The Working Class and the Recognition of the Spanish Fascists. — The Death of Durruti. — Municipal Socialism in Badalona. — Dangers of Trade Union Control of Industry. — The First Women's Battalion. — The Militias and Militarization. — The Campaign of the P. S. U. C. Against the P. O. U. M. — The Batllo Silk Mills

The Working Class and the Recognition of the Spanish Fascists

The announcement that the fascist governments of Italy and Germany have recognized the so-called national Junta of Burgos, the governing body of the Spanish fascist forces, both clarifies and complicates the international political situation. At present we are not going to comment on this change in the European political setting, but will concentrate on considering the situation from the point of view of the international working class movement.

We have continually maintained, against those who would give a Spanish appearance to our struggle, that its scope is not limited to a struggle between «Spanish» fascism and «Spanish» capitalist democracy. The international war between the working class and fascism is being fought out in our country. It is the workers' revolution against the capitalist counter-revolution.

The capitalist states, with Italy, Germany and Portugal at their head, have from the beginning of the civil war lent their determined support to the party of Franco and the other reactionaries of the Spanish counter-revolution.

On one side and the other, both parties have understood that the struggle taking place in Spain is a class struggle of international scope and significance. On the edge of the workers' movement, the reformist bureaucracies, such as the Second and Third Internationals, have insisted upon interpreting our revolution as a struggle of the working class in support of the bourgeois democratic republic.

A large part of the international work of the P. O. U. M. has been concerned with the unmasking of this falsehood. In the interviews of our comrades with the foreign press correspondents, in our radio broadcasts in French, Italian, Russian, English, Polish, German and so on, in our correspondence with workers' organizations in various countries and in our foreign language bulletins edited by the international secretariat of the P. O. U. M., our party has clearly stated that we and the Spanish working class are fighting not for capitalist democracy, but for the socialist revolution, for the dictatorship of the working class and for the Union of Iberian Socialist Republics.

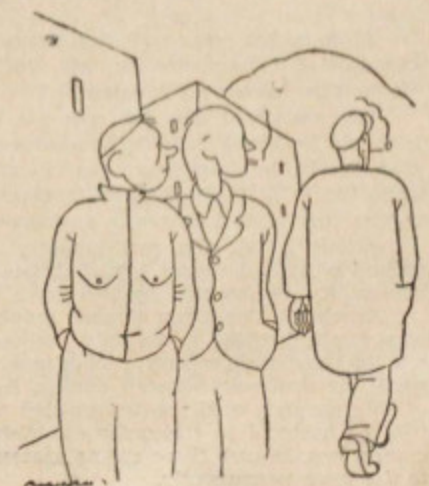
The work of the P. O. U. M. in the recent Brussels Congress against War and Fascism, in which the correct position toward our revolution for the revolutionary workers throughout the world was discussed, was an undeniable triumph for our point of view, not only because the delegates came away convinced that our political line was correct, but also because the lies and poison published by the two branches of the Stalinized press have greatly confused the international workers' movement and our work at Brussels was able to clarify this situation.

The action of the Italian and German governments is a

logical consequence of their position. They are helping their kind. By giving Spanish fascism the moral support of recognizing the Burgos Junta, they are strengthening their own political alliances. However, there are other aspects of the situation which are less logical. There are the Socialists in the Second International who stand for neutrality toward the Spanish struggle and there is the Third International and the Soviet Union who disarm the working class by saying that the Spanish workers are fighting for capitalist democracy.

The international working class ought to anticipate the declaration of war, unloosing the socialist revolution. That is the only way to save ourselves from war. The only possible escape for the international workers' movement in these crucial moments, is to break loose with their revolution and march forward to the taking of political power. If this power is left in the hands of the capitalists it will throw them headlong into an imperialist war, imperialist even to those countries which will limit themselves to defending their colonial interests.

The international workers' movement should come to the aid of our revolution, sending men and arms, and carrying through the Socialist revolution in their own countries. Only thus can they prevent their respective capitalist classes from imposing «neutrality» as their international policy, and stop them bringing secret help to Franco and his fascists.



He is terribly deaf,
isn't he?

Yes. Almost English.

The Death of Durruti

Buenaventura Durruti, the Anarchist leader, is dead. The revolution has lost in him a man full of strength and valor, a man of open character and singleness of revolutionary heart. Although not entirely sharing the same ideas as our party, Durruti remained our friend through the many hardships and dangers of the time of persecution which we have all endured. We met him fighting in the street on July 19th, when the men of the P. O. U. M. and the men of the F. A. I. put into practice their revolutionary theories. Later at the Aragon front he proved himself a great leader and a great revolutionary in our common struggle for the freedom of the people.

«Durruti was first and foremost a soldier of the revolution», said our Comrade Nin, of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. and Minister of Justice in the Generality of Catalonia. «With his death the working class of our country has lost one of its most typical militants and representatives. Durruti was above all a fighter, ready to shoulder posts of the greatest responsibility and to go to places of the greatest danger. He was a revolutionary indissolubly bound to his class sharing its interests and aspirations, its merits and its faults. In short, Durruti belonged to that class of militants who are both valiant and self-sacrificing, the flower of their class, which they sustain by their unshakable strength.

«He has died as he had to die: in the street fighting against the implacable enemies of the proletariat in one of the decisive moments of history. His name will be remembered with gratitude and admiration by the whole of the Spanish working class, now engaged in a dramatic struggle to decide the destiny of humanity.

«The best tribute which we can pay to his memory is not to lay down our arms until we have finally crushed murderous fascism and carried through the proletarian revolution to its logical conclusion.»

The words of our Comrade Nin express our solidarity with the comrades of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. in this moment of their loss; as also did our presence at the funeral of the Anarchist leader which took place in Barcelona on Sunday, November 22.

It is estimated that nearly half a million people took part in the procession, which was one of the largest ever seen in Spain. Tens of thousands of people lined the pavements and filled the windows with a compact mass of sad and silent spectators. The men of his own column carried Durruti's coffin on their shoulders, and all the members of the Council of the Generality, together with the representatives of the Madrid government followed behind. Every workers' party and every antifascist organization sent delegations. Among the many banners carried, one from the Anarchists said, «Rest in peace, man of the F. A. I. of strong and noble spirit. Free

Spain weeps for you and will never forget you.» In a torrent of rain and wind the procession streamed by for more than six hours, dominated by the stern colors of the F. A. I. — red on black—, and our own red banners.

The P. O. U. M. was there in force to pay our final tribute. Preceded by our band playing a funeral march came our Pioneers and Womens Battalion, marching in perfect order, followed by our militias and members of our party. As we passed the party head quarters on the Ramblas, all fists were raised and the band struck up the «Internationale». Detachments of all the military forces in Barcelona followed behind, in honour of the memory of Durruti.

Durruti had a colorful and eventful life. Born on July 14, 1896 in Leon, the son of a socialist railway worker, he early developed revolutionary ideas and spent a great part of his life fleeing from police persecution from country to country. In this way he passed through the Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Cuba and Mexico. In Belgium and France he spent a long time and also served a year in prison in the latter country. In Spain also he was persecuted and arrested, not only under the monarchy, but under the republic. His part in the present struggle has been a leading one and he has lost several brothers to the cause.

Durruti died at the very time when the news from the Madrid front, where the heroic struggle continues more intensely every day, could not be more encouraging. He was assassinated by a criminal hand that knew well what it was doing. This misfortune should not serve to discourage us but must be another item added to the list of cruelties and hardships of the struggle, helping us to renew our resolution to carry this war and the revolution through to our final victory. Such men as Durruti, our Maurin, Ascaso, Pedrola, Germinal Vidal and many, many others have given their lives for that purpose. Thousands and thousands of anonymous heroes have died willingly that the revolution might triumph. For their sakes, as well as our own and that of the workers of the whole world, we must refuse to be content with the mere defeat of fascism. We must carry the revolution through to its final achievement: the proletarian revolution.

We cannot declare ourselves at one with those who wish to break the rhythm of the revolution. We are determined to fight for the socialist revolution. Capitalist democracy has failed and has continued its persecution of our comrades during the whole of the last five years. Our comrades and the comrades of the C. N. T. have not fallen fighting simply against fascism; they have not gone to the battlefields in the interests of capitalist democracy. No worker, whatever may be said, has died except in the interests of the working class and its freedom.

Municipal Socialism in Badalona

At a recent session of the Town Council of Badalona, it was decided to municipalize all buildings and real estate within this suburb of Badalona.

The author of this bill was our Comrade Alvaro Lainez. It should be noted that the comrades of the C. N. T. collaborated directly in drawing up the bill and securing its approval, while the P. S. U. C. (official Communist) Councillers opposed it. The text of this decree is as follows:

Article I. All the real property of this town including ground plots and vacant lots shall become the property of the community, represented by the Town Council.

Article II. The Town Council grants to each present owner of a single dwelling in the city the use of the dwelling which was hitherto his property. This use cannot be sold or mortgaged by contracts between parties. In case of death the use of this property shall be transmitted to the descents, parents, wife or husband in the order established by the Catalan succession law. In case there are no successors, the use shall revert to the town permanently.

Article III. The present owners of real estate located in this city, who have no means of livelihood other than rent proceeding from their real estate, shall be assigned by the town an amount equal to the rent, but not to exceed the average worker's wage. Where the present owners work, or have other means of livelihood, only the use of the house in which they reside shall be granted, as established in the foregoing article. The assignment of rent provided in this article shall last only during the life of the present owners and shall thereafter revert permanently to the town.

Article IV. deals with the method for calculating the rent. The average wage of a worker shall be estimated at the rate of 450 pesetas a month.

Article V. The leases, mortgages and pledges that are now attached to the real estate being municipalized, shall be null and void upon the publication of this decree.

Article VI. The taxes, imposts and assessments of the Generality and the State which at present or in the future fall upon the urban real property shall be paid by the Town Council.

Article VII. Renters of dwellings in this city shall pay a monthly rent, of the same amount they pay now under the rules established by the decree of the Generality of August 12th of this year; and in addition, 25 % of the amount of the rent as a municipal tax. The town will proceed to a general revision of rents to adapt them justly to the conditions and circumstances of the various dwellings.

Article VIII. The buildings used by the trade unions and political parties belonging to the antifascist front shall pay as rent an annual amount equal to three per cent of the value of the building, as evaluated by municipal assessors.

Article IX. Buildings used for public meetings shall pay a rent of two per cent of the gross receipts from the meetings.

Article X provides that the clauses in Article VIII shall also be applied to factories and industrial buildings.

Article XI deals with the collection of rents.

Article XII defines the position of citizens who fail to pay as that of «fascists» and provides punishment.

Article XIII sets up a sinking fund for amortization.

Article XIV creates a Councillor of Dwellings who is charged with repairs and upkeep.

Article XV makes plans for the construction of new dwellings.

Article XVI states that the construction and planning shall be done by the Builders' Union.

Article XVII organizes the appointment of administrative personnel.

Signed by Alvaro Lainez, Antonio Leal and Ramon Martinez. Badalona, November 13th, 1936.

DANGERS IN TRADE UNION CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

We have often spoken of the dangers to the revolution presented by the excessive trade union patriotism which has developed since July 19th. Now the Anarchist-Syndicalist newspaper, «La Veu de Catalunya» agrees that there is a danger for the revolution. This is very significant coming from a paper reflecting the opinion of certain elements in the C. N. T. Anarchist Unions. It means a correction of certain things which have been happening up till now, many of which can be classed as harmful to the revolution.

It is certain that in compelling all workers to join a union, even administration of the enterprise, the unions cannot preserve the revolutionary purity which they had before. The neutral elements which have entered the trade unions form a large mass and are therefore bound to have some influence in the orientation of their policy, in spite of the fact that the guiding nucleus do all they can to prevent the adulteration of their revolutionary principles. The danger is still greater when one realizes that the proselytizing activity of the unions tends to draw as many workers as possible into them.

During the first weeks of the civil war this neutral mass was not a danger. It was bewildered and offered no resistance to the demands made by the guiding revolutionary nucleus. But with the passing of weeks and the recovery of its confidence it began to take up positions, and, what is worse, to develop itself as the leadership of the union. These elements are given this right by the official card of the trade union center, to which they belong. «I belong to the C. N. T.», defiantly declared a certain citizen who was well known for his right ideas. He drew out his new union card and held it up as a final argument.

Of course the union is not to blame if so many workers who would never before join a union, in view of the present situation, now seek refuge under the generous roof of the C. N. T. to save themselves from a renewed revolutionary wave.

To hold a card at the present time in the C. N. T. or the U. G. T. is no guarantee that the possessor is a worthy person. It is necessary to watch out for those who try to push themselves ahead, holding up a union card in defense of their pretensions.

The solution is not, as some have suggested, to deny entry into a trade union to those who are not under the discipline

of some revolutionary party or organization. That would put an end to their revolutionary spirit. In making syndicalism compulsory we cannot deny the union card to any worker, unless of course he is an enemy, and in that case it is hardly a matter of merely denying him a union card.

Between the declared enemy and the revolutionary, there is a neutral mass, recruited especially from the lower strata of the middle class, exactly those who, with their better cultural preparation might try to impose an economic structure upon the workers. They are more dangerous than the declared enemy, because they can permeate from within, carrying on their work of disintegration, and infecting even the revolutionary workers with their weakness.

These dangers can only be avoided by limiting the administration of the revolution to those parties and those organizations which fulfill their program as parties. Now, more than ever, meetings of the militants should be held to save themselves from the influence of the new members who can give no guarantee of their revolutionary spirit. Before a new member can be converted into a proven militant, a period of class education and acclimation is absolutely essential for giving them a minimum feeling of class consciousness. The concrete measures which the trade unions should take in this direction must include a veto on all secondary posts being given to those who were not syndicated before July 19th, until they have spent half a year as an active militant and a year doing responsible tasks.

The fever of «trade unionization» which we see now in Barcelona is a direct result of the uncontrolled influx into the trade unions. Of course it is right that the workers organizations should take over houses belonging to the bourgeoisie in order to provide themselves with fitting headquarters, etc., and this action is a logical consequence of true democracy which deprives the bourgeois of rights and private property. But between this and the seizure by the trade unions of all town buildings in general to be treated as their own private property there is a world of difference. This has nothing to do with socialization or municipalization. It can only be put down to insufficient theoretical knowledge on the part of those who act in this way, and for the continued existence in some of them, probably without their knowledge of it, of a remains of bourgeois concepts.

The workers who take over a capitalist business enterprise, with the object of sharing its profits among themselves, are doing nothing to help the revolution. They are on the dangerous road which leads to the creation of a new kind of bourgeoisie. What difference exists between the concept of what they are trying to do and the principle of limited or incorporated companies?

These dangers would have been avoided if our advice had been accepted. The workers should understand that neither control or socialization means that the factories and shops are their exclusive property, and that they can make of them a little fortress in which they might inclose themselves, like the former owners. The returns from collectivized industry should go neither to the workers employed there, nor even to such public institutions as they might designate, as has been done in certain cases.

The returns earned by the labor of any group of workers, and the means of production in general, belong solely and exclusively to society. The task of the revolution is not to create new owners of the means of production and of the earning from them, but it is to create a new society in which the work of each means the good of all.

The Workers of the World Can Prevent War

THE FIRST WOMEN'S BATALLION

Since its formation only a few weeks ago, the Women's Secretariat has enjoyed a rapid and soaring success. In this short time it has already gained five hundred more members, while new comrades are enlisting every day. The enthusiasm with which our women comrades have come forward to offer their help to the revolution in every domaine—nursing, sewing, teaching, lecturing, etc.—is truly admirable, but our greatest success has been the formation of the first women's battalion.

The women have proved themselves ready and willing to enter the war and the revolution. From the very first moment, when the violent struggle, which at the present time is sowing death and ruin through Spain, broke out on July 19, many women with great generosity and courage, enlisted in the people's army, offering voluntarily to fight for the total triumph of the working class. From the days of make-shift street fighting up to these present times of modern equipment and all the magnified dangers of modern warfare, women have done everything for the cause which could have been asked of them, and much more besides.

As has so often been said, in order to end the oppression of the working class it is necessary to crush fascism once and for all. The women of the revolution have realised this: they know that for the triumph of the revolution each one of them must give to the war her son, her companion, her brother. Without a selfish protest, they have sent their men off with the columns which leave for the front.

The war also needs nurses. The combatants need warm clothes. There are children who are suffering from lack of a mother's care. Work behind the lines needs extra efforts put into it to intensify our struggle against fascism in all domains. At the first word of appeal thousands and thousands of women have come forward to carry out whatever task or duty needed to be done.

Up till the present, individual women had gone to the front in various columns of the militias, serving bravely with the men and doing their share as well as they could, but no effort had been made to provide them with adequate military training. The P. O. U. M. was the first to put forward the idea that so much eager willingness should be properly trained and organised, and in this way our plan for military instruction began. We believe that every working woman should be familiar with the use of firearms and military terms, not necessarily because we think women should go to the front, but because the time may come when our women comrades will be compelled by force of circumstances to take up arms in the defence of our cities and fight side by side with the men. We hope and believe that things will never come to such a pass, but preparation is in itself an arm against all contingencies.

The first women's battalion, organised by the P. O. U. M. from among militants of our party and sympathisers from other workers organisations, is composed of more than one hundred women. Every Sunday morning, from eight o'clock until two in the afternoon, they gather at the Lenin Barracks (belonging to the P. O. U. M.) where they undergo intensive military training. These women comrades can already march in formation and execute various manoeuvres with competent skill. They can use rifles and manage a machine-gun, taking it to pieces and putting it together again with a full knowledge of every one of its component parts. The members of the P. O. U. M. women's battalion could assemble and set up a machine-gun on the darkest night without showing a light to warn the enemy of its location.

The good will and quickness to learn which these comrades show is amazing.

Everyone of them feels she is carrying out her revolutionary duty in learning to replace the men who may one day be missing, and for hours on end they march and wheel to orders of the military instructor, in rain or sun, without ever complaining or showing signs of fatigue. This work seems to them as vital as their other tasks of nursing and sewing and caring for

the child refugees from Madrid. The revolutionary ardour which they bring to this military training is one more triumph for the P. O. U. M., which, by the formation of its women's secretariat and the encouragement with it has given to revolutionary womanhood to enter and take part in our struggle, has once more placed itself in the forefront of the fight for the total emancipation of the working class.

THE MILITIA

At the front one can best appreciate the fighters. We have been talking with the militia discover their attitude towards the militia shall try to describe in this article the are giving their blood in our common cause to expect that their opinion should be taken

First and foremost, they will never ac



Above: the women's battalion on the march.—Right center: the funeral of Durruti.—Lower left: the tomb of Cardinal Cisneros before and after a fascist bombardment.—Lower right: child victims of the Junker and Caproni planes

THE MILITIAS AND MILITARIZATION

At the front one can best appreciate the feeling of the fighters. We have been talking with the militia men, trying to discover their attitude towards the militarisation decree. We shall try to describe in this article the feelings of those who are giving their blood in our common cause and have a right to expect that their opinion should be taken into consideration.

First and foremost, they will never accept the proposal to

form part of an army which possesses the traditions of the Spanish army. The past of the Spanish army is made up of feudal servility, which is completely divorced from the revolutionary spirit which pulses in the veins of our militia men.

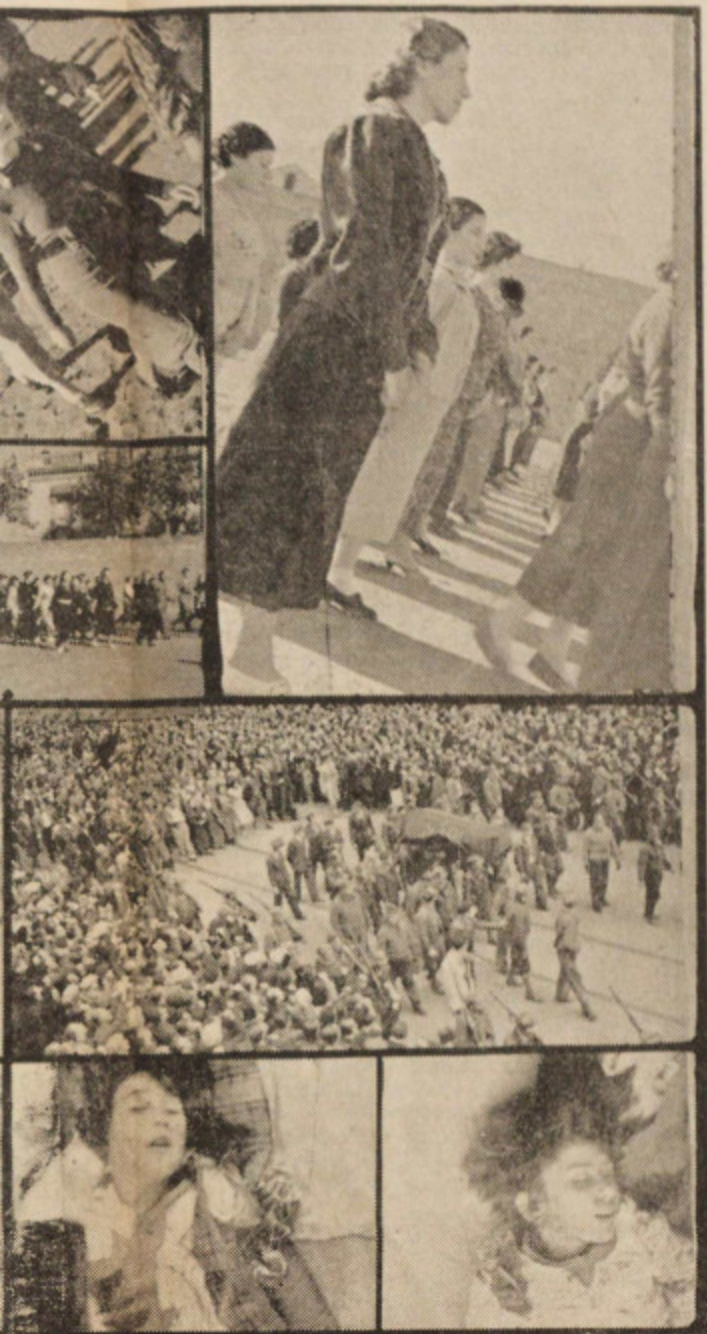
On the 19th of July it was this feudal Spanish army which, under the influence of its reactionary, fascist officers fought in the whole of Catalonia and throughout Spain to oppose by force of arms the progressive advance of the working class. At that time the working class was struggling against a stupid bourgeoisie which was doing its best to bar the road to the emancipation of the working class.

To beat back the wave of the fascist uprising, the workers had to throw themselves into the streets, offering a human wall to the deadly bullets of the Spanish army. They were unarmed, save for their clenched fists and their unquenchable faith but their triumphant action won over the hesitating middle class who finally decided to throw in their lot on the side of the oppressed workers. The arms possessed by the middle class were then added to those which we had managed to seize from the barracks, and in this way the worker's militias were formed and grew into a Red Army. Spontaneously, and without any preparation our men set out to repulse the fascists on all fronts where they had tried to establish an advance.

To meet the needs of the first days of struggle, the anti-fascist militia were created as a revolutionary workers movement to fight against the decayed and reactionary forces of feudal and capitalist Spain. None of the revolutionaries who enlisted in the militias would have consented to join the Spanish army, nor are they now in agreement to form part of it. If none of the combatants had any objection to being in the militias, which they consider as a revolutionary force, they would certainly have made every resistance against being enrolled into the very army against which they were fighting. It would not have been possible to organise the peoples' army by means of military organization. The Militias were born of the spontaneous organisation of the moment, and when accusing them of lacking the necessary discipline it is well to remember that at a time when they possessed none of the material which is in their hands to-day they promised that fascism should not pass and faithfully kept that promise. Fascism was defeated when it came face to face on the battlefield with these fighters for the revolution and their great courage.

It may well be that up to the present time we have not managed to instil into the fighting forces of the people that discipline which is the only guarantee of success. To remedy this, it is not necessary to change the whole structure of the militias. Their organic structure has not by any means been a failure, and the proper thing to do would be to give them a more perfected organisation which, while keeping the revolutionary essence of the militias intact, would give a real sense of discipline to the combatants. This discipline is now necessary to assure the success of our military operations, and it can quite well be obtained by the creation of rules with punishment for all those who transgress them, from the command to the rank and file no matter whom the culprit may be.

This is the best way to ensure that the heroism of our combatants shall give the maximum results. It is no use to offer us the Code of Military Justice created by the bourgeoisie because its only effect is to turn the soldiers into machines for inhuman submission. Of course we are in favour of discipline, but it must be revolutionary discipline which is the only guarantee we have that the Army of the Revolution will not be turned into a mercenary force, capable one day of betraying the interests of its own class and the revolution.



the march. — Right center: the funeral of Durruti. — Lower left: before and after a fascist bombardment. — Lower right: child of the Junker and Caproni planes

*A Red Army of Workers
Not Capitalist Hirelings*

The Campaign of the P. S. U. C. Against the P. O. U. M.

For several weeks now, «Treballe» the organ of the P. S. U. C. (The Unified Socialist and Communist Party of Catalonia) which carries as its heading, «Workers of the world, unite», has found no more useful occupation than that of slandering our party. It has dedicated itself with an energy worthy of a better cause, to a campaign of defamation and provocation, with no less an aim that of discrediting the P. O. U. M. before the working masses. «Treballe» styles us, among other things, as disturbing elements and agents of Hitler.

The charge is too childish to need answering. The revolutionary workers know very well which party has always maintained its revolutionary rectitude, fighting for the principles of the October Revolution and the defence of the Soviet Union, and which party defends the adulterators of the Russian revolution and sets itself up as the best champion of capitalist democracy.

What has happened during the last few weeks to strengthen the antagonistic attitude of the P. S. U. C. toward our party and lead the editors of «Treballe» to publish a series of articles against us?

This is the result of the change in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on the subject of neutrality. The P. S. U. C. believe that they have so strengthened their position in this country that they can show themselves masters of the situation by demanding as a condition of Soviet help the destruction of our party.

They charge us, rightly enough, with having opposed the people's front policy. We have opposed it and shall continue to do so as long as it turns the working class into a mere appendage of the capitalists, represented by the middle class. Take the example of France, which is the clearest proof that could be desired. We have opposed the policy of the people's front both here and in France, but particularly in France, because that is where it was first successful in its aim of diverting the ascending power of the working class and in disarming them for the benefit of the capitalists.

The French Working masses can tell us what has become of the gains made in the glorious strikes: what has become of the forty hour week, wrested as a promise from the government by the workers, in return for leaving the factories which they had occupied, and what has become of the salary increases that were to follow the devaluation of the franc.

If the French Communist Party, twin of our P. S. U. C., turned for a time against the government of the peoples' front, it was only to sacrifice it for a «French Front Government» which would have included the Radicals, those same Radicals who threaten to overthrow the present cabinet if Blum should try to help the Spanish government against fascism, or even if he does not forbid the sale of arms to the Madrid government.

Only the difficulty of getting the French workers to allow themselves to be carried down this path towards destruction of the whole revolutionary movement in France prevented this plan from being carried out and obliged the Communist Party to raise again, in a demagogic way, the standard of battle against the neutrality policy. They intended to impose this attitude on Leon Blum without, however, putting the same theory into practice where the Soviet Union was concerned.

Of course, this, among other things, should not be explained to the workers, according to the Stalinists. If the Soviet government imprisons and exiles thousands of Communist and Anarchist workers because they will not give in before the theories of Stalin, to say so is to show oneself a counter-revolutionary in the service of Hitler. But to oppose the workers' revolution, to deny the fundamentals of Bolshevism for the benefit of capitalist democracy, to help in the policy of weakening the French workers by putting the Radicals, the representatives of the capitalists, in power—all that is extremely revolutionary!

In the present picture of our revolution, the facts are clear. Nobody who does not belong to the Communist Party is allowed to consider that his party represents the vanguard of the workers' movement. This is not yet said openly, but it is made quite plain in conversations and discussions.

The P. S. U. C. believe that it will not be difficult for them to disarm the C. N. T. and the F. A. I., from a political

point of view. But they do not have the same opinion as regards our party, which they know unhesitatingly follows the teachings of the Bolchevik Revolution, only, of course, applying them the special circumstances of our own revolution.

The P. O. U. M., the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. are the real revolutionary vanguard of the Spanish workers. Between us and the C. N. T. there is not a perfect agreement concerning the significance of events and the interpretation of their development, but at least we both know that the workers are not fighting the civil war to install capitalist democracy in power again. Last Sunday's edition of the «Solidaridad Obrera», the organ of the C. N. T., stated this clearly in the following terms: «The chief thing at the present time is to conquer fascism and put the direction of public affairs and economy into the hands of the working class. We must begin building the new Worker's Spain».

If there is a slight difference between our language and that used by the anarcho-syndicalist newspaper, it is not of basic interest. We both want to see Spain completely in the hands of the workers, and neither of us believe that winning the war and making the revolution can be considered apart. We may differ over some aspects of workers' power, but while we of the P. O. U. M. are demanding the dictatorship of the proletariat, we wish with our anarchist Comrades for the broadest possible democracy within the régime of this class dictatorship.

Herein lies the principal motive of irritation to the leaders of the IIIrd. International, and it is precisely they who are obliging the P. S. U. C. to carry out this scandalous campaign against our party. They do not want the workers' revolution to be achieved in Spain. Their newspapers are only allowed to speak of the defence of democracy. If a new workers revolution is victorious in Europe not solely under the control of the IIIrd. International, it will mean the swing of the pendulum away from Moscow to wherever revolution has been successful, and the influence over the international workers movement will henceforth radiate from there. The IIIrd. International must therefore oblige the Spanish Stalinists to work for the destruction of all organisations not in blind submission to its dictates before it can allow itself to begin thinking about making the revolution.

Lately their activities against us have taken on an even more direct form than that of a press campaign. After the brutal vandalism shown by the Stalinist Youth movement in attacking and putting to sack the headquarters of our Iberian Communist Youth, comes their attitude of unconcealed approval of the suppression of our Madrid newspaper «P. O. U. M.». They have done their best to justify this suppression from an utterly false point of view. The fact that their ranks have lately been swollen by muddle-headed and well-meaning folk who took Russia's new attitude to mean the defence of the socialist Revolution instead of capitalist democracy, has only added to their insolence.

However, there is nothing original about the tactics they employ. They are the same as those used by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in 1917 in Soviet Russia against the Bolsheviks, especially against Lenin and Trotsky whom they accused of being in the service of German Imperialism. Lenin and Trotsky then were guilty of the same crime as we are guilty of now, that is to say, the crime of leading the workers towards the socialist revolution while the reformists of all shades try to confine them within the limits of the capitalist democratic republic.

Stalin is using these very tactics in the U. S. S. R. when he accuses of terrorism, deports, imprisons or shoots the old militants of the party, the founders of Bolshevism and the Soviet Republic, who have remained faithful to the October traditions.

Those who have recourse to this trick in Spain will lose the game, just as the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries lost it in 1917, because there is here as there was there a revolutionary Party which will fulfil its duty. That duty is to lead the working class through to victory and final triumph.

THE BATLLO SILK MILLS

The factory of Batllo and Company, which contains some of the most modern machinery in Europe, has been taken over by the workers and is now operated under their own direction. The Control Committee is composed of workers of both sexes, drawn from the C. N. T., the U. G. T., the Mercantile Trade Unions, and the Technicians Trade Union.

The factory warehouse, filled with hundreds upon hundreds of boxes containing pieces of silk ready to be exported, is large and spacious. It is here, because of its size, that the workers usually meet to discuss the problems of running the factory, and that all of the general assemblies are held. We have witnessed one of these meetings, which was attended by so many workers, from this factory alone, that it was as imposing as a trade union meeting. It was wonderful to observe the keen interest of all those present. All the workers, men and women, took part in the discussion and offered their opinion on questions concerning production and raw material, and especially the struggle against fascism.

Discrepancies between the workers belonging to different parties are not observable; they work together with a revolutionary and efficient proletarian spirit. It is significant that the workers of Batllo and Co. have subscribed with the greatest enthusiasm to the antifascist militants.

After the warehouse, come the carpenter shop and the steel department. Then the machine room, where, in perfect symmetry 120 looms of modern design are lined up. There are twelve big warps, the newest being 600 threads. Shining yards of pure silk are produced and other materials made of silk and wool.

At the present time the men are working 40 hours a week in order not to use up all the raw material and produce an excess for the market. 350 people, men and women are employed. The chief problem for the workers in running the factory and regulating production, is that of replacing the parts which are manufactured in territory under fascist control. In normal times the production of the factory brings in 12,000,000 pesetas a year. The production, under workers' control, would be superior to this if it were not checked by the outside factors mentioned above.

In this business, as in all other textile work, the great danger is having to cut down working hours even more. But for the time being raw material has not begun to run short in the silk industry as it has in the other industries.

The workers are seeking new markets among the anti-fascist nations and the exchange of manufactured goods for the material essentials of production.

AN APPEAL

A military campaign, carried on under the best of conditions, will contribute its quota of hardship and suffering for the combattants. Now that winter is here the situation is even more difficult for our comrades serving on the various fronts. After a week of almost continuous rain the trenches are a quagmire and our comrades have to face not only the fascist bullets, but also the rigors of the cold and damp.

The climate can be combatted to some extent with warm woolen clothing, but when our industries are on a war footing our comrades know that more important things must come before this. However our friends of the Independent Labour Party are helping us considerably in this direction. Already four cases of clothing have been received by us and we are very grateful to the British workers for their assistance. Our comrades of the I. L. P. have promised to send regular consignments of these articles, and if workers in Britain will send woolen pullovers, socks, etc. to the I. L. P., 35 St. Bride St., London, E. C. 4, they will be gratefully acknowledged and forwarded to us immediately.

We appeal to you comrades! Help us in our struggle against fascism!

MEDITATIONS OF A MILITIAMAN

Every revolutionary should have a more or less exact idea of what the future will bring and what the revolution means. He has to absorb and assimilate the revolution and carry it to others. In this way the number of revolutionaries will increase and the number of enemies will diminish. The fewer enemies, the better. If we can realize our revolutionary work, we shall organize a better and more just life. We should not deviate from this idea.

There are many abstract revolutionaries. They do not really know what the revolution is about. They often resort to terror and systematic violence. They are unconsciously working against the revolution. They ought to know where they want to go. With perseverance and strength of will, all is possible. The abstract revolutionaries often turn to systematic terror as a method. Most of them are pre-disposed to great deviation, because they have not understood the revolution, the value of ideas. They are no more than rebels, or sometimes climbers.

The present war is a modern war, and enthusiasm and good will are not enough, you must have organization and intelligence. Strategy and intelligence are prime factors. The enemy, very astutely wages war by every means, and in this way has reached some of its objectives. We, with our will, shall overcome all the deficiencies, and we shall organize a red army, disciplined by self-discipline, with a revolutionary basis, an army that knows why it is fighting. An army of workers and peasants fighting for its social liberation.

The war must be organized. There must be discipline in the army, but a democratic discipline, imposed by ourselves. This army should preserve its purely political content.

I have spoken with some military experts and they, even in good faith, have confused ideas. They want a non-political army, but this would be treason to the revolution. If today fascism does not rule Iberia, it is the spontaneous work of the workers. What has played the principle role is the ideology of the working class. A non-political army would be separate from the people; it could not serve their interests.

INFORMATION BUREAU

A reader from Morgantown, West Virginia sends us a long list of questions many of which we cannot answer, but we shall attempt to reply to the following:

—How far is Barcelona from the front?

—The closest part of the Aragon front, near Huesca, is about 200 miles away.

—Is the Spanish Government able to produce enough war-supplies?

—Quite a large armament industry has been built up in the various manufacturing cities, furnishing a considerable part of our ordinary war needs. But specialized equipment, such as fast planes, submarines, anti-aircraft guns and the like, cannot be produced in sufficient numbers. We also could use more of the ordinary supplies; there are hundreds of thousands more men ready to fight, if enough arms could be obtained. The rebels are getting supplies from abroad, but the so-called «neutrality» policy prevents the government from buying the necessary equipment.

—Have prices gone up in Spain?

—There has been little change in prices, although meats and some food-stuffs, which are produced in the territory held by the enemy, have become scarce. It cannot be said that there is a serious shortage of anything as yet, but the winter will certainly not be an easy one.

—What can get in and out of Spain?

—We have heard of no difficulties for people, newspaper articles or letters crossing the frontier in either direction, with these few exceptions:

A local French authority once tried to close a section of the frontier; foreign newspapers with pro-fascist sympathies are not allowed to enter in large bundles; letters are held up for a few days by the censor, but are rarely stopped.

NEWS AND NOTES

Trotsky on the Political Rights of Youth

«The lowering of the electoral age, from the point of view of the working class who have to begin work very early in life, is one of the elemental democratic rights. On the other hand, in England the electoral system is run according to such trickery that twice the number of votes are needed to get in a workers' candidate as to get in a conservative. By not lowering the age of suffrage, the English Parliament is excluding the active youth of both sexes, and giving the destinies of the country into the care of older and wearier generations who watch their step instead of looking ahead towards the future. This is why the vote is denied to young people.»

Spanish Orphans to France

Two delegates of the Spanish League for the Rights of Man are at present in Paris arranging for the provisional lodging in France of several thousand children, orphaned by the fascist military rising. These children come especially from Extremadura, Castil and Andalusia, from whence they and their families were obliged to flee to avoid falling into the criminal hands of the fascists.

Various workers' organizations in France have given their enthusiastic support to the action taken by the League for the Rights of Man. The first of children will arrive from Spain next week. It will be comprised of about four hundred boys and girls, who will be given temporary homes in the South of France.

RADIO P. O. U. M.

The P. O. U. M. broadcasting station is Radio Barcelona E. C. P. 1., wave length 42 metres. There are broadcasts in English every evening except Sundays, from 8 o'clock to 8.15 P. M.

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.

Subscribe to «The Spanish Revolution»

The price is two pence or five cents: it may be ordered from The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St., London. The Marxist League, 238 Edgware Road, London W 2. The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th. St. New York City and The Y. P. S. L., 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. Or you may write direct to us at 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

NEUTRALITY IS A MASK

International Writers Greet Madrid Workers

The Anti-fascist Intellectuals Alliance of Madrid has received a telegram from the International Writers' Association, announcing that it has been decided to hold the 1937 meeting of their Association in Madrid.

At the same time, it greets the heroic people of Madrid who are struggling so courageously against fascism. Among the signatories were Romain Rolland, Guan Cazeaux and Lannormand.

American R. W. L. Representative

The P. O. U. M. is glad to welcome to Spain, Comrade Rosalio Negrete of the American Revolutionary Workers League. He has been sent as the representative of his organization and during his stay with us he will act as correspondent for the R. W. L. publications, «The Fighting Workers» and «The Fourth International».

Mac Nair and Mac Govern in Spain

Comrade John Mac Nair, Secretary of the London Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, and Comrade John Mac Govern, I. L. P. member of Parliament, have arrived in Spain. We welcome Comrade Mac Nair back again; he is staying here to prepare the coming Barcelona Conference for a Revolutionary International. Comrade Mac Govern spoke over Radio P. O. U. M. to tell the workers back home of his first impressions of working class rule in Catalonia. The two have now gone on to Valencia.

The Maurin Ambulance

The Doctors Gispert and Tussó, who have just returned from the Aragon front, made inquiries in the town of Grafien about the Maurin Ambulance which was sent from England by the Independent Labour Party.

The activity and medical aid given by the English comrades was highly praised. Comrade Cochrane speaking through Rosita Dawson as interpreter, spoke with the above doctors and supplied them with two cases of medical instruments. He was enthusiastic over the fine morale of the militia.

The Marxist League and P. O. U. M. Posters

We receive information from the Marxist League that they greatly appreciate the news selection of our posters which we have sent them, and intend to put them to a useful and interesting purpose. Our comrades of the Marxist League are organising a dance at which our posters will be the chief decoration, and the proceeds of this dance are to be considered as funds for Leon Trotsky. We have the greatest sympathy with this action taken by the Marxist League on behalf of Comrade Trotsky.