

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOL. IV, No. 10 (Whole No. 69)

NEW YORK, MAY 15, 1931

PRICE 5 CENTS

Revolutionary Progress in Spain

**THE WEEKLY
BY JULY 1st!**

At the recent meeting of our national committee, it was decided to advance the date originally set for the conversion of the *Militant* into a weekly. By this decision, the first issue of the *Weekly Militant* will be out on July First.

The need for the *Weekly* is now more imperative and unpostponable than ever before. The tasks of the Left Opposition are rapidly multiplying, and the publication of our paper as a semi-monthly makes it difficult to reflect the progress of the labor and revolutionary movements or to measure up to these tasks. In the United States the signs of labor's re-awakening, of its resistance to the savage offensive of the capitalist class, are increasing in every part of the country. The militancy of the Kentucky miners, the revolt of the miners in Illinois, the strikes in Pennsylvania and now the strike of the Mansfield steel workers—these are some of the indications of what is ahead.

Beyond the boundaries of the United States, too, events of international significance are unfolding before our eyes. In Spain, the proletarian revolution is moving up on the order of the day. Latin America continues in turmoil. India and China are still in the throes of unsettled political convulsions. The crisis deepens in the European countries. In the Soviet Union, all the elements of a new situation are maturing which may be of decisive significance for the whole world. Everywhere, the class struggle is pregnant with violent clashes between the last days of bourgeois society and the first days of socialism.

Almost nowhere is the labor movement at the high level of preparedness required from it by the situation. Almost everywhere, the official Communist movement, the vanguard of the working class, is not only suffering severely from the ravages of Stalinism, the inability to measure up to its historic tasks, to absorb the discontentment of the masses and guide it into revolutionary channels. All the greater is the need, therefore, for a wider sphere of action for the Left Opposition which has come into existence to regenerate the Communist movement on the foundations laid for it by the great masters of the proletarian revolution: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

With the semi-monthly, we are greatly handicapped. From every issue we are compelled by our limited space to omit a considerable amount of material. The *Militant* as a weekly will remedy this defect to a large degree. Our plans are not only to double the efficiency of our movement by doubling the appearance of our organ, but of improving the contents of the *Militant* to the best of our abilities. With the aid of our comrades, of our contributors, we aim to make the *Militant* even more distinctly than before the outstanding revolutionary Marxist journal in the country. We feel confident that it can be done if the comrades everywhere come to our aid with the special efforts that are now required.

We will publish the first issue of the *Weekly* on July First. The intervening time is not very great. It means that all efforts must be concentrated in the coming weeks not only to make possible the appearance of the *Weekly*, but to insure its maintenance. For this we require:

1. That the fund for the Expansion Program be raised immediately to One Thousand Dollars.

2. That redoubled efforts be exerted to increase the circulation of the *Militant*, guaranteeing a wider circle of readers and supporters.

3. That a sounder basis be put under
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The Militant and the Events in Spain

The *Militant* is happy to present to its readers the following two articles on the events in Spain. The Right wing and the Centrist press are so deeply imbedded in their own national narrowness that the progress of the Spanish revolution unfolds itself without either exposition or explanation in their columns. The proletarian revolutionists, however, are following the Spanish situation with breathless interest and the highest hopes.

The article by our comrade Nin acquires special significance by the fact that its author, now so active in the revolutionary movement of Spain, and proletarian Barcelona in particular, was recently expelled by Stalinist edict from the territory of the Soviet Union. This disgraceful action was executed because of comrade Nin's unflinching devotion to the cause of revolutionary internationalism and his adherence for years to the Left Opposition. Denounced by the Stalinist functionaries as a "counter-revolutionist", our comrade was impris-

oned by the reaction soon after his arrival in Spain, and immediately upon his release threw himself into the revolutionary activity to which he has devoted most of his life. In his person is once more embodied the truth that those whom Stalin calls "Trotskyist counter-revolutionists" are in the vanguard of the real struggle for proletarian emancipation.

Our correspondent from Barcelona, who gives such a vivid picture of the state of mind of the rebellious workers and students, is comrade Jacques Obin, a militant in the French Left Opposition. The *Militant* expects to be able to publish additional correspondence from Spain by comrade Obin so that its readers may be kept informed regularly on the events as they proceed.

Our hearts are with the revolutionists in Spain who have before them the possibilities of advancing humanity to a more magnificent stage in its history. Our salute to the dawn of the proletarian revolution in Spain!

The Tasks of Spanish Communists

By ANDRES NIN

Having exhausted every resource to maintain himself upon a throne that has been tottering for years, Alfonso of Bourbon found himself compelled to quit the country on April 14. The monarchy fell to pieces at one blow, nobody—absolutely nobody—stood up to defend it. It really fell like a rotted fruit. And the republic was proclaimed all over the country without combat, without the spilling of blood, in an immense eruption of delirious enthusiasm.

This circumstance has only still further stimulated the democratic illusions of the masses who naively imagine that the victory over the monarchy was obtained thanks to the municipal elections of the 12th. This illusion is also shared by the anarcho-syndicalist elements of the National Confederation of Labor. Thus, Pestana declared a few days ago in a trade union meeting that the recent events had demonstrated the possibility of a peaceful evolution, without violence, towards libertarian Communism, and *Solidaridad Obrera*, the official organ of the N. C. of L., wrote literally on April 23: "Under a régime of liberty, the bloodless revolution is still more possible, still easier than under the monarchy."

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Thanks to this state of mind of the masses, the provisional government of the republic has been able to carry out with impunity a policy whose guiding thought is to maintain the status quo as far as possible, that is, to confine itself in substance to a change of label. Its essential interest consists of maintaining under the republican banner everything that threatened to fall to pieces under the monarchy. In reality, the proclamation of the republic is a desperate attempt of the most clear-sighted part of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners to preserve their privileges. From this point of view, the composition of the provisional government is extremely significant: the presidency is in the hands of Alcalá Zamora, landowner and fervent Catholic, one of the most typical representatives of feudalism and of absolutism and reactionary unitarianism; the portfolio of finances is held by the social democrat Prieto, intimately linked with Basque finance capital; the minister of economy, Nicolau d'Oliver, is the representative of the Catalan Bank; finally, at the head of the ministry of labor is Largo Caballero, socialist leader, former Councillor of State under the dictatorship, secretary of the reformist trade union center, the General Union of Workers, whose task in the government is quite clear: to stifle the labor movement, to tame it for the greatest profit of the consolidation of bourgeois exploitation under the republican form.

It is obvious that such a government cannot solve a single one of the fundamental problems of the democratic revolution; the problem of the land, of nationalities, of the relations between church and state and the transformation of the apparatus of the old régime, of the struggle against reaction.

In its first official declaration, the provisional government expressed itself in terms which show clearly that it is prepared to leave intact the foundations of the large landed estates. In this regard, it only formulates one very precise assertion: "Private property is guaranteed by law" and it "can be expropriated only for reasons of public utility and with a corresponding indemnity". As a solution, the note confines itself to giving the vague promise that "the agrarian law must correspond with the social function of the land".

It is clear that the republic has not
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What Is Happening in Spain?

A LETTER FROM BARCELONA

The correspondents of the foreign press give two contrary versions of the forces in the Communist movement in the present events in Spain. According to one, the Spanish Communists directly threaten the provisional government of the bourgeois republic; except for the monarchy, any other régime would be condemned, they say, to fall in a short while into the hands of "Bolshevik agitators" and "emissaries from Moscow", and all of Spain doomed to anarchy and disorder.

According to the other, the Communist peril is completely non-existent. They judge according to the membership of the official Communist Party of Spain; according to the votes obtained by the C. P. S. in the elections of April 12 (a hundred in Madrid, 176 in Barcelona); according to the extremely weak and little followed demonstrations of the C. P. S.

These two versions are equally tendentious; the first seeks to justify the crimes of the monarch and to get a little credit for it abroad; the second unreservedly defends the new régime of the big Spanish bourgeoisie and wants to make it easier for it to consolidate itself definitely without disturbances or convulsions. Both versions deliberately make more or less of a digression from reality. The bourgeois journalists do not see, and frequently cannot see, the perspectives of the social movement and the subterranean forces which are being born in the exploited masses and accumulating there.

Less than anywhere else can the state of mind of the exploited masses in Spain be judged according to the forces and the militancy of the Communist party.

THE INTEREST IN "MOSCOW AFFAIRS"

When the Barcelona correspondent of *Le Petit Parisien* says, for example, that "no more than 1,000 Communists are to be counted in the whole country" and that in Spain, consequently, there is "the most absolute disinterest in Moscow affairs", he shows that he is irremediably myopic from the political point of view. In Barcelona and throughout Catalonia, to speak only of the most important industrial part of Spain, there is an enormous interest in "Moscow affairs". The sympathies with the U. S. S. R., with the October revolution, and in general, with Communism, are

extremely profound among the proletarian masses. Not a day can be passed in Barcelona without observing them (unless one sees only what he wants to see). It is enough to take a walk on the Ramblas, in the center of Barcelona, and to glance at the newstands and book stalls at a distance of 20 yards from each other all along these vast Barcelona boulevards.

Among the multitude of books which cover these stands, you will find an enormous amount of books and pamphlets on Soviet Russia, on the October revolution and on Communist doctrine.

Among the political and social literature, there are far more books on Russia and on the proletarian revolution than on Spain and its bourgeois revolution.

A very gratifying fact for the Left Opposition: this exceptional interest for everything that comes from the U. S. S. R. is manifested above all for the works and the revolutionary life of our comrade Trotsky. There is not a newstand on the Ramblas, not a bookstore in all Barcelona without a dozen books and pamphlets by comrade Trotsky. Almost all the publications are brought out here in colors, and with the portrait of the author on the cover. Well! the picture of L. D. Trotsky is shown on the Ramblas almost as frequently as the pictures of Macia and the two mutineers of Jaca who were shot: Galan and Hernandez, the most popular heroes in Spain.

The two following examples will show you, each in its own way, how great is the popularity of comrade Trotsky in Spain. A group of "Stalinists" in Madrid, who are engaged in publishing without great success and above all without substantial material profit, wanted to make a little money by publishing a pamphlet, which might assure them an uncontested success. This group of "hundred percenters" did not hesitate very long to select (without any authorization) the pamphlet of L. D. Trotsky on the "Spanish Revolution". But in order to centralize the political effect that this pamphlet would have for Stalinism and the leaders of the C. I., they simply took out the passages of this study where comrade Trotsky polemicalizes against the mistakes of the C. I. and the stupidities of its leaders.

On the occasion of what might be
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