APPENDIX

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

The following appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain was published in October after the revolutionary fights. It contains a criticism of the tactics of the united front organs, the “Workers’ Alliances”, which in some localities, in addition to Communists and Socialists, also comprised anarchists.

TO ALL WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF SPAIN, CATALONIA, THE BASQUE PROVINCES AND GALICIA:

The provocation of the exploiting class of Spain, which set up the Vatican-fascist government, called forth an outburst of popular indignation which has shaken the regime of the bourgeoisie and landowners to its very foundations.

Tired of suffering hunger, exploitation and terror, the workers rose in order to take up the fight for bread, land and freedom. In very many places, especially in Asturias and Biscay, the red flag of revolution and Soviet Power fluttered in the breeze as a symbol of a new Spain, freed from misery. The heroism of the workers in the fight reached its highest point in the glorious epoch of red Asturias, where the socialist republic of the workers and peasants was proclaimed, which is still being maintained today, defended with the breasts and weapons of the slaves of the pits, in the midst of a hell of blood and machine-gun fire let loose by the fascist dictatorship government of Lerroux-Gil Robles, who sent their brutes of the Foreign Legion and the colonial troops to murder the brave mine-workers, to massacre their wives and children with artillery, to burn down their dwellings and to violate the proletarian women.

Long live the courageous proletariat of Asturias!
Long live the heroic proletariat of Asturias!

Workers!

The battle which has been fought is not the decisive battle. The executioners of the working people should not exult too early at their victory. We have returned to work, but we are ready to gather our forces again, to take up the fight again at a more favorable moment, and with greater confidence in victory than ever before. Let us learn from events and make use of the experience. That will strengthen us on the sure way to victory.

The Communist Party, which flung itself into the fight with all its forces although it did not agree altogether with the tactics and methods of organization of the fight, which did not spare itself any effort nor shrink from sacrifices in order to place itself at the head of the fighting masses, now invites all workers to draw the lessons from this fight not only in order to solve the doubts and questions which today confront thousands of proletarians, but in order to arm them with the theory and correct tactics which will lead us to victory in the coming fights.

Why did we not win the victory?

Among all the exploited there was no lack of will and courage, determination and firmness, devotion and sacrifice. Why, then, did we not win the victory? Because, as our Party has repeatedly declared, there was not sufficient political and organizational preparation for the revolution, because its program was not brought to the knowledge of the whole of the working masses, because the advantages which the revolution will bring to the workers, the peasants, the soldiers and all the exploited had not been popularized.

The fact that the revolution cannot be simply made but must be organized, that the organization of the revolution cannot be confined to groups of volunteers who are “ready for everything”, but that all the forces of the working class and the immediate allies of the revolution, the peasants, must be drawn into the fight—all this was ignored.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, published in the Mundo Obrero (World of Labor) of September 17, stated: “The Workers’ Alliances, as their name
implies, arise as the organ of one of the main driving forces of the revolution, namely, the proletariat, which is a guiding force—but they fail to recognize the second main driving force, represented by the peasantry, without the alliance with which there can be no guarantee of the socialist revolution.” This is the reason why the army, except in a few isolated cases, did not also join in the fight on the side of the workers.

The overwhelming majority of the soldiers are peasants, and they will only go over to the side of the revolution if it satisfies their requirements. As they did not know what the revolution would give them, the tremendous forces of the village, for the far greater part, did not join the fight.

The problem of power, the main question of every revolution, was not presented plainly and clearly to the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry. The greater majority of them therefore did not know into whose hands and into what organs they had to place power, and what power meant for them. There was lacking a program—this force which, when it becomes embodied in the masses, causes them to defy death in order that the program shall be realized in life.

In the above-mentioned resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. it is stated:

“The fight to smash the regime of the bourgeoisie and landowners and for the power of the workers and peasants presupposes the political and organizational preparation of the masses for the achievement of this aim. Therefore, the propaganda of the program of the workers’ and peasants’ government, setting forth that which the victorious revolution will give to the working people, must be intensified among the working masses in town and country.”

The facts have confirmed the correctness of this estimate. In order to throw the whole mass of the toiling people into the fight, it is necessary that they be previously permeated with the program, which must become the flag of the advance-guard, summoning them to the fight. As this was not the case, the enormous forces represented by the proletariat in every factory,
in every mine and every field, were untapped. For this reason neither factory committees nor committees of peasants nor the Alliances were set up in every place where exploitation took place—in which workers, peasants and soldiers should be directly represented—that is to say, organs for preparation of the armed revolt, embryonic organs of power of the victorious revolution (Soviets).

The fact that all this was lacking is not due to chance. It was in accordance with an unclear view of tactics. There was lacking both the theory and practice of the revolution. There was lacking the unity and iron discipline which must characterize the party of the revolution. Within the Socialist Party there are to be found devoted revolutionaries together with elements which do not conceal their hostility to any revolutionary action. This fact was bound to be reflected in a number of vacillations in regard to directions and some confused and contradictory instructions.

This was the reason for the terrible mistake that the general strike was not carried out before the formation of the hangmen's government of Lerroux. This meant that the initiative was left in the hands of the enemy.

Another terrible mistake was to entrust the issue of the fight to such vacillating persons as Companys and his like, who out of fear of the development of the people's revolution capitulated to the forces of the enemy, or to the Republican army commanders, instead of the united masses of the workers. In order to ensure the victory of the revolution it is necessary that the leadership of the revolution shall remain in all its forms in the hands of the exploited. That is the only guarantee of victory. Our heroic comrades in Asturias and the Basque province have proved this. "The emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the workers themselves" (Marx). This fact was not realized in its whole significance.

Comrades anarchists, take note!

The Communist Party endeavored in good time to correct these errors, and persisted in its endeavors in the course of the fight. Nevertheless, in spite of the seriousness of the errors, the
situation would not have developed in favor of the monarchist-fascist canaille if, above all, the anarchist leaders of Barcelona and Saragossa had not committed their shameful act of betrayal of the revolution at the very moment when all the exploited of Spain were fighting like lions with weapons in hand.

It is not merely the civil guards and storm guards, not only the monarchist and fascist officers, not merely the machine guns which for the moment decided the battle in favor of the blackest reaction.

To the everlasting shame of the anarchist leaders, it was their appeals, which they issued from the general headquarters of the fascist Batet in Barcelona. The leaders of the Anarchist Federation prevented the victory of the revolution. They sold their own anarchist comrades who, in Asturias, Madrid and other places, realized their duty to their class and fought bravely together with their Communist and Socialist brothers.

It is these anarchist leaders who are chiefly responsible for the present situation. Do not forget this, comrades anarchists!

From what has already been said it is evident why the peasants did not seize possession of and defend the land, uniting with the proletariat in the fight, and why the great majority of the soldiers did not fraternize with the workers and go over to the revolution. Therefore the counter-revolutionary pack was able to tear down the red flag of the revolution and hoist the black flag of the death penalty, suppress all the democratic liberties of the working people, pounce like jackals onto the defeated districts in Catalonia and in the Basque province, entrust power into the hands of the fascist monarchists and return to the monarchist-militarist-jesuit past.

Everything that is reactionary and backward in society, the whole combined forces of counter-revolution, are hastening to celebrate their triumph. But they are in too much of a hurry. They can shoot, imprison, increase the misery and hunger among the working people still more, but the hungry will not become satisfied by fasts, the pains and tears of the mothers and women of the people will not be stopped by the whips and blows of the civil and storm guards. It is impossible to satisfy the people
with blows of the butts of rifles and bayonet stabs, nor to hold back with the voice of command of the arrogant generals the disaster to industry and agriculture which the Lerroux regime has brought.

The workers want bread and work; the peasants want land; the whole people want freedom. In the heart of every worker and every peasant there lives the will to fight and take revenge. The class hatred against this regime of hunger, misery and terror is spreading—below the surface—and sullen hatred is germinating in the depths of the working masses, which will break out—and this not before long. Taught by these events, these masses are being better steeled for the fight, better organized to march forward to victory under the leadership of their class advance-guard.

_The fight is not yet at an end._

This is proved by the fact that the band of clerical-fascist hangmen are far from having mastered the situation. In Asturias the proletarian legions are continuing their heroic fight. The same can be said of the mining district of Biscay. Today the proletarian forces are retreating, but at the same time are preparing to employ new fighting tactics based on a new organization.

_The great battle for bread, land, and freedom has not yet been fought._ The Workers’ and Peasants’ Alliances are being formed in the working-class centers. We shall convert every factory into a stronghold of the revolution. _We have fought unitedly and we shall advance unitedly more firmly than ever._ We shall discuss in a brotherly manner the experiences, the positive sides and the mistakes of the past fight, _but nothing can destroy the unity of action of the Communist and Socialist workers._ And we shall continue in our endeavors to draw to our side the anarchist workers who have so clearly perceived the shameful attitude of their leaders in this movement.

We shall continue unitedly to defend tooth and nail the heroes of red Asturias and the Basque provinces, to prevent reprisals by the fascist employers. _We shall continue united in the fight against the government, against the death penalty and against the monarchist-clerical-fascist reaction; united in order to support_
the prisoners, to fight for land for the peasants, for freedom of the press, of meeting and the trade unions, for the freedom for the people of Catalonia and all suppressed nations, for the disarming of the fascist hordes and for the arming of the workers and peasants; united to form a single anti-fascist bloc and for the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Socialist and anarchist workers!

The facts have shown the correctness of our political line, of our tactics and our revolutionary fighting tactics. They have proved once again that there can be only one party of the revolution, and that this party is the party which bases its activity on the tremendous experiences of two glorious and victorious revolutions, of Russia and Soviet China. Everywhere where our forces predominate, as in Asturias and the Basque provinces, the form of organization and tactics made possible glorious achievements which today are the pride of all revolutionaries of Spain. Our Party, in spite of the reactionary storm which is raging around it, remains at the head of the fight of the oppressed masses. More than ever their firm hands are grasping the flag of socialist revolution against the cowardly calumniators and against the lackeys of capital. And thus, as in the past, they are holding aloft this flag on which is inscribed the battle cry for land, bread and freedom, the battle cry of the Soviets, for the triumph of Socialism.

For the first time in the history of the Spanish revolution the flag of the Soviets has been raised and defended in the revolutionary fight against the bourgeois-landlord regime. *In Asturias the Socialist Republic lived and still lives on the basis of the Soviets.*

A new chapter has commenced in the history of the proletariat and of the peasant masses of Spain. Today the proletariat knows from its own experience that only under the flag of the Soviets can it conquer. The future fights will be waged under this sign, and we shall be victorious.

Comrades all, keep a stout heart! Today let us more than ever maintain faith in victory! Let us close our ranks firmly, courageously and calmly, collect our forces, maintain discipline.
Let us extend our battalions! *Strengthen the advance-guard of the fight, come into the Communist Party!* Workers, peasants, soldiers, gather round our flag and let us march in firm ranks to victory!

Long live the workers’ and peasants’ government!
Long live the Soviets!
Long live the proletariat united in the Alliance of the workers and peasants!
Long live the world revolution and its general staff, the Communist International!
Long live the Communist Party of Spain!

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN**