

NEWS AND NOTES

Comrade Trotsky and the Press

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

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

The U. S. A. Strikes

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

Toward a Revolutionary International

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

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

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

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

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

FORWARD TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

A column of 30.000 calalans

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

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

Spanish exhibition in London

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

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

The «Joaquim Maurin» ambulance

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

INFORMATION BUREAU

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

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

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

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

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

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

We recommend the following pamphlets which we have received.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

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

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

Y P S L
The Labor Book Shop.

PRICE IN U. S. A. . . 05

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios
BARCELONA

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

We March with the Russian Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The P. O. U. M. Before the International Working Class

The Brussels Congress against War, Fascism and Imperialism, which met from October 30 to November 2, gathered together representatives of most of the revolutionary organizations from all over the world who disagree with the reformist position of the Second and Third Internationals. This Congress was extremely important for the future of the working class and the future of our own revolution.

The most vital point under the consideration of the delegates was the question of support to the Spanish revolution. This was to be expected of course. All of the problems faced by the world working class today are closely bound up with those of the Spanish workers. The Brussels Congress recognized this; it is not only the future of our own workers that is being decided in Spain, but the future of the whole world working class.

The resolution on Spain begins with a pledge of solidarity with the Spanish workers in their struggle against fascism and recognizes that without the aid of international fascism for the rebels, the Spanish workers would have already triumphed. Today Spain is the battle field for the world working class, which therefore should be mobilized in our aid.

The third paragraph is of basic importance at this time. It energetically condemns the criminal neutrality policy which was hitherto maintained by the International Trade Union Federation and the Labour and Socialist International, and by the governments in which they participate, especially the Blum Government of France. Capitalist democracy and reformism are incapable of struggling against fascism; they are only capable of strangling the revolution and opening the way to fascism. This historic truth has been once more confirmed.

The Brussels Congress therefore proclaimed that the first duty of the revolutionary workers everywhere is to help us in our struggle, without reserve. The struggle of the Spanish workers against international fascism is the struggle of all workers. What a difference between this Congress and the one held two months ago at Geneva, attended by Stalinist and socialist youth, in which one mentioned the Spanish revolution because it was a peace Congress! From now on, the workers of our country can be sure that their voice will be heard in all the countries whose workers sent delegates to the Brussels Congress.

The question of the Soviet Union was treated in the same paragraph with the Spanish situation. For two and a half months, the Soviet Union was aligned, for all practical purposes, with the neutrality policy. Why have they recently changed their policy? The resolution clearly points this out: for fear of weakening their international position, by the strengthening of the strategic and political position of German fascism, their mortal enemy.

No doubt this new policy should be supported by the world working class, but only under the following conditions: in exchange for the aid of the Soviet Union, the Spanish

workers should not permit their struggle to be limited within the confines of the capitalist democratic Republic, as the Communist officials are trying to do, but rather they should strive for the final triumph of the Spanish socialist revolution. No support for Stalin's diplomacy unless it carries out the international socialist revolution, the line of Marx and Lenin, to which the Congress proclaimed its loyalty.

The victory of fascism in Spain would be a catastrophe. French fascism would not hesitate to throw itself against the French workers, while Italy and Germany would be left masters of the Mediterranean. This would aggravate the danger of war against the Soviet Union, the danger of the world imperialist war.

Those who would avoid the dangers of war by the neutrality policy are now closer to it on account of this policy. They failed to understand that the only way to avoid an international war lay in the immediate crushing of the fascist uprising. They left us to stand against our enemy, unarmed, and what could have been a short struggle with a great victory for the workers, leading to the socialist revolution, has turned into a long, hard war. This mistake may have to be paid for with the lives of thousands of workers in every country, fighting under the same banners and the same slogans of bogus democracy as in 1914.

For all of these reasons, beside its class duty, the workers of the world should put an end to neutrality, should sabotage the sending of arms to Spanish fascism and should send to the Spanish workers whatever they need to win. But this is not enough: the working class should aid the Spanish revolution by weakening the position of international capitalism, that is by carrying on their revolutionary agitation in all countries.

No one at this Congress thought of defending capitalist democracy. No one saw in our struggle a struggle between democracy and fascism. Everyone recognized that our struggle, in Spain, as in every other country, is a fight between fascism representing capitalism in its last stage of decline, and socialism. The Congress proclaimed this in view of the lies appearing in the reactionary, democratic, reformist and Stalinist presses. In Spain, particularly in Catalonia and around Valencia, the masses are openly struggling for the socialist revolution. The Spanish revolution is a step toward the world revolution. Helping us in our struggle, the international working class is preparing for the taking of power.

In the final resolution of their historic document, the Congress congratulates the P. O. U. M., the vanguard of the Spanish revolution, and mourns its founder and inspirer, Joaquim Maurin, and all of the workers fallen in the struggle against fascism and capitalism.

Our party strives to make itself worthy of the confidence of the delegates at Brussels. In order to merit that confidence, our party must go forward along the road to the workers revolution, the road to socialism.

1918 - 1936

The anniversary of Armistice Day has come again. A year after the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, the imperialist governments signed the truce; but it led to a peace treaty in which were the germs for a new war.

Today, 18 years after the Armistice, the face of the world is again turned toward conflict. The imperialism of the capitalist states, now openly dictatorial, leads inevitably to this conflict. This time it will be of greater scope and intensity than a quarter of a century ago.

Mussolini's aggression in Africa, Hitler's «scrap of paper» politics, the fascists' aid to the Spanish rebels and the attitude of France in face of Hitler's and Mussolini's provocations only make the danger greater. The policy pursued by the Soviet Union, far removed from that of the early days of their revolution, weakens the workers' opposition to war. Stalin has forgotten that Lenin called the League of Nations

a «Den of Thieves»; he is supporting an organization of peace that is speedily drifting to war. At the same time sections of the Second and Third Internationals participate in Youth Conferences along with young bourgeois, young Catholics and young fascists.

This is not the way to struggle against war. Not by hesitation and vacillation, but only by a sincere and frank class policy, can the international working class struggle effectively against war.

Today more than ever before the world is menaced by the phantom of death; if the Spanish revolution is the pretext for unloosing the world struggle, we must remember the classic slogans of the whole working class. «Only Socialism will end war», «Down with imperialist war: towards the world revolution» and «Turn imperialist war into civil war».

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST YOUTH TRANSFERRED TO BARCELONA

A Conference of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth attached to the International Bureau, met on November 2 and 3 at Brussels and decided to transfer the headquarters of the organization from Oslo to Barcelona.

Comrade Solano and Comrade A. de Cabo, representing the J. C. I. (the P. O. U. M.'s Youth Section) gave a detailed explanation of the situation in Spain and of the activities of the J. C. I., their slogans and the growth of their newspaper. It was proposed by Comrade Solano that in view of the revolutionary situation in Spain the central bureau be transferred to Barcelona. This was agreed to unanimously.

It was also decided that a bulletin should be published in five languages, to be broadcast throughout the world. Offices will be set up at Paris, London and Oslo to further the international work and to carry the revolutionary campaign even into the fascist countries.

The Executive Committee elected includes Comrade Hans Petersen of the German S. A. P., as secretary, Comrade Bob Smillie of the I. L. P. Guild of Youth, Comrade Martini of the Italian Maximalist Youth and Comrade Solano of the J. C. I. The Spanish representatives also secured the election of a central Committee consisting of two representatives from each organization participating.

A new vitality has been carried into the Youth movement, from Spain; it will be possible now to go forward with the building of a powerful international revolutionary youth organization. We have discarded the worn out slogan «They shall not pass» and have substituted «We shall pass over fascism, on to the building of world socialism». It is in this spirit that we welcome the Bureau to Barcelona.

THE DEFENSE OF MADRID

The Madrid government has moved to Valencia.

«In doing so», states the Minister of Propaganda, «it has sacrificed everything to efficiency and has fulfilled the painful duty of leaving the heroic people of Madrid in the decisive hour when they are determined to strangle the enemy's attack with firmness and enthusiasm».

With the object of reorganizing the Defense Council of Madrid, General Miaja, the chief of the first division, has remained in the capital to represent the Government. The composition of the Council is as follows: President, the General delegated by the Government; Secretary, the Socialist Party; War, the Communist Party; Public Works, the united Socialist-Communist Youth; Production, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Unions; Supply, the Socialist trade unions; Communications, the Left Republicans; Finance, the Republican Union; Information, the Anarchist Youth; Evacuation, the Syndicalist Party.

The Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. at Madrid issued the following appeal: «The Council of Defense has been set up at Madrid, because circumstances compelled it. When once the Anarchist Federation and the P. O. U. M. are added to it, there can be no doubt that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers will grow to such proportions that neither anyone nor anything shall be strong enough to stop it. Nothing indicates any divergence among the workers. We are united and we therefore claim the right to be represented upon the Council of Defense of Madrid. Whosoever opposes our representation on the Council, opposes the victory of the proletariat over fascism and opposes the triumph of the revolution.

**We Shall Pass
Over Fascism**

ITALIAN INTERVENTION

An Italian soldier was captured on the Madrid front, who confessed that in company with fifty other Italian soldiers belonging to the artillery, he embarked from Genoa in the last days of September, and disembarked at Vigo, from where he was taken to the front. During the operations he saw many machine guns of Italian make and operated by Italians. He asserts that there are numerous Italian cannons at the disposition of the rebels, and he added that the expedition to which he belonged was commanded by three Italian officers. Italian intervention is also confirmed by another report from Madrid.

Our aviators brought down two triple-engine planes and one of the pilots jumped with his parachute. He was Italian, wounded by a shot in the leg. The other plane was found wrecked. On the tyres of the one plane was an inscription which ended in the word «Deutschland», while the parachute with which the Italian landed was made of silk and bore the inscription «Italia».

The captured pilot was named Alfredo Piccoli, a native of Bologna, 28 years old. This civil pilot was given his contract in Italy, and paid two thousand pesetas per month. Piccoli, who had to have his leg amputated, is in the C. N. T. emergency hospital.

RADIO P. O. U. M.

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

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

THE P. O. U. M.'S APPEAL TO THE MADRID WORKERS

To the workers of Madrid, to the anti-fascists!
Workers and Comrades:

Since the first day of the fascist uprising, the struggle between the working class and fascism has turned on the taking of Madrid. The fascists know that the taking of Madrid means for them the attainment of a large part of their criminal objectives. We know that our duty is to defend Madrid, because its defense is the defense of the revolution itself. As on the 18th of July we are fighting the fascists with the purpose of utterly crushing them.

The fascist assassins are at the gates of Madrid. By the criminal flights of their aircraft and by the roar of their cannon, they try to sow terror among the workers and their families. But we know our revolutionary duty; today, as on July 18th, we shall give them battle. We go into battle again today, and we shall win, as we did then.

COMRADES! WORKERS! STAND READY!

The time has come to repulse the enemy once for all. Leave your daily work and turn to the war against fascism! Leave your work if it is not vital to the war, and work only for the war against fascism. The banners of the workers organization shall be in a solid rank. No differences stand between the workers when their liberties are threatened by the fascist hordes.

**ONE OBJECTIVE!
WE SHALL PASS OVER FASCISM!
TO CONQUER OR DIE!
TO THE END!**

*The P. O. U. M. Executive
Committee for Madrid
November 4, 1936*

NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

More than 300,000 workers demonstrated in Barcelona on Sunday in commemoration of the 19th anniversary of the Russian revolution. This was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, demonstration ever held in Spain. Thousands of banners and flags celebrating the freedom of the Russian people were carried by all the workers' parties and organizations of Catalonia in a five hour parade through Barcelona.

What was the political significance of this demonstration? It was called with the object of celebrating the Bolshevik October Revolution. The Catalan workers have always kept this anniversary and it has become a tradition for our party to hold meetings commemorating this event to whose tradition and spirit we shall always remain faithful. The demonstration was much larger this year because it had a greater significance than ever before. This year it took place in the midst of the Spanish Revolution and the working masses of Catalonia celebrated together the two great revolutions of our time — that of 1917 and our own revolution.

The Russian revolution is the symbol of the triumphant proletariat after a war to the death against its own bourgeoisie, as well as against the reactionary forces of all Europe. The Spanish revolution represents the heroic decision of the working class to conquer and destroy fascism.

The revolution of 1917 gave the working class of the world new enthusiasm and revealed the path to its emancipation. The workers movement took on renewed vitality throughout the world. But the triumph of 1917, which is today the pride of the workers, was far from easy, and encountered immense difficulties. Beside the military obstacles at home, the Soviets were forced to struggle against the blockade of the capitalist powers. With the help of the world proletariat they have been able to a certain extent to build the new society. It they achieved victory it was because Lenin and Trotsky defended the interests of the working class without compromise and did not hesitate before the liberal decadence exemplified by the Mencheviks.

Our revolution, too, although only in its infancy, has already had a profound international influence strengthening the ties which bind us to the exploited workers all over the world and sharpening the class struggle which is taking a more concrete shape with the advent of fascism. The revolution which began on July 19th. came as a reply to the counter revolution which the military fascists had unleashed throughout Spain. It is far from ended, as far as the civil war is still from its conclusion.

At the present time, we are facing the menace of the fascist troops to Madrid just as the Russian revolutionaries faced the menace to Petrograd. The capitalist forces were leagued together then as they are now. The world followed the news from the Petrograd front and every day waited to hear of the fall to the city. The fall of the capital would have been a blow to the revolution, but would not by any means have meant its defeat. Lenin was not afraid to envisage a withdrawal to Moscow, from there to work towards a reconquest of the country. But Petrograd was saved. The military genius of Leon Trotsky and the revolutionary spirit of the working masses who followed the Bolshevik party saved the situation. What should have been the tomb of the revolution changed into the greatest defeat which the white troops had ever suffered. They had the support of Paris and London as today the forces of Franco are supported by Hitler and Mussolini and the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries.

But Trotsky and the Bolshevik party, in fighting the great battle which disrupted the armies of Yudenich, could count upon something more than courage and arms. They could count upon a revolutionary doctrine which was the life and soul of the party and they could count upon the power of the state being completely in the hands of the Russian workers through the soviets of workers, peasants and combatants.

Unfortunately the same conditions are not present in our civil war. In Spain the war was not born of the fact that we had already made the revolution, but on the contrary was provoked by the bourgeoisie as a measure to prevent the re-

volutionary struggle of the working masses of Spain. For this reason, the civil war and the revolution are both developing at the same time. The Mencheviks of our revolution, although under another name and claiming to be the inheritors of the teachings of Lenin, fear now as they did during the Russian revolution that the realization of our revolution will bring them into opposition with world «democracy». These so called



The above pictures show some of the workers who took part in the huge demonstration in Barcelona last Sunday. 300,000 workers marched with tremendous enthusiasm to commemorate the Russian Revolution and showed their determination at the same time to carry the Spanish Revolution through to a triumphant end

«Democracies» have not hesitated to prepare a new butchery by which they will manage to assassinate not only Europe this time, but the whole world.

Today the Spanish workers, as the Russian workers in their day, follow the Mencheviks. They say that their tactics are to avoid war, whereas the only means which would really avoid it would be a speedy victory of the proletariat. The

doubts and hesitations of those in other countries who should have helped us in the beginning have only served to strengthen our enemies, the enemies of the entire working class.

In Spain we are living through the civil war without having carried out the revolution, and this forces upon us duties and sacrifices which were unknown to the Russian workers. We must carry through the civil war to the end side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, while at the same time we are facing the necessity of pushing forward the socialist revolution which means doing something directly displeasing to the petty bourgeoisie sharing the power. But this cannot be done by making concessions to the petty bourgeoisie as the stalinists and socialists would have us do, but on the contrary by defending clearly the revolutionary premises which are necessary in the difficult times through which we are passing.

The enemy is at the gates of Madrid, as in 1918 it was at the gate of Petrograd. Yudenich was defeated then and Franco will be defeated now. The working class must realize that the victory of Franco would be the defeat of the Spanish proletariat and possibly of the European proletariat for many years to come. In 1918, in spite of every obstacle and every difficulty, the Russian workers succeeded in driving the white armies back to the farthest frontiers of the country. The great demonstration in Barcelona last Sunday, commemorating the Russian revolution, was a solemn promise that the Spanish workers will do no less for the sake of their own and the world revolution.

THE DEMONSTRATION

The people of Barcelona showed immense enthusiasm and cheered the Socialist revolution along the entire route. The organizations appeared in the following order: first the Assault Guards, then the F. A. I. and the C. N. T. whose march past the palace of the Generalitat lasted more than an hour and a half. Among their placards showing their solidarity with the Russian revolution were those of «1917 U. S. S. R.-1936 U. H. P. They shall not pass», «A United proletariat is the supreme guarantee of the Revolution», «Men and arms to the front», and «Rather death than slavery».

Next came the Iberian Federal Party, the National Guards, the P. S. U. C., the U. G. T., and the Estat Catala. The Peasant Farmers Union (Rabassaires) followed, carrying many flags and banners. The workers of the countryside were greeted by enthusiastic applause as were certain of their banners declaring «Agriculture is also a war industry». After them came the Left Republicans, the Cooperatives and various anti-fascist organizations. The delegation of the International Red Aid, followed by the P. O. U. M., closed the march.

The P. O. U. M. was there in full force, led by the P. O. U. M. band, The Executive Committee, the Local Committee, the Pioneers, The Womans' Secretariat, and the youth section delegations from different districts followed in order. Comrades from the villages, who had come to Barcelona especially for the occasion, marched behind their respective banners and slogans. The most striking placards carried by the P. O. U. M. read as follows, «Marx and Lenin, we will always follow your revolutionary slogans», «Long live the Soviet Union», «War at the Front and revolution behind the lines», «The best defence of the U. S. S. R. is the Iberian Socialist Revolution».

Under a large portrait of Lenin, was the inscription, «The P. O. U. M. is following your example». The passage of our comrades was greeted with sympathy by the workers lining the streets, and they were saluted from one end of the march to the other by a hedge of clenched fists dominating the serried ranks of the workers.

**THE BEST DEFENSE OF THE U. S. S. R.
IS THE IBERIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

RUSSIA AND SPAIN

Parallels are frequently drawn between the Russian and Spanish revolutions. They can clearly be compared as historical events. But no one should allow himself to be bewitched by apparent analogies.

All revolutions resemble each other in the sense that they are an upsetting of balance and a struggle for a new social and legal superstructure. Nevertheless they differ widely in their international dynamics. Bourgeois revolutions have a common foundation: the decomposition of feudalism and the heroic effort made by the bourgeoisie to gain power. Yet the practical forms are quite distinct. The economic and historical peculiarities of each country play an important role. The way in which the English bourgeoisie won power is quite different from the taking of power by the French and German bourgeoisie. The revolution in France and the revolution in England were not the same, although they had the same objectives.

There has never been a revolution in history based on another revolution. History never repeats itself; that is something which has been left to the coiners of rote phrases.

What comparisons can be drawn between the bourgeois revolutions which have developed in the last 20 years? The forms and methods of the German revolution have nothing to do with those of the Turkish revolution. The Chinese Kuomintang movement differs from the Indian Nationalist movement. Between Sun Yat Sen and Gandhi there is the same difference as between Lenin and Tolstoy.

Is the Spanish Revolution like the German, Russian, Chinese or Turkish revolutions? This is a great preoccupation with those who cannot decide to advance without continually glancing backwards. According to some others, everything here must be brought about in the same way as it happened in Russia, following the same rhythms and producing the same results. This historical servitude will be disastrous for the future of our revolution. It means blind submission to rules

THE GERMAN FLEET

IN SPANISH WATERS

Facts show that, on the pretext of the «Russian danger», and thanks to their anti-Soviet campaign, Germany and Italy are seizing strategic positions in the Eastern Mediterranean, and that a large section of the German fleet has been moved to Spanish waters, coordinating its movements with those of the rebels.

A growing menace is threatening the Spanish people. From the very beginning of the Revolution, the German and Italian fascists have propagated the most abominable calumnies with regard to the «Moscow agents» in Spain, trying to create a smoke-screen behind which to carry on their vile activities in aiding the rebels. Count Ciano's interview with Hitler has evidently served to give a new impulse to the campaign against the Spanish people. The principal German and Italian papers openly declare that an agreement exists against the Barcelona Government between Count Ciano and von Neurath.

There is one thing in particular that raises the ire of the foreign interventionists and that is the growth of unity and discipline among the people of Spain. Italy and Germany have begun a violent campaign against the «Sovietisation» of Catalonia and are demanding its destruction.

Toward the World Revolution

and the bureaucratization of the direction of our revolution. The worst enemy of the revolution is he who wishes to make it follow a course which has been traced out before.

The triumph of Napoleon rested on the fact that he was a dialectic genius who saw how to adapt himself to every situation. Speaking of battles, he said, «First you must begin; afterwards you see how to go on». The military dialectics of Napoleon came into conflict with the classic rules of old feudal military art, which was thereby overthrown.

In the Russian revolution Lenin proceeded in a dialectic manner. He was not hampered by dogma. When the classic Socialism of the second International became an obstacle he uprooted it. In this way he led the Russian proletariat to victory. Lenin, a marxist, knew how to throw overboard all superceded phraseology in the decisive historical moment.

We must work with the Russian revolution as true students of this great historical phenomenon. We must study it, criticize it, realize all its grandeur, and defend it forever. The greatest defence that we can give to the Russian revolution is to see that the proletariat in other countries likewise make their own revolutions. The future of the Spanish revolution is closely allied to the capacity for transforming the trade union movement into a revolutionary factor.

INFORMATION BUREAU

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

1. A young lady from London, who has evidently heard about our snappy young militia men, asks if they really wear overalls.

The blue shirts and overalls have been replaced at the front by khaki for military reasons, but behind the lines the picturesque workers garb is still official. You can scarcely tell a regular soldier from other workers, and a general is likely to slap you on the back the first time he meets you. The women militia wear the same uniform as the men. Many clerical workers are plainly dressed, but we regret to say that neckties and elaborate dress are creeping back into the streets, as are the Catalan flags.

2. A member of the I. L. P. would like to know the strength of the P. O. U. M.

We can give approximate membership as 10,000 before July and about 50,000 or 60,000 today. It must be cautioned that the influence and relative strength of a party during a revolutionary situation cannot be judged by numbers. Its general line, the correctness of its interpretations of situations, its tradition and feeling for action, the number of men it has under arms at home as well as at the front, its slogans, press and propaganda and a multitude of details of its organizations, these all determine its strength.

3. An American visiting Barcelona asks us about the influence of the Anarchists in Catalonia.

The C. N. T. unions included the overwhelming majority of organized Catalan workers before the July days. Although a large influx of new members has swollen the U. G. T. unions more than it has the C. N. T., the latter is still the much the larger, and has a bona fide class conscious membership that it can depend upon for action. The legal weight of the various parties can be judged from our recent articles on the government of the Generality and of the Municipalities. However, the Anarchists tradition of direct action, which they have by no means abandoned, their numerical strength and their revolutionary instincts all make them a real power in Catalonia and a real hope for the revolution. Their revolutionary action, however, cannot be predicted from either their theory or their history. They are a great danger as well as a vast hope.

The New School

PART TWO

In our last issue we presented a review of some of the educational problems that face us today. One thing is evident; since the 19th of July the revolution has brought to the fore a host of difficult problems in the educational sphere. Many forces have undertaken the organization of the new school, including the trade unions, the political organizations of the workers and of the petty bourgeoisie. In Catalonia, all efforts in this field have been united by the formation of a Central Committee, «El Comité de la Escuela Nueva Unificada», or C. E. N. U.; it was formed by the C. N. T., the U. G. T., the Esquerra, and the government of the Generality. Its slogans are: by the end of the year, every child must be receiving regular schooling; no child must be left in the streets. There are in Barcelona 186,829 children of school age (3 to 14 years) Of these 34,491 children were in the official schools during the year 1935-36. Today only about 10 % of the children are enrolled in private schools, and these are controlled by the C. E. N. U.

On October 1st, 1936, one thousand additional teachers were engaged in Barcelona and another thousand in Catalonia. Two thousand more are still needed and should be engaged by the end of the year. There ought not to be any lack of qualified teachers since there was such a widespread unemployment among them before the revolution. The elementary school teacher now earns 460 pesetas a month on the average, although they received a bonus in Catalonia during the time of the Republic.

The provision of building will be comparatively easy. All the religious school buildings which are now available for schools have been confiscated, and where necessary can be altered. The organization of the new school is naturally a question of means, (money and men) which are needed today for the front line of the war. In addition, the Madrid government, since it lags behind Catalonia in revolutionary development, gives us no aid. Even in Catalonia the power is not completely in the hands of the working class, with the result that all organization is not made in accordance with the needs of the revolution.

We are not trying to paint an idyllic picture of the future school of the socialist society. The struggle of the Spanish working class against fascism is a struggle for workers' power and

the building of socialism. The new school has this same goal. Therefore the teaching aim of the new school must be to produce an active, self-reliant, technically and scientifically trained builder of socialism, the citizen of the classless society.

The capitalist democracy bequeates to the working class the most miserable educational heritage, but a wealth of advanced slogans: namely, free public, lay schools for all; a unified teaching staff; vocational training; co-education; school self-government; parent-teacher cooperation; the project method of solving actual life problems; instruction based on the latest scientific research in psychology and biology; and cultivation of international relations and peace. This structure of the most advanced concepts must be filled with a concrete revolutionary content by the workers. They must substitute their own materialist practice for the idealist illusions of capitalist democracy. Above all the Spanish proletariat must realize these conceptions in the face of the passivity or resistance, the hesitancy and indecision of the bureaucrats.

Room and teaching staff are available; but if one saw less of teachers certificates and more of practical ability and of an assured revolutionary outlook toward the school, it would be a long step toward our goal. The workers dare not wait upon the action of the C. E. N. U. alone, but they must take into their own hands the work of stimulating, controlling, watching and pressing their revolutionary demands, until they have the full power to realize them.

The «project method of solving life problems» means for us putting an end to the so-called «school neutrality». Life is work and class-struggle, it is the struggle for socialism. The school is not apart from political life. Instruction in «international relations and peace» means concrete instruction concerning the international class struggle. «Parent teacher cooperation» and «public schools» mean that the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat controls the school work through parent-teacher associations and student councils. «Vocational training» means to us not the former occupation with senseless tasks and the making of home decorations, but rather productive cooperation of children in the economic life.

(To be continued.)

The Barcelona Collectivized Silk Industry

The most important artificial silk factory in Spain is the «Barcelona Silk Company, Ltd.», founded in 1925 with 400 workers and which today, due to the enormous demand for artificial silk in the market, employs a staff of 1,200. This business is at present under the control of two committees of comrades from the C. N. T. and U. G. T. trade union centers and is showing even greater development due to the enthusiastic work of all these comrades. One committee is composed of 8 manual workers and the other of 6 technical and administrative workers; both committees work together with perfect harmony.

The capital invested in this business amounts to 30,000,000 pesetas and, although when it was taken over by the workers there was no ready cash in the safes, the committees by their enthusiasm and constant activity have managed to overcome all difficulties and meet their obligations.

Although in the first days of the Revolution all the engineers and directors abandoned their posts in order to sabotage the industry, the revolutionary workers with an iron will have managed to replace them and the high quality of silk put on the market by this business has not in any way suffered from the change.

From the point of view of internal organization the workers of the «Barcelona Silk Collectivity» have set up a model school for their children. Hygiene and special care for the smaller children is a feature while there are cots where the babies can sleep while their mothers are at work. There

is a play park for the older children, who are provided with toys and taught games under the intelligent guidance of certain women comrades.

Three well-furnished dining rooms have been set up for the workers, where wholesome and abundant food is served on a strictly cooperative basis. A worker can thus, for 1.80 pesetas have a meal which will really build up his energy for a full day's work.

Our workers have shown an enthusiasm and a capacity for organization which is typical of our glorious revolution and the sentiments which inspire it. Our workers and technicians form an invincible force behind the lines which supplement the work of our militias at the front in the crushing of fascism.

Subscribe to «The Spanish Revolution»

The price is two pence or five cents; it may be ordered from The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St., London.

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

The Socialist League, 3 Victoria St., London.

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

The Y. P. S. L., 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Or you may write direct to us at 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

NEWS AND NOTES

Trotsky and the Press

We call attention to this extract from the open letter addressed by Comrade Trotsky to the Norwegian Minister of Justice.

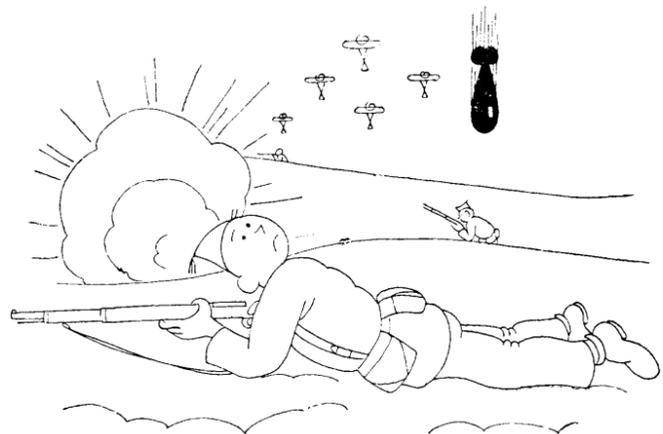
I have endeavoured to conform to the spirit and letter of the conditions laid down for my stay in Norway, at least in the way in which I understood them... I am ready to accept a new interpretation of the conditions if I am convinced that it is compatible with my dignity as a man and a writer. I can only sign that which I well understand and which I can really endeavour to accomplish... I have been accused by the judiciary authorities of Moscow of being the organizers of terrorist acts. If the Norwegian government considers it possible that I have abused my stay in Norway or even elsewhere by such activity, I await the immediate issuance of a warrant for my arrest. There is nothing I want more than the possibility of showing up, before a public judicial arena, this immense crime of the G. P. U. and its initiators. But if the Norwegian authorities consider it impossible to intervene in this affair, it is their duty—I repeat, the elementary duty which need not even be qualified as democratic—to accord me complete liberty to tell, by my own personal means, the truth to world public opinion. The principal means of doing this is through the press. Not to convey me to a Norwegian tribunal and at the same time to deprive me of the possibility of appealing to public opinion on a question that concerns myself, my son, all my past and political honour, is to transform the right of asylum into a veritable trap, and to clear the path for the hangmen and slanderers of the G. P. U....»

How the Neutral Countries Keep Neutral

The following declaration was made to the press by John Wilson of Liverpool, on his return to England from Spain where he has been serving as a pilot in the Government air force:

«If England were to send a ship to the Portuguese coast to watch how Germany and Italy keep the non-intervention agreement, Spain would be saved from fascism. The aeroplanes against which I fought are German and Italian and their pilots wear German and Italian uniforms. The German officers don't even take the trouble to hide their swastikas.

I have been patrolling the Portuguese coast and have frequently been impeded from dropping bombs on ships which were closely escorted by German ships, and if a bomb had fallen by chance on one of them, it would have resulted in serious international trouble.»



They must think I am a hospital

Fascist Pirates

Following its savage attack upon the coast town of Rosas, which we described last week, the rebel cruiser «Canaries» appeared off Almeria and bombarded this capital for about ten minutes, however without making any victims. These bombardments of civil centers have no military value.

Fine Conduct of the P. O. U. M. Troops

The other evening Colonel Villalba, chief of the Militia operating on the Huesca front, called at the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. He enthusiastically expressed his admiration and congratulation for the conduct and discipline of the militias making up the P. O. U. M. columns around Huesca, which have recently had successes in the Alcubierre range.

A New Daily Paper of the P. O. U. M.

Starting last Monday our party has a new daily newspaper, «L'Espurna» will be published by our comrades of the Gerona district. Just as it did during its first epoch in the year 1933, «L'Espurna» will faithfully interpret the revolutionary developments for the workers and peasants around Gerona. Comrade Marti will be editor. We congratulate our Gerona comrades.

French Journalists in Barcelona

About 30 French journalists have arrived in Barcelona by air. They were met by representatives of the Commission of Propaganda. These journalists were welcomed by our comrades. The object of this visit is to insure the facilities for sending absolutely true and sincere reports about Spain to the papers they represent. This will be another revolution in view of the fascists lies that have hitherto decorated the foreign press.

Voluntary Labour

Owing to a great number of anti-fascist citizens having generously offered their services for the purpose of crushing fascism, it has been absolutely necessary to set up a new office to take care of the names given in for voluntary work.

On Sunday, the 15th. of this month, the first of the voluntary workers will be sent out from this office to begin building fortifications in whatever part of Catalonia they may be sent by the Defense Council. This is just one of the many examples of the determination of the Catalan workers to crush fascism.

With Arms We Shall Stop Fascism!

With the fascists concentrating their best forces around Madrid, our forces should profit by the occasion to advance on the other fronts. But we lack ammunition.

An artillery officer has just been relating his troubles to us. «I got their machine gun nest on the third shot», he said, «and, having the range, I wanted to destroy the whole house so that they could not install another there. But they would not let me use up more shells. We should have taken the whole town a month ago; now they have had time to fortify it».

Comrades everywhere, do you understand? We can stop the march of fascism. But we need arms.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

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

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

Y P S L
The Labor Book Shop.

PRICE IN U. S. A.: 05

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios

BARCELONA

CONTENTS

Capitalist Democracy or Socialism: The Brussels Congress defines the Issue.—Resolutions on Spain.—Proceedings of the Brussels Congress.—Recognition of the Burgos Junta.—The Growth of the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification the P. O. U. M. at the front.—The Agrarian program of the P. O. U. M.—Political Rights at 18.—The New School.—News and Notes

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY OR SOCIALISM
The Bruxelles Congress defines the Issue

The resolution on Spain, voted by the Brussels Congress, which we are publishing elsewhere in this bulletin, won the approval of our Anarchist comrades of the «Solidaridad Obrera». However, it has drawn the ire of the reformists of the «Tribuna», the newspaper of the Catalan Communists, who are so bitterly attacking the P. O. U. M. and its revolutionary position. It is scarcely necessary to say that this resolution was drafted with minute care for historical accuracy and political justice.

What does it say regarding the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the course of events in Spain? In the first place it states that the neutrality policy was initiated by the French Peoples' Front and that this Peoples' Front was initiated by the Communist International. This is a historic fact that no one can deny. Can anyone deny that the Soviet Government was associated with this mistaken nonintervention policy?

There has been a change in the attitude of the Soviet Government, a change that we, as responsible revolutionary Marxists, cannot be content just to welcome and praise, but must explain, and interpret to the working class. Has Stalin at last understood the mistake which he made for two and a half months and has he now decided to correct it? That there was a mistake is proved by the fact of its correction, and the change of policy. Really the most important factor which has dictated this change is the realization on the part of Stalin, that Franco, with the bold aid of Hitler and Mussolini, would win the civil war, thus reinforcing the political and strategic positions of German fascism, which Stalin holds as his mortal enemy. The correction of the error was not dictated by the desire to serve the interests of the Spanish revolution—although Lenin would not have stayed neutral for a single minute—but rather by a preoccupation with his foreign policy, the instinct of self preservation in face of the international forces. In a word, the real interest of Stalin is not the fate of the Spanish or international working class, but rather the defense of the Soviet Government, by his policy of treaties with one block of states against another.

In spite of this, the resolution invites the workers of the world to «uphold all attempts of this kind», which are capable of being effective in the struggle against fascism. The working class must oppose, however, any policy which would try to alter the class character of the Spanish revolution or attempt to limit it to the defense of the capitalist republic. Why do we say this? Because the Soviet Government brings aid to the democratic republic and not to the socialist revolution. We do not and cannot agree to this.

We are struggling with the Spanish workers for the Socialist revolution, not just for the democratic republic. Are we

going to hide our profound disagreement with the Soviet Government, with the Communist International and with its Spanish section? Not at all. That would be hypocritical and criminal. We are not hypocrites and criminals, but responsible, revolutionary Marxists. We hold a political line and we shall defend it. We are responsible before the working masses and before the revolution and we shall not fail.

We welcome the help of Soviet Russia, a little late, but none the less valuable, but in exchange for this aid, we shall never consent to divert the working class from its class duty or to hold back the revolution. With aid or without it, with help or alone, faithful to Marx and Lenin, we shall fight to the very end, to victory or to death, for the Spanish and for the international socialist revolution.

RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

1) The Congress expresses its deepest solidarity with the Spanish workers struggling against fascism. If they had only to fight against the fascist forces of Spain, their victory would be certain; but they are fighting at present against the forces of international capitalism, and especially those of the fascist countries, Italy, Germany and Portugal.

2) Spain at the present time is the battlefield of the international working class. The Congress is proud to note that the workers of many other countries are fighting at the front beside the Spanish workers; but individual acts of courage and devotion are not sufficient. It is necessary that the entire working class should participate actively in the struggle.

3) The Congress emphatically condemns the so called «neutrality» policy which has been actually carried out until recently by the International Trade Union Federation of Amsterdam, the parties of the IInd International and the governments in which they participate. It notes that the French government, giving way before the pressure of the reactionary French bourgeoisie and the fascist states, has taken the initiative in establishing the real blockade against the Spanish revolution, confirming once more the inability of the bourgeois democracies to struggle effectively against national or international fascism. The Congress condemns this foreign policy of the French Peoples' Front, a Peoples' front that was formed upon the initiative of the Communist International itself.

The Congress likewise condemns the policy of the Soviet government which felt it necessary to join in the deceptive non-intervention agreement. It hopes that the present attitude of the U. S. S. R. dictated by the fear of seeing Hitlerian fascism