

Fighting for Democracy in Spain

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COMRADES AND FRIENDS: The Spanish people are today in the front line trenches fighting against fascism. The workers, the peasants and large sections of the Spanish middle class are bearing the brunt of the battle against fascist reaction that is sharpening in every country and on a world scale. The Spanish people today are in the leadership in the fight for democracy and in the fight for peace.

On July 15 the fascists of Spain began a military insurrection, and for the last 34 days the Spanish government, backed by the Socialists and Communists and by the overwhelming majority of the Spanish people, has been fighting heroically against these barbaric reactionary forces. The heroism of the Spanish people has been epochal. With inadequate preparations, with insufficient military supplies, with a virtual blockade maintained against the government by the surrounding reactionary nations, the Spanish people have been fighting with such weapons as they could secure against military forces that not only took over a large portion of the military supplies of the nation, but who have been supplied since then by fascist Germany and Italy.

When one considers that the biggest portion of the army joined the insurrection of the fascists against the government, and that the defense of the Azana government, of the republic, was carried on in the main by workers' and peasants' militia, inadequately prepared and trained, inadequately armed, then one can realize what the people are going through today in the heroic effort they are making to prevent fascism from entrenching itself in Spain, from surrounding democratic France, from allying itself with Germany and Italy, from creating that force which would jeopardize democracy and peace on a world scale. That is why I emphasize the fact that the Spanish people today are not only waging a battle for their own freedom, for their own civil liberties, for a democratic Spain, but they are waging a battle for us and for the anti-fascist forces in every country throughout the world.

A defeat for the people in Spain would be a serious setback to the anti-fascist movement in every country. It would certainly make a thousand times more difficult the struggle that is being waged by the People's Front in France. Certainly our own reactionaries – the Hearsts, the Liberty Leaguers, the Landons and the Knoxes – would be strengthened here by a fascist victory there. Likewise reaction would be strengthened in England and in every other capitalist nation throughout the world.

But a victory for the people's movement in Spain, a victory for the present government, would undoubtedly mark a serious, a most decisive setback for fascism everywhere. It would strengthen our revolutionary struggle against our own reactionaries; it would strengthen the struggle of the German workers, the Italian workers and the workers in every country who are enslaved, persecuted and terrorized by fascist dictatorships.

FASCIST INTERVENTION

The fascists in Spain have been able to carry on their murderous insurrection for 34 days and create critical problems for the workers' and peasants' movement, for the people's movement. They have been able to do this not primarily because of their own inner strength. On the contrary, the forces of fascism in Spain are not strong when compared with the strength of the government and of the People's Front movement. They represent the army officers, they represent the high dignitaries of the church, they represent the landlords, they represent, of course, the big bourgeoisie. The reason, and the primary reason, why the fascists, the arch-reactionaries of Spain, have been able to carry on the civil war for this period of time is because prior to the revolt, in the preparations for the revolt, and since the revolt, they have had the continuous, active backing of the two chief fascist nations – Italy and Germany.

Already there is much evidence brought to light, evidence that has appeared daily in the capitalist newspapers, which has proven that the revolt was hatched with the collaboration of Hitler. One of the outstanding Spanish fascist generals stayed in Berlin, conferring with Hitler. He was undoubtedly financed by Hitler, and from there went to Portugal to carry through the final preparations for the revolt. It has, furthermore, been made clear from the reports of the press that the rebels, those revolting against the democratically elected government of Spain, were supplied by the Nazis and Italian

fascists with arms, with bombing planes, with machine guns, with everything they needed to carry through this counter-revolutionary struggle that they are waging against the Azana government at the present time. The fact that Mussolini has likewise sent bombing planes, and with them Italian fascist aviators is today well-known. The fact that a couple of planes crashed in French Morocco clearly showed that the fascists of Spain were relying upon receiving this aerial help from the fascist governments of Italy and Germany.

I think from this there are very definite conclusions that can be drawn. Hitler and Mussolini are driving toward the realization of their fascist policies – a drive that, we Communists have pointed out repeatedly, can only end in the outbreak of a new world war that will be far more costly in its consequences than was the last world war. We have repeatedly branded these fascist nations as the aggressors in this world situation, threatening the peace of the entire world in the most irresponsible and criminal manner, undertaking to provoke such a war to serve their fascist objectives.

The events in Spain and the disclosures that have already been brought to light demonstrate most clearly that these fascist incendiaries do not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of another nation, they do not adopt a policy of “hands off”, letting the people of Spain determine for themselves their form of government, their policies, etc. They allied themselves with the most barbaric, vilest kind of reactionary forces, with the semi-feudal remnants of Spain, with the old landlords, who have for centuries brutally oppressed the Spanish peasants. They allied themselves there with the reactionaries of the church who have for years extorted huge sums from the people. And through these forces Hitler and Mussolini undertake to overthrow a government that was duly established by the people, that was returned to office in the elections of February 16 with an overwhelming election victory; a government which has the support of workers and peasants and the middle class people of Spain as well.

DISORDER PROVOKED BY FASCISTS

Under such circumstances, with a government elected by democratic procedure, representing the people’s expressed will, these fascists within Spain and the fascists surrounding Spain, in complete disregard of the election, in complete disregard of the will of the Spanish people, in complete disregard of peace and order, in

which atmosphere the government was systematically undertaking to solve the problems of the Spanish people – the fascists, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, step in, throw the country into turmoil, begin a counter-revolutionary struggle, take the lives of tens of thousands of Spanish people of all classes, begin a ruthless war for power in order to maintain a rotting system which has long since demonstrated its inability to serve the interests of the Spanish people, or of Spain as a nation.

Under such circumstances it must become clear to every anti-fascist, to every supporter of democracy, to every person who believes in orderly development, that the fascists in Spain must be defeated, that the Hitlers and Mussolinis must be told decisively by an aroused world opinion, not to intervene in Spain. The people of this country and every other country must be prepared to give unstintingly their support to the Spanish people in their struggle against fascist reaction, in their struggle to maintain a democratic regime in their country. We owe it to the Spanish people, because of the heroism that they are showing every day in their struggle to maintain their government – a government that is more responsive to their wishes than anything that has preceded it – and secondly to ourselves, in the interests of our fight for world peace, in the interest of our fight against growing fascism at home and against fascism on a world scale – to give all our support, to back up their fight as we have never supported any fight waged before.

Comrades, to give our support effectively to the masses in Spain in their struggle against reaction, it is necessary to trace briefly the developments of the struggle in Spain and the inner issues that preceded the present struggle. To begin with, one should state that the whole history of Spain is replete with many struggles of the masses of the people against the feudalism that has dominated Spain for a longer period than any other country of Europe. In fact, today Spain still suffers from semi-feudal conditions, with all of the remnants of feudalism bearing down on the mass of workers and peasants when feudalism has been wiped out in the other countries of Western Europe. The workers there have been waging throughout many years a struggle to overthrow this feudal regime, to open the way for progressive development in Spain.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

In the present period the struggle against reaction has been developing since 1931, a revolutionary struggle directed against the carry-over of feudalism, a reaction that has throttled the whole development of Spain, which has prevented the opening up of Spain to progressive expansion. The tasks of the revolution in Spain which has been going on since 1931 were the tasks of a bourgeois democratic revolution. They were the task of establishing a republic, the task of ending once and for all the feudal relationships in the countryside with the terrific burden they placed on the peasants, the task of dividing the land, opening the way to the development of agriculture on a progressive basis. It meant the abolition of all of those feudal remnants which prevented the development of Spanish industry. It meant opening the way to the struggle for a real democracy in Spain, giving the workers the right to organize. In this struggle the workers were preparing themselves for the period when as a class they could go forward to a new stage in the struggle for progress, the struggle for socialism as against capitalism.

The wiping out of these feudal remnants, the completing of the bourgeois democratic revolution, was the line of development in Spain during this past period. The issue was clearly that and that issue could not be jumped over as some self-styled "Leftists" say.

You will remember that in the whole period beginning in 1905 in Russia, and right up to the February Revolution in 1917, Lenin constantly insisted that the task of the revolutionary movement in Russia was the task of carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution. There the bourgeoisie itself played an ever decreasing role; the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, found itself compelled to do the job that historically should have been done by the class that preceded it in power. In Spain they are going through this bourgeois democratic process.

Since 1931, when the monarchy was overthrown, particularly in the period from 1931 to 1934, the characteristic of the government was one of vacillation, of compromise, of hesitation, of refusing to go through with those tasks that naturally would have followed the defeat of the monarchy. In that period even many of the Left elements in the working class movement believed that this could be accomplished without boldly and in a revolutionary manner breaking down the resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie who

themselves hampered the unfolding of the bourgeois democratic revolution. As a result, instead of achieving fundamental gains for the workers and peasants, laws were adopted that were not put into effect. The reactionaries were given an opportunity to reconsolidate their position, and by 1934 those progressive forces that had played a role in the government were brushed aside. The reactionaries regained power and continued in power from then until in February of this year, when the People's Front won its decisive election victory.

The period of the past few years was a period characterized by growing reaction in Spain. The trend was toward the Right, toward reaction. That trend was broken by the heroic struggle of the Asturian miners toward the end of 1934. The struggle of these Socialists and Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalist miners was an example to the masses. It showed that by taking things into their own hands and resorting to methods of struggle they could defeat the reactionaries. Although defeated, the Asturian revolt marked the beginning of the rallying of the masses in Spain for their victory on February 16 of this year and for the heroic struggle that the masses are today making in Spain against the forces of reaction.

Over 30,000 working class fighters in Spain were thrown into prison by the Gil Robles government and kept there until they were released by the people on February 16. But I emphasize that the struggle of the Asturian miners was the turning point in the fight against reaction in Spain, it was the beginning of that struggle which we hope will bring decisive victory to the people and the final and complete defeat of the forces of reaction.

FORGING THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The struggle of the Asturian miners, the persecution and terror that followed, prepared the ground in the working class movement for the building of the People's Front. And here, comrades, I want to state that the People's Front in Spain, the bringing together of the Socialists, the Communists, the large masses of Anarcho-Syndicalists and the honest Republicans is due primarily to the initiative of the Communist Party of Spain in proposing the formation of a united front of the people against the fascists.

It was the Communist Party of Spain, following the line of the Communist International, drawing from the experiences of the workers' struggles in every country, from the victory of fascism in Germany, from the experience that they had gained in France,

which boldly came forward, urging a united front of the Spanish working class movement and around that a broad People's Front as a means of beating back the forces of reaction.

When the Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, Jose Diaz, took the initiative in propagating and in fighting for this line, a ready response was found in the ranks of the Spanish proletariat. There began the creation of that solid People's Front in Spain which has demonstrated its ability to carry on an election battle against reaction. Today it is demonstrating its ability and readiness to go into the trenches, into the streets in an armed battle against fascism, in order that democracy and peace might be maintained.

THE ELECTORAL VICTORY

The People's Front victory in February was an overwhelming victory. I will quote the figures to show how decisively the Spanish people spoke against the reactionary regime that until then had held power and in favor of progress and unity as expressed in the People's Front. In the old elections, the elections of 1933, all of the Left and republican parties combined had only 121 members in the Spanish parliament as against 352 for the combined Right and Centrist parties. In the vote of February 16 the Left parties, the parties adhering to the People's Front, increased their number of representatives by 147, having 268 members in the Spanish parliament as against 205 by the reactionary groups.

That shows the complete reversal which took place in the sentiment of the people in support of a program that pledged the People's Front to the release of the 30,000 working class and anti-fascist prisoners, that pledged the carrying out of such land reforms as were demanded by the peasants, that pledged the legalization of the unions, the recognition of the unions in the factories, the granting of improved working conditions, and so forth. Not a vote for socialism, but a vote to carry out an elementary program around which all these groups could unite.

The vote in the elections showed that the people were for that program, that the people were against the reactionary parties who are today attempting to overthrow democracy by armed force.

After the parliamentary victory, after the victory of February 16, a government was set up that is not yet a People's Front government as we understand such a government. The Socialists are not participating in the government; the Communists are not participating in

the government. The present government in Spain is a Left Republican government pledged to carry out the minimum program agreed upon in the election campaign. And on the basis of carrying out such a minimum program, a program directed against fascism and for the immediate needs of the people, the Socialists and Communists are giving that government their support.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

Now there have been those who say that this government, which succeeded in granting many concessions to the workers since it took office, that today is carrying on, is giving leadership in the armed struggle against the forces of fascism and for the defense of the republic – there are some who say that this government should not be supported. There are some “Leftists” who think that the whole policy of the People’s Front is wrong. There are some of our comrades in the Socialist Party who think that the People’s Front in France is wrong, who think that the People’s Front in Spain is wrong. In fact, only a couple of days before the outbreak of the present struggle in Spain to defeat the forces of counter-revolution, there were writers in the *Socialist Call* who at that late date and in that acute situation still considered that this broad unity of the Spanish people, workers, peasants, middle class groups, was an unsound policy, was a policy that should be ended by breaking up the People’s Front movement.

But, comrades, let me state with all the power that I can command that only the People’s Front could unite the Socialists, the Communists, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the Left Republicans, the peasant groups, could today successfully beat back the forces of reaction in Spain.

If the People’s Front movement had not been created, if the unity of these groups had not been established and the election victory of February 16 won, if a struggle had not been carried on against the consolidation of the fascist positions since February, then I assure you that the workers, the peasants and the anti-fascists of Spain would never have been able to wage the struggle that they are today waging against the forces of reaction. In fact, one can state that with all the limitations of the present government in Spain, a government that is not committed to a revolutionary program, a government that is committed only to the carrying through of the program of a democratic bourgeois revolution, with all of those limitations that gov-

ernment has carried through many substantial changes that were of fundamental importance to the workers' movement. And they were a prerequisite for the success of the struggle of the masses of the Spanish people against fascism.

THE COMMUNISTS LEAD FOR UNITY

To begin with, in this period the trade union movement, the Socialist and Communist movement, that had a semi-legal existence, have been fully legalized. They have been given an opportunity to carry on all the functions of trade union and working class movements under democratic conditions. The effect has been a tremendous strengthening of the trade union movement. It has resulted in a tremendous strengthening of the Communist movement, of the Socialist movement, of the youth movement, of the peasant movement. In fact, the period of the People's Front in Spain and the period since the victory on February 16 has been a period of a tremendous rallying of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction.

The trade union movement was formerly split into three different sections: a Socialist movement, one influenced by the Communists (a revolutionary trade union movement) and the Anarcho-Syndicalist trade union movement. Today, under new conditions and directly as an outgrowth of the creation of the People's Front, the trade unions led by the Socialists and Communists have been united. And with the unification of this movement has come a tremendous increase in strength. Even in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement the effect on the people of the successful struggles of the People's Front has created so tremendous a sentiment for unity from below, that the leaders were compelled to recognize it. At their last Congress they came out with proposals for certain alliances with other working class groups in the struggle against reaction. There was still a hesitancy, a holding back from the full implications of the People's Front movement, but nevertheless the masses are being drawn into this movement, struggling side by side with the Socialists and Communists in the unions, in the factories, and now in the trenches.

With those developments it is certain that in Spain, as in France, you will very quickly, as a result of this tactic of the People's Front and the successful struggle of the People's Front, have a unified trade union movement many times stronger than was the movement before. In Spain there is unification of the youth movement. Prior to

the present period there was a Socialist young people's movement, a Communist young people's movement. And today those two movements, the Young People's Socialist League, the Young Communist League, have been completely merged into one unified revolutionary youth organization. And that revolutionary youth organization, which adheres to the program of the Young Communist International, has dedicated itself to the continued fight in Spain, not only for the principles of the People's Front, but for a unified revolutionary party of the whole working class. Let me add further that the united youth organization has more than doubled the membership of the previous youth organizations, today having a membership of 140,000 revolutionary young people.

This development among the youth is not an isolated development. In the Socialist Party the decisive section of the Party membership accepts the leadership of the heroic Left Socialist leader, Caballero, who is working together with the Communists in furthering the development of a broad revolutionary people's movement and who is doing his share in the actual revolutionary struggles that are being waged today. This group undoubtedly has the support of the majority of the Socialists of Spain, and this group, following or accepting the policies that actuated the Left Socialist youth movement, likewise advocates one united revolutionary party of the workers in Spain, adhering to the fundamental revolutionary principles of Socialism.

That shows that in this tremendous upheaval in Spain you not only have the coming together of masses, but you have the development of a clear-cut revolutionary core within the mass movement which adheres to sound Marxist-Leninist principles and that is preparing in the struggles of today to rally and organize the workers for the struggle for socialism tomorrow.

THE FRUITS OF UNITY

Let me add finally in that connection that the Communist Party that initiated and fought for this policy of the People's Front has increased its membership in this last period from 20,000 to 100,000. That in itself, I think, is concrete evidence that the People's Front and this government, this Left Republican government that is supported by the Socialists and Communists, have opened the way for the working class and revolutionary peasant movement in the fight against reaction. Could the workers have been prepared for this

struggle that is now going on, if those victories and those positions had not been won in the period of this last year? I am sure every comrade, if he turns this over in his mind, must acknowledge that it is through the People's Front movement that the working class movement, the revolutionary Socialist movement, has put itself in a position where it could take the leadership in building up an effective anti-fascist movement against its own enemies at home and against the enemy abroad.

There have been those who said that, well, this government showed weakness in its preparation for the revolt; that this government did not act quickly enough when the fascists were preparing the present insurrection. But this government, even though vacillating on some questions, itself opened the way for the creation of that force which is today demonstrating its ability most staunchly, heroically and effectively to defend the republic against the forces of reaction.

I refer to the fact that under the leadership of the Communists and Socialists there was built up during this period the armed and trained workers' and peasants' militia which has borne the brunt of the struggle against the fascists. The organized workers' and peasants' militia enabled the Socialists and Communists and the working class movement as a whole to exercise a much more decisive role in pushing the government as such into decisive action against the fascist forces.

There is no doubt that in Spain one sees a policy that on one hand results in the broadest possible rallying of the people for the struggle against reaction, while simultaneously creating that independent working class force as represented by the coming together of the unions, the coming together of the youth, the strengthening of the united front between the Socialists and Communists, and then the building up of armed workers' and peasants' groups that could be in the forefront of the fight against the fascists and for the maintenance of democracy.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS FASCISM

This brings me to another question. As to the issues in the struggle in Spain: there have been those who said that the issue in the present struggle in Spain is the issue of fascism versus Bolshevism, or fascism versus Communism. This is the cry of every reactionary throughout the world. It is the cry of the Hearsts and the

Liberty Leaguers. They are striving to build up sentiment for the fascists of Spain and they raise the bugaboo of Stalin establishing his domination in Spain. They charge that a bunch of atheists are destroying the churches, that the priests are being wiped out by the thousands. They are showing in this situation the same skill in manufacturing atrocity stories and all sorts of non-existent dangers that they demonstrated when they wanted to whip up sentiment for America's entry into the World War in 1917.

But all the issues that they raise are fake issues. In Spain it is certainly not the government, it is certainly not the Socialists or Communists who are placing public order in jeopardy. It is not the anti-fascists who are creating disturbances in the country. So far as order is concerned, the government won its election victory by a popular democratic poll. And on the basis of that election victory and on the basis of the program specifically supported by the people, the government was proceeding to put into life that which the people asked for. It was the fascists who undertook to bring on chaos, to throw cities into disorder, to bring on civil war, to destroy and destroy. It was not the government, it was not the Socialists, it was not the Communists; it was precisely these people who invariably prate about law and order who were the first ones to break it whenever it interfered with their own economic and political interests.

The issue in Spain today is the issue of democracy versus fascism. The issue in Spain is the issue of peace versus war. The fascists are undertaking to overthrow democratic procedure, to institute a fascist dictatorship with all the terror, the persecution and the social and political reaction which Hitler has taught them. At the same time by their policies they are every day provoking a world war that will cost the lives of millions of the world's people, if they are permitted to go through with their plans.

So far as the charges of Hearst and Hitler against the Communists are concerned, the Communists of Spain have answered very clearly. *Mundo Obrero*, in an official statement of the Party, had the following to say:

“The entire world should know that the Spanish people are fighting’ under the direction of the government in defense of their republic and of democracy against counter-revolutionary anarchism and fascism. It is not true that Communism has been established in Spain. It is also not true

that horrors are being committed in cities under government control. The republic respects private property of friends of the republic and individual rights of all republicans. Confiscation is carried out only against those who have unleashed this terrible slaughter. They are security measures against enemies of the people. We respect and guarantee the security of foreigners and of foreign properties.”

The declaration has been borne out by dozens of reports even from bourgeois correspondents in Spain. It brands the Hearsts, the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, etc., as fakers and liars, who raise false issues to conceal their intervention in behalf of the Spanish fascists.

TROTSKYITE PROVOCATION

Unfortunately there are those in the working class movement who play directly into the hands of the Hearsts and the reactionaries by themselves raising such issues as that. There are those among the Socialists, influenced by the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, who are allying themselves with fascism, with reaction, by urging the destruction of the People’s Front.

The Trotskyites, who from the outset have battled against the People’s Front in France and in Spain, and who have carried their poisonous position into the Socialist Party, are attempting to make the Socialist workers believe that the issue at the moment in Spain is the issue of capitalism versus socialism.

With such a position as that you play into the hands of all of the reactionary enemies of the Spanish people. Moreover, if it were to be accepted by the Spanish workers, it would mean narrowing down the whole people’s revolutionary movement. It would mean driving away every person who is ready honestly and militantly, heroically, to carry on the fight against fascism, but who is not yet convinced that the job before the Spanish people is the proletarian revolution, that the way out for Spain is already the institution of a proletarian dictatorship and the undertaking of the construction of socialism. Today the job before the Spanish workers is the job of defeating, and decisively defeating, reaction and feudalism.

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE’S FRONT AND THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

And in order to defeat reaction and fascism it is the job of the most conscious sections of the working class movement, the Social-

ists and the Communists, to pursue such a policy as will enable them to unite around themselves every honest Republican in Spain who is against a fascist dictatorship. In fact, unless such broad democratic alliance for completing the aims of a bourgeois democratic revolution is continued, the people of Spain could not be victorious, the fascists would win. And with the victory of fascism in Spain we know from the experiences of Germany, of Austria and Italy that the job then of going forward with the building of our socialist movement and with the revolutionary struggle for our socialist objective would become a thousand times more difficult.

So we see with revolutionary realism based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin that we cannot impatiently and over-ambitiously try to jump over the concrete problems existing in Spain today. We see that the job in Spain today is to defeat fascism; it is to maintain democracy in order that the working class movement can further consolidate its position, can further strengthen its alliance with the peasantry, can further prepare the way for that time when the working class as a class, backed by firm allies among the peasantry and the middle class, can go forward to proletarian dictatorship and to a socialist society.

That is the objective and the course that is being followed in Spain today. It is a course that will lead through a fight for the maintenance of democracy against fascism, for the republic, to the unleashing of all of those forces that can one day, and soon, bring a socialist victory to the toiling masses of Spain. But that victory can only be won provided the tactics of the working class movement are the tactics that are today being followed unitedly by the Communists and Left Socialists, provided the government now wins the immediate victory that is needed in the battle against reaction.

FASCIST INTERVENTION MUST BE DEFEATED

I say that by way of discussing the inner situation in Spain itself. But I would say that we have a job of immediate and very great importance. And here, comrades, let me tell you that our job is not one that can be solved over a coffee cup in a restaurant, discussing whether or not the Azana Government acted a little too slowly or a little too hesitatingly. And it can't be solved if we settle down to the same coffee cup and abstractly discuss whether or not the Socialists and Communists are making the most of their present situation and out of the People's Front that has been created. I know that we have

some who would like to aid the Spanish revolution in such a manner. But our job is a much more serious one and one that must be carried on by much more decisive methods. Our job centers around the fundamental issue in the conflict, namely, the danger of continued and even more direct intervention by fascist Germany and by Italy. The fascist rulers of those nations must be made by a worldwide movement to keep their hands off Spain and to withdraw their support from the Spanish fascists who are undertaking to destroy the regularly constituted government of Spain. It is our job to rally a crushing sentiment against Hitler, against Mussolini, against their policies. We have demonstrated in the fight for the protection of our heroic comrades in Germany, Thaelmann and many others, that a mass protest movement on a world scale can have decisive effects in staying the hand of these fascist executioners. And it is our job now to bring into existence such a movement here, a movement that will reflect the united protests of Communists and Socialists, of trade unionists, of middle class groups, of every opponent of fascism and of war in order to compel Mussolini and Hitler to stop their intervention in behalf of the Spanish fascists.

U. S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUPPORT PEACE FORCES

At the present time the United States government has a policy that has expressed itself in declarations for an abstract neutrality. Well, that kind of neutrality in a situation like the present, where the fascists are already in, where Hitler and Mussolini are shipping bombing planes and ammunition, is the kind of indifference and passivity that play into the hands of the fascists. That disarms us in the face of a developing war situation that would inevitably involve the United States when it broke.

In fact, President Roosevelt, in his speech in Chautauqua the other night, quite frankly acknowledged that in the event of an outbreak of war American neutrality policies would undoubtedly be ineffective. He felt uneasy over the fact that there would be most powerful forces here that would try to push the United States into such a war. Having admitted that, how then can the Government rely on a neutrality policy that admittedly is not going to keep us out of war? The fascists are instigating a war into which we will inevitably be drawn and while everything is being done by them to provoke war we stand to one side and say we desire to be neutral!

We say that the U. S. government, pressed by the masses of the American people, must come out decisively against fascist intervention. The U. S. government, furthermore, is duty-bound as a republic itself, as an avowed friend of the Spanish Republic, to lend its weight directly to the demand that Hitler and Mussolini must stop supplying military equipment to the fascists, that such supplies be stopped and stopped at once.

We have the example of the Blum Government in France that certainly has bent every effort during the course of the last month to get an agreement whereby all nations would refrain from sending supplies to Spain and from taking sides in the Spanish conflict. The Blum Government demonstrated its sincerity by insisting on neutrality, striving to achieve neutrality, even at a time when it was known that planes and other equipment were being sent in by the fascists. I say in criticism of the American Government and of the policies of the Roosevelt administration, that if it had supported the efforts of France to bring about such an agreement, possibly something could have been accomplished. But now we say, when it is quite clear that these fascist nations do not intend to be kept out, then certainly the United States must be prepared to lend its support to the Soviet Union, to France and to those nations whose policies are directed towards preserving peace.

It is particularly necessary for us to take up that fight here and to take it up aggressively at the present time because, as Roosevelt acknowledged, we have reactionary forces here who are in no sense for neutrality or for a policy of isolation. We have forces here who are advocating America's entrance into this present war situation and not on the side of the forces of progress and democracy, but on the side of fascist reaction.

William Randolph Hearst, in an open letter addressed to an Australian editor, urged Great Britain to break off all relations with France. He charged that Communism already existed in France with an alliance with Bolshevik Russia and ended up by urging that the United States and England definitely take their stand on the side of the reactionary nations of the world. With Hearst fighting for such policies, with Hearst at this very moment on his way to Europe to confer with Hitler and Mussolini, Roosevelt can well recognize that there are forces here that will strive to bring America in on the reactionary side in Spain and on the side of world fascism. With Hearst carrying on such policies, we know that his hand-picked puppets,

Landon and Knox of the Republican Party, will carry through such a policy if they come into power this year.

ALL SUPPORT TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT
AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

Finally, there must be the greatest material support for the Spanish workers. The campaign launched by the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Furriers Union, has blazed the way. They have been given support by the Communist Party, they have been supported by the *Daily Worker* in the appeals that we are now making for funds for Spain. This material support must be given and given unstintingly if we are going to play our full part in aiding our Spanish comrades in their struggle.

But along with this material support given by unions and workers' clubs, it is necessary for those same unions and the whole working class movement to join in building up mass protest movements here. These must serve notice to the fascists through a storm of resolutions that the temper of the American people is not such that they will tolerate continual challenges to world peace and to the democratic forces in Spain, France and other nations. We say now that it is the job of the whole working class movement to build up a great, powerful protest against fascism, and at the same time a movement that can break the blockade that has been set up against the Spanish government. It is necessary to open the door so that a regularly constituted government, democratically elected by the people, can get all the things it needs to defend the people and to carry out its program.

I urge all of the comrades here, the comrades of the Communist Party, of the Socialist Party, of the unions, every person here who abhors what the fascists are doing in Spain to acquaint yourselves as thoroughly as you can with the issues confronting the masses of the people in Spain. Make out of yourselves active propagandists, fighting in your own way the battle of the Spanish government, the battle of the Spanish people.