

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Trotsky and the Press

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

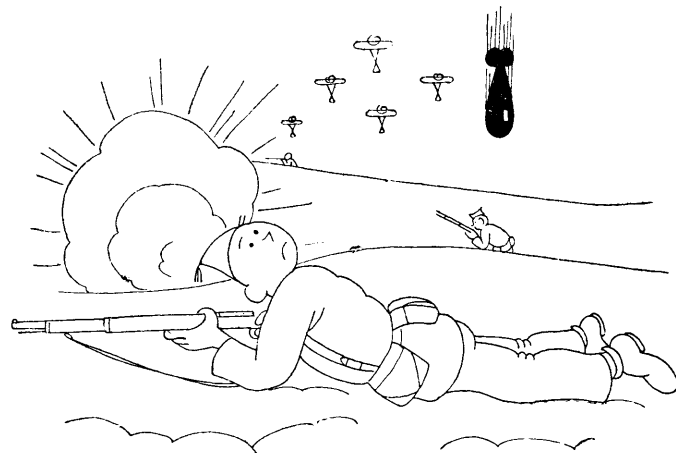
I have endeavoured to conform to the spirit and letter of the conditions laid down for my stay in Norway, at least in the way in which I understood them... I am ready to accept a new interpretation of the conditions if I am convinced that it is compatible with my dignity as a man and a writer. I can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

## How the Neutral Countries Keep Neutral

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

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

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



They must think I am a hospital

## Fascist Pirates

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

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

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

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

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

## French Journalists in Barcelona

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

## Voluntary Labour

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

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

## With Arms We Shall Stop Fascism!

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

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

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

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

## AGENTS FOR ENGLAND:

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

PRICE IN ENGLAND: 2d.

## AGENTS FOR U. S. A.:

Y P S L  
The Labor Book Shop.

PRICE IN U. S. A. . 05

## EDITORIAL OFFICE:

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

10, Rambla de los Estudios  
BARCELONA

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CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY OR SOCIALISM  
The Bruxelles Congress defines the Issue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

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

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

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

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

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS

The following is a brief summary of the speech made by our Comrade Gorkin, International Secretary of the P. O. U. M.

We have seen the failure of bourgeois democracy in Spain. Reformist Socialism, linked up with bourgeois democracy, has met with the same fate. The Popular Front policy carried out subsequent to the elections, brought about the fascist rising of July 19th.

The revolutionary action of the working masses, however, pointed the way to victory. The events of December, 1933, October, 1934 and July 1936 have been successive stages in the struggle of the working class, and these events have verified our political position with regard to the Spanish situation.

After a short account of the military, political and social situation from the 19th. of July up to the present time, and a statement of the reason for the P. O. U. M.'s entry into the Catalan government, Gorkin continued by saying that today Catalonia and Levante are in the vanguard of the Spanish revolution. The directing order of Catalonia is a Council in which the majority is held by working class elements, while in Madrid the government is of bourgeois tendencies, and its action is limited by the bounds of the bourgeois democratic republic.

Touching the question of a new army, Gorkin said that the P. O. U. M. maintained that there can be no question of recreating an army of the bourgeois type like that maintained by bourgeois democracy before the fascist rising. We are not seeking to constitute a regular army, but to establish a unified command and to create a new discipline, to which the workers will freely consent and which is to be in the hands of the workers themselves as represented by their political committees in each column. We want to form a Red Army which will make us certain of military victory over fascism. As to neutrality, after two months of it, we can state that it has been a crime. After examining the position on this subject of Italy, Germany and Portugal on one hand and France, England and the Soviet Union on the other, Gorkin pointed out the reasons for the Russian change of attitude and what its consequences are likely to be.

Our revolutionary anti-war position is one of peace assured through the international socialist revolution. To help the Spanish revolution it is necessary to mobilize the international proletariat and exercise pressure on their governments especially those of France, England and Belgium in order to break the neutrality policy; to sabotage the sending of war material to the rebels and to see that it is sent to the revolutionaries; finally to carry on the campaign against the lying reports in the bourgeois press. Whenever necessary strikes should be called.

The Spanish revolution has had far reaching international consequences. We must have a platform of international revolutionary action. In order to obtain this we must begin a regrouping of the proletarian revolutionary forces which are by this time enlightened on the subject of the failure of the IIrd. and IIIrd. Internationals and their policies.

As we have said before the struggle at present going on in Spain is not a struggle between fascism and bourgeois democracy but a struggle between socialism and capitalism, in its most recent form, fascism. It must not be supposed even for a moment that socialism will not triumph in Spain. The Spanish revolutionaries are ready to fight to the bitter end for the sake of this triumph. But this needs the help of the international proletariat which must realize the nature of the struggle in Spain.

Fighters in the vanguard, the Spanish working class opens up the way to the final liberation of the international proletariat, the way of the international socialist revolution. Political parties and factions, however small they may be, must take up a correct position with regard to the international situation. This will be the only way to acquire for themselves the right to win over the masses and help the international working class to take a new step forward. A common resolution must be taken on the question of lending support to the Spanish revolutionary movement. This Congress will be a prelude to the regrouping of the revolutionary forces of every land.

### OTHER SPEECHES AT THE CONGRESS

Fenner Brockway, who presided at the Saturday morning session, said that the duty of the international working class and of the governments supported by the working class was to help the Spanish revolution from the very beginning. On the outcome of the Spanish struggle depends the future of the working class of the world in its struggle against fascism. Without in any way detracting from the noble gesture of many foreign workers in coming to fight side by side with their Spanish comrades, it must be said that this is not enough. Help from Russia has arrived, a little late; but it may bear fruit yet.

## ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE CONGRESS

The following organisations were represented at the Brussels Congress called by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity.

1). Organisations affiliated to the International Bureau: Workers Party of Marxist Unification, Spain, Independent Socialist Party, Poland, Socialist Workers' Party, Germany, Independent Labour Party, Britain, Socialist Party, Sweden, Maximalist Socialist Party, Italy.

2). Other organisations:  
SPAIN: Column on the Aragon front; «Combat» of Lerida; C. N. T. of Tarragona; Local Union of Tarragona; Workers' Cultural Movement of Barcelona; Iberian Communist Youth; Syndicate of Insurance Workers, U. G. T.; Garment Workers Union of Barcelona, Barcelona Aviation Section.

BRITAIN: War Resisters International; No More War Movement; Colonial Liberties Group; R. S. P. G. S. of Edinburgh.

GERMANY: The Youth Movement of the S. A. P.  
NETHERLANDS: Revolutionary Socialist League; R. S. A. P.  
FRANCE: International Communist Opposition; «Que Faire»; Gauche Revolutionaire; The Intellectuals' Vigilance Committee; International Group against War and Militarism.

BELGIUM: International Socialist Anti-War League; German Refugees.  
U. S. A.: League for Revolutionary Workers' Party.  
CANADA: League for Revolutionary Workers Party.  
PALESTINE: Various Organisations.

## RECOGNITION OF THE BURGOS JUNTA

As we go to press, the news comes through that Italy and Germany have recognised the Burgos Junta as the legal Government of Spain. Rome and Berlin, hasty and impatient, are ready to go to any lengths to crush the new-born Spanish revolution.

Can Hitler and Mussolini count yet again upon the passiveness of the other European countries? Will the rest of Europe continue to remain unmoved in the face of the repeated provocations of fascism? There can be no doubt about it. Hitler and Mussolini know that in politics the boldest move wins, and they are acting in accordance with this knowledge.

What remains to be seen is what attitude will be adopted by the «democratic» countries who are gathered round the table in London proposing to put even stricter limits to the help which the Spanish workers may receive from the proletariat of other countries.

It can hardly be by chance that the recognition of the Burgos Junta should come just at the very moment when these gentlemen in London have agreed to keep a watch upon all ports of both Spains, to see that the non-intervention pact is properly kept.

We know only too well that we are the only ones who will suffer from the results of this watch. The states which term themselves our friends will once more faithfully carry out all the conditions of the pact. And in exchange, Hitler and Mussolini will continue to act as they have always done and enjoy complete immunity. Nobody will dare to face up to them or order them about.

In the face of the facts, it is clear that a great crime is being committed by those who wish to prevent the revolutionary action of the working masses, in the name of diplomacy.

The most successful means used by the reformists who wish to disarm the workers have always been to group them round the flag of national unity and drag them into imperialist war or turn them over, bound hand and foot, to the bourgeoisie.

There can be no doubt where the duty of all revolutionary parties in such a contingency must lie. We must work with the greatest speed and energy to prevent the working class from falling into the trap, and guide it towards an independent class action. Only a decided action in this sense can prevent Mussolini and Hitler, aided and abetted by the bourgeoisie of every land, from smothering our revolution.

Neutrality has nothing to do with class war. It had come as a complete surprise to find that the popular front, to whom everyone had looked for aid in the Spanish revolution had been the first to demand the application of the neutrality principle. Today we see the Spanish workers in certain difficulties, owing to the fact that the rebels have been able to secure ample supplies of all the war materials which the revolutionaries themselves lack. It should be understood that to help the Spanish proletariat is to begin work for the future world revolution.

We can expect nothing from the British government which is an ally of the Spanish fascists and the only thing to do is to organize the British working class to fight against the government in order to overthrow it. The secretary of the English Communist Party has said that the masses in Spain are not fighting for socialism but for democracy. However, more has been done in Catalonia in the economic and social fields in the space of two months than in Russia in the space of two years. But this has not been explained to the international working class. The working class of all countries would uphold the Spanish workers with even greater enthusiasm if they knew the real nature of the struggle which is being carried on in Spain. By an international regrouping we do not only mean helping the Spanish workers, but preparing for the socialist revolution.

Following Fenner Brockway's speech, delegates were nominated to take part in the tasks of three commissions which it was decided to form; one on the Spanish question, one on war, fascism and imperialism, and one on the Russian question.

Maxton was President at the afternoon session. After he had spoken against the attitude of the British Government in refusing to allow the P. O. U. M. delegate to enter the country, and mentioned the unanimous protest raised by the British working class against his treatment, our Comrade Gorkin made his report on the Spanish question. At the close of his speech, the conference broke into applause and the International was sung.

Ferrat («Que faire») said that neutrality had served as a line of demarcation in the Spanish question between the reformists and the revolutionaries. Neutrality is a crime. The dangers of war are always used to prevent the development of the class war. A revolutionary cannot hesitate in face of this problem. The Blum Government can fall in either of two ways: by the action of the working class or by the opportunism of its own actions. Having examined the consequences of the fall of the Blum Government in both cases, Ferrat said that it knows no greater danger at the present moment than the Radical-Socialists who want to take its place. If the French Communist Party uses its slogans in order to attempt to bring about the fall of the Blum Government, we must seize upon these slogans and see that they are carried out. This will unmask the attitude of the Communist Party. A Government which, while it expresses its solidarity with the Spanish workers in their struggle has become an agent of the very neutrality which is strangling those workers, cannot be maintained any longer.

Aplin (I. L. P.), criticised the positions of the Second and Third Internationals and agreed with Ferrat's remarks. He voiced a protest against Gorkin's expulsion from England.

Liebars (Belgium), said that the fundamental mistake had been made in leading the proletariat to believe that a bourgeois Government could send arms to help a workers' revolution.

Sneevliet (P. S. R., Holland), said that it was especially the Spanish civil war which had decided the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland to take part in the present Congress. It is a natural consequence that Gorkin should have spoken of the next Conference at Barcelona. The P. S. R. will also take part in this. In the Barcelona Conference the foundations of a new International may be laid. We openly declare that preparatory technical and tactical work will be necessary. By preparing the theoretical ground we shall contribute to the creation of the necessary organization. A revolutionary international criticism of the events in Spain is needed and details of these events must also be made known. Gorkin is right when he says: «You cannot use empty phrases in revolutionary work». That is why we must have a complete documentation of the debates of the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. He said that in his opinion, the resolution adopted is the least to be expected of this Conference. He is not in agreement with those who wish to take precautions with the «egg-shell china» of the Blum Government. Any weakening of the revolution is inadmissible. In a few words concerning the role of class organisations he said that mass organisations are necessary for the complete taking of power.

The Spanish Revolution has an extremely hard task before it, but it cannot fail to clarify a number of questions. In any case, we must show no indulgence towards Stalinist deformation of our ideology. If we do not reject it and recreate Marxist theory, entirely, then there is no future for the Revolution in Europe.

Many other comrades also spoke and we must ask their forgiveness if they are not mentioned in this very brief summary.

## THE BARCELONA CONFERENCE

The Brussel Congress decided to call an International Congress at Barcelona in the near future, to include all the political and trade union organisations which accept the platform of the Brussels Congress. The London Bureau and the P. O. U. M. have been charged with the arrangements for the conference.

The objective of this conference is to examine the conditions and energetically to explore the possibilities of creating a really revolutionary international. The organization committees are composed of Gorkin of the P. O. U. M., Schwab of the S. A. P., and Brockway of the I. L. P.

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

# THE GROWTH OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

## THE P. O. U. M. AT THE FRONT

Since the 19th of July our party has doubled its membership several times over. New recruits are continually joining, and on the occasion of almost every public ceremony or mass demonstration new groups are formed under the guidance of our revolutionary slogans. Again last Sunday we had fresh proof of the expansion of our party. In a general assembly of the workers of the Peoples' House at Reus, six hundred members joined the P. O. U. M. in a block.

The workers of the Peoples' House at Reus had decided that it was their duty as Spanish workers in these decisive hours of history, to join a party representing the interests of their class. After a protracted debate, during which the positions of the various workers' parties of Catalonia were carefully considered, the six hundred workers of the Peoples' House came to the conclusion that the P. O. U. M. was the organization best suited to answer the needs of the class struggle. The P. O. U. M., they decided, was the party which defended the revolutionary slogans most clearly, and they agreed to enter our party. They sent a delegation to our local committee and Comrade Nin, who was to speak at a meeting at Reus that evening, came to the Peoples' House and spoke to the six hundred new members of the P. O. U. M.

Comrade Nin pointed out that there were other workers' parties which were betraying the working class and its cause. «You have been active in workers' parties» he went on to say, «while at the same time hoping that capitalist democracy would solve the problems that faced you as workers. Experience has shown you that this will never be the case, and once the workers understand this they will tear themselves from the prejudices that keep them chained to the old parties, and join our ranks instead».

A great ovation greeted these words of our comrade. Six hundred more workers have realized that the party of the Spanish revolution is the P. O. U. M. and their enthusiasm proved their solidarity with our principles.

### THE P. O. U. M. AT MADRID

The section of our party at Madrid which, from the very beginning of the fascist insurrection, has been in the forefront of the battle, has now intensified its activities in all domains to an extraordinary degree, in face of the pressure of the enemy on the fronts near Madrid. It is thus carrying out its duties as a revolutionary organization.

During the last few days it has been busy strengthening the positions of the combatants and pointing the direction to follow at all times. Every day new posters brought out by our party appear on the walls throughout Madrid, appealing to all to fight to the end against the reactionary forces of General Franco. Our leaders of the Madrid section make speeches every day from our broadcasting station. The enthusiasm and discipline of our militants of the Madrid section remain magnificent, and the workers know very well that our organization is at its revolutionary post.

As a consequence of its revolutionary activity and of the situation in the capital, our Madrid Committee has addressed to the Defense Council a request that a responsible post corresponding to the importance of its activity be given to the P. O. U. M. The following letter was sent to the Defense Council:

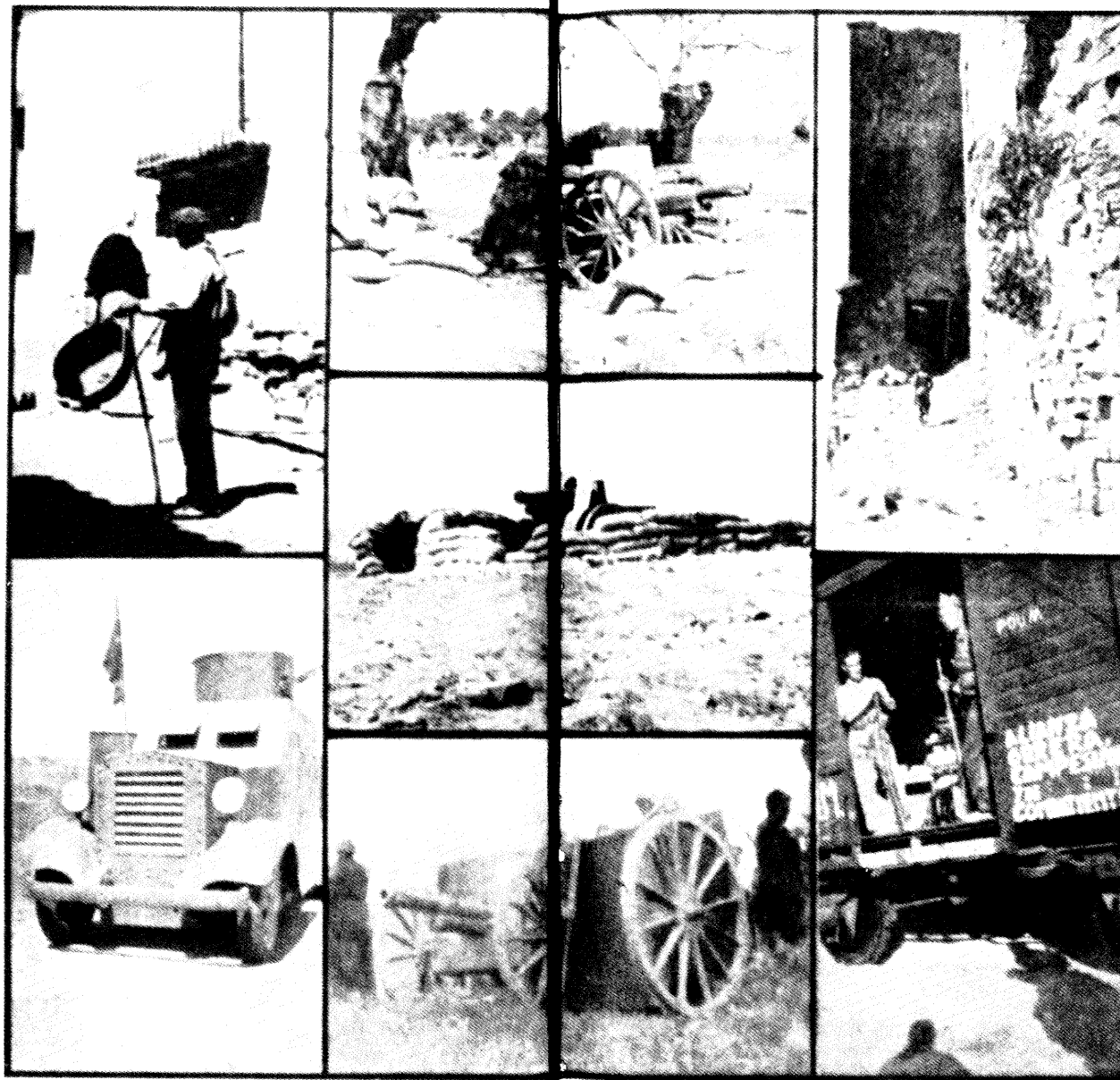
«To the President of the Madrid Defense Council and to all the organizations represented in the same:

Comrades,

This Council having been constituted in circumstances and for ends known to all, it is necessary that our party be conceded representation in this organization corresponding to our activities. In reality, it is difficult to understand how a party whose revolutionary position in face of the civil war is daily gathering more credit in the eyes of the workers

and the mass of people, should have been excluded from the Council.

Whatever may be the difference of opinion existing between us and other political organizations on the interpretation of the antifascist struggle and concerning the future of the revolution, it is certain that our militias have been fighting from the beginning at the fronts of Huesca, Teruel, Sigüenza and the south of Madrid, with the necessary firmness and discipline. Finally, differences of opinion cannot and should not authorize any political organization — still less of a



Upper left: a peasant viewing the desolation. Upper right: the entry to Mount Aragón. Center: on the Aragón Front near Huesca. Lower corners: the defense of Madrid

working class nature — to refuse our party participation in the direction of the antifascist struggle, while more and more militiamen are being demanded daily for the battle front.

We hope, Comrades, that you will give your attention to this petition, or at least let us know your opinion on this concrete problem.

Revolutionary greetings».

Not only have our Comrades not been granted representation on the Defense Council, but their petition has remained unanswered.

They have suffered still other ill treatment. Without a word of explanation of any kind, «P. O. U. M.», the weekly organ of our party at Madrid, has been suppressed. This measure leaves us completely bewildered. We are unaware of what objection the Defense Council can have to our Madrid paper. From the very first issue it had always been submitted to the censorship of the civil government, which never saw fit to take any measures against it.

However, in spite of this, our party knows its revolutionary duty, and to provide the people with a guiding organ during these vital moments, it has changed one of our other papers, «The Red Fighters», into a daily. This paper was started as the organ of the our militias operating on the Alcarria Front, as a weekly. It now has a daily issue of more than 35,000 copies which are given out almost entirely gratis, to the fighting forces for the good of the civil war and of the revolution.

Many people from other political parties have deserted Madrid at this moment of crisis. For this very reason, the Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. has sent two of their best know members, Comrades Andrade and Gorkin, to Madrid to reinforce the local action of our section there. We are sure that the comrades struggling so heroically at the center front will welcome the representatives of the Executive Committee. Their presence should set an example and go to show that we of the P. O. U. M. see the struggle as a whole, and are ready to stand by our posts to the end — to conquer or die.

### THE AGRARIAN PROGRAM OF THE P. O. U. M.

Last Sunday, November 15th, an important gathering took place in Barcelona. This was a meeting called by the P. O. U. M. to discuss the land question and to lay the foundations for a new agrarian program. The slogans which are to be pressed by our party and solutions to various problems were under discussion. In the face of present developments in the social and economic life of Catalonia, it is vitally necessary to adopt a definite line of action with regard to our agrarian policy. The meeting was well attended and included delegations from over fifty different villages. The debate turned largely upon the social question of the distribution of the land.

After a prolonged study, the Agrarian Commission of our party has adopted a program for the solution of the land question. The report as finally approved, contained the following points:

1. All land property should be nationalised.
  2. The socialisation should be in the hands of the Peasant Unions, through their general organisation.
  3. The socialist land should be distributed for cultivation according to the needs of the peasants who have been working it.
  4. The present small proprietors should continue to work the land which they have been cultivating, no peasant, however, being allowed to hold more land than he and his family can till.
  5. The peasants should own the fruits of their labours, the only intermediaries between the producer and the consumer being the Unions and the Cooperatives.
  6. The collectivisation of the land should be encouraged and technical and economic assistance provided.
  7. Realising that education plays an important part in achieving collective cultivation, we urge the creation of model farms which should be provided with modern technical equipment, in order to demonstrate the superiority of scientific cooperation over individual cultivation.
- The agrarian secretariat of the P. O. U. M. is to be reorganised in order to guide our members and the peasant masses in general, according to this program.

## THE ITALIAN AND GERMAN CONSULATES HAVE CLOSED THEIR DOORS

Obedying the orders of their respective governments, the Italian and German Consulates have closed their doors. The buildings which they occupied in Barcelona have been quickly vacated. Yesterday the Italian Consulates retained only its shield and the German not even that. These consulates, which aided the flight of so many fascists, these consulates which turned themselves into centers of conspiracy and fascist spying, have now disappeared. We are not disappointed; on the contrary. Thus an end is definitely put to the activities of individuals who abused the hospitality given them by the Spanish workers.

## POLITICAL RIGHTS AT 18

Ever since its foundation, one of the chief aims of the Iberian Communist Youth, the youth section of the P. O. U. M. has been to obtain political and civil rights for all working youth over the age of 18 years, regardless of sex. This has always been among the aims of revolutionary Marxist youth throughout the world.

The only country to put this slogans into practice up to the present was bolshevik Russia. The triumphant revolution of 1917 kept its promise to free working youth and give it full rights. It was among the aims of the Spanish democratic revolution, along with such other elementary measures as dividing the land among the peasants and granting equality to women. In spite of this the Republican capitalist class in Spain sabotaged the measure in favor of youth, along with the others. In the twentieth century the middle class have ceased to be revolutionary. They are incapable of achieving even minor reforms in the existing social order, much less any basic reconstruction.

In spite of our warning to the young workers and peasants that capitalist democracy would only bring them further poverty hard-ship and oppression, and that only road to freedom lay through the victorious revolution, the reformist youth movement insisted on pinning their faith to the Republican government. Their illusions were soon shattered. When the constitutional parliament faced the question of political rights for the young workers, over 18 years of age, all the socialist and reactionary members voted solidly against it. Here was proof that the capitalist feared the young workers. The inability of the capitalist and reformist politicians to find a progressive solution was glaringly demonstrated.

Now the revolution has changed everything. Comrade Nin of the P. O. U. M., the Minister of Justice in the Council of the Generality of Catalonia, announced last week that his proposal for the granting of full political rights to all young workers over 18 years of age had been sanctioned by the Council as a decree. By this measure the Council of the Generality has done justice to the young fighters of Catalonia, who saved Barcelona from fascism on July 18th and who continue to defend the revolution at the front.

The Iberian Communist Youth are now working to obtain for all the young workers of Spain the same rights as have been accorded to the young workers, soldiers and peasants of Catalonia.

## INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

The Workers Party of Marxist Unity has decided to bring out bulletins in four different languages—English, French, German and Italian. These bulletins will appear fortnightly.

## THE BEST DEFENSE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM IS THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

## The New School

### PART THREE

An interview with the secretary of the Council of the New Unified School (C. E. N. U.)

To supplement our previous articles on the new educational organization, we reproduce an interview with Comrade Juan Hervas, a member of the P. O. U. M. and Secretary of the C. E. N. U. He gave us the following facts on the work which the C. E. N. U. is undertaking, on the difficulties encountered and on the practical tasks already achieved.

Comrade Hervas, although still young, is a veteran of the Trade Union struggles. He and Comrade Adroher were the founders of the Catalan Federation of Educational Workers and, ever since, have taken an active part in the work of that organization.

In 1931, Comrade Hervas participated in the preparation and organization of the first teachers' strike for improved conditions, to which they were justly entitled.

He replied willingly to all our questions, and we give below all the main points of our conversation.

—What exactly is the aim of the Council of the New Unified School?

—The C. E. N. U. is a result of the victorious revolution. It was formed on the demand of the F. E. T. E. (Spanish Federation of Educational Workers) to control all education whether Church, State or private.

—Has it achieved those ends?

—Not quite. We had to yield unwillingly in face of the arguments put up by the Minister of Culture, Ventura Gassol; that the confiscation of all the educational services should not be carried out at this time when both Barcelona and Madrid are struggling against Fascism. This means, of course, that we are under a provisional regime.

—What work have you achieved since the formation of your committee?

—In the three months of our existence we have succeeded in overcoming enormous difficulties.

We have established a general curriculum for all the schools in Catalonia. I will outline these proposals which are frankly revolutionary.

We have instituted a system of classification according to their abilities of children who have reached the age of fifteen. Some will go to Apprenticeship schools, thence to become industrial workers. Others will pass to the Vocational Schools to learn a skilled trade. Certain pupils will enter the Intermediate Technical Schools, which will displace the old discredited colleges, and after some years will leave as doctors' assistants, pharmacists, etc.

The advanced students can go to the Higher Technical Colleges or to the University. In this realm also we have introduced radical changes, the University becoming a centre of Pure Science. Thus the biologist will henceforth come from the University and the doctor from the Technical College; the educational expert will be a product of the University and the teacher of the Technical College.

—What else have you done?

—We have appointed more than two thousand teachers for the unified schools of Catalonia. You know, of course that on one hand, a large number of children used to go to Church schools, and on the other hand, many did not attend any school at all. You remember our poster; «Not a single child without school accommodation by October 1st.» The following figures will illustrate the immensity of our tasks.

In Barcelona, for example, there are 185,000 children between the ages of 3 and 14. Last year, of this number, only 115,000 attended school. The children may be classified thus:

Barcelona Schools	State Schools	Private Schools	Church Schools	Not attending schools
No. of Children	33,000	52,000	30,000	70,000
Percentage of total . . . . .	18 %	28 %	16 %	38 %

The figures for the rest of Catalonia, as you may suppose are similar.

—How did you displace the religious orders in the educational field?

—This was the most pressing problem. You must understand that the first step was to find the necessary premises to house the extra classes composed of the 38 % of children who had never attended school. That is why the achievement of educational reform, apart from the confiscation of religious schools, has all been accomplished by means of a secretariat of buildings which is directed by Comrade Albert. In Barcelona alone we have set up more than eighty educational groups. Outside of Barcelona, this problem is practically solved. One thing is certain; that is that the future of these children will no longer be such a problem, since, having followed the curriculum of the C. E. N. U. they will not start life without being equipped for the trade, career, or profession best suited to their abilities.

I must assure you that we have some worries as far as Barcelona is concerned. It is not desirable to allow so many children, living under fearful conditions, to remain in the large city. But when the war is finished we will realise a plan which we have often discussed with Comrade Colomer; it is to transfer the excess pupils to the fresh air in the forest and the seashore. We intend to construct two educational colonies at an expense of 15 million pesetas in the Park of the Citadel of Montjuich. Besides we will take the children by rail to various school centres which we have already instituted at Castelldefels, Mongat and Saradña. One day soon we shall put these plans into practice. Already, it is possible to say that the Revolution of July 19th has done more in two months than the Republic did in the six years of its existence.

It is necessary also to state that our council has made some important decisions on the question of salaries. We would like the Madrid Government to consider the subject and to agree to the teachers being given annual salaries of 3,000 pesetas. We have pointed out before that while a policeman receives 360 pesetas per month, the average teacher's salary is only 235 pesetas per month. We expect that this question will be solved at the earliest possible moment.

—How have you treated the question of the entry of workers into the higher educational centres?

—It is a question to which I have given a great deal of thought, from the point of view of principle. Our Committee of Technical Education has elaborated a plan to allow workers access to more advanced studies. The student will be considered as a worker and will receive his wages. This decision has been made and will certainly be put into practice.

We need large numbers of technicians in Industry and Commerce. We have a plan to create a Polytechnical Institute which, thanks to its special short courses, will allow all workers with a moderate education to follow advanced studies.

—Have you any other plans?

—Certainly. Educational problems are of exceptional importance in revolutionary periods. We attack all the principal teaching traditions. We must build a new education, and often we have but scanty equipment with which to work. But we have plenty of the chief material—the will to conquer. All the members of the C. E. N. U. have begun the task, and with the aid of all the working class of Spain, they will carry to completion the work of building anew, of creating a new people for a new world, a world of free workers in the Socialist society.

## Education is the Basis of the New Society

### HELP FROM SWEDEN

The subscription opened by the Swedish General Federation of Labour and gathered from the union membership, for the victims of Spanish fascism, has reached 124,000 Swedish crowns.

### Subscribe to «The Spanish Revolution»

The price is two pence or five cents: it may be ordered from The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St., London. The Marxist League, 238 Edgeware Road, London W 2. The Socialist League, 3 Victoria St., London. The Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th St. New York City and The Y. P. S. L., 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. Or you may write direct to us at 10 Rambla de los Estudios, Barcelona, Spain.

## NEWS AND NOTES

A Shock Battalion from  
the Madrid P. O. U. M.

Besides our forces which have been operating so brilliantly on the centre fronts, a special shock battalion has now been constituted by the P. O. U. M. section in Madrid. The task of this new force will be to occupy all the most dangerous positions and always to go into action where the fighting is at its thickest. The shock troops will be organised by comrade Mica Etchebehere, the wife of our comrade Hipolito Etchebehere the chief of the Madrid motorised column on the Sigüenza front who was killed by the fascists. Comrade Mica is now carrying on his work. This brave girl was one of those comrades trapped by the fascists in the cathedral at Sigüenza who managed to escape under cover of darkness pursued by a hail of machine-gun bullets and reach our lines in safety by a miracle of courage and resourcefulness.

The Jews in Palestine Send  
Help to Spanish Workers

The Jewish Socialists of Palestine have contributed to a fund set up by the General Federation of Labour, in aid of the Spanish Socialists. In the streets, red placards have been posted up appealing to the generosity of the Jewish workers, to help the Spanish workingclass in its struggle against Fascism. They have already sent an important sum of money to the Barcelona Trade Unions.

## Radiograms to Franco

Our readers will be amused to hear that the Spanish government has intercepted radiograms addressed to General Franco from various individuals in European and South American countries in which they offer him their warmest congratulations on his conquest of Madrid!

We wonder what nonsensical concoctions the foreign press has served up again to-day concerning our struggle in Spain?

## The Position of Foreigners in Spain

According to a recent order issued by the Minister of Labour and Public Works of the Generality of Catalonia, any foreigner who has not appeared for work for two consecutive days without good reason, or has not been mobilised nor offered himself for active service, shall be deported.

This order is of a revolutionary nature, (which surprises us, considering its source) and we are in complete agreement with the spirit it expresses. It should not, however be limited to foreigners.

Anyone who fails to work, or does not work the required hours, or sabotages the new social and economic order for which our comrades are giving their lives at the front and for which we are giving the best of our energy and efforts behind the lines, should instantly be deported and in certain cases punished. Failure to work for the Revolution is, indirectly, help for Fascism. But to make discriminations between foreigners and Spaniards calls forth our indignant protest as communists. To us there are no foreign or Spanish workers. Differentiation of this kind comes from the bourgeoisie, who use their demagoguery to pit the workers of one country against the workers of another. The proletariat knows no distinctions or frontiers except the frontiers of class.

The Executive Committee of the P. O. U. M. has decided to carry out a campaign in the Spanish press and approach the Governmental bodies in order to obtain the right to Spanish nationality for all foreign comrades who are either fighting at the front or doing any work in connection with the anti-fascist struggle.

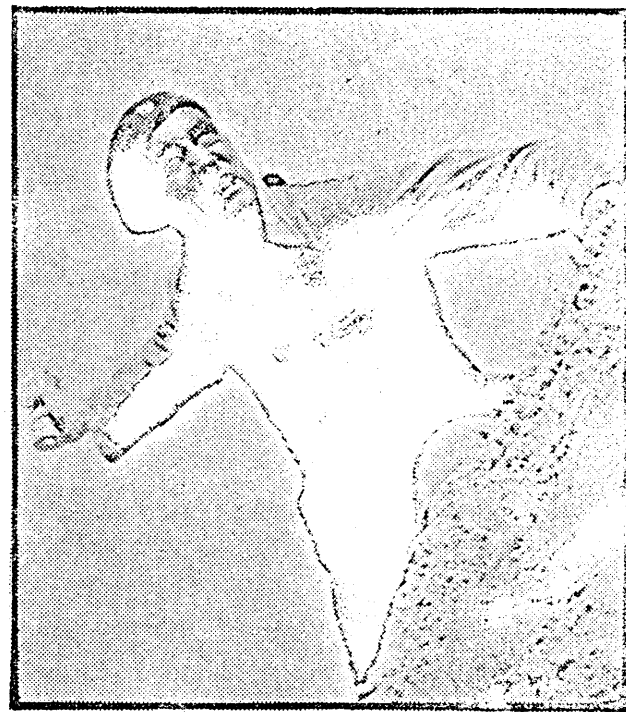
## Hospitals and Health Conditions

Doctor Tussó, the P. O. U. M. comrade who is at the head of the Health Commission and occupied the post of Councillor-Registrar of Health for Catalonia, has recently been very active making hospital and housing reforms. He has taken over two disused churches to be transformed into hospitals, one for treating tuberculosis and the other for incurable diseases. 5000 beds are still lacking in Barcelona. Tussó is also organising 4 polyclinics for the treatment of urgent cases.

Another scheme which he has set on foot is the sending out of numerous teams, each composed of one doctor, one architect, one statistician and one designer, to go from house to house studying the housing conditions in Barcelona. When full reports have been made, they will be passed on to the Town-planning Council which will remedy bad conditions as early as possible. This work is already well under way in the 5th. district.

Other subjects with which our comrade Tussó is dealing are various cases which have come to his notice of the watering-down of milk, so dangerous to the health of children. Tussó has imposed a fine of 1000 pesetas on all retail dealers found guilty of this offence together with the penalty of having their shops closed down for the space of one month; while any wholesale dealer will have to pay 25000 pesetas. Under no consideration will these fines be diminished.

**WE SHALL WIN  
BUT WE NEED ARMS!**



**THEY SHALL  
NOT PASS!**

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

P. O. U. M.

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*The Working Class and the Recognition of the Spanish Fascists.—The Death of Durruti.—Municipal Socialism in Badalona.—Dangers of Trade Union Control of Industry.—The First Women's Battalion.—The Militias and Militarization.—The Campaign of the P. S. U. C. Against the P. O. U. M.—The Batllo Silk Mills*

## The Working Class and the Recognition of the Spanish Fascists

The announcement that the fascist governments of Italy and Germany have recognized the so-called national Junta of Burgos, the governing body of the Spanish fascist forces, both clarifies and complicates the international political situation. At present we are not going to comment on this change in the European political setting, but will concentrate on considering the situation from the point of view of the international working class movement.

We have continually maintained, against those who would give a Spanish appearance to our struggle, that its scope is not limited to a struggle between «Spanish» fascism and «Spanish» capitalist democracy. The international war between the working class and fascism is being fought out in our country. It is the workers' revolution against the capitalist counter-revolution.

The capitalist states, with Italy, Germany and Portugal at their head, have from the beginning of the civil war lent their determined support to the party of Franco and the other reactionaries of the Spanish counter-revolution.

On one side and the other, both parties have understood that the struggle taking place in Spain is a class struggle of international scope and significance. On the edge of the workers' movement, the reformist bureaucracies, such as the Second and Third Internationals, have insisted upon interpreting our revolution as a struggle of the working class in support of the bourgeois democratic republic.

A large part of the international work of the P. O. U. M. has been concerned with the unmasking of this falsehood. In the interviews of our comrades with the foreign press correspondents, in our radio broadcasts in French, Italian, Russian, English, Polish, German and so on, in our correspondence with workers' organizations in various countries and in our foreign language bulletins edited by the international secretariat of the P. O. U. M., our party has clearly stated that we and the Spanish working class are fighting not for capitalist democracy, but for the socialist revolution, for the dictatorship of the working class and for the Union of Iberian Socialist Republics.

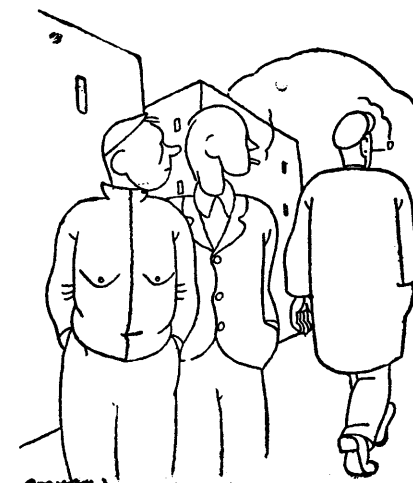
The work of the P. O. U. M. in the recent Brussels Congress against War and Fascism, in which the correct position toward our revolution for the revolutionary workers throughout the world was discussed, was an undeniable triumph for our point of view, not only because the delegates came away convinced that our political line was correct, but also because the lies and poison published by the two branches of the Stalinized press have greatly confused the international workers' movement and our work at Brussels was able to clarify this situation.

The action of the Italian and German governments is a

logical consequence of their position. They are helping their kind. By giving Spanish fascism the moral support of recognizing the Burgos Junta, they are strengthening their own political alliances. However, there are other aspects of the situation which are less logical. There are the Socialists in the Second International who stand for neutrality toward the Spanish struggle and there is the Third International and the Soviet Union who disarm the working class by saying that the Spanish workers are fighting for capitalist democracy.

The international working class ought to anticipate the declaration of war, unloosing the socialist revolution. That is the only way to save ourselves from war. The only possible escape for the international workers' movement in these crucial moments, is to break loose with their revolution and march forward to the taking of political power. If this power is left in the hands of the capitalists it will throw them headlong into an imperialist war, imperialist even to those countries which will limit themselves to defending their colonial interests.

The international workers' movement should come to the aid of our revolution, sending men and arms, and carrying through the Socialist revolution in their own countries. Only thus can they prevent their respective capitalist classes from imposing «neutrality» as their international policy, and stop them bringing secret help to Franco and his fascists.



He is terribly deaf,  
isn't he?

Yes. Almost English.