

NEWS AND NOTES

Trotsky and the Press

Comrade Leon Trotsky has determined to call a case for slander against a Norwegian communist newspaper and another fascist paper. He protests against telegrams published by them with regard to the Zinoviev trial. The notices accuse Trotsky of having taken part in organising the assassination of Kirov and preparing various attacks on other Soviet leaders. Thus the lying attacks of the bourgeois and stalinist press against the great revolutionary continue.

Finance and Fascism

The Huelva district, where the greatest Spanish copper mines are found, was occupied by General Mola's troops towards the end of August and since then the exploitation of both mines and workers has been resumed, with a consequent rise of 25 per cent in the price of stock in the Rio Tinto company. The Rio Tinto company is located in Lombard Street, London, and has a capital of 3,750,000 pounds. The president of the Rio Tinto is Sir Auckland Geddes, so that the attitude of the London city press towards the civil war gives us no surprise. The House of Rothschild also holds considerable interests in mines and metallurgical enterprises in Spain, as does the powerful Societe Miniere et Metallurgique de Penarrova, with its central office in Paris and a capital of 309,375,000 francs. It need therefore scarcely astonish us that there are quite a large number of financiers who are willing to make the same kind of sacrifices as Juan March who is financing the Spanish rebels.

Rebuilding Spain

A Basque government has recently been established composed of the Basque nationalists and workers forces. The province of Valencia has also asked for autonomy. This situation still has to be legalized. The same autonomy will be given to the rest of the peninsula when it is completely in our hands. What does it mean? It means that the former structure artificially overcentralized and against the facts of history, geography and the need of economic development, like so many other things, has been outgrown by the progress of the revolution.

It was the old classes and the old castes which founded this artificial national unity which they have disrupted by their own insurrection.

Our American and Canadian comrades

Comrade B. J. Field, of the United States and comrade W. Krehm of Toronto, Canada, have spent a few days with us on their way to the International Congress against War and Fascism which began in Brussels at the end of October.

These two comrades, who are the delegates of the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party, have brought the expression of the solidarity of the working class of America and Canada to the Spanish working class, together with money collected to help us in our struggle. During their stay, Comrade Field spoke to the workers of England and the United States from the P. O. U. M. broadcasting station.

McNair for Spain

Our comrade McNAIR, of the I. L. P., will soon be with us here again. The POUM have great pleasure in welcoming him back, especially as he has been so active in England in the cause of the Spanish proletariat and their struggle against fascism.

Czechoslovakia

In spite of the fact that this government has forbidden collections in aid of the Spanish struggle, the workers in Prague continue to hold meetings and raise money in our favour. In the course of a few days, 5,000 crowns have been collected there. In Pressburg, 2740 crowns were collected. A football team from Germany which came here to play an international game took advantage of the opportunity to give 100 marks to their class brothers in Spain.

Italy

In spite of all Mussolini's vigilance, the workers of Milan, Genoa and Trieste daily distribute leaflets and handbills which explain what is going on in our country. The secret police find it quite impossible to stop this revolutionary propaganda.

Germany

The infamous Gestapo have arrested more than 70 workers in a factory at Aix-la-Chappelle for having sent money to their brothers in Spain.

Belgium

More than a million francs have been collected here. A «day for Spain» has also been organised.

Switzerland

«The World Writers League for the Defence of Culture» have condemned, in a special telegram, the systematic strangling of the free will of the people which they believe to be the result of the so-called non-intervention policy.

Listen in on Radio P. O. U. M.

We are on the air with English broadcasts every night except Sunday at 6: 40 to 7 o'clock, Spanish time, 42 meters short wave.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Many of our readers have written to us about questions regarding the situation here. We find it impossible to reply personally to all the enquiries made, but we intend to devote part of our space to answering these queries in our future issues. We invite our readers to write to us on any question connected with the Spanish Revolution. We shall do our best to clarify the situation.

Address your letters to:

«Spanish Revolution»

10, Rambla de los Estudios / BARCELONA

OUR INFORMATION BUREAU OPENS
NEXT WEEK

War at the front and
revolution behind the lines

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
The Socialist 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

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The C. N. T. and the Madrid Government

During the last twenty-four hours an event of such importance has taken place that the whole face of the Spanish situation may be changed. We refer to the entry into the Madrid government of three responsible members of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I.

The collaboration of the anarcho-sindicalists in a government, even to the extent of abandoning the scruples which they showed as to name at the time of taking part in the Council of the Generality of Catalonia, means that, although our Anarchist comrades may not be giving up their libertarian principles, they are at least allowing them to be modified by reality.

We would congratulate the anarchists if we thought that they had taken a step towards the path which would lead them to collaborate with other workers' organisations for the establishment of a proletarian regime without petty bourgeois admixture. If this rectification had come at the proper time, the objective circumstances in Catalonia would have been such that it would have been possible to form an entirely working class government for an earlier victory over fascism and for the realisation of the revolution.

As it is, we greet the entry of our comrades of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. into the Madrid government with pleasure but without complete satisfaction. Up till now we have given our support to the idea of their entry, and have joined with them in their attitude. Now we fear that the hasty solution found to the difficulty—due to the strong pressure of the fascists on Madrid—will not make of the new Government at Madrid the Government needed for the revolution, but only a broader Popular Front Government.

When the government of the Generality of Catalonia was formed we were not satisfied. We desired the formation of a workers' government based on the revolutionary organisations of the masses. However, we accepted a place in the Council because it was formed by a workers' majority, and because it made a declaration in its entirety that it would do nothing to put a brake on the revolutionary impulse of the proletariat, but would, on the contrary, guide it towards the revolution. As we have said before, the day it forsakes the path of this policy, our collaboration will come to an end, since for us it is not merely a question of sharing out ministerial appointments (if it had been, we should never have accepted the proportion allotted to us), but a question as to whether it was

possible or not to give a greater impetus to the revolution from the Government of Catalonia by affirming the positions we had already gained.

On the constitution of the Madrid Government, the same circumstances as those attendant upon our entry into the Council of the Generality with the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. have not been forthcoming. Neither the government itself, nor the president in its name, have made any declaration of a change from its position in the defence of bourgeois democracy. They have not announced any change in their critical attitude towards Catalonia, or against the continued existence of an army which gives such preponderance to the military caste.

The C. N. T. itself has of course made a declaration of principles in face of this collaboration.



«English is hard to understand, isn't it?»

«Yes, for instance, take «neutrality»; you spell it one way, and pronounce it another and it means something quite different.»

«At the present time, the Government as the regulator of the bodies of the state, has ceased to be a force of oppression against the working class, since the state is no longer the body which divided society into classes. Both will be even further from oppressing the people on the intervention of C. N. T. elements.

»The functions of the state have been reduced, in agreement with the workers' organisations, to regulating the pace of the social and economic life of the country. The Government will have no other concern than that of directing the war properly, and coordinating the work of the revolution according to a general plan.»

We do not doubt that the comrades of the C. N. T. really propose that the Government should be simply the instrument for directing the war and coordinating the work of the revolution, and that it should (as they say later in the same declaration) «Prevent the people's revolution from becoming disfigured.» We know these to be the proposals of the C. N. T. but we do not know that they fit in absolutely with those of the other parties making up the government. We have grave and not unfounded doubts. All those already participating in the Madrid government represent parties which have declared themselves openly against the taking of power by the proletariat and insist that our civil war is in defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism, and not between socialism and fascism. Up till now, neither the press of these parties, nor their representatives, nor their members taking part in the government, have rectified these positions. For us, this is fundamental. There can be no doubt that the C. N. T. comrades are bringing all their characteristic revolutionary impetus to the Government, but to collaborate in a Government with parties which have assigned to themselves the work of reining in the revolution, without having previously wrested from them a public declaration to the contrary, is a dangerous undertaking. Instead of being favorable to the revolution, as we consider the entry of the anarchists into the government should be, it will only help towards the process of strangling it.

Manifesto of the Womens' Secretariat of the P. O. U. M.

The Womens' Secretariat of the P. O. U. M., in face of the seriousness of the present struggle against fascism which demands the efforts and sacrifices of everyone to assure the speedy triumph of the proletarian cause, calls upon women who are aware of the important issues at stake in this vital conflict, to all women who have fathers, brothers, and companions fighting in the trenches, to all women who are suffering from the consequences of the war to realize that they, as well as men, have their duties and obligations. Every woman has her place in the struggle and her definite task to accomplish in order to help our cause towards the final triumph.

No woman must be allowed to forget that the struggle going on at all fronts throughout Spain is a war to the death which can know no other end than the complete crushing of one or other of the adversaries. The offensive just begun by the workers must give birth to the triumph of the proletarian cause. But even so, hundreds of comrades will be lost in the struggle, and many other comrades will have to leave their work to go to the front. We women comrades must show ourselves worthy of the gesture of our comrades at the front. We also must make sacrifices. We must let those who leave their work know that nothing will suffer in their absence for lack of willing hands. We must take their places when they leave. Every man who is fighting at the front for the triumph of the revolution, must be able to know that his companion, his daughter, his mother is one more militant.

Comrades, militants, sympathizers of the P. O. U. M., all women workers, this war will be a long and hard one; there may come a time when there will not be enough hands to wield weapons at the front and direct help will be demanded of us. For this reason we believe that while only a minority of women undertake warlike tasks with efficiency, yet all militants and sympathizers of a revolutionary party are under obligation to learn to use fire-arms and become familiar with them. This knowledge may one day be precious to us. With this fact in mind the Womens' Secretariat of the P. O.

Like ourselves, the C. N. T. comrades have frequently declared that they would never allow the militias to be simply militarised or placed in submission to the military caste. They would escape the workers control. This is one of the touchstones of our revolution. We are facing the phenomenon of having to carry on a civil war in company with the advanced republicans against fascism because of not having carried out the socialist revolution earlier. For this reason we are bound to be extremely watchful of our actions, in case they may lead to a weakening of our mutual battle front, or bring the working class into submission to the petty bourgeoisie instead of producing the contrary effect, which is of such vital necessity to the revolution.

It is not that we scorn the help of the advanced petty bourgeoisie in our struggle against fascism, but, as revolutionary marxists, we cannot limit our position to the struggle against fascism. We must widen it to the total destruction of the bourgeoisie, who are the real creators of the fascist impulse.

We would remind our anarchist comrades that the Madrid government says nothing about what it intends to do with the regular army which it has created alongside the workers militias, and whether this organisation is to be completely under the workers' control or not. It does not say whether the military will remain simply in the rôle of technicians, or whether it will not be they who will impose discipline, the key to control of the army. To maintain the regular army under purely military control is to maintain the germ (especially now that the presence of the C. N. T., lending new authority to orders coming from the government, will force its growth as in a hothouse) of the agent which will be the first obstacle to the development of the revolution. May our anarchist comrades realise this, and understand the mistake they made in not insisting, with us, on the formation of a Council of Workers, Peasants and Combattants, in order to form the basis of a government made up exclusively of working class elements.

U. M., whose object is to group the women comrades so that they will be able to give more effective service to the revolution, has already begun a course in military training and technical knowledge, open to all our militants and sympathizers.

There are also other tasks and activities for which the self-sacrificing help of thousands of women is needed. The trenches take away many lives. They maim many healthy bodies. We women comrades can contribute towards the triumph of the revolution by alleviating with our care the suffering of those who lie in the hospitals, curing the wounded and tending the sick. In consideration of this necessity, the Womens' Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. is opening a course of instruction in first aid and nursing.

We have also worked actively since the beginning of the war in knitting woolen garments and making overcoats for our combattants; but this work, which has been done merely within the party, is not sufficient. We are studying methods for enlarging this service so that we will be able to supply clothing for the front in great quantities. We count, therefore comrades, on all the help you can give us in this respect. We need your sewing machines and your hands.

But there is still more for us to do. The revolution is under way, but remnants of the old bourgeois philosophy still remain. The traditional concepts of family, home, love, as well as habits, customs and moral principles will all have to undergo a great transformation. The change from one social order to another means a hard intermediate period, and some years of sacrifice for all of us. Therefore it is necessary that all our women should know what a revolution is. They must learn to watch a world to which they were chained by tradition crumble away and give place to the new social order of the future. It is necessary to destroy prejudices and false illusions in order to clear the path for the future.

Comrades of the P. O. U. M., sympathetic workers and all women, answer our call by giving your help, your initiative and your good will.

For the triumph of the Socialist Revolution!

MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST YOUTH OF MEXICO

Long live the Spanish proletariat!

In the struggle at present going on in Spain between the revolutionary proletariat and the fascist reaction, the interests of the working class and the world revolution are at stake. In face of this the Socialist Youth of Mexico express to the Mexican proletariat their point of view:

The experience of the Spanish revolution, from 1931 when the monarchy fell teaches us that fascism is a manifestation of capitalism and that to uproot it completely it is necessary to break up the regime which gave it birth.

The experience of proletarian struggles during recent years shows us the need for the proletariat to fight, in unity victoriously against fascism and imperialist war, and consequently against the power of the bourgeoisie. The present situation in Spain shows that bourgeois democracy will not uphold the liberties and organizations of the working class, that is to say, to allow them the necessary implements to go forward in their struggle against capitalist oppression and to make the socialist revolution.

Historically only two issues remain open to the Spanish proletariat: socialism or fascism. For that reason those who try to remain at the existing stage of bourgeois democracy only hold back the march of the revolution and give the capitalist enemy a chance to strengthen itself.

The international importance of the Spanish revolution is that its triumph will change the correlation of forces between the two fundamental classes of present day capitalist society, that is the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The triumph of fascist reaction in Spain would cause a wave of world reaction and would be the beginning of the attack by the barbarous Hitlerites on the fortress of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union.

The triumph of the Spanish proletariat would be the signal for the victorious march of the world proletariat against their capitalist oppressors. For this it is necessary for the world proletariat to realize the importance of the struggle being heroically carried out by the workers of Spain and to lend them effective support and solidarity.

As the fascist countries, like Germany, Italy, etc., have openly helped the rebel fascists in Spain, so ought the proletariat of all countries to give frank support to the cause of the Spanish proletariat.

We salute the attitude of the P. O. U. M. and other Catalan parties who have begun the collectivization of industry and are in the vanguard of the revolution in Spain. The Socialist Youth of Mexico calls upon the proletariat of their country to help with energy and enthusiasm their fellow workers in Spain. As the Mexican fascists help the Spanish fascists so the workers of Mexico ought to support their comrades in Spain. Let us prepare to take our place in this international class war and redouble our activities against reaction in this country.

Long live Red Spain!

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth of Mexico

This is a magnificent example of the solidarity of the Mexican proletariat towards the Spanish working class. Thousands and thousands of copies of this manifesto have been plastered in the streets of the cities and villages throughout Mexico.

ARMS AND THE FASCISTS

We hear from Paris of the new means adopted by the Italians for smuggling arms into territory under the control of the Spanish fascists. Orders are given for the ships carrying arms to sail to Tripoli, but, under seals which are to be broken at a certain time, are further orders to change the course and to proceed to some Spanish port held by the rebels. The arms are secretly shipped at Leghorn, Vivita Vecchia and Genoa, where sailors and soldiers trusted by the fascists are in control of the shipments.

THE STALINISTS AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

One of the factors that must be taken into consideration in an estimation of the situation in Spain is the reactionary rôle that is being played by the Stalinists.

The permeation of bourgeois democratic ideology into these bodies may surprise those who associate the glorious traditions of the Russian revolution and the inspired leadership of Lenin with the Third International of today; but to the Marxist the counter revolutionary line of the Stalinists is a logical outcome of the policy of sacrificing the international proletariat for the policy of building socialism in one country.

The degeneration of the line of the Third International has never been so burningly illustrated as in our country today. Political bankruptcy goes hand in hand with open opportunism, without even the pretense of Marxist thought or revolutionary leadership. The whole of the political mistakes of the Comintern can be found in its basic desire to maintain the status quo, that is, in Spain, the bourgeois democratic rôle of the capitalist class, and to hold back the mighty upsurge of the masses moving toward a new social order.

On July 18th, the actual day of the fascist revolt, the Stalinists were assuring the workers that fascism had been conquered. «Reaction is curbed if not conquered», said the Spanish edition of «Inprecorr. «Instead of fighting needless battles against fascism, the workers see before them the final path to victory». Contrast this with the political leadership of the P. O. U. M.: «The state and the peoples' front apparatus are bankrupt», said «La Batalla», central organ of the P.O.U.M. on the eve of the armed struggle, «The army and the Civil Guard in permanent insurrection against the state. The reactionary forces have recovered their voices and the situation could not be more disquieting. Only the working masses can forestall the catastrophe that is being prepared».

Even after the fateful days of July the Stalinists were unable to draw lessons from the struggle. «It is possible to get prosperity within the framework of our democratic republic», said the robots of Stalin in August. After five years of bourgeois republican rule that contributed nothing to the workers but paper policies and empty slogans! This is merely a repetition of that most reactionary slogan «Prosperity is around the corner», which the bourgeoisie of America and England use in order to bolster up this same «capitalist democracy» that the Stalinists want to defend in Spain. Their unprincipled acceptance of the peoples' front and their fight against a red army means in effect that they become conscious allies of the bourgeoisie in its fight to maintain the existing bourgeois state apparatus in the face of the advancing demand of the proletariat for the end of capitalism and for workers control.

Thus the Stalinists take their place in the camp of the counter revolution and against the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants. This base betrayal of the masses by the Stalinists has not gone unnoticed here. The P. S. U. C. (Stalinist party in Catalonia) has rapidly degenerated, while its support for the petty agrarian reforms of Azaña place it even to the right of the Catalan Left Republicans (Esquerra). The phenomenal growth of the P. O. U. M. on the other hand can be traced to the fact that they, unlike the Stalinists are carrying out a line of Marxist-Leninism for the attainment of workers power and socialism. They are proud to declare with Marx «Communists openly declare that their end can only be obtained by the forceful overthrow of all existing conditions» (Communist Manifesto).

The working masses, with the new consciousness that the revolution is providing, will sweep these defenders of Capitalism and halfbaked revolutionary theorists from the path of the advancing socialist revolution. Spain has provided, for all the world to see, examples of the prostitution of the teachings of Lenin and of the depths of trickery to which the Stalinists will descend.

A clean break with the policy of reformism and the status quo means in every country the creation of Marxist parties such as the P. O. U. M. If this lesson is assimilated the base trickery of the Stalinists will have served some purpose.

THE MILITARY SITUATION

The fascist generals continue to encircle Madrid. According to information supplied by the General Staff of the government forces, five fascist columns are operating on the various fronts in the center of Spain. These columns have been made up of picked men and are furnished with the best war equipment with which their fascist allies, Germany and Italy, can provide them. Their ambition from the start has been to take Madrid; the fascist generals counted on the capital escaping their control and established strategic positions for capturing it as soon as possible. Previously during the Lerro-Gil Robles government they had carefully fortified the Sierra de Guadarrama with the sole object of advancing on Madrid. So confident were the fascists that their plan would succeed that they gave the story to the press that Mola and his troops had entered the city on the 24th of July. Since that date the fascist press and radio and the foreign newspapers, which help the fascists with their lies, have announced the fall of Madrid fifty times. This obsession merely shows their desires but nothing more.

We must recognize that the fascists have had a certain success in their tactic of surrounding Madrid, but this success of theirs has been largely due to a lack of discipline and military cohesion on our part. Starting with the false idea that the civil war would not last long, we have neglected those very measures which would have given us the maximum guarantee of triumphing within a short period.

During these last weeks the fascist generals have exerted a very strong pressure on the Central front. Madrid is the principal objective not only of the militarist and fascist reaction in Spain, but in Europe. Thanks to the European fascist powers, the Spanish militarists are able to prolong the struggle against the Spanish people by using the most modern and effective engines of war.

The Spanish proletariat understood from the very beginning the political and strategic importance of Madrid. Precisely for this reason the proletariat of all Spain go to the Madrid front to offer their services as practical proof of their solidarity in the struggle. All the workers' parties and organizations in Madrid have reached the unanimous conclusion that it is necessary to take the offensive in the center sections to thwart the plans of the enemy. The combatants understand this necessity perfectly and are acting resolutely in accordance.

OUR OFFENSIVE

Last week our big offensive began on all fronts. The only adequate means of defence is to attack. Our armament factories are working night and day for the front as a reply to the foreign aid which the fascist are securing. The proletarian armies now have tanks, aeroplanes and cannon thanks to the untiring efforts of the workers and their spirit of sacrifice.

An attempt is being made by the friends of Spain fascism to charge the anti-fascist forces with receiving foreign help. They maintain that the war machinery which we have was provided by our Russian comrades. They know this to be quite untrue but make this claim in order to justify the German and Italian aid to General Franco. The same newspapers and the same diplomats who, up to the present have cynically denied receiving foreign aid, now that we are attacking effectively with modern equipment, at once admit the foreign fascist help and try to justify it.

What has been the immediate result of the offensive on all fronts? On the Aragon front the workers are at the gates of Huesca, and their encirclement of this city is almost complete. They have entered the Alcubierre Mountains and are driving the fascists back. Desertions of soldiers coming over to join our forces, bringing their arms with them, have become very frequent. At times there are dozens in a single day. The proletariat knows where its interests lie; many of the soldiers who have been obliged to fight in the fascist ranks are the sons of peasants who know that under a workers government the land they work will be their own.

On the northern front our offensive has broken through the reinforced columns which were marching to join Aranda and the fascist troops in Oviedo. The victorious advance of the miners' forces moves like a wave through the Asturias.

At the Southern and Center fronts around Madrid the militias have attacked with the help of armored trains and tanks



Upper left and right corners: Provisions flow from Catalonia and off of an Asturian column. Lower left: During the bombardment of Rosas, the coast guard «Carmen» was damaged. Right center: Two militiamen of the Beltran centuria who exchanged newspapers with the enemy troops under cover of night. Lower right: A battery on the Alcubierre front: Center: Comrades

specially built by the workers, and have succeeded in driving back the fascists from various positions which they had conquered near Madrid. Our airforce, reinforced by more and better aeroplanes, has flown over enemy territory and heavily bombed various strongholds belonging to the fascists. In this way we have managed to destroy almost the whole of the Se-

vile aerodrome and about sixteen planes belonging to the enemy.

Our military advance has had great moral repercussions throughout the country. The hand of the fascists has been forced and they have been obliged to attempt many spectacular feats in order to save their prestige in the eyes of their allies. Their immediate reply has been to drop bombs on Madrid and Malaga, with the sole result of injuring a crowd of women and children in an open square. These acts have only earned them the disapproval of many sections of the foreign capitalist press. This week they undertook a more daring and considerably more useless action.

FASCIST REPRISAL

A few days ago the town of Rosas was bombarded by the rebel cruiser, «Canarias». As soon as this information was received in Figueras, a mixed column was mobilized composed of elements of the P. O. U. M. and the C. N. T. together with some of the U. G. T. Like a torrent the workers and peasants poured to the scene of attack. As soon as the mad intentions of the fascists had become known, our trade union radio in Gerona began to give instructions for concentration. Our party was the first to issue a call to arms. The members of our youth movement marched through the streets of Gerona with drums, trumpets and a red flag at the head of the troops to the cry of, «Communists of the P. O. U. M., to arms!»

On arriving at Rosas the blackshirts of the fascists manning the cruiser were visible. The fascists were not able to land and their bombardment made no victims. At five o'clock the next afternoon, the warship «Combe Mar vell», also entered the bay. Further forces at once set out for Rosas and other places on the coast. A detachment came from the «Lenin» barracks of the P. O. U. M. in Barcelona. The Italian warship has since left the bay, but continues cruising in the vicinity.

The ill-fated action of the fascists at Rosas, as is now known, was meant as propaganda for the enemy's colleagues in Italy, Germany and Portugal, to show what they thought they could do in reply to our bombardment of Seville. Such acts have no purpose in themselves and only serve as reprisals.

The struggle taking place in Spain is no longer a civil war confined to one country. On the outcome of the Spanish struggle depends not only the fate of the proletariat in Spain, but throughout Europe. A fascist victory in Spain would mean a fascist future for Europe. Hitler and Mussolini realized this long ago; they realized in time to foment the military rising before the 19th of July. It has taken Stalin three months to understand this simple fact and Leon Blum has not yet grasped it. In spite of our criticism of the mistaken policy of the Third International, and the dangers of the theory of socialism in one country for the cause of the international working class, we are the first to recognize the importance of the new decision taken by the Soviet Union to offer us its powerful aid against the criminal intentions of Germany, Italy and Portugal.

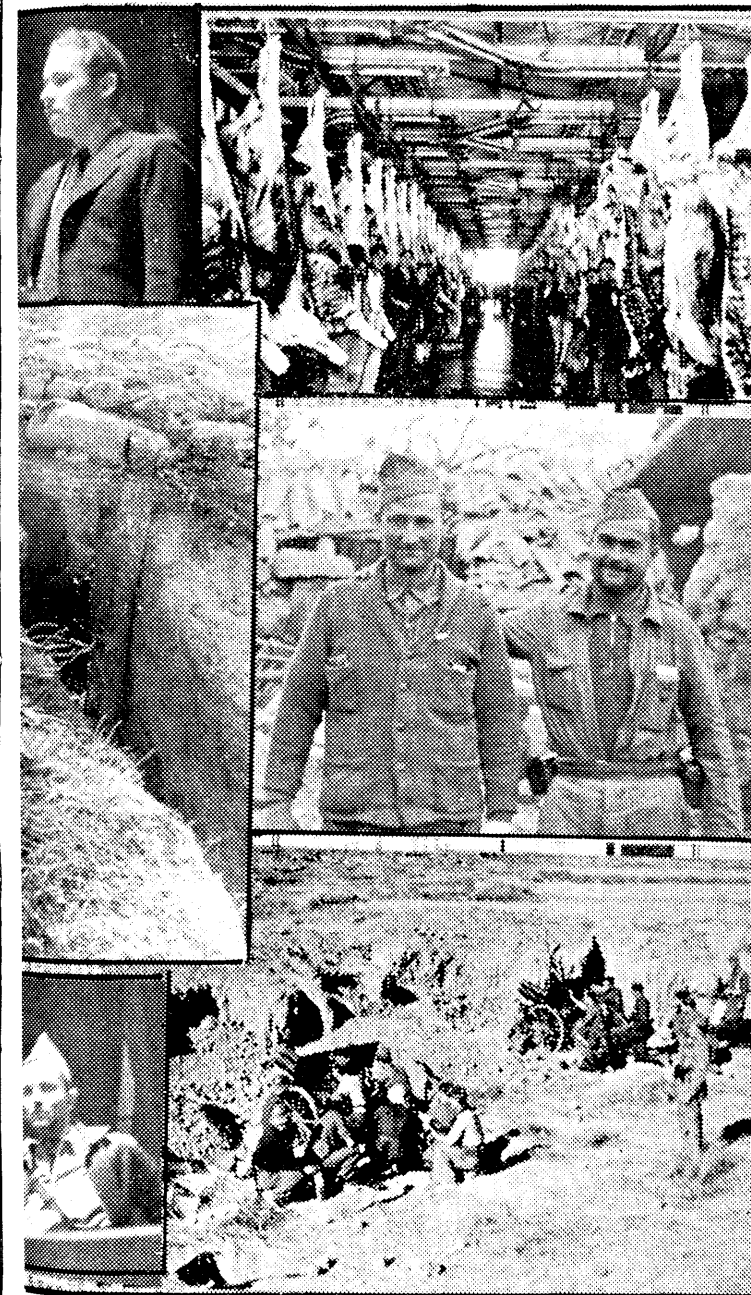
Russia has realized that the neutrality pact consisted in practice of allowing the intervention of fascist countries. A fascist Europe would menace the existence of the Soviet Union. Russia cannot stand passively aside when her own fate is bound up in the fate of the Spanish proletariat.

Henceforth we will fight with renewed courage and optimism, for help is at hand.

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.



the Levant for the population of Madrid. Left center: The sending of Rosas, the coast guard «Carmen» was damaged. Right center: Two militiamen of the Beltran centuria who exchanged newspapers with the enemy troops under cover of night. Lower right: A battery on the Alcubierre front: Center: Comrades

The New Municipal Organization in Catalonia

The fascist uprising which started the present revolution found the working class without those organs of power which could be substituted for the bourgeois regime. The obstinacy of certain workers' organizations, in systematically blocking the path of the proposed Workers' Alliance, was a serious error. Now it is plain that we were right when we said that the Workers' Alliance would be the future organ of power. It was necessary, however, to improvise. As soon as the fascist movement broke out, the workers' organizations preceeded quickly to set up a unified committees, on which all of them were represented, preserving their relative forces in each locality. Nevertheless, the creation of these new organs of power did not lead to the suppression of the old ones, due possibly to the representation on them, with a majority, of our allies the middle class and petty bourgeois.

Once the revolution is under way, dual power, a classical phase of the pre-revolution, has just the opposite effect to that intended. Two months of revolution and civil war have amply demonstrated the danger of such dual power. There has been invasion of spheres, confusion of responsibility and duplication of activity.

There was no town, at least in the region of Gerona, where there was not a central committee with subcommittees of war, labor, supplies, and finance, each with its little army. Besides each committee had a separate headquarters. Each made its own code of rules and would brook the interference of nothing or no-one.

The Central Anti-fascist Committee at Barcelona was dissolved as a logical consequence of the new government or Council of Generality. One of its principal aims was to straighten out tangled governmental situation in the towns. In this they had the fortunate example of the Town Council of Lérida, where the comrades, as they have done in so many fields, showed the way.

Lérida at first found the political direction in the hands of the working class while at the same time the bodies of the local government had not been discarded. The town government has now been put under the power of the workers and direct representatives of the proletarian organizations administer the life of Lérida. The Town Council, though it is not very old, has nevertheless accomplished an important work. It was formed September 9th. and since then has not paused a moment in studying the subjects related to the municipal problems of our people and in finding solutions adequate for, and in line with, the present revolutionary moment.

Here are the more important results:

Organization of town activities into five large departments: economic, construction, culture, order, and provisions.

Abolition of all salaries and payment for municipal office holders.

Transformation of the well known dependency of the poor-houses and reorganization of the transient bureaus.

Cancellation of the payment of bond and amortization coupons due this year.

Dismissal of judicial employees.

Enrollment of all children of Lérida in schools and provision of adequate school facilities.

Dissolution of the «School of Music», to be replaced by one that will do honor to Lérida.

Cancellation of the wine tax, the building tax, the tenants' tax and suspension of the tax on new buildings not up to specified standards.

Construction of necessary roads though the irrigated lands.

Suspension of supplementary payments and bonuses for all classes of employees pending study of a new scale of salaries.

Furthermore, the members of the Municipal Council are continually searching in their departments, to discover other necessary changes, as they are determined to realize a truly revolutionary work.

The Council of the Generality had the Lérida experiment in mind when it recently approved the two decrees, which may be summarized as follows: New town Councils will be formed throughout Catalonia of representatives of political parties and antifascist organizations with the same proportion as to the number of posts as in the Council of the Generality (4 representatives of the left republican parties, 2 representatives of the IIIrd. International, 3 representatives of the C. N. T. or anarchist trade unions, 1 representative of the P. O. U. M., and 1 representative of the Union of Rabassaires, which is largely under P. O. U. M.'s influence).

This proportion is to be maintained until the Council of the Generality has studied and agreed upon the procedure by means of which the political and workers' representatives will be able to demonstrate their numerical force more exactly.

(The solution given, so far as the proportioning is concerned does not exactly reflect the strength that any of the organizations hold in the various towns.)

These bodies are to take over, with full autonomy, the functions of municipal government, which have been defined as administration, culture, public works and defence; and all other local committees, whatever their function, are to be dissolved.

the fields without shelter or cover of any kind. Under these conditions many of the workers contracted pneumonia and others died from hunger. How could one expect them to be well fed when the fascists themselves could not get enough to eat due to the absence of foodstuffs on the island? For a long time it was impossible to get eggs, milk, potatoes, oil, etc.

August 15th was made a feast day and the occasion of changing the republican flag for the royalist flag; a moving incident took place as the procession went through the town. The sister of Lieutenant Campos sprang out of the crowd, and, jumping onto the official car, tore down the royalist flag. She was seized and immediately executed like her brother.

Even the soldiers were disarmed because the chiefs feared they would rise against them. In the ranks there is a violent feeling against the fascists and their oppression. September 2nd provided evidence of this spirit latent in the minds of the working class. A few days earlier an antifascist plot had been hatched. Two of the organizers were Captain Vega and his son, a lieutenant in the army. The arms, collected from the soldiers and the shops, were distributed among the workers. In the small hours of September 2nd the movement was to break

Concentration Camps in the Canary Islands

After repeated efforts we have discovered the truth about the situation in the Canary Islands. The revolution there was nipped in the bud, 1,300 trade unionists and members of workers' political parties being thrown into prison on the eve of the military rising, including the best leaders and the most responsible comrades of our movement. Naturally this handicapped our cause, and the people, disarmed two months previously, were unable to beat back the armed insurrection.

On the night of July 19th, the Governor and Mayor were arrested and imprisoned. Even today no one knows what has happened to these two men; it is supposed that they have been shot, as is always supposed when the fate of anyone is unknown.

Under the leadership of Lieutenant Campos of the Assault Guards an attempt was made by a small number of workers and soldiers to rise against the fascists. Most of these men however were betrayed, imprisoned and shot. Within a few hours the prisons were crammed with workers. So great was the number of prisoners that the fascist were forced to open concentration camps in which the workers were put to hard labor. The clothing given to the workers was quite inadequate and after long hours of toil they were obliged to sleep out in

The New School

PART I

One of the greatest enemies of the Spanish proletariat in its fight against fascism is ignorance and illiteracy. We intend to publish a series of articles in THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, on this very important question.

THE OLD SCHOOLS

Of all the countries of Europe, Spain has the highest percentage of illiteracy, almost half of the population being unable to read or write, compared with 2% to 5% in most European countries. Only one other country surpassed Spain in illiteracy and that was Russia before the revolution, and when the workers had triumphed there, education became one of the problems to which they devoted the most careful attention.

In Madrid, before the revolution, over 50,000 children had never attended school, while in Barcelona, according to official statistics, the number reached 70,250. The school buildings were totally inadequate, often the poorest buildings in the town—veritable pig-sties—lacking in the most elementary hygienic conditions or educational facilities. In Barcelona the model schools are palaces, but there are scores of state schools, stuck in dirty apartment buildings, in narrow alleyways, where the sun and fresh air cannot penetrate.

The teachers in the state schools were among the lowest paid of Spanish officials. The lowest paid policeman received 71 duros (355 pesetas) compared with the teachers' 47 duros per month. The average salary of the post, telegraph and financial employees was 5,000 pesetas per year, while the average teacher received no more than 3,500 pesetas. 88% of the teachers, according to 1935-'36 figures, received less than 5,000 pesetas per year.

Thousands of children without schooling; those in the schools housed in inadequate buildings; teachers receiving a miserable pittance in return for their services—that was a picture of the Spanish schools. Can the reader wonder at the slave mentality and intellectual poverty that these conditions fostered?

THE SCHOOL UNDER THE REPUBLIC

What has the Republic done for education during the last five years? It merely added the words «day and unified» to the old monarchist name of «compulsory and free». But in reality everything went on as before. A free compulsory school had been one of the great slogans of the French Jacobins in 1793. A school free for all regardless of income, and free from the influence of the church. If this was possible in the France of 1793 it was difficult and almost impossible for the Spain of our day.

The industrial bourgeoisie had lost all its revolutionary drive and had merged with feudalism. The republican petty

out, but once again treachery, in search of reward and promotion, frustrated this valiant attempt. Before the appointed hour Captain Vega and his son were arrested, together with the other leaders of the movement. They were shot, together with a great number of other workers in a hidden but horrible massacre.

The supreme chief of the fascists in the Canary Islands is the infamous Colonel Caceres of dreadful memory. The crimes he has committed against the workers of the Canary Islands are legion.

Various loads of munitions have been landed from a German ship which up to the present has made five journeys each way. The ship also brings fascist soldiers to the Island.

The above information has reached us through the medium of Antonio Vila, a delegate of the C. N. T. Maritime Union. After being persecuted by the fascists he escaped from the Canary Islands with several other comrades, in a small boat at night. They were picked up by a fishing-smack and landed here.

bourgeoisie could not solve the school problem, nor any of the problems facing the democratic revolution. Theoretical paper solutions were its only contribution.

Its compulsory schools had no room for thousands of children; its free schools furnished no books or paper for the children of the poor workers; its lay schools left the majority of the children still in the church schools, many of them simply because they could not find a place elsewhere. The following figures illustrate the situation in Barcelona which was typical.

BARCELONA SCHOOLS	OFFICIAL	RELIGIOUS	PRIVATE
Children attending..	190	129	462
N.º of schools.....	33.277	30.343	51.330

Most of those classified above as private schools were religious in spirit and directly supported by Catholic societies. Nothing was done to find a solution to this question (which is really the problem of the state and church in Spain) just as nothing was done to liquidate illiteracy.

The republic built only 5,000 schools in five years, although even the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera had averaged a thousand schools per year, and the schools that were built were poor and understaffed. The failure of the republican petty bourgeoisie to reform the schools is apparent. In the days of the Jacobins free, compulsory and lay schools helped the bourgeoisie in their struggle against feudalism. Today it would help the working class to free itself from class domination.

In a following article, we shall discuss the relation of the school to the new society.

(To be continued)

An I. L. P. Comrade Commanding Artillery

Comrade Martin, who came over with the «Joaquim Maurin» Ambulance, has after having served briefly with the P. O. U. M. medical corps transferred to the artillery. He is now doing good work on the Huesca front, commanding the artillery of the «Miguel Pedrola» column. Of the 50 comrades who work with him, about 35 belong to the P. O. U. M. and the others to the F. A. I. Comrade Martin, who returned to Barcelona last week, on short leave, declared himself highly satisfied with the courage and initiative of all these comrades.

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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 Edgeware Road, London W 2. The Socialist League, 3 Victoria St., London. The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12 th. 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.

Aims! Arms!! Arms!!!
We must Have Arms!

NEWS AND NOTES

Comrade Trotsky and the Press

The Norwegian government, in the service of Stalinism, is preventing Leon Trotsky from defending himself. As a consequence of its decision not to allow comrade Trotsky to bring a case for slander against a communist newspaper and a fascist publication, declarations have been made by the Norwegian government that the measures taken against Trotsky are due to diplomatic considerations. The case for slander, say government officials, might endanger the friendly relations between Norway and the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's legal advisor is questioning the legality of the decree.

The U. S. A. Strikes

We learn with the greatest sympathy of the strike being carried out by the American seamen. The strike movement has reached as far the gulf of Mexico; we wish it every success.

Toward a Revolutionary International

The International Congress against War and Fascism and in support of the Spanish revolution ended its work on November 3rd. The question of aid for the Spanish workers was the main topic of discussion.

The first day Julian Gorkin of the executive committee of the P. O. U. M. gave a full report of the situation in Spain. The delegates, who had come from all the countries in the world, unanimously acclaimed this report in the name of millions of workers.

Three commissions were set up: one on the Spanish revolution, one on war and fascism, and one on the Russian question.

The resolution on Spain was carried unanimously, as was that on war and fascism. Finally, the discussion of the Russian situation was tabled until the next meeting of the Conference to be held at Barcelona. It was decided that the International Secretariat of the P. O. U. M., together with the London Bureau should call this conference here to examine the conditions and to organize the forces working toward the formation of a really revolutionary international. The organizational committee consists of Comrades Gorkin, Brockway and Walcher. The Spanish delegation has been charged with publishing the resolutions in the «Batalla» and in a pamphlet to be distributed throughout the world.

The Brussels Congress, which took this step toward a revolutionary workers international represents Marxist revolutionary parties and trade unions of many countries: Germany, France, England, United States, Belgium, Sweden, Roumania, etc. Workers everywhere await the developments which should follow these decisions.

FORWARD TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

A column of 30.000 calalans

«In Catalonia», said «Solidaridad Obrera», the anarcho-syndicalist organ a few days before the anarchists entered the government at Madrid, «the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. could organise within a few days a column of more than 30.000 men who could drive the enemy back from the Madrid fronts and through the Extremadura. Why isn't this done? Because there are not sufficient arms in Catalonia and the Madrid Government in its present structure does not offer sufficient guarantee of responsibility. We know that outside Catalonia there are arms to be had. Why aren't we given these arms? The war is long drawn out because the Madrid Government does not

know how to manage the war. Now is not the time for the tricksters who have brought ruin to Spain. The only way to save Spain is to put its destiny into the hands of the workers.»

Spanish exhibition in London

Two comrades have already arrived from London in connection with the Spanish Revolution Exhibition shortly to be opened there. Comrades Penrose and Fletcher are busy collecting exhibits from the P. O. U. M. and other workers' organisations. It is hoped, by various pieces of material evidence to be produced before the British public, to cut the ground from under the feet of Mr. Eden and his recent declaration that he could find no proof of Italian and German help having been sent to the Spanish fascists.

Comrade Smillie, likewise of the I. L. P., has also joined us in Barcelona where he is working energetically for the P. O. U. M.

The «Joaquim Maurin» ambulance

This ambulance, sent by the I. L. P. as a present to their comrades of the P. O. U. M. has already been in service on the Aragon front for some time now. Doctor Morros and comrade Eva, who are on the staff of the ambulance together with other P. O. U. M. comrades, were under fire during the whole of our recent big attack on Huesca and served with the ambulance in the front line, doing invaluable work in caring for our wounded.

INFORMATION BUREAU

We invite our readers to address questions about the Spanish revolution to our Information Bureau, care of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, 10, Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona.

I. — Is it true that Barcelona has been bombed? asks a Glasgow reader.

With great frequency over the Seville radio, but not so far as we are aware.

II. — A letter from a comrade in New Jersey asks if we cannot publish an article on the women fighting at the front, if the reports are true concerning women militians.

There are a great many women fighting at the front, including volunteers from abroad. They are handling rifles and machine guns in the Militias belonging to all of the workers' parties throughout Spain. As to womens' militia, see our article in this number on the Womens' Secretariat of the P. O. U. M.

III. — We have received several requests for additional sources in English on the Spanish revolution.

We recommend the following pamphlets which we have received.

«Spot Light on Spain» by Jack Huntz, 20 pages; price 1d.; Independent Labour Party; 35 Bride St., London E. C. 4.

This is the best analysis of the Spanish situation that we have found in English.

«The Civil War in Spain» by Felix Morrow, 64 pages; 15 cents; Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

The background of the present events is very well treated in this pamphlet.

«In Spain Now» by John McNair, including practical suggestions for helping Spain by Fenner Brockway; 16 pages; price 1d.; The Independent Labour Party.

«Report and Findings of the Committee of Enquiry into Breaches of International Law relating to Intervention in Spain»; 14 pages; 1d.; The Labour Party; Eccleston Sq, London.

We shall be glad to receive any other material published in English.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

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The I. L. P.
The Marxist League
The Socialist League.

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

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«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios

BARCELONA

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

We March with the Russian Revolution

It was nineteen years ago that the Russian proletariat came to power. Since then Europe has witnessed the failure of a whole series of workers' revolutions and the development of fascism in these countries..

The armed Spanish workers celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution by a war to the death against the forces of the counter revolution, with the political power in the hands of the working class.

The Russian revolution, before its final triumph, passed through such trying times that Lenin thought of removing the seat of the government away from Moscow to some point further into the interior. At present the capital of the Spanish republic is just as seriously threatened by the fascist hordes, supported by material aid from the fascist states. All in all, Madrid has not reached such a desperate situation as Petrograd had in 1918, or Moscow in 1920, when Lenin considered abandoning it in face of the military reverses the workers armies suffered on the fourteen fronts.

This means that the battle that is now being fought near Madrid can end in the victory of the workers' revolution, which is now bringing to the capital of Madrid its best fighting spirit and its unconquerable heroism.

The Russian revolution won against the enemy at home and abroad. The fight lasted from 1917 to 1923. The victorious Soviet Union, then, came out of a five year struggle. We are convinced that the present Spanish revolution will be able to establish itself securely in a much shorter time; we are also persuaded

that its international significance will be no less than that of the Russian revolution in 1917.

The Spanish revolution with its international outlook will not serve to establish another "Socialism in one country" but will be a step forward toward the world revolution, as Lenin considered the Russian revolution to be.

In spite of our differences with the present soviet rulers and the Third International, we have been strongest defenders of the Russian revolution. To save the U. S. S. R. we stand always ready to incite a civil war against our bourgeoisie in order to halt the advance of reaction against the U. S. S. R. (the present Spanish revolution amounts to this) or we would cross Europe to fight under the banner of the Workers' Republic.

The Workers' Party of Marxist Unification yesterday marched with the other workers' parties and trade unions in a great demonstration commemorating the triumph in Russia, where for the first time in history the working class inaugurated its own government. We march together as a further promise of our fidelity, already proven, to the principles of the Russian revolution of October, 1917, and the principles of revolutionary Marxism which have nothing in common with populism.

We march as a proof of our brotherly cooperation with all the revolutionary workers movements and to install in our country a working class power under which it will be possible to join the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie with the most active workers democracy.