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 Zinovieff, 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.

The P. O. U. M. is 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


**The Spanish Revolution**

**A Change of Government in Catalonia**

The P.O.U.M. has been eliminated from the Congress of the Spanish Republic. But its place has not been eliminated from the front-line trenches, nor its militants from their organizations. It still lives on in 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 P. O. U. M. (Proletarian Trade Union Movement), Workers' Union (C. U. T.), and the Peasants' (Rasaburjio) Union, with the aim of organizing the workers in such a way as to give the espouses or Catalan Left Republican hold three seats on the council as it is not enshrined in the Constitution. What is more, in this respect the representatives, Vidal, Valdes and Comorera, are so much U. G. T. men as Statisticians of the P. O. U. M. Everyone knows this. Everyone can see through their manoeuvres, and the first to lose is the workers of the U. G. T., who cannot feel properly represented by these councilors.

This government is born of a long struggle of political trickery, formed by the breaking of the united action of all those who oppose 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.

**LETTHE Workers JUDGE**

The Anarchist position is expressed in these words of Federica Montseny (Anarchist Syndicalist representative on the Council of Trade Unions):

In her speech at Alicante: "This war is not a civil war; it is the war of one class against another, without any chance of the people maintaining the freedom in being a class of the people.

The word "class" is the aim of the state.

The election is what decides the fate of the government.

Nothing, however, can justify permanent separation and rivalry between two trade unions of different political positions on the question of state.

In the case of Montseny, the Anarchist position is particularly a political one but rather economic, planning and building the new economy. With the destruction of capitalism, the struggle between trade unions should disappear. The historic tradition of trade union struggle, between Marxists and Bakunists must be ended upon the liquidation of the capitalist system.

A strong government to be used in the interests of the workers; in short, a strong government to be used in the interests of the working class and the revolution? This government is formed with internal contradictions, into a situation of latent crisis. It is virtually still-born.

**A Strong Government**

The P. O. U. M., the party which provoked the crisis in the Catalan Government, demands a strong government and the suppression of the political parties and organizations. It is the word given that a strong government whose councillors would escape being controlled by their own organizations; in short, the word given to the creation of the economical impetus of the working class.

With the P. O. U. M. out of the government, the P. O. U. M. will try to operate as a force which can completely undermine the fault of the political party. They will use the word given to the P. O. U. M. from the government, because they know that their party would not let them destroy the achievements of the revolution.

The leaders of the P. O. U. M. believed that the time had come for the revolution, that the moment had arrived for the creation of a strong government.

The change of government means nothing but that. They found it convenient to expel the P. O. U. M. from the government, because they know that their party would not let them destroy the achievements of the revolution.

**Only workers democracy**

With this change of government it might be, who cares here under any pretext: to intervene in Spanish affairs and seize control of the entire apparatus of the state and the army, and to use theud of the state with the aim of creating the revolutionary impetus of the working class.

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We have not pronounced the word "right", for to do so would be to make the word "right" the political position. We shall pronounce the word "administration" but we shall oppose anyone, whoever it might be, who tries to prohibit the revolution or to combat the revolution.

The revolutionary Socialist position of our party is that of the working class, and of Spain, where it represents the vanguard of the revolution.

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**Foreign Comrades**

Every day more foreign comrades arrive voluntarily to fight for our cause which is the revolution of the international working class. The action of these comrades is the best demonstration of the extraordinary importance of the presence of revolutionaries. They come to our aid in their own organizations, 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 the law of national origin does not apply to foreigners. In other words, wherever they can. Our revolution should erect all those who fight for our cause with Spain in our ranks ought to be considered legal rigid for their taking Spanish nationality. At the same time we have an obligation to the comrades of all countries who come to help us.

Lack of trade union unity can create serious problems in the revolutionary situation. At the present time we can put personal interests above the collective interest. Individualism creates a serious obstacle to the political and economic unity of the working class. Aside from the need for a systematic government program, trade union unity is the most serious need of the moment. This is not a question of unity for unity's sake. Trade union unity means not just fusion of the two organizations but also unified economic activity. The economic objectives of the trade union movement must be such as to be an obstacle to the growth of an army of unemployed and to force the state to employ them. It is clear that prior to the new order, the trade unions should be the center of the fight against capitalism.

The new government of the Generality in Catalonia is the revolution of the international working class. The action of these comrades is the best demonstration of the extraordinary importance of the presence of revolutionaries. They come to our aid in their own organizations, acquired in the imperialist war of 1914-1918, and even their lives for our movement.

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We have in Spain a new situation which demands new organization.

This document clearly and completely points the way to the new organ of that movement and to the new government and the People's Government, the Prosecution of this revolution and which will be its solid goal.

This is a true and complete demand of the official communists and the reformist socialists who are fighting for the democracy of the revolution, but not for the bourgeoisie.

Before July 19th was a crisis, provoked in order to eliminate our party. It was resolved by forming a new compromise government based on fundamental questions.

In Catalonia there is certain widely held beliefs which are not uncommon: that the Council of the Generality is a government which can achieve the revolution; that because the trade unions are in the majority in the country, it is the working class that has the power.

This is a counter-revolutionary position from above, that the Council of the Generality is a government of the bourgeoisie, jealous of preserving the capitalist regime.

This was a counter-revolutionary government. Who holds the power? We have seen that the working class has the power, but this is of little importance. It is the strength or weakness of a government and a movement.

The working class of Catalonia and Spain must clearly recognize that this government differs in no fundamental way from the former government at Valencia, in spite of its composition, is a typical government of the bourgeoisie.

The Bourgeois Parliament is out of Date

This is a true and complete demand of the official communists and the reformist socialists who are fighting for the democracy of the revolution, but not for the bourgeoisie.

In these historical moments the working class came to realize that the parliament is out of date, that it is not just a question of form, or party rivalry, but it is a fundamental question. The future of the Spanish revolution must be saved, and it can only be saved by putting an end forever to the bourgeois parliament. Finally, we must understand clearly that the Spanish revolution has started to be organized. This document clearly and concretely points the way to the new organ of that movement, and to the new government and the People's Government, the Prosecution of this revolution and which will be its solid goal.
A r m i s t i c e i s T r a e c h e r y

What the Workers' Militia Thoughts of an Armistice

The war of the proposed armistice burst like a bombshell before the armed workers in the trenches. Would armistice be a betrayal, one of the greatest betrayals known in the history of the workers' revolution? The proposition could not have been more serious made, except with the aim of demoralizing our forces and Mussolini. Therefore, any armed force, however neutral they pretended to be, would require the mediators to find a «neutral» power to give the Spanish capitalists an opportunity to revive with their blood, but we say, «no pacts, no armistice.» We are determined to fight to the end and we will follow the slogan «No surrender.»

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. The »neutral» cannot possibly be found, unless they can be forced to give the Spanish capitalists an opportunity to revive with their blood, but we say, «No armistice, no pacts, no armistice.»

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, represented by their extreme right wing, the generals in the service of international fascism who could not resist the attacks of Italian 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.

Whatever 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 each other 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 »neutral» power? If, as is impossible, they won the plebiscite? And if we won, who would guarantee that the capitalists, the generals and the church would submit to? Everyone knows they would not. Then what reason is there for the »neutral» to give us the Spanish capitalists an opportunity to revive with their blood, but we say, «No pacts, no armistice.»

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 be one? We know there is not. If a neutral power demonstrated now by this action between two factions of the owning class, or in a struggle between two peoples, even one country could hold completely divided. It would be at least less possible to find in the case of a social revolution 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. It is impossible. Whoever tries to arrange them can have no other aim than favoring our mortal enemy and the enemy of the international working class.

Unfortunatly, 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 Pacts and armistice. The workers everywhere should raise a most forceful protest against this proposal.

As for the Spanish working class, as well as the middle class and the intellectuals, who are 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.

V i c t i m s o f F a c i s m

Comrades:

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

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?

N O P A C T S W I T H F A C I S M

The Torcian Communist Youth of P. O. U. M. has many friends and allies, and one of the bravest was Miguel Carpen- ter of Barcelona. 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.

Mr. Ember took place in Barcelona, 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 and women and children, with hardly a dry eye anywhere, flowed like a slow stream from the village to the cemetery beyond, surrounded by fields and vineyards. Although in tears and heart-broken, it is not a broken heart but the coffin was being carried away and cried: «We must carry on with the Revolution.»

Mr. Ember was born in the growing list of heroes of the Spanish people's struggle for freedom.

A S A l u d f r o m A m e r i c a

C O M R A D E S o f t h e P O. U. M.

The Louisville Young People's Socialist League sends revolutionary greetings to the Bolcheviks of Spain! We have followed with inexpressible interest the struggle for revolutionary socialism against the maestros of reform which threatens to engulf the Spanish Revolution.

The revolutionary unity for which you struggle is a beacon against the encircling darkness of the vulgar bourgeois nationalism, 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 whole of the international proletariat demands such a development.

Your responsibility is heavy for in your hands history has placed the fate of the Spanish Revolution. The problem of breaking the chain of defeats with which we now begin to count our losses has bound our proletarian hand and foot. With every new P.O.U.M. bulletin that we read, we acclaim, «Leninism lives again!» We are confident of your strength.

Forward to a Soviet Spain! Forward to a new International and the World Revolution!
Jennie Lee in Spain

The staff of the Spanish Revolution and of the International Secretariat of the P. O. U. M. express their revolutionaries' feelings for Comrade Mary, of Spain, the departing editor of this paper. An English bulletin of the P. O. U. M. is her own idea, creation, and back in its mimeographed days, she worked far into the nights to do the translation work as well as the radio broadcasts, single-handed. She also secured the money and circulation needed, to realise the dream of a project of the printed edition. For the last two months she has filled a full-time position with the Generation of May 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.-P. A. I. has published a very fine collection of water colors under the title «Impressions of the Revolution» by Oltra Pico (in Catalan) at fifty centimes; «Protect Your Country» by Pat Hitti, 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.

The official Communist press of Spain and elsewhere is trying to keep the Palaces of Honour occupied with the battle of trying to enslave their own point of view of the Spanish revolution. Our meetings in the Gran Prince, held on the 8th of December, was attended by a record crowd, which wildly acclaimed the new 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 Hitti, of London. She sent a dozen colorful posters, with revolutionary slogans in Catalan, four of which are being printed for the walls of Spain.

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

The POUM Before the Workers - Spain

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