

THE MILITANT

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NEXT ISSUE— THE WEEKLY

With its next issue, to be dated Saturday July 4, 1931, *The Militant* will begin publication as a Weekly. This big step forward is made possible only by the greatest sacrifice on the part of the growing group of comrades and sympathizers of the Communist Left Opposition.

The progress indicated by the publication of the Weekly *Militant* can hardly be overestimated. The need for a more frequent issuance of our organ has never been greater. Confronted by the situation in the labor and revolutionary movements, pregnant with great events, all the obstacles that stand in the way must be surmounted or pushed aside. The voice of the Marxist wing of the movement must now be heard louder and more often. We cannot stand still. Events are multiplying in their significance and *The Militant* must forge ahead to keep pace with them.

The capitalist world is in the throes of its severest crisis since the outbreak of the war. The statesmen of the old order are frantic in their impotence. The rotten edifice of capitalism is crumbling under their feet. In one country after another, the elements of a revolutionary crisis are maturing and the day nears when the problem of power is once more to be posed acutely for the revolutionary proletariat of Europe. Everywhere, the social democratic agency of capitalism is manifesting its treachery and bankruptcy. Only the revolutionary Communists can deliver humanity from the toils of misery and exploitation.

It is here that the great contrast of the present decade is located: the gap between the revolutionary possibilities and the inability of the official Communist movement to seize these possibilities and utilize them to the maximum. The extension of this gap will involve the greatest setback to human progress. The reformists of all shades, inside and outside the revolutionary movement, are intent upon widening this gap. The Marxist wing of Communism, the Left Opposition, was born out of the struggle to close this gap by regenerating the Communist movement, by purging it of opportunism, of adventurism, of its bureaucracy, by shifting it back to the granite foundations laid for the proletarian movement by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The hope of the future lies in Communism, in the Communist movement. All the greater significance is therefore to be attributed to the work of those rebels who have banded together to strengthen Communism by restoring its revolutionary principles. In the United States this work has been done by *The Militant*, in the face of all the obstacles deliberately placed in its path, despite the many-sided attacks, despite the hopes of its numerous foes that its days were numbered. But our work has been but a small part of what it must be. It must be doubled and trebled, deepened and extended to broader spheres.

The working class and the revolutionary movement in the United States stand at the crossroads. The narcotic effects of yesterday's "prosperity" are beginning to wear off. The working class drugged by the illusions of the bourgeoisie is rising out of its long sleep. Its first battles of resistance to a capitalist class seeking to unload its difficulties upon labor have already revealed its profound and hardly tapped resources of militancy and its capacity for action. A Communist movement, aware of the possibilities, capable of utilizing them, united on a principled basis, would be in a position to guide this awakening working class. Coming events may follow in such an order that the historically backward working class of the United States may leap to the forefront of the international proletariat. The Communist movement, which has so tragically missed the opportunities of yesterday, must not be allowed to miss those of today and tomorrow.

There lies the main task of the *Militant* and the Left Opposition as a whole: to train up the revolutionary vanguard, to clarify its purpose and to strengthen its action. The task cannot be postponed. It presses down upon the whole movement with an urgency that cannot be denied.

The Weekly Militant will be able to

Miners on the March!

Thousands on Strike Against Wage Cuts in Western Pennsylvania

The miners' strike against inhuman bureaucratic administration which have starvation conditions, from its inception which began two weeks ago in Western Pennsylvania has been spreading rapidly and is now extending to Ohio. At the moment of writing there are nearly 20,000 miners out. They are fighting with a militancy equal to the most glorious examples of American labor history. This holds bright prospects for further extension as the miners elsewhere begin to learn that this is their battle as well.

In another article in this issue we give some figures of slashing of the miners' wages. These are taken from the Bureau of Labor Statistics compilation. We notice that during the period March 1930 to March 1931 213,000 Bituminous coal miners have suffered a 16.2 percent reduction. Recently the U. S. Department of Labor conciliator, Emmaline Pitt, expressed herself as "horrified" at the starvation and wretched living conditions of the miners and the "terrible brutality" of the coal and iron police as well as the state Cossacks. Miners have been existing on the starvation level. The most ruthless methods have been used to smash their organization.

In western Pennsylvania the National Miners Union has assumed the leading role. With a genuine mass basis being accepted and a genuine union democracy applied there are prospects for success for the N. M. U. But for this it will be necessary to avoid the mistakes of policy and the

and deserve all possible working class effort on their behalf. Relief is needed for the striking miners who already for a long time have existed on the starvation level. Workers should send such support to the Miners Relief Committee at 611 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

The miners are on the march. A movement of real vitality has commenced, expressing itself in different forms in different parts of the country. In Harlan, Kentucky, 18,000 miners already struck early in May against starvation conditions. In Illinois there is a revolt against the treason of the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker reactionaries. This movement found reverberations in the southern part of West Virginia and Ohio where sections of a new union are being organized in opposition to the old Lewis union. It found reverberations also in Indiana and in the southwestern states where also new union formation is taking place.

The U. M. W. is definitely discredited in the eyes of the rank and file miners who have learned the lesson from the treasonable career of its officialdom. The capitalist forces, particularly in Pennsylvania, are now crying out for re-establishment of the Lewis union. The bosses prefer no union at all, but they will always be ready to accept the union of the A. F. of L. brand of leadership and policies when they are threatened with the alternative of the rank and file taking matters into their own hands and forming a militant union.

In western Pennsylvania the jails are being filled with militant miners. In Harlan Kentucky, 50 of them are in prison, 20 charged with murder in the first degree. All of these class war victims need defense

In this situation of growing strike, growing militancy of the miners and increasing revolt against the old U. M. W. machine there are real possibilities for a movement which may assume titanic proportions. There are real possibilities for a union built on a class basis, functioning under the banner of militancy and able to embrace all the coal miners. The slightest concession to the outfit of John L. Lewis will be wrong. To the miners it should remain clear that now is the time to bend all effort to direct the various movements of revolt against the old bureaucracy, of struggle against the inhuman conditions and of efforts to organize in various sections into one mighty stream for the building of an all-embracing class union. It is necessary to particularly emphasize once again the need of amalgamation of the various sectional unions being organized together with the National Miners Union into one such organization. It is incumbent upon all Communist miners to unite for the achievement of this goal as a part of the fight to a finish against capitalism.

—A. S.

The Spanish Bourgeoisie Acts -- Against Labor

PARIS—

The news that reaches us from Madrid confirms the notice appearing last week in all the papers and according to which 17 Communists were arrested in a saloon during a meeting. Our Madrid comrades write us: "After your delegate had delivered his lecture at the cafe meeting place of the Madrid 'Agrupacion', the police prohibited the owner of the cafe from giving us the hall for our meetings without authorization from the police (Direccion General de Seguridad). On May 15 the police arrested 17 of our comrades who were in the cafe and they are now at the disposal of the military judge. Among those arrested is our comrade Lacroix and other militants of

fulfill this task far better than the semi-monthly. Events which yesterday could only be mentioned—and sometimes belatedly—will be mirrored more completely and more in time in the columns of the Weekly. Every effort will be made by the Weekly to deal with the important, the decisive struggles in the labor movement as a whole. The outstanding political events of the day will be treated from the Marxist standpoint in the Weekly with greater promptitude and detail than before. The problems of the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland, the problems and struggles of the Communist International and its American section, will find an objective analysis in our columns. The life of the Left Opposition throughout the world will be recorded faithfully.

The step to *The Weekly* has been made possible, we said, by the sacrifice of our supporters. The greatest, most pressing problem is still to be solved: the problem of maintaining the Weekly on a strong basis. Just as the publication of the *Militant* requires the written contributions of all our comrades, so its maintenance demands their constant assistance. Every reader must become a supporter, a member of our small army of fighters. It is to them that we make our appeal to increase the circulation of *The Militant*, to spread its influence, to extend its circle of readers as widely as possible.

Swift, generous, steady support is imperative to maintain *The Weekly Militant*. The first step is being taken—the advance must be kept up. Every comrade to his task!

—THE MILITANT.

the Left Opposition."

We have written last week that the president of the Council, Alcalá Zamora and the minister of the interior, Miguel Maura, announced repressive measures against the "extremists of the Left", that is, against our Opposition comrades who, in the absence of a Communist party, are guiding with their feeble means the spontaneous struggles of the revolutionary proletariat of Spain. Zamora and Maura have kept their promise: to break the spirit of the rebellious masses to leave them without leadership and to throw them into confusion, the provisional government has arrested the best Communist militants. Our comrade Lacroix who was released hardly three weeks ago by the revolutionary workers of Valencia, after having suffered long months of detention in the prisons of the dictatorship which considerably impaired his feeble health, is today incarcerated by the republican-socialist government.

With Lacroix, other militants, less experienced but just as devoted as he is to the proletarian cause are incarcerated in the prisons of the republic. Our duty, the duty of every revolutionary worker, is to stir the opinion of the working class of every country and to raise a vigorous protest against the repression of the Spanish bourgeoisie whose victims are today the best revolutionary militants.

The Role of the Bourgeoisie

The Spanish bourgeoisie, supported by the social democracy, is beginning to play an openly and cynically reactionary role. The provisional government which is revealing itself more and more as the watchdog of the feudal-capitalist bourgeoisie, is deceiving the popular masses by its hypocritical and lying decrees. As soon as the rebellious workers and peasants begin to stir, the provisional government publishes a dozen decrees in which it promises, in nebulous and intentionally equivocal terms the confiscation of certain lands under certain conditions: the confiscation of the wealth of the fallen monarchy; the separation of the church and the state; the punishment of those responsible for the dictatorship, etc.

The next day, after these decrees have played their role as narcotics dulling the vigilance of the masses, the government by a "final word", puts off these radical reforms to the Greek Calends of the Constituent Cortes.

But on May 10, the workers of Madrid and the provinces went out into the streets to have the will of the exploited masses respected by direct action. They themselves punished the most hated enemy of the people—the clergy. Thereupon, the republican-socialist government took off its mask of laymanship and democracy and savagely repressed the demonstrators. It directed the point of its repression against the "extremists of the Left", that is against the Opposition Communists who have taxed themselves with elaborating a political and social program corresponding to the vital interests of the rebellious masses, capable of making their demonstrations with a clear-sighted leadership which permits the masses to conduct their revolutionary activity better and with greater success.

The arrest of the revolutionary militants can only increase the anger of the workers. Indignation runs high in the workers' circles and the campaign of protest against the arbitrary act of the ministry is growing in the trade unions. The workers of all tendencies organized in the reformist trade union (General Union of Labor) or in the anarchist trade unions (National Confederation of Labor) must remember that the socialist leaders, Caballero, Prieto and de los Rios share the same responsibility in this arbitrary act as Zamora and Maura. The Spanish workers today must demand a reckoning from those who claim to represent them in the provisional government. The socialist ministers have ranged themselves openly on the side of the bourgeoisie against the workers, against the best defenders of the proletariat's interests. Every enlightened worker understands this now. But this truth must be told to every stratum of the exploited people. The revolutionary propaganda of all the Spanish Communists, regardless of their tendency must reveal to the workers and peasants throughout Spain the reasonable role which the socialist ministers play in the provisional government.

It is very important that in this revolutionary struggle unfolding under extremely painful conditions, the Spanish Communists should not remain abandoned to themselves and isolated from the proletarian movement of other countries. The Spanish Communist movement counts a

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