

NEWS AND NOTES

**Comrade Wolf Killed in Action**

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

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

**The Balance**

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

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

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

**Red Generation**

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

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

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

**P. O. U. M. Postcards**

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

**Donation From Scotland**

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

**The Public Order Decrees**

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

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

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

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

**American Sailors Against Franco**

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

**Student Help**

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

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

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

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

**Italians in Spain**

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

**THE INVASION OF WORKERS' SPAIN**

|                              |        |
|------------------------------|--------|
| By Africans of various races | 78.000 |
| Germans                      | 39.000 |
| Italians                     | 82.000 |
| Irish, Poles, etc.           | 12.000 |

Total 211.003

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

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

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

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

# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

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## THE CRISIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANDRES NIN

# THE CRISIS

## The Thirteen Points

With regard to the crisis in the Government of the Generality the following resolutions were approved by the Central Committee of the P.O.U.M.:

«The present crisis in the Government of the Generality of Catalonia, latent from the moment of its birth, is a crisis of power. In fact there exists no government in Catalonia which is capable of enforcing its decrees and orders.

«Such a government does not exist because those set up since the 19th July do not reflect the new situation—a situation characterised by the active part played by the working masses in the armed struggle against Fascism as well as in the work of reconstructing the country on new political and economic bases. There is needed a Government which can channelize the aspirations of the workers, providing a fundamental, concrete solution to all their problems by the creation of a new order which would guarantee the revolution and the victory on the battlefield. This government can only be a government formed of representatives of all the political and trade union organisations of the working classes, a government which would take as its immediate goal the realisation of the following programme:

1. Socialisation of heavy industry and transport.
2. Nationalisation of banking.
3. Municipalisation of real estate.
4. Building of an army controlled by the working class.
5. Constitution of a single Interior Security Corps, based on the Guard Patrols and the Investigation

Corps, created by the revolution and incorporating the old police organisations that have demonstrated their loyalty to the working class.

6. Immediate offensive on the Aragon Front.
7. Reduction of high salaries.
8. Monopoly of foreign trade.
9. Creation of a powerful war industry, socialised and rigorously centralised.
10. Nationalisation of the land, insuring the product to those who work it and granting them the necessary credits. Collective cultivation of large estates and economic aid for those collective farms created during the course of the revolution which have demonstrated their vitality.
11. Implacable fight against monopolists and profiteers by means of a rigorous direct control of the distribution and prices of foodstuffs.
12. Rapid and efficient organisation of aerial and naval defense of all our territory.
13. Convocation of a congress of delegates of workers and peasants' unions and soldiers to lay the fundamental bases of the new regime and from which would arise a workers' and peasants' government—a government which would be the most democratic possible, which would express unequivocally the will of the great majority of the people, and which would have complete authority to ensure the new revolutionary order.

### German Prisoners

Misled by false information broadcast over the fascist radio, four German officers crossed our lines at Urquiola in the Basque country, which they believed to be in the hands of the fascists. Valuable documents were taken from the prisoners.

### League Sanctions?

British public opinion—favoring the Spanish workers' cause—seeks to lay their cause before the League of Nations, under the provisions of Article 10. A new boycott of Mussolini would overwhelm the Italian economy.

*The trade unions of all countries should organize a large-scale plan of sabotage, strikes and boycotts against the fascist nations and those who help them. They should hold demonstrations in favor of the cause of the Spanish workers; they should wage a continuous campaign. They should not leave international capitalism in peace.*

*The campaign should follow the lines of the defense of Abyssinia, except that Spain means more to the international working class than did Abyssinia. For eight months the workers of Europe have watched the Spanish workers fighting alone against capitalism. Now the workers must take their stand. We appeal to the solidarity of the international trade union movement—to help the Spanish workers, to save the working class of Europe, to visit strong sanctions upon the fascist enemy.*

# MAY DAY

## The Spanish Workers

lead

## The World

## Revolution

# TREACHERY AT MALAGA

*The Governor of Almeria, Gabriel Moron, has issued this statement to the press concerning the fall of Malaga:*

«Without going into an analysis of the causes and the antecedents of the Malaga rout», he says, «I can flatly state that the fall of Malaga was due either to an iniquitous sell-out or to unqualified treason. I am so certain of treachery from data of great interest which is now in the hands of the Government.

«The fascist troops did not enter Malaga on Sunday evening but rather the next day, Monday, at noon. The Colonel Villalba, to-day in prison as a result of my denunciations, abandoned the place at six on Sunday evening, that is when the fascists had not yet reached the environs of Malaga, whose evacuation he ordered. Villalba, in ordering the Government to abandon Malaga on Sunday evening, assumed that the fascists had entered the city. From Valencia, they assured me categorically that they were pushing the defense of Malaga. To check this, we got in touch with Malaga. We spoke with the Maritime Delegations, with Comrade Sanmartin, who with other comrades, organized the evacuation of the capital as far as possible. He told us that it was untrue that the fascists had entered Malaga. There can be no doubt then of the falsehood of Colonel Villalba's information to the Government. Sanmartin had time to sink the two boats anchored in the harbor and to blow up the deposits of the C.A.M.P.S.A.

«When Sanmartin and his companions came towards Almeria, Villalba tried to detain them and have them killed, in order to eliminate witnesses of his treason.»

Last December, it was rumoured that the Anarchists had arrested Colonel Villalba on the Aragon front and were about to shoot him as a fascist. The government seems to have regained possession of him, and he was transferred to a position of command on the Andalusian front.

«During the night, the Italians crossed Boquete de Serrafalla and the Boquete de Cauche further north unhindered. Communication with Almeria was cut. Motril was taken immediately while Queipo's ships were tormenting Malaga with their firing.

«On Monday the 8th, the Marbella front broke, their rear-guard in the hands of the Fascists, and the militiamen left for the mountains in groups. And they must still be there defending themselves with their guns. Some have been able to reach our Andalusian positions, but others have fallen. Those who were not able to escape on Sunday were made prisoners and now are probably carcasses.

### RESPONSABILITIES

«In their name we must ask the responsibility.

«We were all travelling along the road to Almeria: women, children, peasants who left their homes—ours only for a few months—guards and militiamen. The airplanes showed us the way in shrapnel. We could not, however, go back to certain death. There was a possibility of escaping by going forward...

«The National Guards that had left the town returned again with their three cornered helmets to receive the fascists. In this way Queipo had them all together. He had them taken to the bullring and there a machine gun manned by Moors sprinkled them over the sand. Not even their three-cornered helmets saved them. And if they had escaped the workers would have made them pay dearly for their treachery.

«That was how Malaga fell. Those of us who saw how it was given away ask that responsibility be determined, that no-one be pardoned, no-one excused. Malaga is now a fascist city. Our Poor Malaga.

«Our Malaga, the Malaga of the workers and peasants that had made of it Red Malaga. Perhaps that was why Malaga «fell».

Antonio Ruiz is a real Andalusian. As a peasant in the village of Almogia, near Malaga, he has lived the tragedy of the fallen city in all its intensity. A fugitive now, he arrived in Barcelona a month and a half ago. His comrades of the Andalusian battalions of the Lenin Division have given him the painful job of getting their families together in Almeria or at least to find out how many of them were dead. He is an old man. Worn out by tilling the land, having participated in the protest movements in which the peasants of Malaga always figured in the front ranks, Antonio Ruiz uses his time writing, between one letter and another, simple articles on the great episode of his life, the fall of Malaga which—he says—he will never understand and never forgive.

He speaks slowly and steadily. His words are of more value than all the articles written in the newspapers or the heroic declarations over the wireless. The thousands of Andalusian workers and peasants that have been shot by the Fascists or that have had to leave their families and farms, speak through his lips. His voice, made of curses and cries, has an extraordinary force. It must way on somebody's mind like an awful accusation.

«Whenever I refer to the treachery of Malaga I must do so without giving many details because they would appear unbelievable. If anyone heard them and believed them they would take their gun and not wait for the rest of the story. Malaga cannot be forgotten. When we who saw it fall remember it we are overwhelmed with madness and a thirst for revenge that will be hard to kill.»

«On Sunday the 7th February, at about six in the morning, when the workers were beginning to leave their homes for their day's work, we began to hear the cannons with a hitherto unknown intensity. I, who had risen earlier that day than usual, heard the booming of the artillery and saw how the streets of the old red quarters of La Trinidad were swept with shrapnels.

«I asked some comrades what was that noise that sounded so near Malaga and they told me that it was made by the militias that were practicing. All the inhabitants of the town were in the same ignorance of the situation and the danger of the town. The death of Malaga was stepping on the threshold of the city gates. Seeing the people in such a state of ignorance was heart-breaking. How could such ignorance be understood when the enemy was a few miles away and the menace was in the very skies?»

### THE MALAGA OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

«In meetings and press reports the civil authorities had convinced us of the absolute security of the city. Why? It was not with a desire of not alarming us, because if the workers had known of the danger they would have pulled themselves together and the Fascists would have felt the effects of their enthusiasm. General Queipo was able to take Malaga thanks to the unjustified confidence that was sewn in the minds of its citizens.

«When the Italians entered they set about pulling off the walls posters which read «Malaga is invincible», «Trust your Chiefs», «The Fascists will never tread the streets of Red Malaga»; and the sad part of it all is that this could have been true if the truth had not been kept from the workers and militiamen.

«Seeing this danger ignored, and not thinking of the danger of being taken for an alarmist, I shouted out to everybody I met that the Fascists had taken Almogia, my hometown thirty six kilometres from Antequera, having covered that distance in about six hours, finding no resistance and passing the Boca del Burro, a position which could have been held by two armed men against a whole nation. So the Fascists were twenty two kilometres from Malaga in the morning and in the evening they had taken the town...»

«The city was under enemy fire. News of the previous day's failure was beginning to circulate and during the first half of the day we saw no defensive preparation being made.

## The I.L.P. Contingent in Action

The morale of the men of the I.L.P. contingent is at a high pitch with the renewed activity on the Huesca Front, where they hold a central position. The P.O.U.M. and Anarchist militia, in spite of their lack of heavy guns, have carried through several brilliant surprise operations, closing in on the town from all sides and cutting the only remaining road that was open:

One of the men writes of these operations as follows: «On Tuesday morning the position was advanced by half a mile up the road, and a considerable distance on the right flank. All night hundreds of men had been out building machine-gun positions, parapets and trenches along the new line. Our biggest surprise was when the Fascists made no attempt to contest this advance at dawn. All day long we worked like Trojans building two big dugouts and were settling down to sleep when we were moved again to take part in a surprise attack, but this action did not come off. During the day H—and P—were wounded, but not seriously. We are now on the right flank. This is our third position in a week, and we have dug ourselves in here. It has been good to be here during the last few days».

With an opportunity for a little action, we see how their spirit rises. Imagine the mighty attack of the workers' militia on the Aragon front if they had the arms!

## Heroism of the Workers

In the Jarama sector, many workers were entrapped behind the fascist lines and have been seeking for weeks to regain contact with our troops. According to some who have succeeded in getting through, there were recently two or three thousand workers resisting in the Monsalud range — armed with only thirty guns. They stayed together until driven apart by hunger. Some were shot or imprisoned. Those who succeeded in enlisting in the fascist forces are carefully watched to prevent desertions — which have perilously thinned the fascist ranks.

## Reformism in Retreat

Finally the reformists are retreating. They tried to take advantage of the crisis of the Generality to speculate with the paralysis of the Aragon front, but this manoeuvre failed. It failed because everyone knows why there is no attack on the Aragon front and who is responsible for this. The inactivity of the Aragon front is due to its being starved of arms by reformism in power. Yet the Stalinists of Madrid have the audacity to write: «We came from Catalonia to Madrid to learn how to fight and how to win»; «In Catalonia they neither fight nor conquer». But reformism is now beating a retreat, at least in Catalonia. Their paper «Las Noticias» revealed this the other evening.

They are trying to evade the issue. They are trying to take back what they said, claiming that they are not against our militias at the front but that they are not interested in investigating the causes of idleness on the Aragon front.

We do not blame them. They might have to tell who is responsible for the lack of arms on this front. They might have to reveal other uncomfortable facts. Reformism has no interest in bringing this question to the light of day, but the workers of Catalonia have a particular interest in doing so.

«Las Noticias» (organ of the Stalinist-controlled U.G.T. of Catalonia) says that a Workers' and Peasants' Government «would be a government of poets and villagers». We knew that the U. G. T. bureaucracy felt a profound disdain towards the emancipation of the working class, but we scarcely expected them to express it so clearly. They have no faith in the ability of the workers to govern themselves, but they expect the workers to continue paying union dues to their anti-revolutionary leaders.

# CATALONIA LOSES HER ARMY

The general military uprising took place in Catalonia on July the 19<sup>th</sup>. In Barcelona, Lerida, Gerona, Figueras, Mataro and Tarragona the immense majority of regiments of the so-called autonomous regions of Catalonia joined hands with the rebels. The heroism and enthusiasm of the working class, however brought their downfall. The soldiers were freed and the military traitors were put in front of a firing squad. In less than 48 hours we saw the complete disappearance of Military Area No. 4.

Fighting continued in the rest of Spain outside the Catalan frontier. It was imperative to throw fascism out of every city which it had conquered, to march on Huesca, on Zaragoza, on Teruel, and so were born the glorious workers' militias, seed of the future Revolutionary Army.

The newly armed men that left for the front took on the natural form of forces while fighting. The militiamen were workers and peasants. The organization was Catalan. Once again the countryside, the working class and the national question stood side by side in the fight against fascism.

The opposition to Catalonia's national army, made up of workers and peasants, arose as soon as Madrid was able to suffocate the rebellion of her militarists. There was a difference in revolutionary rhythm between Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Madrid stood for the democratic republic. Barcelona represented the triumphant proletarian revolution. The revolutionary forces, the working class and the national question found in Catalonia and her army the guarantee of their triumph. The anti-revolutionary reformist forces gathered around the Republican Government. They were two distinct powers, distinct armed forces, distinct social conceptions. One day one of the most important problems of the Spanish Revolution would have to be thrashed out around this duality.

During the last seven months we have lived through a never-ending period of give-and-take between the Catalan and the Central Governments. It has been a trying period of diplomatic resistance, the story of which we will expose when we deem necessary. A trying period during which the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M. have stoutly maintained the necessity of forming the revolutionary army of Catalonia—the C.N.T. in a spontaneous way, the P.O.U.M. consciously. These efforts were intended to destroy everything which could remind us of Military Area No. 4; to prevent our militias from simply being a few more brigades of the Spanish army.

However, counterrevolutionary reformism has not been idle. We resisted firmly, but at last it has had its way. The Valencia Government, the republican and the reformist parties, were perfectly aware of the danger which the Catalan army would mean. This is the reason why all their worrying and all their activities have been centred round one problem—that of taking away its independence, placing it at the orders of the Valencia Government and reconstructing the old unitarian and centralist army. We can say that almost all the opposition of the central Government towards Catalan questions was due since the 19th July, to the existence of this military duality.

Valencia has flatly refused economic help to Catalonia in order to restrict our military operations. Valencia has refused arms and munitions to the Aragon front to prevent our forces from obtaining successes capable of creating an atmosphere of victory and of stimulating the revolutionary will of the workers of Spain. Valencia has always gambled on a sure thing. While the Generality of Catalonia was obliged to beg money from the central government with which to pay the militiamen six or eight week' salaries continually overdue, Valencia bribed the military officers commanding the men, paying them their salaries punctually and directly.

The entire Valencian policy towards Catalonia has been a Blackmail. They have speculated with everything, in order to take from us the army which we had been able to get together at the expenses of many sacrifices. They have speculated with money, with arms, with the Unified Command. Even with the military failures.



*The Workers' Militia, Springing from the People, is the Foundation of the Democratic Revolutionary Army of the Workers*

We have been refused arms and the money with which to buy them, while heaps of gold lie putrid in ships and in bank vaults. We have been refused our own money, that which proportionally belonged to Catalonia and which had been produced from our own labor.

We have been accused of trying to cripple the Unified Command, just as if the Unified Command were synonymous with a unified army or centralist army. As if two armies could not depend on a common command without ceasing to be two armies. During the European war the allied armies fighting in the northern regions of France established a Unified Command without the various armies losing their nationality.

And they have tried to blame us for the military defeats, putting them down to the demoralization caused by our militias in the so-called Republican Army.

Finally, during the month of March, Valencia has been able to get its way. The Generality of Catalonia has presented our militias, our cannons, our machine guns and rifles to the Valencia Government. From now on Valencia will meet all expenses of the Catalan army. Military commands, Popular Military School, operations and attacks will all depend on Valencia. The Catalan working class has lost its army. Military Area No. 4 has scored a complete win from every point of view.

That which had not been possible in the time of the Central Militias Committee, nor later in the time of the Defense Council, has been achieved now by a Generality Government that prides itself on being revolutionary, a Government including four councillors of the C.N.T., with a Councillor of Defense from the C.N.T. Moreover they have given away that which was not theirs, that which belonged to all the working class of Catalonia.

**The P.O.U.M. protests before the working class. We want a regular army, efficient, well armed and disciplined but keeping its character of a workers' revolutionary army under the control of the working-class organizations.**

**We want a Unified Command, Coordination of Command, but not the absorption by Valencia of our armed forces. On the contrary, we demand absolute respect for the personality of the proletarian divisions fighting on the Aragón front.**

By GIRONELLA

## The Democratic Countries against the Spanish Revolution

The recent agreement of the so-called Non-Intervention Committee has commenced to have its effects. It works in this way: in the various countries signing the pact, but especially on the southern border of France—all the workers who want to come to Spain to offer their services and their lives for the revolutionary cause are being detained. On the other hand, the ports dominated by the fascists continue, and will continue, to disembark the troops which Hitler and Mussolini are sending to Franco. This is the aid which England, France and Russia are bringing to the anti-fascist struggle.

We denounce the motives which impelled the Non-Intervention Committee to prohibit volunteers and to impose the Plan of Control of the coasts of the Iberian peninsula. The objectives proposed are these: to stop the growing revolution, to place an iron ring around our movement and to bind the working class hand and foot. This is not all: they also want to prepare the conditions for a possible armistice. The possibility of a reconciliation is not the product of our imagination. It has already been mentioned by some sectors of the workers' movement and certain government ministers.

The international solidarity of the working class has been cut. No longer can the workers of the various countries come to take their place in our ranks. However, the black shirts can still reinforce Franco's army. This is the result of the policy of the Non-Intervention Committee. And this is the aid brought to our country by the democratic states. Not only Great Britain, with its long conservative tradition, but France as well, where a Left Government, in fact a People's Front Government, rules. But we must see clearly. France and England are not alone to blame for this situation. The major responsibility falls on the Spanish Government, which has allowed itself to fall into such an extreme situation. It has not only allowed it, it has actually worked for the prohibition of volunteers and the Plan of International Control. In the French Chamber a minister declared that it was precisely the Spanish Government who wanted such a control. He pointed out that the first suggestion came from the Minister of State, Senor Barcia, in the first weeks of the war.

This was natural enough. The policy of the People's Front, at the service of the capitalist democracy, led unavoidably to this situation, a situation which will increasingly injure the revolution if the working class does not step in to prevent it. British capitalism, especially, is profoundly interested, not only in crushing the revolution but in keeping Franco's movement alive for a time. It does not want the war to be quickly ended but prefers it to run along month after month, until all the energies and all the possibilities of the fighters have been drained. In a word: it wants to see a ruined Spain, exhausted, a Spain easily pliable to its own imperialist and colonial designs.

## Italian Prisoners for Spain

The Fascist General Secretariat of Rome has ordered the wardens of the prisons of Gaeta and Portolongone to muster divisions of common prisoners to be sent to Spain. They are to embark from La Spezzia — over 1500 in all, according to reports from Geneva.

Two Danzig daily papers, the «Volkszeitung» and «National Zeitung», have been suspended and seized by the Nazi authorities for having announced the defeats suffered by the Italians on the Guadalajara Front.

The Madrid Defense Junta has published the following statement to the «Soldiers of the Revolution».

«Soldiers: do not forget our Spanish Revolution. Every one of your knapsacks is carried by a citizen who will become a leader of our economic revolution — that which we are really fighting for. If to-day we are temporarily soldiers in the ranks of the armed revolution, tomorrow we shall be the staunch leaders of the economic revolution, in the factories, shops, fields and offices, laying the foundation of our welfare and that of our sons and of future generations.»

## THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN SPAIN

At the advent of the Revolution, the feudal system governed rural property. The large landed proprietors worked their land under feudal conditions, holding a population of several millions of people in the most complete misery. Land, instead of being a means of liberation, was converted into an instrument of domination in the hands of the feudal lords simply to maintain their historical position.

Millions and millions of acres of fertile land remained absolutely uncultivated, other large districts were used for the bull-fights, and immense stretches of land were kept for hunting. The remainder of the soil was cultivated most inefficiently. When the peasants had managed to pay the dues which the landlords imposed it was impossible for them to obtain tools, agricultural machinery, cattle or any other indispensable equipment. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the consequences which such a state of affairs had on the development of the social economy. With industry in an embryonic state and agriculture in complete stagnation throughout the largest part of Spanish territory, it was not at all surprising Spain should be classed among the poorest nations of Europe. In this situation a series of more or less violent struggles brought about the fall of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic on the 14th April, 1931.

During the year '30 the working classes fought a desperate battle against the dominant class, but owing to the unpolitical character of the C. N. T. the road was left open to the lower middle classes, by a clever demagogic campaign, to channelize the revolutionary movement into a number of small legal reforms, the only result of which was to give the forces of reaction, beaten but not vanquished, time to prepare a return to the situation prior to the 14th of April, 1931.

From the very first moment of the struggle our party, at that time the Workers and Peasants' Bloc, had pointed out the danger for the future of the working classes in following the political line adopted by the lower middle class and supported also by certain socialists. It was not by simply legal methods that we could definitely crush reaction but rather by giving revolutionary solutions to the problems which had been left unsolved by the Monarchy.

In what manner did the lower middle classes react before this problem? They produced as a solution the celebrated Agrarian Reform measures by which it was proposed to solve the problem by buying the land necessary for the sustenance of a million and a half peasants. To put this project into operation, the Cortes voted the annual sum of 50 million pesetas. This sum was quite ridiculous when for each peasant 8000 pesetas was necessary to buy the essential cultivating tools, the cattle seed, manures, etc., and to allow them to wait for the next harvest. In making an approximate calculation it is proved that those who pass as the saviours of the country, of the workers and of agriculture could only arrive at their goal at the end

of 248 years. As they found out, however, the patience of the peasants is long but it is not so long as formerly.

In Catalonia they tried to do something similar. Here however it was not a question of dividing up the land, as small allotments were already largely in existence. Efforts were made to obtain reduction of the rentals of farms in order to pacify the peasants and to allow the bourgeoisie to live in peace and tranquillity. The bourgeoisie, however, was not disposed to make concessions, and, rallying round Gil Robles and his party, they suppressed the law of «Farm Contracts».

The position of the P. O. U. M. on this question has always been «The land for those who work it». We have always demanded the appropriation, without compensation, of large estates, and the giving of this land to the peasants who cultivate it. If our line had been adopted, one of the strongholds of reaction would have been destroyed, and it is certain that the Fascist rebellion would not have broken out.

Unfortunately our party was not strong enough either in Catalonia or in the other parts of the Peninsula to ensure the triumph of this sound revolutionary conception.

The policy of temporation and timidity of the lower middle classes led up to the 6th of October, 1934, when the heroic Asturian miners covered themselves with glory. From that date commenced a period of repression for the workers which did not end until July 19th, 1936. If, during the period between February 16th and July 19th, the middle class parties, again in power, no longer actively repressed the workers, neither did they fight against reaction — the reaction which culminated in the outbreak of the present Spanish civil war. At the present moment there is being carried out another series of manoeuvres in order to side track once again the present struggle between Spanish and international fascism against the Spanish working class.

The lower middle class and the official Socialist and Communist Parties represent the Spanish struggle as simply a defence of capitalist democracy. As the solutions which they propose correspond to this political outlook, they have never once advocated the socialization of the land, the solution we have proposed from the beginning.

We consider that the existence of private property in the means of production is the cause of the misery of the world working class, with the exception of Soviet Russia. The socialization of the land would make impossible the return of the big land owners, who will not fail to reappear if this program is not adopted. It goes without saying that we are absolutely against the payment of indemnity to the former owners.

They reply with the argument that the small owners must be respected and that socialization would injure a great many small owners, who are not only not fascists, but are even fighting beside the industrial workers.

To this, the P. O. U. M. replies that only socialization insures the small owner of not being robbed some day of the little piece of land which he needs to live.

With the right of private property goes the right to buy and sell. Under these conditions the peasant is continually in danger of being dispossessed of his farm instruments and of his land, of his means of existence, whether he owns his land or rents it. With socializations this danger disappears; the peasant is assured that as long as he works it, he shall have the land necessary to assure the existence of himself and his family. We do not want the land to remain an instrument of gain and exploitation — which can only be avoided by socialization, regardless of what the defenders of capitalism may say.

The Agrarian Conference of the P. O. U. M., meeting the 15th of last November, adopted the following program, which was ratified by the Enlarged Central Committee:

1. Socialization of the land.
2. Distribution of the land among the peasants who have not enough, according to their respective needs.
3. Respect for the small holdings which do not exceed the capacity of the family to work them.

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## Only One Solution, a Workers' and Peasants' Government

We are faced with a general disorganization of the capitalist economy. The bankruptcy of this economic system has placed two problems before us: one, the problem of power in view of the present necessities, and, the other, that of finding a harmonious solution to the difficult situation that the future seems to hold for us. The situation is as difficult in the field of production as it is in those of distribution and exchange. A solution to this must be found then. Is it possible to effect this economic reconstruction, to make, in a country like ours, for example, a prosperous nation by the way and the methods common to capitalist democracy? Can the petty bourgeoisie satisfy the pressing need for the creation of a war industry? Here the question of power arises again.

Democracy's total collapse was openly manifested during the last two years of the Republic as well as in the six months of the civil war. First, the republicans have not shown themselves capable of solving their own class problems, of impeding the advance of reaction, nor even of maintaining the Republic; and then, since the beginning of the fascist insurrection, they have revealed themselves to be a force totally incapable of creating the war industry needed to face the struggle. They are absolutely incompetent in the military as well as the economic fields. There has been no economic reconstruction, even a transitory one. This is the cruel reality. Can democracy, then, represented by the Peoples' Front, satisfy the revolutionary needs? The only guarantee of holding to a revolutionary direction rests upon the assumption by the workers of the effective command of the country, that is to say, that they take over the administration, and with it the power. They are the only historic force which can find a solution for this unstable and chaotic situation. This economic reconstruction must be tackled, not

with a simple criticism reconstruction must be tackled, not with a simple criticism of mixed and transitory methods, confused and anarchical, if not clearly capitalist, but rather with a firm and coherent plan, consecutively oriented towards socialism. From this springs the need for a workers' and peasants' government.

Why a workers' and peasants' government? Only this can offer a guarantee of victory. Not a heterogeneous union, always imprisoned by its own internal contradictions, but a workers' government with a definite program, with one final solution. Only a government of such a nature can create a war industry; only such a government can sustain the international blockade by obtaining a just distribution of our production; only it can carry through the nationalization of the banks, the key to the solution of many problems; only this government, and none other, can guarantee public order behind the lines, by an adequate police force and revolutionary justice.

But what do we mean by such a government? We conceive of it, not as a simple and exclusive consequence of private arrangements between parties, but a just and exact reflection of the proletariat that is working behind the lines and fighting at the front. A government which would be the living incarnation of a true workers' democracy, that would organize the new order of things, that would destroy the capitalist foundation which still remains standing, and would start the new society with a firm and sure step on the road to socialism.

In the light of recent events the historic necessity of a government of this nature has been made manifest. The slogan of the moment, the objective of the hour: A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT.

### SELL OUR BULLETIN

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

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

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

The Marxist Group, 25 Aubert Park, London, N. 5.

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

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

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

Socialist Book Shop, 35 So. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

Socialist Party of Houston, Box 2321, Houston, Texas.

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.

4. Technical and economic aid for agricultural collectives.
5. Purchasing and marketing of farm products through the peasants' unions and cooperatives, the only way to end with the middle-man once for all.

This agrarian program has brought upon the P. O. U. M. the severest criticism of those self-styled revolutionary parties, which are fighting only to defend the interests of the capitalists.

Just as events here have demonstrated the soundness of the positions which we held at the beginning of the Republic, we are absolutely certain that again today the same will be the case, all the more so since the working class has undergone a long and painful experience as to what they can expect from the capitalists and their hangers-on. We know that they will not let themselves be deceived by false promises and that they will let know how to make the revolution with all its consequences

by E. ARMENGOL  
of the Agrarian Secretariat of the P. O. U. M.

### Will the Catalan Parliament be Revived?

The protracted crisis in the Council of the Generality is being used to revive the dead parliament of Catalonia. At least, that seems to be indicated by a long visit of Dr. Serra Hunter, President of the Parliament, at the residence of President Companys.

Upon leaving, Dr. Hunter spoke for a moment with the reporters, revealing that he had been invited by the President of Catalonia and that they had not consulted concerning the crisis, though of course they had spoken of the relation of Parliament to the present situation.

It is obvious that the present crisis — a reckoning between reformists and revolutionaries — has no real stable solution. Presidential solutions may be imposed. They may even revive our dead parliament, but only an assembly of workers, peasants and soldiers can lay the basis of a strong revolutionary government of the working class.

### WHY?

The Deputation of the Parliament of Catalonia has held a meeting. No report of this meeting was furnished to the press, inasmuch, they tell us, as nothing of interest transpired. However, it is widely believed that this meeting had a greater importance than is apparent and that it is related to the present crisis of the Government of the Generality.

### New Pamphlets of la Editorial Marxista

«How to Attain Socialism», by Lucario Deslinières.

«The Interpretation of Marxism», by Gordi Arquer, in Spanish, price 50 centimos.

«The Communist Program» by Lenin,  
«What is Imperialism?» by Zinoviev.

In Spanish. Price 30 centimos.

The Iberian Communist Youth offers the following pamphlets, obtainable through the Editorial Marxista:

«The Communist Youth and Sexual Morality», by

Alexander Kolontay,  
«The Socialist University», by Joaquín Maurín.

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Revolutionary Youth of France

The example given by Catalonia of a Revolutionary Youth Front has been followed by the Revolutionary Youth of France. The Anarchist Youth and the Left Socialist Youth have made an agreement which it is hoped will become the nucleus of an inclusive Revolutionary Youth Front of France.

## A Literary Competition

Every revolution and every war gives rise to its own literature and song. Those who are close to the action express their political aspirations. The P. O. U. M. Militiamen are being encouraged to write their impressions of the battle front by means of a competition organized by the Editorial Marxista. Comrades Andrade, Gorkin and Escuder will select the prize work, which will be published.

## «El Pionero Rojo»

The first number of the «RED PIONEER», the organ of the Federation of Communist Pioneers (of the Iberian Communist Youth), has just appeared. This interesting paper will help to make good Communists of the working class children.

## Another Suppression

The Basque government, composed of socialists, communists, republicans, autonomists and Catholics, has arrested the Regional Committee of the C. N. T. and the editorial staff of the newspaper «C. N. T. of the North» which appeared at Bilbao. Furthermore they have seized the print shop, which has been turned over to the daily, «Red Basque», organ of the Basque Communist Party.

## Stalinist Pettyness

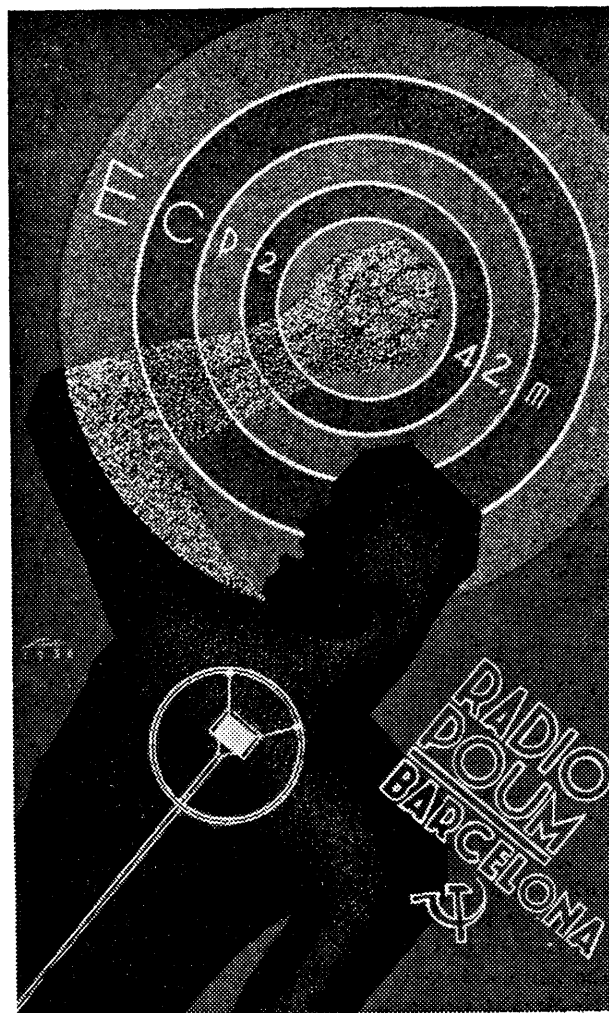
The manoeuvres of the Stalinists to take advantage of the Spanish struggle to rupture «anti-fascist unity» and to slander true revolutionaries are not confined to Europe. In Chicago, the «Spanish Youth Delegation», accompanied by the Spanish consul, stalked out of a banquet hall refusing to sit at the same table as Ernest Erber, National Chairman of the Young Peoples Socialist League. Erber, who last October collaborated in the offices of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION and Radio P.O.U.M. we know as a sound revolutionary. He is guilty of the crime of eloquently supporting the revolutionary Spanish workers and the P.O.U.M. in fifty meetings across America. We stand by Comrade Erber. To the pettyness of the reformists we reply «Forward to the World Revolution!»

## Reformism Devours Itself

It appears that the Barcelona Local Committee of the P. S. U. C. (United Socialist Party of Catalonia) have been removed from office without right of self-defense, on the grounds of complacency towards the P. O. U. M. and the C.N.T. Thus the Stalinist bureaucrats remake their party in Spain.

## Burgos Money, «Bogus Money»

In one of his broadcasts, the ex-General Queipo de Llano announced heavy penalties for those who refused to accept notes issued by the Burgos Junta. Such refusal is considered as a boycott of the Junta of Generalísimo Franco.



## RADIO P.O.U.M.-Change in Wave Length

Radio P. O. U. M., station E. C. P. 2, Barcelona, announces a new short wave length of 38,11 metres. Broadcasts in various languages every night but Sunday, 8 p. m. till 9:30. The English program comes on at 8,00. You are invited to send us reception reports. Is it true that a marked interference develops at 8:15, when the program changes from English to Italian, as one English comrade claims to have observed? Our address is **Radio P. O. U. M., Barcelona.**

## Radio Badalona

Another new broadcasting service of the P. O. U. M. has been opened — Radio Badalona, wave length 230 metres. It will be on the air every evening at 7—9 (Greenwich time) — programs in Spanish and Catalan.

**RADIO BADALONA — AT THE SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS**

**WE ARE IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND THEREFORE THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY THE WORKING CLASS.** NIN.

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## THE BARRICADES OF MAY 3-7

## THE WORKERS HOLD THE STREETS

Barcelona, the workers' city, has just lived through glorious days. Just as the working class of Barcelona rose in arms against the fascist uprising of July 19th, from the 3rd to the 7th of May the workers showed that they would not allow Stalinism and reformism to snatch away their revolutionary conquests, won at the price of their blood.

Everywhere abroad, an attempt is being made to throw the responsibility for the bloody events of the May days upon the imaginary «provocateurs» in the pay of Trotskyism and therefore of international fascism. The revolutionary workers of Red Barcelona resist this slander. THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, dedicated to their cause, must explain the fighting in Barcelona to the workers of the world.

## THE PROVOCATEURS

Who provoked this action? The responsibility, as is well known, falls directly upon the agents of Stalinism, the protectors of reformism and counter-revolution. For weeks already, the P. S. U. C., controlling Public Order with the aid of the Generality of Catalonia, had been making attacks against the workers (at Puigcerda, Figueras and Molins de Llobregat). During the weeks preceding the events, the Public Order forces, the National Republican Guards and the Assault Guards, made several «expeditions» against the revolutionary workers of Catalonia, forcible dissolving the Revolutionary Defence Committees spontaneously set up by the workers after July 19th. At the same time, there were signs that certain elements among these forces were ready for counter-revolutionary and fascist action. Here we see the result of the underhand action of the Stalinists who go to the point of helping fascism in their hatred of the revolutionary working class.

On the eve of the week of struggle, the provocative display of armed forces at the funeral of Roldan Cortada of the U. G. T., the uprising of the customs officers at Ripoll and other provocations were the successive links in a chain which ended with the attack of May 3rd.

Among the agents of these counter-revolutionary acts were found the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (P.S.U.C.), which is the Stalinist party, the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, the party of the backward section of the middle class, and the armed corps—the Assault Guards and Civil Guards—in the pay of the Generality. All these forces enjoy the tacit, if not official, support of the Generality of Catalonia.

## THE ATTACK ON THE TELEPHONE BUILDING

Monday, May 3rd, at 3 p. m., Assault Guards, under the command of Rodriguez Sala, Commissar of Public Order and P. S. U. C. member, tried to take the Telephone Building in the Plaza Cataluña by force. The occupation was supported by a heavy detachment of armed men, both police guards and cavalry. For ten months the Telephone Building had been under the control of a trade union committee of members of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T., and its protection against any fascist aggression was assured by the militia of these organizations. In regard to censorship and technical questions, the committee in charge was always at the disposal of the Generality.

That was not enough for the counter-revolutionary elements, however. They wanted to get rid of workers' control of an establishment of such great strategic value. It has been proved, in spite of the denials of the Catalan Government, that the order upon which Rodriguez Sala (of the P. S. U. C.) acted was signed by Artemi Aguadé (of the Esquerra), Councillor of Public Order.

That a counter-revolutionary coup had been planned in advance by the armed forces is proved by the fact that machine-gun stations had been set up on neighbouring roofs by Civil Guards, in order to attack the Telephone Building from various directions.

The attack upon the Telephone Building was the cause of surprise and indignation among the telephone workers, who resisted the occupation of their building. This was the beginning of the violent fighting of the following days. The workers of Barcelona mobilized and began to organize the defence of their districts, to control movements in the city and to prevent reinforcements from coming in.

## THE WORKERS' REACTION

Within two hours, Barcelona was in a state of war. The workers went into the street with their arms to defend their headquarters and to take up strategic positions throughout the city. The revolutionary workers of the C. N. T., the F. A. I. and the P. O. U. M. understood from the first how great was the danger of the armed forces. Without either trade union federation calling a strike, the factory workers poured out to take up their fighting posts. At about 6.30 the transport services, street cars, buses and subways, all controlled by the C. N. T. unions, came to a halt.

At nightfall, the workers began to build barricades of