

NEWS AND NOTES

The London Bureau and the Moscow Trials

The International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity at London has proposed to the Norwegian Labour Party an impartial investigation by the working class of the charges made against Trotsky and those accused in the Moscow trials.

The International Bureau has suggested to the Norwegian Labour Party that it should take the initiative in setting up the Investigation Committee, insisting upon the necessity of getting the cooperation of representative elements in the labour movement. The Bureau believes that the Norwegian Labour Party is in a good position to do this.

In America, Norman Thomas and Professor John Dewey, among others, have issued an appeal for a committee in defense of Trotsky. Further a Committee of the Revolutionary Left of the French Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.) is participating in the movement for an international working class investigation. The London Bureau would like to see all these tendencies working in cooperation.

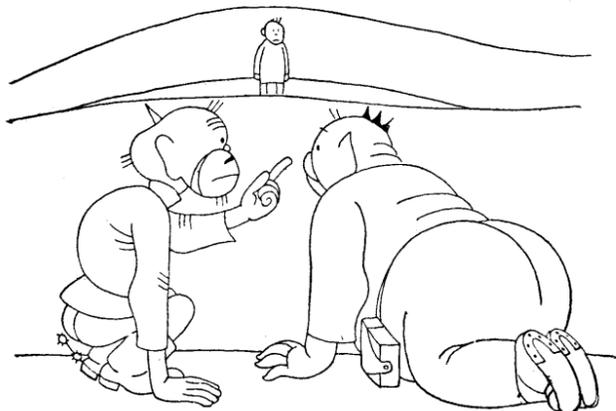
We wish also to call attention to the recent campaign of the P. O. U. M. to obtain the right for Comrade Trotsky to come to revolutionary Catalonia.

The New Theatre in Catalonia

The development of art and culture has been advancing apace with the new methods of workers' control in Catalonia. The propaganda as well as the artistic value of the theatre has not gone unnoticed, and all sections are cooperating in the development of the New Theatre.

On the 20th of November Romain Rolland's «Danton» was produced at the Olympia Theatre. The play had been translated by Comrade Gorkin, a leader of the P. O. U. M. An appreciative audience loudly applauded the very fine production. Comrade Gorkin's particular treatment of the play is to be highly commended.

The last scene—the court scene—was particularly impressive when over three hundred players appeared on the stage. It is hoped that this venture will be the first of many proletarian plays.



**There is a child!
Call out the air force.**

A New Newspaper of the P. O. U. M.

This week a new weekly paper, the «Avant» will appear, issued by the P. O. U. M. and the J. I. C. (the P. O. U. M. youth movement) of Figueras. «Avant» will attempt to answer the need for a decisive revolutionary and socialist leadership in the region near the French border. We wish our comrades of Figueras every success in their new venture.

The Death of a Good Comrade

Luis Grossi, the brother of Manuel Grossi, Secretary of our Youth Movement in the Asturias, has met his death fighting heroically at the gates of Oviedo against the fascist hordes of Aranda. Luis Grossi was typical of the fine young revolutionaries of the mining district and one of our foremost young militants. He was in the vanguard of the October 1934 fighting and was afterwards imprisoned under the government of Gil Robles and Lerroux. In 1934 he triumphantly entered Oviedo with the revolutionary columns; only death could prevent him from doing so again in 1936.

As we go to press, we learn that the fascists have executed the mother of this young man.

The I. L. P. Commander of Artillery

Our readers will remember Comrade Martin who came to Spain with the Maurin ambulance and was later given command of a battery of artillery on the Huesca front. They will be interested to learn that the comrades in command here are so pleased with his work that he has been promoted to the command of a new battery of heavier guns on the same front.

Comrade Martin is proving a great help to the militias in their advance on the fascist strongholds of Huesca and Saragossa.

Help from Germans in America

Comrade Talheimer has sent us 200 Dollars collected among the German refugees of the C. P. D. (German Communist Party) in the United States. The money was sent to the P. O. U. M. We are very grateful for this international revolutionary help. The German workers, not only in exile but also secretly at home, are helping our revolution.

Help from Spaniards in California

A group of Spanish residents of Faro, California, has sent the Spanish ambassador in Washington the sum of 50 dollars which they have raised among themselves to help the revolutionary workers' militias.

Help from Sweden

A meeting of delegates from marine and transport workers' organizations of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland took place recently at Gothenburg, and has decided to invite all the organizations represented to impose a blockade upon the ports held by the fascists.

Up until now about half a million Swedish Crowns have been collected for the militias. Furthermore 5,000 packages of clothing and provisions have been sent.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

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The Marxist League

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EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

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BARCELONA**CONTENTS**

Our Right to Speak the Truth. — Nin's Message to the Workers. — Towards a Clear Agrarian Policy. — Towards a Revolutionary International. — Morocco and Our Revolution. — Trade Union Discipline and Unity. — The Amalgamation of Industry

OUR RIGHT TO SPEAK THE TRUTH

One of the most fervent demands of the working class has always been the right to free speech, free criticism and inquiry and a plain statement of facts. This is a progressive human right. The capitalist bourgeois class triumphed over feudalism by using free speech, and the working class obtained power in Russia by fostering independent opinion whenever circumstances allowed. We must know what we want and where we are going and express our ideas on the subject.

When the fascists organised the military rising, which brought as its consequence the civil war throughout the length and breadth of Spain — a war for which they must bear the full responsibility — they had a definite aim in mind. They meant to defeat the working class. They meant to establish the counter revolution by setting up the dictatorship of their class. The fascists know exactly what they are fighting for. We, the workers, must not allow ourselves to be placed in an inferior position through muddleheadedness or indecision. We must state our aims clearly and demand the right to put forward plainly the objects of our struggle, in spite of those reformist elements who would be only too willing to silence us, and indeed are trying their best to do so. How can we limit our struggle to the negative formula of «antifascism», as they would have us do?

Against the specific, counter revolutionary class objective of the fascists the workers must oppose a specific revolutionary class objective. There is no way to escape the dilemma of our times: socialism or fascism. Whoever does not struggle openly and decidedly for socialism plays unwittingly into the hands of fascism.

But there are further and stronger arguments even than this in favour of a revolutionary position for the workers and a plain statement of the facts. A civil war as prolonged and hard as the one which we are now fighting requires a firm economic basis. The old capitalist economy is not suited to the special needs of the civil war. It cannot supply the necessary basis for two good reasons. The first of these is that the former economy has been disorganised and put out of action by recent events. It cannot serve now. The second and better reason is that a revolutionary civil war cannot be fought out with capitalist economic forms. It requires a new economy upon a new basis. That basis can be none other than a socialist foundation of collectivist tendencies. Our war economy must be a revolutionary economy. Of course this is necessarily a transition stage — war communism, they called it in Russia — but it contains and must establish the basis for the future socialist economy.

One of the most serious criticisms which we have to make against the Spanish Governments is that they have failed to adapt the economic and financial resources of the country

— Banks, transport and heavy industry — to the necessities of a long and costly war with the required speed and revolutionary energy. Our economy has been unhinged by the war so that a return to the old social regime is in any case impossible.

Under these conditions, how can anyone fail to see that it is useless to speak of winning the war unless we speak of making a success of the revolution at the same time? To oppose the revolution is to oppose the civil war itself. However, whenever we try to express this point of view, the followers of Stalin and his bureaucracy treat us as «agents of fascism». Yet the truth which we claim the right to express is a defence of the revolutionary position which Marx and Lenin defended under similar circumstances.

The triumph of the Russian revolution was possible because Lenin and Trotsky stood absolutely and uncompromisingly against all kinds of opportunism. By pushing forward the revolution tirelessly from the very beginning, by opposing all compromise with class enemies and thus acting at all times in line with the interests of the working and peasant masses it was possible to achieve the total triumph of the workers' cause. Only by following the same tactics can the Spanish proletariat succeed completely with their present movement. Those who have inherited the Russian revolution are precisely those who wish to stop the Spanish workers from following the same path today.

Russia has suffered a bureaucratic degeneration that puts the essentials of the revolution in danger. Apart from the incorrect political line pursued by Stalin, there is also the damning fact that day after day, under the pretext of plots which no one in his right mind can believe, the old Bolshevik guard are shot. The very chiefs of the party who led the revolution at the time of the heroic struggle against Tzarism and who shared the triumph of the proletariat together with Lenin and Trotsky are daily being executed. Trotsky himself is an exile in a foreign land, a prisoner in all but name, and a dead man if ever again he steps inside the bureaucratic meshes of Stalinist control.

It is a moral as well as a political obligation to raise our voices against such acts. We must not only raise our voices in a protest against the harm which is being done to the Russian revolution, but in a warning against what may happen to our own revolution unless the workingclass holds fast to the right to free criticism and free speech and the plain statement of revolutionary truth. The working class is an international class and what happens to the workers in one country directly concerns the workers of every land.

The right to disagree is a guarantee for the future. We demand the right of free expression in the interests of the world proletariat and the society of the future.

Nin's Message to the Workers

The course of the events through which we are living has shown us once again the correctness of our interpretations of the nature of the Spanish civil war and the Revolution.

We said, even before July 19th., that what was taking place in our country was not a struggle between fascism and democracy, but an aspect of the huge struggle begun throughout the world between capitalism and the working class. Capitalism cannot overcome the deep differences which exist within itself by the traditional measures of democracy. The only way temporarily to overcome them was violently to destroy the social gains won by the working class within the democratic regime. It was necessary to cut down salaries, lengthen working hours and destroy the workers' parties and their trades unions.

Events have thoroughly confirmed our predictions. Four months after the electoral success of the left elements, the fascist rising broke out.

The electoral successes produced a rebirth of democratic illusions in many minds. Do you realise, people were saying: Now it is possible to overcome reaction by means of the vote? But we replied: Don't deceive yourselves. The present situation is only a transitory solution. It does not by any means signify that the struggle is over. The exploiting classes will not peacefully resign themselves to losing their privileges, and if the case should arise they would have small regard for electoral triumphs and turn to violence.

Facts have proved us right. The capitalists learned the October lesson. The Spanish workers acquired fuller class-consciousness. Like the Asturian miners, they showed that they were beginning to understand that insurrection was the only road towards the installation of socialism. It is in order to avoid this that the reactionaries made their attempt at what we may call preventative counter-revolution.

But then the unexpected occurred; the proletariat reacted with exemplary courage and the workers, almost without arms, fought and beat fascism in the leading towns. On the 19th. of July, the armed proletariat sprang to attack the forces of feudalism and the capitalist regime. And the workers will not abandon their arms until capitalism has been totally destroyed.

At the present moment there are parties and organisations which style themselves workingclass and whose object is to put the brakes on our revolution in order to keep it within the limits of bourgeois democracy. There are certain organisations which consider it a provocation to state and uphold the fact that there can be no return to that state of affairs which was buried forever on July 19th.

They maintain that the armed Spanish proletariat is fighting for the democratic Republic. In face of this mistaken policy, the P. O. U. M. firmly maintains that no matter how improved and advanced the democratic Republic might be, we would never consent to return to it.

It has also frequently been said that first we must win the war and later there will be time for the Revolution. This is another false slogan. The civil war and the revolution are inseparable. At the end of the war it should be no longer possible for the worker or the peasant to find himself back at his old post, working under the same boss as before the fascist rising.

Do those who talk of building a future social life after our victory in the war really understand the true economic and social position of the country during the civil war? The capitalists have taken flight. The big land owners have been expelled from their estates. Numbers of businesses have been taken over by the workers. In the face of these facts, to say that the Revolution will follow the war means that expropriations spontaneously carried out by the people can occur without a profound process of socialisation, or else that at the end of the war these properties and businesses will have to be given back again to their former owners.

The economy, as it stood prior to the revolution, has been destroyed. The civil war, the blockade by the foreign powers and other factors besides, necessarily leave us with a limited number of resources. In this situation, who is able to organise the economy with regard to the exigencies of the present time? Must this task still be left in the hands of the capitalists?

Certainly not. Only with the economy in the hands of the people directed by a revolutionary workingclass government will we be able to meet the necessities of the moment.

The economy must not be left in the hands of capitalist parasites.

The characteristics of the movement before July 19th. were the hegemony of the middle class parties and the submission of the workers and peasant masses to the policy of these parties. The 19th of July represents a change, a fundamental displacement of the centre of gravity of our policy which had really begun as early as October 1934 in the Asturias. This change of political hegemony in favour of the workers' organisations and workingclass concepts is the key to the present situation, and its most important and significant characteristic.

In this situation, there is a danger that the middle class parties and the policy they represent may attempt to regain their hegemony. This must be avoided at all costs.

We are definitely partisans, in the present revolutionary process, of making use of the collaboration of the advanced middle class parties of our country. The artisans and the peasants with small holdings are actually progressive forces and must be taken into account. But no middle class party could direct the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary middle class must understand that its role is to allow itself to be guided by the working class, which constitutes the truly revolutionary class of our times.

There are various important problems of the revolution which must be dealt with. In the first place, there is the necessity for a greater coordination and centralisation of all forces. We must combat and avoid the localist, corporative sense of some initiatives. There are factory committees, for instance, who believe themselves to be an independent force, apart from the revolutionary whole, and who are occupied exclusively with themselves and the interests of the industry or commerce under their control. Among other fatal consequences, this leads to a senseless waste of energy and fruitless work.

Of course, those working in a factory or shop must take an interest in its workings. But no one must forget, even for a second, that the higher interests of the whole working class come before the particular interests of a committee, a business, or a branch of industry.

The next vital problem is the question of the army. Every homage should, of course, be paid to the courage and fighting spirit and willingness to sacrifice themselves, of which the workers' militias have given proof from the beginning, fighting fascism and holding it back. But we must realise that we are facing an organised army which has every modern instrument of war at its disposal, given it by foreign fascist powers. If the workers militias are lacking in organisation and discipline, all their valor will be in vain. The only thing to beat the disciplined fascist army is another disciplined army. In the new red army we accept the collaboration of the military technicians, but it must be given and used in a revolutionary sense and must be controlled solely by the working class.

With regard to our position and the policy of the Soviet Union—, in spite of everything the Communist International leaders have said against us, — we are the first and best friends of the Russian Revolution. To limit the movement here within the bounds of the democratic Republic is to adopt an attitude against the principles of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution cannot place its confidence in the League of Nations nor in alliances with capitalist and Catholic Powers. The only hope for the U. S. S. R. lies in the international working class. The only friends which the U. S. S. R. possesses are the revolutionary workers throughout the world. In spite of the attitude of the official communists, the P. O. U. M. will always be ready and willing to take up its post in defence of the Russian revolution.

Once again, in conclusion, it must be borne in mind that the unity of the working class is essential for the good of the revolution. Our party has been slandered, but we have firmly decided to continue the struggle, and fight for the dignity of our party and the whole Spanish working class.

Towards a Clear Agrarian Policy

From the early days of the fascist rising, the P. O. U. M. has always held that the mere pursuit of victory in war was not sufficient, and that the revolution must also be carried through parallel to the war, to its ultimate conclusion. Our attitude in this has only reflected the feelings and attitude of the great mass of the workers. The spontaneous actions undertaken by them since the 19th. of July go to prove the truth of this statement. One of these actions has been their treatment of the land question.

From the beginning, the peasants took a revolutionary path. In the majority of the rural communities they have redistributed the land, or in part collectivised it. The peasants no longer think of delivering up a portion of the harvest to the proprietor, or of paying him a fixed amount of rent. The old feudal domains have disappeared with their owners, and the revolutionary peasantry are leading the way with a new attitude towards the land question. The revolution is being made in the field as well as in the towns and at the front by all those who, before July 19th., had no possibility of satisfying their just desires and demands.

But the peasants have undertaken their revolution in a spontaneous movement which, without the proper cohesion and directive, can only lead to haphazard and partial success. Unity between the workers and a method of channelising their activities are both urgently needed. Our party has always been a champion of united workingclass action. We have given evidence of this upon many occasions, and it is not necessary to turn back to the times of our campaign for a Workers' Alliance in order to prove the truth of this statement. It is enough to say that on July 18th. with the fascist rising imminent the P. O. U. M. made every effort to establish a Committee of Alliance between the various Catalan workers parties and organisations, only failing because of the sabotage from those who make their struggle against the P. O. U. M. one of their principle aims in life.

Fortunately, the working class was able to some extent to achieve in the streets, from below, that which could not be achieved from above. It was due to the united actions of the workers that the fascist rising in Catalonia was crushed. This decided the fate of the working class throughout Spain. It was thus that it was possible to organise our glorious militias who are now fighting at all fronts in the defence of liberty and the future of the revolution which we have begun.

All this took place while some of the antifascist organisations, closing their eyes to reality, tried to hold back the revolutionary impetus which was carrying the working people forward towards the goal of their final liberation. To make the revolution is to consolidate the position of the armed proletariat. The masses make the revolution according to their intuition and the impulse to free themselves from the dead-weight of the capitalist classes, but they cannot at the same time achieve conclusive results unless they are provided with the necessary instrument for guiding their action. All their activity will be lost unless it is channelised within standards that respond to the general interest of all the workers and peasants.

Whose duty is it to channelise and consolidate the revolutionary action of the workers? It is the duty of the Government. We need a strong, revolutionary government which really represents the working masses.

In Catalonia, to a certain extent we have been able to regulate many of the problems arising out of the land question. But the case is not at all the same for the rest of Spain. The central government is not composed of the same elements as the Council of the Generality, and its program has consequently none of the same wide socialist scope.

As the peasants throughout Spain know only too well, confusion reigns in most of the villages. The revolutionary aspirations have been amply demonstrated, but the lack of direction, of any fixed standards for clearly and definitely solving the social problem of the land leaves an uneasiness in the countryside which may well be harmful to the revolution.

It is really incredible that by this time, with the revolution four months under way and the armed struggle at the front

already four months old, the Government should not yet have faced the land question. Why has the government not yet freed the peasantry from their obligations to the land owners. Why has it not set standards to be followed in the distribution of land? Why has it not prevented collectivisation by force on the part of certain uncontrolled groups, and why has it not instead given out rules aiding the voluntary collectivisation in those cases where collectivisation would be economically progressive?

The peasants know what they want, and to the best of their ability they have shown the way in which a new land program of the government should tend. The clear expression of these aspirations should already have evoked a governmental attitude, which would give the peasants a full guarantee of their right and a proper understanding of their obligations. The peasants are still waiting for some decisive action on the part of the government which will put an end to the uneasiness and uncertainty which is bound to exist in the countryside until the land question has been tackled, root and branch.

The land question must be solved quickly. The revolution and the war both demand its solution. Can it really be that the Government still doubts whether the landowners should receive a share of the harvest which has been cultivated at the expense of the peasants care and toil? The government should see, or be made to see, the necessity of giving the peasants an absolute guarantee that the fruit of their labour shall be respected.

The peasants, too, must realise their responsibility in this matter and demand a clear position from the Government. They must realise that only a decisive action can solve the social problem of the land for the good of the war and the revolution.



PEASANTS:

THE LAND IS YOURS

Towards a Revolutionary International

The first of a series of informative meetings and discussions was held by the Workers Party of Marxist Unity, in the Mozart Hall on Friday night December 4. The subject dealt with at this first meeting was the international policy of the POUM. The speaker was our comrade Gorkin of the Executive Committee and when he had dealt with this theme with thoroughness and foresight, various militants and sympathisers of the party rose and elaborated different points of the speech, or in turn expressed their disagreement. The debate was maintained at a high level and was useful not only in defining our international policy as it had developed since the Brussels Congress, but also in revealing the feelings and political opinions of the militants.

To the closely packed audience filling the Hall, Gorkin expressed the following point of view:

A great contradiction is taking place before us, and as revolutionary marxists we must examine and explain it. At a time when capitalism has reached a chronic stage of crisis and its whole economic system has gone bankrupt, thus making the situation objectively ripe for the proletarian revolution as the only progressive way out, we see that it is not the revolution which has triumphed since 1921, but the counter-revolution: It is not socialism which has triumphed, but fascism.

To what is this due? It is due, principally, to a lack of coincidence and harmony between the objective and subjective factors necessary for the triumph of the revolution. It is also due to a lack of something, in all the countries which have experienced a post-war revolutionary situation, which was not lacking in the Russia of 1917. That something is a revolutionary party capable of guiding the masses toward the conquest of power, a party capable of carrying the revolution through to its final consequences. From the international point of view it is due to the failure of the IInd. and IIIrd. Internationals.

The defeats suffered during this recent historical period, the failure of the socialist and official communist parties has led to a series of crises within these parties, and to the creation of new, independent Marxist groups and parties, one of the most important of which is the P. O. U. M.

Just as the triumph of the revolution in any one country depends on the existence of a revolutionary political party, so the world revolution depends upon the existence of a revolutionary International.

The failure of the IInd and IIIrd Internationals makes essential the building of a new International, which should be the International of the World Revolution. Our Comrade Maurin

who attended the first conference of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Unity at the end of 1932 put the question in this way: It cannot be denied that the working class needs a new International, but its organisation would still be premature. This new International will spring from a victorious revolution in the same way as the IIIrd. International sprang from the Russian revolution of 1917.

Comrade Maurin was right. Events have proved it. The developments foreseen dialectically by Maurin are now being experienced in the Spanish Revolution. Our country is the second link in the chain of the world revolution. Within the Spanish revolution it is our party which holds the revolutionary position of the Bolsheviks of 1917. That explains the extraordinary interest of working class circles everywhere in the P. O. U. M. It is the focal point for all the independent parties, groups and factions of the entire world. It is proved to us by the letters, gifts and advice which we receive from the various countries. It is plain that this shoulders us with an immense historical responsibility which we should face openly and energetically.

The interest which our party evokes was demonstrated in the recent Brussels Congress. Our delegation was the center of attention for all the delegates. The Spanish question was the main topic of discussion at the Congress. Everything stood in the light of the Spanish revolution. The Brussels Congress issued a resolution on Spain which is a document of great revolutionary interest. This Congress decided to hold an international conference at Barcelona, to be called by our party and the London Bureau. No attempt will be made to launch a new International at this conference, since a premature organization would mean failure, but the foundations can be laid. It must adopt a clear position toward all the fundamental problems facing the working class. It must establish a platform around which all of the independent revolutionary Marxist parties may group themselves, as well as those elements within the IInd. and IIIrd. Internationals, who are rising up against the reformist and opportunist degeneration of their leaders. This will be the historic mission of the Barcelona Conference.

Comrades, these international questions are of fundamental importance. Lenin said that the Russian revolution could only be saved by means of the world revolution. We say the same. The Spanish revolution will give an impetus to the international revolution, and only that will be able, in the end, to save the Spanish revolution. In this sense, we say that the Spanish revolution is only, and can only be, a new link in the chain of the world revolution, whose triumph is inevitable.

Morocco and our Revolution

At the session of the Cortes held in Valencia, for no other purpose than to preserve the facade of a legal «democracy», the President of the Council said: «Without forgetting our international obligations, I can assure the people of Morocco that the Government of the Republic is making every effort to give them the opportunity to develop their own personality, their liberty, their welfare and their progress. To this end, the Government will not hesitate to revise, if need be, the statute governing the territory.»

Let us look into this Moroccan question which has acquired such great importance in the Spanish Civil War.

Franco has succeeded in recruiting from Spanish Morocco, the greater part of the forces which he is hurling against us. Without these forces, Madrid would not be threatened. Without them, the fascists would not have resisted such a long time against the pressure of our militias. However, if Franco can mobilise these forces against us, it is the result of a series of errors committed both before and after July. We are now paying dearly for these mistakes.

In the first place, the Republican Governments have pursued the same imperialist policy of nationalist oppression, as the monarchy. It is admitted that when the Republicans

were in opposition, they participated in the campaigns against the Moroccan policy of the Monarchy. The Moroccans, no doubt, held high hopes in the proclamation of the Republic. Their bitter disillusionment was not long in coming: the Republic brought no change in the situation. The Republic failed in this as in everything else. If they had not deceived the Moroccan people, Morocco would have been grateful to the Republic and its present attitude would be different.

A still greater error has been made since the beginning of the Civil War. Franco started the uprising in Morocco. Then, before distrust had set in, the sons of the people were recruited as mercenaries in the Foreign Legion and the Moroccans were brought over to the Spanish fronts in large numbers. How did the Republican and Socialist Governments react?

They did nothing. They let Franco go ahead. Plainly, their duty was to declare the independence of the Moroccan people in accordance with the right of a people to self-determination. They should have identified the cause of Moroccan independence with the struggle of the Spanish people for freedom.

Why did they fail to do this? It was out of respect for treaties. They were more faithful to the treaties made by

the Monarchists and Imperialists than to the necessities of the fight against fascism and to the traditional republican, socialist principles.

As for Franco, he did not hesitate to treat the treaties as scraps of paper in order to get men to slaughter the Spanish workers. He went so far as to promise Moroccan independence, though, representing as he does, the Monarchist and imperialist tradition which waged a long war against the Riff, he certainly has no intention of ever keeping his promise. Besides, he would not want to precipitate a conflict with the Powers who are signatories to the Algeciras Treaty.

The Government now ventures to make a timid declaration concerning Morocco, fully four and a half months after the outbreak of the war, after Franco has already brought thousands of Moors over to Spain and threatens the very Capital of the Republic.

We believe that without the presence of the four Anarcho-Syndicalist ministers in the Government, this declaration would not have been made even yet. This has been a terrible mistake! With another policy and with a better understanding of revolutionary needs, the Moroccans who are now fighting under Franco's orders, could be our allies against Franco, with the support of the whole Moroccan people. We are not just making conjectures; we are presenting arguments, the truth of which, time has already demonstrated.

We are now, in fact, paying the price for not having had a revolutionary government, a government capable of seeing that it is necessary to work logically and that war is war and revolution is revolution. But what can be expected of those who, in the first place, try to separate the war from the revolution?

TRADE UNION DISCIPLINE AND UNITY

In spite of popular opinion, which so frequently and erroneously considers discipline as a method of tyranny and the annulment of all rights to liberty, it is absolutely indispensable to the winning of the war and the successful making of the revolution.

Where discipline is most greatly needed and least easily obtained is in the trade unions. For lack of it, the first two months of the revolution were of practically no constructive use to the peasants. This is not only the fault of the working masses themselves, but also of their leaders who have educated them to a dangerous atmosphere of insubordination and of letting aside even the most essential attention to duty.

However, little by little, we are getting rid of indiscipline and all its fatal consequences.

In the agricultural field, the Russian revolution has taught us the danger to an eminently agricultural country of carrying out a haphazard and chaotic policy with regard to the land question. In the industrial domain, we have learned for ourselves to what excesses too much trade union autonomy and lack of discipline may lead, with the consequent creation of a whole series of selfish interests which put us in danger of cultivating a new bourgeois spirit.

The Council of the Generality of Catalonia had issued decrees dealing with the regulation of country life in Catalonia. It rests with the trades unions in the country to carry out the conditions laid down by these decrees. They have been slow in applying them, in spite of the fact that they have large representation not only in the Catalan government but in the central government in Madrid. We find that the very people who most loudly cry out against discipline are in the Government, taking their share of responsibility and enjoying the fruits of this somewhat doubtful labour.

With the unionisation of industry, the great majority of the branches throughout Catalonia have profited by the change, and workers have received between 25 and 30 pesetas as benefits each week. However, in other industries, such as wool and steel, either from lack of raw material or from excess of production for the now limited market, the workers have been obliged to content themselves with 30 pesetas less profit each per week.

The State, which is now daily more and more in the hands of the workers, should intervene and settle this state of affairs. It is necessary to impose a discipline in the trades unions and a sense of responsibility which should not depend solely upon

the representatives of the trades unions, but also on the Government. Discipline, and the centralisation and coordination of the trades union movement means better production and a step forward in the revolution. A week has passed since we were able to announce to our readers that another of our slogans had born fruit in the fusion of the C. N. T. and U. G. T. trades unions in Malaga. The fact that it is from Malaga that the notice of the first measures of trade union unity reach us is of particular importance.

Tension between the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. unions had been noticeably sharp in Malaga. Prior to the fascist military rising the struggle between the militants of both unions had reached such a high pitch that it had cost the lives of several members. For a time it looked as though it would be impossible to reach an arrangement between the organisations. Now it is in Malaga, where the antagonism was once so strong, that the first fusion has been established. Trade union unity is achieved and the old enmity is forgotten.

Every day the press of these two organisations had reiterated, with monotonous insistence, that it was vital to achieve unity. The proposals for this unity had been all in the abstract. Nobody advised the need for real and immediate unity, yet this need is basic and its satisfaction is by no means impossible, as we have recently seen.

In the present circumstances, there are no important reasons for dual unionism in Spain. Since July 19th. the aims of the unions have undergone a basic change. Their objectives have veered round under the pressure of revolutionary events and necessities, and today are almost completely different from those which they professed before the revolution.

In order to carry out the work of organising the revolutionary struggle and the economic problems which face us daily behind the lines, it is essential to create trade union unity if we wish for any efficiency and success. There is practically nothing which now stands in the way of this unity. The former antagonisms and the old proselytising zeal have largely died away by this time, while we see representative of both these two organisations participating in the same government. Even more, the representatives of both sides have recently agreed to non-aggression and signed a pact to that end.

No revolutionary marxist has ever favoured trade union splits. Lenin did not do so. It was only after his death that the period of building dual unionism began in all countries, with the degeneration of the IIIrd. International. It is as revolutionary marxist that we demand trade union unity. Of course, the distinct ideologies of the working class cannot be effectively united without democratic procedure. This leads to the obvious conclusion that the demands we have put forward with regard to the more effective action of the trades unions in the war and the revolution are also necessary conditions for the proper working of trade union unity. For it is plain that democracy within the union would not be possible without the minority submitting to the discipline imposed by the majority. Discipline is therefore necessary in the trade unions from every point of view.

Radio P. O. U. M.

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We are on the air with latest news from the front, political reports and theoretical discussions at 8 P. M. Spanish time, on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Station Barcelona E. C. P. 2, short wave 42 metres.

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Workers of the World UNITE!

THE AMALGAMATION OF INDUSTRY

Sunday, December 6th. was the «First Day of the New Economy», prepared by the Council of the Generality of Catalonia. Among those attending were the regional delegates of the Economic Council, the Workers' Councils of all enterprises, and Trade Union delegates. The application of the collectivisation decree was discussed from the point of view of avoiding disorganisation during the transition to a collectivised economy.

The measure, creating an Industrial and Commercial Credit Bank of Catalonia was also discussed, and a warning was issued against dangerous elements which had entered the trade unions and who were not in sympathy with the work of social transformation.

The reorganization of Catalan economy is proceeding slowly, but surely. A few days before the «Day of the New Economy», the following order, regulating the grouping of small enterprises of any branch of industry, was issued by the Economic Council of the Generality. It is a supplement to the collectivization decree of October 24th. which we published in part in «The Spanish Revolution» of November 4 (Vol I N.º 3). In the second paragraph of Article II of this decree, the Economic Council of the Generality of Catalonia is given the power to collectivize those industries of less than a hundred workers which are of sufficient importance to the national economy to be removed from private management. In the preamble this decree also announced the intention of grouping our industry into large concentrations, so as to assure the maximum returns and the advantage from foreign trade.

In pursuit of this aim, the Generality has already permitted the formation by merger of several large industrial concentrations. These collectivized monopoly undertakings have shown that it is advisable to set up fixed standards in order to assure the interests of the collectivized or private enterprises which are being merged, and of course the general interests of the country as well.

This order shall be followed by others, establishing a classification of industry and giving general rules for their administration and organization. For these reasons, and on the advice of the Economic Council of Catalonia it is resolved.

Article I. With the sanction of the Economic Council of Catalonia, the various branches of any one industry existing throughout Catalonia or in part of the same shall be merged into a single enterprise.

Art. II. This industrial merger may only be effected when the new organisation assures greater economic, commercial and technical possibilities.

Art. III. Whenever any Workers Council or General Council of Industry considers it suitable to proceed with the merging of any branch of industry, they shall communicate with the Economic Council, adding a memorandum containing all the economic, technical and commercial data which warrant their demand.

Art. IV. The Economic Council of Catalonia shall arrange a time for a meeting not less than two weeks from the receipt of the communication, to which the following shall be invited to attend:

- 1) The collectivised and private enterprises affected by the merger.
- 2) The Trade Unions.
- 3) Such persons as the Council believe it beneficial to hear.

Art. V. Upon the basis of the hearings and the data that is gathered, the member of the Council in charge of the industry in question, shall present to a plenary session of the Economic Council, the appropriate decision, together with a bill for the Statute of the new enterprise, and the Council shall propose such solution as it finds most suitable.

Art. VI. The decision which is reached shall be submitted by the Economic Council to the Council of the Generality for its approval and shall not be put into effect until it appears as a decree in the «Official Daily Bulletin of the Generality».

The Council of Economy,
Juan P. Fábregas

Barcelona, Nov. 28th.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MADRID REFUGEES

The evacuation of Madrid is being carried forward to save the women and children from fascist barbarity, and to facilitate the work of the fighting population in the Spanish Capital.

The immense majority of the Madrid refugees are coming to Catalonia. The Catalan workers are receiving them with the greatest care and solidarity. It can be said that all the emigres who have been placed are quite satisfied with the treatment accorded them.

The problem of organising and provisioning them raises a series of important problems that cannot be solved in a moment. A vast organisation has to be set up. All the organisations, our Red Aid, the International Red Aid, the C. N. T. and the other official bodies, are trying to fill this need. We must say frankly to the refugees themselves that they must take this situation into account and do what they can to ease the work of organisations charged with this problem. We quite understand the nervousness of many comrades who have just abandoned their homes which cost them a thousand sacrifices.

It should be noted that it is not a question of a few hundred refugees, but tens of thousands. The workers of Barcelona would like to gather all the refugees in their city, so that they could live in a great capital, as they are accustomed. However, this is quite impossible, as Barcelona is already over-populated. Likewise we should like to find work for all, but this too is difficult.

All Catalonia agrees that the refugees shall not lack food and shelter. We appeal to the workers everywhere to help us realize this goal. It is obvious that, with many workers at the front, with large meat and grain producing areas under fascist control, and with the reorganization of industry still incomplete, there is no surplus of food and clothing for the refugees from fascist terror. We know that the workers of the world will help the Red Aid of the P. O. U. M. in its necessary and humanitarian work. We advise foreign comrades that the simplest way to send money or clothing is through one of our agents whose address will be found on the front cover. Contributions may be ear-marked for the Red Aid of the P. O. U. M.

HELP FROM PALESTINE

The I. L. P. has passed on to us, for publication, the following letter of proletarian solidarity and friendship which was sent to them, together with ninety pounds sterling, by the Labour Party in Palestine (Paole Zion). We print this letter as we received it from our Palestine comrades.

«Our party, together with the world Proletarian, pursue with deep anxiousness and high deference, the heroic fight of the Spanish Proletariat against the terror front of the world Fascists.

On account of the bloody riots in this country and the consequent political and economical complications, we were quite unable to organise the campaign of a great pecuniary assistance for the benefit of the Spanish Socialists, in due course. Only during the last days, after the abnormal state was mitigated, the Central Committee of the Party proclaimed a subscription for the support of the Spanish socialistic fighters.

Our party in Palestine opened this subscription by a row of popular meetings attended by artisans and workers under the participation of the member of the P. O. U. M. and of the militia of Barcelona who stays at time in Palestine. Our demand: **Immediate intervention in favour of the socialistic Spain fighting against the World Fascism** was accepted with great enthusiasm and found a deep echo in the hearts of the Palestine proletarians.

The amount collected by us during these few days is: Collection in Palestine Pound one hundred and five, sixteen. Deduction costs of organisation, propaganda, print and postage Pound fifteen, sixteen. — Pound ninety.

The above amount was sent to you by cheque of the Workers Bank in his name of the comrade Fenner Brockway, and we ask you to kindly remit this our share to the general relief Fund for the Fighters of Socialistic Deliberation in Spain, publishing the sum collected according to the above specification in your est. newspaper. We also ask you to let have us acknowledgement of receipt of this sum.»

NEWS AND NOTES

Mexico Invites Trotsky

The invitation of the Mexican Government to Leon Trotsky to make their country his home is most encouraging news. The realities of the class struggle have put an end to the traditional right of asylum offered by other lands.

An S. P. Comrade in the P. O. U. M.

Comrade Vicente Colay of the Socialist Party has just arrived in Barcelona from New York. He has already joined the P. O. U. M., which he says «is the best party to work with for the revolution».

Diego Rivera on Our Side

The famous Mexican painter declares: «Upon the outcome of the civil war in Spain depends the future of the working class movement of the whole world. If the fascists were to win, the offensive of Spanish reaction would be most intense and would extend to Mexico, soon to France and possibly to the United States. It would lead the world to war. The only way to keep world peace is to help the Spanish workers to exterminate the fascist revolt.»

Diego Rivera added that many Mexicans were anxious to go to fight in Spain. He revealed that he was willing to go personally if it were needed: «The fascists' aims are perfectly clear», he said, «from the aid that Hitler and Mussolini are bringing the rebels».

Rivera, who is world famous for his mural paintings, had nothing but praise for the qualities of Quintanilla, both as an artist and as an organizer of the Madrid militia.

A Fascist Ship Revolts

One morning last week an armed fascist ship, the «Virgin of Carmen», entered the Bay of Bilbao. At a quarter to twelve the night before, when the watch was about to change, a sailor named Secana went to the commander and called his attention to a red light which he claimed he could see. While the commander was trying to find the light, the sailor seized and bound him.

The coup was planned between Secana and two other sailors. The commander was thrown into the hold and then the sailors called the chief engineer. When he appeared they performed the same operation with him. Then the other engineer was called, and disposed of in the same way. The remainder of the crew were not aware of anything as they were sleeping. When they awoke they were at Bilbao.

The «Virgin of Carmen» is an armed boat with a capacity of nine knots and is armed with a canon, machine guns and anti-aircraft guns, all of German origin.

A Courtesy Call

British Imperialism, which turns a blind eye on the coasts and frontiers of her ally, Portugal, and which is capable of recognising the government of Franco, sends us a commission of «neutral observers». What is their field of investigation? Do they want to see if there really are hostages in the Spanish Republican prisons? Do they want to establish the fact that British Red Cross ambulances were destroyed by fascist bombs?

Our Stalinist and socialist comrades have never understood the attitude of British imperialism towards the Civil War here. The economic interests in Spain of British capitalists are more important than those of any other foreign country. Besides the mines, railways, electric power plants and financial houses, they have enormous strategic interests in the peninsula, such as Gibraltar, the first port on the route to India. It is easily seen that such an imperialism could act in no other way than to sabotage the Republic, that is, the workers' forces which now represent the Republic.

Victor Serge as Our Collaborator

As soon as he left Russia, Victor Serge the great writer and international revolutionary, entered into communication with the E. C. of the P. O. U. M. and sent us a letter and an article both of which appeared in our central organ «La Batalla». We invited him recently to collaborate regularly in our newspaper and with great pleasure have received a reply, in which Victor Serge accepts our offer and requests to be considered a member of the P. O. U. M.

He tells us that we can count on him without reserve, although he also has his battle to fight, being almost entirely alone. He will begin quite soon to send us articles for publication.

First Woman Judge

Our Comrade Nin, of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M., now Minister of Justice in the Generality of Catalonia, is carrying forward the work of the revolution in making new judicial rules in accordance with the present revolutionary times, and above all is actively engaged in breaking down the last barriers which hitherto have shut women out from the rights and privileges enjoyed by men. With this end in view, Comrade Nin last week nominated the first woman judge who will exercise her functions in the Granollers district. This nomination is one more success achieved by the P. O. U. M. since we have taken over the Ministry of Justice of Catalonia.

Death of a German Leader

While fighting on the Madrid front as political leader of the German section in the International Brigade, Hans Beimler recently met his death. His career in the proletarian cause and his acts of bravery and solidarity at the present time were such that his party affiliation can make no difference to our feeling of regret for his death. Hans Beimler had been a Communist deputy to the Reichstag and belonged to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. At his funeral last week in Barcelona he received full revolutionary honours and every revolutionary and antifascist organisation sent representatives to march in the procession. The P. O. U. M. also paid their last tribute, in spite of the fact that we were the only party not invited to attend.

Greek and Albanian Comrades

We have been happy to welcome among us, two good comrades and well known revolutionaries who recently arrived to join us in Barcelona. Comrade Vitte has come to represent the Archiomarxist Communist Party of Greece. This, the first party in the world to form an opposition to the IIIrd. International was formerly in close personal touch with Trotsky. Comrade Shaban represents the Independent Communist Organisation of Albania.

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WHAT IS THE P. O. U. M. ?

The P. O. U. M. has become the center of interest nationally and internationally. Many are those who come to us to discuss our position, or who write to us sending advice. But the opportunists only insult us, defame us, and spread lies about us. International opinion is naturally curious: «What party is this about which they talk so much and over which a governmental crisis is provoked? Why is it insulted and fought so bitterly? What is it, what does it want, where is it going?» We shall try to answer, but first let us present a historical parallel.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks during 1917 also passed through the same critical moments. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries—the opportunists of the Russian revolution—tried to mislead them and turn them from their political line. If the Bolsheviks had been dissuaded they would have been welcomed with flowers and praise. They preferred however to commit the crime which we are now committing: to speak the truth, to maintain an unswerving revolutionary line even at the price of a momentary unpopularity. They too were insulted and slandered; they too were threatened with physical extermination. They call us agents of Hitler; Lenin was called an agent of the Kaiser. They say that we are in the service of the fifth column (of fascists behind the lines)! Lenin was said to be in the service of the «Black Hundred». After June, he had to hide in Finland with Zinovief, while Trotsky and many others were imprisoned and prevented from publishing the party papers. Who can doubt that without the unyielding attitude of Lenin the revolution would have failed? We do not draw the parallel simply for historical comparison; we do not believe that the events in one country necessarily are followed in another. Still there are experiences which are repeated in almost every revolution.

What is the P. O. U. M.? Is it a Trotskyist party? This is the accusation hurled most often at us. Stalinism appears to desire to perpetuate this story as if the issue were «Stalinism or Trotskyism» We are neither. A proof of this is the fact that we are attacked both by the Stalinists and the Trotskyists. We are simply ourselves, just as the Bolsheviks were Bolsheviks. We are a revolutionary Marxist party, forged in the struggle against capitalism and the opposition to opportunism, and firmly standing by our class position.

What do we want? We do not want governmental posts when they mean political concessions. We want the complete victory of the working class, that is, socialism. We want the socialist revolution in Spain and throughout the world. To reach our goal—which is the final goal of our class—we will ally ourselves with whoever works for its victory. Persecution does not frighten us; it only shows that we are right, and our strength is proved by it. We do not seek an easy way out; we can face the lies and persecution and even a passing unpopularity. Our party is ready for struggle and sacrifice.

This is what we are and what we stand for. This is why we are attacked more violently every day. But every day we gain more support, and more messages saying. «Stand firm, comrades! Do not yield! Follow the correct line and win, as Lenin won in 1917!»

THE P. O. U. M. THE PARTY
THAT FIGHTS FOR
THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION