

## NEWS AND NOTES

## Trotsky on the Political Rights of Youth

«The lowering of the electoral age, from the point of view of the working class who have to begin work very early in life, is one of the elemental democratic rights. On the other hand, in England the electoral system is run according to such trickery that twice the number of votes are needed to get in a workers' candidate as to get in a conservative. By not lowering the age of suffrage, the English Parliament is excluding the active youth of both sexes, and giving the destinies of the country into the care of older and wearier generations who watch their step instead of looking ahead towards the future. This is why the vote is denied to young people.»

## Spanish Orphans to France

Two delegates of the Spanish League for the Rights of Man are at present in Paris arranging for the provisional lodging in France of several thousand children, orphaned by the fascist military rising. These children come especially from Extramadura, Castil and Andalusia, from whence they and their families were obliged to flee to avoid falling into the criminal hands of the fascists.

Various workers' organizations in France have given their enthusiastic support to the action taken by the League for the Rights of Man. The first of children will arrive from Spain next week. It will be comprised of about four hundred boys and girls, who will be given temporary homes in the South of France.

## RADIO P. O. U. M.

The P. O. U. M. broadcasting station is Radio Barcelona E. C. P. 1., wave length 42 metres. There are broadcasts in English every evening except Sundays, from 8 o'clock to 8.15 P. M.

All comrades who listen-in to P. O. U. M. broadcasts are cordially invited to send comments and criticism to this office. It will help the organisers to know how the P. O. U. M. radio program is received in other countries.

## 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 Edgware Road, London W 2. 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.

## NEUTRALITY IS A MASK

I. C. S. I. G. / Barcelona (España)

## International Writers Greet Madrid Workers

The Anti-fascist Intellectuals Alliance of Madrid has received a telegram from the International Writers' Association, announcing that it has been decided to hold the 1937 meeting of their Association in Madrid.

At the same time, it greets the heroic people of Madrid who are struggling so courageously against fascism. Among the signatories were Romain Rolland, Guan Cazeaux and Lannormand.

## American R. W. L. Representative

The P. O. U. M. is glad to welcome to Spain, Comrade Rosalio Negrete of the American Revolutionary Workers League. He has been sent as the representative of his organization and during his stay with us he will act as correspondent for the R. W. L. publications, «The Fighting Worker» and «The Fourth International».

## Mac Nair and Mac Govern in Spain

Comrade John Mac Nair, Secretary of the London Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, and Comrade John Mac Govern, I. L. P. member of Parliament, have arrived in Spain. We welcome Comrade Mac Nair back again: he is staying here to prepare the coming Barcelona Conference for a Revolutionary International. Comrade Mac Govern spoke over Radio P. O. U. M. to tell the workers back home of his first impressions of working class rule in Catalonia. The two have now gone on to Valencia.

## The Maurin Ambulance

The Doctors Gispert and Tussó, who have just returned from the Aragon front, made inquiries in the town of Grañen about the Maurin Ambulance which was sent from England by the Independent Labour Party.

The activity and medical aid given by the English comrades was highly praised. Comrade Cochrane speaking through Rosita Dawson as interpreter, spoke with the above doctors and supplied them with two cases of medical instruments. He was enthusiastic over the fine morale of the militias.

## The Marxist League and P. O. U. M. Posters

We receive information from the Marxist League that they greatly appreciate the news selection of our posters which we have sent them, and intend to put them to a useful and interesting purpose. Our comrades of the Marxist League are organising a dance at which our posters will be the chief decoration, and the proceeds of this dance are to be considered as funds for Leon Trotsky. We have the greatest sympathy with this action taken by the Marxist League on behalf of Comrade Trotsky.

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

WEEKLY BULLETIN OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION OF SPAIN  
P. O. U. M.

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The I. L. P.  
The Marxist League

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The Labor Book Shop

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## The Working Class and the Menace of War

To use a good and time-honoured journalistic phrase, the German-Japanese pact has burst like a bombshell on the startled governments of Europe. At one time, such an event would have been greeted with enthusiasm and would have received the warmest praise in the press. But coming just now, the agreement between Germany and Italy has a special and uncomfortable significance to all the democratic capitalist powers of Europe. The pact threatens their very existence as imperialist states.

The international significance of the Spanish revolution is hereby clearly reflected. The Spanish revolution is shown to have a powerful influence upon relationship between capitalist powers. The pact which has been therefore directly brought about by the revolution, shows how near is the danger of a new war. The contradictions on which the capitalist regime is based make a fresh war the only solution for capitalist nations, each of them in need of new territories for expansion. The swelling of the world revolutionary movement, as awakened by our struggle, is also amply demonstrated by the German-Japanese alliance.

The whole pretended pacifist policy pursued recently by some countries has thus fallen to the ground. Even the Soviet Union had placed its faith in collective security pacts. To that end, it had liquidated the communist policy in most countries. Now the facts plainly prove that Russia has been mistaken, for the policy of the «Lesser Evil» which the Communist International has been applying throughout the world has failed. Japan and Germany have taken the Spanish Revolution as their excuse for attacking the Soviet Union. The U. S. S. R. should realise, from the fruits of its misguided policy, if not from revolutionary teaching, that it cannot count upon the support of capitalist powers. Now, as in the time of Lenin and Trotsky, the only resolute support which it can be sure of receiving is that of the international working class.

In the gravity of the present situation there is also a ridiculous aspect. The perplexed attitude of the democratic countries is highly ridiculous. They are afraid of a war, and yet they are busily following the very path which leads to the strengthening of their enemies. They are frightened by the impetus which the Spanish revolution is giving to the world revolution, and they are afraid of their imperialist rivals at one and the same time. They cut a sorry figure, giving out false messages of peace to which nobody listens and which no one takes seriously.

This is the moment when the working class of the world is faced with an immense revolutionary task. This task must be carried through at all costs. The workers of the world, now

more than ever, must show their solidarity with and give their most energetic support to the Spanish revolution. That they are beginning to realise that our triumph rests with them, is shown by the daily increasing numbers of the militiamen who come from other countries to fight at the front in Spain.

Proletarian solidarity is needed because it will not be long before the very powers who now show themselves so critical of the new pact between Germany and Japan will be doing the same kind of thing as Germany and Japan have done. They will be drawing together to fight against Communism everywhere. How soon they will begin to do this depends largely upon the rhythm of the Spanish Revolution. Therefore the attitude of the working class in each country will be in direct relation to the results of the civil war here in Spain. This is an aspect of the importance of the movement here. It will be a decisive factor in the future of the world.

Europe at the moment is in a state of great unrest. There is an uneasiness over the future. Our revolution has made the situation in Europe grow more tense by giving renewed hope and fighting spirit to the working class of the world. Nobody consciously desires war, not even the fascist states. However, they at least know that they have no other way out of their present impasse. The democratic countries do not feel well enough prepared for war and are afraid of what its results might mean to them. In spite of this, both fascists and democrats are inevitably bound for it, racing headlong in a direction which they can not control.

When the occasion arises, the workers know their duty. They must not allow the event of war to surprise them into allowing themselves to be made the tools of imperialist designs. Inspired by the Spanish revolution they must rise against their oppressors and overthrow the capitalist system. With their arms in their hands, they must unloose the revolution in every country, thus transforming imperialist war into civil war and carrying out the world revolution.

*Turn imperialist  
War into socialist  
Revolution*

## Gorkin Speaks to the Workers of the World

Workers: as is usual with the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification we shall speak plainly. Never was it more necessary to speak plainly to the working class. We believe that the truth is the forge in which the heroic consciousness of the working class is being moulded and tempered.

### THE MISTAKES WE HAVE MADE

As analytical Marxists, we must recognize the mistakes we have made. The first one was believing at the beginning of the war that it would be over in a few weeks, and therefore, failing to prepare for a long struggle. We did not take into account that we were not just suppressing a military uprising, but were undertaking the much greater task of destroying a social order, in order to realize that revolution in Spain which over five years of the Republic had failed to attain.

It seems to us that it was also a mistake to leave the power in the hands of the Republicans who had failed to uproot the reaction by destroying the caste spirit of the army and all the hereditary stratas of the Monarchy.

The fascists have taken important cities by surprise attacks and have occupied very important agricultural areas in Andalusia, later in Estremadura and part of Cactilla. It was a mistake not to issue a governmental decree, promising to distribute the land to the peasants wherever they had worked under the slavery of the monarchist feudal regime.

This would have called the peasant masses to an active struggle against fascism, giving them as a reward for their collaboration the fruits of the large properties which formerly constituted the basis of the semi-feudal regime. Another mistake was not to have told the Moroccan people that when the revolution had triumphed in Spain, a workers' government would immediately concede them autonomy and independence. It was also a mistake not to adapt immediately all banking capital, transports, mines and large scale industries to the revolutionary needs of a long and costly war.

### THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION

The fundamental error, however, was to try to isolate the war from the revolution. Whether we like it or not they are inseparable. To try to separate them is not only to hamper the revolution, but the civil war as well. The civil war cannot be separated from the cause of the revolution or from the historic mission which the workers of all the world are called upon to fulfill.

There can be no doubt; if the militias at the front, if the workers in the factories and the fields come to believe that all their sacrifices will end in a return to the democratic Republic as before July the 18th, they will be ideologically and politically disarmed.

On the other hand, in the same way as the fascists, who go into battle with the concrete objective of destroying us and setting up their dictatorship, we should say to the masses of Spanish workers that our goal is to put an end to the present social order and proceed with the building of the new society, socialism. Let no one doubt that every militiaman who is fighting, be he socialist, communist, anarchist or republican, is fighting with the ideal that we shall not return to the past, that we shall not return to the former slavery and exploitation, but rather that we shall enter the new society. To deny this is to disarm the workers. Who would dare take that responsibility?

We said that the civil war and the revolution are inseparable and that to try to separate them is a threat to the civil war, we must rely upon an organized war economy. Which economy is this? Capitalist economy so badly disorganized and so contrary to our social aims? No. It must be a new economy organized by the working class upon new foundations, a revolutionary, collective, socialist economy. To pretend otherwise is a crime against the war and the revolution.

### WHO IS DECEIVED?

Some time ago we had the opportunity to speak with a person now holding a high political position in Spain. We asked him: «Do you believe, Comrade, that all the blood being shed by the working class will only serve to bring us back to the democratic Republic and the parliament of February, that is, to the capitalist democratic regime?» His reply was this: «We all know, of course, that Spain will never return to the 19th of July. However it is necessary to continue using certain terms so that the democratic countries shall not see the real situation in Spain».

Who is deceived? Is it Hitler and Mussolini? No. Hitler and Mussolini know very well the real situation in Spain. Then is it the British and French capitalists? Again no. The international capitalist class knows that if fascism wins the working class will be crushed, the way it was in Germany and throughout a series of countries. If, on the contrary, the fascists are beaten, the working masses of Spain will march forward to a socialist state, that is to the triumph of the workers' revolution. If international fascism and the capitalists in the democratic countries are not deceived it must be then that the working masses of the different lands are being deceived. How do we expect the workers of England, France and America to bring us effective aid if they are told that we are defending here the capitalist democratic regime which exploits them?

Comrades, the Spanish civil war reaches far across our national boundaries. It has turned into an international struggle. We know for certain that there exists a kind of secret treaty signed by the representatives of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and the Burgos Junta, which provides more or less as follows: In return for war supplies from Hitler and Mussolini, by way of Portugal, the Spanish fascists promise to cede the Balearic Isles to Italy and the Canaries to Hitler, as well as other concessions that would reduce Spain to a colony of foreign imperialism.

### THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND THE IMPERIALIST WAR

It is widely believed in Spain and abroad, that the Spanish civil war can grow into a new international imperialist war. We should look into this carefully. Did Mussolini need the Spanish civil war to make war on Abyssinia? Does Hitler need it for his wild race for armaments? The elements of imperialist war existed before the Spanish civil war, as direct results of the contradictions of capitalism. As long as the capitalist system exists with its economic contradictions, war will be inevitable; the only way to end war is to end the capitalist system and to end the imperialist rivalries that are inherent in the development of the capitalist system.

When Mussolini came to power in Italy, he announced that his aim was to rebuild the Roman Empire. Does anyone think that his ambitions will be limited to the conquest of Ethiopia? Everyone knows the once Mussolini has mastered the Ethiopian territory, he will follow his aims of extending his imperialist conquests. Everyone also knows that Hitler, in his book «Mein Kampf», long before coming to power in Germany, had announced that by waging war he would destroy the treaty of Versailles, attack the Soviet Union and win territories that are indispensable. Neither of them awaited the Spanish civil war before starting his imperialist adventures.

There can be no doubt that the civil war in Spain constitutes a new element, a new complication in international politics; there can also be no doubt that the Spanish civil war is dividing the world in two: the capitalist class on one side and the working class on the other, two armies which are preparing for the outbreak of the great class war which, in our opinion, is destined to end the system of capitalist exploitation.

The Spanish working class today points the way to the world working class: make the revolution in order to avoid the war or else turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

### AWAY WITH THE NEUTRALITY POLICY

Germany and Italy have sent Franco their best arms, in order that he might impose the same regime upon Spain as Hitler and Mussolini have imposed upon Germany and Italy at the expense of the working and peasant masses. What attitude have the democratic government taken? They have followed a criminal and suicidal policy of neutrality. It is criminal because the working class of one country cannot stay neutral while fascism assassinates the workers of another country. It is suicidal, too, for a very plain reason. If Franco came to power in Spain tomorrow, the development of fascism within France would be greatly strengthened. We know that there is a relation, by way of Morocco, between Franco's officers and the officers of the French army and that the French fascists in the army, the navy the aviation, as well as in the openly fascist leagues, are awaiting the victory of Franco in Spain to unloose a similar movement in France.

There is still another reason. The triumph of Franco in Spain would mean the strengthening of international fascism, creating a serious problem for France. Democratic France would face an Italy, a Germany and a Spain in the hands of fascism.

### THEY SHALL NOT PASS

The neutrality of France, and for several months of the Soviet Union, has let Franco get to the gates of Madrid. There are several indispensable conditions for our victory. The first

## The Situation of the P. O. U. M. in Catalonia and Madrid

Due to the dissociation of the Soviet Union from the non-intervention pact and their expressed willingness to support the antifascist cause in Spain, the Communist and Socialist parties have gained considerably in prestige during the last few weeks. Until the Russian question became primordial in presenting the possibility that a foreign power might be willing to give the Spanish people help, the IInd. and IIIrd. Internationals were not a very decisive factor in the struggle in Catalonia. Now they have been able to take up stronger positions, shielded by the promise of Russian arms.

Their first step has naturally been to define their position in opposition to the P. O. U. M. with the greatest clarity. Their defamation campaign against the P. O. U. M. has been growing for some time now, as we pointed out in our last number of the «Spanish Revolution», but last week they received the official reinforcement of the Soviet representatives in this country.

Last Saturday November 28th the majority of the newspapers of Barcelona published the following note which had been circulated to the Barcelona press with the formal request that it should be inserted in all publications:

«One of the manoeuvres of a press sold to international fascism consists in calumniating the representatives of the Soviet Union accredited to the Government which, at the present time is directing the foreign affairs and the home policy of the Spanish Republic. The ends which the servants of fascism have set themselves in making such insinuations are obvious. In the first place, they wish to diminish the prestige of the Spanish Republican Government. In the second place they wish to weaken the feeling of brotherly solidarity which daily grows stronger between the people of Spain and the people of the Soviet Union and on which the antifascist struggle is chiefly based. In the third place they wish to reinforce the disorganizational tendencies of certain uncontrolled and irresponsible groups which are undermining the united Republican front: Among the organs of the Catalan press there appears to be a paper which has undertaken the task of supporting this fascist campaign. In its number for November 27 th. «La Batalla» tried to furnish material for the above-mentioned fascist insinuations. The Soviet Consul General in Barcelona rejects the lamentable inventions published in this newspaper with the greatest disdain».

The immediate reason for this rash attack against our

is, of course, to do everything possible to crush fascism. If we do not win the war it will be useless to make plans and promises. So our first task is to win the war.

In the second place, we have to give the workers and peasants clear, revolutionary objectives. Our militias must know what they are fighting for.

Another indispensable condition is to establish a close union between the fighters at the front and the workers behind the lines. The militias must know that the Spanish workers are sparing no sacrifice that can lead to the victory.

A fourth condition: Spain must have a government with a revolutionary socialist program, a government representing all the workers' parties and organizations without excepting any which are fighting against Spanish fascism.

It is necessary also to establish a unified, centralized command, but under the control of a body composed of the organizations and parties fighting against fascism. And it is necessary to maintain an iron discipline, a revolutionary discipline. War is war. These are moments of trial and we must use every means to win.

Workers of Spain: we must remember that at this time we are more than soldiers in the Spanish cause. We are soldiers in an international crusade. We represent a universal cause; we represent the future of humanity; we represent a new world.

Comrades of all the world: the Spanish working class is not content to stop Spanish fascism, but will thereafter, with your help, with the help of the international working class, proceed to stamp out international fascism and give a tremendous impulse to the revolution everywhere.

P. O. U. M. newspaper, «La Batalla», was our editorial concerning the P. O. U. M.'s exclusion from the Madrid Defence Junta. In this article we stated that the opposition to our party's participation in the Junta came from «the Soviet Embassy, which, together with the Soviet Consul at Barcelona, inspires the campaigns of insults and lies which is being waged against us».

Our party wrote a reply to this letter, in which we stated that the fact that the Soviet representatives intervened in the campaign is proved by the coincidence of the note with the publication of a series of lying charges against us in «Tribuna», organ of the P. S. U. C., which is completely under the sway of Moscow. This campaign is translated word for word out of the Russian press. «We do not consider» said our reply, «that it is necessary for us to answer the charge that we are fascists agents and enemies of the U. S. S. R. The workingclass knows us well and realises that the P. O. U. M. has taken its place in the fight from the very first, that we have lost our most militant members in this struggle that entire sections of our party have been physically exterminated by Franco's hordes, that 70 members of the Madrid section perished in Sigüenza Cathedral, and that we used to defend the U. S. S. R. at a time when the present leaders of the P. S. U. C. were attack'ng defaming it.»

«The present campaign against us constitutes a danger that must be avoided at all costs. It would break the united workers' front which is necessary to the victory over fascism, and it might end in a provocation that would lead to armed encounters... We shall not cease nor even slacken our work of pushing forward the revolution to its final consequences, and that is a more effective defence of the Soviet Union than the tactics of confining our revolution within the limits of the capitalist democratic republic, or deporting, gaoling and shoot ing the old Bolshevik guard...»

This reply, truthful and just as it was, we sent to all the newspapers which had published the letter from the Soviet Consul, with the request that, in the interests of revolutionary fairness, they should give it the same publicity. Our article appeared in «La Batalla» only. Other newspapers had been ready and willing to print it, but we received information that the Soviet Consulate had demanded that it be banned.

(continued on page seven)

# A TOUR OF THE MADRID FRONTS

As one approaches Madrid, the road from Valencia is crowded by strings of cars and lorries filled with women and children: The capital is busy with the evacuation of the civil population. This measure should actually have been taken long ago, and the present Spanish government, now in Valencia, is blamed in a general way by the townspeople for not having faced this problem earlier.

At Tarazon, part of the «Joaquim Maurin» column, is on leave, back from fighting at the centre front. These Catalans have put new heart into the Madrid defenders. Now with unkempt beards and torn clothes they are resting from recent violent combats. Everything is tolerable, they say, except the air raids, which are vile, and massacre the unarmed population of the city.

The entry into Madrid by night, Madrid the capital on which the eyes of the whole world are turned in these moments of tense anxiety, is impressive: the city seems like a grey mass, the contours of the buildings faintly outlined. There are no lights. Here and there, groups of people like dark patches, or a guard, carrying a shuttered lantern. The cars crawl down the streets, their headlights turned off and the horns sounding continuously. This, and the far-off echo of the machine guns, punctured from time to time by the snort of the cannon, is the only noise to be heard. These are our own P. O. U. M. troops fighting in the Moncloa sector. Madrid is struggling day and night, and the fighting does not cease even for an instant.

Last week, the situation in Madrid looked very bad. The militias, with their power of heroic resistance, were able to turn the tide. It would be idle to pretend that all danger is now past, especially considering the peril of misleading the masses by false optimism. Everyone must be told the truth, for truth is also a weapon. A short while ago, the fascists were at the gates of Madrid fighting to enter and take the town. The enemy air force, a present from Hitler and Mussolini, tried to help their entry by a criminal bombardment which caused numberless victims. It is certain now that the fascists will never enter Madrid. They may, however, reduce much of it to a mass of ruins.

The military chief of the P. O. U. M. forces in Madrid is Comrade Baldris. Our chief headquarters are in the place Sto. Domingo, now re-named Etchebehere in honour of our heroic comrade who fell fighting while in command of our troops on the Sigüenza front. Many streets and places, such as the Puerta del Sol are practically impassable. In both San Jeronimo and Alcala bombs of 250 kilos have been dropped which have reduced everything to a shambles. From time to time the pedestrian is stopped and the pass-word demanded of him.

Air-raids at night are the chief fear of the inhabitants and the defenders. The city is plunged in total darkness, and suddenly the dreaded zom of the aeroplanes is heard above the faint, far-off noise of firing. As the buzz grows loud and near, a succession of explosions begins to be heard. All the citizens are under strict orders to leave their rooms in the upper stories and take refuge in the cellars the minute the bombardment begins. Madrid cellars are crowded during bombardment times, but most of the inhabitants take the raids quietly and with great courage.

The Tajo front is reached over the Princess bridge. As one approaches it, more and more houses are seen which have been destroyed by bombs and cannonades. Truck loads of militiamen going out to fight ram the way. From the first lines of our trenches, a small hill is seen opposite: The fascists are behind it. The spirit on this front is one of great animation and cheerfulness and the conviction reigns everywhere that the fascists will never manage to pass.

The Carabanchel sector is reached over the Toledo bridge. The bridge itself is piled with sandbags to serve as a defence. Beyond, the populous workers district has been evacuated. It is dangerous to walk in the streets here, as the fascists are only about a mile or a mile and a half away, but big breaches have been made in the walls of the houses, and the militiamen move about by walking through from house to house.

The Northern Railway Station is half ruined. Opposite it is the Casa de Campo, where the Moors were so badly beaten a short while ago. They suffered many losses in this defeat which was really our first outstanding success. The militias, greatly encouraged, are henceforth willing to hold out at whatever cost. This is the principal condition of victory, and they are certain to fulfill it.

Air-raids are by no means scarce during the day time. The heavy droning fills the air, and in a moment the whole sky seems to be covered with aeroplanes. As many as 16 big bombers of the «Junkers» type, five or six light bombers and about a score of chasers often fly over Madrid in a crowd. Bombs drop right and left while people fly for shelter. The roof of our



Upper left: militiamen resting outside Madrid. — Upper right: destroyed by Fascist bombs. — Below (left to right) Madrid Madrid. — After

party headquarters caught fire during one of the raids but fortunately was put out fairly quickly, while the houses on either side of it were in a blaze. One sees wounded people limping about: women who have been hurt, and others partly burnt. When any district has been a particular mark of the fascist air-force and is on fire or greatly damaged, an exodus begins, and people move about the streets dragging their mattresses with them, seeking other quarters. This aspect of the population moving from district to district is a tragic sight. The people are very brave, however. There are no weeping women to be seen. On the contrary, the women have firm resolved faces and they set to work on whatever must be done with method and energy. In Madrid, the people

at the front and the people in the town feel firmly united in their solidarity and will to win.

In Madrid, women and children have been assassinated and hospitals bombed. Beautiful buildings have been destroyed and workers homes set on fire. There are holes yawning in the streets which have their tale to tell.

There is only one reply to things like this. It is written a score of times on the walls throughout Madrid «People of Madrid, forward to the attack. Our watchword is victory».

The workers of Madrid will carry out this slogan. But to do so they need the help of the workers of the world.

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

The P. O. U. M. militias from Madrid are fighting heroically under fire on the front lines. They have given proof of their bravery: they are living up to the slogan of our party: «To conquer or die». Last week, the P. O. U. M. shock troops of the first «Lenin» Battalion, now fighting at Moncloa, succeeded in putting four enemy tanks out of action and in capturing one. Two days later in the same sector, they destroyed two more enemy tanks and captured one. During this operation our Comrade Captain Guerrero was seriously wounded and other officers were wounded less seriously. One comrade was killed. Our Comrade Mika Etchebehere distinguished herself in the fighting.

Our militias were congratulated by the other parties and organizations operating in the sector, who have asked that the P. O. U. M. leaders be placed in command of operations on this important front.

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In the Buitrajo Sector, our forces have so distinguished themselves that Captain Galán, the head of the column to which our men belong, has asked that more members of the P. O. U. M. be sent out to him. Troops of the P. O. U. M. militias are also operating in the Puente de Segovia sector and in the Puente de Toledo Sector the Moncloa front and in various sectors of the Guadarama.

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The P. O. U. M. Committee in Madrid is organizing a new shock battalion, the «ISKRA». The battalion will be under the command of Comrade Gerardo Baldris, who was formerly in command of our Sigüenza Motorized Column and later of the second battalion of the «Joaquim Maurin» Column. The «ISKRA» is to be a really revolutionary battalion. It will be organized with the old fighting elements from Sigüenza, reinforced by some of our best comrades from the party and our youth section, the Iberian Communist Youth.

## To Win the War Is Not Enough



ht: The baptismal font of Cervantes at Alcala de Henares, looks on at Fascist bombardment. — Our Comrade Gorkin in the bombardment



## PARLIAMENT

The safety valve of the economic and political contradictions of countries living under a regime of capitalist democracy is the Parliament. The Parliament, the very essence of democracy in a capitalist regime, is given the task of resolving all conflicts and harmonizing the contradictory interests of the diverse factions of the owning and middle classes, while putting the cost of all this on the workers' backs.

The parliament is the final argument of those who are trying to justify capitalist injustice: «The people», say these consummate hypocrites, «have sanctioned it through their representatives in Parliament.» The argument could not be more false. The people, and still less the exploited working class, have nothing to do with democracy, controlled by the money powers.

Elections are held under rules which are supposed to record the size and strength of the currents of political opinion. But how is this opinion formed? We are not going to repeat the lucid arguments of the Spanish Anarchist, Richard Mella, on universal suffrage, nor the classic pages of Lenin on «bourgeois democracy», criticising the «methods» used by the capitalists to «manufacture public opinion». The truth is that the class holding the economic power holds political power too and therefore holds the control of elections and Parliament in its hands.

The Spanish Parliament is going to meet on December 1st. It is only a matter of fulfilling a constitutional provision, as it was last time; it is a symbolic gesture without any real significance. That, at least, is what the calling of the Parliament looks like to the workers who uphold the popular front.

To us the meeting of the old parliament has a political significance, in spite of the efforts of its supporters to deny it. We believe this, not so much because of the meeting itself, which is a farce, but because of its political implications. It means that, while we are making a profound revolution, the governmental organization is still in the hands of the middle class, and the methods and outlook of this class still prevail. The constitutional spirit of the Spanish capitalists still continues to reign, the spirit which controlled political relations under the old regime.

The workers fighting at the front are suprized to hear that Parliament is being convoked at this time. They know that this Parliament has been a failure ever since its birth and that it has been left behind today. The leaders of the popular front claim that they have to call Parliament to obtain the recognition of the Foreign Powers for the Valencia Government as the only legal government in Spain. That is childish reasoning, to justify a backward step in the course of the Spanish revolution.

The social revolution is underway and should create its own organs. It has not been able to because of the attitude of the official Socialist and Communist parties. They delegate their functions, not to the working class, but to the middle class. The workers must insist upon their own organs of power.

At present the Catalan Parliament, just as the Spanish Parliament, is completely superfluous. Not even before July 19th was it of any use to the workers.

The Parliament of Catalonia, an offspring of the universal sufferage of the capitalist era, is a capitalist Parliament. The fact that it passed laws to «protect» the working class merely proves our assertion. To «protect» the Catalan working class and reserve it to an insignificant minimum, often just on paper, is to guarantee the maximum to the owning class, to preserve their privileges and their power to continue exploiting the wage earners.

Lenin saved the working class from believing that capitalist Parliaments could solve its historical needs and he attacked the «parliamentary cretinism» of the social democrats, rotten to the core with the most emasculate reformism.

Today it is the «Official Communists» themselves who are the most fervent supporters of the parliamentary system. This position is a logical consequence of their capitalist democratic popular front policy.

Since July 19th much has happened in Catalonia. There has been a significant swing in public opinion. The economic

base has been changed. The collective interest of the working masses has replaced the individual interests that existed before. It follows from this that, even supposing the Catalan Parliament reflected the opinion of the workers quite exactly when it was elected, this would now be fundamentally changed. At the present time the Catalan Parliament is of no use and represents no one.

Our statement is proved by the fact that it no longer meets and no one speaks of it. Only, the members go every month and draw their pay for which they do not work. This must be ended. Our socialist revolution will not permit in these times of sacrifice and saving, a shadow of an organization whose only function is to pay every month some ten thousands of pesetas to some gentlemen who do nothing and who are not sufficiently spirited to renounce their salaries.

Enough of this! The revolution is also a moral state which has no place for climbers.

The great teachers of socialism, particularly Marx, Engels and Lenin, have taught us that one of the principle tasks of the revolutionary working class is to clear away the old state apparatus, abolishing the old bureaucracy. This constitutes the core of the capitalist society, around which it all clings, and it is the chief obstacle to the development of new ideas and new organizations. The dominant and reactionary role of the administrative hierarchy is greater in those states of a semi-feudal type in which the bureaucracy has a tradition and even a caste political outlook, as in Spain.

In spite of the profound revolution which we are making, the Monarchist bureaucracy which was not turned out after the 14th of April, 1931, continues to exist even now. Of course the greater part of the politicians in position of authority, such as army, police and law courts, have been removed — almost all of them were implicated in the fascist rebellion. However, the old administrative bureaucracy still hold their jobs, in many cases performing functions and enjoying the confidence of ministerial offices.

Not long ago a socialist minister at Valencia said, in a private conversation, «When a decision is made, it is known by the Burgos Junta in a quarter of an hour.» The minister meant that he did not have, in his departement, the trustworthy helpers that are required for the execution of a civil war.

So the old politicians are still holding on. They are kept on under the pretext of technical efficiency, but the real reasons are political. It means that the state apparatus has not changed fundamentally, and it continues under the old capitalist forms. The whole idea of defending the democratic Republic, and still more the politics of the peoples' front, take for granted that affairs shall continue as before July 19th. The peoples' front policy is based upon the idea that all sections of the population not actively fighting on the side of reaction can work together. The capitalist state machine would continue to function, according to this theory, only it would need some indispensable repairs.

There are many persons who so loudly proclaim the need for workers' unity in the abstract, but who really desire to prevent any expression of revolutionary opinion. The failure to destroy the old bureaucracy, the basic support of the old society, is a perversion of the revolution. We know that with the present political composition of the government, it is impossible to build the new socialist society. But it is the workers' parties in the peoples' front, who are compromised by the democratic republic, upon whom falls the responsibility of destroying the revolution.

It is time for working class unity, but it must be a unity of action preparing for the taking of power and for a workers' coalition government, based on a program of immediate demands.

### RADIO P. O. U. M.

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## INFORMATION BUREAU

We have been asked about the use of films to show the facts of the Spanish revolution.

Efforts are now being made by the Spanish workers to build a film industry. This technique was very backward in Spain and due to the demands of the actual fighting and of the building of a socialist economic organization, the film work has not progressed very quickly. The Anarcho-Syndicalist Union have produced some short war films, entitled «The Taking of Sieta-mo» and «The Young Eagle». The P. O. U. M. have organized a Moving Picture Department and have started work on a project.

The majority of questions sent to us are about the military situation and reveal a startling amount of misinformation which the world press seems to be deliberately spreading.

We can definitely say that Madrid is not in the hands of the fascists and that Barcelona has not been bombed. In fact life is so very peaceful here that we believe a threat of bombing might produce a desirable stimulation.

(Continued from page three)

However, this was not all. Further measures, of an even more official character, were to be taken against our party. During the weekend of our conflict with the Soviet Consulate, our party held a most successful meeting, attended by thousands of workers amid the greatest enthusiasm, at which the speakers, Mac Govern, of the I.L.P. and Deisel of the S.A.P. (an account this meeting is given elsewhere in this bulletin). The meeting therefore was of international interest, but in spite of this the «Official Monday News» which is supposed to devote a portion of its space to the activities of every party impartially, omitted any mention of the meeting. Full accounts were given of lesser and much more unimportant meetings held by other parties. No reply was vouchsafed our enquiry as to the wherefore of this coldshouldering. A deliberate snub had been administered not only to the P. O. U. M. but to our English and German comrades.

But while our Catalan position is being menaced in this way, our situation in Madrid has changed for the better: During their recent visit to Madrid, our comrades Gorkin and Andrade, of the P. O. U. M. Executive Committee visited the C. N. T. and the Executive Commission of the Socialist Party. They had supported the claims of our party to be included in the Madrid Defence Junta. Who was it then who had opposed our entry? It was certainly not the Republican nor the Socialist party, but the Communist party and the Stalinist Youth movement, obeying the dictates of Moscow.

The immediate results of the visit of our comrades Gorkin and Andrade and their enquiries into the case were that Madrid Defence Junta has asked our party to take an active part in the Council of Propaganda belonging to the Junta. Our committee has named comrade Dositeo Iglesias to undertake this work. At the preliminary meeting between the representatives of all the workers parties and organisations, comrade Iglesias demanded the revolutionary right for every party to express its own point of view on all problems touching the Spanish revolution. This right was granted.

The P. O. U. M. Madrid Committee has put 25 comrades at the disposal of the Propaganda Council, 15 painters and designers, the P. O. U. M. broadcasting station, our party's own press and various cars which we possess.

We have also been asked to send a delegate to that branch of the Ministry of Works which is occupied at the task of building fortifications. Comrade Antonio Uya has been entrusted with this charge.

Thus some slight justice is at last being done to the efforts of our party in Madrid in the war and the revolution. But we wish it to be understood that for nothing and no one will we give up our liberty of judgement and our independence of organisation which we use in the service of the Spanish and the world proletariat. For we consider, faithful in this as in all to the tradition of Marx and Lenin, that if material arms are precious, then the moral arm of freedom of thought is much more so, leading as it does to the choice of the true political line which will guide us all towards revolutionary emancipation.

## Trade Union Unity in Malaga

The aims of our party have been accepted with the fusion of the Anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T. unions and the Socialist U. G. T. unions of Malaga. From a short telegram which we have received from Malaga, we learn of the fusion into a single Trade Union Federation of the C. N. T. and the U. G. T.

This news is of great importance to the revolution. Again, as in the early days of the revolution, the aims of the P. O. U. M. have been realized in spite of the attempts of some parties to stop them. We have often said that the revolution demands an absolute unity of workers' unions. Others have held, on the contrary, that it was preferable to see the workers divided into separate unions with different philosophies. Events such as the former union struggles against the capitalists and the state, and now the work of organizing the revolution and the war, show us how dangerous is the division of the unionized workers into two large compartments, which, if they sometimes work together, at other times stand against each other as enemies.

The workers of Malaga lead the way. Those of the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., convinced of the sterility of dual unionism, have agreed to fuse their federations. We hope that the leaders of both federations will see the inevitable need of extending this agreement throughout Spain. The safety of the revolution demands it and it must be achieved even against the will of those too narrow minded to see the need for it.

Our party gave the example several months ago with its advice to the F. O. U. S. unions to enter the U. G. T., thus reducing the division and at the same time counter-acting the reformist elements who hold the leadership of that federation.

Long live trade union unity and the revolution!

## English Speakers in Barcelona

On Sunday, November 29th, the P. O. U. M. organised a mass meeting in the Bosque Theatre in memory of our comrades killed on the Aragon Front. A crowded and enthusiastic meeting listened to speeches from a representative group of speakers.

Comrades Nin and Arquer of the P. O. U. M. and Solano of the Iberian Communist Youth spoke.

Our comrades Mac Govern and Mac Nair also told of their visit to Madrid, of ruthless bombing of woman and children which they had witnessed, and of the horror unleashed on the people by the brutal defenders of Capitalism. But the most impressive sight they had seen was the heroic determination of the workers which had stemmed the advance of Franco's hordes.

Both pledged the workers of Britain to aid their Spanish Comrades even more than they had done in the past, and each vowed to redouble his efforts to arouse the International working class.

In addition, Comrade Diesel, of the German Workers' Party outlined the valiant fight his comrades were putting up in Germany, against the lies and terror of Hitler fascism and in support of the Spanish revolution.

## British Transport Delegation

The British Transport and General Workers Union, which includes the bus drivers and conductors, is going to hold a special general meeting in order to nominate delegates to visit Spain. We are convinced that this visit will help the British workers to understand the heroism of the Spanish workers and help to cement the bond of friendship between the workers of both countries.

## Subscribe to «The Spanish Revolution»

The price is two pence of five cents: it may be ordered from The Independent Labour Party, 35 St. Bride St., London. The Marxist League, 238 Edgware Road, London W 2. 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

**The London Bureau and the Moscow Trials**

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

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

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

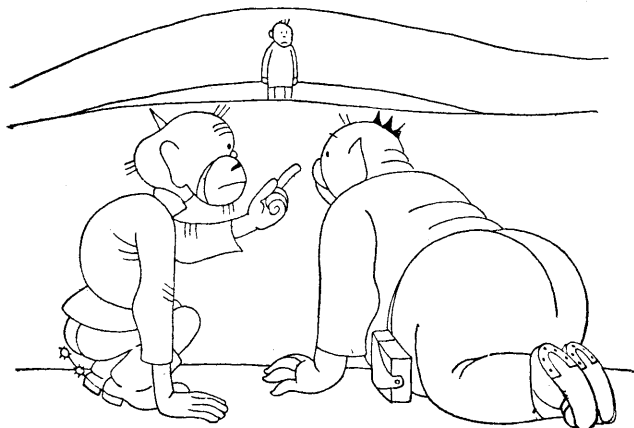
We wish also to call attention to the recent campaign of the P. O. U. M. to obtain the right for Comrade Trotsky to come to revolutionary Catalonia.

**The New Theatre in Catalonia**

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

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

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



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

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

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

**The Death of a Good Comrade**

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

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

**The I. L. P. Commander of Artillery**

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

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

**Help from Germans in America**

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

**Help from Spaniards in California**

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

**Help from Sweden**

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

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

**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**

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

P. O. U. M.

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**EDITORIAL OFFICE:**

«THE SPANISH REVOLUTION»

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BARCELONA**CONTENTS**

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

**OUR RIGHT TO SPEAK THE TRUTH**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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