

## Organizing for the Victory of the Spanish People

BY JOSE DIAZ

My report\* on the tasks of our Party in connection with the war, I shall deal mainly with the following questions: (1) the character of our struggle; (2) what must be done to win the war, on the battlefields, in industry, and behind the lines; and (3) the tasks of our Party.

From the day of the election victory in February, 1936, and until the rebellion in July, our Party has clearly pointed out that the reactionary and fascist forces would not consider themselves defeated in spite of the fact that they had been removed by the will of the people, freely expressed in the ballot, and that it was necessary to prepare for defense against the inevitably aggressive actions of reaction and fascism.

We also gave warning that the speed with which the demands of the people were being carried out did not correspond to the urgent needs of the masses, nor to the need for rapidly defending the democratic system against the onslaughts of reaction.

The situation in Spain is such that the fate of our country will be decided in the course of a very few months. It is therefore necessary rapidly to catch up with all that has been neglected. We do not intend the decisions of this Plenum of the Central Committee for Communists only, but we want the tasks which will be outlined here to be assimilated and carried into practice by all the anti-fascist masses in Spain, so that they will all march solidly along the only path which can lead to victory in the war. (*Loud applause.*)

### WE FIGHT FOR A NEW TYPE OF DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC

When we speak of the character of the present struggle, we have to establish this point: against whom and against what did the fascists raise the rebellion on July 18? The fascists rose up in arms against the whole of the Spanish people, against the will of the people, clearly expressed in the elections of February 16. In order to justify their criminal act, the rebels tried to claim that they had begun a "preventive revolution" in order to hinder the establishment of communism in Spain. But the program of the Frente Popular, which constituted the basis on which the struggle was carried on which led to the victory of February 16, cannot be reproached with resembling communism in any way whatsoever. The electoral struggle simply aimed at defending the democratic republic and its institutions, and at creating the conditions necessary for satisfying the urgent demands of the Spanish people.

In order to make clear to all my view of the character of our struggle against fascism, I will remind you of the fact that a month after the beginning of the rebellion, our Party launched the slogan of extending the Frente Popular, of uniting the whole of the Spanish people, for the civil war—the conflict between democracy and fascism—had become a war for national independence, a war for national liberation.

Our struggle, the content of which is profoundly national, has also a clearly expressed

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international character. A concise and brilliant definition of the international character of our struggle was given by our great Comrade Stalin and expounded at greater length by Comrade Dimitroff. Comrade Stalin said in his historic telegram to the Central Committee of our Party:

“The working people of the Soviet Union are only doing their duty by giving every aid in their power to the revolutionary masses of Spain. They realize 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.”

Commenting on the definition of the international character of our struggle, as given by Comrade Stalin, Comrade Dimitroff in an article published at the beginning of the year wrote:

“At the same time it must not be forgotten that to hasten and facilitate the victory of the Spanish people, who are defending with their blood not only their own freedom and independence, but also the democratic liberties of other peoples and also the cause of peace, it is necessary still further to increase the actions of solidarity of the international proletariat and of all democratic forces.”

In these few words, the international character and significance of our struggle in Spain is splendidly explained.

There is no doubt that a victory by Spain over fascism will serve as a tremendous impulse for the development of democracy not only in Spain, but in France, England and other countries. Our victory will also exercise a tremendous influence on the political situation in Germany, Italy and all countries which are now under the rule of fascism, because it will show them the road to liberation from fascist tyranny. On the contrary, if we were to lose the war, it would be a terrible blow for democracy everywhere, not only in Spain, but throughout the world. Defeat would mean an advance, if only temporary, of international fascism, and a wave of terror and barbarism which would spread over the whole world, driving all the peoples into the abyss of war.

Therefore, in face of the tasks laid upon us by the war, and in view of the tremendous sacrifices which we shall have to make in order to win it, we want rapidly to create the necessary conditions for victory.

We are fighting for a democratic republic, for *a, new type of democratic parliamentary republic*. The struggle in Spain does not aim at forming a democratic republic of the French type or like the republics of other capitalist countries. No, the democratic republic for which we are fighting is a different republic. We are fighting to destroy the material foundation on which reaction and fascism were based, for unless this foundation is destroyed, it will be impossible to have genuine political democracy.

In our struggle, we are striving to bring about the *destruction of the material basis of semi-feudal Spain*, in order to root out fascism once and for all.

We must liquidate the class of big landowners, who have participated to a man in the military-fascist rebellion. We must nationalize their estates, and turn them over to the agricultural laborers and peasants, for cultivation either individually or collectively, according as they desire.

It is necessary to destroy the economic and political power of the church, which was the center of the conspiracy against the interests of the masses, and one of the strongest mainstays of semi-feudal Spain. To this end the property of the church must be confiscated and nationalized. The struggle against the semi-feudal economic and political rule of the church does not by any means signify a fight against religion. On the contrary, only a republican and democratic Spain, a free and progressive Spain, will ensure freedom of religion in our country.

We must also set about putting an end to the remnants of the caste spirit of the old army,

which served semi-feudal Spain and was used to suppress progressive tendencies.

We must put an end to the financial oligarchy, to the bankers and manufacturers who were closely connected with the landowners and the church and hindered the development of the national economy. We must proceed to the nationalization of the Bank of Spain and the chief industries of the country. This is the only means of satisfying the needs of the front and the rear.

In addition to these main points, the solution of which will lead to the disappearance of the semi-feudal castes which were dominant in Spain, and will lead to the reorganization of the material and social basis of our new, democratic, parliamentary republic, we must introduce genuinely universal suffrage and secure the participation of the entire people in the political and economic life of the country.

Such is the new type of democratic and parliamentary republic being fought for by our Party, and together with it, by the entire Spanish people.

In all the provinces under the rule of the government there are no longer any landlords, big bankers or big manufacturers, while the church no longer exists there as a ruling power. This is the actual state of affairs, and the fact that arms are in the hands of the people, in the hands of the really anti-fascist people, in the hands of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie is a guarantee that all that we have won will remain for all time. This is the greatest guarantee that the past can never return. And precisely because we have a guarantee which secures what we have won, we should not lose our heads and skip over reality, trying to carry out experiments of "Libertarian Communism" (Anarchist) or "socialization" in the factories or in the countryside. The stage of the development of the democratic revolution through which we are passing requires the participation in the struggle of all anti-fascist forces, and these experiments can only result in driving away a very important section of those forces.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF OTHER PARTIES TOWARDS THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

When the Communist Party put forward the slogan of the defense of the democratic republic, a considerable section of our Socialist comrades defended the point of view that the democratic republic had become an anachronism, and that it was necessary to set up a socialist republic. This would have meant splitting the democratic petty bourgeois and popular forces away from the working class. The Anarchists in turn advocated "Libertarian Communism," and from the slogan of a "self-sufficient" National Confederation of Labor passed through the slogan of a "revolutionary alliance between the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.," to the slogan of a trade union type of government immediately to bring about the "social revolution." Finally, some of the republicans, realizing that it was impossible to return to the republic of April 14, 1931, have resisted the adoption of a program of radical social reforms which would convert Spain into a new type of democratic republic.

If in the beginning the various premature attempts at "socialization" and "collectivization," which were the result of an unclear understanding of the character of the present struggle, might have been justified by the fact that the big landlords and manufacturers had deserted their estates and factories and that it was necessary at all costs to continue production, now on the contrary they cannot be justified at all. At the present time, when there is a government of the Frente Popular, in which all the forces engaged in the fight against fascism are represented, such things are not only not desirable, but absolutely impermissible.

At the present time the political parties and the trade unions also recognize the necessity for universal military service, a single command, the coordination of industry on the basis of a plan,

etc.

The fact that these fundamental points are recognized by all the parties and trade unions participating in the People's Front and represented in the government is a big step forward. But the fundamental problem of the present day is not only the recognition of the correctness of these points; the decisive point is the *speed at which they are put into operation*. It required eight months of war for the sum total of the problems raised by the Communist Party from the very first day of the war to be understood. But we cannot wait another eight months for these tasks to be carried into life. If the government does not take steps immediately to fulfil the economic, military and political tasks necessary to win the war; if this is not done in the briefest possible time—for the situation does not admit of delay—if, in spite of the support of the entire people, the government proves incapable of carrying into life the things which the situation urgently demands, then the government will be doomed. Either the government carries out the measures necessary to win the war or the government will cease to be the government. (*The delegates rise and heartily applaud Comrade Diaz.*)

#### FOR A REGULAR ARMY, FOR A SINGLE COMMAND, FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE REAR

Everyone knows that our war is a modern type of war, *i.e.*, a war in which the enemy has a well-trained army, one which is experienced in war and is abundantly supplied with the most modern means of destruction. And while the enemy does not possess large forces of Spaniards, it receives reinforcements from the regular armies of Germany and Italy, and in the first place technically trained personnel which gives the war an extremely severe character.

To this army of the enemy we oppose the people's army, now in the process of formation, and drawing its fighters from the wide masses of the people of our country. We also have modern weapons. But we have to learn to use our technique, to learn the science of war, because war is both a science and an art. It is not enough to have right on one's side, as some romantic people assert; one must be able to back up right with force.

There is no doubt that tremendous achievements have been made in the creation of the people's army, but the process of its formation is far from being completed. Anyone who claims the opposite underestimates the strength of the enemy, and will not be able to create the necessary conditions for victory.

To what extent has our army been turned into a regular army? The commanding staff has taken certain steps in this direction. Little by little, the militia detachments of the various parties and trade unions are being liquidated and are giving way to a regular army, with its companies, battalions, brigades and divisions. Universal military service has been introduced. But the question of reserves is still a sharp one, the importance of which has not yet been realized by those concerned.

The principle of a single command has not yet been understood by many people. For some people, single command means that Catalonia must have its own command, the Basque Provinces must have theirs; Asturias, the South and the North will have their own command, and all of them will be more or less closely connected with the Ministry of War. As opposed to this, it must be said that single command means the existence of a general staff possessing real power, and composed of military men and civilians, devoted to the interests of the people, planning and directing operations, single command presupposes an accurate knowledge of what positions and forces we possess, the distribution of arms and people according to plan, the right to transfer

troops from one front to another.

There are people who chatter about the non-political character of our people's army. Can an army which has been gathered together on a voluntary basis for the struggle against fascism—^this expression of the most revolting and brutal policy ever known in history—be called a non-political army? Our army is a political army, serving as the bulwark of the Frente Popular, serving the people. Our army is defending by force of arms the policy of the Frente Popular, which has strengthened the democratic republic which the fascists want to destroy with the aid of foreign fascism. Our army is defending by force of arms the independence of our country, the land and liberty of our people. It is defending bread, work and peace for all champions of progress and civilization.

Our army is an army of the people and must be trained in the spirit of hatred for the fascists of our own country, for the butchers of the people, and for foreign fascism which is lighting the flames of war. Our army must be trained in the spirit of love for the people and their rights. All armies which have arisen from the midst of the people have been the embodiment of a really popular policy. Such was the army of the French Revolution. Such was and is the workers' and peasants' army of the Soviet Union. Such was and is the army which is fighting for the independence of China. Who, then, is interested in our army being non-political? The answer is: Generals Franco and Queipo, and all the fascist scum are so interested, along with their direct and indirect agents who, unfortunately, may be and are in our ranks, in the ranks of our army.

Incompetent people and traitors must be driven out of the army and mercilessly punished. And this must not be done negligently and when some disaster or other looms ahead, but systematically. At the same time we must be resolute in operating a policy of promoting and training new cadres of officers who have distinguished themselves in battle. (*Applause.*)

In addition to the establishment of strict discipline in the army, it is necessary to establish the principle of responsibility by the commanders. I ask you: have the causes of the defeats at Talavera and Toledo been investigated? Have those who are to blame been punished? Unfortunately, no. Have those responsible for the fall of Malaga been punished? Again, no. It is said that investigations are proceeding, but the people, deeply stirred by these events, cannot wait for weeks. They demand that those responsible for the defeat be tried quickly and that they be given exemplary punishment.

We must react rapidly and resolutely to those who are responsible for military defeats. It is not sufficient at the demand of the people to remove a general who has organized a defeat and directly or indirectly participated in acts of sabotage against the army, and immediately afterwards to appoint him to another position. (*Stormy applause.*) I declare from this platform with a full sense of my responsibility that we will not cease for a moment our efforts to bring about a thorough cleansing of the commanding staffs.

We need an army which is constantly in action. We cannot permit a situation where, at a time when on some fronts not only are the enemy's attacks being beaten off, but counter-attacks are carried on to the point of utter exhaustion, on other fronts troops sit in the trenches for months on end doing nothing, without making attacks, without even undertaking sorties against the enemy.

Our shores must be fortified and coastal defenses created. It was no secret to anyone that the attack on Malaga was prepared from land and sea, and that the chief role in the capture of the town was played by an Italian landing party. This must not be repeated. Fortifications must be erected on our frontiers at suitable strategic points so that every attempt of hostile forces to make a landing will cost them battleships. Still more intensive work must be carried on to disintegrate the enemy's forces. Propaganda in their ranks must be intensified. Many soldiers have already

come over to our side from the ranks of the rebels. There are not a few anti-fascists among the men mobilized by the rebel generals, and they are awaiting a convenient moment to come over to us. For this reason, along with increasing our propaganda, we must first guarantee the lives of all prisoners.

We must stimulate the formation of guerilla detachments, especially among the peasants, to act in the rear of the enemy. Even now there are groups of armed men who have preferred to take to the mountains rather than submit to the fascists. We must get into contact with these groups, help them with food, ammunition and send them people capable of leading them.

Our rear must be a fighting rear. In this fierce struggle which demands so many sacrifices, it is impermissible for so many people to be passive and evade service. The districts behind the lines must be cleansed. To cleanse these districts from parasites, we must immediately begin to issue identity certificates to all citizens. All must do useful work and help in the victory. This means that the principle "He who does not work shall not eat" must be amended to mean that he whose work does not hasten victory shall not eat.

### THE FORMATION OF A POWERFUL WAR INDUSTRY IS A MOST URGENT AND IMPORTANT TASK

If we want to win the war—and we have no doubt that we shall do so—we must establish a war industry capable of supplying the fronts with everything necessary. The problem of establishing a powerful war industry can and must be solved, and solved rapidly. Planfulness must be introduced into production, while disorder and stupidity must be eliminated. In the Basque Provinces, in Catalonia, in the Levant, there are sufficient factories already engaged in the manufacture of military supplies, but there is no coordination between them. New factories are being built, but still more could be put up. In order to ensure the maximum increase in the war industry, a special ministry must be established, if necessary, to deal with this problem. We cannot permit endless wailing about the unfairness of the isolation to which we have been doomed by the democratic countries. Instead of this, we must make serious efforts to set all our national resources into motion. Our Party advances this problem because it is one of the decisive conditions of victory. The trade union organizations—the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.) and a considerable part of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.)—realize the need for cooperation, and they are cooperating in establishing a powerful war industry. But all these efforts must be coordinated and the creative abilities of the people stimulated. At the initiative of the workers themselves military supplies are already being manufactured in the Basque Provinces, Catalonia and the Levant. In Madrid, the enthusiasm and fighting spirit have spread from the trenches to the factories and mills.

We could mention a number of munitions factories where, after the organization of shock "brigades" and owing to the competition that developed among the workers, output increased by 50 per cent and even by 100 per cent. *We already have "Stakhanovites of the war industry" in our factories.* We have young workers whose output is three times the former standards. Take Urbano Ramos, for example. He is a worker at one of the war factories and each shift he produces 790 details as against the standard output of 205.

This initiative, this enthusiasm, must be organized, so as rapidly to create a powerful war industry. The factories must work not eight, ten, or twelve hours, but right around the clock in three shifts, increasing the number of workers if this is required. The central government and the governments of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces must understand that just as we must have a

united army and a single command, we also need a united war industry capable of supplying the necessary arms and military supplies to the people's army on all fronts.

### GREATER ATTENTION TO THE VILLAGES

The defense of the interests of the peasants has been the constant care of our Party. Our Party was the first to raise a voice of protest against lawless buccaneering in the countryside. Thanks to this, we have succeeded in gradually squeezing out the so-called uncontrolled elements, so that the peasants could convince themselves that the town workers are not new exploiters but their allies and leaders. You all remember the attacks made on our comrades for such weighty "crimes" as the desire to organize the peasants, so as to draw them into the policy of the Frente Popular and participation in the war. There were those who considered that there were no more peasants in Spain and that we were inventing them just for the purpose of organizing peasants' federations and splitting the Federation of Agricultural Workers. We were accused of wanting to restore land ownership, as we recognized the right of the peasants to own land. Our Comrade Matei, a tireless fighter for the organization of the peasants, was threatened with death for his insistent work among the peasantry, while many of our comrades really laid down their lives in the struggle to defend the interests of the peasants.

Our Party, true to Lenin's theory, which teaches us to regard the working peasants as the natural allies of the proletariat, did not retreat before difficulties, before provocations of one kind or another, and continued to build peasant organizations. True to our policy of unity, we proposed to include the peasant organizations in the Federation of Land Workers, which is affiliated to the U.G.T. We naturally demanded the confiscation of the property of the big landowners, who are enemies of the people. And after our Comrade Uribe entered the Frente Popular government, a decree was passed giving the land to the peasants.

Now that the peasants have the land given to them by the republic, they must defend this republic at the front and in the rear. We must strengthen the bonds of friendship between the agricultural laborers and the peasants by the organization of the former into trade unions and the latter into production cooperative societies. We must establish contact committees in the country districts so as to improve the leadership of the whole peasant movement.

We must stimulate the growth of agricultural production. The Minister of Agriculture and the government must, by establishing fixed prices profitable to the peasants, stimulate the production of such crops as wheat, rice, potatoes and vegetables. The extensive provision of credits for agricultural cooperative societies must be organized with the aim of increasing and improving the quality of agricultural production. All measures must be adopted to prevent frivolous elements sowing unrest in the country districts by their thoughtless actions and causing discontent among the peasants, our best allies. (*Applause.*)

FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT!  
FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE UNITY OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE!

We support the Frente Popular government in carrying out the basic tasks which face it. The chief tasks are to *purge the army, to form reserves, to create a single high command and to organize a powerful war industry.* In carrying out these tasks, the Frente Popular government must count on all the trade unions and political parties represented in it. Our insistence in raising these problems has resulted in some of our allied organizations and even the President of the

Council of Ministers calling us “to order” on several occasions.

People do not want to see, or they do not understand, that our insistence is based on the profound conviction that if these tasks are not rapidly solved, we endanger the outcome of the war, even though we possess all the necessary conditions to win it. In connection with the discussion of these problems, some people have tried to prove that it was our intention to conduct a political maneuver against the government. How badly they who make such a statement know us! It was our Party that hammered out the Frente Popular. More than all others it has supported and still supports the Frente Popular government and its leader, Comrade Largo Caballero. But our Party, which is conducting a clear political line and has no desire to play with the interests of the people, cannot cultivate blind partisanship, blind subordination to individuals. It does not flatter the leaders; it merely defends its political line through them. When our Party comes forward with proposals or criticism it only wishes in this way to correct some political attitude which, in our opinion, should be changed.

The Frente Popular must be preserved at all costs. Whatever the difficulties in our path, the Communist Party will continue most energetically to defend the Frente Popular and its government, the legitimate government. Our Party will not allow anyone to attack with impunity the unity of the anti-fascist forces. Our motto is: “Unity now so as to guarantee victory, and unity later so as to garner the fruits of victory.” And anyone who tries to break the unity of the Frente Popular, who tries to break the unity of the Spanish people engaged in the fight for the independence of Spain which is at stake in this war, such a person is consciously or unconsciously helping our enemies.

A government of the trade union type would have fatal and absolutely disastrous results. It would mean the disruption of the Frente Popular, not to speak of the disruption of the unity of the Spanish people. The tendency to form a trade union government is doomed to failure.

We must now think only of how to strengthen the Frente Popular, how to strengthen the unity of the Spanish people, and anyone who wants to break down this unity will be branded by our heroic fighters as an enemy of our cause. (*Loud applause.*)

#### OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALISTS, ANARCHISTS AND REPUBLICANS

The points of contact between the Socialist and the Communist Parties at the present time are such as to raise the question of the formation of a single party of the proletariat. This must be our guiding star, our compass. But to make our unity indestructible, it must be based on complete ideological and tactical unity, and for this it is first necessary to bring about constant *unity of action* to solve the problems of the present moment, and above all the main problem—that of ensuring victory as rapidly as possible.

At the present day, the decisive problem is unity of action at the front, in industry and in the rear. This will create the necessary conditions for later arriving at fusion. But for this, it is first necessary to remove the tension from the atmosphere which has grown heavy of late as the result of the charges made against us that we are “poaching members” from the Socialists and other proletarian organizations. It is in fact true that tens of thousands of workers are joining our Party, but they come to us voluntarily and consciously. They are attracted by our political line and by the self-sacrifice of the members of our Party. We do not recruit them by resorting to tricks, but we are guided by the directions of Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern that “by our everyday mass work and our correct policy, we must *deserve and win the confidence of the working masses.*”

The new members who join our Party come to us not because they are tempted by promises or by personal advantages. We do not and cannot give such advantages. On the contrary, they



know that they will have to take a place demanding struggle and sacrifice. For what does our Party demand of its members? It demands of them that they be the most disciplined, most efficient and bravest in the firing line; that they form shock groups and be the first to throw themselves into any breach made by the enemy; that they always take the lead during attacks; that they never retreat; that by their example they create the psychology of ever driving forward, even at the cost of tremendous sacrifices; that they are the most diligent and most unselfish workers at the point of production. This is what we demand of them: We demand that they form shock brigades, that they work not six or eight hours but ten, twelve or fourteen hours or as long as is necessary to provide the front with a sufficient supply of ammunition; that they be the most fearless and the most vigilant in the rear; that they hunt out the profiteers and all who want to live at the expense of the people's blood; that they protect the women and children of the fighters; that they give aid during air raids, that all their thoughts, all their efforts be directed towards securing victory, to the point of self-oblivion. And if under such circumstances the best sons of the people come to us, it is because they really want to fight and are ready to make sacrifices, but not because they hope to get something out of us, as this is impossible.

Our relations with the Anarchist comrades, including organizational relations, have improved considerably. The declaration signed by Comrade Vasques and myself on behalf of our organizations has assisted in establishing cordial relations between the members of the two parties. But this is not enough. We must still further strengthen the bonds of friendship between us, as the Anarchists are our brothers, a part of our class, since we are fighting for common interests. Our enemies set rumors afoot that bloody clashes are inevitable between the Anarchists and the Communists, and that the question of who will crush the other will inevitably arise. It must be declared that those who spread such rumors are our enemies and enemies of the Anarchist comrades. (*Loud applause.*)

We want closely to cooperate with the Anarchists not only during the war but after the victory. We must fight side by side with the Anarchist comrades against the lawless buccaneering of numerous "uncontrolled groups." Many such groups use the name of the Anarchists. But it would not be right to attribute to the C.N.T. as an organization the lawless acts committed by the "uncontrolled" elements. Whatever banner these individuals may use to conceal themselves, whether it be the Anarchist or other banner, we must here call to mind what Comrade Dimitroff said when he was speaking of Van der Lubbe:

"Who is Van der Lubbe? Is he a Communist? By no means. Is he an Anarchist? No. He is a declassed worker, a lumpen-proletarian in revolt, a creature who has been misused, who has been utilized against the working class. No, he **is** not a Communist. He is not an Anarchist. There is not a Communist, not an Anarchist in the world who would conduct himself like Van der Lubbe. Real Anarchists do senseless things, but in court they answer for them and explain their aims."

In proportion as correct relations are strengthened between all the organizations forming the Frente Popular, in proportion as all the organizations are proportionally represented in the leading political, economic and public organs of the country, the actions of the "uncontrolled" groups will rapidly come to an end, and the power and authority of the government of the democratic republic will increase.

We maintain good relations with the Republicans. The Republicans have consciously participated in the great antifascist movement hand in hand with the proletariat. They knew in advance that they were fighting not for an abstract republic but for a new type of republic. The Republicans, the petty bourgeoisie, have suffered as much as the proletariat from the semi-feudal oppression of the ruling sections — landowners, bankers, and the military clique. They fight

nobly and bravely at the front, and are capably carrying out leading work in the economic and political life of our country. The recent speeches of Senor Asani and Senor Martinez Barrio are clear examples which confirm our words. Their position proves that the alliance between the forces of the proletariat and those of the petty bourgeoisie has a firm political basis. It is the duty of our Party to see that this basis is never undermined. (*Cries of approval.*)

The Communist Party recognizes the historical peculiarities of all nationalities and all their rights which they can only secure in full in a republican democratic Spain. They have also understood this, and therefore honestly support the central government which realizes the need for recognizing the special rights of these nationalities in the economic, political and cultural spheres, and for respecting their religious beliefs. Thus all the conditions exist for the alliance of all Spaniards and peoples of Spain. And this task must be solved with the active support of our Party.

### THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE: THE FASCISTS, TROTSKYITES AND “UNCONTROLLED” ELEMENTS

Who are the enemies of the people? The enemies of the people are the *fascists, Trotskyites and the “uncontrolled” elements*. Our chief care at the present moment is to guarantee the unity of the whole of the Spanish people, t.e., the alliance between the proletariat and all the supporters of progress, all who want to see Spain prosperous and happy. But at the same time we must disclose and expose all the enemies of the people, wherever they may hide. Our chief enemy is fascism, against which we concentrate all our Are and all the hatred of the people. But our hatred is directed with equal force against the agents of fascism, against those who, like the P.O.U.M., these Trotskyites in disguise, conceal themselves behind pseudo-revolutionary phraseology so as the better to fulfil their role as agents of our enemies in our own country. To destroy the “Fifth Column” we must destroy all those who defend the political slogans of the enemy. But the slogans of our enemy are *against* the democratic republic, *against* the antifascist People’s Front, *against* the Frente Popular government, *against* the regular army, *against* the Soviet Union because it is showing such splendid solidarity with the Spanish people in this struggle.

No matter what pseudo-revolutionary slogans the Trotskyites use to camouflage themselves, their fascist ears stick out everywhere. Who wanted to disperse Parliament with bayonets? Franco, and with him the local and foreign fascists who organized the uprising. The Spanish Trotskyites demand the same thing, as is shown by the newspaper *Batalla* which, on January 30, 1936, published a resolution of the Central Committee of the P.O.U.M. on the need for destroying the parliaments of Madrid and Barcelona because they are “absolutely unnecessary.” Here is complete unanimity with the fascists.

Franco and the rest of the scoundrels brazenly declare that they are defending their country, their nation. These people who have betrayed their country, who are selling our territory piecemeal to international fascism, and have the impudence to call themselves “nationalists,” burst into fury when we expose them as traitors to their country and butchers of the people. They do not recognize our right, the right of the Spanish people as established by law, to defend our country. What is the position of the Trotskyites in this regard? The same as that of Franco.

When the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite conspiracy was discovered in the Soviet Union, and the Trotskyite criminals—spies and wreckers—came before the proletarian court, the Spanish Trotskyites hastened to defend their friends and joined the chorus of the German and Italian fascist press, which bitterly attacked the Soviet system for being able to expose the

criminal machinations of the fascist agents. It is clear from this that these agents of fascism have nothing in common with the proletariat or with any honest ideas. We fight against the Trotskyites because they are the agents of our enemy who have penetrated into the ranks of the anti-fascists. It would be a mistake to regard the Trotskyites as part of the working class movement. They are an unprincipled group of counter-revolutionaries, agents of international fascism, their chief being Trotsky, direct agent of the Gestapo. In their fury against the Soviet Union, against the great Bolshevik Party and against the Communist International, the Trotskyites stretch out their hands to the fascists. This is why the Communists resolutely refuse to enter any organ whatever together with the Trotskyites. The Party must raise the question before the working masses of a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyites, so as to train the masses for the struggle against the hidden enemies of the working class.

Trotskyism is not a political party but a gang of counter-revolutionary elements. Fascism, Trotskyism and the “uncontrolled” elements are the three enemies of the people who must be removed from the political life not only of Spain but also of all civilized countries. (*Loud applause.*)

#### THE GROWTH AND COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

Our political line, which has penetrated so deeply among the masses, is the line of the Frente Popular, the line of the proletarian united front, the line carried out with the aim of preserving and developing the alliance of all Spaniards in the struggle for national independence and for a republican and democratic Spain possessing a profound social content. It is precisely this political line that has attracted thousands of fighters at the front into the Party, including hundreds of the best representatives of the airfleet, navy and army. (*The delegates rise to their feet and, loudly greet the representatives of all arms present at the Plenum.*)

Thousands of women have joined our ranks, a sign of their political awakening at this historic moment. They have come into our ranks because they have seen in our Party the best defender of their interests, the fighter for the equality of men and women. It is not without good reason that the symbolic figure of our Party is our colleague, Comrade Pasionaria, filled with fearlessness and the spirit of self-sacrifice. (*All present rise and give a loud ovation to Comrade Dolores Ibarruri.*)

At the present time the Communist Party, which has 131,600 members fighting at the front in the ranks of the people’s army, has 249,140 members, and this is only in the provinces ruled by the republican government. This figure includes 50,000 members of the united Socialist Party of Catalonia. The social composition of the Party is as follows: 87,660 industrial workers, 62,250 agricultural laborers, 76,700 peasants, 15,485 from the middle classes and 7,045 representatives of the intellectuals and the liberal professions. There are 19,300 women in the Communist Party. (*Applause.*)

We must be vigilant. It is not impossible that agents of the enemy have penetrated and will penetrate into our ranks. Our Party must constitute a model of honesty and proletarian morals. We must educate the new Party members, and this is one of the great tasks facing our Party. It is not sufficient to enlist such a mass of members into the Party. We must take account of the directions of our great Stalin as to the need for studying people, giving them help in political education and properly distributing work among them. We must follow the directions of Comrade Stalin, and you know what significance attaches to his words, which branded the

practice when “instead of being studied, and placed at their posts only after being studied, people are frequently flung about like pawns.”\*

Our primary care and task must be, as our leader and teacher pointed out, to secure that, “...our leader should display the most solicitous attitude towards our workers, ‘little’ and ‘big,’ no matter in what sphere they are engaged, cultivating them assiduously, assisting them when they need support, encouraging them when they display their first successes, advancing them, and so forth.”†

We must not forget the great Leninist truth: Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. And this is what our Party needs most of all. We cannot be satisfied with merely one central Party school for the education of cadres. Every district committee must organize its own schools.

The Party issues several newspapers every day. Permit me to greet our beloved paper *Mundo Obrero*, the fighting organ of our Party, which plays the role in the firing line of leader of the heroic fighters of Madrid. (*The delegates rise to their feet and amid loud and prolonged applause greet the representatives of "Mundo Obrero."*)

All the leading organs of the Party, beginning with the Central Committee and ending with the district committees must be more operative in their work. They must get rid of the remnants of sectarian tendencies in their relations with friendly organizations. There must be more of the collective spirit in work and in the solution of tasks. It is an impermissible situation when a secretary or a responsible worker in a committee usurps the position of the whole committee, settles all questions on his own authority, without drawing the other comrades into active participation in the work.

In view of the fact that our Party must be the basic instrument for strengthening the Frente Popular and for rallying the Spanish people for the struggle against home and foreign fascists, the basic tasks of the Communists are as follows: *at the front* they must be models of discipline and heroism; they must be model fighters, but at the same time they must show the maximum vigilance towards the various acts of provocation and enemy espionage in the people’s army.

In industry they must be the best “shock workers.” They must fight for the formation of a war industry, following the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, who never stop before any difficulties.

Our watchword must be: “Produce more and better!”

In the villages, the Communists must stubbornly carry out the agrarian policy of our Party which has already produced so many good results. They must continue the work of organizing the peasants and agricultural laborers into producing cooperative societies and trade unions. They must form committees of contact between the agricultural laborers and peasants, thus ensuring a close alliance between the working people of the country districts. They must convince everyone of the necessity to respect small ownership. They must see to the intensification and differentiation of the sowings, increasing agricultural production. They must fight for the provision of credits, seeds and fertilizers for the peasants.

As for the intellectuals, the Communists, whose ideas are built on a scientific basis and who are fighting for a splendid and happy life for all mankind, must day by day strengthen the bonds of brotherhood with the intellectuals and in practice must show that the people love science, art and literature, whereas fascism is the synonym for superstition and ignorance, barbarism and the

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\* Joseph Stalin, *The Soviets and the Individual*, p. 11, International Publishers, New York.

† *Ibid.*, p. 10.

negation of culture. The Communists must fight to ensure such conditions for men of science that they will be able to give all their knowledge to the people and assist our victory.

The Communists must be the best *organizers of the rear*, while paying the maximum attention to the needs of the front. The Communists must care for the wounded, invalids, the wives and children of the fighters, and see to the just distribution of food. They must fight to secure that all give the maximum of their labor to the cause of the war. They must mobilize all that is honest and healthy against concealed enemies, against war profiteers and against the idlers who are funking at the rear.

The Communists must be the best defenders of the trade unions, and systematically recruit members to them. They must educate the masses in the unions and promote cadres for production from among them. They must fight to secure the operation of genuine trade union democracy which will permit the best representatives of the working class to occupy leading posts. On the basis of unity of action between the trade unions of the National Confederation of Labor and the General Workers' Union, the Communists must assist in establishing the necessary conditions for the fusion of the National Confederation of Labor and the General Workers' Union into a single trade union federation. In order to strengthen still further the U.G.T., to which the vast majority of the members of our Party belong, we must seek in a comradely way to make sure that if it is impossible to call a congress to elect a new leadership on a democratic basis then representatives of the Communist Party be included in the central leadership.

The Communists must strengthen and extend their work among *women*. It is necessary to strengthen the already existing organization of anti-fascist women and mobilize all the women of Spain in defense of their country and the national independence. A movement of the women of new Spain must be established.

Hundreds of thousands of Spanish citizens are thirsting to maintain regular contacts with the great land of socialism, the Soviet Union. It is therefore necessary to extend and develop in every way the present Friends of the U.S.S.R. society in Spain.

The I.L.D., which in the words of Comrade Dimitroff, "must become, as it were, the Red Cross of the united front of the proletariat and the anti-fascist People's Front," must be given every aid so as to be in a position to fulfil the tasks placed before it at the present moment.

Every help must also be given to the United Socialist Youth, these splendid young people who have advanced thousands of fighters and excellent cadres from their ranks. We must make sure that it becomes the only organization of the youth. The losses suffered by the leading cadres of the United Socialist Youth must be made good by the intense recruiting of thousands of new members.

The agreement signed between the United Socialist Youth, the Anarchist Youth and the Republican Youth aims at forming "brigades" for the increase of production in all factories, for improving the quality of production and lowering costs. On the basis of this agreement, the organization of such "brigades" must take place in close collaboration with and under the leadership of the factory committees, consisting of members of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. We must also strengthen our contacts with the organizations of our Party in Catalonia and the Basque provinces. We must organize a constant interchange of experience with them by mutual representation in the respective central committees.

The unity and monolithic spirit of the Communist Party are our great pride. Our political line is clear and understandable to the broad masses of the Spanish people. If our political line is so comprehensible, it is because it is penetrated by the ideology and the strategic and tactical

orientation of the Communist International. (*Prolonged applause.*) It is because the Party has been able correctly to apply the strategic line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, as set out by our great Comrade Dimitroff. (*Loud applause.*)

WE SHALL CONQUER BECAUSE WE ARE FIGHTING NOT ONLY FOR OUR OWN CAUSE BUT FOR THE CAUSE OF ALL PROGRESSIVE MANKIND

To win the war that has been forced on us, we shall yet have to suffer and sacrifice a great deal. The struggle will be stubborn and long drawn out. International fascism can still deal heavy blows at us. But in spite of all, we profoundly believe in the fighting power of our people, and are therefore confident that we shall win. We shall win because we are fighting not only for our own cause, for the cause of our country, but for the cause of the whole of progressive mankind. We shall win because we are sure of international solidarity. We shall conquer because the heroic International Brigade, the best sons of the international proletariat, the best representatives of democracy, are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, showing in practice their solidarity with us. The Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, etc., have given us great help, and I am sure that at the present moment they will still further strengthen the campaign of solidarity with the Spanish people, so that if the so-called control is established, the workers and the democratic forces of their countries will not only not weaken their help but on the contrary will strengthen it, for the defense of Spain is also the defense of their own people.

We shall conquer because as Comrade Dimitroff said;

“The victory of the Spanish people over the fascist reactionaries, the fascist interventionists, and the establishment of a strong republican parliamentary democratic regime, based on the People’s Front, will decisively undermine the material and political basis of fascism in Spain, will lead to the further rallying of the democratic forces in France, Great Britain and other countries, where, fascism threatens to destroy the political rights and liberties which the people have won.”

The Italian and German fascists are preparing to render still more active aid to the Spanish rebels with men and munitions, and this creates a danger of a new big war being unleashed. Will international democracy retreat again before the onslaught of the fascists? We hope not. And this hope is founded on the fact that our brother Parties, in cooperation with democracy, will be able to demand of their governments that they offer deserved and categorical resistance to Germany and Italy, countries which are endangering the interests of France, Great Britain and all the democratic countries of the world. (*Loud applause.*)

Control is to be applied. They want to apply restrictions to us, to lock us up in our country on the pretext that this will hasten the termination of the war. We want nothing so much as the speedy conclusion of the war. But it must end in the triumph of the cause of the people, because it is a just and sacred cause. Otherwise the war cannot end. We have before us the example of the Soviet Union, our great sister country, which has been able to overcome all difficulties and defeat both internal and external enemies. The heroism of the Spanish people shows that we can follow this example. We shall win because the Soviet Union, the symbol of the liberation of oppressed peoples, is on our side. (*Prolonged applause. Cries of greeting to the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin.*)

Comrades, members of the Central Committee and the enlarged plenum of the Central Committee! The general line of what needs to be done to ensure victory has been indicated. I am quite sure that with your participation, our plenum will take the right line which the masses need

particularly now. We shall indicate the path along which they will arrive at victory. I repeat that our enlarged plenum cannot be a plenum of the Communist Party alone. Our plenum must become the plenum of the broad masses of the people of all Spain.

I have therefore only to add: Comrades, forward! Long live the unity of the Spanish people and their struggle against fascism!

Long live the anti-fascist Frente Popular!

Long live our noble Communist Party!

Long live our noble Communist International, which firmly holds the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!

For the victory of the weapons of the people!

For a prosperous and happy Spain!

*(An outburst of applause engulfs the last words of the speaker. All stand and loudly applaud Comrade Diaz. Shouts in honor of the Communist Party, the Central Committee, the Soviet Union, the Frente Popular and the democratic republic. The ovation lasts several minutes and ends with the singing of the "Internationale.")*