

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Revolutionary Youth of France

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

## A Literary Competition

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

## «El Pionero Rojo»

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

## Another Suppression

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

## Stalinist Pettyness

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

## Reformism Devours Itself

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

## Burgos Money, «Bogus Money»

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



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

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

## Radio Badalona

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

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

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

# THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

P. O. U. M.

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## THE BARRICADES OF MAY 3-7

### THE WORKERS HOLD THE STREETS

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

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

### THE PROVOCATEURS

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

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

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

### THE ATTACK ON THE TELEPHONE BUILDING

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

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

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

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

### THE WORKERS' REACTION

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

At nightfall, the workers began to build barricades of

paving blocks and sandbags. That evening many workers were killed by the armed forces of the Generality, which tried to disarm them. During the night, firing sounded throughout the city.

#### THE FORCES IN THE FIELD

The coup had been prepared and carried out by the P. S. U. C. and the Esquerra. The members of these organizations, however, were not the shock troops of the Generality. It had at its command the Assault Guards, the Civil Guards and the Mozos d'Escuadra—personal guards to the President. All these Generality forces did not show the same fight. The Assault Guards were reluctant to fire upon the working class, as were even part of the Civil Guard. Many cases of insubordination arose, and some guards turned their arms over to the workers. The most reactionary of the anti-fascist forces turned out to be the most violent. Groups from the Estat Català and the P.S.U.C., which held a few positions, were very aggressive.

On the workers' side were united the workers of the P. O. U. M. and those of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. They stood united throughout the fight, and the street fighting was organized in common. The password was «C. N. T., F. A. I., P. O. U. M.—REVOLUTION!»

In general the workers of the U. G. T. did not take part in the fight, though many of the joined the revolutionaries in the barricades. The P. S. U. C. did not succeed in facing the U. G. T. workers against those of the C. N. T. Thus it is false to present the fight as a fratricidal struggle between the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., as has been stated in the press. It was nothing other than the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the counter-revolutionary forces of repression of the Generality—composed only of the Guards corrupted by Stalinism and reformism.

#### THE STREET FIGHTING

On May 4th, LA BATALLA, the P. O. U. M.'s newspaper, issued the slogan of permanent mobilization of the working class. The P. O. U. M. demanded the resignation of Rodriguez Sala and the annulling of the Public Order Decree. It proposed the immediate formation of the Revolutionary Workers' Front and the organization in all districts of Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. These slogan echoed among the masses and accentuated the cooperation between the workers behind their barricades or in their organization headquarters and the police force, which likewise threw up barricades or shot from the P. S. U. C. buildings (Hotel Colon, Karl Marx House) or those of the Esquerra and Estat Català.

Tuesday evening, the Generality tried to stop the fighting with the promise of finding a solution. The radio gave an order to stop firing, (since all the anti-fascist organizations have met at the Generality Palace to try to solve the conflict).

This truce was fairly effective Tuesday night. Speaking from the Generality Radio were heard Calvet, President of the Peasants' Union, Sbert of the Esquerra, Vidiella in the name of the U. G. T.-P. S. U. C., Garcia Oliver, C. N. T. Minister of Justice in the Valencia Government, representative of the National Committee of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T., and President Companys.

This truce was short-lived, however. The fighting started up again in the morning. The efforts made by the Generality during Tuesday and Wednesday were absolutely ineffective because they refused to satisfy the just aspirations of the revolutionary working class. Furthermore, when the workers saw that the reactionary elements of the anti-fascist front were taking advantage of the pause to extend their provocations, they took up the fight again to crush the counter-revolution.

#### MASTER OF THE STREETS

The Generality of Catalonia and its «Provisional Government» were powerless. All day Wednesday and Thursday, the power was in the hands of the Barcelona workers. The working class had completely reestablished order in the suburbs by driving out or disarming the bourgeois police forces. At the center of the city, a few streets were still in the hands of the P. S.

U. C., the Esquerra, the Estat Català and the Civil and Assault Guards. The Generality buildings were surrounded on all sides by the armed workers. Only the Mozos d'Escuadra were left defending them.

The Generality's appeals to stop fighting did not reach the first barricade. The whole Province of Catalonia, cities and villages, was taking preventative measures to prevent any steps by the counter-revolutionaries. The divisions on the Aragón front also showed that they would tolerate no provocations. It can be said then that the revolutionary working class of Barcelona, upheld by the workers of all Catalonia, were master of the situation Wednesday and Thursday morning.

#### THE ACTION OF THE P. O. U. M.

For month the P. O. U. M. had been denouncing the continual provocations of the counter-revolution, and it immediately denounced the Assault Guards' attack on the Telephone Building as the decisive provocation of the reactionary sectors of the anti-fascist front. It upheld the armed protest of the workers.

It was the P. O. U. M.'s duty to stand actively with the workers who were spontaneously and heroically defending the threatened conquests of the Revolution with the general strike and barricades. The P. O. U. M. fulfilled its duty and met its responsibilities. Throughout this struggle it played its part as a revolutionary Marxist party, organizing the workers and attempting to bring them the leadership which they lacked.

The P. O. U. M. insisted upon the forming of the Revolutionary Workers' Front, which now has taken hold of the imagination of the working class. The P. O. U. M. demanded the immediate organization of Revolutionary Defence Committees. These Committees were set up in some districts and the Anarcho-Sindicalist workers of the F. A. I. and the C. N. T. were seen rubbing elbows with the Marxists of the P. O. U. M.

During the week of fighting, the P. O. U. M. showed itself to be the only Party of the Revolution, and its members quickly rose to the task before them.

#### THE BOURGEOISIE REGAIN THE POWER

The lively desire of the working class to put an end to the power of reformism was not crowned with success, however. For four days, the workers stood ready, vigilant, awaiting the C. N. T.'s order to attack. The order never came. In fact, the struggle was little more than a passive siege of the bourgeois forces. The National Confederation of Labour, held by the workers as the mass organization of the Revolution, recoiled before the question of workers' power. Caught up in the reins of the government, it tried to straddle the fence with a «union» of the opposing forces. That is why the revolutionary workers' fight of May 3 of 7 was essentially defensive instead of offensive.

The attitude of the C. N. T. did not fail to bring forth resistance and protests. The «Friends of Durruti» group brought the unanimous desire of the C. N. T. masses to the surface, but it was not able to take the lead.

The workers were fighting in the street without any definite goal or responsible leadership, the P. O. U. M. could only order and organize a strategic retreat. It helped the working class to avoid a desperate action which could have had sad consequences.

#### THE PARTIAL VICTORY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The Generality of Catalonia, realizing that it was not able to throw off the force of the working class of all Catalonia, had to give up its police power to the Valencia Government. Five thousand Assault Guards from Madrid descended upon the city of Barcelona. At the same time the Central Government of the Republic obtained the complete transfer of the Aragón Army to its command. It is now no more than the Army of the East.

A provisional Ministry was set up with one representative each from the U. G. T., C. N. T., Esquerra and Peasants' Union.

The working class, although not getting their objectives,

## ANOTHER PROVOCATION

The Paris press has published an absurd note about the events in Barcelona. It was written in the Spanish Embassy under the direct and personal inspiration of Alvarez del Vayo and Luis Araquistain.

According to this report, during these days several Barcelona balconies exhibited Monarchist flags under the protection of the Anarchists—disruptive elements which openly collaborate with the fascists in their work.

This slanderous information proceeds from friends who call themselves enthusiastic defenders of working class unity and who, in turn, are members of workers' organizations. We are not surprised at this, however, as are our Anarchist comrades of «Solidaridad Obrera». As this paper recognizes, it was just such manoeuvres which led up to the provocation which unleashed the magnificent protest movement of these last days. Now, again, in the name of unity, they try, both in Spain and abroad, to discredit the workers' movement.

The statement of the Paris Embassy, under Luis Araquistain, is a provocation and insult to the Spanish workers. It is part of a plan to discredit and destroy the revolutionary workers' organizations, in conformity with the requirements of French and British imperialism and certain other influential embassies.

## «MUNDO OBRERO» AGAINST MARX AND LENIN

They Consider it Criminal for the Working Class to Take Power

«Mundo Obrero» qualifies the P. O. U. M. as inciters to rebellion. It says in its issue of May 7th «We do not understand how it is possible to allow «La Batalla» say 'all power to the working class. All economic power to the trade unions. For the Revolutionary Junta against the Generality' and 'Thousands and thousands of workers have gone into the streets with their arms. The factories, the shops are paralysed. The barricades of liberty have again sprung up in all parts of the city.'»

«The events in Catalonia are examples. We demand severe punishment for the greatest enemies of the people. It is time to exterminate the P.O.U.M. and all men and groups who play the game of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini inside other groups. The P.O.U.M. should be liquidated and their men eliminated from public life.»

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The Spanish workers are greatly encouraged by the help from the British comrades, who are unmasking the fascist sympathies of their government by sending food ships to Bilbao. American students, too, are falling in behind the Spanish workers under the slogan «Fast that Spain may Eat». Thousands of students gave up a meal on the anniversary of America's entry into the World War, while a million went out on strike against war and fascism.

by this struggle obtained the discharge of those who were directly guilty, that is, Rodriguez Sala (P. S. U. C.) and Artemi Agudé (Esquerra). By its action in the street, by its energetic struggle, it likewise forced the Stalinist and counter-revolutionaries to recoil. The working class withdrew in order and showed that it was ready for the new struggle, which would be necessary to achieve its goal—the freedom of the working class.

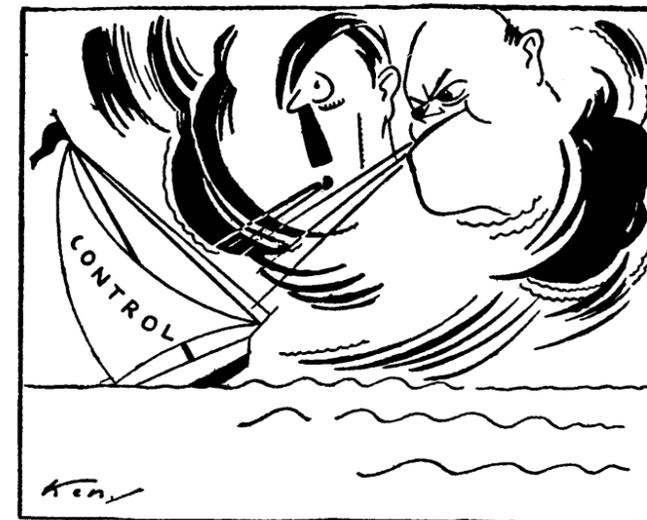
#### THE LESSON OF THIS STRUGGLE

Friday the workers abandoned the struggle, remaining alert, however, and keeping their arms. The rôle of the P. O. U. M. grew with the experience in revolutionary struggle. The

## THE CONTROL AGAINST THE WORKERS

From France we receive word that a British merchant ship, the «Sarastone», left Antwerp for Bilbao on April 3rd with 3,500 tons of potatoes, vegetables and other perishable products. This ship was detained at Bordeaux under an order from the Control Committee. However, the dock workers refused to unload it.

The week before, the workers of this same port refused to load the ship «Snafell» with 42 tons of paper pulp, used for making gun cotton, — which was destined for Seville. The Bordeaux workers have thus prevented one crime, prepared by the Gentlemen of the Control, but the «Sarastone» is still held. This reveals the real meaning of the control of Spain by the capitalist states—both democratic and fascist.



British Capitalists and British Workers

The British Government has found a formula whereby they can recognize Franco as a belligerent and refuse to recognize him at the same time. The fact is that Mr. Baldwin and the Government are fulfilling a double rôle. On the one hand they want to prevent a victory of Franco, which would be a victory for Italy and Germany. On the other hand they fear a victory of the Valencia Government, which might lead to the victory of the Spanish revolution. Neither of these prospects please them. Their policy is to prolong the struggle as much as possible, and avoid anything that would be an advantage to either side. This, together with their natural reticence toward getting too deeply involved, explains their two-faced attitude.

We are not surprised at this. We have never put any faith in the «protection» of the democratic powers. We have said time and again that the workers can trust only in their own forces and the solidarity of the workers in the other countries.

workers, who were deeply wounded by the capitulation of their trade unions federation, are now looking for a new lead in other directions. The P. O. U. M. should provide it for them.

The May days showed that the only way out of the present situation is for the working class to take power. To arrive at this, it is necessary to coordinate the revolutionary action of the masses by building the Revolutionary Workers' Front, gathering in all the organizations determined to completely crush fascism—a work which can only be realized with a military victory at the front and the triumph of the revolution behind the lines.

Thus the P. O. U. M., the revolutionary party, although attacked, slandered and threatened by the bourgeoisie, forges ahead to the end.

## Towards the Barcelona Conference

The International Conference which was held at Brussels at the end of October, 1936, adopted the P.O.U.M. proposal to hold an International Conference in Barcelona as soon as possible. The calling of this conference was placed in the hands of the International Secretariat of the P.O.U.M. in conjunction with the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity. At the present moment, a sub-secretariat of the International Bureau in Barcelona, composed of representatives of the constituent parties, is collaborating closely with the P.O.U.M.'s International Secretariat in making arrangements for the International Conference.

Various circumstances have forced us to postpone several times, the date for the holding of the conference. However, it has now been definitely fixed to coincide with the anniversary of the military-fascist uprising and its crushing by the revolutionary workers in half of Spain ..... July 19th. Thus the delegates from the various countries will be able to participate in the commemoration of these glorious days. Under those conditions, a huge international meeting will be held in Barcelona. It is expected that the conference will last about eight or ten days during which a series of visits will be made, between the sessions, to the front and to certain factories and towns, all of which will be of interest and information.

The Brussels Congress decided that the fundamental task at Barcelona should be as follows: «To analyse events and to stimulate the forces necessary for the future organisation of an International which is truly revolutionary». This does not mean that a new international will arise at the Barcelona Congress. The moment of its foundation will be determined by events, the conditions of maturity and the particular needs of the international worker's movement. Nevertheless from the Barcelona Congress, there will doubtless spring a revolutionary Marxist platform, capable of establishing the consequent differentiation in the workers' movement (grouping around it numerous parties and sections) a truly revolutionary nucleus, working for a new International.

As yet, the definite agenda of the International Conference has not been drawn up, but we can say that the fundamental points will be as follows:

- 1 The mobilisation of the international working class for the defence of the Spanish Revolution.
- 2 The struggle against War, Fascism and Imperialism.
- 3 The question of the Internationals and of the future revolutionary International.

The Barcelona Congress must be as broad as possible. All tendencies in the Marxist workers' movement ought to be invited to it. The Internationals or International organisations as such will not be allowed to send more than one delegation, composed of three members in all.

At the present moment, what the workers' movement need most of all is revolutionary clarification. Therefore, before the International Congress takes place—two months before the appointed date—the P. O. U. M., in collaboration with the International Bureau will edit a discussion bulletin in English and French, in which there will appear, in addition to the basic and introductory material, responsible statements coming from the various tendencies of revolutionary Marxism entitled to participate in the International Congress.

The announcement of the Barcelona Congress has created great interest in International working class circles. Delegates from various countries in Europe and America and other continents have signified their intention of attending. It will mean a veritable resurgence of proletarian, revolutionary internationalism at this moment of collapse and confusion in the workers' movement. It will be, in fact, an assembly of real historical importance.

J. C. GORKIN

*The Barcelona Conference for  
A Revolutionary International  
JULY 19*

## Attacks on the International Congress

The Stalinist newspaper of Valencia, «Red Front», published a few days ago an article which is given below.

We think it is necessary to draw the attention of foreign comrades to this typical example of the continual attacks to which the P.O.U.M. is subjected by those who still pretend to be the successors of the Bolsheviks of 1917. This short article is the beginning of a series of articles on the same subject, namely the International Conference at Barcelona, organised by the P.O.U.M. and the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity of London. Our readers will find elsewhere in this Bulletin an article by Comrade Gorkin regarding the aims of this Congress, which will be held on July 19th, 1937. How is it that three months before the date of the Congress, when it has not even been officially announced, the Stalinists commence their attacks upon it? This Congress will unite delegates from all revolutionary socialist organisations in the world at a moment when the Third International is everywhere intensifying its «Popular Front» policy, its policy of class collaboration and reinforcing the spirit of nationalism, the aim of which is the struggle between «democracies» and Fascism, the complete abandonment of the Communist ideology and the betrayal of the confidence placed in the Communist International by the working masses of the world. The International Conference at Barcelona will have a tremendous effect and will result in a modification and even a regrouping of the revolutionary forces which will spring from it.

These are the reasons that have caused the publication of the article in the «Red Front». We shall see that as the date of the Conference approaches these attacks will increase in vigour and in bitterness. They will be made in the name of the working classes, but really their effect will be to strengthen the domination of the middle classes. To-day we are being considered as the agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, as accomplices in the assassination of Kirov, this having been proved, apparently, by the blinding light which the Moscow trials shed on the activities of the «Fascists and Trotskyists». We desire to declare here that this Congress, organised, as we have stated above, by the London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity and the P.O.U.M., is not a Trotskyist Conference. We repeat for the thousandth time that we have no relations either with Trotsky or with the Fourth International. We look upon Trotskyism as being simply a sectarian tendency of revolutionary Marxism.

In 1917 the Mensheviks accused the Bolsheviks of being the agents of the Kaiser. The Mensheviks of to-day have found nothing better to do than imitate them and to accuse us of being the agents of Hitler. History repeats itself. The final word, however, remains with the international working class, who will decide.

## “A Provocation by the P. O. U. M.”

### “Spies of the Gestapo”

«Under the auspices of the P.O.U.M., the parties throughout the world of the organizer of the assassination of Kirov, Leon Trotsky, with the money and control of Hitler and his dogs propose to meet in Spain. They want to take advantage of the state of war to hide behind a demagogic disguise in which are hidden the pistols of crime and the plans of provocation. A swarm of spies mobilized by the Gestapo threaten to invade our country under the pretext of a Trotskyist Congress. There could not be a more clever manoeuvre to give Franco and his friends the necessary information and to sow confusion and chaos in the antifascist ranks.

«We call this to the attention of all the anti-fascist organizations and parties in order that they should not be surprised by this attempt to assemble the provocateurs of all climes.

(next page)

## BEFORE THE SECOND P. O. U. M. CONGRESS

The party has been the basis of all victorious revolutions. The leaders of the French convention of '93 were united by the growth of the Jacobin Party. The achievements of the Russian revolutions were built upon the life of the Bolshevik Party. The party and the revolution are always tied together and, what is more, in the course of history they amount to the same thing.

The party, however, is not just a grouping of the members who hold the same political conception. It cannot be taken mechanically as the sum of the members. It is above all a theory transformed into action. In every revolution, doctrine, tactics and militants are fused in one indestructible unity, which, supported by the interests of the great exploited masses, conquers the power and transforms the old society.

Maurin, our fallen leader, said that above all the party must place itself at the forefront of the theoretic and doctrinal movement of the working class. We repeat that the workers' nucleus which is able to take the vanguard of thought will end by leading the great masses of workers in fact.

This is the question now before our party. Revolutionary reality has completely broken the pseudo-unanimity which seemed to rule the politics of the first few months following the July insurrection. The problems of the army, of public order, of socialization, of power in general, are planted so crudely that it is impossible to maintain a purely literary balance. We must rapidly take sides, for or against, on one side of the barricade or the other.

Our party, as ever, was the first to take a stand. We have held firm revolutionary positions on all problems. The P.S.U.C. (United Socialist Party of Catalonia) has degenerated to the most rotten reformism. Between these two clear and definite positions are found the thousands and thousands of workers, all organized in the C.N.T. unions, who are seeking a political path which can satisfy their class interests.

Never has the responsibility of our party been so great as now. Through its lack of clear political conviction the working class has lost positions which the counter-revolution has taken up. These positions can easily be retaken and surpassed if the workers act in time—if the working class realizes that the necessary condition of its triumph is to keep a clear idea of the path it must follow and the steps it must take.

Herein lies the tremendous significance of our Congress, about to open, its decisive importance for the future. This Congress will show whether the working class is capable of moulding the destinies of society and whether our party is prepared to lead the working class to the conquest of power. Its sessions and the maturity of its resolutions will determine whether or not a new step is taken in the history of the Spanish revolution.

This Second Congress will be held in Barcelona from the 22nd to the 30th of May. A short time remains for the militants and the cells to discuss the theses and prepare for the Congress. All responsible comrades realize the importance of this. We are in a civil war and the whole life of the party

Publicly, before the eyes of the world, we are determined to demonstrate the criminal connections of Trotskyism, the vast extent of its international organization, as a powerful instrument of fascism. In one of the most sensational trials in the world, Trotskyism has confessed to the most monstrous crimes and to the most twisted designs against the working class and world democracy.

«To allow the accomplices of Zinoviev, the agents of the Gestapo, to expand and openly drag us into their cursed net of spies and provocateurs, would be to advance the plans of Franco.

«For the sake of dignity, for the sake of the war and for anti-fascist security, we must be prepared to stop the P.O.U.M. from realizing its manoeuvre of openly fomenting this Congress of international agents at the orders of Burgos, Rome and Berlin.»

must be speeded up. The Central Committee believes there is time enough for all the organizations of the party to study and discuss the political positions suggested in the drafts as a basis of the party.

The period of discussion is open. The whole party can express their viewpoints on the theses and resolutions, make such criticisms as they find worth while or answer the positions which seem wrong to them.

During this period, the positions of the party will be put to the cruellest criticism. At the same time the Committee and militants will submit their own accomplishments to the severest self-criticism. There will be a general revision of values, a revision and examination of the slogans, the leaders and the commissions. No person or thing will be left out of the political criticism of the party militants.

In this sincerity, in the openness of its conduct and political positions, lies the strength of our party. We are certain that if most organizations were to undergo such a period of discussion it would have catastrophic results. The P.O.U.M., however, which stands like all eminently revolutionary parties on the foundation of sincere criticism, will come out of this Congress stronger and more united than ever. It will be more mature, better informed, and will hold clear, strong positions in face of the problems which the revolution places before the working class of our country.

The party members must understand the responsibility which weighs upon us. The discussion of the theses is obligatory. The members and the cells have the duty of collaborating in the elaboration of the party line. The new members should take advantage of this discussion period to become informed and to understand our slogans and the motives behind them. The whole party should be mobilized. In a revolution, nothing is so important as the prevailing political line.

We have great confidence in the party. It is the party created by Maurin, in which he put his hopes. We believe that the discussions and decisions of the Second Congress will be the most important events of the time. We await its opening. With this Congress, the P.O.U.M. will definitely become the ideological vanguard of the revolution and will demonstrate its capacity to lead the working class to the socialist victory.

## “FREE TOM MOONEY”

### THE ANARCHIST YOUTH TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID

Upon this fifth anniversary of the imprisonment of Thaelmann by the brutal imperialist dictatorship of the Nazis, we join in the protest of the anti-fascist workers against the violations of individual and collective liberties by fascism.

In making such manifestation, however, we must extend it to protest the imprisonment of Tom Mooney, our comrade who, like Thaelmann, is a victim of the repression of American capitalism; we also demand the liberty of the Anarchist comrades exiled and held in prison in the U. S. S. R., among whom is found the wife of one of the best known victims of Hitler terror. We refer to the comrade of Erich Muehsam.

Through these persons, who incorporate the grief of the workers and their desire to overcome their adversaries, we hope that a fitting anti-sectarian solidarity may be achieved, binding together our common wills and aiding the revolutionary preparation of the workers on their upward march, and helping them realize the revolutionary alliance as a means to free ourselves and the world.

Freedom for all the antifascists held in prisons throughout the world.

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
LIBERTARIAN YOUTH OF CATALONIA.

## DISSENTION IN THE SOCIALIST YOUTH

To understand the reactions which are taking place within the J. S. U. (United Socialist Youth of Spain) one must look back to the fusion of the two youth organizations or even before that in the history of the working youth movement.

The union of the Socialist Youth and the Communist Youth, or rather their «fusion», was most unusual. It was not a progressive step, but clearly a bureaucratic one, taken before the basic program could be discussed by the young workers of the two organizations, which had never agreed on fundamental points.

During the first two years of the republic, 1931-33, the Socialist Youth supported the policy of class collaboration of the Socialist Party. In as much as the Communist Youth were enthusiastically supporting the ultra-left tactics of the Communist Party, they treated the socialists as social-fascists and traitors.

After the electoral victory of the right in 1933, the Socialist Youth understood that they had been making serious mistakes and they immediately corrected their political line. From 1933 to 1935 the Socialist Youth took a clear, revolutionary, Marxist position. That was the time when Carillo, to-day General Secretary of the J. S. U., was to the left of the Socialist Party, and when he preached Trotskyism, defending Trotsky in the review «Espataco». It was the time, after October, when Carillo proposed that Maurin and the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc should go into the Socialist Party to help radicalize it. Maurin even had to answer the insistence of Carillo publicly in two well-known articles in «La Batalla». The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, from which the P.O.U.M. was formed, was not then a party of brigands, nor were its leaders the spies of international fascism. What do you say, Carillo?

While the Socialist Youth were turning left, the Communist Youth were abandoning their positions, slipping into reformism. This resulted in the present reformism and opportunism of the J. S. U.

The unity was effected at a time when the divergence between the two organizations was the sharpest; nevertheless, in spite of their much greater number, the Socialist Youth quickly found itself under the influence of the Communist Youth and the new organization was rapidly Stalinized. This operation was only possible after many of the leaders of the Socialist Youth went over to the Stalinist camp, and particularly Carillo, who went all the way from Trotskyism to Stalinism in one jump.

Once the organization was under Stalinist control, they worked to bring it inside the Young Communist International, on the basis of the VIII Congress of the Y. C. I., which passed a resolution to the effect that not only communist youth organizations could be admitted into the Y. C. I., but also other anti-fascist, national liberation, national revolutionary or religious organizations. This amounts to saying all youth organizations except real communist ones.

Once under way the new organization could only continue down the same road. The famous Valencia Congress brought unbelievable things to light. In the full tide of revolution, at a time when the working class had the greatest hopes, when there was the possibility of taking power and building a socialist society, the General Secretary of a youth organization belonging to the IIIrd International (the same Carillo who two years before wanted to radicalize the Socialist Party) declared in his speech:

«We want unity. We want unity with the republican youth, with the anarchist youth, with the catholic youth which fights for liberty. We want unity with all youth, but we do not want it on the basis of fascism any more than on the basis of communism.» And further on: «First we must fight for democracy, and against fascism, and for that we must all be united, absolutely all, in the struggle for the independence of the fatherland and against the foreign invasion.»

Thus they proclaimed to the working masses that it was no longer a question of revolution, no longer a question of the

working class taking power, and no longer a question of Marxism, even for a Marxist organization. It is, however, a question of re-establishing capitalist democracy, of cutting short the conquests of the working class, no doubt while awaiting the time to withdraw those already conquered. To this end and to prevent the advance of the masses, they raised the cry of national union against the invader; they took away the civil war and put in its place a war of national independence. All of the speeches of this congress were dedicated to this end, except of course those reserved for insulting Trotskyism and the P.O.U.M.

How do the old members of the Socialist Youth react to the policies of the National administration of the J.S.U.? In many places the Socialist Youth never did accept this line. In the Asturias, for instance, there were places where fusion assemblies were never held and where organizational and ideological unity was never achieved. From the first the Asturian youth understood the reactionary significance of this fusion. All attempts to Stalinize the Asturian federation were in vain and the discontent has only grown, especially since the Valencia Congress. This unrest was made public in two letters sent by Raphael Fernandez, Secretary of the Asturian Federation, to Carillo in which he declined a seat on the National Committee of the J.S.U. Here are extracts from these two letters, dated March 30, 1937:

«Upon my arrival in Valencia from Gijon, I learned that I had been named by the National Conference of the J.S.U. as a member of the National Committee.

«Such a decision of the Conference, naming members of the Committee, without taking the opinions of the sections of the Conference into account, does not oblige me to accept the position, unless the Asturian Youth should make a decision on the case. I consider that I lack the necessary authority to represent sections of the Federation which were not consulted, and therefore I am presenting my resignation from this seat.»

To this letter was attached the other one addressed to Carillo personally, which said essentially: «The Asturias, not just their executive, but the whole membership of the province, should soon pronounce on the «new line» followed by the National Federation of the J.S.U. and upon the general line which we are following, which must at least be Marxist. We hope that the National Executive will explain to us the causes and the reasons why it placed the stamp of the Young Communist International in the membership cards and on the poster announcing the meeting of April, thereby making it appear that we belong to a communist international, while at the same time an appeal is made to all youth, without any ideological distinction, to join our ranks.

«It is regrettable that the struggle to radicalize the Socialist Party and Youth should be turned into a policy of absorption and confusion.

«...from now on, in order to prevent our organization from leaving the path of Marxism, I shall use all of my time working with the Asturian Youth.»

This was not the end. Going over the heads of the National Committee, the Asturian Federation signed the bases of a Revolutionary Front with the Anarchist Libertarian Youth, running counter to the policy of the National Committee, of course. The bases of this Revolutionary Front closely resemble those signed in Catalonia by the Libertarian Youth and the Iberian Communist Youth of the P.O.U.M. This was the answer which the young fighters of the Asturias of October 1934 and July 1936 threw back at the reformists.

The protest movement did not stop here. A few days later, it was the Secretary of the J.S.U. of Valencia Province, who resigned from the National Committee for the same reason as Raphael Fernandez, after having consulted his federation, which fully backs him up. Carillo answered him in a declaration published in «Agora», official organ of the National Committee of the J.S.U., saying that his was a policy that played in the hands of Franco, Hitler and certainly Trotskyism.

(next page)

## FOOLS OR KNAVES

False «News Chronicle» and «Daily Worker» version of Barcelona Fighting

John Langdon-Davies has won a great reputation reporting the first stages of the Spanish Civil War, from the anti-fascist angle. Now he was returned to Barcelona to report the street fighting this May and has overnight killed all claim to truthful reporting.

In the «News Chronicle» of May 10th he reports

«This has not been an Anarchist uprising. It is a frustrated Putsch by the Trotskyist P. O. U. M. working through their controlled organisations Friends of Duruti and the Libertarian Youth.»

Frank Pitcairn in the Daily Worker of May 11th soars to even greater heights of fantasy. Says Pitcairn from Barcelona:

«We know that the German and Italian agents who poured into Barcelona ostensible in order to prepare the notorious Congress of the Fourth International had one big task... to prepare a situation of disorder and bloodshed.»

What are the facts?

The Barcelona Congress is «prepared» by the Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity, to which the I. L. P. is affiliated and of which Fenner Brockway is secretary.

If Pitcairn knows these German and Italian agents why is he withholding their names? Why are they not tried and

their material and connections exposed? If Pitcairn's story were true, his silence would be treason to the People of Spain!

Both Pitcairn and Langdon-Davies claim that the Anarchists were not involved except for a small group of extremists. Both said the P. O. U. M. attacked. It was an obvious fact that beside the vast number of Anarchists the P. O. U. M. fighters were a comparatively small fraction.

And if it is true, as Pitcairn and Langdon-Davies claim, that the Anarchists are not involved, why are there hundreds of C. N. T. men in prison? Why did the C. N. T. daily, «Solidaridad Obrera», publish an appeal to stop the terror and persecution of C. N. T. men, why was it that the Police and the worker-guards on the P. O. U. M. H. Q. agreed not to fire on each other unless the police were specifically instructed to do so?

Finally both Pitcairn and Davies read «La Batalla» of Thursday May 6th, yet neither quotes its chief headline—«Back to work, cease fire, but be on your guard.» Pitcairn goes so far as to say that «it called on its men to keep on fighting.»

It is a terrible blow for the working class that two men who have earned a high reputation for truthful reporting should give their names to this attempt to whitewash the blunders of the Government and the Republican and official Communist Parties.

### Mass Dissertions

The workers guarding the hill of Ermita de Santa Quitéria, near Huesca, were surprised one evening to see a large force of fascist soldiers advancing, shouting «Long Live the Republic». It was a group of 120 soldiers with corporal and sergeants, from the reinforcements just sent up. They were mostly peasant boys from Galicia who had been drafted to fight against their will.

The demoralization of the fascists since our advance in the Pozoblanco sector has led to the desertion of a whole company of fascist infantry, with their corporals and sergeant, all fully armed, and totaling 170 men.

These cases of opposition come from powerful Federations, which are quite out of the control of the National Committee. What is happening in the Federations under Stalinist influence? What at the front in the columns of the J.S.U.? We shall give a few examples, taken from many.

At Pozuelo, a battalion of the J.S.U. was fighting along side a P.O.U.M. battalion. Upon reading in their paper, «Agora», the lies and insults against the P.O.U.M. comrades, whom they saw fighting and falling everyday in defense of the working class and socialist victory, they collected the lying papers and publicly burned them.

Near Teruel, a whole J.S.U. battalion joined the Iberian Communist Youth in a body.

In Catalonia, in one of the most Stalinized Federations, local sections signed the pact of the Revolutionary Youth Front, and were immediately expelled.

That is the J.S.U. today. The signs of disintegration are probably only the beginning of a more general protest movement among the former members of the Socialist Youth, supported by the Socialist Party, where recently an anti-Stalinist reaction has arisen. Can we expect a general change in the policies of the J.S.U.? We think not, in view of the strength of the Stalinist machine.

It can be expected, however, that the revolutionary youth of the organization, seeing their increasing disagreement with its political line imposed from above, will turn to the banner of the revolution. The Iberian Communist Youth of the P.O. U. M. has an important role to play in the revolutionary education of the youth.

### SELL OUR BULLETIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, 10, Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

Other agents are requested. Money for the P.O.U.M. can be sent by money order or the American Express Co. to the I.L.P. London, to be forwarded to us here.

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## NEWS AND NOTES

### Fleeing from Fascism

News comes from Dakar (in French Morocco) of 80 socialists who have escaped from the Canary Islands. Together with the soldiers who are supposed to watch over them, they captured a fascist ship and persuaded the crew to join them in their flight. Pursued by fascist ships, they reached Dakar, and now they are trying to get to Spain to join the fighting workers.

### Why They Flee

Word comes from San Sebastian, through France, that the rebel military government of the Basque Province obliges the people to speak Spanish and absolutely prohibits the use of the Basque tongue.

### Franco Fascism

Franco has decreed a «Single Party». This is an effort to solve the differences, sometimes violent, between the Spanish Phalangists and the Requetes. At the same time, Franco is attempting to militarize the entire population, by obligatory membership in this fascist party. This is not the first time a party has been «decreed» in Spain. Primo de Rivera had a sad experience along the same lines.

### Italian Fascism

Eight merchant ships bearing Italian soldiers wounded in Spain have arrived in Italy at Spezia and Gaeta.

The Italian military authorities have ordered these men to say absolutely nothing of what happened in Spain, under threat of severe punishment.

Three Italian merchant ships are anchored at Seville, in which several hundred Italian soldiers are detained for having refused to fight. Every day a few trucks carry soldiers into the city where they are shot. Thus Queipo obeys the orders of Mussolini.

### Valencian Freedom?

The Valencia Anarchist newspaper, «Nosotros», has been suspended again for infringing the standards imposed by the censor.

IN SPANISH: ORDER FROM THE EDITORIAL MARXISTA

«Political Economy» by Bogdanoff, price 6 pesetas.

«Woman» by August Bebel, price 4 pesetas.

«Task of the Communist Youth», by Lenin and

«Capitalist Spain in Ruins» by Maurin, price 30 céntimos.

# Radio P. O. U. M.

English every night at 8

Greenwich Time

NEW WAVE LENGTH

38. 11 metres

### PRECEPTS OF A MILITIAMAN

I. *HOLD high the banner of the world revolution, though the winds of reformism blow from all directions.*

II. *FULFIL your duties as a red soldier till all the revolutionary slogans marked out by the Spanish working class are attained.*

III. *AUTOMATICALLY carry out the orders received from your comrades in command, because the needs of the war against brutal fascism demand it.*

IV. *WITH persuasions and dialectical Marxist tactics, win the men, women and children to the Revolution, the cause of the working class.*

V. *RESPECT the women and children who fall under your care, watching your conduct which will be the moral basis of our victory.*

VI. *WORK with all your might for the emancipation of the towns under the power of the fascist criminals, without sparing your moral, intellectual and physical support to this end.*

VII. *BE prepared to speak and ready to discuss any subject whatsoever, trying to avoid certain unseemly expressions which are unworthy of a true revolutionary.*

VIII. *IN the military operations undertaken, work as calmly and prudently as possible, not taking alcohol to avoid the duties entrusted to you.*

IX. *THE coward and the timid have deficient nervous systems, but the militiaman, conscious of himself and the historic moments of our times, will be able to overcome this by self-suggestion.*

X. *IN night or day attacks, locate the enemy and shoot at the objective, never shooting about aimlessly, since at some other time the munitions may save the lives of your comrades.*

By a Militiaman  
of the Lenin Division  
of the P.O.U.M.

### EXCESSES

The Central Committee of the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. denounces before the workers a criminal outrage against the unity of revolutionary action. The Madrid police, under the orders of Cazorra, Councillor of Public Order of the Defence Junta and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has closed the social home of the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. of Madrid.

The act is a serious attack upon the interests of the workers. The Red Aid of the P.O.U.M., since the beginning of the civil war, has constantly organized caravans of provisions, medical supplies and clothing for the fighters on the front and the civil population of Madrid. The police measure which we denounce deprives the workers of the aid of their comrades when they most need it.

The Red Aid of the P.O.U.M. has evacuated scores of wounded from the Madrid front, thousands of women, children and aged people from the city, who are now being cared for in all the cities of Catalonia and the Levant. The police measure ordered by Cazorra is an insult to the wounded and an attempt against the security of the victims of the fascist assassins.

The Central Committee of the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M., representing 130 sections in Catalonia, Levant and throughout Spain, raises the most energetic protest against this monstrous act.

The workers cannot remain passive any longer in face of such vexations.

**DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT LIFT THE CLOSING OF THE RED AID OF THE P.O.U.M. AT MADRID!**

**DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE DISMISSAL OF COUNCILLOR CAZORLA!**

**A UNANIMOUS PROTEST BY ALL WORKERS!**

**DOWN WITH THE REACTION AGAINST THE WORKERS' LIBERTIES!**

The Central Committee of  
the Red Aid of the P.O.U.M.