

NEWS AND NOTES

An American, Editor of LA BATALLA

An American comrade, Joseph M. Escuder, who was affiliated with the Revolutionary Workers' League in New York, has arrived and taken up his new position as managing editor of LA BATALLA, the central organ of the P. O. U. M. He has brought to it the snappy journalistic set-up, so familiar to American and English readers, but little known in Spain. The 30,000 Barcelona readers of LA BATALLA are now greeted each morning with the most attractive paper in Spain.

The P. O. U. M. Press

Beside its Central Organ, LA BATALLA, the P. O. U. M. has twenty five publications today, including six local daily papers and several weeklies and such special organs as the four foreign language bulletins. Since last July the press of the P. O. U. M. has undergone a prodigious development. All of these publications are directed by trained, responsible militants, impregnated with the general political line of the party and with the fundamental problems of the war and the revolution. Sunday, January 17th, they all gathered at the editorial offices of LA BATALLA in a press conference of the P. O. U. M.

The problems of publicity and education in the present revolutionary situation, as faced by the party press, as well as the question of the so-called anti-fascist papers that have been turned into the organs of other parties by reformist manoeuvres, were discussed. Plans were made for technical improvements which will make the press of our party worthy of the revolution.

After Franco

With great enthusiasm, the workers of Castillanroy (near Huesca) have organized a new section of the P. O. U. M., in a part of Aragon recaptured by the workers militia. At the same time the youth have gathered into the ranks of the revolution by setting up a section of the Iberian Communist Youth.

New York Comrades

A comrade serving in the militia on the Aragon Front, M. Leszez, wants to get in touch with his brother, Joseph Lesh, whom he thinks may be known by members of the Socialist Party in Brooklyn. Please send any information to this office.

MORE PAMPHLETS ON SPAIN

Why Bishops Back Franco by John McGovern, M.P. A very readable 12-page pamphlet on the position of the church in Spain. Recommended for those who talk of «Red atrocities against the Church.» Price, two pence — half penny post free or 1/6 a dozen from the Socialist Bookshop, 35, St. Bride street, London, E. C. 4.

Spain's Challenge to Labour by H. N. Brailsford. Brailsford's offensive against non-intervention. Published by the Socialist League, 3, Victoria Street, London S. W. at one penny.

British Medical Aid for Spain. This is a graphic, illustrated account of the work of the unit in Spain. Profits on the pamphlet go to the B. M. A. funds. Price 3d. from the «News Chronicle», London.

A Lead to World Socialism. The interesting report of the Brussels Congress against War and Fascism. The speeches of Comrades Julian Gorkin and Fenner Brockway are given in full. For revolutionary socialists who desire to understand the world situation today and especially the true position of the Spanish workers' struggle for freedom. Published by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, 32 pages price 6d. Write to the I. L. P. or to our Editorial offices for supplies.

Council of the Province of Valencia

The Council of the Province of Valencia has been formed with the following organizations participating: five seats to the C. N. T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist Unions), five to the U. G. T. (Socialist Unions), one to the F. A. I. (the Anarchist Federation), one for the Left Valencians, two for the Valencia Left, one for the Socialist Party, one for the P. O. U. M., one for the Syndicalist Party, and one for the Republican Union. The Communist and Spanish Republican Left Parties have not designated their representatives because they would not accept each a single seat on the Council.

The first meeting was presided over by the Governor who appointed Comrades Miro of the C. N. T. and Carbonero of the U. G. T. as vice-presidents. Comrades Sixto Rabinat of the P. O. U. M. was named as secretary. A committee was appointed to suggest the distribution of the portfolios.

New Council of Castellon Province

On January 18th, the new provincial Council for Castellon was formed with three representatives of the U. G. T., three of the C. N. T., and one each of the following parties: Communist, Socialist, Left Republican, Iberian Anarchist Federation and P. O. U. M.

Fleeing from the Fascists

The morale of fascists is best shown by the desertion of soldiers from their ranks. The number coming over is surprising in view of the dangers and difficulties involved.

Usually the soldiers bring their guns with them. They come under cover of darkness and now of the dense winter fog. Sometimes they get away by leaving their gun behind them and pretending to go out in search of kindling wood. That is an ordinary event, but the other day we had a curious case.

In the advance lines of the Battalion of Manresa, which holds a part of the Huesca sector, a soldier presented himself with four guns, two hand grenades, and four gun locks. The militiamen were surprised to see a man so heavily loaded, especially since the fascists are keeping a close look-out to prevent desertions.

He explained himself in this way. «There were many occasions when I could have come over with just my own gun, but I thought that would not be enough. I waited for a chance to bring four guns. I almost gave up that plan though, because they watched me too closely.

«The fascists have imposed a reign of terror more barbarous than you can imagine», he said, «Only a stubborn person can resist it. Perhaps you can bear to see a man shot, but not children. I never used to believe the accounts of fascists cruelty in other countries, but now I can. I brought you four guns and myself and that was the best I could do. But please don't make me talk about those sad things. Let me forget them.»

These were the words of a soldier who had lived several months under fascism.

For the International Working Class

In the attack on the Apiés hills and the village of Lierta which, in co-operation with other P. O. U. M. forces and with the Red and Black column of the C. N. T., we carried out on the 5th January, our Swiss comrade, Gregor Bobiloff and our Czech comrade, Rudolf Hables were killed.

They have given us all an example of true revolutionary youth. They left their good positions, their fathers, mothers and children, and, under great difficulties and without documents, they crossed the various frontiers, in order to help their Spanish brothers in the struggle against Fascism.

We will avenge them!

The P. O. U. M. Shock Battalion, ROVIRA, Huesca Front

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:The I. L. P.
The Marxist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

The Labor Book Shop

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BARCELONA

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The International Working Class Rallies Around the P. O. U. M.

With every day that passes we receive new evidence of the interest of revolutionary groups and parties everywhere in the Spanish revolution. Their interest is not confined to the armed struggle. It is primarily concerned with the scope of the revolution itself and the position taken by the various parties that claim to represent the working class.

This is the first revolution to succeed since the Russian revolution. It is natural that our experience should command attention and that its development should be carefully watched as a model for the revolution in other countries and for the building of the new society. The campaigns being waged against our party both in Spain and elsewhere have served to quicken more than ever the feeling of solidarity with our party as the only one standing for the true interests of the revolution. The events surrounding the recent change of government in Catalonia have brought us the collaboration of all independent revolutionary Marxist parties and groups.

Everyone is aware that there are a great many separate and independent Marxist organizations in the workers movement. Until the present time their unity has been impossible due to their different interpretations of certain problems. Due to their sectarian outlook, it has been difficult for them even to work together in united fronts for specific purposes. The P.O.U.M. represents the only independent Marxist party playing an important rôle in this revolution. Our party, in fact, reflects the aspirations of all those sections of the international workers' movement desiring a revolution and a new socialist society, without however repeating the mistakes of social democracy or Stalinism.

The attack on our party awakened from their stupor many sectarians and monopolists of Bolshevik truth. It has made them see that in spite of the errors

they claim to find in the general line of our party, the leadership and influence of the P.O.U.M. is the only effective guarantee for the future of the international working class movement. The fact remains that the Workers' Party of Marxist Unity represents the hopes of independent revolutionary Marxism which is reacting against the errors of the traditional workers' parties and which desires to raise again the revolutionary morale and to lead it effectively to the building of the new society.

Just as this commenced to be understood, a world wide campaign was launched against the P.O.U.M. with the object of strangling the activity of our independent Marxist party. This has resulted in drawing together all the independent parties, groups and individuals in defence of our party. This is, to us, a most encouraging sign for the future of the working class.

Since the very first we have pointed out the importance of the Spanish revolution to the world movement. This is true in many ways and one of the most important is the role of our party, as a general representative of minority tendencies in the workers' movement, in renovating the deformed concepts and methods of Marxism. In spite of the resistance it meets in some of the independent groups, with their air-tight sectarianism and even spiteful tendencies — born of former fratricidal strife — our party is becoming the center of inspiration for a revival in the revolutionary movement of the world.

The fact that we have called an International Conference at Barcelona shows that we are aware of our duty to the revolutionary Marxist movement. This conference has as its object unity of activity of all forces in view of the dangers which the policies of the social democrats and Stalinists represent to the interest of the working class.

The Workers' Patrols Must Stay

Up on the slope of Mont Tibidabo are those elegant districts of Barcelona, where the capitalists and clergy once lived in such shocking contrast to the workers down by the sea, but which are now turned into sanatoriums, schools and homes for refugees. To-day in this district you are immediately struck by great red slogans on the garden walls:

The Guard Patrols Are The Best Guarantee Of The REVOLUTIONARY Order.

But the press and platform of the middle class and the Stalinists call for the dissolution of these Patrols along with all other workers' committees. What are they?

One must concede one virtue to the reformist leaders in Spain and Catalonia—political consistency. They know what they want and where they are going, and adapt their tactics to their goal. They proceed surreptitiously, with dimmed lights, when the revolutionary movement is on the upgrade, but openly and brazenly when the positions of the workers are shaken. Their attitude towards the workers' committees and the army, to mention no more than two of the more important problems, is sufficiently eloquent in this respect.

Now the turn of the Guard Patrols (Patrols of Control) has come. Formed during the first moments of the revolution by representatives of the workers' political and trade union organizations, these patrols are a genuine product of the revolution and the working class, truly revolutionary and proletarian bodies.

This in itself is reason enough for the Stalinist reformists to declare war against them. Is it not their aim to maintain the democratic Republic? Then there is nothing more natural than to suppress everything that smacks of the proletarian revolution.

The democratic Republic must be preserved with all its characteristic attributes, and above all with the armed forces that make it possible for the good capitalist exploiters to digest their food undisturbed. The Valencia Government, by suppressing the militias behind the lines and creating a single Security Corps through the fusion of the existing armed bodies, took a big step towards consolidating the bourgeois power, and a big step backward in so far as the interests of the revolution are concerned.

The Guard Patrols in Catalonia continue to exist, however, and these patrols disturb the slumbers of the reformists. The demonstrations of women organised by the P. S. U. C. in connection with the bread-lines demanded the suppression of the Patrols. Now seizing upon the unfortunate events of La Fàbrella, a brazen offensive is being undertaken, which assumes the form of the effort of the P. S. U. C. to withdraw the representatives of the U. G. T., from the patrols. And let us say that this decision of the P. S. U. C. has not been received by the militants of these unions with the enthusiasm and unanimity that the reformist bureaucrats had awaited. A great number of the U. G. T. comrades have remained in the Patrols, and have even torn up their P. S. U. C. membership books, which they had obtained only because they were obliged to. The class consciousness of these workers has overpowered the spirit of unthinking discipline.

This offensive of the Stalinists cannot succeed and will not succeed. The forces of coercion are the armed bodies of power, and these forces must be working-class forces. We too are of the opinion that there must exist only one armed force, but this must be the Guard Patrols, in which can be incorporated all those Police, Guards, National Guards and Assault Guards who have proven their faithfulness to the Revolution. But at the same time the working-class must not forget that the fundamental problem to be solved is that of state power. The power must pass into the hands of the workers. Then the problems of the armed forces, like those of all the other forces, will be solved automatically.

«Our Aim is to Preserve Revolutionary Order»

«With the same enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit we men of workers' Guard Patrols carry on, just as in the first days of the military insurrection.

«Who are we? We were designated during the first days a considerable number of revolutionaries of the various organizations to watch over the water fronts, railways, factories, banks and streets of Barcelona.

«Not detectives, nor party sleuths, we patrolled these districts with the exclusive object of maintaining revolutionary order. We were stirred by the spirit of the revolution, which made us take up our guns in those first hours, and which continues to carry us forward over all obstacles in the path of the revolution.

«We, the revolutionary workers of the Patrols, are not afraid of any enemy; we know how to shoot straight from the shoulder...

«Today we have the interesting case of responsible men, who call themselves defenders of the working class, now calling a halt, forsaking their class colors and raising a new cry. From the public platform and official places, their shameful lies and insults rain down upon the Guard Patrols. They have declared war on us...

«It is not a question of economy. The President of the Republic is paid enough to keep 350 patrol guardsmen. It is rather a premeditated plan of the counter-revolutionaries, who are disturbed because we are one of the columns supporting the revolution.

«We of the Patrols are controlled by our respective organization, by the working class alone, to whom we are responsible. Only when they order it will we disappear. Otherwise we shall continue the war, arms in hand, ready to shoot all fascists, and guarding the march to the revolution.»

By a PATROL GUARDSMAN

The Barcelona Conference for a Really Revolutionary International

MAY 1

Unite!
Workers!

Armed Forces Reveal the Character of a Regime

Two signs point to the political retreat which threatens our Revolution: first, the order of the Madrid Defence Junta entrusting the police service behind the lines to the former state forces, and secondly the campaign opened in Catalonia by the P. S. U. C. against the Committee of Internal Security, and against the control patrols. These are two phases of a attempt to deprive the working-class of the power which it gained through the Revolution. The workers have assumed full authority to repress the counter-revolution, behind the lines as well as at the front, and to maintain revolutionary order.

When the capitalist law and order was found wanting, and when it led to the Civil War, it was the workers who took over full responsibility in all fields of struggle. But the guards of Madrid have been made into police again.

The problem of the coercive organs of the state is the basic problem of the Revolution. The armed forces always reveal the true social and economic character of the state. The A. B. C. of Marxism teaches us the function of the state. State power is based on the forces of repression, which serve the interests of the class which controls that power. The army, the police, the courts, in a capitalist society are all bodies in the service of privileged interests. Therefore, the first act of every workers' revolution is to destroy completely the repressive apparatus of the state, to annihilate it, in order to set up its own coercive instruments, under the charge of its most trusted lieutenants.

A workers' police, manned by authentic workers, both in origin and feeling, is the best guarantee of the revolution and defence against counter-revolution. The working-class has found in every instance that the services of the repressive system of the new state are of the greatest importance. In 1919 in Germany, the workers rose in arms in Berlin against the

dismissal of the chief of police, who was an independent left-wing socialist. The Berlin workers realized the importance of having a revolutionary whom they could trust in such a position.

The very people who are fondest of flourishing the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are the ones who are now disregarding their teaching. Marx and Engels deduced from the experiment of the Paris Commune the need to destroy the repressive apparatus of the state, and to set up another in the hands of the workers. Lenin popularized these lessons of the founders of socialism, in his «State and Revolution», and he applied them to the Russian Revolution. Bela Kun, who failed to take theory into account, was swallowed up by the very apparatus which he was unable to destroy.

The retention and perfection of their control of the police services, and of the coercive authorities in general, is of basic importance to the Spanish workers. Demands, inspired by a so-called workers' party have recently been made, and slogans raised against the control patrols. And what are the control patrols? They are, in effect, revolutionary workers' police, a guarantee to all the workers that the counter-revolution shall not raise its head behind the lines, and that the revolution shall advance. The control patrols, called in Barcelona the «Investigation Groups», are the flesh and blood of the working-class; they are composed of militants who for years have undergone all the arbitrary repression of the capitalists, and who now are completely at the service of the revolutionary interests of the workers.

The attempt to abolish these genuinely revolutionary bodies, while at the same time maintaining the old state bureaucracy, now transferred to Valencia, is a clear attack on the workers' guarantees of the revolution. It is a crafty attempt to return to the position we were in when the war began.

Old Peoples Home in Barcelona

Recently, I was taken to see some of the institutions run by the workers' representatives in Barcelona, and it was evident that, despite the war, and the difficulties which exist, much had been done in the way of social reconstruction, as the recently acquired hospitals and orphans' homes testified. The most interesting, however, was a home for aged people, which has been instituted since the Civil war began.

We reached the building, which is situated in the suburbs, and met the comrade in charge, who was only too keen to show what had been done. He explained that, previously, the building had been a paying hostel for elderly ladies, but things were different now. Under the old régime, before July, aged couples who were destitute were separated, the husband being placed in one institution and his wife in another. The workers of Catalonia rightly regarded this as unnecessary cruelty, and so they are establishing homes in which the old people can live together until the end of their days.

We went into the sitting-room and talked to some of them who were listening to the radio. A small hall on the premises was being turned into a theatre. There were two large dining-rooms, and the staff was busy in the kitchen, preparing the evening meal.

Each couple is provided with a comfortable, well-furnished, centrally heated room, several of which we visited. We knocked at one of the doors, and it was opened by an old man of over seventy. He asked us in and introduced us to his wife. They told us, in reply to our questions, that previously they had been in separate poor houses, and very unhappy at their enforced separation, after a life-time together. «Now», they said, «we live in this nice room, and we can do just as we like. The Revolution has given us this, and when you go back to your own country, you can tell them what the Revolution means to us poor folk in Catalonia.» By this time quite a crowd of old people had come in and were listening and nodding agreement.

As we left, the comrade in charge said: «Of course, this is only a beginning.» However, it is a sample of what the workers of Spain will do when the Revolution is victorious.

Between Two Fires

The Spanish working-class is caught between two fires. On the one hand, Italian and German fascism allot their best armaments, battle ships, aeroplanes and men to Franco. On the other, the non-intervention powers deny us arms, men or anything that can be used to defend ourselves, and they take a definite stand only when it is a question of giving in to international fascism.

This international offensive against our revolution has the advantage of being supported by the whole press capitalist, socialist and ex-communist. These organs, with reformist arguments and high-sounding phrases about the defense of peace and the fatherland, try to put the working class to sleep.

The European democracies have a class instinct which leads them against our budding revolution. The workers' parties which support them are quite innocent of Revolutionary Marxism; they lead the international working class toward defeat.

Down with the Reformists and International Mensheviks!

* * *

British Lads in Action

The I. L. P. boys are now in action on the front lines in Aragon. They are in a sector commanded by a Belgian comrade who is an experienced construction engineer. He reports as follows: «The English contingent is behaving splendidly. To illustrate the point I want to tell you this: I thought of moving Bob's group to another «avarzadilla» of the positions for military reasons, but the Spanish comrades near them protested saying they felt safe in the vicinity and did not want to receive any other neighbors!

«Some Spanish passed over this week to our lines; in the last four days we got seventeen new comrades this way, ten out of the lot bringing over rifles and ammunition. This fact seems to denote a very weak spirit on the other side, and we are keen to make use of the circumstances; but we badly want men!»

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY

A Conference of Militiamen

On February 2nd, a conference of militiamen belonging to the P. O. U. M., the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. was held in Lérida. More than 500 militiamen were present in the Campos Eliseos Theatre, where the meeting was held.

The meeting has an extraordinary significance for the course of our revolution, and for the formation of the Red Army.

The fact must be emphasized that the leadership of the U. G. T. - P. S. U. C. had issued strict orders that no militiaman of the U. G. T. was to attend the meeting under the threat of expulsion from the militia. Despite these orders, there were many U. G. T. militiamen who came to the meeting and demonstrated their solidarity with the resolutions adopted. Once again the C. N. T. and the P. O. U. M. find themselves in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. That the militias behind the lines be the only bodies assigned to watch over revolutionary order.
2. That the coercive forces of the state be dissolved and that their members be sent to the Front to fight side by side with the militiamen.
3. That the Revolutionary Workers' Army be formed.
4. That Committees of soldiers and fighters be organized to exercise a control over the military command.
5. That only revolutionary workers who have fought against fascism be allowed to enter the Military Colleges.
6. That there be a general conscription of all males between the ages of 18 and 45, including reactionaries and bourgeois. These latter however are not to be given arms, but put to work on fortifications and communications under the surveillance of revolutionary workers.
7. That these decisions be communicated to the various organisations, a special commission being appointed to take care of this.
8. That in view of the refusal of the P. S. U. C. to support this meeting the C. N. T. and the P. O. U. M. be the organisations entrusted with the realisation of the work decided upon.

U. G. T. Against Workers' and Soldiers' Councils

The Valencia province Executive Committee of the U.G.T., in «Adelante», the organ of the Valencia Socialist Party, on February 4, published this document:

«The Provincial Secretariat of the U. G. T., which has publically stated that it feels the time is not opportune for setting up Councils of Workers and Soldiers, since all political and trade unions sections are already represented in the government, is still of the same opinion.»

Lenin on the Red Workers' Army

«The Red Army believes in discipline without a club, but firm and a discipline based on the conscience, faith and self denial of the workers and peasants.

«So, to save the workers forever from the oppression of the landlords and capitalists and to prevent their return to power, the great Red Army of workers must be created.

«It will be invincible if it has discipline in its work». The workers and peasants should demonstrate, and shall demonstrate, that, with a just sharing of work, discipline and consecration for the common good, they can organize a life without landlords, and against the landlords, without capitalists and against capitalists.

«The discipline, the passionate eperau for work the ability to sacrifice, the firm alliance of workers and peasants, that is what will save the workers forever from the oppression of landlords and capitalists.»

The Military Resolution of the Central Committee of the P. O. U. M.

The urgent need for a unified command and strict discipline in the workers' armed forces is being gradually realized, but it gives those professional military men who remained loyal to the Republic a new opportunity to install themselves as an uncontrolled caste in a position to betray the workers again. They are aided in this by the middle class and the Stalinist elements who fear the revolutionary workers in arms and want to build up a regular «People's Army» instead of a Red Workers' Army. The struggle is now raging between these two conceptions.

Our problem: To build a revolutionary army of the workers with a centralized command and strict discipline, but at the same time with a strict workers' political control over the command. We present the proposals of the P. O. U. M., and those of the Conference of Militia-men.

1. The fascist uprising of the 19th July, 1936, supported by the majority of the «Republican» Army, has unloosed the Socialist Revolution of the working-class. If the workers have not acted more boldly, this is due to the false political leadership with which social reformism and official communism have deceived the masses. Social reformism and official communism are the arms with which the middle-class capitalists are trying in every way possible to stop the revolution, to postpone it until after the war, in the hope that with the passage of time it can be smothered. This is why they hold that the present movement should not surpass the bounds of the democratic republic, but should be content with minor social reforms. This is why the socialists and communists, who have been deflected by the bourgeoisie, say that the present struggle is between capitalist democracy and fascism, that is, between two forms of capitalism, making no mention of Socialism.

2. The present struggle is essentially a class war. It has been correctly said by Marx that war is the continuation of the political struggle in a military field. The armed insurrection is the culminating point of the political struggle of the working-class against the capitalists.

On the 19th July, 1936, while, indeed, the fascist counter-revolution triumphed in parts of the territory of the Spanish state, the workers triumphed in others, where the industrial proletariat was concentrated. The workers took advantage of the armed insurrection to seize the organs of power, and then turned to fight the counter-revolution, creating their own army of the revolutionary working-class, the Workers' Militia.

3. The central programme of our Party, which represents the essential will of the working masses, is «War at the Front and Socialist Revolution Behind the Lines».

This programme necessarily presupposes, and puts in the forefront, the creation of the Revolutionary Army of the Working Class, to conquer Fascism and to guarantee the building of socialism behind the lines. The Revolutionary Army of the Workers must, therefore, be a class army.

All the armies which have existed in our country, as in all countries, have been class armies. Instruments at the service of the ruling class, they have supported its policies. The old Spanish Army, under the Monarchy as well as the Republic, was a class and caste army.

Therefore, the new army, springing from the revolution, must be a Socialist Army, in the service of the new class which is destined to take power, the working-class.

ARMY OF THE WORKERS

Central Committee of the P. O. U. M.

4. The Workers' Militia were the improvised army of the working class. This army, strong in class morale, enthusiasm and heroism, nevertheless had defects which must be corrected. It was, after all, an irregular army, technically unprepared, which reposed too much confidence in the spirit and self-denial of its members, and did not take sufficient account of the science, technique and strategy of war.

Our party, therefore, taking into account the results of our revolutionary war, and the experience of similar wars in the past, stands openly for the creation of a «Revolutionary Regular Army of the Workers», which will give the present Workers' Militia the technical efficiency that would take the fullest advantage of the fighting enthusiasm and heroic self-denial which it already possesses.

To achieve this it is necessary to fuse the militia columns into units of a regular army, adding to the volunteer militia whatever conscripts are necessary to make the Revolutionary Army a first-class force.

5. In order that the new Revolutionary Army of the Workers shall not be robbed of its class aims, and in order to guarantee the political freedom of all fighters, there must be in each military unit a committee representing proportionally the proletarian tendencies, which shall guarantee the political rights of men and officers.

6. As a guarantee of the rights of the soldiers, and of their participation in the military operation, there should be established a committee of soldiers in each company; each battalion would have a representative of the Soldiers' Committee, and each Regiment a representative of the Battalion. In the Regiments and Divisions there would be a delegation from the workers' organisation equal to the representation of the soldiers. In this way the army would be united with the workers behind the lines.

7. The functions and attributes of these Committees of Soldiers, of their representation in the higher units of the army, along with the delegates of the workers' organisations, should be made clear by an Ordinance.

8. Since the winning of a war and the effective conduct of any army depends directly upon the support of and interaction with the life behind the lines, a «War Commissariat» should be created, to avoid divergences between the fighting workers and those behind the line. It would bear in mind not only technical military principles, but also that war is a «political line». All the workers' organisations would participate in the Commissariat, which would direct the war and plan operations.

9. For an efficient army, a strict sense of responsibility is necessary, especially among the command, as well as a sense of discipline among the troops.

To succeed in this double aim without injuring the democratic spirit of the new Revolutionary Army of the Workers, the following provision is necessary:

a) Revision of all commissions given up till now, especially those given by the military office, since those who have not presented themselves since July 19 are politically suspect.

b) In filling the positions of command in the new army, preference should be given to comrades of the workers' organisations fighting at the front.

c) The officers in command should be controlled by the workers' organisations of which they are members as well as by the Commissariat of War.

d) The People's Military Schools should be politically controlled by the workers' organisations and should be transferred to locations within reach of the fighters at the front.

e) A Code of the Revolutionary Army of the workers should be established, which would legalize the discipline in

matters of service, the rights of the soldiers and the army democracy.

10.—The present war has acquired a scope unsuspected in the first days. The Workers' Militia cannot be kept as a permanent shock troop on the front line. Furthermore it must be kept in mind that the Workers' Militia, from their voluntary character, include the most aggressive section of the working-class, and an excessive waste of these forces is a drainage of vitality from the Revolution, which must be avoided. In order to avoid this danger, it is necessary then to decree the compulsory mobilization of all persons between the ages of 18 and 35 years.

11.—The workers' organizations and their organs of power must see that the fighters are properly cared for, and with this in view the Party proposes:

a) Indemnity and subsidy for needy families who have lost a member at the front.

b) Facilities and preferences for families of soldiers.

12.—A large-scale war, such as the present one, cannot be waged unless the armies are supplied by a war industry.

Our class war meets the open hostility of the whole capitalist world, which is throwing up every difficulty to prevent us from getting armaments, while the fascist states proceed to arm our enemies. This conduct will become more marked as the war goes on, and as the socialist triumphs of the workers are realized.

To overcome this and to become independent of everyone; to assure our continued ability to meet our military needs; to prevent the drying up of our sources of arms from abroad from putting our victory in danger, and to assure our independence against foreign intervention after the triumph of the Socialist Revolution has established the «Union of Iberian Socialist Republics», it is necessary to build a strong war industry, especially in Catalonia and the Basque Country, with all haste. Without this war industry, the revolution will always be in danger.

13.—To give an impetus to all the steps herein proposed, all of which are of interest to the revolutionary workers' groups, the Central Committee of the P. O. U. M. proposes that all the armed forces from all sectors hold a Congress where these problems would be debated.

A Congress of Soldiers, in which militia, soldiers, Assault Guards, National Republican Guards, orderlies, policemen and sailors would take part, would be a great step forward toward the revolution and toward cohesion and efficiency of these forces.

14.—To attain all these objectives, the P. O. U. M., through its Central Committee, has resolved:

a) To form party cells in all the armed units for the purpose of propagating its slogans and viewpoints.

b) To create a Committee of Political Work in the armed units and bodies.

c) To print and circulate bills, folders, bulletins and newspapers designed for the armed forces, in which our political point of view shall be popularized.

d) To create a Military School of the Party.

e) To hold a Party Military Conference, to study in greater detail the military policy of the P. O. U. M. and the tasks it must realize.

f) To form a territorial armed force of the P. O. U. M. to push the revolution and guarantee the conquest already obtained.

g) Finally, to create a Military Committee of the P. O. U. M. to coordinate all these tasks and all of our armed forces by elaborating a plan, in agreement with the War Department and the Executive Committee of the Party.

The Campaign Against Our Party

As we go to press, we learn that what had long been plotted and prepared by a most despicable campaign of incitation, is now an accomplished fact. The Peoples' Front authorities in Madrid have suspended the publication of our Madrid daily paper, «EL COMBATIENTE ROJO», and have taken over the radio station of the P. O. U. M. This is the radio station which the government was able to utilize freely during the tragic days of the advance on Toledo; it is the station that remained on duty on the 7th of November, encouraging the worker militias while all the others were abandoned in the general flight from Madrid. It is the station that in times of depression had animated the revolutionary spirit and morale of everyone, the station which broadcast, not the national anthem, but the «Internationale» of all workers.

In suspending «EL COMBATIENTE ROJO», the Popular Front authorities have suppressed the first organ of the militias that appeared in Spain. The majority of the original editorial board of this paper have perished, fighting with arms in hand, along with three quarters of the comrades who belonged to our Madrid section before the 19th of July.

Our Madrid press had been subjected to an unmerciful censorship. At the beginning of the revolution, censorship was established at Madrid as a military necessity, intended primarily for news relating to military operations. Since January, however, the censorship had become frankly political or, better

expressed, fractional, in the service of a single party and for the defence of its interests and positions.

One must peruse the last few numbers of «El Combatiente Rojo» in order to appreciate the manner in which the censorship worked. It is worth while to show the workers of the world the way in which people who call themselves communists, with colored pencils in their hands, mutilate even the works of Marx and Lenin. Our party is organizing an exhibition in Paris and other capitals based on the recent censored issues of «El Combatiente Rojo» showing the articles before and after being censored. It has appeared with paragraphs of the Communist Manifesto stricken out. Precisely those paragraphs in which Marx and Engels explain to the workers that it is necessary to destroy the capitalist state apparatus have been taken out, as well as outspoken revolutionary statements of Lenin.

A preparatory barrage had been leveled against our Madrid section to prepare the decisive attack. The circumstances in Madrid were especially favorable for this. It is in the midst of the front, the Stalinists have the upper hand in official circles and there are various daily papers that second their campaign. This ends the first step in the offensive against our party. They will attempt others which will not be so easy, because we are ready and because we know the workers are with us.

A Workers' Army

Made up of workers. Controlled by the working class, employing such military leaders as are necessary if there are not enough coming from the workinds class. Respect for the technical ability of the professional military, under the political control of the workers. Thus the formalism of the military caste is avoided. Every worker knows that he fights for himself. He knows that he fights for socialism. This assurance gives him the courage and self-sacrifice that buoyed up the Red Army of the U.S.S.R. during the revolution.

A Peoples' Army

Without a class character. It admits everybody. An exclusive military command. Military discipline excluding all working class thought. Its aim is to defend the capitalist democratic regime which all workers know has utterly failed in Spain. This means that it will be controlled by the capitalist democratic politicians who will use the Peoples' Army to crush all revolutionary activity of the workers. This means that the military control, purely military, places itself above everything else, above the demands of the working class.



The Workers in Arms! No Militarism! No Betrayal!

The Aragon Front *SALUD, Workers of the World!*

Denied Arms for Offensive

It must be made clear that if there have been no large-scale operations on the Aragon front, if there has been no offensive, if there has been no effort to come to the assistance of Madrid, of Malaga and of the other fronts in the best possible way, by attacking the fascists on our own front, then it is through no fault of the militia-men, no matter what organization they may belong to. They have all given too much proof of their spirit of self sacrifice to be held responsible for what is happening, or rather is not happening, on the front. One must seek the real reasons elsewhere, in places altogether beyond the control of the men at the front. These latter, regardless of the organization to which they may belong, are not responsible for the shady political manoeuvres that are being carried out with respect to the war by the very people who pose as the champions of the interests of the war and go so far as to place them above those of the revolution.

It must be understood that on the Aragon front it is possible to launch an attack with greater chances of success than on any front. An offensive in Aragon could have been, and still can be, the best means of helping Madrid. But it would also be the best means of raising the prestige of the completely working class army that occupies the trenches in Aragon. It is precisely this that the partisans of the regular army in the hands of the military caste, of the non-political army that they are trying to create, wish to avoid. The worker-revolutionaries must never allow this latter type of army, however, unless they wish sooner or later to see our glorious revolution strangled by it.

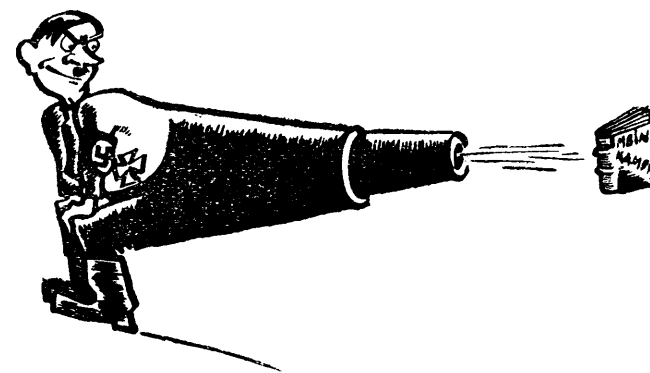
Those who are creating obstacles to avoid victorious action on the Aragon front conduct themselves most shamefully. Instead of remaining silent out of a sense of guilt, they push themselves to the fore on the streets, at meetings, in the press, and unleash a campaign that we others have refrained from carrying on, although, bearing no responsibility for what has happened, we might justly have done so. We all know the true reasons that have prevented the launching of an attack on the Aragon front. We all know that there are more than enough means at hand to do so. We understand why these people are interested in having the Aragon front remain perfectly quiet with no decisive operations being undertaken.



Help The Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.
We need money, clothing and medicine for the refugees from fascism

And Now

Hitler Brings Out His Masterpiece in Arabic



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MORE P. O. U. M. PAMPHLETS

The EDITORIAL MARXISTA, Baños Nuevos, 16, Barcelona, announces the following pamphlets in Spanish:
«The P. O. U. M. Before the Spanish Revolution» by the Executive Committee, 30 centimos.
«Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the P. O. U. M. of December, 1936», 50 centimos;
«The Army and the People» by Zinoviev, 50 centimos; and
«The Spanish Revolution of 1936 and the German Revolution of 1918», by Wolf Bertram, 50 centimos.

THE WOMEN FACE THE REVOLUTION is the title of a pamphlet in Spanish being published by the Women's Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. (Secretariado Feminino del P.O.U.M., Rambla Estudios, 10, Barcelona). It clearly analyses the position of women under capitalism and explains why the real freedom of women can only be achieved in a communist society. Price 30 centimos.

«LA NUEVA ERA» TO REAPPEAR

This monthly review of the P. O. U. M., in Spanish, is being revived with the March issue. Everyone who wants to keep up with the problems of the Spanish revolution should subscribe to this magazine.

NEWS AND NOTES

English Workers Send Aid

The English boat «Pacheo» has arrived at Valencia with 100 tons of provisions sent from London and destined for Madrid. The Committee has gathered the support from workers' organisations in all parts of England. The Spanish workers are deeply grateful for this new evidence of solidarity abroad. The workers are standing together, and thus they will be invincible.

Boycott Franco

The three Scandinavian ships bound for ports of the fascist part of Spain are still tied up in England by order of the Scandinavian Sailors' Union, which is supported by the International Union of Transport Workers. This is an example for workers everywhere.

Equal Rights for Women

A new decree has just been published by the Valencia Government affecting the status of women in Spanish life. No sex distinction will be made in civil life; women have the same rights in law as men and can exercise all civil functions and rights.

In marriage, neither of the parties has command of the other; both are equally obliged by mutual and loyal consent to live together, remain faithful and aid one another. The expenses of maintaining a home rest equally on both partners, according to their respective means and working capacities.

The new decree represents a very big step forward in the rights of women. What is most important, when one realizes the status of women in Spain in the past, is the recognition of their equality with men.

Reformists Unity

The left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party, under the leadership of Largo Caballero, but guided in fact by agents of the Communist Party within the Socialist Party, announces that it is starting a campaign in the Socialist Party for unity with the official Communists, such as the one that led to the disappearance of the Young Socialists.

We are certainly not against the unity of Marxists. We were the first to give the example of unity with the founding of the P. O. U. M. in November 1935, long before the fictitious fusion rushed through since then. However, we hold that the unification of Marxists is only progressive when realised on a revolutionary basis, as in the case of the fusion of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc and the Communist Left. The precedent which the Stalinists and Left Socialists cite for their unity does not arouse great hopes. The fusion of the youth sections of the Socialist and Communist Parties resulted in the new organisation, the United Socialist Youth, which is the most right wing workers' organisation in Spain, and destroyed the magnificent forward march of the Young Socialists since October 1934.

Nothing else can come of the fusion now proposed. Those who are promoting it know this. Let them fuse, however. In this way confusion will be ended and the workers will know where to turn to find the reformists of all varieties, who are trying to hold back our revolutions.

* * *

For Revolutionary UNITY!

Imp. Nova Ibèria / Barcelona (España)

The Valencian City Council

On the evening of February 3rd, the new municipal Council of Valencia was founded, with a comrade of the C. N. T. as mayor and of the U. G. T. as deputy mayor. The body will be composed of six representatives of the C. N. T., six of the U. G. T., three of the F. A. I., three of the Socialist Party, three of the Communist Party, two of the P. O. U. M., two of the Valencian Left, two of the Left Valencian Party, two of the Spanish Left, three of the Republican Left, three of the Republican National Union and two of the Syndicalist Party—thirty five in all.

Workers Front?

Representing the P. O. U. M. in the Valencian town Council are the Comrades José Grimalt and Edward de Sirval, the latter the brother of the journalist assassinated in October by the Legionaries in the Oviedo prison.

The Communist Party alone raised its voice against the admission of these two comrades and the party they represent. All the other parties accepted their places, but the Stalinists instead, insulted our delegates, and as usual, called them agents of Hitler and Mussolini. To cap it all, they withdrew from the Council, as they already had from the Valencia Provincial Council.

Who breaks the workers front?

The Trend

On February 3 the Council of the Generality of Catalonia decided that collectivization of the dairies is illegal. Meetings are to be held with representatives of the two trade union centrals which have already carried out such collectivization to find a solution for this «problem».

SELL OUR BULLETIN

Frequently the path of human history depends upon the action of a relatively small group of revolutionaries who show the way for the masses to follow. Now is the time, comrades, to learn the pitfalls as well as the correct way to the workers' society. Study the events in Spain—the hopes and dangers of this present revolutionary situation. Read the English bulletin of P. O. U. M.—the SPANISH REVOLUTION. Order a bundle and sell it.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION can be had through our agents for two pence or five cents a copy. Order from:

The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St. London.

The Marxist League, 238 Edgware Road, London. W. 2.

The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th Street, New York City.

The League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party (U. S.) 126 E. 16th Street, New York City.

The L. R. W. P. (Canada) 4, Alexander St., Toronto, Ontario.

Friends of Workers Spain, Box 785, Chicago, Illinois.

Ernest Erber, 549, Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

Other agents are requested. Money for the P.O.U.M. can be sent by money order or the American Express Co. to the I.L.P. London, to be forwarded to us here.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT

The fall of Malaga is being used to bolster up a political program which has failed a thousand times. The capitalist democracy of the middle class, like those pseudo-Marxists who are unable to believe in the creative force of the working class, floundering up to its neck in the swamp of its failure and weakness, instead of retiring from the public scene, tries to clear itself of the recent military defeats. Thus we see the President of the Government in his recent speech at Valencia—at the close of a demonstration of three hundred thousand persons—stating that «the Government needs deeds, not words». May we suggest to Largo Caballero and his camp who it is that has acted with deeds and who with words? Useless verbiage has accompanied all the acts and policies of the government. With speeches and more speeches, our democrats have paralyzed all offensive action; with the subterfuges of a small-time lawyer, they have stood in the way of a war industry and a coordinated economy, the very things which we need. On the contrary, it has been the working class which has at all times offered its all—its life. In exchange for what? In exchange for a gun—a gun which it has not received in the majority of cases—with which to win the war and assure its revolutionary conquests.

It is now, however, with the fall of Malaga, which demonstrates the incapacity to which we were referring, that they try to reinforce the governmental policy of annulling the revolutionary action of the workers' organizations. They speak loudly of a «strong government». A «strong government?» It sounds good. It can be said without the least hint of what they really want; but what they really want is perfectly obvious to us: under the present circumstances, a strong government, that is, a strengthening of the power of the present ruling clique would be realized at the expense of the revolutionary independence of the workers' organizations; or, more clearly stated, at their absolute and total submission to the policies of the middle class. It is coming to the light as a large scale manoeuvre, which our party, with its firm revolutionary stand, must oppose with all its might. What is needed to win the war is not a strengthening of impotence; what is necessary is rather a 100% revolutionary program.

The Revolutionary Youth Front, in its great inaugural meeting, and the Anarchist paper, «Solidaridad Obrera» have taken the stand that the army needed is a revolutionary workers' army, an army which springs from the working class and which is directly controlled by the workers' organizations. This is precisely our position. Not the «regular» or «peoples» army—such vague terms—but a revolutionary army alone can lead us to victory. But such a class army cannot be organized by a government whose program is typically middle class; it can be organized only by a revolutionary government, a government of the working class, a Workers' and Peasants' Government. A «strong» government such as is now being called for

is not only a bluff, but a danger as well. It is a danger since it would be imposed at the cost of the workers' organizations and as a mortgage on their revolutionary program.

A strong government means a strengthening of the middle class program. It is a fresh attempt to revive and fortify a policy which has worse than failed. No-one can speak of a strong power to win the war, because to win the war they must always count on the working class. If the war has not been won, it is due exactly to their policy and not to the workers, who have always been ready to fight. The workers, with their revolutionary action, have never obstructed the victory over fascism, as has the government with the pretext of winning the war by opposing the revolution. What is more, a «strong government» cannot solve the problems that now confront the whole Iberian Peninsula, this can be done only by a Workers' and Peasants' Government, which will know how to organize a really victorious force through its revolutionary program.

Against every manoeuvre of the middle class we will oppose our revolutionary action. Against a «strong government» we will impose a Workers' and Peasants' Government. This alone is the guarantee of victory; this alone can win the war and make the revolution.



«A Fascist Prisoner.» «And just imagine! He's a Spaniard.»