ENGLISH EDITION

INFORMATION BULLETIN
OF THE P. O. U. M.
(Workers Party of Marxist Unification)

EDITOR AND ADMINISTRATION
Plaza del Teatro, 2 - BARCELONA

22nd September, 1936.
No. 4.

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

The necessity of bringing the war to an end by the total extermination of the fascists, and of guiding the economy of the country towards socialism (which is alone capable of rebuilding the economy destroyed by the civil war) and of radically changing the political and social structure of the Republic: all these measures require the formation of a workers' government. This government should immediately proceed to call a constituent Cortes, elected by committees of workers, peasants and combatants, which would establish the constitution of the new regime that has arisen out of the Revolution. Any attempt to limit the present magnificent revolution within the narrow bounds of the democratic republic must be pitilessly rejected as counter-revolutionary.

The Central Committee considers that the Largo Caballero Government recently formed in Madrid, as much by its composition and program as by its systematic sabotage of Catalonia, acts as a break on the progressive development of the revolution and therefore of the war against fascism.

Thanks to our party, which has always remained true to revolutionary marxist principles, and thanks to the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. which, in spite of their confused ideology and tactical errors, represent a powerful revolutionary impulse of the working masses, the policy of the Popular Front has not caused the same damage in Catalonia as in the rest of Spain where the Socialist and Communist Parties have become appendages of the bourgeois republicans and endeavour to obstruct the advance of the proletarian revolution. In Catalonia, thanks to the circumstances mentioned above, even the petty bourgeoisie has been carried away by the tempestuous revolutionary current so far as taking up positions which are more advanced as regards the direction and objectives of the movement than those of the socialists and Stalinists.

From the very first, the revolution took on a proletarian character in Catalonia and the working classes made themselves absolute masters of the situation. The governmental bodies continued and still continue their normal existence, but the appearance of other, parallel bodies, such as the Central Militia Committee and the Economic Council, turned them into a fictitious power. This state of affairs, understandable in the early days of the revolution, no longer corresponds to the situation. The constitution of a strong power is imperative, a power capable of creating a new revolutionary legality based on the expropriation of

CONTENTS

1. The Resolution of the P.O.U.M. Central Committee.
2. The Death of Maura.
3. A Revolutionary Class Struggle instead of the Popular Front.
4. The Defeat of the Parliament.
5. The Moscow Executions.

The "Lenin" International Column at the front.
the bourgeoisie, and of laying the foundations of a socialist economy. This task can only be carried out by a workers' government. Therefore the Central Committee believes now, as always, that this government must be exclusively composed of representatives of the workers' parties and trade-union organisations. But if this point of view is not shared by the other workers' organisations we are willing to leave the question open, the more especially as the left republican movement is of a profoundly popular nature — which distinguishes it radically from the Spanish left republican movement — and the present masses and workers' sections on which it is based are moving definitely towards the revolution, influenced by the proletarian parties and organisations. The important thing is the program and the hegemony of the proletarian which must be guaranteed. On one point there can be no doubt: the new government must make a declaration of unquestionable principles, affirming its intention of turning the impulse of the masses into a revolutionary legality and directing it in the sense of the socialist revolution. As for the proletarian hegemony, the absolute majority of workers' representatives will make it fully certain.

A government of this kind would give a great impulse to the revolution throughout the Peninsula. The example of Catalonia would be an inspiration to the workers of the whole country, and this example would be followed with enthusiasm in spite of all efforts on the part of the traditional parties of the Spanish working class to hold back the revolution.

The Central Committee therefore considers that the party should offer every assistance in the formation of this government, and itself should enter and form part of the same.

The only circumstances in which collaboration should be refused are those in which all parties and organisations of the working class, and particularly the F.A.I. and C.N.T., might not be included in the government. If in order to accomplish this collaboration the name "government" must be set aside, our Party would see no objection to this measure. Whether called government, Junta or council, the essential is the immediate formation of this body which circumstances so urgently demand.

THE DEATH OF MAURIN.

A IMMENSE LOSS TO THE PARTY.

"After three weeks of anxiety, during which we were still able to hope that Maurin would soon be by our side, we have received this tragic message which so heartily offers the certainty that our beloved comrade has been shot by the vile fascists.

We are so overcome by grief at this news of "Quim" as they called him familiarly in the Party, that we do not yet feel ourselves able to speak as much about him as his magnificent work as a militant deserves. We shall do so some day...

Meanwhile, we must remember that for Maurin the party of the revolution meant everything. We must remain worthy of his example by living only for the party of the revolution and dying for it if need be.

Comrades: Maurin is not by our side, but the march of the revolution continues. We carry on the hard and insuperable fight to conquer or die, until we reach the triumph of the immortal cause to which Maurin dedicated his life. It is the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat."

Andres Nin.

Joaquín Maurin was born of humble family in a village of the province of Lérida, near Jaca. At eighteen years of age he began work as a schoolmaster, moving to Lérida where he entered the "Liceo Escolar"
eavy college, and was enrolled in the "Republican Youth." At 19, he founded a revolutionary weekly of which the social tendencies were as advanced as those it put forward touching political and religious questions. The publication of an article against the king brought persecution and a sentence of 20 years imprisonment.

In 1917 he was one of the first to show great enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution. Already he had taken up a Bolshevik position and he carried on an intense campaign in Gerona in favour of the October Revolution. In 1918, during his military service, he first came into contact with the directing elements of trade-unionism, and took part in the C.N.T. congress. In 1920 he directed the "Social Struggle" the organ of the workers' organization in Gerona, and organized the workers' movement throughout the province with great success.

In 1921, the C.N.T. elected him delegate to the communist international congress in Moscow. He travelled in France, Germany and Russia where he studied the workers' movement and the revolution. From October 1921 to February 1922 he was secretary general to the C.N.T. in spite of a violent campaign by the anarchists who alleged that the C.N.T. had "fallen into the hands of the Communists." In 1922, in the epoch of Martinez Anido and Arlegui, he was imprisoned, and the series of lectures on the Russian revolution which he gave on his release was suspended by Anido and Arlegui. At the end of this year, he founded the Communist weekly "La Batalia" which had to fight against the general hostility of the workers' movement in Catalonia, at that time controlled and directed by the anarchists. He also visited Russia several times.

In 1925 he was arrested and shot by the police, and imprisoned for three years. He attempted to escape and was injured in throwing himself down from the height of the prison wall. After his release he lived in France and directed there "Europe America," writing at the same time for French newspapers, until the fall of Riviera when he returned to Spain and the disagreement between him and the IIIrd International arose.

He became the secretary-general to the P.C.U.M. and was returned to Parliament on February 16th, as the representative for Barcelona City. In Parliament he made political speeches of great importance, showing the wrong path which the communists and socialists in Spain and elsewhere had chosen by joining themselves to the train of the bourgeoisie. He was travelling at the moment of the fascist rising and found himself trapped on enemy ground. We had hoped, until the reception of this last tragic message, that he would find means of escape. His death is an immense loss to the Party.

A REVOLUTIONARY CLASS STRUGGLE

INSTEAD OF THE POPULAR FRONT.

Is the Popular Front an effective means of fighting fascism and war? All the manifestations of sympathy of the French Popular Front cannot hide the fact that the Popular Front government in France has refused to supply the Spanish government with arms to fight fascism. The supposed aim of the French government's neutrality declarations is to avoid an intervention of the fascist states in the Spanish civil war, but actually all it has done is to encourage the inscience of Hitler and Mussolini.

If a bourgeois government had done what the Blum government is doing to-day, the socialists or the Communist Party of France would have put it out of office, or they put out Laval. But we have a Popular Front government to-day and so the Socialists and Communist Parties tolerate its attitude. In this way, the pressure of the masses in favour of the Spanish workers is prevented from reaching any practical results.

In Spain, 155 days of a Popular Front government have only served to
to sacrifice the workers' interests to a coalition with the republican bourgeoisie. The central organ of the Communist party in Spain, "Mundo Obrero," declared shortly before the revolution that the workers must act with moderation. One could not obtain everything at once. It was necessary not to shock the petty bourgeoisie by any exorbitant demands in case they should fling themselves into the arms of fascism.

What has been the result of this policy of postponing the class war? The government was guilty of allowing the rebels to prepare their insurrection undisturbed. The officers had remained a centre of the worst sort of reaction, enemies to conspire against the Republic. The government forbid any demonstrations in the streets, and adjourned the municipal elections indefinitely. And the workers' parties tolerated a régime in which this government announced to the Cortes that in the future any independent action of the masses would be repressed with "all the severity of the law." Whenever an action of the masses occurred it could only be carried out against the will of the Socialists and Communists. The alliance with the bourgeois republicans broke up the battle front of the workers; since it separated the socialists and communists from the anarchists. In making their attack, the fascist counted on these differences between the workers. They counted too much on them, but we beg our socialist and communist comrades to realise where the Popular Front has led them and where it will continue to lead them.

The Popular Front has solved none of the problems over which it has had control. Only a very small portion of the peasantry received any land; and then only where they had made themselves masters of a whole province, without money to carry on the cultivation. Azana's government turned the Civil Guard onto the peasants in places where they had taken possession of large estates. It was the duty of the Communist Party to have refused any agrarian reform and to have insisted upon the expropriation without indemnity of the landlords. If the peasants had been given the land, today their sons who are in the fascist ranks would have gone over onto our side.

Although the Communists fight on the front, their party as such follows on the tail of events and has absolutely failed to take a guiding action in the struggle. The P.O.U.M., on the other hand, was able to give a revolutionary directive to the masses from the very first. The initiative of the creation of the workers' militias, the election of factory committees for controlling production, the division of the large estates - all these measures came from the P.O.U.M. in the first place. If the P.O.U.M. had been a larger organisation and the Communist Party had followed a communist policy instead of showing itself the defender of the petty bourgeoisie and private property, we would have a workers' government to-day, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Popular Front policy means the submission of the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie. Whoever wishes to collaborate with the liberal bourgeoisie must sacrifice the proletarian class struggle to the interests of capitalism. These two principles cannot subsist side by side. In such circumstances, to defend bourgeois democracy means to stab the workers and their class objectives in the back.

THE ORGANISATIONS OF THE REVOLUTION HAVE SURPASSED AND OUTGROWN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE 16TH, FEBRUARY.

The present government of Madrid has summoned Parliament for October 1st. This could scarcely do less than astonish us and must have astonished all other workers' organisations. Already nobody remembered the existence of the Parliament elected on February 16th. Events since July 19th, have defeated all previous organisations. Parliament, practically speaking, had died a victim of its own sterility and contradictions. Actually it never represented the real repertory of the different forces of this country, since it was an assembly in which the majority was held by the petty bourgeois parties to which the workers' parties had voluntarily conceded their seats. This Parliament was a reflection of the Popular Front, weakness in the
face of militarism, and confusionism. It was this Parliament which
allowed Gil Robles to announce the beginning of the military-fascist
insurrection with impunity. Inevitably it was the tactics of the Popu-
lar Front which failed so catastrophically, in spite of the efforts of
some people to defend and even now to justify it.

It is an anachronism to try to pump back life into the corpse of the
Parliament. It represents the machine of parliamentary democracy whi-
ch has been defeated by the blood and struggles of the workers and pen-
sants of Spain. It does not answer to the real opinions of the working
and fighting masses.

Under the necessity of reckoning with the strength of the working
class movement in Spain, an attempt at a compromise has been made by
forming a government with a workers’ majority. But even the portion of
working class representation in the government is not reflected in
the Parliament which still has a petty bourgeois majority as a result
of the elections.

The connexion produced recently throughout the country, and the fear
with which the revolution inspires all bourgeois elements, is so great
that there is no fear that they will appear in Parliament. Neverthe-
less, in the strictly legal position which the government wishes to take
up, all these centrist, marxist and progressist deputies have not lost
their rights.

If Parliament does meet, as seems probable, it can only be in order to
dissolve itself immediately. There is nothing else for it to do. But
it will not be able to decide to call elections based on universal suf-
ffrage, a concept which corresponds to bourgeois democratic principles,
In no way can the new state which has been created give the same rights
to all citizens. Proletarian democracy does not recognise the same
equality of rights for all citizens, the same for the exploiters as for
the exploited, for those who rose in arms in the military-fascist rising
and those who fought against it.

But that is not all. What is needed is a constituent assembly for
the direct representation of the new organisations which the revolution
has created. A Parliament composed of committees of workers, peasants
and combatants (militia, soldiers, guards), of the trade-unions &
the political parties of the proletariat. Anything else is simply go-
ing against facts and the present reality of the state of things.

It is not possible to ignore the fact that since July 19th, not only
the whole structure of the country has changed, but also the feelings
of the majority of the citizens. For this reason, the Parliament of
February 16th, is a dead organisation which no one remembers and of
which there is no need to speak.

The meeting of Parliament can only give the sensation that the same
democratic legal regime is going on as before the insurrection. Per-
haps the desire for it is inspired by constitutional scruples. If so,
it would be much more serious. It would mean that, although
their militants are fighting heroically on the front, there are still
some workers who have not realised how far-reaching is the movement
through which we are now living.

THE MOSCOW EXECUTIONS AGAIN.

A RESOLUTION OF MILITANTS OF THE F.O.U.M., MILITIANS OF THE 2ND. COLUMN
OF ANTIFASCIST MILITIAS WHO ARE FIGHTING ON THE ARAGON FRONT.

We, responsible militants of the F.O.U.M., who have been on the side
of the Russian Revolution from the first when many of its present cham-
pions were fighting against it in common with the counter-revolutionaries
of all countries, we, who by our personal intervention at this hour on
the battlefronts of our splendid Revolution, are defending better than
anyone the revolutionary conquests of the October Revolution and the
socialist creations of the Soviet Union, we cannot pass over without our
most violent protests the execution of old bolshevik militants such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov and other comrades of Lenin and Trotsky whose names fill the most glorious period of the history of the international proletarian.

Toskoy's suicide, like Joffe's before him, the imprisonment of Victor Serge, Racoski, Radek and Bukharin are the crowning effects of a policy to which we cannot agree seeing that we believe socialism without freedom to be a denial of the most vital essence of socialism. And that as long as one accepts the basic principles of revolutionary marxism one has the right, inside democratic centralism, to criticize and give advice, since marxism is an continual and creative criticism.

Since the death of Lenin, we have seen how all his collaborators have been gradually eliminated from the direction of the U.S.S.R. by absolutely reprehensible processes. And how the name of a single man: Stalin has been raised to the category of the gods beyond criticism so that he has to be venerated as if he were one of the essential parts of marxism, thus creating a hothouse commandship which has nothing to do with socialism and has brought about in all countries the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus personalized in the likeness of one man, and thus killing the creative initiative of militant communist democracy.

We lodge a protest, therefore, in the name of socialism and the Revolution, against this whole lamentable policy which to-day is wounding the proletariat in arms; we condemn these criminal executions of the greatest remaining fighters for the October Revolution, carried out on the sole grounds that they did not believe Stalin and his followers.


At the very moment when the proletariat of all countries is still under the impression of the Moscow shooting and the pressure of Soviet bureaucracy, the "democratic" government of Norway has arrested comrades Trotsky. World capitalism is not satisfied with the agony of blood which Russia has offered it as a proof of her reattachment to the capitalist system. It wants the man, side by side with Lenin, was one of the artificers of the October Revolution, to disappear together with the last traces of the battle fought in 1917 by the Russian proletariat in the name of and for the sake of the world proletariat.

We appeal urgently to the Spanish proletariat, who to-day is engaged in a terrible struggle, and towards whom the proletariat of all countries is looking. We ask them to take the defense of comrades Trotsky who is being driven out of every country, whether he be democratic, fascist or soviet.

The fate of this great revolutionary, his very life, depends on the world proletariat who owe it to themselves to let their voice be heard in order to stop this capitalist crime.

The latest news which has reached us informs us that comrade Trotsky has begun a hunger-strike. This is the only way he still has left to defend himself against this attack on the part of world capitalism.

Proletariat of Spain, delegations from various communist organizations which have greeted your combat with enthusiasm, ask you to defend Trotsky and help the proletariat of other countries to save him from the claws of his executioners.
A MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN MAKING CLOTHES IN BELGIUM.

The Central congress of the Workers employed in making clothes in Belgium met in Antwerp on the 20th, 20th., and 21st, of August and passed a resolution in favour of sending material help to their brothers who are fighting fascism in Spain. The Congress has asked every worker, whether belonging to the trade-unions or not, to give up voluntarily one hour's salary during the week of the 6th to the 13th of September. The money will be used to buy greatly needed surgical instruments in order to save the lives of the wounded Spanish combatants, many of whom die for lack of the possibility of giving them the proper attention.

A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY. We have received a message of sympathy from the I.L.P. which states that they have heard with deep sorrow of the death of comrade Joan Maurin, and feel our loss as if it were their own. They promise to intensify their efforts in memory of his courage and of his great intelligence.

THE FRONT.

THE "LENIN" INTERNATIONAL COLUMN. Among the forces of the P.O.U.M., which are on the front nearest to Russia, the "Lenin" International Column takes a leading part. It has been on the Russian front exactly a month now.

This column is composed of 50 comrades of various nationalities: 21 Italians, 17 French, 3 Belgians, 1 Portuguese, 1 Swiss, 2 Germans, 1 Greek, 1 Rumanian and 2 Spaniards.

The leader of the column is Capt. Russo, an industrial engineer who served on General Staff of the Italian army during the European war and who has since been a refugee in Brussels from the fascism in his own country. Although still young, Russo is an old militant of the international communist movement and one of the principal militants of the Italian communist opposition, besides being an old friend of Min, Gorak, and Andreu.

All the comrades of this column were abroad in different countries at the time of the outbreak of the fascist outbreak in July. They exposed themselves to many dangers and difficulties in order to come and join us in our struggle.

The "Lenin" International Column has realised many brilliant feats since it has been on the front at Russia and its revolutionary enthusiasm is well-known to all.

THE P.O.U.M. BROADCASTING STATION. The time-table announced in our last issue of the Bulletin has been altered on account of a difficulty in continuing the Russian readings. In the future, the English broadcast will take place from 6.45 p.m. to 7 o'clock.

The P.O.U.M. broadcasting station is Radio Barcelona E.C.P.2, and broadcasts on a wavelength of 42 metres, 14 centimetres. The foreign program, and the Spanish general news bulletin with the latest informations from the various fronts, begins at 6.00 p.m. and continues until 9.00 p.m. every night except Sunday.

All contributions in aid of the struggle against fascism which is being carried on in Spain will be received at this office, from which our Information Bulletin can also be obtained in French, Italian, Dutch, German.