Two Anniversaries

BY JOSE DIAZ

The twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. coincides with the first anniversary of the heroic defense of Madrid.

It is with a tremendous feeling of enthusiasm that the workers, peasants and all antifascists of Spain are solemnly celebrating this anniversary of the land of Soviets. We recognize the tremendous importance of the U.S.S.R. for the working people of the whole world; we recognize the aid and support given to our struggle by the lessons, the experience of the U.S.S.R. and the unsurpassed solidarity of the Soviet people with the Spanish people.

The solidarity of the working people of the U.S.S.R. with Spain has left an indelible feeling in the hearts of all Spaniards, of love and gratitude towards the Land of Socialism, its government, its people and its leader, the genius. Comrade Stalin.

On this day when we are summing up the results of what we have done and have still to do to win victory, we must emphasize the importance to our struggle of the lessons and experience of the Soviet Union.

Our war for national independence against the fascist aggressors has many features similar to those of the heroic and victorious struggle of the Soviet peoples against the White-Guard counter-revolutionary armies and foreign intervention. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union were isolated from the outside world and had to fight in conditions of colossal difficulty. Their difficulties were even greater than ours, they had to fight against powerful armies, well-armed and equipped by the imperialist powers, nevertheless, the Soviet government was victorious, and on the twentieth anniversary of its existence, the U.S.S.R. stands before the whole world as an indomitable fortress in the economic, political and military sense, where 170,000,000 free people, under the leadership of the glorious Bolshevik Party, have achieved successes unparalleled in the history of mankind—a prosperous and happy life, and the most stable, profound, truly socialist democracy.

But it was in struggle that the Soviet people won the right to a happy life. Their struggle was led by the Bolshevik Party which steadily pursued the final aim and did not lose heart in face of either the gigantic difficulties it met on the way, or of the tremendous tasks that had to be solved.

Our own experience has convinced us of the extremely great work performed by the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia under the leadership of the great party of Lenin-Stalin. In defending republican Madrid, we were inspired by the wonderful example of defense Soviet Petrograd in the civil war years.

Can anybody deny that the persistent and stubborn defense of Petrograd taught much to the defenders of Madrid? Despite the hesitation and weakness of those who could not master this wonderful lesson of the struggle of a people for their freedom and independence, the experience of Petrograd convinced the defenders of Madrid that it would hold out against its enemies just as, in its day, Petrograd did; on condition that the people made the necessary sacrifices, organized their forces, and were able to mobilize all means for the struggle without losing heart in critical moments. By following this example, if only

in part, Madrid was able to offer victorious resistance to the fiercest attacks of the enemy, and so today we are celebrating the first anniversary of its glorious defense.

The Communist Party of Spain was one of the chief initiators of the heroic defense of Madrid.

During the course of the whole war we must be guided by the same feeling which guided us during the days of the defense of Madrid. The heroism of the Spanish people was displayed not only in Madrid. In the Asturias, in the Basque country, in Guadalajara and Pozoblanco, we saw the same heroism, the same fighting spirit of the Spanish people as in Madrid, irrespective of the circumstances under which battles took place. Our people yield place to no other people in heroism. They are courageous and self-sacrificing, they accomplish the most difficult tasks, they are ready to "storm the heavens" with their bare fists.

We Communists have unswerving faith in the people; this faith has become still stronger in the course of the sixteen months of severe warfare. But faith in the strength and ability of the people is not in itself enough for victory. What is needed is that all the forces of the people, all means and possibilities be mobilized and rapidly organized. Our Party has stubbornly insisted upon the fulfilment of this essential condition for victory. It spoke of it from the very beginning of the war, and in part even considerably earlier. What were the proposals put forward and insisted upon by our Party? It fought for the creation of a regular army on the basis of conscription; for the creation of a powerful war industry; for the radical purging of the army command; for the purging of the rear; for the correct organization of industry and agriculture, and for an increase in the productivity of labor; for the development and consolidation of the People's Front; for political and trade union unity in the ranks of the proletariat.

This work of our Party—pursued unremittingly throughout the whole of the war, and reinforced by such deeds as the creation of the Fifth Regiment of the People's Militia as the basis of the First Army Corps of the People's Army, and the drawing into the regular army of hundreds of thousands of our best fighters even before the introduction of conscription—shows the firmness and consistency of the political line of our Party.

Much has been done to solve these big war problems, and we must honestly admit that it has been done chiefly and almost exclusively under the *present* People's Front government. But that is not all; considerably more must be done. Therefore, we must not delay, but must push forward rapidly along the road mapped out.

Let us look at what has been carried out of the tasks previously laid down. Have we yet a war industry which corresponds to the possibilities we possess? So far, no. Has our army been completely purged of spies, traitors and vacillating elements? Data exist to show that enemies are still working their way into the ranks of our army, even today, although to a lesser degree than a few months ago. Have we been able thoroughly to purge the rear? No, not by any means. The rear is still infested with fascists and their agents.

We must solve these urgent questions at once. We have enough strength and means to create a war industry. We have worker-experts, machinery, and the raw materials required for it. All that is needed is to bring about, on the basis of the nationalization of the chief branches of industry and a correct wages policy, concentrated action on the part of the government, the trade unions and the workers.

Our army must be thoroughly purged of traitors and spies. Can we do this by restricting ourselves merely to being vigilant towards the intrigues of our enemies and to punishing the criminals who demoralize our troops? This, of course, is a necessary thing, but it is

inadequate for the attainment of our goal. At the time we purge the army of traitors, suspicious and vacillating elements, we must *promote and award* honest fighters and commanders of the people's army. The war has brought forward thousands of capable commanders and soldiers, individuals, who are absolutely loyal to the cause of the people, who have come from the people, and have acquired knowledge of military affairs in the heat of the struggle. The war has also helped to test how far many military specialists are loyal to the Republic and the cause of the people. All these commanders should be given positions of command according to the ability displayed by them in the war against the rebels and interventionists, and irrespective of their past work and education. These commanders should be surrounded by the care and attention of the government and the people.

We must thoroughly purge the rear. Every day new plots, numerous groups of spies and nests of traitors are being discovered. Among these the most abominable are the Trotskyites. Our Party long ago unmasked the Trotskyites as enemies of the people, as agents of fascism and allies of Franco. The police continue to discover illegal Trotskyite organizations, and every new exposure gives fresh proof of their treachery to the Republic and their connections with the fascists.

The position behind the lines will only be reliable when we have mercilessly eradicated all enemies there: the Trotskyites and fascists as well as speculators and food hoarders. The fighting people who are making sacrifices in order in win the war must be assured that there is order behind the lines, that nobody will plunge a knife into the backs of honest fighters, that nobody will dare to speculate on the hunger of the people. The war demands many sacrifices, and the Spanish people are making them with great heroism. But if there is a limited amount of bread, it must be divided among all the working people, and whoever tries to take the share of another, or to take more than he has a right to, must receive the severe punishment he deserves.

All these problems and other problems of the war and revolution must be solved without delay, with military speed. In my report at the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party in March, 1937, I said:

"In the eighth month of the war, decisive importance attaches to the problem of the speed with which decisions are carried out. Just imagine what results we would have achieved, as regards the outcome of the war, had we, from the very first, carried into practice our slogans for the creation of a regular army on the basis of conscription, for the establishment of a single command, the creation of reserves, the development of a powerful war industry, etc. Had we carried all this into practice, the enemy would not only not be at the gates of Madrid, would not only not have occupied Malaga and other towns, but we should have surrounded the enemy in the last redoubts of the country and the outcome of the war would have been in our favor."

Today the task of speeding up is still more acute. The successes of the enemy in the North make it our duty to lose no time in utilizing all our forces and resources, to speed up the development of all the productive possibilities and to strengthen our fighting power to the utmost.

During the sixteen months that have passed, we have succeeded, in the heat of the struggle, in uniting the chief working class and anti-fascist organizations of the country. The creation of the National Youth Alliance, the successes on the road to creating a single proletarian party, the accord between the trade union centers, and the strengthening of the People's Front of late—all these raise us the problem of unity on a still wider scale.

Madrid was a splendid example of unity: it is a most valuable of experience for us. If Madrid was able to hold out successfully against the fierce attacks of the enemy, it was due first and foremost to the common efforts of all anti-fascists, to the united struggle of the Spanish people.

The Communist Party is continuing its work in this direction with enthusiasm and energy. Armed with the rich experience acquired in daily battles, convinced that only by uniting our forces shall we be victorious, inspired by the glorious example of the great Party of Bolsheviks—the C.P.S.U.—the force of the freedom and happiness of the Soviet people—we shall continue henceforth as well to fight untiringly for the interests of the people, for victory in the war, standing firmly at our fighting post, in order to bring our struggle to its conclusion, to drive out the aggressors and destroy fascism once and for all.

Greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

[On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, sent the following greeting to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—The Editors.]

"Free peoples of the Soviet Union! You are about to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of your glorious revolution which placed into the hands of the workers and peasants, into the hands of all working people, the means of production, science, culture and art—all spheres of human creative work. You have raised industry, science and art to such heights during the last twenty years as can only be achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

"Today, on the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, tremendous masses of working people throughout the world, in whose hearts dwell the ideals of social justice, progress and peace, are mustered round the Soviet peoples. Among these masses of people a prominent place is occupied by the Spanish people, their heroic fighters, their workers and peasants who ardently love the Soviet Union and know its magnanimity and warm solidarity. On behalf of the Communist Party and the whole of the Spanish people fighting with indomitable tenacity against the aggressors, I send you ardent greetings and assure you that we shall conquer all difficulties, we shall succeed in destroying fascism and driving it out of our land forever.

"Long live the great Soviet people and their beloved leader Comrade Stalin!

"Long live international solidarity!

"Long live the Spain that has driven the aggressors out, Spain free and progressive!"

GREETINGS FROM DOLORES IBARRURI TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE U.S.S.R.

"Brothers of the great Socialist Fatherland! It is with the deepest joy and satisfaction that you are about to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of your liberating revolution.

"We, on the other hand, are experiencing the horrors of war, in a bloody struggle symbolic of the struggle between the forces of the past and the forces of the future—the forces of peace and of progress.

"In these days, so auspicious for you, so severe for us, we send you our ardent revolutionary greetings, and seize upon the cry coming from the trenches which are drenched in the blood of our heroes: "Long live the U.S.S.R.! Long live Comrade Stalin—the defender of heroic Spain! Long live free and democratic Spain!"

THE HEAD OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT NEGRIN—TO THE SOVIET UNION

"The twentieth anniversary of the Soviet state is an instructive example especially for Spain. In a minimum space of time, the U.S.S.R. has succeeded in making gigantic progress along the road mapped out by the genius, Lenin. With exceptional perspicacity, Stalin has directed the life of the people along the road upon which it has achieved the historic stage when the ideal has become transformed into life.

"The twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union occurs at a time of fierce, merciless interventionist war in Spain. Therefore, knowing the tremendous character of Soviet construction and other aspects of Soviet life, I send my warmest greetings to that great people, the vanguard fighter for indivisible peace and for the right of peoples to free self-government.

"The Soviet Union is uninterruptedly pursuing its line of defending peace. The Soviet

Union came to support the League of Nations at a time when other powers had already begun their hostile actions against it. A series of obstacles has been systematically put forward against the Soviet criterion of indivisible peace down to this very day. This principle is constantly being attacked. The principle of collective security is being countered by one-sided acts having no force at all. Concessions are being made to the instigators of war. In face of the invasion of Spain, there is being applied the principle of so-called 'non-intervention' which bears in it the embryo of a future European war.

"In Europe the right of peoples to free self-government and to determine their own fate according to their own wishes, is absent. Under the sign of fascism, which in itself is the negation of human dignity and civilization, the rough mask of voracious imperialism, fraught with racial and other prejudices, the totalitarian states are waging a war of intervention on the territory of other European states and their colonies. For fascism no value at all attaches either to the independence of other nations, or to the age-old dignity of countries marked by a fruitful and civilizing mission that has been extended over many years.

"The Soviet Union has demonstrated to Europe its role as a civilized people, which is the disinterested friend of peace and maintains respect for other peoples.

"For this it deserves the gratitude of the Spanish people and the admiration of the government. The Soviet Union, in pursuing the principles of the revolution, the twentieth anniversary of which we are celebrating, has become the most outstanding defender of international law, of the independence and freedom of peoples. Therefore, it deserves the gratitude not only of Spain, but of the whole of the civilized world."