

Barcelona workers welcome Soviet Food Ship

ARMS FOR SPAIN

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THERE will be common agreement that the present international situation is the most tense and complicated that any of us have had to face. It is so tense that one cannot tell, with any degree of surety, when the present bonds of peace may break, and Europe will be launched into a frightful and terrible war.

It is a position which urgently presents serious questions to every working-class organisation ; that demands a new approach and fearless facing up to the realities, experiences and new features of the situation, many of which are not only new, but totally unexpected, and for which no adequate preparations have been made by the working class movement as a whole.

One thing, however, is crystal clear. That is Fascism is on the offensive and getting away with it every day. Fascism ceaselessly pursues its preparations for war, and is able to do so because of the lack of unity and purpose on the part of the Democratic countries, and the divisions between the workers' organisations, nationally and internationally.

The situation was correctly described by Comrade Litvinov in his speech to the recent League of Nations Council Assembly when he declared :

“ Four years have passed since there first took shape more or less clearly, in opposition to each other, the ideas of peace, inviolability of treaties and international order, and against

them the ideas of war, of contempt for international obligations and of a violent redivision of the world. But while on the one side the ideas are becoming organised and clothed in flesh and blood—or perhaps it would be better to say in lead and iron—the forces of the other side unfortunately remain shapeless, disunited and passive.

“ There are a number of others including some of the most powerful States in the world, who undoubtedly see the storm-cloud advancing over Europe, understand its threatening character, feel the peril inevitably involved for themselves and, it would seem, recognise the necessity of common defence, declaring again and again their adherence to the principle of collective security.

“ We regret to see that, so far, they do not go beyond their declarations, and are doing nothing to clothe the idea of collective security in suitable form, or to give it effective power, in the vain hope that the aggressor, taking heed of their exhortations, will undergo a change of heart and help them to restrain his aggression.”

Commenting on this speech, the French newspaper *Petit Parisien* declared :

“ The Soviet delegate did not hesitate to throw full light on the German policy and to demonstrate the profound incompatibility between this policy and the collective peace policy of the League of Nations.”

The *Populaire* declared :

“ Litvinov delivered a strong speech in which he did not fear to attack German fascism. It made a profound impression in Geneva.”

The *Echo de Paris* stated :

“ Litvinov's speech was the only event of interest in Geneva. The speech was not of an academic character, but on the contrary was charged with action. This is no time for a policy of waiting and procrastination. In the face of the German menace, evasions and delays must not be allowed.”

L'Œuvre declares :

“ That Litvinov’s speech was sober, precise and sound. Litvinov gave a resolute and worthy reply to Hitler.”

It was left to the *Daily Herald* to say :

“ M. Litvinov’s mistake is to retort with such impulsive anger as to expose himself and his country to the charge that it is helping to make a bad situation worse.”—(*Daily Herald*, 27.9.36).

Now we see why this so-called Labour Party is always so ready to welcome Hitler’s “ Peace ” gestures.

A swift review of the immediate situation confronting us all will reveal how blatantly on the offensive Fascism has become. It quickly followed up its victory in Abyssinia by the occupation of the Rhineland, by its intimidation of Danzig, its threat to Memel and to certain countries in South Eastern Europe. The rapprochement between Germany and Austria ; the recent Italian-German agreement ; the steady penetration of Fascist influence in a number of Balkan countries ; the concerted acts of intervention in Spain by Italy and Germany ; the speech of the King of Belgium and the rapidity with which the Rexist Movement grows in Belgium, are the clear indications of Fascist victories and Fascist activity, while the democratic forces “ remain shapeless, disunited and passive.”

Without doubt, the two principal contributing factors giving rise to this situation, are, first, the policy of the National Government, which, in spite of certain contradictions, is fundamentally a pro-Fascist policy, as its support to Hitler and its attitude towards the democratic and legally elected Spanish Government so abundantly proves. Secondly, the refusal of the British Labour leaders to organise the united front of all sections of the working class movement, which has for two years now prevented international working class unity being achieved.

The added proof of our characterisation of the policy of the National Government, is to be seen in the speech of Ribbentrop on his arrival in London, when he insolently declared :

“ Herr Hitler is convinced that the only real danger for Europe and the British Empire is the spreading further of Communism—this most terrible of all diseases—terrible because people generally only seem to realise it is a real danger when it is too late.

“ Closer collaboration between our two countries, is in my opinion, a vital necessity in our common struggle for the upholding of our civilisation and Kultur.”

If a Soviet Ambassador had arrived in London and stated :

“ Herr Hitler is the greatest enemy to Democracy, Peace, Civilisation and Culture, and closer collaboration between Britain and the Soviet Union would do much to hold this mad dog in check.”

what a howl would have gone up in all the Press. Indignant leading articles would have appeared protesting against “ such unwarrantable violations of diplomatic etiquette.”

But Ribbentrop knows his Hoares.

Let us tell Ribbentrop in the name of all that is best in the British people, we have nothing in common with Hitler Germany. That we remember and will help to avenge all that the Nazi Thugs and Criminals and Champagne Merchants have done to the German people, their democratic organisations and the destruction of their cultural life.

Let us make Ribbentrop understand, that the British people will never allow any alliance to be made with Nazi Germany, but that we will help in every possible way the struggles of the German people to overthrow

the rule of the bloody Nazi Hangmen. And let the demand "Ribbentrop Must Go" ring throughout the country.

There is another side of the present picture of the international situation. This is the growing strength of the Soviet Union, which soon will celebrate the 19th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution which has built Socialism in the largest country of the world ; is establishing a classless Socialist Society, and about to operate a New Constitution, that realises in practice the dreams of a free people and the freest democracy and institutions ever contemplated by man.

It is seen in the never-to-be-forgotten struggle in Spain, where the finest sons and daughters of Spain are defending democracy for all Europe. It is seen in France, where, in spite of incredible difficulties, the People's Front Government has carried through a series of measures in the interests of the workers, and where the French Labour Movement is stronger and more united than ever in the history of France. It is seen in the growing movement for unity and active struggle against the National Government in Britain, as reflected in the Edinburgh Conference, where one-quarter of the vote was recorded against the official leadership and policy.

The offensive of Fascism is also stripping the mask off people who are supposed to be as far apart as Mr. Garvin of the *Observer* and Mr. Brockway of the *New Leader*. For it has now become the fashion in these circles to talk about "the failure of Litvinov's policy." Of course, Garvin is a cleverer man than Brockway, and his opposition to the policy of the Soviet Union is because he sees the revolutionary edge to the policy that Brockway can never see. And would be frightened if he did.

What needs to be remembered at this moment, is the fact that if war has not already broken out, it is

precisely because of the policy of the Soviet Union. If we still have a breathing space in which to develop working class unity to prevent war and stem further Fascist aggression, it is precisely because of the policy of the Soviet Union.

The main aim of the Soviet Union since November 1917, has been to prevent war. The first telegram sent out by Comrade Lenin in November, 1917, was one in which the Soviet Union proposed a general peace in Europe on the basis of no indemnities and no annexations of territory.

Comrade Litvinov said at Geneva only a few weeks ago :

“ The Soviet Government itself avoids, and will not recommend to anyone, any steps which might in the smallest degree increase the risk of war or hasten its approach, independently of whether it is a question of war on its own frontiers or of war in more remote places.

“ The Soviet Government has given many proofs of its love for peace, not only in words but in deeds, in spite of many provocations and insults. Relying on its vast internal and external force, and proud of its achievements, it does not reply to such insults in the traditional way, not only through disdain and disgust at the sources of these insults, but mainly because it wishes to leave to others, not to assume itself, the responsibility for all the consequences of breaches in the elementary rules of behaviour as between peoples.”

I believe the overwhelming majority of the British people support the Peace policy of the Soviet Union, and have nothing but contempt for the poisoned pens of the Garvins and Brockways. Pens that are used by a die-hard Tory in the one case, and by a so-called “revolutionary” in the other, but both of which objectively support each other, and thus strengthen reaction and the war makers.

I will deal later with the policy of the Soviet Union in relation to Spain, but at this stage of my remarks

I want to emphasise the fact that, given working class unity in Britain, we could develop a power that would soon sweep aside the National Government, establish a Labour Government, which would complete an alliance with France and the Soviet Union, and with a common foreign policy, a common pooling of resources, would immediately change the entire international situation, which would rally in one united camp the democratic people's movements and countries of Europe, and put an end once and for all to the provocations and war preparations of the Fascist powers.

Before coming to the present position in Spain, it is necessary to take note of one or two of the lessons of Spain which are already absolutely plain, and a stern warning to every sincere person in the Labour and Democratic movement in Britain.

The significance of the Fascist rising which commenced on July 18, in Spain, is that it represents the first concerted move on the part of the Fascist powers against the world-wide swing towards working class unity and the People's Front, secondly, that it is an attempt to find a new strategical basis in Europe as the prelude to armed attacks on other democratic Governments, especially France.

We are apt to forget that although Hitler curses Comrade Stalin quite a lot, when Hitler marches, it is generally in the direction of France. Maurice Thorez, the Secretary of the French Communist Party, is quite correct to be continually reminding the French people of these extracts from Hitler's Bible, where, in the unedited edition, it is so explicitly stated it is the purpose of Nazi Germany to "annihilate France."

It has become a stock-in-trade argument of certain Labour leaders, that it is fatal for Labour to be associated with the Communist Party, for that would represent "an alignment between the forces of democracy and civil war."

Now if Spain has proved one thing, it is what the Communists have always stated in regard to Civil War. Stated with precision and clarity in the first manifesto issued on the formation of the Communist International in 1919. It is as follows :

“ Civil war is *forced upon* the labouring classes by their arch-enemies.

“ The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future, which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

“ The Communist Parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in any case it has become an iron necessity—to minimise the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat.”

(First Manifesto, Communist International, 1919.)

One could give a hundred examples to prove the correctness of this statement. It is only necessary to give two. In February, 1934, the Austrian people had Civil War forced upon them, not because it was a Soviet Austria, or because attempts were being made to bring about a Soviet Austria, but because the Austrian people defended their democratic institutions, which still rested on the basis of capitalist economy.

Even the *Daily Herald* was forced to recognise this, for it stated in regard to the events in Austria and the armed struggle which developed, that the Austrian people :

“ Could do no other. Civil war was forced upon them.”
(*Daily Herald*, 14.2.34.)

In Spain, the people had not a Soviet Government. It was not a Red Spain, we would be the very first to declare this if it was so. They had a Democratic Government, in which there was not one representative of either the Socialist or Communist Parties. They had a

country which was only slowly emerging from feudalism, and economic backwardness, and whose economy was still based on capitalism.

It was against this kind of Government that civil war was organised by Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and German Fascists.

Again, that arch enemy of the united front and Communism, the *Daily Herald* was forced to declare in relation to the Spanish events :—

“ Armed struggle, not of their seeking, has begun and must be carried through.” (*Daily Herald*, July, 1936).

It is true this official organ of British Labour has done everything in its power to prevent the Spanish people getting the arms ; from carrying “ The struggle forced upon them through,” but it is important that out of their own mouths, the Labour leaders should be compelled to prove that their own arguments against unity with the Communists rest upon a plain lie.

The next important lesson Spain has for the British workers, is that it has clearly revealed where the National Government stands towards Fascism, and how the democratic mask has been torn from the face of Toryism.

For example, Winston Churchill, who so loudly parades his claims of being the only person really alive to the danger of Nazi Germany, has been an implacable enemy of the Spanish Government from the day civil war was forced upon the Spanish people, and his language and arguments are precisely the same as will be used against any future Labour Governments that attempt to save the interests of the majority of the people. Churchill wrote :—

“ It is idle to claim that a constitutional and parliamentary regime is legally or morally entitled to the obedience of all classes, when it is actually being subverted and devoured from day to day by Communism.

“ A constitutional Government, to be worthy of the name, must prove itself capable of preserving law and order, and protecting life, freedom, and property.

“ If it fails to enforce these guarantees, no parliamentary system can endure.” (*Evening Standard*, August 10, 1936.)

But the Garvin, this word-spinner and Sunday afternoon dazzler, who never tires of playing with fond phrases about “ our great British Democracy,” etc., etc., also lets himself go, as witness his consistent opposition to the Spanish Government, and lauding of Franco’s bloody adventure.

Do not all these tendencies contain a grave warning ? Is it any wonder, that the propaganda of the Communist Party, derided a thousand times by the *Daily Herald* has now to be confirmed by this “ Labour ” paper.

“ That Conservative democrats should be occupying an ambiguous position when the facts in Spain are so crystal clear was neither expected, nor is it pleasant.” (*Daily Herald*, July 30, 1936.)

Something more serious has to be noted, than that this attitude of the Tories is neither “ expected ” nor “ pleasant.” It simply and amply confirms the reason why the policy of the National Government is both pro-Hitler and pro-Mosley.

It is the tendencies we have noted of the Tory attitude towards Spain, that explain why Mosley is not suppressed, and why he is allowed to blossom out as Hitler’s chief Jew-baiting Lieutenant in Britain.

Here let me say a few words on the question of Fascism and Communism.

The attempt to make Fascism and Communism two sides of the same medal, whoever supports it, can only succeed in strengthening those forces that are working for the triumph of Fascism in Britain.

Fascism stands for carrying on the capitalist system by means of violence and terror in the interests of the biggest employers, bankers and landlords. It does this not only by the suppression of the working-class mass organisations, but of all progressive and cultural organisations as well. Fascism seeks to win power by spacious demagoguery, by working up anti-Jewish feelings, race hatred and nationalism.

Communism stands for the abolition of the capitalist system and its exploitation of man by man. It stands for a Socialist classless Society in which democracy would express itself in the freest way yet seen in world history, consciously drawing into every form of activity associated with the new society, every citizen.

Communism seeks to unite all people irrespective of race or religion in a common movement to achieve this aim. Communism stands for internationalism, and the fraternal exchange of all common resources in the efforts to build up a brave new Socialist world.

Those Labour and Jewish leaders who in any way support measures directed against Fascists and Communists, are not only helping Fascism to power as was done in Germany, they are pickling rods for their own backs and organisations as the experiences in Germany so bitterly prove.

It was said in Germany by such leaders, "Laugh the Fascists off the streets," "Kill them by ignoring them," "Keep away from their demonstrations." This did not kill Hitler, it made him the menace to the peace of the world that he is to-day.

Mosley has been given practically a free hand all the summer in his anti-Jewish propaganda in certain parts of East London. The results are to be seen in the present situation in East London where it is no use disguising the fact, there is a greater anti-Jewish feeling than has

ever been known before, a feeling so strong that prominent Jewish leaders in their conversations say it begins "to remind them of the eve of pogrom atmosphere in Czarist Russia and Poland."

The Communist Party has conducted its propaganda in the East End of London since 1920. Thousands of meetings have been held, hundreds of demonstrations and marches held. I contested a bye-election in Whitechapel and St. Georges in 1931, during the whole of this time there has never been a single occasion in which the police have had to interfere, or one example of a disorderly meeting.

It is to be noted that when the London District Committee of the Communist Party organised its march through the East End of London on October 11th, not a single interjection was made against the Communists, they were all against the Jews, and Mr. Morrison might note that many of them "expressed surprise that the Communist Party had anything to do with the Jewish people."

The Communist Party is proud to think that its activities against Fascism have been the means of already preventing Mosley from organising pogroms in Whitechapel.

If the leaders of the London Labour Party, Trades Councils and Jewish organisations had made a united front with the Communist Party against Mosley's Black-shirt organisation, it would really have been crushed by now.

As it is, Mosley can only sneak into the East End in the dark protected by 3,000 policemen. Burglars pose as the best-intentioned men in the world, but they also work in the dark, and the police don't protect them, they arrest them even when they have to plant "Jemmy's" on them to do it.

If the Communist Party had ever been the cause of such a mobilisation of the London police, it would already have been suppressed.

The Communist Party will resist by every means in its power any attempts to deprive it of its right of agitation and propaganda in any part of this country, and it will never be a partner to any measures that encroach upon the rights of free speech and demonstration for legitimate political organisations.

It demands the dissolution of Mosley's Fascist organisation, its barracks, uniforms, processions, because the object of Fascism is the suppression of everything associated with democracy and freedom.

The Communist Party declares in regard to the attitude of the National Government and especially Simon, that the plain facts are that the National Government and the British Union of Fascists are fellow travellers on the road to Fascism. I believe it will be seen that the Government will not consider the disbanding of Mosley's organisation, but the restriction of the right of public meeting and demonstration, in short, it proposes to follow up tolerance of Fascist provocation by introducing Fascist legislation.

I would remind readers that under the National Government, Tom Mann was given three months imprisonment, not for doing anything at all, but because *he might have made a speech which might have led to a breach of the peace*. When Mosley announced his march through the East End, everybody knew it was provocation, and if allowed to go through would have undoubtedly been the cause of acute civil strife. That was prevented not by the Police, but by the tens of thousands of London workers who answered the call of the Communist Party and erected a living impregnable barrier between Mosley and the East End.

I would openly say to the leaders of Jewry in London. Ally yourself and your organisation with the working class movement, come out of the self-imposed policy of segregation that acts as a barrier between the Jewish and Gentile peoples. Fight for all Jewish employers observing trade union conditions. All Jewish workers into the Trade Unions appropriate for their trade. Disband the purely Jewish trade unions. Join the Co-operative societies, in short, let the Jewish people use present opportunities to become members of every mass working class organisation that exists, and soon many misunderstandings that play into Mosley's hands can be wiped out.

The unity of the Jewish and working class organisations can prevent the East End of London becoming the sports ground of Fascism, on which it practices prior to making its further attacks on the existing institutions of British democracy.

Now some remarks in connection with the present situation in Spain. No useful purpose will be served either to the Spanish people or ourselves by attempting to disguise the fact that the present situation is exceptionally serious, and that the ultimate issue, who will win, is still in the balance, with the scales weighted heavily against the Spanish Government.

Neither is the cause of the Spanish people served by shameless exaggerations about "A Soviet Spain," "A Socialist Catalonia," "Workers supreme control in Spain," and similar high sounding revolutionary phraseology, that has no relation to the existing situation.

Neither can any British worker or democrat help but feel ashamed, that it is upon the National Government and the National Council of Labour that the chief responsibility for the present bloody agony of Spain rests.

We do not desire to take up any attitude of "we told you so," but a few days after the Fascist attack on Spain began in July, we wrote in the *Daily Worker* :—

" Our Government is helping the Fascists.

" British Imperialism hopes for a Fascist victory. It will bear before history the heavy responsibility for the assistance to a Fascist rising against a constitutional and democratic People's Government.

" Let us organise a mighty united movement of solidarity with the Spanish people. Organise meetings, demonstrations everywhere. Send resolutions of support to the Spanish Government, to the Spanish Embassy in London.

" Demand that the National Government shall provide the People's Government of Spain with the oil and coal and food supplies they need for their warships and aeroplanes.

" Demand an end to a false neutrality that only conceals support for the Fascists."

From the 18th of July to October 26th, the National Council of Labour has not yet organised a single demonstration of solidarity with the Spanish people ; it has sent no official delegation to Spain ; organised no national campaign ; no steps taken to set up Vigilance Committees in Railway Depots and Seaports to prevent material going to help the Spanish Fascists. Endless waiting on the doorstep of Cabinet Ministers, and being diddled by them. The Plymouth and Edinburgh Conference dominated by leaders who supported neutrality.

This is the policy which has lost precious Spanish lives, and if retribution is to be made, demands the immediate carrying out of every available measure that can force the National Government to allow the legal Spanish Government obtaining all the arms it wants from Britain, and to prevent the National Government from recognising the Fascist Government of Butcher Franco.

Much time and discussion has been spent in demanding why the French and Soviet Governments did not do this, that, and the other. I make bold to say that if all those who have been engaged on this conscience salving occupation—an occupation to cover up their own inactivity—had spent their energies in facing up to their own responsibilities, the National Government long ago would have been forced to change its policy.

The plain facts are, that the policy of neutrality has been forced through by the National Government. It was the logic of its policy in the first days of the armed rising when it refused to allow the legal Spanish Government warships to coal and obtain oil, fuel supplies at British ports. When its Naval Commanders in the Straits of Gibraltar paid courtesy visits to the Commanders of Spanish Fascist Destroyers. When it used its influence to close the Port of Tangier to the ships of the Spanish Government.

It is common knowledge that within a few days of the armed rising starting in Spain, the Fascists were able to get all available aeroplanes out of Britain, and when later, planes were bought by various means for the Spanish Government, they couldn't be got out of the country.

The festering sore of Portugal, through which the main supplies to the Fascists have been sent, is just a puppet State of Britain. One word from London to Lisbon, and this side of Fascist intervention could have been stopped.

We were told by the *Manchester Guardian* on July 31st, that in regard to Spain obtaining arms the view of the National Government was :

“ They fear that arms supplied to the Spanish Government might fall into ‘ extremist ’ hands, and by them it is considered desirable that there shall be as few arms as possible in Spain.”

It was the same fear that arms might fall into the hands of the German workers, that Britain always prevented a democratic Germany from re-arming, but tumbled over itself to do so immediately Hitler came to power.

It was the pressure of the National Government on the Blum Government, that forced Blum to make his cardinal error in proposing a Non-Intervention Agreement. For Blum was told that if any complications arose as a result of France supplying arms to Spain she could look to no assistance from Britain.

This comes out plain as a pikestaff in the speech of Delbos, the Foreign Secretary of France, at the League of Nations Council Assembly in September.

The *Manchester Guardian* stated on August 21st :

“ When the Spanish war broke out the French Government was sharply split not knowing whether or not to let the Spanish Government have its full legal rights, *the British Government urged Non-Intervention* on it.”

Neville Chamberlain openly boasted at the Tory Party Conference at Margate “ of the influence this majority Government ” had brought to bear on Blum.

Neutrality is treason to peace and democracy and the Government responsible for it is the National Government. This is the fundamental issue the British friends of Democracy have to face, and exert every ounce of power they possess to force the change in policy.

The Soviet Union never had any illusions about the impracticability of the Non-Intervention Pact. But true to its consistent policy of seeking only to help pre-

vent a new world war, it became a signatory to the Non-Intervention Pact ; at the same time as they signed, they singled out Portugal as the danger spot and as being the source of Fascist supplies.

The Soviet Government did quite right to sign this Pact, for a refusal to do so would have played into the hands of the Fascist countries, and powerful reactionary forces in all countries. The Soviet Government will never allow itself to be placed in the position of being the excuse for a new world war.

Its position was clearly explained at Geneva by Comrade Litvinov when he stated :

“ The Soviet Government adhered to the Agreement for Non-interference in the affairs of Spain only because a friendly country feared the possibilities otherwise of an international conflict. We acted thus in spite of the fact that we consider the principle of neutrality inapplicable to a war levied by rebels against their lawful Government, and on the contrary to be a breach of the principles of International Law.

“ The Soviet Government understands that this unjust decision was imposed by those other countries which, considering themselves to be champions of order, have established a new principle fraught with incalculable consequences, according to which it is permitted only to assist rebels against their legitimate Government.

“ All these new proofs of the Soviet Government’s desire for peace albeit possessing sufficient means for self defence must convince you that the proposals put before you by the Soviet Delegation are dictated by the desire to safeguard peace, not only on the frontiers of its own country but also on those of other countries and to bring about conditions safeguarding the conditions of all peoples. They are inspired by the sincere desire to restore in all countries a feeling of self confidence in the help, if necessary of others, and to resurrect faith in the ideal of international solidarity and justice.”

It is not amiss to remind some of the light headed chatterers about what the Soviet Union ought to have

done, of Comrade Lenin's statement in "Left Wing Communism" where he states :

"With the vanguard alone, victory is impossible. It would be not only foolish but criminal to throw the Vanguard into the final struggle. So long as the whole class—the general mass—has not taken up a position of either direct support of the Vanguard or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it—while there is any possibility of ultimately securing their support—it is impossible."

Now this applies not only to the position in any one country but internationally as well. If the Soviet Government had refused to sign the Non-Intervention Agreement as requested by the French Government, with whom it has signed a Franco-Soviet Pact, we would have seen a world wide campaign in which the French and British Labour leaders would have taken a leading part—that the Soviet Union was trying to plunge the world into war.

All sections of the Communist International, especially in France and Britain, organised a mighty campaign against neutrality and the Non-Intervention Agreement. This had considerable effect upon the masses, and rallied increasing support behind both the Spanish and Soviet Governments which together with the flagrant violations of the Non-Intervention Agreement quickly gave the Soviet Union the opportunity of foiling the plans of the Fascist aggressors.

The well informed French political journalist "Pertinax," gave his view as to the strategy of the Fascists, and what lay behind their interests in Spain. He stated in *L'Europe Nouvelle* on August 8th, 1936, the following :

"Under cover of the Spanish issue the Fuehrer and the Duce are out to put Moran in the dock, and in this roundabout way to attack the Franco-Soviet Treaty of May 2, 1933—in short they are out to demolish the French system."

But by signing the Non-Intervention Pact, and then the whole world becoming convinced that Germany, Italy and Portugal have broken the Agreement, the Soviet Union has placed these Fascist powers in the Dock, before the bar of world opinion. The verdict being guilty, the Soviet Union then takes every possible step to expose those breaches of non-intervention, and advance its proposals to meet the situation.

Its representatives fight the Grandi's and give them an exposure never seen before in diplomatic history. The Soviet Union having failed to get the Non-Intervention Committee to agree to its proposals, principally because of the attitude of the National Government representative, Lord Plymouth, refuses to be a party to continuing this ghastly farce of non-intervention any further.

And who is this Lord Plymouth? First and foremost he is a large landowner—30,500 acres in all—a typical Tory Squire. He is also the 15th Baron Windsor. He was a Tory member for Ludlow before his elevation to the Peerage, from 1922-23. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he has been Lord Lieutenant of Glamorgan. He bears the comic title of Sub-Prior of the Priory of Wales, and is a Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Add to these details the fact that he is a member of the more true-blue West End Clubs—Carlton, Bachelors', Turf, Travellers', and Beefsteak, and you have a perfect picture of the spokesman for British democracy.

The Soviet Union reserves itself the right to act in any way that will support the Spanish Government and in doing so has taken on an enormous responsibility, a responsibility that can only be adequately discharged and foil the new provocations of the Fascists and their supporters to make this the excuse for war on the Soviet Union, if every friend of Peace and Democracy now rallies every possible organisation and expression of

public opinion firmly behind the Soviet Union. If the Labour leaders really carry out in practice their resolution and not let it remain a paper document but exert the maximum pressure on the National Government, there can also be organised the independent actions of the working class to carry it through.

Whilst all these negotiations, committee meetings and diplomatic parleys have been taking place, the workers of the Soviet Union have been tireless in their support of the Spanish Government. They put to shame what has been done in all other countries put together.

Enthusiastic meetings embracing millions of the Soviet population; collection of over £2-million; despatch of foodships. When every other Ambassador scuttled from Madrid like a rat, the Soviet Union sent its chief representative from Geneva to represent the Soviet Union in Madrid. When the Spanish Parliament opened a few weeks ago only the Soviet Ambassador took his place in the diplomatic gallery.

No wonder the Spanish Ambassador in Moscow declares :

“ I have already said and I shall not tire of repeating that I am expressing the gratitude of the whole Spanish nation for the sympathy and understanding of the difficulties in which at the moment Spain finds herself, which have been manifested by the people of the Soviet Union. In my country's difficult hour, the people of the Soviet Union stretched out a helping hand.” (Moscow, October 10, 1936.)

No wonder the workers of Spain through the medium of their Communist Party, sent their greetings to our Comrade Stalin. In reply Comrade Stalin sent a message that in splendid and simple terms stated what every supporter of Spanish democracy throughout the world will feel. Words that one can only hope have struck the consciousness of the Labour leaders so comfortably ensconced in Transport House.

“ The toilers of the Soviet Union are only fulfilling their duty by rendering every assistance within their power to the revolutionary masses of Spain.

“ The Russian workers realise that liberation from the oppression of Fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.”

The British workers, too, would have done their duty to Spain if they only had a Stalin at their head and not a Citrine or a Dalton.

Never before in world history has any struggle aroused such international sympathy as that of the struggle in Spain. With unbounded admiration the advanced and progressive people of the whole world have followed every phase of the struggle with bated breath. In far-away Australia to-night they are commemorating the anniversary of the great victory secured against conscription in the referendum that took place on October 28th, 1916. Their thoughts will dwell on Spain. The reactionary Lyons Government have declared they will “ take no side in the struggle between factions,” but the Australian Council of Trade Unions, representing 800,000 organised workers, largely led by Irish Catholics, are organising money and solidarity on behalf of Spain.

In France, Belgium, Holland, America, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, in the Fascist countries, Italy, Germany, Japan and Portugal, in India and from Egypt, in short, wherever people of warm hearts and feelings are gathered together they send their greetings and what help they can to assist our Spanish comrades.

It is this display of international solidarity as yet unorganised under single leadership, that has aroused the wrath and anger of every reactionary.

Let Garvin scream out his hatred in his best vicious Fascist manner :

“ It is certain that a large part of Europe’s destinies is being decided on the Spanish battlefield. The Comintern will have to erase the peninsula from the fond list of its expectations. And this is only the beginning . . .

“ The National uprising of the very soul of Spain began the red debacle, and not only in the grim civil war, but in the politics of Europe. National France will find herself before long under a reconstituted government.” (J. L. Garvin, *Observer*, 18.10.36).

Not so fast Garvin. You have still a lot to learn and still more coming to you. The real soul of Spain—the soul of the common people—is indefeatable. The country that breeds such heroes as the Captain of the Militia who in a particularly dangerous situation called his men together and asked for volunteers to make a counter-attack, can never be beaten. He said :

“ To do this is essential, even at the cost of our lives, because every hour of delay here will give a further opportunity to the strengthening of the positions behind us, between here and Madrid. . . .

“ You may be called upon to die to-night or to-morrow morning. Everyone of us will die sooner or later, and so, as for me, I think it preferable to die fighting here to-morrow than to await a cowardly death in the future.”

The cause of a people that can breed women like the Communist Leader, Dolores Passionaria, who stated last night on the barricades of Madrid :

“ We have had enough of authoritative commanders who speak only of defeat. We want no more cowards. Madrid must be defended. If the men of Madrid will stand, weapon in hand, in defence, the city is invincible. If there are not enough rifles we will use sticks and stones. If there are no stones, we will use fists. And if there are no more men left, the women will carry on the battle.”

represents a cause that is unconquerable.

The Franco's and their foreign legions, the Mola's with their Italian and German bombers, can never wipe out what the Spanish people are standing fighting and dying for to-day.

But we must help and help now. As we have never worked before, so must we work now. Meetings, mass demonstrations, vigilance committees at the ports and railway depots, collections of money, care of Spanish children, foodships every week, medical supplies and clothing.

Above all must we insist upon the right of the Spanish Government to buy arms in Britain. No interference with the Soviet Union. No recognition of Franco's murder gang.

Build up the united front and all these things will be achieved.

The world situation and the position in Spain in particular is serious. The sands are running out but there is yet time.

One gigantic supreme united effort now and Britain can be roused as she has never been roused before.

Before the rising anger of the masses, before the unity of all the democratic forces, the National Government can either be forced to act in the interests of peace and democracy alongside the Spanish Government or it can be swept aside.

Comrades take courage and inspiration from the Spanish people. The minority vote for workers unity, arms for Spain, against the Rearmament Plans of Baldwin, for a mass youth organisation, at the Edinburgh Conference, represents the unshakable basis upon which we can now build up the united front.

The Sheffield Conference of the Communist Party gave a lead for unity and common struggle.

It calls upon every Labour man, trade unionist and Co-operator to stand at their posts. No desertions, no splits, no breakaways from the Labour movement. We have the power to change the policy of the Labour movement. Let us use it. Sweep away all bans on the united front. Let us fight alongside each other in this testing time when the issue of peace or war is in the balance.

Build up a powerful Communist Party as the indispensable means of strengthening the whole Labour movement. The Communist Party will never allow itself to be separated from the workers mass organisations. That is why it fights for unity, for affiliation to the Labour Party because the workers need their revolutionary party inside its ranks to help unite, lead and carry forward the Labour movement to victory.

We said at Sheffield and repeat now, we are ready and willing to work with all persons and organisations striving to bring about a great united British Labour movement. We meant it in all earnestness and sincerity and our every endeavour is devoted to this cause.

Because unity in Britain means international working class unity. It means an entire change in the international situation and relation of forces. It means the saving of the Spanish republic. It means the preservation of democracy and peace. It means the advance towards Socialism.

Comrades, many times have we sung "The People's Flag is Deepest Red," but never was it so red as now, red with the blood of the best sons and daughters of Spain.

Many times have we vowed to bear the Scarlet Standard onward till we fall. Many have fallen in

Spain proud and happy to give their lives for the People's Flag.

Let us swear over their open graves. We will take the Scarlet Emblem from the stiffened hands, proud that we are the standard bearers, following heroes whose valour and self-sacrifice will be forever unforgettable.

The Spanish people are writing pages of history more glorious and daring than any that have yet been written in the history of the human race. They are writing them now as we sit here. Writing them with their blood, and the writing is plain for all to see.

It is—"Take care! To-day it is us. To-morrow it will be you! Help us before it is too late!"

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