

# Specific Features of the Spanish Revolution

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The heroic struggle of the Spanish people has deeply stirred the whole world. Since the October Socialist Revolution of 1917, this is the biggest event in the emancipation struggle of the masses of the people in capitalist countries.

The struggle against the remnants of feudalism, the aristocrats, the monarchist officers, the princes of the church, against fascist enslavement, has united the vast majority of the Spanish people. The workers and peasants, the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and even certain groups of the bourgeoisie stand in defense of freedom and the republic. But a handful of mutinous generals are waging war against their own people with the help of Moroccans whom they have duped, and the international criminal scum of the Foreign Legion.

The struggle of the Spanish people contains features of a national revolutionary war. It is a war to save the people and the country from foreign bondage, because the victory of the insurgents would mean the economic, political and cultural decline of Spain, its disintegration as an independent state, the enslavement of its people by German and Italian fascism. It is a national revolutionary struggle for the further reason that its victory will bring liberation to the Catalonians, the Basques and the Galicians who were oppressed by the old aristocracy of Castile.

The victory of the people will deal a death blow to fascism in Spain, will destroy its material basis, will hand over the big landed estates and the industrial enterprises of the fascist rebels to the people, will create the prerequisites for a further successful struggle of the toiling masses of Spain for their social liberation.

The victory of the People's Front in Spain will strengthen the cause of peace throughout Europe, and in the first place will prevent the warmongers converting Spain into a military base for the fascist encirclement and invasion of France.

The struggle of the People's Front in Spain is setting the democratic forces of the whole world into motion. The success of this struggle will strengthen the cause of democracy in all countries, will

weaken fascism in those places where it has control and will hasten its doom.

#### THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN IS A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

The revolution in Spain, a component part of the anti-fascist struggle throughout the world, is a revolution with *the widest social basis. It is a people's revolution. It is a national revolution. It is an anti-fascist revolution.*

The relationship of class forces within Spain is such that the cause of the Spanish people is invincible, but the forces of world reaction, first and foremost the German and Italian fascists, hinder the victory of the Spanish people. They are supporting the insurgents, supplying them with arms, with the connivance of the democratic governments of capitalist countries. It would not be correct to draw a complete parallel between the Spanish revolution and the Russian Revolution of 1905, still less with the Revolution of 1917. The Spanish revolution has its own specific features which arise from the peculiarities of the situation both at home and abroad. Big historic events and movements are not repeated with photographic exactness either in time or in space.

The Spanish people are solving the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The reactionary castes, whose power the fascist rebels wish to restore, ruled the country in such a way that it became the most backward and poorest country in Europe. All that is healthy, creative or vital in all strata of the Spanish people felt and still feels the strangling oppression of the past which is irrevocably doomed to disappearance. All that is creative and living in Spain is expecting a radical improvement of its position from the solution of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

This means the necessity, in the interests of the economic and political development of the country, to solve the agrarian question by destroying the feudal relations which dominate in the countryside. It means the necessity to liberate the peasants, the workers and all the toiling population from the intolerable burden of an out-of-date economic and administrative system. It further means the necessity to liquidate the privileges of the aristocracy, the church, the religious orders, the necessity to smash the uncontrolled power of the reactionary castes.

But Spanish fascism stands in the path of the solution of these tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Spanish fascism is not

only the bearer of capitalist reaction, but also of medieval feudalism, monarchy, clerical fanaticism and bigotry, the inquisition of the Jesuits, the defender of the reactionary castes, of aristocratic privileges, which, like a leaden weight, drag the country backwards and hinder the development of national economy. It is not only the representative of trustified capital, which resorts also to social demagogy in order to crush the masses; it brings with it naked violence without demagogy; it is the representative of the old order, rotten through and through and hated by all. Therefore, in a country where the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution have not yet been solved, it has not succeeded in forming a party with a wide mass petty-bourgeois basis. By rising in armed rebellion against the lawful government, fascism alienated even some of those bourgeois elements which, in the conditions of a bourgeois constitution, would have sought to make agreement with it. Fascism brought about a position in which the petty bourgeoisie turned decisively to the side of the proletariat, and in which those reformist elements in the workers' movement which stood for the "constitutional" path of development were forced to take up a position on the side of the people; more than ever before, fascism rallied against itself all the parties and organizations of the Peoples' Front, from Martinez Barrio to the Communists, from the Basque nationalists to the Catalonian Anarchists.

The Spanish people is solving in a new way the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which corresponds to the deepest interests of the broadest masses. In the first place, it is solving them in circumstances of civil war caused by the insurgents. In the second place, the interests of the armed struggle against fascism force it to confiscate the property of landlords and employers who are involved in the insurrection, because it is impossible to secure the victory over fascism without uprooting its economic positions. In the third place, it has the possibility of utilizing the historic experience of the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution by the proletariat of Russia after it had conquered power, because the great proletarian revolution brilliantly accomplished "in passing" and "in the course of events" those things which form the basic content of the revolution in Spain at the present historic stage. Finally, the Spanish working class is trying to bring about its leading role in the revolution, placing upon it a proletarian imprint by the extent of its struggle and its forms.

## THE ROLE OF THE SPANISH WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTION

At all stages of development of the revolution in Spain the working class took upon itself the initiative in all the chief actions against the forces of reaction. The working class was the soul of the movement which overthrew the dictatorship of Primo De Rivera and the monarchy. Strikes and demonstrations of the workers in all the big industrial towns were the starting point for the mighty wave of the mass people's movement in the towns, in the villages, in the army, against which the monarchy was unable to stand. The tireless heroic struggle of the working class has helped to deepen the people's character of the revolution, in spite of all the efforts of the bourgeoisie, of the Republican leaders and even of the Socialist Party to hinder and crush the mass movement. The working class of Spain has a tremendous historic service to its credit – the first barrier against the fascist onslaught was raised by the general strike and the armed struggle of the Asturian miners in the unforgettable days of October, 1934. In spite of a bloody defeat, the working class after October was, and still is, the organizer and main backbone of the anti-fascist People's Front.

But the special character of the revolution in Spain consists above all in the peculiarity of the conditions in which the proletariat brings about its hegemony in the revolution. The split in the working class in Spain has its own special feature. In the first place, the working class of Spain was at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931 without a genuine mass Communist Party, which at that time was only taking form, not only organizationally but ideologically and politically. In the second place, the Spanish proletariat was under the strong influence of the Socialist Party during the period while a mass Communist Party was growing up in the process of the revolution. For decades the Socialist Party had been the means through which the influence of the bourgeoisie penetrated to the working class and for two and a half years was in coalition with the bourgeoisie. This Party had much stronger positions in the working class than, for example, the Russian Mensheviks in 1905 and in 1917. In the third place – and this distinguished and distinguishes Spain from all other countries of Europe – there are in the Spanish proletariat, along with the Communist and Socialist Parties, mass Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations. The ideology and practice of these organizations frequently form a hindrance to the penetra-

tion of proletarian organization and proletarian discipline into the ranks of the working class.

Spanish Anarchism is a peculiar phenomenon which reflects the economic backwardness of the country and the backwardness of its state structure, the scatteredness of the proletariat, the existence of numerous strata of declassed elements and finally a specific particularism – features which are characteristic of countries with strong feudal relics. At the present time, when the Spanish people are exerting every effort to drive back the frantic attack of furious fascism, when the Anarchist workers are fighting bravely at the fronts, there are plenty of elements which, hiding behind the principles of Anarchism, are weakening the solidarity and unity of the People's Front by hasty projects for compulsory "collectivization", the "abolition of money", the preaching of "organized indiscipline", etc.

The tremendous service performed by the Communist Party of Spain consists in the fact that, while tirelessly and consistently struggling to eliminate the split, it fought and is fighting to create the greatest possible prerequisites for ensuring the hegemony of the proletariat as the basic factor for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The establishment of a united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties, the formation of a united organization of the toiling youth, the formation of a united party of the proletariat in Catalonia, and, finally, the most important, the conversion of the Communist Party itself into a big mass party with tremendous and ever-growing influence and authority – all this is a guarantee that the working class will be able still better to bring about its hegemony, taking upon itself the leadership of the whole revolutionary movement and leading it to victory.

#### THE PEASANTRY

Such is the situation in the ranks of the working class. How do matters stand with the peasants? It is known that the majority of the army, consisting mainly of the sons of peasants, were dragged along by the officers, and during the first days of the rising found themselves in the camp of the enemies of the people. And the fact that the fascist officers were able to draw to their side relatively large groups of soldiers represents the price republican parties, the Socialists and the Anarchists are paying for their neglect of peasant demands for many years. However, there are tremendous grounds for the active participation of the Spanish peasants in the revolution.

In the Spanish villages there are two million agricultural workers. Although in many of the northern districts they are still partly under the influence of the landlords and the clericals, the agricultural workers, even in the most backward provinces, are an element of revolutionary ferment. This big strata of the agricultural proletariat in Spain opens up wide possibilities for the workers' organizations to influence the peasant masses, drawing them into the active struggle against fascism, consolidating the alliance of the working class with the peasants and strengthening the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance. Moreover, the remaining three million peasants consist mostly of poor peasants, mercilessly exploited and oppressed for centuries, and passionately expecting land and liberty from the revolution. These masses of peasants, liberated from the servitude of monarchist prejudices, gradually freeing themselves from the influence of the church, undoubtedly sympathize with the republic. And although the military units of the People's Militia contain compact groups of peasants, nevertheless the millions of peasant reserves have not yet entered the active struggle against the fascist rebels. With the exception of Galicia, there is not yet a wide guerilla movement. In the rear the peasants have as yet caused little trouble to the fascist rebels by their actions. But their entrance into the active struggle is inevitable. The millions of peasants reserves are getting into motion and they will soon say their decisive word.

For long years the illiterate Spanish peasants lived outside political life. A distinguishing feature of Spain is the fact that the Spanish peasants entered the revolution without having their national party. The only attempt to form a peasant party was made in Galicia by the priest Basilio Alvarez, who formed the Galician Agrarian Party with a program of struggle against the local feudal privileges, known as "foros". This party fell to pieces in 1934-35. But it is interesting to note that Galicia is the only district where the peasants en masse have taken up armed struggle against the rebels and are now organizing a guerilla struggle at the rear of the reactionary bandits. The Catalonian organization of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, the so-called "Rabassaires", has also some of the distinguishing features of a political party of the peasants. And it is also characteristic that in the Catalonian villages, where this organization is influential, the fascists have had no success.

The only party which fearlessly defended both the immediate demands of the peasants and the demand for the confiscation with-

out compensation of all the land of the landlords, the church and the monasteries for the benefit of the peasants was the class party of the proletariat, the Communist Party. Unfortunately, it was not yet sufficiently strong to carry with it the broad masses of peasants.

#### THE URBAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE

As for the urban petty bourgeoisie, the vast majority of them are on the side of democracy and the revolution, against fascism. Here, their strivings for liberty and social progress, their hatred of the past, steeped in poverty and superstitious ignorance, play a decisive role. Spanish fascism, in view of this, is deprived of the possibility of forming a mass basis for itself in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie as was done or is being done by fascism in other capitalist countries. Its social demagoguery breaks down against the fact that the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the handicraftsmen, the intellectuals, scientists and artists can see how in one rank with the fascist leaders march the hated big landlords, "casiques", bishops, who have fattened on the poverty of the people, the case-hardened politicians like Lerroux, corrupt bankers like Juan March. It is true that the political representatives of the Spanish petty bourgeoisie did not immediately take up their present Jacobin position. They wavered. After the fall of the monarchy they supported the policy of coalition. When entering the People's Front movement they stubbornly refused to include in the program of the People's Front the demand for the confiscation of the land. Even after February 16, the Azana government, which rested on the parties of the People's Front, showed irresoluteness in the matter of cleansing the apparatus of state and the army from fascists. Many representatives of the petty bourgeoisie sought for a compromise, trying to avoid an open struggle against fascism.

But the cruel and treacherous attack of the fascists on the lawful government caused an outburst of indignation in the ranks of the urban petty bourgeoisie and overcame a considerable part of their vacillations. Under the pressure of events the Republican leaders took the path of a determined and consistent struggle against the fascist rebels.

"What was left for us to do", stated Azana, "when the greater part of the army had broken its oath of loyalty to the republic? Should we have abandoned defense and submitted to a new tyranny? No! We had to give the people the possibility of defending

themselves.” The Republican petty bourgeoisie consented to use plebian methods in the struggle against fascism, agreed to give arms to the workers and peasants, supported the organization of people’s revolutionary tribunals, which are acting no less energetically than the Committee of Public Safety at the time of Robespierre and St. Just. This means that the urban petty bourgeoisie in Spain are playing a role which differs very greatly from that played by the petty bourgeoisie, for example, in Germany and Italy on the eve and at the time of the advent of fascism to power, and we must take into account this special feature when we characterise the present stage of the Spanish revolution.

#### THE BOURGEOISIE

Finally, the bourgeoisie. Being interested in the restriction of feudal privileges, they took a fairly active part in the overthrow of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the monarchy. The industrial bourgeoisie expected to receive from the republic more favorable conditions for their development. The bourgeois parties tried to achieve this aim by a compromise with the privileged feudalists and the semi-feudal castes, and, unfortunately, for over two years they drew the republican petty bourgeoisie and even the Socialist Party along this path. The policy of the coalition government caused profound disillusionment among the masses of the people. Fascism utilized this weakening of the position of democracy and took up the offensive, gathering together and mobilizing all that is most reactionary in the country.

This strengthening of fascism gave rise to a recognition among the masses of the necessity for barring its path. The masses rose in defense of the republic (October, 1934). The process of differentiation in the ranks of the bourgeoisie increased and a crisis began in the traditional bourgeois parties. For example, the Radical Party of Lerroux, this party of political corruption which reflected all the weakness and vice of the Spanish big bourgeoisie, rapidly fell to pieces, and after the 1936 elections disappeared from the political scene. From this party a group was formed which, led by the present chairman of the Cortes, Martinez Barrio, took part in the organization of the repulse of the fascists and entered the ranks of the People’s Front. The considerable success of the party of Martinez Barrio at the elections cannot be explained otherwise than by the anti-fascist sentiments of part of the bourgeoisie who were not interested



in the realization of the reactionary plots of the fascists and their ally Lerroux. From the first day of the formation of the People's Front, Martinez Barrio took an active part in it. At the moment when there was a tense situation at the front after the fall of Toledo, he was chairman at the October session of the Cortes, devoted to the task of the defense of Madrid.

In the various republican governments formed after the elections of February 16, 1936, there were elements which were undoubtedly representatives of certain strata of the bourgeoisie. These people remained on the side of the republic when the fascist insurrection broke out – Jose Hiral, member of the Left Republican Party and minister in the present government, a fairly big landowner whose estates had come under the action of agrarian reform even in the first years of the republic; Francisco Barnes, Casares Quiroga, Enrico Ramos and Manuel Blasque Garzon – industrialists and landowners who formed part of the Ministry of Jose Hiral, i.e., were members of one of the governments which organized the defense of the republic against the fascist rebels. Had the development of events been different it is possible that some of these people would have sought for a compromise with reaction. But the fascist rising, depriving them of this possibility, showed them the necessity for defending the republic and democracy by all means, linked up their fate with that of the fighting masses of the people.

Numerous groups of the bourgeoisie in the nationalities oppressed by Spanish feudalism are also acting on the side of the republic. There are districts in Spain where the whole population has fought for centuries to throw off this national oppression. First and foremost they are the Catalonia and the Basque provinces. The bourgeoisie in these districts cannot support the fascists and sympathize with them, as they know perfectly well that the victory of the fascists would destroy the possibility of any national independence or autonomy whatever. This victory would signify a return to the old regime of national oppression.

In Catalonia, the so-called Catalan League and its reactionary leaders have disappeared from the scene of struggle. But in the ranks of the Left Catalonians – the Esquierres – there still remain a number of representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie who occupy prominent places in the Catalanian government. And there is no doubt that in Barcelona, as throughout all Catalonia, the rebellion of the fascist generals was put down more rapidly than in other dis-

tricts not only because big masses of the Spanish proletariat are concentrated there, but also because almost the whole population enthusiastically took part in crushing the rising and even some bourgeois circles sympathized with this.

As regards the Basque provinces, the Basque National Party, whose representative, Manuel Irujo, is a member of the Madrid government, is taking an active part in the struggle against the fascists. Manuel Irujo is a big industrialist who has always fought for the national liberation of the Basques. He was against the coup d'état of Primo de Rivera, and was a determined opponent of the monarchy. In the first days of the fascist revolt he personally led military operations against the fascist officers in Bilbao. All his relatives, including his 70-year-old mother, are being held as hostages by the fascists. This Catholic and industrialist is acting loyally in defense of the republic, and declares that his party is fighting "for a regime of liberty, political democracy and social justice". The Basque National Party, of which he is the leader, is a party of the Catholic bourgeoisie which has been fighting for the national independence of Biscay over a number of years. This party to a considerable extent consists of priests. Not so long ago the French reactionary, Dr. Kerillis, expressed his surprise at the fact that the representatives of the priesthood in the Biscay provinces are carrying on a heroic struggle against the reactionary gangs of General Mola. But there is nothing surprising in this. The role of these groups of the Basque bourgeoisie, who with arms in hand fought side by side with the heroic defenders of Irun, St. Sebastian and Bilbao, is undoubtedly a more progressive one than the part played by those leaders of the British Labor Party who are dragging at the tail of the British policy of "non-intervention". We have every ground for applying to these groups of the Basque bourgeoisie the following words written by Comrade Stalin in 1924:

"The struggle the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of his country is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his entourage, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism.... The struggle the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of their country is objectively *revolutionary*, despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois calling of the leaders of the

Egyptian national movement and despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism; whereas the fight the English Labor government is waging to perpetuate Great Britain's domination over Egypt is, for the same reasons, a *reactionary* struggle, despite the proletarian origin and the proletarian calling of the members of that government, and despite the fact that they are 'for' socialism."

What conclusion, then, should be drawn from the estimation given of the position occupied by these groups of the Spanish bourgeoisie?

There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie sympathize with the insurgents, and support them, but there are groups of the bourgeoisie, especially among the national minorities, who, although they do not play a leading part in the People's Front, took part prior to the revolt and are now continuing to participate in the anti-fascist People's Front. Therefore, these groups must not be left out of account in the anti-fascist camp, for by their participation in the People's Front they are assisting in extending it, thus strengthening the chances of the victory of the Spanish people. A wide social basis at a moment of such sharp struggle is one of the factors guaranteeing the success of the revolution.

In 1927, Comrade Stalin, the master of revolutionary strategy, wrote that certain tactical principles of Leninism exist, which unless taken into account, it is impossible correctly to lead the revolution:

"I have in mind such tactical principles of Leninism as:  
(a) The principle of taking account, without fail, of the national peculiarities and national specific features in each separate country.... (b) The principle of the Communist Party of each country making use, without fail, of the slightest possibility of ensuring that the proletariat has a mass ally, even though temporary, shaky, unstable and unreliable, (c) The principle of taking account, without fail, of the truth that propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient for the political education of millions of people, but that this requires the political experience of the masses themselves."

#### THE SPANISH PEOPLE'S FRONT - ITS COMPOSITION AND CHARACTER

Guided by these principles, the Communist Party of Spain has carried on the struggle not only to bring about united action by the

working class, but also for a broad anti-fascist People's Front, which represents the peculiar form of the development of the Spanish revolution at the present stage.

This front embraces the working class and its organizations, namely, the Communist and Socialist Parties, the General Workers' Union, the Syndicalist Organization of Pestana; it is supported now by the Anarchist National Confederation of Labor; further, it covers the petty bourgeoisie in the shape of the Republican Party of Azana, and the Catalanian Party of Escer; it includes groups of the bourgeoisie represented by the party of Martinez Barrio – the “Republican League”, by the Basque nationalists; it is supported, apart from the Catalanian “Rabassaires” organization, by millions of Spanish peasants who have no party of their own, but who hate fascism and are hungering for land. The Spanish anti-fascist People's Front, as a specific form of the unification of various classes in face of the fascist danger, differs for instance from the French People's Front. The Spanish People's Front is operating and carrying on the struggle in circumstances of a revolution, which is solving its bourgeois-democratic tasks in a consistent democratic way, in circumstances of a civil war which is demanding exceptional measures so as to ensure victory for the people.

In the same way it does not explain the real character of the Spanish People's Front to define it simply as the “democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry”. Firstly, the People's Front in Spain bases itself not only on the workers and peasants, but on a wider social basis. Secondly, under the pressure of the civil war, it is adopting a series of measures which go somewhat further than the program of a government of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. And at the same time the peculiarity of the Spanish People's Front consists in the fact that the split in the ranks of the proletariat, the relatively slow pace at which the masses of the peasantry are being drawn into the armed struggle, the influence of petty-bourgeois Anarchism and of Social-Democratic illusions which have not yet been outlived, and expressed in the striving to leap over the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, are creating a series of additional difficulties in the struggle of the Spanish people for a democratic republic.

The democratic republic which is being established in Spain is not like a bourgeois-democratic republic of the usual type. It is being born in a civil war, in which the leading role is being played by the

working class, in a situation where socialism has been victorious in over one-sixth of the earth's surface, while in a number of capitalist countries conservative bourgeois democracy has already been destroyed by fascism. A distinctive feature of this new type of democratic republic is the fact that fascism, which has taken up the struggle against the people, is being suppressed by the armed might of the people, and that there will be no place for this chief bloody enemy of the people in this republic. Should the people be victorious, fascism will never be able to enjoy there such liberty, for instance, as in France, the U.S.A., or England, where it makes use of bourgeois democracy and the rights provided by it, to destroy democracy and establish a regime of arbitrary rule. Secondly, the material basis of fascism will be smashed in this republic. Even now all land and enterprises belonging to those participating in the fascist revolt have been confiscated and handed over to the Spanish people. Even now, in conformity with the military situation, the Spanish government has been compelled to establish control and the regulation of the economic apparatus in the interests of the defense of the republic. And the more stubbornly the insurgents carry on the war against the lawful government, the further will the Spanish government be compelled to go along the road of strictly regulating the whole economic life of the country. Thirdly, should the people be victorious, this new democracy cannot but be alien to all conservatism; it possesses all the prerequisites for its further development; it provides guarantees for further economic and political conquests by the working people of Spain. And it is precisely for this reason that all the forces of world reaction desire the defeat of the Spanish people.

German and Italian fascism not only organized the revolt of the Spanish generals, but are now giving wholehearted support to the insurgents and are striving to bring about the defeat of the republic. All the parties of extreme reaction and war in all the capitalist countries are sympathetic to the insurgents and are ready to support them. Thus the fighting people of Spain are faced not only by the insurgent generals, but also by the front of world reaction. Hence, the difficulties against which the Spanish people are coming up in suppressing the revolt. These difficulties are being further increased by the fact that there are parties in the capitalist countries which formally stand for bourgeois democracy, but which in fact under the mask of "neutrality" are supporting the fascist intervention. This second camp which covers, for instance, the British conservatives

and the French Right Radicals, is in essence allied with world reaction. This camp has, in fact, the support of certain reactionary Social-Democratic leaders as well.

Finally, the opposite camp, namely, the camp of the working class, the camp of democracy. The foundation of this camp is the international working class, with all its sympathies on the side of the Spanish people. This camp includes all honest anti-fascists, all true democrats, all those who understand that if the Spanish republic is allowed to be crushed, then this means allowing a blow to be dealt to the entire international anti-fascist front, and encouraging fascism to make further attacks on the working class and democracy.

#### FASCISM PLAYING WITH FIRE

Fascism is playing with fire. It is setting the war machine into motion not only against a people of distant Africa, but is attacking one of the peoples of Europe. It cannot now cover up its bandit action by cries about Versailles; it is not Versailles that it is tearing up, but liberty and independence of the Spanish people, and it is letting loose against itself a new wave of hatred among the toiling people. Fascism is thereby preparing for a new advance of the anti-fascist wave throughout the whole world. When German fascism came to power in Germany, it also counted on intimidating the peoples by the Leipzig trial. It achieved the opposite results. The wild frenzy of fascism in Germany assisted in the formation of the People's Front in France and Spain, and let loose the movement for the People's Front throughout the world.

But the Italian and German fascists are pursuing imperialist and aggressive aims as well. They want to crush the Spanish revolution so as to seize part of the colonies of Spain, to occupy part of its territory and to transform it into a base for the preparation of their further onslaughts on the people of Europe. The insurgent generals are agents of foreign imperialism, which is threatening the independence and integrity of the country.

In 1919, in connection with a reference to the Brest Treaty, Lenin said: "The difficulty in the situation with us was that we had to bring Soviet Power into being against patriotism."\* The struggle of the people against the insurgent fascist generals in Spain bears the character of a national struggle in defense of the country against

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\* Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXIV, p. 219, Russian edition.

foreign enslavement, and this still further extends the basis of the revolution. The People's Front is not only continuing the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish people, but also continues the glorious traditions of the struggle carried on by the people of Spain to rid the country of foreign oppression and barbarism.

Thus, we are faced in Spain with a situation where, in the fire of revolutionary struggle, confirmation is being provided of the historic correctness of the political line outlined by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. It is being confirmed not only by the scope of the anti-fascist struggle which has developed in Spain, but also by the part being played in this struggle by the young Communist Party of Spain. At the Seventh Congress Comrade Dimitroff said:

“We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them as *quickly as -possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather.”

In the turbulent waters of the class struggle, the Communist Party of Spain is being transformed into the stalwart helmsman of the fate of its people. With every day that passes it is winning authority among the masses by its selfless devotion to the cause of the revolution, by its high adherence to principle, by its steadfastness at the front and in the rear, by the discipline of its commanders and fighters, and by its profound conviction of the correctness of the path outlined.

Organizer and inspirer of the People's Front, the Party is fighting, fully conscious of its historic responsibility, for the final victory of the People's Front over fascism.