

The Time Has Come to Create a Single Party of the Proletariat in Spain

BY DOLORES IBARRURI

The present plenum of the Central Committee of our Party* has assembled in order clearly, concretely and decisively to raise the urgent question of unity, of the fusion of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, to achieve the formation of a single party of the proletariat. Such a party, armed with the mighty theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin- Stalin, will be the basic guarantee of the victory of the people, and be the leader of the people's revolution.

Unity is now passionately desired by all the fighters at the front; it is the indispensable unity of the most conscious, militant and heroic forces of the proletariat in a single class party; it is the unity of all proletarians in a single trade union congress; the political consolidation of the democratic and republican forces of the petty bourgeoisie; it is the unity of the entire Spanish people, so as to satisfy the burning desire of tens of thousands of fighters who in the trenches and on the fortifications have merged their efforts and thoughts in the single general call to "conquer fascism, win the war, and with it the revolution."

Unity! This is the passionate cry of all who are fighting at the front, the endeavor of all those who want to see their country flourishing, freed from the clutches of fascism.

And yet how many obstacles there are on the road to the realization of unity! We know that to bring unity about is no light task, that there will be times when some of our comrades, on coming up against the egoism and petty interests of sectarian groups, will think "well, would it not perhaps be better, since our party is the basic political force in the country, for it alone, relying on the devotion of the wide masses of working people in town and country, by its own efforts to bring to a conclusion and solve all the revolutionary problems arising out of the situation." But should such sentiments exist anywhere they should be eradicated; all our comrades must be made to understand the correctness of the Party's policy in regard to unity, so that they may firmly defend our position.

We wish to achieve a single party of the proletariat. And our Party, which does not depart from the firm ground of reality, cannot ignore the existing revolutionary possibilities and qualities contained in groups of workers who belong to other organizations, and above all the Socialist Party. Nor can it forget the Anarchist currents which with every day that passes are more and more adopting political activity by the proletariat and can be drawn into the orbit of the action of a single proletarian party, forming a constituent part of it.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW PHASE OF THE WAR

We are entering a new phase of the development of the war and of the people's revolution in our country. We can assert that although we consider the present period one of the most difficult in our war, and do not forget the tragic position of Biscay; and although the fascist intervention is increasing its occupation of our territory, doubling the dispatch of men, weapons and all kinds of war materials, we can assert that the issue of

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the civil war has in the main been decided in our favor; this is on the condition, of course, that German and Italian fascism in their unrestrained attack on the liberty and democracy of peoples do not go as far as open war against our country, something which would undoubtedly be equivalent to the outbreak of world war.

The decisive factor in achieving victory is that we have already almost established a regular army.

We have at our disposal the necessary equipment for the development of a war industry which can grow rapidly and satisfy the needs arising out of supplying the large army we are establishing. We also possess the necessary technicians and workers for the wide development of the war industry.

And if we add that we have a government of the People's Front, ready to maintain order in the rear with all the necessary firmness, and to undertake the basic transformation of the economic life of the country, so as to guarantee the tranquility and well-being of the masses, we can correctly assert that we are entering a new phase of the development of our struggle.

Who could have thought at the beginning of the war that we would have more than half a million men under arms? And this figure is continually growing. At the various fronts there are hundreds of thousands of men who have to be fed, clothed and provided with arms and munitions, so that they can continue the war and accelerate our victory.

We must rapidly organize our production, not limiting ourselves to the mobilization of the means at our disposal at the outset of the military-fascist rebellion, but introducing new methods of work so as uninterruptedly to increase production, to improve and rationalize it.

To avoid the disorganization and chaos in production which arise from the "socialization," "collectivization," or "syndicalization" of each factory, workshop, or petty enterprise, our Party is carrying on a persistent struggle for the nationalization of the main branches of the country's industry. A problem that brooks of no delay is that of producing more and better, of stimulating the increase of the productivity of labor. This will be achieved not by petty-bourgeois leveling down, by equality of wage payments. More intense production can be achieved only by introducing the system of higher wages for greater productivity.

Our chief care, in face of the disorganization of our economic life resulting from the military-fascist rebellion, is to guarantee the maximum of agricultural products regardless of the forms of production, whether individual or collective.

Our Party consistently defends collective labor, including collective labor in the village, because it permits the use of machinery, fertilizers and large-scale irrigation, thus guaranteeing the growth of production and easing the labor of the peasantry. But this collectivization, this work in common, must be brought about by the clearly expressed will of the peasants and must never be violently forced on them.

We have a government which aims at creating, both at the front and behind the lines, the conditions for winning the war and guaranteeing the development of the people's revolution as rapidly as possible.

Further, and this is the most essential thing, we have a Communist Party which has grown numerically and politically into a powerful force. We can declare with pride that we have in our ranks 301,500 members on the territory of the Republican government, not counting 64,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and 22,000 in Biscay. And these figures are not fixed once and for all, but have a tendency to continual growth.

But although our Party is strong, although everybody is compelled to recognize its decisive role in ensuring rapid victory in the war and revolution, we must liquidate as quickly as possible the existing split among the forces of the working class and achieve the formation of a single great party of the proletariat which would be the undisputed vanguard of the entire working class, the leader and guide of the entire Spanish people.

TWO WAYS OF GUIDING PROLETARIAN POLICY

In order to understand the correctness of our political line, we must review two methods of guiding proletarian policy. No one who is not blind can fail to see the decisive role played by the great Socialist October Revolution in the struggle against world reaction and fascism. How much hatred, how much hostile criticism have been accumulated against the Bolsheviks for their methods of leading the revolution, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the most effective form of suppressing the counter-revolution and of consolidating real democracy, and serving today as a remarkable and instructive example, not only for workers, but also for all honest and progressive people? It is now clear to all that, thanks to the iron leadership of the Bolshevik Party, there is in the world today the socialist fortress, the Soviet Union, which shows the international working class the way to emancipation. A new civilization is rising in the U.S.S.R.; this Soviet civilization is the pride of the world proletariat and of all people who love progress, democracy and peace. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is the result of the policy of the Bolshevik Party.

But this revolutionary policy is countered by the policy and methods of Social-Democracy, in particular of German Social-Democracy, which, by its theory of the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, and by its capitulation to the bourgeoisie, has led the working class to defeat.

We are compelled to issue a warning as to the results of the erroneous policy of the Second International, so as to prevent the repetition in any shape or form of the mistakes of the past and to rouse the vigilance of the workers of all countries, and consequently of the workers of our own country. We must show them, on the basis of facts, that only a consistently revolutionary policy and tactics can lead the proletariat throughout the world to victory, as they led to the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, and that the policy of class collaboration with big business, the tactics of concessions and capitulation to fascism can lead only to the victory of the latter.

The reactionary leaders of the Second International, to whom the workers have pointed more than a thousand times as the ones guilty for their defeats and for the temporary consolidation of capitalism, cannot forgive the Communists for having recalled their disastrous behavior in the labor movement and for having with exemplary clearness demonstrated their anti-militant position, a position that contradicts the interests of the proletariat.

Hence their hostile and negative answer to the specific proposals made by the Communist International regarding united action, repeatedly, at various times and at critical moments of the struggle of the world proletariat. Hence their repeated refusal to take part together with the Communist International in joint action in the face of imminent threats, or even in movements of solidarity with the working class of particular countries, persecuted for their revolutionary activity.

Recall the position of the reactionary leaders of the Second International after our October movement in 1934, when they alleged that the Communists only talked of unity

but did not really want it, because we opposed their reformist and counter-revolutionary line.

The proposals concerning unity of action made by the Communist International to the Socialist International, which you all know about, and which have always remained a voice crying in the wilderness, are not accidental and do not start merely from today. I would only recall the last proposal regarding unity of action made by the Communist International to the Labor and Socialist International in connection with the bombardment of Almeria by the fleet of fascist Germany, a proposal which was made on the request of the Socialist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Spain and the U.G.T., and which was followed at first by the answer that the Executive of the Second International had not the power to adopt a decision and that it must have the agreement of the General Council which would be convened at some unknown date.

What tragic irony!

At the very time when fascism does not require any special powers to demolish our towns, raze our villages to the ground and annihilate our women and children, the leaders of the Second International have to wait, before affording us aid in token of solidarity, before conducting a joint campaign with the international proletariat, until an extraordinary session of the General Council has been convened to give it authority.

The *Claridad*, which among other proletarian and democratic newspapers ironically wrote about the attitude of these leaders, is right:

“The Spanish proletariat, affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and to the Labor and Socialist International, and equally the workers affiliated to the Third International, have the right to know the truth concerning the motives which have till now prevented a joint campaign from being conducted by the international working class movement in support of democratic Spain.

“We are aware,” adds the paper, “of the clarity with which Dimitroff raised the question in his previous and present replies to the Spanish sections of the Marxist working class movement. We also know of the nebulous attitude adopted by De Brouckere and Adler in connection with the requests of the Spanish workers. But we cannot let it remain at that. Is there not something else at the bottom of this business?...

“For if there is something behind this we have the right to know, and the conclusion to be drawn is a simple one, namely, that the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International are boycotting an organized, effective campaign of the international proletariat in favor of Republican Spain. Perhaps these words may seem too strong, but we cannot change them until the opposite has been proved to us. The reply given to the request of the Spanish workers shirks the proposal made, but nobody has the right to shirk proposals of this kind at the present moment of the international struggle against fascism.”

It rather looks as though, after the article by our brother paper, the *Claridad*, the Second International in tends correcting its behavior and beginning negotiations with the representatives of the Comintern.

Let us hope that it is not a question of yet another conversation of the usual kind without any positive results, but that something tangible will come out of this meeting, in aid of the heroic Spanish people and in defense of world democracy. The whole of our people, who are so heroically defending together with their own independence and freedom the democracy and peace of the whole world are hoping and have the right to hope for this.

We who are deeply striving for unity know that without unity the proletariat cannot

win decisive victories, and therefore we cannot give up the right to criticize, since it would be tantamount to indirectly admitting the correctness of theory and tactics which go directly counter to the interests of the working people.

Our striving after unity is on no account compatible with remaining silent and leaving without criticism mistakes committed in their political activities by those with whom we want to join forces. Unprincipled unity, unity without any clear political platform, without establishing exactly the methods of struggle to be adopted, would be transformed into a fictitious unity which instead of strengthening the forces desirous of unity would introduce into their ranks the embryo of new schisms and battles. And we want no schism at any time. Consequently we criticize all that which at the given moment can facilitate the destruction of the alliance we have hammered out. We criticize any political line which may prove fatal to the progress of the war and the revolution.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, at which the need was again stressed of uniting the proletariat, and the position of the parties in this respect was clearly defined, as well as of the need to establish a People's Front with the forces of the democratic and anti-fascist petty bourgeoisie. Comrade Dimitroff said the following:

"...joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations requires that the Communists engaged in serious and substantiated criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiringly explain to the Social-Democratic workers in a comradely way the program and slogans of Communism..."

As distinct from the anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist position adopted by certain leaders of the Second International, there are the profound class sentiments of the masses whom they lead and who, from the painful experience of Italy, Germany and Austria, have become convinced of the results of the proletarian forces being disunited and scattered.

The idea of establishing the People's Front and of bringing about working class unity in the political and trade union fields is clearing a way for itself despite all obstacles.

It is essential for every worker, every peasant and every intellectual to impress deeply upon his heart and mind the words which Comrade Dimitroff has constantly repeated to us, that

"...the establishment of united action by the international proletariat against the common enemy, the mortal enemy of the whole of mankind, fascism, is the *chief, pressing tosh of the workers' organizations throughout the world, the supreme demand of the present moment.*"

This imperative duty we are fulfilling.

PROBLEMS OF UNITY IN SPAIN

The problem of unity between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the creation of a single party of the proletariat, has not originated only now, neither is it new for us, although, at the present moment, we are raising it more sharply and with great urgency than even before.

In September, 1934, at the plenum of our Central Committee we outlined the forms leading to close contact, to fraternal relations with the Socialist Party for united action, for the specific revolutionary action which had already been outlined and had their culmination in the October battles. And it was precisely during those October days of glorious memory that the strivings of our Party, which were the strivings of all the workers, were put into being. In heroic Asturias Socialists, Communists and Anarchists

fought and conquered shoulder to shoulder. United for the first time in struggle, and subsequently in prison and suffering, they launched the fraternal, revolutionary watchword among their brothers throughout Spain: "Unite, brother proletarians!" a watchword which reflected the vague sentiments of the masses, the effectiveness of which was confirmed in the fire of countless revolutionary actions.

Who does not remember our specific proposal to the leadership of the Socialist Party after the October movement, for united action by all parties as the first step in establishing a single proletarian party?

The brutal suppression of the glorious revolutionary movement of Asturias, which aimed at destroying the working class organizations, and "curing" them of their striving after social justice, served, contrary to expectations of the butchers of October, still further to increase the class consciousness of the Spanish proletariat, their striving for unity, their desire to finish once and for all with the regime of oppression, terror and the muzzle, which the Lerroux-Gil Robles government forced upon the people of Spain.

Our Party again took up the striving of the proletariat and Spanish people for unity, but its voice was not heeded by the leaders of the Socialist Party.

But the significance and profound response called forth by the historic meeting in the "Monumentale," at which Comrade Diaz publicly raised the banner of the People's Front, the banner of unity among all the anti-fascist forces in face of the imminent danger of fascism, parallel with the banner of unity among the proletarian forces and mainly of the forces of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, compelled many of those who had lagged behind to adopt a definite position on the question of unity.

Within the Socialist Party, the *Claridad*, representing the Left current, was the organ which began to show the old Socialist Party the way to unity. But because of the absence of a clear and consistent revolutionary line, the *Claridad*, for all its decisive influence, was unable to bring about a complete change in the direction taken by the Socialist Party. The *Claridad* for quite a long time conducted a campaign for unity, declaring that it agreed with the main problems raised in our proposals as a basis for unity and with the conditions for its realization. The sharpening of the struggle within the Socialist Party held back the process of unification.

At meetings, large and small, in political documents, in much material that appeared in the press, our Party constantly and resolutely put forward the proposal that unity be realized in practice, pointed to the need for establishing the People's Front and bringing about unity between the Socialist and Communist Parties as one of the chief conditions for barring the road to fascism, for defending and consolidating the republic and democratic conquests and also for the development of the people's revolution.

We have eloquent proof of the correctness of our position in the brilliant victory at the elections to the Cortes on February 6, 1936, a victory which could not be made full use of because of the absence of a consistent People's Front policy on the part of the Socialist Party and the General Workers' Union. Had there been such a policy it might possibly have prevented the military fascist rebellion of July 18.

July 18 is a tragic indication of the beginning of a new era in the history of Spain and crowns a whole period of oppression and slavery under the whip of the big capitalists and landlords with the heroism and sacrifices of our people on the territory where the rebels have been successfully routed. Conscious of the historic responsibility which lies upon us, we now set ourselves the task of liberating the rest of Spain from fascist oppression: the task of rapidly solving the problem of fusion, of the creation of a single proletarian party,

the leader of the masses of the people in their struggle for victory and the consolidation of revolutionary conquests.

Recently Comrade Lamoneda, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of which he is secretary, accepted the proposals put forward many times by our Party in the course of the war. At last a liaison committee has been created. In almost all the organizations of the Socialist and Communist Parties liaison committees have been set up to bring about united action and to prepare the conditions for the merging of the two parties.

The Socialist and Communist workers welcomed this initiative with tremendous enthusiasm, and with every day that passes have come closer both at the front and in the rear. They are passionately desirous of one thing: *that an end be put to mere talk about fusion; that fusion be rapidly achieved in practice.* However, this inner desire for unity which dwells in the truly revolutionary masses of our country also has its opponents who have to be unmasked.

THE ENEMIES OF UNITY

Differences have almost vanished between the Socialists and Communists in evaluating the main problems of the war and the revolution; in carefully discussing all ideological problems, we are convinced that we shall rapidly find a basis for the elaboration of a common program, on the basis of which the fusion of the two parties is to take place.

But side by side with the definite will of the majority of the members of the Socialist Party to bring about the fusion of the two parties, discordant voices are to be heard in precisely those quarters where they should least of all be expected. These are certain elements who call themselves "Lefts," and who were in favor of unity when the problem was raised in an abstract fashion; but now that it is a question of bringing about unity in a concrete and practical form, they find all sorts of pretexts which hinder unity, they carry on all kinds of intrigues for the purpose of raising barriers between the Socialists and Communists, in order to hold back and postpone the process of merging the two parties.

These elements, true to the school of double-dealing practices by all pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongers, put forward "ultra-revolutionary" formulas for the purpose of maintaining their influence over the workers, but sabotage that which is truly revolutionary in the working class movement, namely, *unity*. They have the insolence to reprove us, to shower down reproaches on us for establishing friendly relations with the leadership of the Socialist Party, with people who represent that party, and with those whom the "ultra-Lefts" call "centrists." It should be clear that deeds, not words, determine the character of people and organizations. And in the present period in Spain, the revolutionaries are those who desire unity, whereas those who sabotage it, even if they call themselves "Lefts," play into the hands of the counter-revolution.

In view of the presence of different currents inside the Socialist Party, it is possible that there will be people in other quarters who, at the decisive moment of fusion, will attempt to put a spoke in the wheel. True, up to the present we have no grounds for thinking so. But if this happens, if we have proof that somebody is either directly or indirectly sabotaging the unity between the two parties, then whoever he may be, we shall be merciless in unmasking him to the proletariat.

Certain of these "ultra-Lefts," Socialist "leaders" with syndicalist tendencies, get their adherents to adopt a resolution in which they declare that it is incompatible for them to be

in the same ranks as the Communists. What sort of heroes and revolutionaries are these “comrades”? Would it not be better for the cause of the war and the revolution if they were to declare that fascism is not compatible for them, and for many of them by reason of their youth to take up the positions they should occupy at the front, where a struggle is really being conducted against reaction and fascism? Would it not be much nobler for them to spend the energy they are expending in attacking the Communist Party and fighting against unity among the working people and nations, to fight against the enemy of the people, the republic and the revolution? It is clear that that would be much more useful for the cause we are defending; if they were to do this, they would be revolutionaries, but unfortunately they are not. For these people, the struggle is not one in the trenches, at the front; for them the struggle is one that takes place in the rear and against the enemy that gives them no peace, against the Communist Party.

How right was our Georgi Dimitroff when he declared that “for a number of reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party”—although in Spain, I add, it is a question of pseudo leaders—“the chief enemy is not fascism but Communism.”

But since these poor people do not find sufficient scope for their harmful activities among the healthy and truly revolutionary masses of the Socialist Party, they are beginning to have doubts as to who should lead and direct the revolution: the party of the proletariat or the trade unions. And so, in the ranks of this “Left” wing, as the *Claridad* correctly writes, a syndicalist-minded type of person is arising who plays into the hands of the enemies of Marxism, being led to this by despair and hatred of Communism.

But besides these enemies of unity there are other still more dangerous enemies, namely, the Trotskyists. The most dangerous enemies of the proletariat, of liberty and democracy, are not those whom the workers see on the other side of the barricades, but those who, with the aid of the arguments or despicable twisters defending their dirty business, create schisms and call forth divergences of opinion and contradictions among the workers, by asserting the impossibility of bringing about the unification of the forces of the proletariat owing to the existence in its ranks of various trends, theories and tactics. These people are capable of doing tremendous harm to the cause being defended by the Spanish people, who are engaged heart and soul in their heroic struggle.

These accursed enemies of the proletariat and the revolution, who have sold themselves body and soul to fascism and the enemies of the proletariat, sow confusion among workers who, not being clearly class conscious, and not possessing the necessary political education, succumb to empty, demagogic and “ultra-revolutionary” phrases without seeing the counter-revolutionary path that opens up before them.

The measures adopted to purge the proletarian camp of the poisonous growth of Trotskyism, which adopts the appropriate forms for developing its “work” in every country, will never be exaggerated. Trotskyism is lovingly nurtured by the enemies of Marxism and proletarian revolution who are very well aware of the destructive action of Trotskyism. The activity of Trotskyism in our country—I will not here touch upon the monstrously criminal acts perpetrated by the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union, for you all know about their treachery—ought to be a warning signal for the proletariat to be on its guard against the aims pursued by Trotskyism.

The hostility of Trotskyism to the People’s Front, allegedly in the name of “revolution,” its systematic attacks on the unity of the anti-fascist forces (the Trotskyists do not at the same time refrain from making the maximum use of the advantages presented to them by the People’s Front), the organization of the criminal putsch in Catalonia at a time when

the situation in Spain is critical, and the acts of espionage on behalf of Franco which were uncovered and which will very soon be published by the government, testify more eloquently than any words to what lies hidden behind this window-dressing; *it is the hand of fascism.*

Trotskyism in the service of fascism plays a dangerous role in hindering the rapprochement of the forces of the proletariat, the union of the Communist and Socialist Parties. Even in the ranks of the Socialist Party itself, Trotskyism ideologically fosters and feeds the bitter enemies of proletarian unity, enemies who should be exposed and pilloried so that the masses who passionately desire unity shall know who actually defends their interests and who directly or indirectly defends the interests of their enemies.

FRIENDS OF UNITY

However, if unity has many enemies it also has many friends, and good friends. Fortunately for the coming revolution and to the shame of the pseudo-Left pseudo-leaders, the enemies of unity in the ranks of the Socialist Party are growing weaker with every day that passes. And every day the number of them in its Left wing is growing less. There are Socialists who are working honestly in this Left movement, and have succeeded in raising high the banner of unity that has been dropped and deserted by others. Among these fighters for unity a very prominent place is occupied by Comrade Alvarez del Vayo.

Comrade Alvarez del Vayo is fighting untiringly for the union of the Socialist and Communist Parties. He puts above everything else the interests of the proletariat and the revolution, declaring quite justifiably that “unity is the supreme law of the present moment.”

Some of the best fighters in the trade union movement and the Socialist Party are *not* behind Comrade Alvarez del Vayo in the struggle for unity. The newspaper *Claridad*, after some deviations on the road to unity, deviations forcibly imposed on it, has returned to its revolutionary tradition of unity, and has carried on an exemplary campaign against this band of enemies of unity.

The leading group of the *Claridad* did not limit itself to condemning the counter-revolutionary position of the enemies of unity, but came out with a fervent declaration in favor of unity and expressed its eager desire to bring this unity about as rapidly as possible.

“...since it considers it imperatively necessary to establish a united class party of the proletariat as the sole guarantee of the defense of the latter’s revolutionary interests.”

In its endeavor to put an end once and for all to confusion and mistaken attitudes, the *Claridad* defined, as every honest revolutionary must do, its position relative to the Soviet Union, bearing in mind that the attitude of every single person and every organization to the land of victorious socialism is an index of its friendly or hostile attitude to the revolution. Hence the *Claridad* desires to establish the point definitely that it is on the side of the Soviet Union, declaring that

“...the *Claridad* has always felt the warmest sympathy and sincere love for the Soviet Union. We confirm this today because this sympathy is growing stronger, binding us still more closely to this great people who have displayed brotherly solidarity in coming to the aid of our people. Hence we are against all enemies of this great country, whatever they call themselves.”

All that is healthy and honest in this party, without distinction of tendency, is up in arms against the group of malignant individuals and adventurers, political careerists who

have penetrated into the Socialist Party (incidentally it should be remarked that what is important is not only length of membership but only line of behavior) and is demanding the realization of what Comrade Alvarez del Vayo quite correctly calls “the law of unity.”

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD BE BASED

We shall now survey in broad outline the principles and foundations which, in our opinion, should form the basis of the great united party of the Spanish proletariat, and the basis of the action of the united party, so as to enable the war and revolution to be won.

I think that I shall also express the views of our Socialist comrades who support unity if I immediately make the most categorical declaration that the united party must make its theoretical foundation the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels, enriched by the theoretical contribution of Lenin and Stalin, and that it must be precisely on this foundation that there should be constructed the united party whose aim will be the struggle for socialism.

To fulfil its role as leader of the revolution, this united party will also have a centralized structure and its decisions will be binding on all its members. We presume that no one who honestly desires the unity of the proletariat, who wishes the united party of the proletariat to be a consistently revolutionary party can oppose its being built on this firm Marxian foundation.

We are supporters of liberty in the broad sense of the word, liberty for those who fight along with us for the triumph of the anti-fascist cause.

Our conception enables us to be supporters of liberty of religious belief; but as a party basing itself on the scientific theory of Marxism, we shall endeavor by educating the masses to show them the harm of all religions.

We fight for a new type of parliamentary and democratic republic within the framework of which all the peoples of Spain will enjoy extensive liberty and the right to dispose of their fate. In defense of this republic we are ready to sacrifice everything to the last drop of our blood. But, as Communists, we do not renounce our desire to attain in our day the victory of socialism, and not only in Spain but throughout the world.

We are Marxist-Leninist-Stalinists and hence we apply our theory to the revolutionary possibilities of each moment, without renouncing our final aims.

We put forward the slogan—and fight for it full of faith and enthusiasm—of a new type of parliamentary-democratic republic, because it is just this slogan that corresponds to the present stage of the development of our revolution and the conditions in our country, and because not only Communists but also Socialists, Anarchists, Republicans and all the strata of petty-bourgeois democracy existing in our country are interested in the struggle against reaction and fascism at home, as well as against invasion by foreign fascism.

We firmly believe, and to this we devote all our energy and all the enthusiasm of which we are capable, that we shall win final victory over reaction and fascism, and that after we have crushed the military-fascist rebellion and have driven the forces of intervention from our territory, we shall succeed, along with all those who are participating wholeheartedly in the war, in building a Spain of liberty, well-being, prosperity and happiness.

To fulfil this magnificent and truly revolutionary enterprise, we are ready to march along with all those who desire to accompany us along this path. If anyone lags behind and holds back at one of the numerous turns which we have to take, so much the worse for him. The proletariat, in fighting for its emancipation, fights for the cause of all humanity.

This is a Marxian axiom which we always bear well in mind.

Like the Roman geese, the “ultra-Left” Socialists or uncontrollable Anarchists can continue their chatter, warning their friends of the danger of the “mistakes” of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a consistently revolutionary party which knows where it is going, what it wants and how it can be achieved.

A. WE ARE SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Our view as to the need for the united party of the proletariat being built on the principles of democratic centralism is based on the experience of the victorious Bolshevik Party, on the teaching of Lenin and Stalin and on the teaching of the Communist International, the genuine inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of the international working class movement.

We are supporters of proletarian democracy, of the free discussion of questions inside our Party. But a revolutionary party that has no desire to bind itself hand and foot in action cannot be a debating club. All problems are discussed, all views are expressed, but when a decision is taken, it must be obligatory for all. In our Party, the united party that we want to establish, all, from the rank-and-file members to members of the Central Committee, will have the right to express their views, to expound their point of view and to introduce proposals for discussion and endorsement. But, I repeat, after a decision has been taken it must be firmly and resolutely carried out by all the organs and members of the Party.

Some Socialist comrades think that our discipline is a barrack discipline, a discipline of passive subordination void of the right of expressing oneself. Nothing is further from reality than this assertion. That which exists in our Party and which we are striving to bring about in the united party of the proletariat is a conscious discipline based on the study of problems, on a concrete analysis of the situation, so as to be able to apply the tactics to the concrete conditions in each given situation, without becoming tied up in dogmatic, mechanical and barren formulas.

There is no doubt that the mistake of other parties and organizations consists in putting forward resounding revolutionary formulae that are not binding on anyone.

Our enemies do not fear these “revolutionaries” in words. We want the party of the proletariat to have a creative revolutionary line, to the realization of which all members of the party must subordinate all their activity and all their energy, forming a single monolithic whole.

B. WE ARE THE SUPPORTERS OF SELF-CRITICISM

The united party of the proletariat must apply the Lenin-Stalin method of self-criticism.

Whoever really desires to defend the interests of the proletariat must not avoid self-criticism—the sole means of securing the correction of one’s mistakes. But this does not mean that having committed some mistake one should begin beating one’s breast and then repeat the mistake. Members of the party must put into practice the right to engage in deep criticism of all mistakes and all incorrect actions and to criticize themselves before the party and before the mass of the workers of which the party is an inseparable part. Along this path it will become possible for the party to correct its mistakes, systematically to improve its position, and to become stronger and firmer.

We know that there are well-bred “professors” and “lecturers” who are contemptuous of

the slogan of self-criticism. The opinion of these gentlemen does not worry us in the least. What we are concerned with is to secure that our party, the united party of the proletariat, should be up to the mark as regards its task and fulfil its revolutionary historic mission, in spite of the howls of these starving curs, who are so easily quieted by a bone and whose greatest desire in reality is to have something to gnaw at.

C. THE NECESSITY OF IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

It is quite obvious that the establishment of iron discipline requires ideological unity in the party. Unless such ideological unity exists, leading to conscious discipline and the growth of the party, there is always the danger that there may appear within the party divergent political lines and tactics, exactly that which has taken place and is now taking place in the Socialist Party, where each group interprets the tactics and policy of the party in its own fashion, and where we have the strange situation that the Socialist newspaper published at Valencia follows a line different from that of the Socialist Party organ issued in Madrid, and where one newspaper declares for unity while another attempts to split the labor movement.

The leading organs of the united party which we are seeking to establish, from the lower organs up to the national leadership, must be elected democratically at general meetings, conferences and congresses, and be obliged periodically to render an account of their activity before the membership.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the leading organs are the supreme organs of the party and their decisions must be binding on all members. The central leadership of the party must lead the entire party as a whole, including the parliamentary group. Cabinet Ministers, party press, and everybody, absolutely everybody, from the very highest official to the ordinary rank-and-file member, is obliged to fulfil and carry out its decisions. Cabinet Ministers, deputies, journalists, speakers, rank-and-file members, all are members of the united party and, wherever they may be, they are obliged to defend one and the same policy.

The united party must be imbued with proletarian internationalism. The united party, as the defender of the interests of the whole of the working population of our country, must at the same time be an international party connected with the proletarian currents of other countries, and be in direct and close touch with the international organization to which it belongs, in order thereby to make use of the experience of the international labor movement.

The decisions of the national leadership and of the leadership of the international organization to which it belongs must be binding upon the united party of the proletariat, because these decisions are not—as some people suppose—decisions imposed, but the result of the study of collective experience of the struggle.

D, THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION AND FIGHT AGAINST ITS ENEMIES

At the present moment, when international fascism is intensifying its policy of provocation against the Soviet Union, against the land of socialism which is so deeply loved by all who are fighting for socialism, the defense of the Soviet Union against its enemies, against those who slander it, should be a question of proletarian honor for every member of the united party. But apart from this the defense of the Soviet Union presupposes the understanding by members of the united party of the meaning of the

Leninist theory, because, as Comrade Stalin has said:

“The greatness of Lenin consists in this, first and foremost, that by creating the Republic of Soviets he thereby demonstrated in practice to the oppressed masses throughout the world that their hopes of liberation were not lost, that the domination of the landlords and capitalists was short-lived, that the kingdom of labor could be established by the efforts of the working people themselves, that the kingdom of labor could be established on *earth*, and not in heaven. He thereby kindled in the hearts of the workers and peasants throughout the world, hope in their liberation.”

E, THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLES OF MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN

Apart from the fact that we must be guided by the theory of Marx and Engels, we must also follow the directions of Lenin and Stalin who have continued the principles and who have been able to put into practice, to transform into actual life, the theories of Marx and Engels.

We are Leninists, because Lenin, as our great Stalin has said,

“...was and remains the most loyal and consistent pupil of Marx and Engels, wholly and entirely basing himself on the principles of Marxism.”

And we are Stalinists because the great theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin has been enriched by Stalin, who teaches us Communists to stand firm, even in the most difficult situations, to stand with unshakable Stalinist firmness in struggle and in work, to be irreconcilable in relation to the class enemy and the renegades of the revolution, and at the same time not to fear difficulties, clearly to distinguish the friends from the enemies of unity even though these drape themselves in robes of the profoundest friendship. He teaches us, moreover, to combine theory with practice, with the words that:

“Theory becomes aimless if it is not linked up with revolutionary practice, just as practice becomes blind if it does not light up its way with revolutionary theory.”

Basing himself upon this great truth, he has been able, by treading the road of the great theoreticians of socialism, to consolidate all the socialist gains of the splendid Soviet Constitution, in which there are proclaimed the right of all working people to labor and well-being, a constitution which shows them the essence of genuine democracy and the road leading to it. It is an honor for every proletarian, for every revolutionary who desires to be a loyal defender of the interests of his class, to be a pupil of Stalin and to carry out Stalin's policy. Only traitors, renegades and deserters from the revolutionary camp can reproach us with calling ourselves Stalinists. Yes, we are Stalinists and proud of it, because Stalin's policy is the road which leads to the consolidation of socialism and the overthrow of capitalism.

For the people of Spain, Comrade Stalin is the symbol of international solidarity. In the most tragic moments of our struggle when the democratic governments spoke scornfully of the Spanish conflict as of something which concerned Spaniards alone, when the leaders of international Social-Democracy gave us platonic proofs of their solidarity, while the fascist countries sent their finest military supplies and forces to help the rebels, Stalin gave splendid expression, in brief, decisive words to the need for organizing international solidarity with the Spanish people. It was none other than he who, in face of the cowardice of the democratic governments, which were terrified of the fascist brawler, declared to the whole world that:

“The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the

private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.”

The spirit of solidarity displayed by the land of socialism filled our country with good cheer. Only a few days ago the president of the Cortes, Senor Martinez Barrio, made the resolute and definite statement that without the solidarity displayed by the Soviet Union, Spain would have ceased to exist as a republic and even as a national entity. Is this not sufficient reason for basing the united party of the proletariat upon the genuine proletarian internationalism which has such brilliant teachers and leaders as Comrade Stalin?

HOW TO MAKE A PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF UNITY

Having described in broad outline the program of action, the theoretical principles, the structure and organizational forms, which should constitute the basis of the united party of the proletariat for the establishment of which all the necessary conditions exist, I shall now deal briefly with the question of how practically to approach the problem of uniting the Socialist and Communist Parties. Fortunately, with every day that passes the links between the two parties, despite the foul maneuvers and despicable intrigues of the enemies of unity, are becoming stronger and more cordial, and this circumstance should considerably lighten the task of unity. A liaison committee between the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party already exists. Many liaison committees have also been set up in the provincial centers and the primary organizations of both parties, and we receive proof from them every day of their desire to pass from unity of action to fusion, to the formation of a united party of the proletariat. Liaison committees exist and are functioning in many towns and a large number of villages.

I want to name several provinces where despite certain difficulties these committees are functioning and are of great benefit to the interests of the people. Such committees which are occupying themselves more and more with the problems of fusion exist in Albacete, Almeria, Asturias, Aragon, Cuenca, Extremadura, Guadalajara, Grenada, Jaen, Madrid, Murcia, Toledo, Cordoba and Valencia.

Information reaches us from many parts that the primary organizations want to bring unity about without further loss of time. Seizing on this desire and these sentiments of our members and the members of the Socialist Party, we also declare once more that this state of affairs cannot continue any longer, and that the fusion of the two parties must be rapidly brought about.

How can this process be accelerated? I think that our Central Committee should propose to the comrades of the Executive Committee of the Socialist party who have so often declared their agreement with us on the question of bringing about this fusion as rapidly as possible, that they should appoint a delegation to discuss with us the problems specifically concerning the immediate fusion of the two parties.

These delegations of the two parties should be empowered to discuss all that concerns fusion. They should occupy themselves with problems relating to the program, structure, organizational forms, the name of the united party and its adherence to an international organization, and report upon all points that may arise in the course of the discussion. Both parties must all the time be kept aware of the progress being made in the work of unity.

As you see, we do not want to impose definite conditions; we want to have a friendly discussion and as quickly as possible come to agreement concerning the formation of the

united party, the creation of which is so passionately desired by the proletariat of our country.

Nobody should fear that the fusion of the two parties may lead to people being removed from one post or another, or shifted around. On the contrary. The creation of the united party not only requires the collaboration of all honest capable leaders, but also requires today, for victory and the consolidation of the conquests of the revolution, and tomorrow, for the restoration of Spain and the building up of the new society, many thousands of leading elements from among those prominent for their experience in work and struggle, irrespective of the camp from which they come.

With this prospect in view, Communists and Socialists should make an effort to establish connections with those Anarchists who are prepared to take part in politics, and to weigh the possibilities of their also joining the new party in which, as I said at the beginning, the best fighters of the Spanish working class should come together.

With sleeves rolled up, we must set to work and build this new party on the basis of the principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the party which will be the leader and guide of the proletariat and all working people in building up the new Spain.

RAISE HIGHER THE BANNER OF UNITY!

Raise higher than ever the banner of unity! Our Party, which has always firmly held the banner of unity, is now desirous of raising it still higher and of holding it more firmly than ever before. We desire to and will bring about the unity of the advanced forces of the proletariat into one united party; we desire, and for this we are fighting, to strengthen the united action between the trade union organizations of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. with a view to the fusion of the trade union centers as rapidly as possible. We are desirous of, and shall assist in bringing about the political cohesion of the forces of the petty bourgeoisie, in order to secure the united action of these forces with those of the proletariat.

We desire that with every day that passes, the unification of the entire Spanish people, of all people fighting against reaction and fascism, for the new Spain, shall become deeper and more stable, in order to win the war, in order to consolidate the conquests of the revolution, in order jointly to build up a Spain of peace, labor and liberty.

Let us work to secure a speedy victory!

Long live the great united party of the proletariat!

Long live the People's Front!

Long live the growth of unity!

Long live our Party, the creator of unity, which will lead us to victory!