



# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

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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**

## A Change of Government in Catalonia

The P. O. U. M. has been eliminated from the Council of the Generality. But its six thousand militiamen have not been eliminated from the front-line trenches, nor its militants from the trade unions. It will not be eliminated from the life of Catalonia and of Spain, where it represents the vanguard of the revolution and will be the party of the revolution.

### THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE GENERALITY

The new council has been organized on a trade union basis: the Anarcho-Syndicalists (C. N. T.), the General Workers' Union (U. G. T.), and the Peasants' (Rabassaires') Union, with four, three and one seats respectively. But the fact that the Esquerra or Catalan Left Republican hold three seats on the council shows that it is not exclusively based on the trade unions. What is more the U. G. T. is not represented directly. Its three representatives, Vidiella, Valdes and Comorera, are not so much U. G. T. men as Stalinists of the P. S. U. C. Everyone knows this. Everyone can see through their manoeuvre, and the first to see it are the workers of the U. G. T. who cannot feel properly represented by these councillors.

What will be the path of the new government born of a long struggle of political trickery, formed by the breaking of united action against fascism at the expense of the interests of the working class and the revolution? This government is born with internal contradictions, into a situation of latent crisis. It is virtually still-born.

### A STRONG GOVERNMENT

The P. S. U. C., the party which provoked the crisis in the Catalan Government, demands a «strong government» and the suppression of the working class bodies which are fighting against fascism and which exercise the control over Public Order and Defense. What does this mean? — A strong government whose councillors would escape being controlled by their own organizations; in short, a strong government to be used against the creative revolutionary impulse of the working class.

With the P. O. U. M. out of the government, the P. S. U. C. will now try openly to reconstruct the regular army completely under the thumbs of the professional militarists; they will try to take the control of the army away from the workers; they will try to stop the building of a Red army based on the workers' militia.

The leaders of the P. S. U. C. believed that the time had come for them to dam the rising tide of the revolution. The change of government means nothing but that. They found it absolutely essential to eliminate the P. O. U. M. from the government, because they know that our party would not let them destroy the achievements of the revolution.

## Foreign Comrades

Every day more foreign comrades arrive voluntarily to fight with the working class for the Spanish revolution, which is the revolution of the international working class. The action of the International Brigade on the Madrid fronts is a clear demonstration of the extraordinary importance of the presence of revolutionary comrades. They come to our country to offer their experience, acquired in the imperialist war of 1914-1918, and even their lives for our movement.

The entry of large numbers of foreign comrades into our ranks raises a series of problems. In the first place these comrades who offer their lives for our cause are deprived of legal rights. Many of them are subjects of fascist countries, where they have lost their citizenship and are forced to live illegally wherever they can. Our revolution should endow all those who desire it with Spanish nationality. The fact of fighting in our ranks ought to be sufficient legal right for their taking Spanish nationality, upon their own initiative.

There are still other rights belonging to Spaniards which ought to be fully extended to the foreigners fighting in our

## LET THE WORKERS JUDGE

The Anarchist position is expressed in these words of Federica Montseny (Anarcho-Syndicalist representative on the Council of the Central Government) in her recent speech at Alicante: «*This war is not a civil war; it is the war of one class against another*».

The aim of the Stalinists is capitalist democracy, as shown in the statement of Del Barrio of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia at the Gran Price, Barcelona, December 20: «*Everywhere this slogan must be raised: all power to the generality*».

The revolutionary Socialist position of our party, the P. O. U. M., was expressed by Andres Nin in his speech at the Gran Price on December 8: «*The committees of workers, peasants, and soldiers alone have the right to decide the destinies of the revolution*».

These three quotations summarize the attitudes and present policies of these three working class organizations in this revolutionary situation.

Let the workers of Spain and of the whole world decide.

### ONLY A WORKERS DEMOCRACY

We shall oppose anyone, whoever it might be, who comes here under any pretext to intervene in Spanish affairs and seize control of the directing of the Spanish working class for other than its own purpose, which is its revolutionary emancipation with free self-determination.

We shall continue to fight against fascism and for the socialist revolution with all our might. We shall continue to proclaim the need of united action by the whole working class. We have not renounced the right to criticize, for to do so—under pressure coming from abroad—would be unworthy of our political position. We shall become the opposition and act in opposition. We shall allow no retreat from the revolution, without criticizing and opposing it with all the strength of our Revolutionary Party.

cause. For them the same rights as for the Spanish, neither more nor less. Equal settlement for all.

To fail to do this might lead to the establishment of two categories, those belonging to the II and III Internationals, and another group of those belonging to independent revolutionary parties and organizations. It is possible that one of these groups might become a force—not just against fascism, but afterwards, if it was thought necessary, against the revolutionary elements of the Spanish workers' movement which refused to deviate from the present revolution.

Many comrades from many countries have come to Spain. But while some of them have been furnished with every convenience for getting here, others have had difficulties placed in their way, because their point of view did not please those in charge of enlistment. This means that our foreign militia have been largely selected, not from the viewpoint of the general interests of the revolution, but from that of a particular party.

The problem is more important than it may at first appear. We have sufficient reason to point out this danger and at the same time we have an obligation to the comrades of all countries who come to help us

## THE NECESSITY OF TRADE UNION UNITY

*Unless it is due to a desire to stay the revolution, we cannot understand what is preventing trade union unity, as already achieved by the Malaga workers.*

*There can be fundamental differences between political parties, with each one defending its own doctrine and trying to form the policy of the government. Nothing, however, can justify permanent separation and rivalry between two trade union federations, since the mission of trade unions is not particularly a political one but rather economic—planning and building the new economy. With the destruction of the Capitalist system, the rivalry and competition between the trade unions should also disappear. The historic tradition of trade union struggle, between Marxists and Bakunists must be ended upon the liquidation of the capitalist system. They must unite their will and strength to build the*

*new social order.*

*The lack of trade union unity can create serious problems in the revolutionary economy. At the present time no one can put personal interests above the collective interest. Dual unionism creates a dual economy in each branch of industry.*

*Aside from the need for a concrete governmental program, trade union unity is the most serious need of the revolution. The coordination of trade union activity means not just fusion of the two organizations but also unified economic activity. The economic obligations must be assumed by the trade unions, or they will pass secretly into the hands of the middle class. This question must be faced. It is urgent. Now is the time to consolidate the conquests of the revolution. If dual unionism is an obstacle, we must impose unity.*

## FIELD HOSPITAL

For days the Aragon front had been quiet. I had been covering the front lines, finding the men confident but alert in the muddy trenches and hastily improvised dugouts. Behind the lines, the work of organization was going on feverishly in preparation for the spring offensive. This was especially true of the Sanitation Department of the different columns. Hampered by lack of money, material and trained men, a handful of intelligent hard fighting workers had been shaping a system of field hospitals, evacuation and ambulance facilities. I was intending to visit some of the hospitals and had just arrived at Bujaraloz, headquarter of the famous Durruti Column, for that purpose. We had finished dinner and were sitting around the open fire of crackling pine when the telephone rang. Stubby Hernandez rose to answer it.

«There's been a skirmish up the line.» he said coming back, «and some men have been wounded. They've been taken to the Blood Hospital of Puñaba.»

Valverde turned to me. He was a short well-set man of thirty who was one of the two delegates in charge of the Sanitation for the Column.

«Let's go.» he said.

Outside a thick fog seemed to preclude our progress, but the driver knew his road well and the big Buick (a confiscated limousine) jolted over the twelve kilometers of rutted dirt in a little time. At the entrance of the village a powerful searchlight halted the car while the guards came forward to examine our passes. Then we played hide and seek around corners in the narrow winding streets and we finally came to a halt before a large building. Because of the fog it was impossible to really see its exterior beyond its looming mass. A lone small light bulb shone over the entrance, the wooden portals opened wide. We went through two swinging doors, glass-paned to the waist, and found ourself in a high ceiling corridor leading off to the right and left. Directly in front of us was another double door with a transom above, through which shone a strong light. Valverde opened the door and I entered. It was the operating room.

The word evokes imposing arrays of machinery, a battery of lights, a cluster of surgeons, satellite rings of nurses and assistants. But nothing like that here. A large room bare and cold so that one could just see one's breath condensing. Two operating tables of the most primitive type in galvanized iron, a single strong light suspended over each. A row of shelves on one side a small electric stove with a pan of boiling water over it to sterilize the instruments. Glass jars of packs and gauze, bottles of iodine, a big syringe lying in readiness. On each table a man, the one on the left murmuring feebly, «Comrades, comrades!», the one on the right unconscious. One doctor, one nurse and one assistant were working silently,

rapidly, efficiently. The doctor, a bearded man with calm inscrutable eyes, was just finishing with the patient on the right. The man's scalp had been slashed with some kind of a heavy blade from over the eye to the back of the head. The crisped flesh had been sewn together and at the back the surgeon was stuffing a piece of gauze under the last stitch to staunch the blood. It looked for all the world like the stuffing of a neatly sewed up turkey. The doctor bandaged the head, two men came with a stretcher and he was taken away. Where his head had been, on the white cloth a huge red stain in concentric areas looked like spilt red wine on a tablecloth after a drunken brawl.

The doctor straightened his back and flexed the tired shoulder blades. The thin yellowish rubber gloves gave under the electric light an impression of leprous hands spotted with red blood. He took off the gloves, washed his hands and forearms and put on another pair. Then he turned to the man on the left.

The militia-man's lips were twitching. Now and then he got his word out. It was hard to tell whether he was unconscious or not. A grizzled face, with a strong unshaven jaw; rivulets of blood had followed the natural furrows of the face and then dried clotted, grainily, dark-red with a brown tinge of iodine. He had the same type of wound as the other man, only it began with a twist over the eye and then went on straight back in a vigorous slash so that the bone shone thinly bare like a neat part in a well-combed head. But the sides of the part were living bleeding flesh. The hair had been cut away from the wound; little steel clamps held the cut over the eye but the great slash gaped wide. The blood had flown down towards the back accumulating at the corner of the cut and then spilling over, a thick, catarrh-like cord of sombre, blackened scarlet, coiling lasciviously in the pan below.

The half-shaven head, the parted lip-like wound with the bristles of the cut hair around it, the twitching face and the dried lines of the red-brown blood gave a definite impression of a macabre make-up, the make-up for some leering, obscene mocking character and in that impression I felt the whole shocking impact of this sorry masquerade that is the war in Spain. That face mocked and leered at the pretense of a civilization under whose name a group of irresponsible militarists have plunged a suffering nation into a bath of blood; under whose name a once proud city has been nailed to the cross of destruction and the nails driven home by foreign hands. And the face mocked the civilization of a world that allowed and is allowing this crime to go on.

The doctor had begun his work; the man screamed. I followed Valverde out of the door and the last sound I heard was the anguished scream «Comrades! Comrades!»

# FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS

## THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE P. O. U. M.

*We have in Spain a new situation which demands new organs of power.*

*This document clearly and concretely points the way to the new organ of power which must be created by the revolution and which will be its solid guarantee. This is what distinguishes us from the republicans, the official communists and the reformist socialists who are fighting for the democratic republic which existed before July. It is not just a question of form, or party rivalry, but it is a fundamental question. The future of the revolution and the working masses depends upon their understanding of this.*

The revolution, started on the 19th of July as a direct consequence of the military fascist uprising, is passing through serious moments. The capitalist class, terrorized during the first phase of the movement, is now trying to raise its head, working its way back into the new institutions created by the revolution and reoccupying the strategic position it had lost. Of course, it does not reveal its intentions openly, but rather, as is customary in all popular revolutions, it uses middle class and even working class parties and groups to carry out this hidden work the more effectively and unhampered.

Their design is especially favored by the unusual situation created by the war. The absolute necessity of winning it as well as the special requirements and complicated problems which it raises, lead to a situation which, if skillfully handled, may find the masses easily swayed and may favor the plans of those who are trying to strangle the revolution, confining it within the channel of the democratic republic. The working class should realize that its whole future is being decided, that the war and the revolution are inseparable and that only by destroying the roots at the base of the capitalist regime can the possibility of a fascist victory be destroyed.

### The Workers Stopped Fascism

If fascism did not triumph completely on the 19th of July, that is due only to the heroic might of the working class, which, abandoned and without arms, was able to block the fascist advance and, taking the arms from the enemy, to destroy the sources of power of the old regime and to abolish the rights of private property and to initiate a profound revolution.

In these historical moments the working class came to control the absolute hegemony of the revolutionary movement, and the middle class parties, which the working class had followed for years, disappeared almost completely from the political scene.

### Attempts to Undermine our Positions

They are now trying to undermine the positions captured by the workers, and in part they have succeeded. The Central government at Valencia, in spite of its composition, is a typical «national union» government, jealously preserving the capitalist democratic constitution, which is completely behind the times; this government differs in no fundamental way from the former peoples' front government. The government of Catalonia, although of analogous composition, has been infinitely more progressive than the Central Government, since it here has operated in a different political climate, one determined by the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M., which have held revolutionary positions and have prevented the middle class ideology of the

«Solidaridad Obrera», the organ of the anarcho-syndicalists, said in a recent article.

«The time has come for complete socialization of production and consumption. The municipalization of real estate must be accelerated. Banking also must be socialized. The workers' army must be built immediately. As soon as possible the National Revolutionary Congress should be convened to put an end forever to the bourgeois parliament. Finally, we must note that once the revolution has started it must be carried through to its conclusion with all its consequences.»

This is the first time the C. N. T. press has come out for a National Revolutionary Congress. They are to be congratulated, for herein lies the possibility of achieving the real working class revolution for which we have struggled from the first. From these lines, we can see that it is not just another protest against parliamentary government such as the Anarchists repeatedly make, but rather a recognition of the need of calling an assembly which would spring from the new situation created since July 19th.

Since then we have ceaselessly propagated the need for new organs of power, of committees of workers, peasants and soldiers who would choose representatives to meet in an assembly or congress and solve the problems of building the new socialist society.

We believe that there is no one, except the Stalinists, or the worn-out liberal press, who defends the old parliaments of Spain and Catalonia. The old experienced capitalist governments of France and England are not deceived by proposals to confine our revolution to capitalist democracy. They know what is what. This childish argument, to justify the existence of the legal parliaments, fools no one.

What is certain is that the parliaments have not given up their powers, and even if they do not exercise them today, they may reappear tomorrow and attempt to occupy their former position. The very existence of the Parliaments, even if they are asleep and inactive, presupposes that the old institutions of bourgeois democracy are respected and preserved. Furthermore, they stand in the way of new bodies which are truly revolutionary. These new bodies must be the sole organs of power and the governing officials must be named by them.

*For a  
Workers' Democracy  
Not a  
Party Dictatorship*

### The Spanish Revolution

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peoples' front from infecting the workers' movement or placing it at the service of the capitalist democratic interests.

### The Elimination of the P. O. U. M.

The elimination of the P. O. U. M. from the Council of the Generality is the first step in an extensive manoeuvre which would lead also to the elimination of the C. N. T.; this move is designed to change the situation in Catalonia to one more favorable to halting the revolution.

### The Bourgeois Parliament is out of Date

Under these circumstances the Central Committee of the P. O. U. M. believe that the most effective means of combating this extensive manoeuvre and at the same time, of consolidating the aims of the working class and giving impetus to the revolutionary process, is to provide adequate organs of expression for the revolutionary aspirations of the working class, which constitute the basis of the future regime. To maintain the bourgeois parliament at this time is an inconsistency which may prove fatal. The democratic parliament is an institution which belongs to the epoch prior to July 19th. Neither by its composition nor its spirit can it meet the revolutionary needs of the present moment. The new society will not be forged in a parliament, but rather in a constituent assembly which will lay the basis of a Spain freed from landlords and capitalists, a Union of Socialist Republics.

### An Assembly of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

The representatives to this assembly cannot be elected under a system of universal suffrage, a survival of the capitalist democratic regime, but should be chosen by the workers, peasants and soldiers, represented by shop and factory councils, peasant assemblies and delegates from the front. It is from this assembly that the new socialist structure of the country, the workers' and peasants' government should spring. Such a government would represent the will of the masses who are fighting against fascism and offering their blood, not for a democratic republic, but for a society free of capitalist exploitation.

### A Workers' Democracy

The Central Committee of the P. O. U. M. believes, finally, that a genuine workers' democracy is an indispensable condition for the decisive victory of the working class and to guarantee the triumph of the revolution. It would guarantee the revolution against all attempts at dictatorial control by certain parties and organizations. To this end it is absolutely necessary to set up factory and shop councils, elected directly by the workers themselves in general assemblies called by the trade unions—in short the whole working class must participate actively and directly in the discussion and solution of the whole series of problems which the war and the revolution have brought before the country.

The basic aims of the moment are then:

1. Dissolution of the bourgeois parliament.
2. A constituent assembly of delegates of shop councils, peasants representatives, and of delegates from the front.
3. A workers' and peasants' government — a workers democracy.

# Armistice is Treachery

The cynism of the gentlemen who sit around the table at London and who think they have a right to intervene in Spanish questions, especially when they see a possibility of the fascists being beaten, appears in the unlikely proposal of an armistice between the working class behind their barricades and the generals in the service of international fascism who started this cruellest of civil wars on the 19th of July.

If there was ever any doubt of the clear class character of this struggle, it is fully demonstrated now by this effort to save whatever capitalism remains in our country, and to prevent the Spanish civil war from delivering the political power into the hands of the working class.

They tried to stop the revolution with sham neutrality, which they devised together, and, failing, they now try to cut short the victory of our militias by an armistice which could have no other result than to make the socialist revolution impossible.

In the name of their humanitarian sentiments and for fear of the danger of war, why do not these gentlemen oblige Hitler and Mussolini to stop helping Franco and his hirelings with arms, munitions and men? In the same way as they now try to destroy us they granted Mussolini the victory over Ethiopia, in violation of the solemn treaties of the League of Nations, and in spite of the sanctions agreed upon, but effectively imposed by no one.

What other purpose could an armistice serve in Spain than avoiding the taking of power by the working class? Does anyone suppose that the two worlds which oppose one another in this armed struggle could live together in Spain? What about the plebiscite which they propose? Do they suppose the working class would ever submit to the fascist generals, if, as is impossible, they won the plebiscite? And if we won, who can guarantee that the capitalists, the generals and the church would submit to us? Everyone knows they would not. Then what reason is there for the armistice and a plebiscite except to give the Spanish capitalists an opportunity to revive with foreign aid?

Neither an armistice nor a plebiscite would be respected by the troops now fighting in the battlefield. The plebiscite would require the mediators to find a «neutral» power to guarantee the honesty and purity of expression of the democratic will of the people in both of the two Spains. Is there such a «neutral» power or can there ever be? We know there is not. If a neutral power cannot be found in a struggle between two fractions of the owning class, or in a struggle between two peoples, since no country can hold completely aloof, it would be still less possible to find one in the case of a social civil war.

Not even the remotest country in the world can stay neutral toward the struggle we are carrying on in Spain. Every one of them is split into two definite camps. On one side are the capitalists, who feel closer to the Burgos Junta than the Valencia government and who have even less in common with the driving forces in our camp—the workers and the advanced middle class. On the other side are the workers who know that our struggle is theirs.

Then, we must ask, what, except an armed force can guarantee the honesty and order of the voting. And in all countries, except the Soviet Union, the armed forces are in the hands of the capitalist class. Therefore, any armed force, however small, which penetrated into our country, would automatically be allied to the enemies of the working class.

In view of the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country, could forces coming from the Soviet Union be considered neutral? No one would venture to propose them in the first place, any more than they would propose the forces of Hitler and Mussolini.

To accept the London proposals would be an unthinkable betrayal, one of the greatest betrayals known in the history of the workers' revolution. The proposition could not have been seriously made, except with the aim of demoralizing our forces and dividing our camp.

Between the forces facing each other in Spain today, bet-

## What the Workers' Militia Thinks of an Armistice

*The news of the proposed armistice burst like a bombshell before the armed workers in the trenches. Would armistice solve any of the great problems facing the Spanish workers? The war which the working class has waged against fascism since July is not like the struggles of our predecessors, who fought on year after year giving the throe to an ambitious man to whom they went asking for bread and getting bullets instead.*

*The civil war in Spain is a war for strategic positions: If fascism wins in our country it is a defeat not just for the Spanish workers but for the working class of all Europe. That is why the armed workers cannot accept any kind of a treaty. Our problem can only be solved by the triumph of the revolution. Who wants an armistice? The Spanish fascists are in agreement with the great capitalists of Europe; they remember the influence of the Russian revolution of 1917, leading to armed uprising in Germany, Hungary and workers' Italy. In the year 1936, with a class conscious working class, our revolution could be the bugle call for the triumph of all the workers of Europe.*

*The armistice which they are attempting is a consequence of the mistaken attitude of the democratic countries toward our revolution. They want to avoid playing with fire, but there are only two alternatives—fascism or socialism. What would become of European democracy if fascism won in Spain? Spain, by its geographic situation, could be turned into a military camp of international fascism. Democratic France could not resist the attacks of Italian—Spanish fascism: the triumph of the Croix de Feu would be imminent in France, while fascist Germany and Japan would pitch into Russia.*

*Never will the working class permit a pact with fascism, whoever may be the mediators. We are two antagonistic classes and two separate worlds. The Spanish workers are giving their blood, but we say, «No pacts, no armistice.» We are determined to fight to the end and we will follow the slogan «To conquer or to die.»*

*By a militiaman, Sietamo, December 13, 1936.*

ween the capitalists, represented by their extreme right wing, the fascists, and the working class, there is room only for a total defeat or a final victory. Compromises are quite impossible. Whoever tries to arrange them can have no other aim than favoring our mortal enemy and the enemy of the international working class.

Fortunately, it can be expected, it is in fact certain, that the working class of the whole world will rise up against this new betrayal of our revolution. In the same way the workers of all countries understood the neutrality trap, they will see through the betrayal contained in the proposals of the governments of Paris and London. The workers everywhere should raise a most forceful protest against this proposal.

As for the Spanish working class, as well as the middle class fighting so bravely at our side, we are sure that they will never accept it. It is shameful that the Valencia government has not already replied in the way such a provocation merits. There is no room even for conversations over this, nor for the ordinary diplomatic procedure.

Even to consider it is a betrayal.

# NO PACTS WITH FASCISM

## The Spirit of the People



«We Must Carry on with the Revolution»



Victims of Fascism

Comrades:

*It is cold at the front. There are tens of thousands of refugees to be cared for. The doctors of the field hospitals at the front have to perform operations without anaesthetic.*

*Workers everywhere, the Red Aid of the P. O. U. M. needs your help. With your support we will stop these fascist beasts. With your aid the P. O. U. M. will also lead the way to the new workers' society. We are fighting for the Spanish revolution, comrades. Are you with us?*

The Iberian Communist Youth of P. O. U. M. has many heroes in its ranks, and one of the bravest was Miguel Gonzalez of Sardañola. For three months, he fought at the front in the struggle against Fascism. Now he is dead and the workers have lost one of their best young militants.

His funeral took place in Sardañola, a village about 15 miles from Barcelona where he was known and loved by everyone. Behind red P. O. U. M. flags and the black and red banners of the Anarchists, the whole population of two thousand men women and children, with hardly a dry eye anywhere, flowed like a slow, sombre river through the village to the cemetery beyond, surrounded by fields and vineyards. Although in tears and heart-broken, his mother raised her clenched fist as the coffin was being carried away and cried: «We must carry on with the Revolution».

His name has been added to the growing list of heroes of the Spanish people's struggle for freedom.

## A Salud from America

COMRADES OF THE P. O. U. M.

The Louisville Young People's Socialist League sends revolutionary greetings to the Bolsheviks of Spain! We have followed with breathless interest your fight for revolutionary Socialism against the maelstrom of reform which threatens to engulf the Spanish Revolution.

The revolutionary unity for which you struggle is a beacon light against the encircling darkness of the vulgar bourgeois amalgamation, the People's Front. In 1917 the Mensheviks called upon the Russian proletariat to support the provisional government, thus attempting to restrict the revolution to a bourgeois shell. We believe that your correct policies must inevitably win the Spanish proletariat for Revolution because all history, all economics, and the hand of the international proletariat are with you.

Your responsibility is heavy for in your hands history has not only placed the fate of the Spanish Revolution but the problem of breaking the chain of defeat with which reformist leaders have bound the proletariat hand and foot. With every new P.O.U.M. bulletin that we read, we exclaim, «Leninism lives again!» We are confident of your strength.

Forward to a Soviet Spain!

Forward to a new International and the World Revolution!

Louisville, Kentucky.

The Y. P. S. L.

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Salud, Comrade Mary

The staff of the «Spanish Revolution» and of the International Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. express their revolutionary esteem for Comrade Mary Brea, of Australia, the departing editor of this paper. An English bulletin of the P. O. U. M. was her own idea and creation, and back in its mimeographed days, she worked far into the nights to do the translation, typing and mailing, as well as the radio broadcasts, single-handed. She also secured the money and circulation needed to realize her project of the printed edition. For the last two months she has filled a full-time position with the Generality Commissariat of Propaganda, at the same time directing this bulletin and the radio. It is from the untiring sacrifice of such comrades that the new world is born. She is called by other tasks, but the projects which she has started in Barcelona will live on with the revolution of the Spanish workers.

## Revolutionary Art

The C. N. T.-F. A. I. has published a very fine collection of water colors under the title «Impressions of the Revolution.» In thirty-two sketches the artist has caught the spirit of the revolution and the action of the workers in the July days. Workers' organizations would find them valuable in raising money or as colorful decorations to supplement their P. O. U. M. posters on the walls of their meeting halls. The price is five pesetas for the book of thirty-two pictures, Casa C. N. T., Via Durruti, Barcelona.

## P. O. U. M. Pamphlets

Among the latest publications of the P. O. U. M. are «The P. O. U. M. and the Collectivization of Industry and Commerce» by Oltra Pico (in Catalan) at fifty centimos; «Protect Us»—precautions against aerial bombardment (in Spanish), sixty centimos; and «Petrograd in Danger» by Victor Serge (in Spanish), thirty centimos. These pamphlets may be had from Editorial Marxista, Baños Nuevos, 16, Barcelona.

## Jennie Lee in Spain

Comrade Jennie Lee of the British I. L. P. is spending a few days in Barcelona prior to leaving with the members of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. for the front. She intends visiting the nearest part of the line which is at Huesca about 200 miles from Barcelona to carry the greetings of the British Socialist comrades to the workers' battalions. She says:

«I hope to see at the front exactly what is needed in the way of clothes, woollens, food, etc., in order to be able to tell my British and American comrades the exact truth regarding the situation.»

«We have been concerned in Britain about the unity of the various workers' parties here in Catalonia, as we realise that this unity is a necessary preliminary to the victory against Fascism and the building of a workers' state.»

«It has been made clear to me that the workers here are not out to preserve an old democratic republic but definitely are fighting their battle on the lines of class conscious socialism.»

Jennie Lee is returning to Britain at the end of the present week and is sailing for the United States on January 6th, where she will be addressing many meetings on behalf of the Spanish workers and making appeals for aid.

## Arms from the Y. P. S. L.

The Industrial Director of the Greater New York Confederation of the Young Peoples' Socialist League informs us that, unlike certain organizations here, «we, the Y. P. S. L.,

are not sending only iodine and clothes to the embattled Spanish workers». The New York Y. P. S. L. has voted to «raise money for arms for the Spanish workers.»

## P. O. U. M. Posters Designed in England

Our readers will be interested to know that four of the new P. O. U. M. posters were designed by an English comrade, Pat Mitte, of London. She sent a dozen colorful posters with revolutionary slogans in Catalan, four of which are being printed for the walls of Spain.

## Meetings of the P. O. U. M.

Our meeting in the Gran Price, held on the 8th of December, was attended by a record crowd, which wildly acclaimed the revolutionary slogans of the P. O. U. M. It was called at the time of the crisis in the Council of the Generality and gave concrete evidence of the revolutionary mass of workers backing our party and its program. (See back cover of our last issue of THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.) Last Sunday, the 27th of December, a still greater meeting was held in which the Catalan workers again heard the voice of the revolution expressed by the P. O. U. M. orators. The great auditorium was not large enough to hold the thousands who wanted to hear; they packed the corridors and the streets to follow the speeches of Nin, Gorkin, Arquer, Solano, and Jennie Lee. Over twelve thousand showed their agreement with the speakers. This interaction was the most salient point of the meetings.

## INFORMATION BUREAU

From Louisville, Ky., we are asked about the Javier Buena left wing group in the Spanish Socialist Party. This is not the first time we have heard of the fable which seems to be circulating in America, but which must be based on wish thinking. There are two persons in the workers' movement named Javier Buena—one is an economic writer and the other is the Socialist comrade of the Asturias who has been prominent. But to speak of a group or tendency in the party under his leadership is an exaggeration. In the opinion of members of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M., Buena's ideas are confused in any case.

A comrade from Brooklyn asks: Has the Generality of Catalonia been carrying out a real socialist program?

The P. O. U. M. participated in the late government of the Generality in order not to break the anti-fascist front at a time when that seemed unthinkable. At first the Council agreed to a socialist program which was followed for a time, but the Stalinists soon formed a bloc with the middle parties to stop this. This division appeared when the collectivization decree was passed with provision for compensation of owners at some future time. The P. O. U. M. was in a very difficult situation for a revolutionary party. It remained in the government, working with the C. N. T. representatives to continue the development of the revolution. It criticized all reformist manoeuvres so loudly that the non-revolutionary parties had to eliminate it from the Council, which we no longer would class as revolutionary. It is dominated by the middle class and Stalinist parties which broke the anti-fascist front. Under the departments headed by them, the workers' committees of supplies, highway control, etc. are being dissolved under the slogan of all power to the Generality, which is no doubt in preparation for a party dictatorship.

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

## AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

The I. L. P.  
The Marxist League

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

## AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

Y. P. S. L.  
The Labor Book Shop

PRICE IN U. S. A.: 05

## EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios

BARCELONA

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## STALINISM

## The POUM Before the Workers

The official Communist press of Spain and elsewhere has been carrying on the campaign begun by the official Soviet organs, «Pravda» and «Isvestia», and has brought very grave accusations against the P. O. U. M.

We are accused of being agents provocateurs in the pay of the Gestapo and the «Fifth Column». In several organs of the Communist International it has been stated that the P.O.U.M. in collaboration with the Fascists, organised a plot aiming at the assassination of Azaña, Largo Caballero, Dolores Ibarruti (Passionaria) and José Diaz. These are concrete accusations and appeared in the Communist press.

Comrade Victor Serge, in an article sent to «La Batalla», suggests, among other measures, the constitution of an International Commission of Enquiry, composed of well-known persons in the working-class movement. The Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. has decided to follow the suggestion of Victor Serge. In order that it may command the greatest possible measure of authority, the International Commission of Enquiry should include a representative of each of the following organisations: the Communist International, the Labour and Socialist International, the Fourth International, the International Workingmen's Association and the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity. This Commission should investigate independently and freely the concrete accusations levelled against the P.O.U.M. It should begin, in our opinion, by demanding the evidence for these accusations.

We are convinced that the working-class of Spain and of the world will understand and support the P.O.U.M.'s demand, a demand which no one can legitimately oppose.

A new sensational trial has been started in Moscow. This time the prisoners' bench is occupied by Radeck, Piatakov, Muralov, Sokolnikov, Serebriakov and others not so well-known, sixteen in all. Those shot in September were also sixteen. That seems to be the capacity of the executioner's cart of the Stalinite Thermidorians. The accused in this trial as in the one of last summer, are old guard Bolsheviks, revolutionary fighters from the heroic days, old friends and comrades of Lenin.

What has happened is simply that in Russia the most elementary workers democracy has been abolished to make way for the bureaucratic regime of a personal dictator. Of the October Revolution and the Leninist tradition nothing or very little remains. The fighters of October, the old comrades of Lenin have become embarrassing witnesses, in fact real obstacles, to those who are now trying to exterminate them physically after having suppressed them politically. Last time it was Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Smirnov. To-day it is Radeck, Piatakov, Muralov. To-morrow it will be Bukharin. They are already preparing a new cartload. Stalin unquestionably bases his power on terror.

The accused are denied all possibility of defence. In Lenin's time, at the trial of the Socialist Revolutionaries, a foreign workers' delegation was allowed to attend. During the famous «industrial trial» the accused, many of whom occupy bureaucratic posts in Russia to-day, enjoyed every sort of means of defence. Why are these denied to-day to the men who, together with Lenin, forged the revolution of 1917?

After the shooting of Zinoviev and Kamenev, the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity proposed the formation of an international commission of enquiry to investigate the charges against them and against Trotsky himself. At the time we supported this step, and we continue to do so with the greatest energy to-day. The international proletariat must know the whole truth. The workers cannot be expected to support the soviet cause unless they know what is going on in Russia.

From the resolution of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M.

**We Demand** THE FORMATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY TO EXAMINE THE ACCUSATIONS LEVELLED AGAINST US.