

Rally Closer the Ranks of the People's Front. Destroy the Rebels and Interventionists!

By Jose Diaz

Certain Results and Lessons of our Struggle

The present plenum* of the Central Committee of our Party has gathered together at a difficult moment in the struggle of the Spanish people against the rebels and the interventionist troops of Germany and Italy, a struggle which has now dragged on for more than sixteen months.

The first government elected after the fascist rebellion was distinguished by its exceptional weakness. Disconnected from the masses of the people, without a clear understanding of the situation in the country, and of the prospect before it, it was incapable of leading the people in such a way as to bring a rapid solution of the problems of the war and of the anti-fascist people's revolution, by basing itself on the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the masses.

The place of this government was taken by the Largo Caballero government which from the very outset enjoyed the necessary support that would enable it to carry through a firm Popular Front policy and to achieve victory over the enemy. But this government also fell, because of its failure to cope with the tasks facing it. Now we are paying for the mistakes committed by the Caballero government, mistakes which had catastrophic consequences, particularly in the development of the war.

As head of the government and as Minister of Defense, Largo Caballero displayed such weakness, such a stubborn lack of understanding and impermissible tardiness in the solution of the most important tasks arising out of the war, that we can, without exaggeration, call his behavior a criminal one to the people. Largo Caballero surrounded himself with traitors, with enemies of the people. Some of the military men who were his advisers, such as Ascensio, are now in jail.

It is with a feeling of sharp pain that we have to note the fact that had the head of the former government taken heed of the warnings uttered from all sides in relation to these gentry, it is possible that part of the valuable territory of the country would not now be under the heel of the foreign conqueror. Largo Caballero's policy was leading us to catastrophe.

The present government received a difficult heritage, but it has achieved considerable results in solving some of the basic problems of the war. There is more order, more discipline in our country now than before. We know that much energy and determination are required of the government in order to make up for the time lost, to correct mistakes committed, and to achieve victory. The government must give proof of unswerving determination in crushing all enemies of the people and in purging the officer personnel, the government machine and the entire rear of the agents of the enemy. The people wish for and demand this determination. And no confusion

* Abridged stenogram of speech delivered at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, held November 13-16, 1937.

is permissible here, for it is well known who are our friends and who our enemies.

The time has long gone by when our Party was practically alone in putting forward the insistent demand for the establishment of a regular army with a single command as the elementary and only condition for the struggle against the rebels and interventionists. Now such an army is already in existence.

It is a great people's army, which has already proved in deeds that it can maintain itself like a rock of granite against the onslaught of the enemy, that it can wage a war of maneuver and defeat the enemy in open country. Our army now has its own commanders, many of whom came from the old army and are devoted to the republic. I wish to mention the names of a few of these old officers who are devoted to the people and have honestly served them from the very outset of the fascist revolt to this day. We have General Miaja. He is a great military leader who has emerged from the people and who serves the people honestly. We have Generals Pozas, Rojo, Sarabia, Ortega, Gordon, Prada, Marquez, Burillo, Gallo, Moriones, Heredia, Bertomai, Mendez and many others. We also have commanders who have come from the people and are indissolubly bound up with them, such as Comrades Carton, Modesto, Lister, and we have "Campe-sino," Mera, Silverio Castanon, Perez, Toral, Taguena, Duran, Del Barrio, Vivancos, and many others. The list could be continued endlessly. They are all commanders and officers of the regular army now.

An army that possesses such commanders cannot be non-political. Our army has been forged in the struggle against fascism and against the foreign conquerors. Our men and officers are filled with one feeling, a feeling of patriotism towards their country and of hatred towards fascism. And let everybody bear it well in mind that our army is profoundly penetrated with national and revolutionary consciousness, that there is no force capable of diverting it from its path, and that it will fight to the end as manfully and heroically as hitherto, that it will fight until final victory of the people's revolution.

The former disorder in industry has, to a considerable degree, been overcome. The factories are at work. The recent decisions of the U.G.T. (General Workers Union) will help the government to do away with manifestations of anarchy, craft egotism and bureaucratic squandering, and to raise the enthusiasm in production of the masses of the workers.

Many of the mistakes committed by those who have failed to understand the character of our struggle at the present moment and have wanted to force on the peasants organizational forms of labor, alien to their wishes, have also been corrected.

But, comrades, it must be recognized that the realization of these achievements has taken too much time and this *has happened because there has not been complete unity, because not enough energy has been put into the struggle against the enemies of the people, because there has not been a real policy of the People's Front.*

The enemy has made use of this tardiness to deal us several serious blows; we have lost Malaga, Bilbao, Santander and the Asturias.

I consider it a mistaken opinion to think that the loss of the Northern territory was inevitable because of the isolation of this region from the rest of our republican territory.

No! The North would have been saved had another policy been carried through by everybody and primarily by the Largo Caballero government. There were those who said the same about Madrid—that it was impossible to defend it—but despite this, Madrid is ours, Madrid has been saved.

How are we to explain this historic fact? No miracle took place, but there was energetic action by the masses. Whereas in Madrid all the parties and organizations mobilized their ranks

for the defense of the city, and at numerous meetings roused the energy of the population and rallied them for resistance; in the North, and chiefly in Bilbao and Santander, a ban was placed on the propaganda necessary to explain to the people how tremendous were the sacrifices necessary to defend liberty and the gains of the revolution.

Whereas in Madrid a tremendous amount of political work was carried on among the troops, thereby strengthening the fighting spirit of the militiamen, and transforming their units into a regular army, in the North this necessary work was considered to be “fishing for souls,” and as the result the militia units of the political parties and trade union organizations remained separated from one another, without a united command, without discipline.

Whereas there were political commissars in Madrid, men who were teaching the rank and file, who were the closest collaborators of the military commanders and were an example of authority and heroism, in the North this system of commissars was absent.

We are paying dearly for the policy of the Basque government, for the policy of the nationalist leaders which unfortunately was supported by Minister Juan Astigarrabia, member of the Communist Party of the Basque country!

It must be openly admitted that the loss of the Northern country will have serious consequences. The considerable increase in human and material resources will help the enemy to maneuver to a greater degree, and will enable it to concentrate its forces at the decisive points. In addition, if we fail to carry through some successful operations, certain sections of the population may give way to the influence of the demoralizing propaganda of the enemy and its agents.

But despite all this we are unswervingly confident of victory, and this faith is not the fruits of romanticism, but the result of a sober estimate of the entire situation.

We have confidence in the inexhaustible reserve of energy, the revolutionary enthusiasm and heroism of our people. We know our army, we know that it is permeated with the will of victory. We know the resources of our country; if careful use is made of them, they can supply the front with all that is necessary.

We also know the strength of our Party, which is the splendid creation of our people, which is a leader that will never retreat from its duty, and will be able at any moment to rally all its forces so as to point out the correct road, to expose the waverers and the weak-kneed, and ruthlessly to crush traitors.

We know that our class brothers in the struggle—Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans—are filled with the will to fight the enemy to a victorious conclusion. *Unity will lead us to victory!*

OUR INTERNATIONAL POSITION, AND THE TASKS OF THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

Two countries where fascism is in power are waging against republican Spain a war that has not even been declared, an open and barbarous war in violation of all the canons of international law, of all the laws of humanity and civilization. How are we to explain this aggression? What do the countries that are waging war against us want? They want to transform Spain into a colony of Italy and Germany; they want to destroy the national independence of Spain. But the Spanish people have matured sufficiently to be able to understand the basic truth of Marxism that national independence is the precondition of all social progress. We have no wish to be and never will be the slaves of European fascism.

The aggression of which we are the victims is directed not only against Spain. All the free and independent peoples of Europe are the objects of this aggression. And the tragedy is that

these peoples, deceived or else misled by their governments, have not yet been able thoroughly to understand this truth.

On the very day that the onslaught of the fascists began against the territory of Spain, there also began the offensive of fascism against France. The positions won in Spain by the German and Italian fascists, who intend to seize the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and to secure control over the Pyrenean border, are required by them so as to attack the French people on their own territory— in their own home.

The fascist barbarians think just as little of officially declaring war on France as on Spain. When the aggressors consider that a suitable moment has arrived for an onslaught on France, Hitler's agents, in the shape of the fascist organizations and their leaders in France itself, will behave just as the traitors Franco, Mola and Queipo de Llano did in Spain; they will open the doors of their fatherland to the foreign conqueror.

How can certain -workers' leaders in Prague, Brussels, London and Stockholm fail to understand that should Spain be conquered, should fascism fail to meet in our country the force capable of breaking its backbone, then what awaits all of them on the morrow is the fate of our towns, of our women and children who are massacred on the streets and in the schools by the fascist assassins.

A task of honor has fallen to the lot of our people—that of shedding their blood in the front line trenches of civilization in defense of liberty and world peace.

We recognize this task and are fulfilling it; but at the same time we hope that the peoples of Europe who love their liberty and independence will understand that by helping the Spanish people to win victory over fascism, they are at the same time achieving peace and liberty for their own countries, are defending their own interests.

In the very first days of our struggle, two forces took the side of the Spanish republic—the Soviet Union and the most progressive section of the international proletariat.

As has been correctly stated by Senor Martinez Barrio, Chairman of the Cortez and of the Party of the Republican League, our republic would have already ceased to exist but for the aid of the U.S.S.R.

Only the Soviet Union has openly defended us at all international conferences, against the foul intrigues of the aggressors, and against the blind and criminal weakness of the diplomacy of the bourgeois-democratic countries.

On the day of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, our people clearly reflected their thanks and love for the people of the Land of the Soviets, for the great Bolshevik Party and for Comrade Stalin, leader of the peoples. Day in and day out we must explain to the masses that the help of the Soviet Union is to be explained by the fact that power in that country is in the hands of the working class, and that socialism is victorious there.

The help of the most progressive section of the international proletariat has also been considerable, and at certain moments has played a most important role. *Our people will be forever thankful to the Communist International and to its glorious helmsman, the great antifascist, Comrade Dimitroff, who has carried on an untiring struggle, and is now engaged in the struggle to secure that all the forces of the international proletariat unite and act jointly in aid of Spain.*

Yet, despite this valuable support, despite the feelings of sympathy for us from the peoples of the whole world, fascism has till now been able to carry through its criminal plans of intervention. Why?

First, because the aggression of fascist Italy and Hitler Germany against the Spanish Republic has to this day been carried through with the support of the Conservative government and reactionary bourgeoisie of Britain, and also of the French fascists and big bourgeoisie of France, who support Franco and wish to see the rebels victorious.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, from their egoistic class interests, swallow the fascist sophistry that what is going on in Spain is a struggle between fascism and Bolshevism. The blindness of the French and British bourgeoisie prevents them from seeing that what is going on in Spain is a struggle in defense of the principles which were the basic demands and achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—liberty, national independence, international brotherhood, and respect for international law.

The struggle now going on in Spain is part of the world conflict between democracy on the one hand, and, on the other hand, fascism, bent on its destruction. Under the pretext of a struggle against Bolshevism the scoundrels, whose aim is to set the whole world aflame, have joined forces in a military alliance. This it is and nothing else that constitutes the “Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis,” and the reactionary bourgeoisie of Great Britain are profoundly mistaken if they imagine that they can prevent a world war by supporting Franco and the fascist aggressors. War cannot be avoided by inciting and supporting those who are preparing and waging it. *The reactionary policy of the British government is not warding off, but on the contrary is speeding up a new world war.* The British Conservatives are not only treading underfoot all the liberal, democratic and peaceful traditions of the British people, but are acting directly contrary to the interests of the British people who are not at all interested in war, who hate war. The British people understand that a future war will seriously menace their well-being, their liberty and their economic and political achievements.

Second, the fascist aggression against Spain has been and is now being favored by the mistaken policy of the governments of the remaining bourgeois-democratic countries and of all the forces of European democracy as a whole. Certain leaders of Social-Democracy imagine that fascism can be restrained by yielding one position after another to it. Many Social-Democratic leaders of Germany and Austria went from capitulation to capitulation and ended their political careers in fascist concentration camps, while the workers disarmed by them are groaning under the yoke of fascist dictatorship. By capitulating again and again to fascism, the reactionary leaders of the democratic and Socialist Parties of France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and other countries are creating the danger of the whole of Europe being hurled into the abyss of a world war. Can the democratic leaders of France really fail to see that fascism is seeking to lay its hands on the achievements of the French Revolution, the traditions of which are alive among the French workers and peasants? Can they really not understand that the immediate task of the fascist scoundrels is the destruction of the independence of France?

The policy of the French government has from the very beginning of the intervention in Spain been a policy of blindness and of practical support for the fascist miscreants. *But I believe that the time has already come when the French people will assert their will to peace by putting an end to the vacillations of their leaders.*

Third, the active assistance of the international proletariat has failed to be of a sufficiently wide and energetic character because of the absence of unity in the international labor movement.

We know that the Labor and Socialist International has adopted a whole number of resolutions regarding aid for Spain, but we also know that the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have not rendered us any considerable practical

aid.

Socialist volunteers, rank and filers and commanders are fighting in the International Brigades, shoulder to shoulder with Communists and Republicans. But we also know that there are governments led by Socialists which are operating a policy in relation to Spain absolutely distinct from that which is contained in the resolutions of the Labor and Socialist International. We have become convinced that the decisions adopted at the conference of representatives of the two Internationals in Annemasse, decisions which were greeted by the Spanish people as the beginning of united and resolute action by all the organizations of the international proletariat, have not been accompanied by deeds, as we all hoped; and the blame for this lies not with the Communist International, but with certain leaders of Social-Democracy, particularly British leaders who have resisted, and gone so far as to threaten a split in the Labor and Socialist International if it should take the step of acting jointly with the Comintern in *defense of Spain*.

We also know, and we wish to declare this openly, that among the leaders of international Social-Democracy, there are those who have not yet understood that it is only thanks to united action of the working class and the People's Front that the Spanish people have been able to withstand the onslaught of fascism. It is unfortunate that when these leaders come to Spain, instead of doing everything possible to help to strengthen unity, they sometimes work against it.

One cannot limit oneself merely to the organization of solidarity meetings; mass activity must be carried through around concrete points to prevent primarily the transport of arms, ammunition and all other materials in aid of Franco, and thereby to isolate and boycott the aggressors against Spain. Working class organizations, particularly the organizations of the workers engaged in water and land transport, can play a decisive role in this sphere, and it is to them that we address our appeal to act, and to act rapidly and resolutely.

In the situation where support is openly being rendered to fascism by the reactionary bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, where the democratic forces and part of the leaders of Social-Democracy are capitulating and wavering, various kinds of proposals are arising, and secret maneuvers are being carried through to achieve a compromise with the rebel generals and with the fascist forces of intervention. Negotiations are being carried on regarding the restoration of the monarchy, while some people have even gone so far as to prepare some kinglet ready to play the role of "emperor" after the fashion of the one who has been placed by the Japanese militarists on the throne of Manchuria, a country which has been transformed into a Japanese colony.

The activity of the so-called Non-Intervention Committee and the proposals it makes only serve to cover up such maneuvers.

We must be on our guard. Our Party has the duty of exposing these maneuvers by openly stating our position which is the position of the entire Spanish people.

There can be no peace as long as even one foreign soldier remains on the territory of our native land.

There can be no peace until all our enemies and all those who wish to establish a fascist regime in Spain have been finally crushed.

No compromise is possible with either the generals who have betrayed their country, or with the foreign conquerors.

Our slogan is: Drive out the interventionists, wipe out Franco, destroy fascism in our country once and for all!

The Spanish people have no wish to return to their accursed past, to the oppression, poverty and shame to which an end has been put once and for all in Republican Spain. Our peasants have

no desire to become slaves again and starve, so as to pay rent to noblemen and idlers. Our workers will never again work under a regime of slavery and absolutism. *Our people already know the value of liberty, and will never yield it up.*

By indignantly brushing aside every attempt to compromise with the enemy, who must be crushed, we know that we are serving the cause of all peoples, the cause of progress and peace. A compromise with fascism in Spain would be a victory for fascism throughout Europe.

We feel sufficiently strong to be able to fight until the enemy is completely wiped out. We are also profoundly convinced that our unswerving decision to continue the struggle till victory is ours will lead to the mobilization of new forces in our aid on the international arena. We have not yet lost hope of being able to rouse the forces of democracy throughout the world. We are confident that the working class will achieve united action in our aid.

The minimum platform on which all working class forces, the Socialist and Communist Internationals, all the trade unions, all the forces of democracy and peace can unite is the following: *All aid whatsoever to Franco to be prevented; an end to be put to the armed fascist intervention in Spain; the Spanish republic to have all its international rights returned; a struggle to be carried on for the upholding of international law.* The Spanish people, with whom the entire progressive world is solid, will be able to settle accounts once and for all with the generals who have betrayed their country.

THE SITUATION INSIDE THE COUNTRY: ON THE TERRITORY SEIZED BY THE INTERVENTIONISTS, AND IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

Spain is now divided into two zones, each of which has its own particular state system.

What system is there in the fascist zone? There we see the continuation of the regime of oppression, tyranny and crime that existed prior to February 16, prior to the declaration of the Republic. The semi-feudal castes, the Church, the militarists, the big capitalists, have not only restored their age-old privileges, but have even extended them. This part of Spain has been taken back to the very darkest days of the Inquisition and despotism. The state which Franco wishes to establish has been conceived after the fashion of the German and Italian fascist regimes, *i.e.*, based on the most fiendish terror.

The Church has restored the domination which it enjoyed in Spain as far back as the epoch of Philip II. Failure to attend church is treated as a crime, to be punished by death.

The military caste form another such power, with their own jurisdiction, and with the right to deal with the lives and property of people according to their own judgment.

We have data regarding terror in the zone controlled by the rebels, data made up of letters from workers living there, the testimony of fugitives, and the information of the foreign press. Recently a book has appeared entitled *Doy Fe (Bear Witness)*. The author of this book is the secretary of the court in Burgos, an orthodox Catholic who cannot on any account be suspected of sympathy for Communism. He speaks of the horrible crimes committed by gendarmes and fascists, who murder workers and anti-fascists without trial on the mere suspicion of not being fascists.

Only the Falangists have the right to publish newspapers. Nobody dares express even the faintest dissatisfaction.

Workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, traders, small handicraft workers, intellectuals, all sections of the working people, are groaning under the oppression of the fascist terror.

The territory under the rule of Franco has been handed over to the conquerors to be

transformed into a foreign colony.

How is the part of Spain seized by the rebels being administered? Franco issues orders; the Church, the army, and the gendarmes oppress and murder the people; the landowners and big capitalists exploit the workers and peasants. The supreme ruler of this machine, however, cannot make a single important decision without asking the opinion of the foreign dictators. Hitler and Mussolini, who share power with Franco, and in some localities have their own governors. Until recently Count Rossi was absolute civil and military governor of Majorca, responsible only to Mussolini. The German ambassador in Salamanca enjoys unlimited power. He plans military operations together with the German General Staff. The enormous riches of the country have been handed over completely to foreigners. Germans are exploiting the iron mines in Morocco and Biscay. The Italians in their turn have control of the coal mines of the Asturias and the olive plantations of Andalusia. *Thus the part of Spain in the hands of the rebels has been transformed into a semi-colonial country.*

Despite the terror they have let loose, the rebels and interventionists are coming up against great difficulties. The oppressed and enslaved masses of the people are offering up resistance to the Franco regime as far as their power permits; the measures of the government of the so-called Burgos Junta are sabotaged in the factories. Many people know that fascist bombs frequently do not explode on the railroads and on the land. This is the work of our brothers, the workers who have remained in the zone controlled by the rebels. In that territory bridges are blown up, railway collisions take place and powder magazines explode. All this is being done by workers and peasants who frequently pay with their lives for this.

In the political sphere the antagonism between the "Spanish Phalanx" and the Traditionalists has begun to assume a sanguinary character. Gangs of the two sides shoot one another in Pamplona, Zaragoza and even at the fronts. Contradictions, the inevitable contradictions of imperialism, also arise between the foreign fascist conquerors; true the Germans and Italians have united to seize Spain, but each of these strives by stealth to steal a little more than the other.

Under such a system, full of contradictions and antagonisms, it is impossible to build up a firm and stable state; impossible to set going the civil life of a civilized country; impossible to achieve either the well-being of the working people or the development of the forces of progress. Were Spain to be doomed to this regime, it would be transformed into a ruined and poverty-stricken country, and would gradually sink into barbarism.

No Spaniard who really loves his country, who desires to see it independent and prosperous, can remain indifferent to the prospect of destruction and barbarism which fascism is preparing for our country. In the zone occupied by the rebels there are thousands of honest Spaniards who see and feel all the horror of this situation. They must help us with all the energy and means in their power to establish in Spain a regime of liberty, democracy, well-being, progress and peace, such as is desired by the whole of the Spanish people.

If the forces of intervention are to be driven out it requires the alliance of all Spaniards who hold the independence of their country dear, it requires a struggle by the whole people for national independence.

The free and happy Spain for which we are fighting must remain the country of all honest Spaniards, of all those who have not betrayed it and have not sold it to foreign fascism; of all those who are now working and fighting on the side of the republic; of all those who are living in the fascist purgatory.

Let us now look at our own system.

For the first time in their history the Spanish people have organized a most stable and really

democratic system on the territory belonging to the Republic. What is the essence of Spanish democracy? Here there have been destroyed the old caste privileges, the old political cliques, the feudal apparatus, the domination of the Church over political life, the power of the Caciques* and the bloody tyranny of the gendarmes. We are fighting for the destruction of all the roots of fascism in the political and economic life of the country.

There are no longer in republican Spain any of the hated senors who enjoy hereditary rights to power and to the exploitation of the working people. The factories and plants, the land and the banks are in the hands of the workers and peasants, in the hands of the government of the People's Front. The armed forces of the republic do not serve a privileged caste, they serve the people. The republic has opened up a new culture, a new horizon with wide prospects before the whole of our people who are thirsting for knowledge.

Our democracy, our new type of parliamentary republic, is based on the active participation of the masses in the political life of the country. You all remember the anti-fascist women's conference that recently took place. Could one have dreamed of such a conference in our country formerly? The fact that women have been drawn into political life is a characteristic sign of the political awakening of the masses.

A wide development of mass organizations can be observed. How are we to explain this tremendous growth of all these organizations? It is of course no accident. It is to be explained by the fact that wide masses of workers and antifascists now feel the need to participate in the political life of the country. They join organizations, full of the desire to prepare themselves for leadership in the economic and political life of the country and to help the People's Front government.

And what, in the meantime, has happened to the old bourgeois parties? What has happened to the conservative or so-called liberal parties which represented the interests of the big capitalists, landowners and the Church? Nothing has remained of them. They have all suffered shipwreck under the pressure of the political awakening of the masses.

Their place has been taken by the most numerous and extensive political organization that the Spanish people have ever possessed—the People's Front. In the People's Front there are united, in the corresponding parties and organizations, all sections of the population, including workers and peasants, the democratic and revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, all the liberal and democratic elements in the country. They have joined forces with the single desire to transform into life the desires of the people for which they have fought for centuries, achieving victory and suffering temporary defeats.

Our People's Front has inherited from Spanish history the hopes of the liberals and progressives who fought in the Cadiz parliament for the liberation of the people from the oppression of absolutism and the Inquisition; the strivings of the founders of the first republic; the hopes of the people who fought against the bloody tyranny of Ferdinand VII, Canovas, against the monarchist, clerical and militaristic reactionaries; the strivings of the progressive elements in Spain for national independence, which filled the masses with enthusiasm for the war against Napoleon; the hopes of the workers who fought with arms in hand during the tragic week in Barcelona in 1917; in the Asturias and Madrid, during the glorious days of 1934, and in the thousands of other heroic actions, the national strivings of the peoples of Catalonia, Biscay and Galicia who were enslaved by the monarchist despotism.

Our People's Front embraces all these hopes of the people; it is for these that our fathers and

* Caciques—rich, influential people—*The Ed.*

mothers fought, and we Spaniards of today are uniting under a single banner in order to fulfil the best hopes of our forefathers.

For the first time all the progressive political forces of the people are united around a common program which embraces all sections of the working people. *Our People's Front is an organization of struggle against fascism, against the traditional oppressors and against the forces of intervention.* The People's Front is no simple coalition of parties, or a bloc of a handful of leaders. *The People's Front unites all anti-fascist forces. Never before has the idea of an anti-fascist alliance on the basis of the People's Front extended over a greater field.*

The fact that the masses have been aroused politically and that they are taking an active part in the political life of the country has conditioned the colossal growth of our country.

Why has our Party grown to such a tremendous degree and why has it today in its ranks hundreds of thousands of the best fighters? Because the masses have seen in the Communist Party a consistent political leading force, a reliable leader of the people in winning a regime of liberty and justice.

Our Party continues the best traditions of the Spanish people, of the old and heroic struggle of the workers and peasants against their oppressors. Our unity with the Socialist Party has already created the necessary conditions for it to be possible to set about merging the two parties into a single party of the proletariat and laboring peasants.

A single party will serve to cement the People's Front, since it will provide the alliance of all anti-fascist forces in the People's Front with the might of the political unity of the proletariat.

With a united party as its basis, the People's Front will be able to develop more and more and will draw thousands of workers and peasants, who as yet stand aside, into the anti-fascist organizations, and will make their collaboration with the government increasingly effective.

The task of drawing the wide masses of non-party and unorganized masses to an increasing degree into active political life is one that faces *all the antifascist organizations of the People's Front.* It is precisely the People's Front that must mobilize all the anti-fascist sections of the population to take an active part in the political life of the country.

This mobilization and democratic activity of the wide masses must also find their reflection in the representative bodies, both in the provincial and local councils, as well as in Parliament.

The present parliament (Cortez) was elected at a period when a government of reaction was in power. Despite the oppression of reaction, the masses elected an anti-fascist majority. But profound changes have taken place in the life of the country since the advent of the People's Front government to power. Tremendous masses who by reason of the arbitrary behavior of the authorities were compelled to stand apart from the political life of the country are playing a more active part in it now, and are defending liberty and democracy with arms in their hands. Can it be said that these changes are exactly reflected in the present parliament? *No. The present parliament no longer gives a full reflection of all the changes that have taken place in the class relations of the country.* What is more, some of the deputies of the Cortez have taken the side of the enemy, while many others have fallen at the hands of the fascist assassins. And finally if we take account of the fairy tales spread by the fascist and the entire reactionary press to the effect that our people are under the rule of a Communist dictatorship, that the "Red dictators" prevent the people giving free expression to their will, then we answer that the democratic expression of the will of the people, organized under the banner of the People's Front, would prove the truth to the entire world; it would prove that at the very moment when the bourgeois-democratic powers are tolerating the aggression of German and Italian fascism against the Spanish people, the overwhelming majority of the latter support the People's Front government, are for democracy,

and against fascism.

A referendum, a real popular plebiscite must be organized. Such a democratic, popular referendum would still further mobilize the masses for the struggle against fascism, would still further raise the enthusiasm of the people, would still further increase and strengthen the authority of the People's Front government, and would create the conditions for a most rapid and victorious end to the war.

No single party, no single anti-fascist organization can or should fear the expression of the will of the people at the ballot box, should fear the wider political activity of the masses.

But who does fear this? Individualist politicians and groups that give unreserved obedience to them, those who take joy at any unfavorable development of the war, and wish to utilize it as a weapon against the government and against the People's Front; those who defend the P.O.U.M. spies and traitors. Only these people can fear a popular referendum. Why? Because they would be turned down by the overwhelming majority of the people; because a national referendum would prove that these elements are not rooted at all among the masses of the people.

On the contrary, the government would draw new, added strength, out of its contact with the masses, for the conduct of the war until victory.

A national referendum will not call forth any political disagreements between the rear and the fronts, because the men on the firing line, and everybody should bear this well in mind, must also participate in the voting. All young people who have reached the age of eighteen must have the right to vote; they have fully deserved this by their participation in the struggle against fascism.

All the anti-fascist forces will see in the electoral campaign a means for still further strengthening the fighting front against fascism and the usurpers.

This extensive and tremendous political mobilization of the masses of the people will undoubtedly call forth a response in the rebel camp as well. The masses oppressed by fascism will see the difference between the regime which brings them hunger, slavery, and death, and the democratic system wherein the masses play an active part in creating the organs of power. They will see the difference between our democratic and parliamentary Spain, and the starving Spain enslaved by Franco. Thus by strengthening our democracy we shall deal a painful blow at the enemy.

After the present plenum of the Central Committee, our Party will raise the question of an electoral campaign before the other anti-fascist parties and organizations. I am convinced that a popular referendum will be a mighty weapon in achieving- victory over the enemy.

HOW TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND TO WIN VICTORY

The serious difficulties we are now experiencing in the struggle against fascism must be overcome. We must cope with the tasks that have been set, with the same self-sacrifice and determination which have been displayed by our people in all the difficult moments of the war.

The most urgent demand of the present moment is to *strengthen our army*.

How are the main weaknesses of the people's army expressed?

They are expressed in the fact that on certain fronts it has not yet become a real regular army; that it has not adequately mastered the military art; that it has not yet been thoroughly purged of traitors and cowards. Such are the chief defects in the army which we must immediately correct, for the sooner they are corrected the more will the fighting power of the army increase, and the quicker will we arrive at victory.

How must these defects be corrected?

Reserves. The army must be provided with numerous reserves. Our people constitute a tremendous reserve of antifascist forces. Thousands of young people who are capable of bearing arms are eager to get to the front in order to fight fascism; they want to defend the national independence of Spain at the front, in battle. These young people must be formed into battalions and brigades which will serve as inexhaustible reserves for our army, and prevent the repetition of cases where our troops at the front cannot successfully continue their operations because of the absence of reserves.

But if these reserves are to be successfully utilized on the front line, they must master their weapons to perfection, they must know the military art. Our army must be a fighting and mobile army throughout.

Fortifications. Every army which fights the enemy must possess a complete system of fortifications and shelters. But in the present situation, when the war has developed with unparalleled intensity, the need for fortifications is yet more urgent. Stronger fortifications must be built. The enemy now possesses greater fighting resources than in the first months of the war and even greater than in the days when they came close to Madrid.

The construction of fortifications and shelters must become a military obligation of the entire population. They must be built not only by army men, by military units; they must be built by all anti-fascists regardless of whether they belong to special sapper battalions or not. Madrid has shown that splendid results are produced by a general mobilization of the population for the construction of fortifications, by voluntary participation in defense work. In the present situation, however, fortifications cannot be built as they were built in 1936, as they were built in Madrid in the November days. Now they must be built only under the technical guidance and control of the government. The government itself is seeing to this, but in order to facilitate the government's task, to collaborate with it, all able-bodied males must place themselves at its disposal to be used as required.

The need to improve the technical knowledge of our commanders and the rank and file. The technical strength of our army must be raised. What does this mean? It means that technical training must not be limited to our commanders. War is now waged with the aid of such technical means which require that every soldier is sufficiently trained so as to be able to fight successfully either on the defensive or the offensive. The German and Italian fascists have hurled against the Spanish people their best fighting resources; they are testing them in this war. This demands that our men possess the requisite technical training.

It goes without saying that officers must receive a more rapid and fuller training. The majority of the officers in our army come from the ranks of the working class and the anti-fascists; before the war these commanders had no military training whatsoever; during the period of the war they have succeeded in acquiring the most elementary knowledge, many of them having acquired this knowledge directly in the trenches. It is now necessary that they receive technical training as rapidly as possible. When they receive military and technical knowledge they will become real leaders of a great army, such as they already are, to judge by their fearlessness and heroism.

The experience of the war has proved to us that given good training and good commanders our men are superior to the soldiers of the enemy. We must support this superiority and extend it so as to achieve victory.

The Purge. We must thoroughly purge the ranks of our army's commanding staff. Quite a lot has already been done in this regard. In our army it has become a rarer thing now than in the first months of the war to come across traitorous officers; it is now a rarer thing for us to meet with

acts of sabotage, such as, for instance, arms being sent to one place and bullets sent to another, or the work of the supply department being sabotaged. *The present situation, however, demands that a purge be carried through of such a strict character as will render it possible to expose all enemies who have hidden themselves away, all spies or enemy agents however cunningly they may have disguised themselves.* It is no secret to you that the enemy is exerting every effort to introduce its agents into our army, making use of the recent calling up of recruits for this purpose. The enemy has proved to us that it is possessed of cunning in the sphere of espionage and provocation.

We must be on our guard. Vigilance, vigilance and again vigilance! We must know all about the lives and activities, day or night, of individuals employed in the military departments, munition works, and at all points connected with the army, and when we discover a fascist agent, an open or disguised enemy, we must ruthlessly destroy him.

The work of the commissars. An urgent task facing our army is further to strengthen the work of the commissars. The commissars are the political soul of our army, are people who stimulate it by their heroism, who maintain its ideological consciousness, who raise its confidence in victory, and who, together with the military command, lead it to victory. The role of the commissars must not be underestimated in an army such as ours. But if the *work of our commissars is to be fruitful, certain bureaucratic methods must be liquidated which sometimes hinder them in successfully carrying through their political and military work.*

An end must be put to the kid-glove commissar, who has never been at the front, who does not mingle with the men. But the commissars as a whole must not be judged by this type of kid-glove individual. Our army cannot give up the system of commissars; the commissars have shed enough of their blood, shoulder to shoulder with our commanders and men. They have been and will continue to be one of the basic factors of the victory of our people's army.

We must not yield a single inch of our territory to the enemy. Let us gather together and prepare a tremendous number of new forces; let us prepare them for decisive battles—Such are the slogans under which our army must successfully cope with the difficulties of the present situation.

Problems of the war industry. We already have a war industry. But can it satisfy the needs of the present moment? No. It was established after great delay, and the work is proceeding with insufficient speed and energy. The entire people are now convinced that we are in urgent need of a powerful defense industry; this is demanded by our men at the front, by the workers, by all who desire the conditions for victory to be speedily established. Why, then, are measures not being taken to establish it, and to extend it to the necessary degree? Because there is still a certain tardiness in solving military problems.

The question of the establishment of a defense industry no longer brooks any delay. The solution of this problem must be made from the very beginning. First of all the question of the nationalization of the main branches of industry must be solved. The workers and trade unions are ready to give every assistance to the government in establishing and developing the defense industry.

But if our war industry is to be developed sufficiently to correspond with the needs of our army, we must nationalize the main branches of industry.

And parallel with this measure there must be carried through the militarization of the personnel of our war enterprises and transport. All workers engaged on such work must be on war service, and, of course, must be under the control of the Ministry of Defense. These measures do not at all contradict the democratic character of our system.

The same sort of exalted spirit must prevail in the war industry as in the army; the workers must be convinced that in producing arms and munitions they are carrying on the fight just as our men are doing at the fronts, that they must work with the same heroism and with the same self-sacrifice as our men are doing in the trenches. I know that this is exactly how the majority of the workers are working.

In order to raise the enthusiasm of the masses in production, a ruthless struggle must be carried on against red tape and for the purging of the staffs of the Ministries. All open and secret enemies must be driven out of these institutions.

If the war industry that has been established is to be correctly led and directed it must be subjected to the guidance and control of a special Ministry. The functions of such a body will be very wide. I therefore point to the need for establishing a Ministry of the Defense Industry.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE REAR

We must begin a ruthless struggle against the enemies of the people in our rear. They are more dangerous than our open enemies, the fascists who are in the trenches opposite us, with whom our men and our artillery deal. But hidden enemies, provocateurs and spies stab us in the back in the dark.

The most furious enemies of the people in the rear are the Trotskyites, the direct agents of Franco. What constitutes the work of the Trotskyites in our rear? It consists of undermining the anti-fascist alliance, demoralizing the workers, and carrying on espionage and disruptive work.

Who are the Trotskyites who have been exposed recently in Barcelona? They are, according to the official testimony in the press of the chief of the police of that town, a gang of bandits. This new exposure of the Trotskyite gang has shown the extent of the espionage work and foul treachery of the Trotskyites.

No mercy must be shown to such criminals. They must be wiped out as mercilessly as the fascists.

The government has already adopted certain measures for the struggle against the Trotskyites, such as the arrest of the P.O.U.M. leaders, the handing over of many of them to the courts on the charge of espionage and treason. These are positive facts in defense of our cause. But the government, the Ministry of Home Affairs and particularly the Ministry of Justice must display still greater energy. Are still further proofs required before these bandits are tried? What honest anti-fascists can demand more evidence than when a spy is caught with letters in cipher, and military documents? No more proofs are necessary. We all must regard the P.O.U.M. as a secret organization in the service of Franco. It is our duty to uncover it. Raids by the police have proved that the Phalangists and P.O.U.M.ists work hand in hand, engaging in espionage. Well, then, since they work together they must be destroyed together.

The tribunals do not punish the enemies of the people with the severity required by the legal code against traitors. Condemned spies and provocateurs are quickly released and so they still further increase their wrecking work.

An end must be put to this!

The people demand that traitors and terrorists, profiteers and usurers be ruthlessly wiped out. We have already paid dearly for our feeble policy towards enemies who are behind our lines.

All and everything for the war!

This is the slogan under which we must mobilize the masses of the people, all the resources and all the energy of the country.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IS THE SURE GUARANTEE OF FINAL VICTORY

The surest guarantee of our final victory is the unification of all the antifascist forces of the people. After the fall of the Largo Caballero government, a tendency began to manifest itself of the establishment of an opposition bloc to the People's Front government. The core of this bloc was the bankrupt Largo Caballero group, which had fallen under the influence of Trotskyism, and which, on the one hand, linked up with counterrevolutionary Trotskyism, and, on the other hand, exerted its efforts to win the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) to a policy hostile to the government. Our Anarchist comrades saw in the tendency of the Largo Caballero group a policy directly contrary to the interests of the anti-fascist cause. We consider that the time has come for our Anarchist comrades to break once and for all with this group which has attempted to draw them into action against the government.

What is the Largo Caballero group now?

It is a center of attraction for all dissatisfied and fainthearted people, for all who have lost faith in victory, for all who do not believe in the people. These individuals have never believed in the strength of the people, or in the possibility of the people achieving victory. Furious because they had to leave the government, and irritated at their own failures, they are now attacking the government. They want to split the antifascist forces, to dishearten the masses who are enthusiastically carrying on the struggle, confident of victory. "Extremist" phrases serve to cover their faintheartedness and lack of confidence. Such a defeatist policy can only create an atmosphere in which the idea of compromise is prepared.

The efforts at bringing about a split begun by the Largo Caballero group in the ranks of the U.G.T. (General Workers Union) correspond to the same policy. We must declare a ruthless struggle against all who attempt to split the U.G.T. Those who attempt to destroy the unity of the U.G.T., who maneuver with a view to splitting its ranks, as the Largo Caballero group is doing, are operating a policy which is absolutely alien to the interests of the Spanish people.

The Largo Caballero group is also waging a struggle against the People's Front. It is no accident that this group has become transformed into the official defender of General Ascencio and the P.O.U.M.ists. Its contacts with Ascencio and the Trotskyite spies are part of the same policy.

They slander the Soviet Union, the most loyal friend of the Spanish people, who, in their turn, are filled with feelings of love and thanks for the Soviet Union and its leaders.

The Socialist workers of the former Left wing reject the splitting and defeatist activity of the Largo Caballero group. And I appeal from this tribune to these workers to act more resolutely, to take up a firmer stand against the splitters and defeatists.

Our Party is the champion of unity. Our Party holds high the banner of unity, because it is the banner of victory. The unity of the whole people can only be achieved in the ranks of the People's Front. The People's Front must render help and support to the government, must be an organ for the mobilization and consolidation of all sections of the population. There have been cases when the organs of the People's Front have attempted to become exclusive organs of power. But this is not their function, and it is impermissible for committees of the People's Front to replace the lawful organs of the government and the municipalities. *Our Party will do everything possible to help all the organs of the People's Front work correctly.*

The keystone of the policy of our Party is its relations with the Socialist Party. The alliance

between the Socialists and the Communists is a step forward on the road to organic unity, which stimulates the anti-fascist alliance and strengthens the People's Front.

The enemies of unity, the enemies of a united party, are attempting to sow dissension between the Communists and the Socialists, by speaking of "swallowing up," of "crowding out." The Communist Party is not striving to swallow up any other party whatsoever; the Communists have no desire to crowd anybody out. There is enough room in a united party for both Communists and Socialists. We must all of us work together to solve the great tasks that will arise before the united party, the party established as a result of a friendly merger and on the basis of mutual equality.

Some comrades among the Socialists do not yet understand the need for closer relations with the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) and our Anarchist comrades. They still have certain suspicions and waverings. These comrades apparently have not yet properly appreciated the changes that have taken place during the war in the ideological and political outlook of the Anarchists.

The evolution of Spanish Anarchism must be borne in mind. Prior to the war our Anarchist comrades maintained an irreconcilable position of hostility to the government. During the war, under the pressure of facts, a fundamental change has taken place in this position; our Anarchist comrades have begun to collaborate as Ministers of the government of the People's Front. At the beginning of the war the Anarchists were opposed to the people's army and supported the theory that fascism could be defeated by the strength of the militia units subordinated to various organizations and parties. Similarly they did not agree to a single command; they were against handing industry over to the government or its subordination to state control.

Their line on these questions has now changed. The Anarchists are now in the ranks of the regular army, and subordinate themselves to the command and the military organs. They recognize the need for a single command; many of the branches of the C.N.T. have declared themselves in favor of industry being nationalized and of the government undertaking the administration of the war industry. What is the meaning of all these facts, which indicate a most profound evolution of Spanish Anarchism? *They mean that the Anarchist-minded masses of the C.N.T. have joined the political bloc in the struggle against fascism, have joined the fraternity of forces which is to strengthen and develop the popular revolution.*

The positive character of this evolution of the Anarchists gives us grounds now for raising the practical problem of the C.N.T. once and for all joining the People's Front and of an increasingly close collaboration between the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. to the point of the conclusion of a pact between these two organizations.

We Communists are ready to collaborate with the Anarchists in all spheres of our activity. All that we ask of them is that they break off relations with the enemies of unity, that they adopt a clear position towards the splitters. We also ask them to introduce a stricter check-up in their ranks. There are still Anarchist leaders who have not entirely given up the old tactics, and who count on achieving something or other by their former methods.

Our line will continue to be a line of the closest collaboration with the Anarchists in the army and in the economic bodies.

While strengthening the unity of the people in the ranks of the People's Front, we must at the same time still further strengthen the unity of all the people of Spain in the struggle for national liberation. The more we respect the rights and liberties of Catalonia, the more we give a positive solution to its problems, the closer will the collaboration between Catalonia and Spain become, and both our peoples will work and fight together to win the war.

The youth have shown us a splendid example of unity. It is with sincere satisfaction that I greet the establishment of the anti-fascist youth alliance. *I also greet the United Socialist Youth who have been the initiators and most consistent champions of the unity of all the youth in Spain. I also greet the National Committee of the United Socialist Youth, the leaders of the youth who have shown a splendid example of unity and have been at the front from the very outset.* Thus the youth occupy their place in the front line of fire.

Thousands of young people have fallen on the battlefields, and many thousands more have taken their places in the trenches. The whole of the war is an example of the heroism of our youth. We can be sure that the young Spaniards of various political tendencies who are fighting with arms in their hands will not retreat an inch before the enemy.

The unity of all anti-fascist forces, of all popular forces for the winning of victory, for the strengthening and development of the people's revolution—such, I assert here once again, is the central idea of our revolutionary policy. The alliance of the whole of the Spanish people is the surest guarantee of victory.

THE PARTY

I would like to devote the entire section of my report about the Party, at this Plenum of the Central Committee, to our defects and to the methods of improving our work.

There is no need here to explain the elementary truth that the solution of the tasks facing the whole of our people in the present serious situation is impossible without systematic and stubborn work by our Party. One must only stress the point that the present situation demands of our Party, of all its organs, of our Central Committee and Secretariat down to the smallest local group, that all its members without exception exert to the maximum degree all their strength, their creative energy, their entire will to resistance and to the struggle. It will not be a bad thing if our Central Committee at this Plenum subjects the work of the Party to a critical analysis with a view to bringing out the errors, weaknesses, incorrect tendencies and views, and indicates the way to overcome them. Self-criticism is an essential weapon for the further successful development of the Communist Party.

We are now working in a new situation, which differs from the previous situation, and particularly from the one that existed during the first months of the struggle against fascism. The distinguishing features of this new situation must be understood. Many of our comrades, many of our organizations have not yet thoroughly understood this.

Certain dangers which menace our Party arise out of its very growth. Comrade Stalin, the great and wise leader of the world proletariat, has repeatedly directed the attention of the Communists to the dangers that are connected with successes.

“But successes,” says Stalin, “like everything else under the sun, have their seamy sides. Among people who are not very skilled in politics, big successes and big achievements not infrequently give rise to carelessness, complacency, self-satisfaction, overweening self-confidence, swell-headedness and bragging.”*

While it is true that there can be no doubt that the successes we have achieved and which cannot be by far compared with the enormous achievements in socialist construction made by the great Bolshevik Party in the U.S.S.R., it seems to me that these words of Stalin can be of actual significance for our Party as well. *There is a danger in our Party, also, that the successes and*

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 22, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y.

growth of the Party may turn the heads of certain of our comrades who are little experienced in politics.

This danger manifested itself quite clearly particularly after the fall of Largo Caballero government, a fall in which our Party, as you all know, really played a primary role. Some comrades at that time got the wrong impression that our Party could become the only political factor in the present situation. But this would mean coming into conflict with our basic political line which is a line for a firm alliance with the Socialist Party, for close collaboration with it to the point of complete amalgamation, a line for extending and strengthening the People's Front.

Others of our comrades, under the influence of criticism from outside, and of unjust attacks on our Party, began to give expression to the mistaken views that the Communist Party must inevitably, at the present stage of the revolution, come into conflict with all the other political forces of our country. Such views are incorrect because they leave out of account the fact that the role of our Party is the exact opposite, that of *helping to unify all the anti-fascist forces.*

It is possible that certain Communist journalists, under the influence of these false theories, have occasionally forgotten the moderation with which discussion and polemics should now be carried through in the press, if they are not directed against enemies of the people and their agents, against the enemies of unity and against the People's Front.

I wish to direct the attention of all comrades to the possibility of the appearance in our Party, in the present serious and complicated situation, of a certain impatience which may prove a menace to the unity of the working class movement and the development of the People's Front. Nobody should forget that neither a Soviet system nor the dictatorship of the proletariat exists in our country, and that our Party does not and cannot hold the entire power in its hands.

The present government is a government in which all the parties of the People's Front are represented. It is clear that its decisions cannot always correspond entirely to the position of our Party, but we can assert that there has not been a single decision of the government till now which has hindered our Party in exerting all its energy towards strengthening the army, towards developing a powerful war industry, and, particularly, towards strengthening the anti-fascist united People's Front. *Our Party is headed by a Central Committee and a Political Bureau which have given quite a number of proofs that they are jealously guarding the interests of the people, and in whom, all its members must have complete faith.*

To overcome the existing errors, vacillations and false tendencies it is essential that all our Party members should always understand that the *policy of the Communist Party of Spain is, and must be, the firm and consistent policy of the People's Front.* This must never be forgotten.

What does this mean from the point of view of the practical work of our Party? In the main it means that;

First, the Party must always be in closest contact with the masses; it must be the most energetic defender of their interests and of the common interests of our people in their struggle against fascism and the foreign conquerors.

Second, the Party must do nothing to prevent the unity of all the anti-fascist forces; it must be the first champion of the increasingly firm unity of these forces.

As regards the first point, I think we must carry on a ruthless struggle against all manifestations of bureaucracy in our rank. Communists who occupy responsible posts in the state machine, who occupy high posts in the army, etc., must preserve the modesty of revolutionary fighters and maintain direct contact with the masses of the people, for this is one of the basic qualities of a Communist. Only if Communists behave thus can we avoid the danger of certain sections of our Party degenerating to opportunism.

The strengthening of our contacts with the masses is also necessary in order to strengthen our work in the trade unions. The strengthening of our contacts with the masses presupposes more energetic work among the non-Party masses, among women. It is a task of supreme importance for us to seek out new forms for organizing the masses, and of applying them to each section of the population, corresponding to the given concrete situation.

As regards the second point, I think that it is necessary in this regard also to recommend that our comrades display greater modesty; this in its turn will enable them to play a more effective role together with the Socialists, Republicans, Anarchists, etc. *While waging a struggle for unity, we continue to grow and strengthen our ranks.*

Our Party membership has increased more rapidly than we anticipated. Hence, many of the positions won by us are not yet firmly consolidated. There is an element of spontaneity in the growth of our Party membership, and much, very much, work needs to be done if we are to consolidate our ranks. We must not forget that the situation in which the Spanish revolution is developing, and the struggle is being waged for national independence, is an exceedingly complicated one. There are, unfortunately, many comrades yet in our ranks of whom it could be said that they are unable to find their bearings independently in a complicated situation, in the rapid changes with which we may meet in the near future.

Therefore, the work of training our Party personnel politically and ideologically must be speeded up and strengthened in all directions. This means that we must organize Party schools not only on a national scale, but also in each local organization. It means that we must open the doors wide throughout the Party for the promotion of new forces to leading positions. *We wish to put an end owe and for all to the situation where the leading work in many organizations is concentrated in the hands of a small handful of comrades.*

We must promote young people who have not yet been in leading work, but who are capable of working and leading, because they are closely connected with the masses in the factories and trade unions.

Greater boldness must be displayed in promoting new forces to leading posts.

A splendid example to our Party organizations has been shown by the leaders of the United Socialist Youth, who have created a new leadership out of capable young workers who have been newly promoted, and who will grow into real mass leaders.

The National Committee of the United Socialist Youth has shown an example of discipline to the whole of our people by setting off for the front. And from this rostrum I convey the heartiest greetings to them from the Central Committee of our Party.

The last question to which I wish to draw your attention and the attention of the entire Party is the question of revolutionary vigilance. *We are faced not only with the danger that Trotskyite elements and other enemies of the people may penetrate our ranks; there is also the danger of the penetration into the minds of young or unstable comrades of ideas that are alien to us.*

Certain enemies of the people consider that it is easier for them, with a membership card in their possession, to cover up their activity for continuing their criminal, disorganizing and demoralizing work, and even provocative and espionage work. Our Party must display the greatest vigilance and clear its ranks of such spies, by collaborating with all the other anti-fascist organizations in solving the very important common task of waging a struggle against provocation.

A Party membership card is not always sufficient proof that its owner is worthy of being completely trusted. We must work with the masses, maintain contact with them, and, in addition, our Party leaders must keep a strict check particularly on people occupying responsible posts in

the state machine, in the army and the trade unions. Such a check presumes that we pay careful attention to, and make a study of, every individual Party member, so that we may know both his past and present life and work.

Comrades, we shall only succeed in bringing about the tremendous exertion of our forces, demanded by the present situation, if we maintain unity, solidarity and discipline in our ranks. The unity of our Party is our greatest achievement, one which has enabled us, and will continue to enable us, to solve the most difficult tasks, rapidly to react to all events and to take account of the changes in the situation. Were we to be without this unity, it would play into the hands of fascism.

But the unity of the Communist Party will never be broken, because the elements which bind it together are not only discipline and the ideological training of our Party members, but also the profound conviction held by all our Party members that our Party line is correct, that it fully corresponds to the present situation, and is a true reflection of the aims and interests of the working class and people of Spain. The correctness and firmness of this political line, under the guidance of the Communist International, are combined with the firmness and confidence of the Central Committee of our Party, which has been able in the most difficult moments to fulfil the tasks confronting it, leading the entire Party along the correct road and, together with our Socialist brothers, pointing the way to victory to the whole of the working class and people of Spain.

Comrades, members of the Central Committee. I have dealt with questions which, in my opinion, are the most fundamental in the present situation. I place them before you for discussion, confident that your decisions on these problems will light the way for the whole of our Party and people in their irreconcilable struggle against fascism.

Long live the unity of our Party!

Long live the united party of the proletariat!

Long live the People's Front!

Long live the army of victory!