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A LEAD TO WORLD SOCIALISM

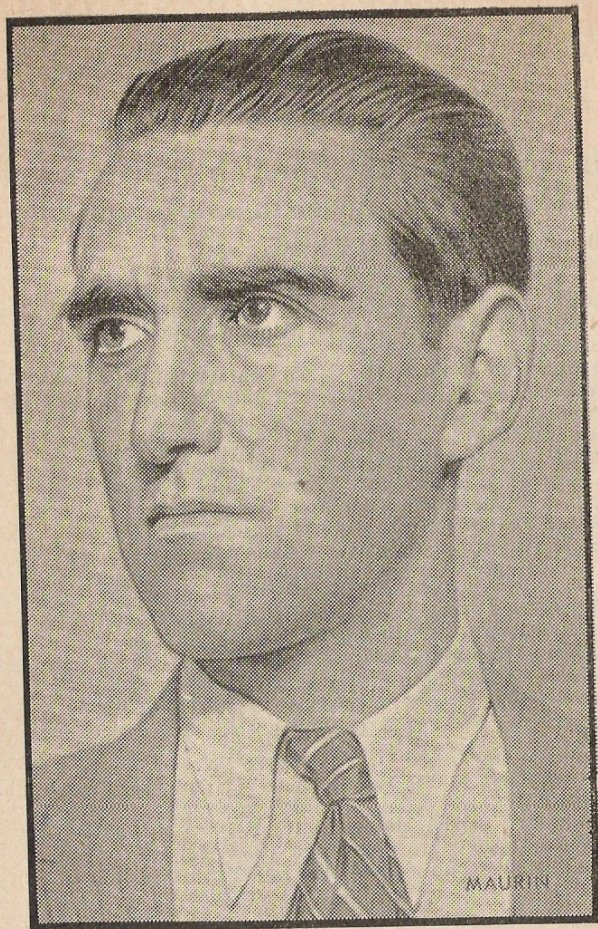
on

SPAIN. WAR.
FASCISM. IMPERIALISM.

*Report of Revolutionary Socialist Congress
Brussels, October 31st-November 2nd 1936*

SIX PENCE

Printed by the
SPANISH WORKERS' PARTY OF MARXIST UNITY (P. O. U. M.)
at Barcelona for the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist
Unity, 35 St. Bride St., London, E. C. 4



JOAQUIM MAURIN

*Secretary of the Spanish Workers' Party
of Marxist Unity.
Shot by the Fascists in August 1936*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS

The International Congress held at the Salle du Lion d'Or, Brussels, from October 31st to November 2nd, 1936, was called by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity to mobilise Working Class Action.

In Support of the Spanish Workers and to Resist War, Fascism and Imperialism

The following Organisations were represented:

SPAIN

- Workers' Party of Marxist Unity. (P. O. U. M.). All sections including, Executive Committee, Fighting Units, Aviation Section, Pioneers and Youth Section.
- General Union of Workers. (U. G. T.) represented by: Trades Union of Lerida, Seaman's Union of Barcelona and the Association of Insurance Employees.
- National Confederation of Workers. (C. N. T.), represented by the Trades Unions of Capafons and Mont-Ral (Tarragona).
- Spanish Federation of Teachers. (Tarragona).
- Cloth-makers Trade Union (Barcelona).
- The Workers' Newspaper «Combat» of Lerida.
- The Athenian Culture Movement of Barcelona.

BRITAIN

- The Independent Labour Party.
- The War Resister's International.
- The «No More War» Movement.
- Colonial Liberties Group.
- The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Great Britain.

FRANCE

- The Communist Opposition Group — «Que Faire».
- Individual Members of the Revolutionary Left of the French Socialist Party. (S. F. I. O.).
- The Emancipated School Movement (E. E.).
- The Intellectual's Vigilance Committee. (C. V. I.).
- The International Group against War and Fascism. (R. I. G. M.).

GERMANY

- The German Workers' Party (S. A. P.)
- Youth Section of the German Workers' Party.

ITALY

- Italian Socialist Party (Maximalist).
- The Italian League of the «Rights of Man».

SWEDEN

- The Swedish Socialist Party.

POLAND

- The Independent Socialist Labour Party of Poland.

HOLLAND

- The Revolutionary Socialist Worker's League of Holland.
- The Revolutionary Socialist Worker's Party of Holland.

BELGIUM

- International Anti-War Socialist League.
- German Emigrants in Belgium.

UNITED STATES

- League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party.

CANADA

- League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party.

PALESTINE

- Kibutz Artzi. (Jewish Left Socialist Organisation).
- Left Poalei Zion and Marxist Circles.
- Anti-fa.

INTERNATIONAL

- The International Youth Bureau.

WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU IS

The Bureau is an association of Revolutionary Socialist Parties unaffiliated to either the Second or Third Internationals. The purpose of the Bureau is to develop common international action between its own sections and with other revolutionary sections of the working-class movement, with the object of preparing for the formation of a reconstituted International on a Revolutionary Socialist basis.

The parties affiliated to the Bureau are opposed to the reformist and compromising policies of the Second and Third Internationals. They oppose collaboration with the Capitalist class, Capitalist Governments, or Capitalist Parties in time of either war or peace, support Soviet Russia as the first Workers' State, whilst maintaining freedom of criticism, and advocate revolutionary resistance to any war conducted by a Capitalist Government, even though such war may be endorsed by the League of Nations.

AFFILIATED PARTIES

- Socialist Party of Sweden.
- Independent Labour Party of Great Britain.
- Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.
- Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity.
- Socialist Party (Maximalist) of Italy.
- Independent Socialist Labour Party of Poland.
- Left Socialist Movement of Bulgaria.
- United Socialist Party of Roumania.
- Revolutionary Socialist Worker's League of Holland.
- International Youth Bureau.

The Bureau has close contact with Revolutionary Socialist Groups in Norway, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Polish Ukraine, United States of America, Mexico, Argentina, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ceylon, China, Egypt, Palestine and Panama.

THE BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Opening speech by Fenner Brockway (I. L. P., Britain).

Our first thought at this Congress must be of our Spanish comrades engaged in their deadly conflict with Fascism, and our first words must be of tribute to those who have laid down their lives in the struggle. We think particularly of Joaquín Maurín, the secretary of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity (the whole Congress rose and stood silently as this tribute was paid). Only five months ago «Qum», as we affectionally called him, was sitting with us in Paris planning this Congress. Now he lies dead, shot at the hands of the Fascists. With justification he was spoken of as «the Lenin of Catalonia». He was a man of great courage, clear sighted in his revolutionary principles and utterly trustworthy—the kind of man whom one would follow to the death. We express our sympathies to our Spanish comrades in his loss and especially to Señora Maurín, his wife, their son, and his brother, Manuel Maurín, who is with us here. Their loss is our loss and with them we swear in his memory to be true to the last message which he wrote to his wife: « I die tomorrow. The cause lives on, and you will carry on bravely.»

But we think not only of Joaquín Maurín. He is typical of thousands of equally brave comrades, and we honour them all. We think of Vidal, the Leader of the Youth of the Spanish Workers' Party. We think of comrades who have fallen from other parties associated with our International Bureau, such as Picedi of the Italian Socialist Party. Side by side with the Spanish workers members of all our parties are fighting; in life and in death, they are showing the solidarity of Revolutionary Socialism; by their sacrifice Fascism will be conquered. We pledge ourselves here to carry on the struggle to the end so that their sacrifice may not be in vain.

This is a Congress of Revolutionary Socialists, and as Revolutionary Socialists we base all our actions on the class struggle. It is almost uncanny how correct Kari Marx has proved in laying down the class struggle as the one certain line of conduct for the working-class movement. What the radio beam is to the pilot of an airplane, crossing mountains in mist, the principle of the class struggle is to the Revolutionary Socialists, amidst all the complexities of social and international chaos.

Again and again experience has shown that, whenever the working-class departs from the basis of the class struggle, the working-class and the cause of Socialism are betrayed. The Spanish conflict illustrates this dramatically and tragically at this moment. It was the duty of the entire working-class movement and of working-class Governments to come to the assistance of the Spanish workers immediately the Fascist putsch began (Applause). Marx and Engels laid down the principle in the Communist Manifesto clearly. «Communists everywhere,» they wrote, «must support every revolutionary movement against existing social and political conditions.» Then they went on to sound the call which has rung through all the years that have followed: «Let the ruling class tremble at the prospect of the Communist revolution. Workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all lands, unite!»

If the working-class movement had had the spirit of Marx and of Engels, it would have gone to the aid of our Spanish workers on the first day that the Fascist Generals lifted their banner of blood. Even

if Spain had been a small island in the middle of the Pacific, unrelated to the struggle in Europe, that would have been our elementary revolutionary duty (Applause). But in the case of Spain, there is not merely the demand of working-class solidarity. There is the expediency of the strategical position of Spain in the general struggle against Fascism.

The conflict in Spain is only the first battle of a class war which will become European. If we allow the Fascists to be victorious in Spain, we have given them, as I shall emphasise later, a position of critical importance which might prove decisive in the coming wider conflict.

Yet, despite these facts—despite both the elementary demand of working-class solidarity and the significance of Spain in the war plans of Mussolini and Hitler—three months have passed without the mass working-class organisations of the Social Democratic International, the Popular Front Government of France, or the Government of Soviet Russia coming to the aid of our Spanish comrades. At this moment the Fascist forces are at the very door of Madrid; and yet the working-class movement of the world and the working-class governments of other countries stand by doing little.

We do not underestimate the support expressed in the funds which have been raised for medical supplies and clothing and relief. We are proud of the fact that almost every Party represented at this Congress has its members in Spain fighting side by side with our Spanish comrades (Applause). We are proud of the fact that there is in Spain an «International Column» which represents the workers of all countries. We are proud of the fact that, despite the ban which Governments have imposed, ways and means have been found of providing at least a limited supply of arms to the Spanish workers (Applause).

But this is not enough, tragically not enough. The struggle of our Spanish comrades demanded that the whole working-class movement should have risen in aid of the Spanish workers and that working-class Governments should have defied International Capitalism by providing the Spanish Government with arms—as indeed they were entitled to do even under Capitalist International law.

We welcome the signs of change both in the Social Democratic mass movements and in Soviet Russia, though they still hesitate. The British Labour Party and the other Social Democratic Parties are at last beginning to turn from the shameful attitude of neutrality. Soviet Russia is announcing that it cannot continue to be bound by the Non-Intervention Pact if Italy, Germany and Portugal continue to repudiate it in action. But it is tragic that such tendencies towards change should be taking place only now—three months too late. We hope that the tendencies will develop into definite action, and that effective assistance will be given in time to make sure that our Spanish comrades will triumph over the forces of Fascism (Applause).

Why Working Class Movement Failed

It is our duty to ask why the working-class movement and working-class Governments have failed in this way. The reason is that both have departed from the basis of the class struggle which Marx and Engels laid down.

The first public declaration of the policy of neutrality and non-intervention was made by the Popular Front Government of France. That Government was elected on exactly the same basis as the Spanish Government—it resulted from a combination of forces to resist the Fascist menace. We all naturally expected that the French Popular Front Go-

vernment would allow its brother Government of Spain to purchase war materials from France when threatened by the common enemy of Fascism. We were staggered when M. Blum, the Socialist Premier of France, issued his invitation to the Governments of the world to refuse arms to the Spanish Government and to adopt the attitude of neutrality.

Why did the Popular Front Government of France take this line? There were three reasons, and each of these reasons represents a departure from the class struggle.

The first reason was to prevent the extension of the conflict in Spain to the rest of Europe. The second reason was to maintain the political and military alliance of the French Government with the Capitalist Government of Great Britain. The third reason was to maintain the alliance between the French Socialists and the French Liberals (Radical Socialists) who form a coalition in the Popular Front Government.

The struggle in Spain cannot be limited to Spain. It cannot be isolated. In fact it is not isolated now; the Fascist Powers of Italy, Germany and Portugal are already involved. The Spanish workers are fighting International Fascism. They are being massacred by bombing airplanes, machine guns and tanks which the Fascist countries have provided.

In practice, the policy of neutrality has meant that the working-class and working-class Governments have tied their hands not to assist, whilst the Fascist Powers have united to destroy the Spanish workers. International Fascism is attempting to crush the workers of one nation after another, and by the policy of neutrality the working-class movement and working-class governments are allowing them to do this. International Fascism must be met by the forces of International Socialism. Otherwise International Socialism will be smashed in parts, nation by nation in turn. (Applause.) **The principle of the class struggle and of international working-class solidarity demanded immediate action by the whole of the working-class. The denial of this principle by the Popular Front Government of France was an act of surrender to International Fascism and a betrayal of the historical basis of the working-class movement and the Socialist Cause. Even from the point of view of expediency, the attitude of the French Popular Government was wrong. It was not averting a European War by the attitude of neutrality, but at best postponing it and postponing it with the risk that a Fascist victory in Spain would strengthen enormously the strategical position of the Fascist Powers. It is known that the Spanish Fascists have promised Mussolini a naval base in the Balearic Islands and Hitler a naval base in the Canaries, with naval facilities on the Moroccan coast for both, if they are victorious. With the Spanish Peninsula and the western mouth of the Mediterranean in their control, the Fascist Powers would have an immeasurable advantage in a coming war.**

By not acting in the spirit of revolutionary working-class solidarity, the Popular Front Government of France may prove to have surrendered to the Fascist Powers key positions of decisive importance in the war which these latter are planning. If France is saved from this, it will be by the courage of the Spanish workers and by the action of those sections of the working-class movement which have maintained the basis of the class struggle despite the ban which the French Government invited the governments of the world to impose (Applause).

The second reason for the attitude of the French Government was equally and even more clearly a denial of the principle of the class struggle. The Popular Front Government has maintained France's political and military alliance with the Capitalist Government of Britain,

the most Imperialist Government in the world. It is an open secret that M. Blum enquired from the British Capitalist Government what its attitude would be if France permitted the Spanish Government to purchase arms and that the British Government replied that it would not side with France in any international consequences—that, in fact, any action of solidarity with the Spanish workers would mean an end of the alliance with the British Capitalist class.

The French Government chose the alliance with the British Capitalist class rather than with the Spanish working-class. It tore to shreds the basis of class solidarity, by choosing an alliance with the Capitalist class of Imperialist Britain rather than with the Spanish workers engaged in their revolutionary struggle with Fascism.

The third reason illustrates again how a departure from the basis of the class struggle involves surrender and betrayal. The French Socialist and Communist Parties, under the impression that they were strengthening resistance to Fascism, agreed to enter into an alliance with the Radical Socialists, a Capitalist-Liberal Party in France. The Socialists and Radical-Socialists formed a Coalition Government; but immediately a real crisis in the struggle against Fascism arose, the Radical Socialists prevented effective action being taken. It is known that the influence of M. Daladier, the Radical Socialist Minister of War, and of other of his Radical Socialist colleagues was decisive in the French Cabinet in determining the policy of neutrality.

In other words, the French Socialists put their alliance with the Liberal Capitalists of France before their solidarity with the Spanish working-class.

They were tempted into departing from the basis of the struggle in the hope of defeating Fascism in France. Experience has demonstrated that this departure from the class struggle so compromised them that they were unable to act at the supreme moment when action was required and when the failure to act might have given European Fascism a victory which would have proved the most serious menace to the anti-Fascist cause even in France itself.

Attitude of Soviet Russia

But the effects of the departure from the basis of the class struggle were not limited to France. France had its political and military pact with Soviet Russia, and because of this even Soviet Russia, a Workers' State, agreed to a policy of neutrality towards the Spanish struggle. The Franco-Soviet Pact in itself was a repudiation of the class struggle. It was negotiated with the French Capitalist Government before the French Popular Government was elected. **Soviet Russia, as well as France, placed its system of international alliances with Capitalist Governments before its international duty of going to the aid of the Spanish workers.**

The effects spread further still. When the international working-class movement considered what it should do, the attitude of neutrality adopted by the French and Russian Governments was used as the main argument against active support for the Spanish workers. The British Labour Movement was intimidated into taking the line of neutrality because it was told that any other course would wreck the Popular Front Government in France. Communist Parties were more clamant but less consistent. In countries other than Russia they demanded that arms should be allowed to go to the Spanish Government, but this demand lost all its moral authority by reason of the failure of Soviet Russia to permit arms to be sent (Applause).

Thus we see that because of the neutral policy of the Popular Front Government of France and of the Government of Soviet Russia, because the French Government, declined to accept the international implications of the struggle in Spain, because it represented an alliance of Socialists with Liberals, because it wished to maintain its political and military alliance with the Capitalist Government of Britain, and because of Soviet Russia's diplomacy with its network of alliances with Capitalist Governments—because of this series of departures from the basis of the class struggle the whole working-class movement of the world was prevented from going to the assistance of our comrades in Spain.

Workers Must Act Themselves

At this Revolutionary Socialist Congress we wish to emphasise the point that the working-class movement should not be looking to Capitalist Governments to give aid to the Spanish workers, but should be looking to its own organisations and to its own action and strength. Of particular importance in this connection is the situation of our French comrades. I have tried to imagine sometimes the thoughts and feelings which must have been in the minds of those French workers as they stood on the bank of the river at Irun looking across to the other side and watching their Spanish comrades dying ill-armed at their posts against the modern weapons with which the Fascists of Italy, Germany and Portugal had supplied the Fascists of Spain. I am perfectly sure that our French workers at that moment had an intense desire to cross the narrow bridge and fight side by side with the Spanish workers.

We know that that feeling is rising among the French workers and that already, despite the ban of the French Government, many French workers have crossed the frontier and that they have taken arms across with them. It is not impossible that the time will come when our French comrades will feel their solidarity with our Spanish comrades so deeply that no decrees or bans of Governments will hold them back; that they will pour across the artificial geographical frontier of the Capitalist State and in their own power and strength take with them the arms that the Spanish workers need (Applause).

But we cannot place that responsibility only upon our French comrades. We recognise at once that the moment when the French working-class take that action it will be the moment of revolutionary struggle, not only in France but throughout Europe.

It would inevitably mean the beginning of a decisive struggle in France; but it could not be kept within the bounds of France. It would spread across Europe. It would be the moment of opportunity for our beleaguered comrades in Vienna. It could not leave Britain, with all its isolation, unaffected. It would be the moment for a revolutionary rising of the working-class of all countries against their Capitalist class and their Governments. The Spanish Revolution would become the European Revolution.

This may seem utopian, but as the situation develops, as the conflict in Spain develops to a crisis, as the working-class of other countries goes to the assistance of Spain, as Russian threats to break through the embargo become a reality, we must be prepared for a situation of social revolution which will spread right across the frontiers.

We hope that one of the results of this Congress will be that the delegates will go back to their countries to prepare their working-class for a crisis of this character, which is bound to develop sooner or later even if immediate events pass without it occurring.

The Class Struggle and War

The class struggle is not merely the key to correct Revolutionary Socialist action towards our Spanish comrades; it is the key to correct action in relation to the whole problem of War, Fascism and Imperialism which this Congress is to discuss.

In 1914 we saw the tragedy of the working-class movement lining itself up in one country after another with the Capitalist class and Capitalist Governments. The war ended but the working-class movement did not learn its lesson. Instead of returning to the basis of the class struggle and relying on its own strength and action, it placed its faith in the Capitalist institution of the League of Nations. It merely substituted collaboration with International Capitalism for its war-time policy of collaboration with National Capitalism. It still refrained from acceptance of the principle of the class struggle, which required collaboration only with the international working-class.

In its earliest years the Communist International maintained the basis of the class struggle—Soviet Russia made the working-class movements of other countries its allies. But in recent years the Communist International has also departed from the principles of the class struggle. Soviet Russia has entered the League of Nations, not as a platform of revolutionary propaganda, but as an instrument of international diplomacy. In the process it has become submerged in Capitalist diplomacy. It has entered into alliances with Capitalist Governments, has endorsed the policies of the Imperialist statesmen of its Capitalist allies, and has become a part of the whole diplomatic machine of International Capitalism. **By so doing, it has turned the mind of the working-class away from the international class struggle and has supplemented the encouragement given by the Social-Democratic International to reliance upon the instrument of International Capitalism.**

The alliances of the Soviet Government with Capitalist Governments have had disastrous results in turning the working-class away from the class struggle. When Soviet Russia has made, or has thought to make, Capitalist allies, the influence of the Communist International has been exerted to damp down the class struggle in the Capitalist countries concerned. In such countries the working-class has been encouraged to form united fronts with Capitalist elements prepared to serve the interests of Soviet diplomacy. The revolt of the subject peoples of such countries has been discouraged. The working-class parties in such countries have been advised to modify their opposition to rearmament.

This departure from the whole basis of the class struggle has even extended to Fascist countries when there seemed hope that the Government might be brought within the circle of Soviet alliances. Thus we have had the remarkable appeal of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Italy to «Fascists and non-Fascists» alike—«Workers and Intellectuals, Socialists, Democrats, Liberals, Catholics»—to form a People's Front in Italy on the basis of the 1919 Fascist program. Yes—even to this extent the Communist International is prepared to go when wooing Fascist Italy to join a French-British-Russian bloc of nations rather than the German bloc!

Workers' Power the alternative to Fascism

These departures from the basis of the class struggle have meant that the appeal to the working-class has ceased to be revolutionary. I illustrate again from Spain. The line of the Social Democratic In-

ternational and the Communist International is that the struggle in Spain is simply a struggle between the forces of democracy and of Fascism. The leader of the Communist Party in Britain has declared that the workers in Spain are not fighting for Soviets but for democracy (Laughter from the Spanish delegates). Because of this theoretical line, the real character of the struggle in Spain is being deliberately hidden from the working-class of other countries. The very sections of the working-class which have always stood for Soviets appear to be ashamed because the Spanish workers are forming Soviets!

The real facts, as our Spanish delegates will tell us, are that in Catalonia and the parts of Spain which have been freed from the Fascists, the peasants have taken possession of the land, the workers have taken possession of the factories, the railways, the banks and the public services, and the whole administration is now under working-class control (Applause).

Base your thinking on the class struggle, and you will see that when the real struggle with Fascism takes place it can never be a struggle between Capitalist democracy and Fascism, because Fascism is Capitalism and in the last resort even Capitalist Democracy will side with Fascism rather than with Socialism. Spain has shown that it must become a struggle between the working-class and the Capitalist class, between Worker's Power and Capitalist Power, between Fascism and Socialism (Applause).

We congratulate our Spanish comrades on what they have done. On the front they are fighting Fascism; behind the lines they are building Socialism (Applause). Those of us who live in Capitalist-democratic countries would fight in resistance to any attempts by the Fascists to take our liberties, but we would fight with ten times that enthusiasm to defend a Workers' State and we support the Spanish workers with ten times the enthusiasm because we know they are fighting for a Workers' State (Applause).

Marx and Engels are being proved correct in the actual process of the struggle in Spain. It is the departure of the Social Democratic and Communist Internationals from the principles of the class struggle which is causing the events in Spain to expose their wrong line.

There are signs that the working-class is revolting against the betrayal by the Social Democratic and Communist Internationals. Within the working-class movement, largely as a result of the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades, there is a revival of the revolutionary spirit. It is to be found within large sections of the Social Democratic International; it is to be found in country after country among members of the Communist Parties who remain revolutionary; it is to be found in the independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties.

At this moment already, the new Revolutionary International is being born. At this moment, out of events, out of historical processes, out of the upsurge of the working-class, the forces are everywhere rising which will create a new Revolutionary International (Applause).

We in this Congress must look towards this. We in this Congress must definitely prepare for it—not by attempting to lay down a theoretical basis and saying that only those who accept it will be allowed to form the new International, but by working within the mass movements, by responding to the spirit of the struggle in Spain, by encouraging those forces which, out of the working-class struggle itself, will create the basis of a new International by combining all revolutionary forces on the principle of the class struggle.

Comrades, it was the revolution in Russia, it was the events of

October 1917, after the kind of conference which we are opening today, after the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, — it was from these events that the Communist International arose. It was the social revolution in Russia which gave reality to the aspirations for a new International which long preceded it.

I say to this Congress that it may yet prove true that what the social revolution of Russia was to the birth of the Third International so the social revolution of Spain may be to the birth of the New United Revolutionary International.

Our part in this Congress is to declare our attitude clearly on the issues which face the workers, to lay down definite concrete action by which we can go to the assistance of the Spanish workers and carry on our struggle against War, Fascism and Imperialism, and to begin to encourage the coming together of those revolutionary forces of the working-class which shall re-create an international movement capable not merely of resisting war, but of turning war, into social revolution; not merely of defeating Fascism, but of advancing from Capitalist democracy to Workers' Power; not merely of overthrowing Imperialism, but of winning economic independence as well as political independence for the subject peoples; and not merely of defying Capitalist reaction, national and international, but of replacing it by International Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics. In so far as our Congress assists these objects it will be justified. I ask you to apply yourselves to this task (Prolonged Applause).

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THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN AGAINST FASCISM AND FOR SOCIALISM

By JULIEN GORKIN

(Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity)

(The Second Session of the Congress was devoted to a Speech on the struggle in Spain by Julien Gorkin. James Maxton, M. P., introduced Comrade Gorkin. James Maxton informed the Congress that he was very happy to be present and to salute the magnificent work which was being done at the present moment by our comrades in Barcelona, the Workers' Party of Marxist Unity, (P. O. U. M.). It was fitting that on this occasion the chair was taken by a British subject as it allowed him to apologise publicly to Comrade Gorkin for the insult on the part of the British Government in refusing him permission to remain in England. He sincerely hoped that the delegates at the Congress did not think that all British citizens by any means approved the decision of the Home office in refusing Comrade Gorkin the same rights as had been accorded to representatives of the rebel forces. (I have already made a protest on behalf of the workers of Britain in the House of Commons, and I repeat this protest before this international gathering.)

Comrade Gorkin was received with prolonged applause and the delegates listened to his speech with profound interest and attention.

JULIEN GORKIN:

«In the name of our party, and of the armed workers of Spain, I desire to thank the International Bureau and the Congress for putting

the Spanish revolution as the first point on the agenda. This shows that at least the Bureau and the Congress understand the position and that they are ready to help the Spanish workers to beat Fascism and to build Socialism. (Cheers). The five and a half year's work of the democratic bourgeois Republican Government has had negative results. The Popular Front Government failed lamentably to bring any constructive measures and opened the road for reaction. When the Fascist revolt broke out on July 19th, the force which saved Spain was not the Republican Government, but the Spanish workers themselves. (Cheers.)

It must be borne in mind that the electoral victory of February 1936 was rendered possible by the October revolution of 1934 and the sacrifice of the Asturian miners. One of the first lessons of the Spanish situation appeared to be that the so-called Popular Front leads to Fascism; only the Workers' Front can lead to Socialism.

At the end of the four months work of the new Government elected in February, 1936, all the key positions in the army, the Government and the Civil Service, were still in the hands of the Fascists.

The workers, at the outset of the revolt, had no arms and therefore could not meet the armed force of the rebels. But in spite of this, neither in Catalonia, Madrid nor Valencia, did the Fascists win the victory. Even in Saragossa and Seville, it must not be forgotten that the workers were genuinely revolutionary and if they had had the means of arming themselves in the slightest possible way, the Fascist rebels would have never obtained control of these cities. After the victory of the workers in Catalonia, our task was great. We had immediately to form an army—we created the Spanish militia. They came to us by hundreds and thousands and mostly without any military instruction whatever. Our task was to send them to stop the invasion of Catalonia, and in most cases to send them unarmed. We had no material and at certain moments our armed workers had to stop firing simply because we had no further munitions... Night after night I had the horrible nightmare of thinking of what would happen if the Fascists suddenly advanced into Catalonia and commenced butchering and massacring the people. Now, however, the great danger point has passed. Realising to the full the gravity of the situation, we are optimistic because we are beginning to arm our workers effectively.

The situation at Madrid

We have all been passing through very anxious days, lately on account of the tremendous concentration which the enemy is making against Madrid. It almost appears to be a desperate gambler's throw; but even here it must be remembered that time works for us and against the Fascists. The winter is beginning and it must be remembered that the winter is very rigorous in the mountains round Madrid and in Aragon. The Catalonian textile mills and metal works are working night and day to produce warm clothing and the armaments needed by our troops. The enemy have no industrial centres in their power, and at a given moment they will be unable to obtain new supplies either of clothing or of ammunition.

The gold in the Bank of Spain at Madrid is in the hands of the Government and from telegrams which have been intercepted, we have learned that the rebels are now coming near the end of their monetary resources.

In those parts of the country under our control, we have the enthusiastic support of the workers, but in the parts of Spain under

Fascist domination, they are simply able to maintain their position by a reign of terror, which means literally the wholesale shooting of all workers who do not accept their dictatorship. The winter campaign therefore will increase the dissatisfaction in the ranks of the rebels, whereas every week that passes increases the enthusiasm among our own armed workers.

In the neighbouring country of Portugal, we learn with joy that large numbers of the workers are in opposition to the dictatorship. Most of the outside help which has gone to the rebels, has gone through Portugal and the Spanish committee controlled by the rebels in Lisbon is working hand in hand with the Portuguese Government. I am certain the dissatisfaction among the Portuguese workers will grow, and the position of the rebel committee will become less secure in the near future.

In addition to this, the resistance of the Moors in North Africa against General Franco is increasing. This rebel General was forced to shoot 24 Moorish notabilities who protested against the further recruiting of Moors for the Fascist campaign in Spain. Our brothers in Morocco are beginning to realise that Morocco can only be saved if Spain is saved for the workers (Cheers).

All these factors, therefore, rendered a desperate attack on Madrid absolutely necessary, and despite all the alarmist rumours in the French and British press, we still have confidence in the Madrid proletariat. Caballero said yesterday, that if the Fascists entered Madrid they will commence by shooting at least 5,000 of the leaders among the Madrid workers.

It is for this reason that Catalonia is now doing all it possibly can to help Madrid, because although the fall of Madrid would not mean a triumph in Spain, it would nevertheless have very important international results. We were perfectly certain that if Madrid fell and the Burgos Government was installed at Madrid, it would be immediately recognised by Germany, Italy and Portugal, and probably by Capitalist Britain. The effect of this would be that a rebel Government installed in Madrid would immediately obtain international loans and recognition from the Capitalist States and the embargo upon arms and munitions which they had applied against the Republican Government, would be lifted in favour of the rebel Government (Hear, hear).

It is therefore quite clear why the Fascists are making their biggest efforts against Madrid, armed as they are by every other Fascist State in Europe.

It is a fact that the workers in Madrid right from the beginning of the Fascist revolt have been on the defensive, where as the Spanish workers attacking Oviedo, Huesca, Saragossa and Teruel have always been on the offensive, and according to messages received, the Madrid workers are at last taking the offensive against the Fascist attack.

Governmental participation

We have been reproached for being represented in the Catalan Government along with elements of bourgeois republicanism. We have been receiving every day letters, reports etc., from comrades all over Europe criticising our attitude and endeavouring to compare the situation between Russia in 1917 and Spain today. I would point out however, that there are important differences between the situation in Russia then and in Spain now, and we must especially remember that in each country it is necessary to adapt the interpretation of revolutionary prin-

ciples to the situation. I claim we have used our revolutionary advantage in the best possible manner as we have now an advanced workers' front in Catalonia. In Russia, the Trade Unions were created after the revolution. In Spain, revolutionary Trade Unions have existed for a considerable time and they have preached consistently the class struggle; at the end of July they were the first to volunteer for active service against the Fascists.

The F. A. I. insisted on working in co-operation with them and we did not think that we had any right to attempt to monopolise the dictatorship of the proletariat in Spain. This has led us to the following situation; the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militia has sections in every town and village in Catalonia and there was therefore a duality of powers which interfered with effective action. On the one hand we had the Catalonian Republican Government and on the other hand the Anti-Fascist Committee. This led to the necessity of forming a revolutionary Government composed of proletarian organisations. The question then arose as to the position of the left Republicans. Should we force them out of the Government and so outside the Anti-Fascist Forces. We wanted a Workers' Government, but the U. G. T., the C. N. T., the F. A. I., the Union of Peasants, and the United Socialist Party formed part of the Government, and so far as the Government adopted a definitely revolutionary programme, we decided to join.

This programme was:

1. To unite our forces to win the war by smashing Fascism.
2. Concurrently to socialise the land and all the means of production, distribution and exchange.

We believe it would have been an error to have remained outside such a Government when this programme was adopted. We did not sell ourselves—we kept our liberty. If the Government does not carry out a definitely Socialist programme, we shall dismiss the left Republicans and replace them with further members of the revolutionary proletarian organisations.

The Issue - Socialism versus Fascism

The position in Spain is now perfectly clear. If the armed workers win, it means the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. If they are beaten it means a Fascist military dictatorship. This has been realised by everyone now and only the Communists do not appear to understand. Five or six years ago when the Republican forces were beginning to manifest themselves in Spain, the Communists cried «Down with the Republicans» and «Long Live the Soviets». Now all this has changed and when we are on the way to Socialism, the Communists are crying «Long Live the Democratic Republic». This is after five and a half years of painful efforts and sacrifices by the Spanish workers. In Catalonia however, even the Communists are beginning to understand the position and they are now realising the fact that we are not fighting to save Republicanism, but to introduce Socialism.

The C. N. T.

What is the position of this organisation? The C. N. T. had a great hold on the workers in Catalonia, probably because whenever direct action was necessary the members of the C. N. T. were always there to do their duty. But in certain parts of Catalonia, namely the

province of Lerida, the P. O. U. M. is definitely in control and the strength of our Party has increased tremendously since the end of July.

Previous to the Fascist revolt, the unorganised workers always declared against any political action. «No State, no Army, no police»—but reality is stronger than their previous ideas and after three months of struggle the C. N. T. have modified their point of view. They accept participation in the Government. They accept the army in the form of a workers' Militia, and even accept the Workers' Police Force. Three months of revolutionary activity have taught more than 20 years of propaganda effort. We maintain now, as we have maintained from the beginning that we must create the Socialist Commonwealth which means winning the war against the Fascists at the front and smashing Capitalism behind.

The interview with Caballero

Since the beginning of the Fascist revolt we have felt that Madrid in many cases was putting the brake on revolutionary action, and for this reason, I went to see Largo Caballero to discuss the matter with him.

«Do you think,» I asked him, «that all the blood shed and all the sacrifices on the part of the workers is to maintain the Republican democracy and the Popular Front?»

He replied to me, «We know quite well that the militia fights for more, but behind all this we have the international situation to consider.»

I continued: «You deceive yourselves if you think you are deceiving the foreigner. Why, you have only to read the «Times» and the «Telegraph» to know that our victory means Socialism.»

Fenner Brockway in his opening speech said that the workers always have infinitely greater enthusiasm when they know they are fighting for Socialism, and it was for this reason that the Spanish workers had obtained the enthusiastic support of British, French, Belgian and German workers.

A further point which was discussed at Madrid, was the following. They asked us if we were prepared to disarm the militia in order to substitute a regular army when victory had been gained. We replied in the affirmative, but we said it must be the «Red Army». We also stated that the police forces must be the workers' police forces controlled by the Trade Unions. For this reason our Comrade Andres Nin is in the Government as Minister of Justice. The judicature has been destroyed and been replaced by workers' justice. The object of this new order is to use the Courts to insure that proletarian justice is obtained to defend the revolution and to break the remainder of the Fascist interests in Catalonia.

Finally therefore, we must again make the position quite clear that we are definitely carrying on the defence against Fascism on the one hand, and laying the foundations of a new Socialist Commonwealth, on the other.

The International Situation

If we have not smashed Fascism in Spain now, it is because of the effective foreign aid which has been given by Fascist States to the rebel forces, whilst the workers have been compelled to carry on in a practically unarmed condition. Before the outbreak of the Fascist revolt, Franco made a hidden agreement with Hitler and Mussolini.

In return for their armed help, he promised to give the Canary Islands to Hitler, and the Balearic Islands to Mussolini. These two individuals therefore, signed the so-called non-intervention pact which they have not respected, nor had they any intention of respecting it. Since the 19th of July, they have given continual aid to the rebel forces. The result of this is that the rebels gained three months and the workers lost three months. For this reason, and this reason alone, the armed Moors and mercenaries of Franco are now battering at the doors of Madrid.

Neutrality Pact

The so-called Pact of Neutrality is not only a crime, but it is suicide. We cannot understand how any Socialist whether participating or not in Governments could accept it. If it were real neutrality, some case might be made out for it, but we have obtained proofs that it is simply a travesty. We know the attitude of Britain, France and Russia. So far as Soviet Russia is concerned it must be remembered that when the Communist International was «Communist», the workers of the world were always ready to help it and indeed, it can be said that without the help of the international workers, the Russian revolution would not have been saved. We do not understand the present Stalinist conception of the Communist Party. It almost appears as though they preferred signing pacts with Capitalist countries to helping the Spanish workers, and we say that the successors of the great October revolution had not the right to refuse to give immediate assistance to the Spanish revolution, for at this moment the future of the world revolutionary movements is at stake. So far as France is concerned, it appears as though the Popular Front prefers to compromise with the British Imperial interests than to take the straight Socialist line. The French Government tries to justify neutrality on the ground that there is a danger of international war. We think the contrary. The victory of Franco and the rebels would mean a Fascist Spain, and this will bring international war. The victory of the Spanish workers would mean international peace. It seems strange to imagine that there could be any doubt of this, when, with the Italians in the Balearic Islands, the Germans in the Canaries, and Spain a Fascist State, France would be surrounded by Fascist countries and the inevitable result would be European war.

Referring again to the attitude of Soviet Russia, we appreciate the fact that this appears to have changed lately regarding Spain. The aid which we are receiving now is very effective and will certainly allow us to beat Fascism. However this does not excuse Russia from the historic error of having participated in «neutrality» for two and a half months. This allowed the advance of Spanish Fascism, helped by international Fascism, which means that, now, it is more difficult to beat, although we have no doubt of the final victory of the workers. During these two and a half months, the French Communists have ceaselessly demanded arms, munitions and aeroplanes for Spain, but this help was not forthcoming from Russia itself. During the same period, the French Communists worked for the destruction of the actual Popular Front Government, and for its substitution by a «French Front» Government knowing at the same time that such a Government would be more reactionary and would deny us help more than ever. It is necessary to call attention to these contradictions of Stalinism.

We accept with joy the help of the Russian people but we declare definitely that Stalin does not give this help to the Spanish workers

to carry through their own revolution and to influence the International revolution, but he gives it to the bourgeois democratic Government and we refuse to allow the «Stalinisation» of the Spanish working-class movement in exchange for this material aid. The Spanish revolution must march onwards to a fulfillment of its historic mission. Neither shall we permit that our victories serve the diplomatic combinations of the Soviet Government, but we insist that they serve alone, the International revolution, — the only way to save the Russian revolution. At the present moment there is, on the part of the Spanish workers a certain reaction against the French Government and against the parties of which it is composed. The Spanish working-class, however, realises the difference between the French Government and the French proletariat. We know that the French workers are with us, on the side of the Spanish revolution. We know that our French comrades are giving us more abundant and effective help, in the same way as our British, Belgian, and other international comrades. They are keeping alive, from beyond our frontiers, the spirit of the Spanish revolution and in this solidarity we see the salvation, not only of our own, but of the international revolution.

One thing is clear, the Spanish problem is an international problem. Franco symbolises war; the workers symbolise peace. The workers of Spain are fighting for revolutionary pacifism. The way to help the Spanish workers is to mobilise the working classes of the world to exercise formidable pressures on their respective Governments to sabotage and prevent the sending of goods by Fascists to the rebels. The workers must employ all means to prevent supplies coming from other countries to the Spanish Fascists. Our great need is arms. We have the men, but we have not yet sufficient arms. If our comrades cannot supply arms, then send us money to buy them. We also require food, warm clothing and medical supplies. We ask you to destroy the campaign of lies being propagated by the Capitalist press against the Spanish workers. Small numbers of sincere revolutionary comrades working along these lines in other countries can be of more help to us than mere milk and water assistance. Remember we are fighting your battle as well as our own and at the end we do not want to be isolated. Let us show the masses of the world that this is a world wide movement towards Socialism.

Barcelona Congress

In complete and full agreement with the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity which has called this Congress, from the platform of which I have the honour of addressing the representatives of 15 nations, we have decided to hold a further great conference in Barcelona, at the beginning of the coming year. The Second and Third Internationals in our opinion, have failed in their historic task. In all the working-class movements of the world, there are many fractions which are waiting for a lead and which will constitute the basis of our new Revolutionary International.

We are prepared, with the London Bureau, to give this lead. The great task of the Barcelona Congress will be to prepare the basis for a new movement, to analyse the last 18 years of strife and to study the growth of Fascism, which has developed because the workers were not ready to seize the occasions to strike for Socialism.

We shall examine the development of Soviet Russia, to see what has happened and why. We hope to profit by what has been good in

the Russian experience and to avoid the errors. We shall never forget that the work of Soviet Russia is still positive, and we intend to radiate internationally the fervour of revolutionary Spain.

I therefore call on all of you to join us in the Barcelona Congress, to carry on the great work of achieving the International Socialist Revolution.»

At the conclusion of Comrade Gorkin's Speech, Fenner Brockway presented to him a hundred pounds on behalf of the British I. L. P., twenty five pounds on behalf of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Holland and twenty five pounds on behalf of the Kibutz Artizi to be placed at the service of the P. O. U. M. in their struggle. After explaining that a number of similar gifts had been made previously by the parties associated with the International Bureau, Comrade Brockway said: «It was distinctly understood that money was simply a symbol of our solidarity and was given absolutely without conditions.»

As Comrade Brockway handed the notes to Comrade Gorkin, all the delegates rose in their places and cheered, and in twelve different languages sang the «Internationab», holding their clenched fists to their shoulders in the anti-Fascist salute. In reponse, Comrade Gorkin paid a tribute to the solidarity with the Spanish workers which had been shown from the beginning. He said: «We shall go back to Spain tremendously encouraged and inspired by your gestures of international solidarity.»

The organisation represented at the Congress then appointed representatives on the following four Commissions.

1. SPAIN.
Chairman. Michel Collinet. S. F. I. O.
2. WAR, FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM.
Chairman. John Mc. Govern. I. L. P.
3. SOVIET RUSSIA.
Chairman. Joseph Kruk. Polish I. S. L. P.
4. FUTURE ORGANISATION.
Chairman. Roger Royer. S. A. P.

REPORT ON ACTION TO SUPPORT SPANISH WORKERS

The Commission on Spain reported to the Congress on the afternoon of Sunday, November, 1st. The Congress met under a Presidium of the German Delegation, composed of Jacob Schwab, Roger Royer and Fritz Sanders.

Jacob Schwab opened the second sitting of the Congress by welcoming the delegates to continue their work. He said he would not make a Speech owing to the amount of work the Congress had to get through in a short space of time.

The report of the Commission was presented by Michel Collinet (Revolutionary Left of the French Socialist Party, S. F. I. O.) and after discussion was referred back to the Commission for consideration of further points which had been raised.

THE DISCUSSION

Marceau Pivert. (Revolutionary Left of the French Socialist Party). Comrade Pivert commenced by stating that it was his duty to explain quite clearly what was the exact state of mind of large masses of French Workers.

He believed that many of the French Workers felt that the great and supreme catastrophe which could come out of the Spanish Revolution, would be an outbreak of war—a general European War.

He examined the formula of neutrality. He said the French Government had been compelled to adopt this policy, otherwise they would have been forced to resign, and from his point of view, the position of our comrades in Spain would then have been infinitely worse. He regretted that this was the only possible attitude they could have adopted in order to avoid a dissolution and so prevent the formation in France of a Government of National Union.

He insisted, however, that in spite of the fact that France had not been able to help officially, nevertheless, what had been done unofficially was not negligible. «Was it not true, that the first attack upon Madrid had been forced back by the airplanes which had been sent to the help of the Spanish comrades from France?»

Little had been done he agreed but he claimed that it had been as effective as it could have been, and certainly very much more so than would have been the case had another Government been in power. Obviously if a larger part of the French proletariat had power, and if it were possible for them to substitute a Workers' Government, then the position would be simplified, and we should not be spending our time discussing this matter here.

The reality was that a large number of the French proletariat does not now appear to desire a Government of workers and peasants. In order to strengthen his argument, he paid particular attention to the attitude of the French Communists. They had been agitating for a Government which was practically a Government of National Union. He said that at the present moment, most of the opposition in France, on the part of the workers, came from members of the Third International, and the thing which interested them most was to strengthen the Franco-Soviet Pact. He insisted that most of their efforts were directed towards increasing the armed forces of France, with the definite objective of making the Franco-Soviet Pact effective.

«We must face the facts. Where are the arms? They are in the hands of the War Office and the bourgeoisie. Until we have workers' power ourselves, it is extremely difficult to send more arms to Spain, so long as they remain in the hands of the War Office. Any change of Government, such as is being agitated for by certain sections in France today in displacing the Popular Front Government, will make our acquisition of these arms even more difficult than now.»

It appeared so far as he could see, that the recent campaign of the Communist Party in France had been especially to consolidate democracy on a non-Hitler basis, and that the whole object of their activities in France was to strengthen the French forces of resistance. He then insisted that our duty was to endeavour to displace this by having a definite means of direct workers' action. He referred to the one-hour strike which had taken place in France. This was very valuable as an illustration, but so far as he could see, it was perfectly obvious in France, that no effective help could be obtained from the Communist Party, and none could be obtained from any alternative

Government. It was the duty of the French workers by continuous agitation to strengthen the arm of the French Government today, and by their own efforts to force it into direct contact with the problem and by means of direct workers' action, to help our Spanish comrades.

Comrade Ferrat of the dissident Communists of France then addressed the conference.

He explained to the Congress that he did not accept the point of view advanced by Marceau Pivert regarding the effectiveness of the French Popular Front policy towards the struggle in Spain. In his opinion, the Popular Front, instead of giving a clear lead to the workers, had temporised in exactly the same way as the British Labour Government had temporised. For precisely the same reasons that the British Labour Government lost power, and more especially, influence, among the workers of Britain, so in his opinion, the French Popular Front was running the risk of doing exactly the same. This was an historic fact. The watchwords of today would be the definite factors which governed the work of tomorrow.

He rejoiced that the criminal policy of neutrality had been denounced. The arguments in favour of neutrality were without force. The first, was that departure from neutrality might cause a general war. This argument was and is used always by those who are interested in the breaking down of the class struggle. A Marxist cannot accept this reasoning. The only guarantee for a Marxist, is the class struggle in each country. The factor which causes war is an inert and feeble working-class. The factor which prevents war is a militant working-class which refuses to be used as cannon fodder.

The second argument, was that a departure from neutrality would bring about the fall of the French Government. It must be pointed out that the French Radicals used the same argument when the workers occupied the factories. It was groundless then, and it is groundless now. The occupation by the workers of the factories enabled them to obtain conditions which they would never have obtained had they not taken matters into their hands. In his opinion, the factor which would bring about the fall of the Popular Front in France, was their policy of temporisation. The more clearcut and Socialist is the policy of the Government, the bigger possibility it has to maintain its position and to have the continued and wholehearted support of the workers.

In conclusion he said, «No-one knows better than I what the Communist Party is,» and he felt it was our duty to take our stand entirely on the principles of the October Revolution to help our Spanish comrades by strong definite working-class action, and to see to it that the Spanish Revolution was an incident in the world revolution which they were helping forward.

John Applin. British I. L. P.

He desired to point out that there has been in the Congress several calls for strike action by the working-class movement; but it is precisely because the leadership which should have declared against neutrality, the Second International, the Third International and the Soviet Union itself, had betrayed the working-class on this occasion that the workers throughout the world had not known which way to turn. The great mass of them want to take action on behalf of their Spanish comrades.

He was glad that Comrade Ferrat had dealt with Marceau Pivert's speech. «Most of us endorse what he said. We in Great Britain have

had a recent experience of the type of Government to which the previous speaker referred. We remember the 1929 British Labour Government. We remember how it temporised, how it put aside working-class issues and how it compromised with the bourgeoisie. Because of all this, and because of the betrayal of our Spanish comrades, strike action was impossible. We in Great Britain are still struggling to rebuild the working-class movement. We have had a classical example of the Labour Government—a working-class Government casting aside a class basis—temporising with the ruling class and sacrificing the workers for many years to come. I venture to suggest that if in France the Popular Front Government instead of sacrificing the Spanish workers on this occasion challenged international Fascism and Imperialism, the result would not have been reaction, but a coming together of working-class forces.

The Popular Front Government in France is digging its own grave, just as the British Labour Party dug its own grave and buried itself at the Edinburgh Conference.

I think that if this Congress allows this resolution to go through without a single reference to the role of the British Government to the present Spanish situation, it will be misunderstanding the whole situation. The British Government has been the force behind the historic role of British Imperialism, and on this account British Imperialism, one of the greatest anti-working-class forces in the world to-day, has again been fulfilling its historical mission.»

Italian Delegate. Italian Socialist Party.

The Popular Front Government in France is a bourgeois Government. Our attack must not be levelled against the Government as such, but against the parties of which the Government is composed.

He spoke of the attitude of the Communist Party and said that its change of front caused it to lose members. It was becoming less and less like a revolutionary Party, and no longer followed the ideals of the October revolution.

He said that the one hour strike in Paris was a blow at the Popular Front Government. Strike action was the most valuable method to aid our Spanish comrades.

Comrade Bronson. British I. L. P.

Bronson said that the British Government was not mentioned in the resolution on Spain. The onus of the decision had been laid entirely on the Popular Front Government, but the attitude of the British Government had largely determined the attitude of the French Government.

He criticised the attitude of the Commission on Russia. It is very difficult for this conference to judge the reasons for the attitude of the Russian Government.

He stressed the need for international solidarity.

Strike action must be taken by the workers to demonstrate their opposition to neutrality. The most important event was the strike of September 7th in Paris, and this had not been referred to in the resolution. The Trade Union Movement should be responsible for sending materials to Spain.

Sneevliet. Revolutionary Socialist Worker's Party of Holland

He said he was extremely delighted to learn that the Congress in Brussels was to be held. «We had every desire and every wish to participate in the Congress». The important thing to bear in mind was that they were bringing about Socialism in Spain.

The attitude of Russia demanded our strongest condemnation. He referred at great length to our comrade Pivert. He suggested that in so far as he agreed with the I. L. P. in condemning the British Government, he said that an equal condemnation should be passed on the French Government.

We must not think that the struggle in Spain is simply a struggle against Fascism and not against Capitalism. He said that Fascism and Capitalism were one and should not be treated as a separate subject.

He referred finally to the action of the French workers in the one hour strike. —«Our assistance must be definite, complete and courageous». Along these lines the working class would help the final conclusion of the revolution.

His opposition to Stalinism was strong, and he supported the effort of the Spanish workers not to «Stalinise Spain».

WELCOME TO ALFRED ROSMER.

At this stage in the proceedings of the Congress arrived our French Comrade Alfred Rosmer, together with our Spanish Comrade Mika Etchebere. Fenner Brockway welcomed them both in the following terms:

«I want to welcome Alfred Rosmer who has been one of the most courageous internationalists in France, and who was the first during the great war to manifest international working class solidarity. I want to welcome with him with special warmth, Comrade Mika Etchebere who has just come from the front in Madrid where her husband has been killed in the fighting. Yesterday we expressed our sense of solidarity with our Spanish comrades whose intimate friends have been lost in the struggle, and we wish to extend that same solidarity with special warmth to Comrade Etchebere whose presence here we tremendously appreciate this afternoon.»

As Fenner Brockway concluded his remarks all the assembled delegates rose to their feet and remained standing during the translation of his words of welcome into French and German.

At a subsequent Session Comrade Michel Collinet submitted the following Resolution as amended by the Commission following the discussion in Congress. The Resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

1. The Congress expresses its solidarity with the Spanish workers in their struggle against Fascism. It recognises that if they had had to struggle against the Fascist forces of Spain alone their victory would have been certain, but they are fighting really against the forces of International Capitalism and particularly those of the Fascist countries, Italy, Germany and Portugal.

2. Spain is at the present moment the battlefield of the international working-class. The Congress notes with pride that workers from many other countries are fighting on the side of the Spanish workers; but acts of individual courage and devotion are not sufficient. All the

working class movements of the world should be actively engaged in the struggle.

3. The Congress energetically condemns the policy of so-called neutrality which has been accepted until quite recently by the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Second International, and the Governments of which they form a part. It takes note of the fact that the French Popular Front Government, yielding to the pressure of the reactionary French bourgeoisie and the Fascist States, has taken the initiative in enforcing a blockade of the Spanish Revolution. This confirms once again the powerlessness of Liberal democracy to fight effectively against national and international Fascism. The Congress condemns this foreign policy of the French Popular Front Government which was formed on the initiative of the Communist International itself. The Congress condemns the policy of the Government of Soviet Russia which decided to associate itself with the lying principle of «non intervention». It hopes that the present attitude of Soviet Russia dictated above all by the fear of seeing Hitlerian Fascism strengthening its political and strategic positions, in breaking away from its previous attitude of neutrality, will give an effective aid to the Spanish Revolution; it calls upon the workers to support all efforts in this direction at the same time opposing any policy which, changing the character of the class struggle basis of the Spanish Revolution, simply desires the defence of Liberal Republicanism. The Congress condemns equally the British Government which, under the cloak of neutrality has helped the Fascist forces in Spain. The hypocrisy of this policy is clearly obvious when one realises that munitions and arms have been supplied in large quantities to the rebels by Germany, Italy and Portugal.

4. A victory of Fascism in Spain would have disastrous results. It would strengthen the power of Fascism in Europe and especially in France; it would allow Fascist Italy and Germany to control the West of the Mediterranean; it would increase the danger of war against Soviet Russia and would be the preface to a world wide war.

5. The working class should insist immediately, by direct action, on the raising of the embargo, send directly by all possible means everything which the Spanish workers need in the way of arms, munitions, raw materials, food supplies and medical and surgical articles; etc. It should prevent by sabotage the sending of arms to the rebels and put an end to the Fascist campaigns in the newspapers, the cinema, and the radio of all countries.

6. The congress salutes the dockers, railway workers, metal workers, etc., who in different parts by striking against the transport of arms to the rebels, have manifested their effective solidarity towards their brothers in Spain, as well as their hostility to the policy of strangling the Spanish Revolution. It calls upon the French, British and Belgian workers to continue along these lines in developing their struggle against their bourgeoisie, (accomplices of Spanish Fascism), in refusing to accept the policy of capitulation before Fascism. The Congress calls upon the international working class to help by all the means in its power the French proletariat of which the role and responsibility is preponderant in the present circumstances.

7. The Congress applauds with pride not only the Spanish armed workers who are fighting heroically on the different fronts, but also the workers who are actually putting into operation the principles of the Socialist Revolution in the territories which have been freed from Fascism, particularly in Catalonia and Valencia in taking possession of the land, the workshops, the transport system, the public services and

in general the whole economic life of the country. The Congress affirms that the struggle is not between Capitalist democracy and Fascism but between Socialism and Capitalism.

It is for this reason that the Congress emphasises the necessity for the Spanish Revolution to develop the means of action by the workers, the peasants, and the militia for the definite conquest of power and the building up of a Socialist Society. It sees in the Spanish Revolution a new and important stage of the world Socialist Revolution. It considers that the effect of solidarity of the international proletariat is a powerful lever for revolutionary action and the conquest of power in all countries.

8. *The Congress congratulates the workers' Party of Marxist Unity (P. O. U. M.) on the role it is playing right in the vanguard of the Spanish proletarian revolution. It salutes its heroic leader, Joaquin Maurin, and the thousands of workers of all the different organisations who have fallen in the struggle against international Fascism and Capitalism.*

Comrade Collinet intimated that on three sections there was complete unanimity on the part of the Commission.

In paragraph 1 of the new resolution, the point which has been emphasised, is that the struggle in Spain is a struggle against the forces of international Capitalism as well as the forces of Fascism. Thus the words «international Capitalism» have been substituted.

In the second paragraph there are references to acts of individual courage and devotion. These acts of individual courage are not enough; the entire working class must take an active part in the struggle.

There has been a complete re-wording of the third paragraph. The general position has been made clearer regarding the different attitudes of France, Britain and Soviet Russia towards Spain.

Dealing with paragraph 4., he said, that victory for Fascism in Spain would have disastrous results and would strengthen the power of Fascism in Europe, and above all in France. Its victory in Spain would have the effect of increasing the menace of general European War.

In paragraph 5., the modified form gives in slightly more detail and explains more clearly the direct action of the workers, so far as the struggle in Spain is concerned.

It also insists that sabotage should be indulged in by the workers to prevent the sending of arms to the rebels; that a continual attack must be kept up by the workers against non-intervention. This refers especially to the greeting which the Congress sends to our Parisien comrades in the one hour strike which took place on September 7th to express the enmity of the French workers against the policy of neutrality.

Paragraphs 7 and 8 have been put together in order to clearly emphasise that the Congress acclaims with pride, not only the Spanish militia, but also the workers in taking control of the land, the factories, the means of transport, the public services and the entire organisation.

In the present resolution, it was clearly specified that the struggle was not between Liberal Democracy and Fascism, but between Socialism and Capitalism.

The last clause was to emphasise the international character of the revolution; that this is a new stage of the World Socialist Revolution, and that the international proletariat is a powerful lever for revolutionary action in the conquest of power. Emphasis was laid on the fact that the revolution in Spain can be used as a lever to help the whole international working class movement.

Reports on Soviet Russia, Action Against War, Fascism and Imperialism and Future Organisation

The final session of the Congress was held on the afternoon of Monday, November 2nd. under a Presidium representing the Spanish, Swedish and Italian Delegations.

Those on the platform were Gorkin, Manuel Maurin and Solano (Workers' Party of Marxist Unity), Andersen (Swedish Socialist Party) and Rosa Balduini of the Italian Socialist Party. (Maximalist.)

Reports were presented as follows:

1. Josef Kruk (Polish Independent Socialist Labour Party), for the Soviet Russia Commission.
2. John Applin (British Independent Labour Party), for the War, Fascism and Imperialism Commission.
3. Julian Gorkin (Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity), for the Future Organisation Commission.

Soviet Russia

SUBJECT TO BE DISCUSSED AT BARCELONA CONGRESS IN
MARCH 1937

Josef Kruk presented the following resolution on behalf of the Commission on Soviet Russia.

RESOLUTION

1. *The fact that the Soviet Government has not immediately come to the assistance of the Spanish workers in their fight against Fascism is a reflection of its policy of recent years. The Conference approves however the change in attitude which has now taken place and hopes that this may be the first sign of a return to its former class-policy.*
2. *The conference declares that it is the task of the working-class of the world to support the struggle of the Spanish people, just as it is its duty to support the Soviet Union in its work of Socialist construction and to defend it against every Fascist Capitalist attack.*
3. *In consideration of the extraordinarily grave international situation the conference must disapprove with especial emphasis the sentences in the Moscow trial, and protest against these in the sharpest fashion. Through this trial, just as through a whole series of other measures of the Soviet Government, not only is the prestige of the Soviet Union discredited, but the united front of the international working-class movement that is in the process of formation is also prejudiced most seriously.*
4. *The conference nevertheless considers it further as its task to come out with all its power for the establishment of the united proletarian front of struggle and to oppose all measures that are undertaken by capitalist Governments against Soviet Russia.*
5. *The Conference desires that an international investigation be made into the accusations which were made in the Moscow trial and which were made later against other Oppositional Socialists and Communists. The attention of the Conference had been drawn to the fact that the Norwegian Government prevented a legal investigation and*

further that the Norwegian Labour Party had declared publicly that such an investigation would be most desirable. In these circumstances, therefore, the Conference demands that the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity should communicate with the Norwegian Labour Party in order to take the necessary steps for such an investigation to be carried out.

6. Without in any way identifying itself with the policies of Trotsky, the Conference protests against the fact that the Norwegian government on the request of the Soviet Government has placed conditions on Leon Trotsky which are practically equivalent to imprisonment. It declares that by this a dangerous precedent has been created through which the right of asylum for all political refugees is threatened. The Conference advocates an intensification of the international agitation for freedom and right of asylum for all political refugees in all lands.

7. In order to make possible a thorough going treatment of the many-sided and complicated problems of Soviet Russia, the Conference requests all parties and groups who wish to take part in the projected conference in Barcelona to make a study of the Russian problem and to submit to the Bureau in writing a position on these questions.

Josef Kruk said that there were deep differences in the working-class movement regarding Soviet Russia, but in the present situation we should regard it as a crime not to act in the defence of Soviet Russia. It was still the only Workers' Power in the world. The Commission proposed that most of the issues regarding Soviet Russia should be referred to the Congress at Barcelona in January, but it was necessary to make an immediate pronouncement regarding the Moscow Trial.

Without associating ourselves with either Stalin or Trotsky groups, the trial was of such a character as to demand an international investigation. He asked the London Bureau to get into touch with the Norwegian Labour Party, to do everything possible to prepare such a commission which would give absolute guarantee of full investigation.

«Trotsky is practically in prison. If in Liberal Democratic countries—and now Norway has a Labour Government—refugees are put in prison whenever they seek assistance, neither the comrades of Germany, nor of any other country have any guarantee that they can obtain help from the movements of other countries. This example of Trotsky is a dangerous one for all political refugees. We ask all Parties represented at the Congress to strengthen their agitation for all political prisoners. We are ready to protect Soviet Russia in building up the new Socialist order and we regard it as our duty to do everything that is possible to protect the only workers' State. We intend to support Soviet Russia against all Capitalist and Fascist aggression. This Congress is symbolic of a new and growing international unity. As Comrade Brockway said yesterday, the question of giving money to Spain is a symbol. If we could unite the struggle of the Spanish workinclass with the Soviet Union, we should do everything necessary to protect the Spanish people and the revolution, as we did the Russian people and their revolution. We again call for a United Front. We know that the Second and the Third Internationals are against it in many countries. There are various groups which belong to the Second and Third Internationals, also many independent groups, which wish to create a revolutionary united front. We want to bring all these groups together.

In Spain they have had the same trouble and therefore it is vital

that in the fight against Capitalist reaction and Fascism we are united to protect our heroic Spanish comrades.»

After a full discussion of the terms of the Resolution as presented by the Commission and the points referred to in the above speech of Comrade Kruk it was decided by a large majority of the Congress to adopt only the last paragraph of the resolution referring the whole matter to the Barcelona Congress to be held at the beginning of the year.

Fenner Brockway stated that meanwhile the International Bureau would propose to the Norwegian Labour Party that it should take the initiative in forming an International Commission of Inquiry into the charges made at the Moscow trial, promising the co-operation of the Bureau.

War, Fascism and Imperialism

John Applin (British I. L. P.), reported the following resolution for the Commission on Action against War, Fascism and Imperialism.

RESOLUTION

Eighteen years have passed since the conclusion of the World War. It was to be the last. The Capitalist statesmen of the world promised this, and the peoples of the world (apart from the Soviet Union) believed them, entrusting their destinities to Capitalist Governments.

The results are now apparent: all nations are increasingly concentrating their political and economic activities on preparations for the next war.

The War Danger

The desperate struggle of the Capitalist countries to maintain their economic existence has resulted in an intensified struggle between them for the markets and territories of the world. The Imperialist Powers, led by Britain and France, cling to their territories; other Powers, principally Japan, Germany, and Italy, pursue aggressive policies in order to extend their territories.

This struggle is the outcome of Capitalist Imperialism. It threatens to drown the world in blood in a new Imperialist War.

But simultaneously a new struggle is arising on an international scale—the struggle between the Working Class and the Capitalist Ruling Class, between Socialism and Fascism. The conflict in Spain, where the Fascists have received the open support of the Fascists of Italy, Germany and Portugal, is an example.

The development of the revolt of the subject peoples within the Empires against their Imperialist masters adds to the difficulties of Imperialism.

It is the duty of the Working Class to prepare to use these circumstances for the capture of Power and the final overthrow of War, Fascism, Imperialism and Capitalism.

The League of Nations

This Congress warns the Working Class against policies which rely on the League of Nations and any «collective system of peace» based

on pacts with Capitalist Governments. The League of Nations is an instrument to maintain the present structure of Imperialist Capitalism. No «collective system» of peace can maintain peace within Capitalism. The League of Nations has been consistently a League of the larger Imperialist Powers and their smaller allies against the nations which are striving to extend their Imperialist possessions.

The Abyssinian war showed that the conflict of Imperialist interests is stronger than any «collective basis of peace» within Capitalism.

Fascism and War

Fascism is the ultimate form of Capitalism in crisis and the will to War specially dominates both the home and foreign policies of the Fascist Powers, not only because the ideology of Fascism is based on militarist Nationalism and because of their Capitalist Imperialist drive for colonies, but also because the creation of «War Patriotism» is the most effective way to divert the attention of their populations from their failure to give social and economic relief to their peoples. It is the duty of the working class movement, recognising that Capitalist War will necessitate the introduction of Fascist measures (i. e. the destruction of all working class organisations and rights) to expose these War Aims of Fascism in countries where Fascist Governments already exist and to oppose the growth of Fascism in other countries.

This Congress strongly condemns anti-Semitism, which is being used by Fascism to divide the Working Class Movement by arousing racial antagonism. It denounces the political and economic persecution to which millions of Jews are subjected and declares that it is the duty of the Working Class Movement to demand full national, political, civil and economic equality for the Jewish working population.

Soviet Russia

In spite of the grave deviations of the internal and external politics of Soviet Russia from the essential principles of the October Revolution Russia remains the only country in the world having a collectivist economy of society and represents a considerable obstacle to the stabilisation of world-wide Imperialism. In consequence, the International Working Class Movement should prepare for the most effective proletarian solidarity in the event of Russia being drawn into war. At the present moment the immediate duty of the workers of all countries is to oppose all war preparations and all provocations directed against Soviet Russia, which are being particularly exercised at present by Germany and Japan. Working class solidarity in support of Soviet Russia can only be expressed by the working class of each country opposing its own governing class. No matter what the diplomatic agreements, provisional and fragile, which tie Soviet Russia to the Imperialist States, the defence of the Revolution of October 1917 is only possible in a final analysis the Working Class Movement to demand full national, political, civil countries.

No National Unity

But the working Class must avoid all policies which tend to bring them into alliance with their own Capitalist Governments against other Capitalist Governments, even Fascist Governments. They must not be led into alliance with Capitalist Governments either in preparation for War. They must not be misled by the slogans of a «League War»,

a «War for Collective Security», or a «War for Democracy against Dictatorship». If the Working Class gives up the class struggle and surrenders to the appeal for National Unity with the Capitalist Class, it will have opened the door wide for the triumph of Fascism in its own country.

Capitalist Governments do not fight against Fascism or for Democracy or for Systems of Peace. They fight for their own Imperialist interests. Even if those interests lead some of them to fight temporarily on the same side as Soviet Russia, they cannot be trusted. They will attempt to destroy Soviet Russia if it is in their interests. The only Government upon which any Workers' Government could rely would be another Working Class Government. The only class in Capitalist countries upon whom Soviet Russia can rely is the Working Class.

It is therefore the duty of the Working Class in all Capitalist countries to carry on the struggle against War Preparations on a Class basis, to resist the outbreak of War on a Class basis, and if War occurs to continue the Class Struggle, seizing the first opportunity provided by opposition to the War—War weariness, social chaos and economic discontent, to overthrow the Capitalist Governments, to win Workers' Power, and to begin the construction of the Workers' Socialist State. We must make certain that if War comes to Europe the War shall end with a European Social Revolution.

The Struggle in Spain

At the same time it is the urgent duty of the Working Class in each country to assist in the fullest way the workers actually engaged in the Class War against Fascism. It is the first duty of the whole Working Class Movement at this moment to mobilise all its forces on the side of the Spanish workers on the lines laid down in the special resolution on this subject.

The Struggle in Fascist Countries

Similarly it is necessary for the working class constantly to maintain support for the Socialist who are heroically carrying on the illegal struggle in the Fascist countries. Their dangerous and heroic struggle against Fascism may play a decisive role in the international working class fight and it is the duty of the working class movement to assist them more systematically and fully than it has so far done. The overthrow of the power of Fascism will be above all the work of the working classes of the Fascist countries. In the struggle against Fascism in the countries where it has triumphed, it is necessary, in spite of circumstantial pacts, to maintain integrally the independence of the working-class movement. The definitive victory against Fascism can only be that of Socialism and in no case that of the bourgeois democracy even in the form of a Popular Front.

The Struggle against Imperialism

Finally, this Congress against War, and Imperialism calls on the working class to resist the Imperialist policies of their own Governments and to support the subject peoples and particularly the working masses in their struggle against Imperialism and to develop Socialist organisations.

The Congress declares itself irrevocably opposed to the Mandate System as a hypocritical device for concealing the brutal realities of Empire, and repudiates the treacherous policy of the reformist leaders

who hide their Imperialism and betrayal of working-class interests behind this despicable pretence.

The Congress notes with apprehension the tendency of some of the nationalist movements in colonial countries to adopt the mentality and tactics of European Fascism, points out that this has been caused to a large extent by the indifference of the European working class movement to the anti-Imperialist movements in the colonies, and calls upon the working class, whilst opposing these Fascist tendencies, to strengthen its anti-Imperialist activity and so win the support of the masses in the colonial territories and assist in developing a Socialist movement among them.

The struggle of the workers in Capitalist countries cannot be divorced from the struggle of the workers in colonial territories. The working class movement should demand the withdrawal of Imperialist troops which are being used to hold other people in subjection and should by co-operation and practical assistance encourage the growth of the working class and Socialist movements in colonial territories.

Accordingly this Congress pledges itself to bring home to the various political parties within the Socialist movement the urgent need for a practical scheme to promote a closer co-operation and a better understanding between the working class organisation in the Imperialist countries and the colonial workers:

In particular the Congress denounces the despatch to Palestine by the British Government of 12,000 armed troops. It denies that these heavy forces are necessary to prevent violence within Palestine and declares that the recent events in Palestine are being made a pretext for the concentration of British armed strength to defend Imperialist interests.

The Congress denounces the tactics of Imperialism and Reaction which has inflamed the antagonism between the Arab and Jewish races in Palestine and calls upon the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants to unite in a common struggle against British Imperialism, Arab Feudalism and Jewish-Arab Capitalism.

The Congress condemns the politics of the Spanish Republic in relation to Morocco (which has been the same as that of the Monarchy) and invites the Spanish working class to bring pressure to bear on the Government of Madrid, comprised as it is of a majority of Socialists and Communists, to include in the foreground of its programme the right of the subject peoples to self government and to give liberty to the Moroccan people.

The Congress welcomes the decision of the Indian National Congress to refuse to co-operate in any Imperialist war and expresses its support of all subject peoples which will use a war situation to overthrow their Imperialist oppressors.

A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

In application of the principles laid down above, the Congress calls on working class organisations:

1. To refuse all co-operation with Capitalist Governments in war preparations, including the refusal of all war credits in Parliament and of collaboration with the Government or Capitalist class in carrying through rearmament programmes.

2. To expose the aims of Capitalist war preparations and particularly the illusions that such preparations are to safeguard «democracy», «peace» or «civilisation».

3. To conduct an agitation among the youth to expose the character of Capitalist militarism and war and to organise them for resistance to Capitalist military conscription.

4. To expose the Imperialist character of the League of Nations which remains a «den of thieves»; to demonstrate the futility of relying upon any «collective system of peace» of Capitalist Governments within the Capitalist system; and to encourage and organise resistance to League wars under Capitalist Governments.

5. To stimulate working-class resistance to war through their own organisations and action, particularly through the development of the class struggle as the way to working class power.

6. To encourage workers' control of industry particularly in relation to war preparations and armaments production, by the development of shop committees and the appointment of shop stewards who should demand information regarding the destination of all armaments produced and prepare the means to control it.

7. To expose the policies of pacifist organisations which ignore the existence of the class struggle, which cannot be effective in resisting war, and which are dangerous in spreading delusions which weaken the real fight against war.

8. To defend Soviet Russia by the working class in each country resisting all policies and actions by its own Government which are hostile to the U. S. S. R., and by direct working class action to stop the provision of war materials to any Government threatening war against Soviet Russia.

9. To assist the Spanish workers in their struggle in every possible way.

10. To oppose all policies and actions of assistance to Fascist Governments, including the provision of loans, and to resist all tendencies towards Fascism in other countries. To assist the Socialists who are maintaining the struggle in the Fascist countries.

11. To expose the injustices of Imperialist rule and to assist the growth of the working class and Socialist movement in colonial countries.

12. To develop international working class unity on the basis of this programme, so that co-ordinated action can be taken in all countries.

Should war break out despite energetic application of this programme:

1. To refuse all national unity with Capitalist Governments and the Capitalist class.

2. To refuse war credits through their representatives in the Parliaments.

3. To intensify the class struggle.

4. To maintain the international solidarity of the workers.

5. To encourage subject peoples to use the circumstances of war to overthrow Imperialist domination.

6. To stimulate the will among the workers to use the conditions which will develop during war giving the opportunity for the seizure of working class power and the construction of a Socialist Society.

When the Resolution had been read to the Congress it was found that there was unanimity on the part of the tremendous majority of the delegates. There was however criticism on the part of some delegates to the clause in the resolution relating to Soviet Russia.

Comrade Liebaers of the Belgian Anti War League, was the princi-

pal spokesman and he was of the opinion that the working class of the world had been handicapped by the whole policy of Russia both internally and externally during the past two or three years and until their policy was actuated by the principles of the October Revolution it would be impossible for the Workers of the World to expect any real help from them.

This speech was followed by a comrade of the Anti-Fa, Palestine who said that such criticisms of Soviet Russia were not useful at the conference. He admitted that it was not the fault of the organisers, but he deprecated very strongly such attacks. Soviet Russia is the workers' state in the making and the duty of the international working class was not to attack Russia, but to try to understand all the implications of the position.

After a further general discussion, which brought out the general agreement of the delegates the resolution was put to the vote and carried with three dissentients.

At this stage in the proceedings the British Delegation was compelled to leave to get the night boat back to London, and as they left the hall the delegates of all the other countries rose to their feet and sang the «International». Joseph Kruk on behalf of the Congress expressed appreciation and admiration of the work done by the International Bureau and particularly of the efforts of Comrade Fenner Brockway the Secretary of the Bureau. His words were greeted with acclamation by all the other delegates, and the British Delegation left the Congress in an atmosphere of goodwill and enthusiasm.

Future Organisation

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT BARCELONA

Julian Gorkin reported the following recommendation on behalf of the Future Organisation Commission:

1. That the invitation of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity (P. O. U. M.) to hold an International Conference in Barcelona at the beginning of 1937 should be accepted and that the Congress should be called by the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity in conjunction with the P. O. U. M.

2. That the basis of the Congress should be:

«To examine the conditions and to stimulate and organise the forces necessary for the formation of an International which is truly revolutionary.»

3. That Comrades Gorkin (P. O. U. M.), Jacob Schwab (German Socialist Workers' Party) and Fenner Brockway (British I. L. P.), serve as a Sub-Commission to draft the terms of the Call to the Congress.

The report of the Commission as embodied in the three points specified above was unanimously adopted — the delegates pledging themselves to be present at the Barcelona Conference.

This concluded the proceedings of the Congress at Brussels, and as the various delegations filed out of the hall after having sung the «International» for the last time together it was felt that a definite step had been made forward in the unification of world-wide Revolutionary Socialist effort.

Delegates to the Barcelona Congress

Groups or parties which wish to send delegates to the Barcelona Congress are requested to communicate with the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity at 35 St. Bride's Street London E. C. 4.

Any interested individuals, sections or groups who wish to effect contact with the International Bureau should communicate with the Secretary at the above address.

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