Dear comrades:

Our 11th Congress gave great importance to the study of the history of the communist movement in Spain. The work of the History Commission of our CC allows us to present some conclusions about the strategy during our national-revolutionary war, which we analyse in greater depth in the contribution sent.

1st. - The PCE suffered a process of late Bolshevization, which could only be completed with the intervention of the Communist International that took place between May 1931 and October 1932.

2nd. - At the time of proclamation of the Republic, April 14, 1931, within the PCE were dominant the positions that, under a leftist appearance, hid a typically Menshevik right-wing deviation that understood that the leadership of the democratic revolution corresponded to the bourgeoisie. The agreements of the 6th Congress of the Communist International are applied late and incompletely, especially about the creation of the soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers and factory committees, limiting the activity to the general propaganda of communism.

3rd. - Since the 4th Congress of PCE (March 1932), these deficiencies are corrected progressively. A period of growth and increase of influence among the working class begins, applying the policy of the united front. But the strategy is modified with the preparatory debates of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, during the summer of 1934.

4th. - The PCE reaches unilateral conclusions of the revolutionary movement of October 1934. It positively values the seizure of power in Asturias, attributing it exclusively to the workers' unity achieved within the Workers' Alliances, but does not draw conclusions regarding the nature of the revolution, which continues to be characterized as bourgeois-democratic. The facts did not confirm it.

After the 7th Congress of the Communist International, the PCE applies with intensity the popular front strategy. The unions of the CGTU are integrated into the UGT. The UJCE (communist youth) and the FNJS (socialist youth) merge, giving rise to the Unified Socialist Youth (JSU). In Catalonia the first experience of the Unified Party of the Proletariat is formed, with the creation of the PSUC.

In January 1936 the Popular Front was born, with a program of minimums that does not include most of the proposals of the PCE. The Popular Front triumphs in the elections of February 16th, resulting in an exclusively republican bourgeois government, without the presence of the workers' forces.

5th. - On July 18th, 1936, the working class undertook the armed struggle against the military coup. The Republican Government refuses to arm the people and tries to appease the coup plotters by offering their integration in the Government. Despite the existence of a revolutionary situation, the PCE persists in the popular front strategy. War is characterized as national-revolutionary and, given the collapse of the bourgeois state and the revolutionary role of the masses, PCE characterizes the Republic as a new type, regardless of the class it represents.

Faced with the position of anarcho-syndicalists, Trotskyists and the so-called left-wing sector of the PSOE, the PCE defends a military policy adjusted to the conditions of modern war that is developing. This policy, together with the enormous prestige of the Soviet Union, its aid to the Republic, the role of the Communist International and the arrival of the International Brigades, makes the PCE grow exponentially and become the strongest party in the Republic.
6th. - The Popular Front did not play the role of an organizing centre and leader of the workers’ and popular forces. Beyond some pronouncements and, surely with some exceptions, it limited itself to lend its formal support to the different governments and to try to resolve the existing confrontations among its members. Neither did the attempts of the PCE to form, together with the PSOE, the Unique Proletarian Party had any signs of prospering.

7th. - The war was confirmed as a national-revolutionary war, in which all the capitalist powers intervened according to the interests of their monopolies, fully aware that it was the first battle of the generalized imperialist war that was going to be unleashed immediately after.

8th. - The PCE had the possibility of applying another strategy, especially during the first half of 1937, having become the strongest party with an enormous influence in the Popular Army and in its Commissariat. But instead of resolving the question of power, as the only way to apply the just war policy that they promoted, PCE intensified the popular front policy and called to constitute the Unique Party of the Proletariat, so that their proposals either did not apply or it was too late to apply them.

9th. - The strategy departed from the teachings of the October Revolution of 1917. The anti-fascist struggle was separated from the struggle for power, resorting to theorizing about the new type or popular democracy, situated between the bourgeois dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It must be further analysed the consequences that the strategic errors committed during the war had in the development of subsequent events within the PCE and its Eurocommunist mutation.

10th. - Our Party continues to deepen the study of our history to reach conclusions that enrich our revolutionary strategy in the present. We believe that it is a duty of the entire international communist movement, of a need to prepare the great struggles that are to come.