Constitution Is Revised

National Conference Strengthens the Statutes of the League

ARTICLE I: NAME

Section I. The name of this organicommittees. zation shall be THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION).

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The purpose of the organization is to organize the Communists in the United States and Canada, inside and formally outside the official Comunist Parties, for the struggle to preserve the fundamental teachings of Maca and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in the Communist movement, to apply them in the daily activities of the workers in the class struggle and to reunite the Communist International on that basis.

ARTICLE III: INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

The Communist League of America (Oppositiin) is affiliated with the International Left Opposition in the Communist International as its American section and is bound by the decisions of its International Conferences and its executive

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. All those who subscribe to the principles and tactics laid down in the first four congresses of the Communist International, who accept the platform of the Communist League and who agree to abide by its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership in the Communist League.

to a duly constituted branch of the to the National Office. League in the locality where he resides. Groups of members shall be organized in places of employment under the supervision of the branch. In localities where no branch exists applicants shall be admitted as members at large. Pending the formation of a separate national organization of the Canadian Communists adhering to the International Left Opposition, branches in Canada shall be affiliated directly to the Communist League of America with all the rights and obligations of other branches.

ARTICLE V: ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The basic unit of the Communist League shall be the branch consisting of not less than five nor more than 75 members. When a branch attains a membership of 75 it shall be sub-divided into two branches.

Section 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

ARTICLE VI: ADMINISTRATION

Section: The highest governing body of the Communist League is the National Conference. Its decisions are binding on the entire organization.

Section 2. Between National Conferences this authority is vested in the Na-Conference.

Section 3. The National Committee consists of nine members. The National Conference also elects two alternates who become members of the National Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the National organization, decides question's of policy upon the members and subordinate units and elects the National Secretary, edit- of the organization. orial board, international representatives

and other necessary officers and sub-

Section 5. The local governing body of the League is the local executive committee consisting of delegates from the branches elected on the basis of proportional representation. Where only one branch exists this authority is vested in the branch.

Section 6. The branch executive committee is elected by the membership of the branch and is subordinate to it. The branch executive committee directs the practical activities of the branch, prepares the agenda for the branch meetings and brings in concrete proposals regarding the actions to be taken by the branch. Between business meetings the branch executive acts with full powers. The branch executive committee does not have a binding discipline over its members in the branch meetings. Members of the executive committee who dissent from the decisions have the right to present a minority report to the branch, but as a general rule this right should not be exercised on practical questions involving no serious political issues which have been discussed and considered by the executive committee.

ARTICLE VIII: DUES AND INITIA-TION FEE

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Nation-Section 2. Every member must belong al Office. The entire initiation fee goes

> Section 2. Each member shall pay fifty cents per month dues which shall be receipted for by dues stamps furnished by the National Office. Of this amount 35 cents is remitted to the National Office and 15 cents remains in the local or branch treasury. In addition to this, all members are expected to make regular and systematic voluntary contributions to the pledge fund according to their

Section 3. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment or strikes shall, upon application to the branch secretary, be furnished with exempt stamps which secure their full membership rights.

Section 4. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls by formal action of the branch. The branch executive committee appoints a conductor to examine the membership cards of those present before each business meeting to insure that the meeting is restrict-

Section 5. New members serve_a probationary period of three months before final acceptance into the League.

Section 6. Members desiring to leave one city for another must apply to his tional Committee elected by the National or her branch for permission and receive a transfer card which is to be deposited with the branch of the city to which the member moves. If no branch exists the member is to remain a member

ARTICLE VIII: DISCIPLINE Section 1. All decisions of the gov

erning bodies of the League are binding

Section 2. Any member or unit vio- for action.

lating the decisions of the League or any of its subordinate bodies shall be subject to disciplinary action up to expulsion by the organization having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the branch execu tive committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The recommendation of the Branch Executive Committee is acted on by the membership of the branch. Charges considered by higher units of the organization are also acted

Section 4. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right of appeal to the next higher body, up to and including the National Conference. Pending action on the appeal the decision of the League organization having original jurisdiction remains in full force and ef-

ARTICLE IX: QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION

Section 1. Members of local and branch executive committees must have been members of the organization for at least six months at the time if election.

Section 2. Delegates to National Conferences must have been members of the organization for at least one year at the time of election.

Section 3: Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Communist political move ment for at least four years, at least two years of which have been in the Communist League, at the time of elec-

ARTICLE X: CONFERENCES

Section 1. The National Conference of the League is held once a year. Special conferences shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or local executive committees representing one-half of the membership.

Section 2. The Call for the Conference together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be ing committees and conferences. The issued at least sixty days before the flop houses, soup kitchens and employdate of the Conference for discussion in ment agencies are entirely subordinated is to fail to clarify the workers. To the local organizations and in the official to the organization of BLOCK TO have a list of some 75 demands a la organ or internal bulletin.

Section 3. Representation to the Conference shall be based on the dues-paying membership in good standing for a period of three months prior to the issuance of the Call for the Conference.

Section 4. The manner of defraying the expenses of the Conference shall be outlined by the National Committee in the Call for the Conference.

ARTICLE XI: FRACTIONS

Section 1. Members of the League beorganizations are obliged to organize themselves into fractions for common work within them for the advancement of the ideas and influence of the League under the direction and control of the League unit having jurisdiction. Fractions must report regularly on their work to the respective organization of the League and carry out all instructions. as a unit under all circumstances. The fractions discuss the questions affecting their work and formulate proposals to the League unit having jurisdiction with which the right of final decision rests. Violations of discipline are not acted on by the fractions, but are reported to the respective organization of the League

Chicago Unemployment Conference

dorses the Unemployment Councils' posi- less of political positions and to fight tion of uniting all organizations, "re- the hardest "for the attainment of the gardless of its affiliations to unions or immediate demands, for the enforcement political parties and its immediate de- of the momentary interests of the workmands and tasks for unemployment re- ing class; but in the movement of the lief. We affiliate to the Unemployment present, they also represent and take Councils and turn over to the Councils care of the future of the movement." At comrades for general activity, literature the Sept. 13 Conference the official Comdistribution, and speakers to cover street and hall meetings.

At the same time we point out shortcomings of the Draft Program of the Unemployment Councils. The demand for "trade relations with the Soviet Union" is a step forward in spite of its inadequate formulation or explanation of the relation between the American and Russian workers.

The draft lists immediate relief and social insurance as the two outstanding tasks of the organizational struggle of the Councils and subordinate entirely the struggle for the reduction of hours to an ordidnary demand of the eight listed. The struggle for the reduction of hours must be placed on a par with immediate relief and social insurance and as a long range perspective as the most important of the immediate demands to express itself in the slogan of "THE SIX HOUR DAY, THE FIVE DAY WEEK, AND NO REDUCTION IN

The draft program recommends the organizations." This presents the organizational question entirely wrong. The organization of the employed and unemployed into BLOCK TO BLOCK tion up to the City Committee is the basic organizational force of the work. This must be coordinated through the UNITED FRONT POLICY with the working class organizations, trade unions, etc., through delegates to the lead-BLOCK COUNCILS and collective affiliation of trade unions and other working class organizations, through the UNITED FRONT.

The first conference in August and the second conference on September 13 were not UNITED FRONT conferences. In the first conference no delegates were seated, it was a mass meeting and in the second, the representation of working class organizations was too narrow, and the Communist League of America delegates were not seated. To exclude Com- reformism, and poor reformism to boot, longing to trade unions and all other munist League delegates from a United today. If yesterday the situation was Front Conference is a move helping the overestimated, then today it is under enemies of Communism and the working

Now the third conference is called-Oct. 18 at People's Auditorium. The Council organized the August Conference to call the September Conference and the September Conference to call the October Conference and each con-The members of the fractions must work ference carries on thus and the election of committees to call on some capitalist government apparatus to demand relief and to expose them to the workers. In the first case Governor Emmerson's Commission and in the present case a Hunger March and to call on Congress when it

The relation of the Communist to the unemployed councils must be to unite all cause prices have fallen? Or is it to

munist Party representative's speech could not be distinguished from the regular speech for unemployment activity. At such conferences the Communist representatives must always point to our

The Chicago Communist League en- forces ready to fight on this issue regard- goal and to the solution of the problem -the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> UNITE THE WORKING CLASS TO STRUGGLE FOR THE REDUCTION OF HOURS, SOCIAL INSURANCE AND IMMEDIATE RELIEF THROUGH THE UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCILS! SEND DELEGATES TO THE OCTO-BER 18th CONFERENCE!

Communist League of America (Left Opposition) Chicago Branch.

The Party's Election Campaign

Socialists and Communists, between reformists and revolutionists, is the fact that one spreads the illusion to the workhowevr, does not mean that the revolutionists must ignore the use of reforms but they must use them in a revolutionary sense. The working class cannot be ralsetting up of unemployment commit- lied for the overthrow of capitalism on tees in flop houses, soup kitchens, in the the basis of platonic love for the opblocks, employment agencies, delegates pressed or of high ideals; it is united from shops, trade unions and other mass, mainly on concrete issues-on demands of the day. To rally the workers, to present to them concrete issues, and position in this respect still holds good. fight for their immediate, needs to secure Our program is a program for the workthe opportunity of taking to them, this ing class and its main problem, unemploy-COUNCILS with democratic centraliza- is the purpose of Communist participation in elections.

We must come to the workers with demands, but we must under all circumstances explain to them that only with the overthrow of capitalism will their problems be solved. To ask for demands without this necessary explanation Social Democracy and only at the end somewhere throw in (as if to satisfy someone) a demand for a "workers' and farmers' government", without explanation, without reason, as the New York municipal election program of the Party does is to fall to the level of social

From some seven demands of last year have grown some 75 of to-day. From the "conquest of the streets" and "revolutionary upsurge" of two years ago, we have estimated. If yesterday we had adventurism, then today we are confronted with opportunism. Because the base of yesterday's errors was not removed, it is today the cause of new errors. One is as bad as the other, just as light is blinding to the owl and darkness is blind ing to man.

When reading the program of this year the worker is dazed. What is the chief demand? Is it social insurance or is it the demand for the right of firemen to go on strike? There is a demand for everything, there is an explanation for nothing. Why the reduction from last year's demand for \$18.00 weekly to unemployed to \$15.00 this year? Is it be

The outstanding difference between put before the working class as the main difference of the Socialist and Communist Parties the difference in the amount each asks for? The Socialists, too will ing-class that through parliamentary draw up a list of demands, some idenaction it can gain its freedom, and the tical and others similar to those of the other openly states that its aim is the Party. How will the workers underrevolutionary overthrow of the capital stand the difference? All the shouting ist state and the establishment of the of the Party leadership to the effect that the other will not fight will not make it any clearer to the workers who constantly ask "why don't you fellows

> Our task is to explain what the elections really mean. And secondly, we must put before the workers, not a catalogue of demands, but a specific program, The program proposed by the Left Opment. The main slogans do not contain an appeal to consumers versus producers, but an appeal to the working class. They are: The six hour day without reduction in pay, social insurance and long term credits to the Soviet Union. Only with such a program, presented in the proper way, will the Communists show the working class what the real differences are.

> > -REVA CRAINE.

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The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in Spain

put an end to the exasperated struggle to the most miserable defeat; the vest a ridiculous organization in Catalonia, in which the two trade union centers of revolutionary occasion the Spanish pro- which does not count more than a few the Spanish proletariat were engaged in letariat had had, was lost. Anarchist dozen members. The N. C. L. has sunk 1923: the General Union of Workers and a politicism, its stupid blindness, were the National Confederation of Labor. The the principal obstacles to the triumph of battle between the two organizations con- the Spanish revolution in 1920. tinued to grow from 1920 onwards, when the treacherous leaders of the reformist was crushed by the capitalist repression G. U. W. broke the pact which established in spite of magnificent acts of heroism. the united front between the two organi- The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was, zations for the fight against the capital- in a sense, the real affirmation of the ist repression which was then raging. The united front was broken by the Spanish social democracy (although the anarchist leaders also bear responsibility by having pretended to hinder the social democrats from conducting an electoral campaign), in order the better and more freely to be able to conduct the electoral campaign which had opened at that moment. That is when an abrupt change took place in the tactic of the G. U. W., an organization which had supported great struggles like the general strikes of 1917, the miners' strikes of the Asturlas, of Rio Tinto, Pennaroya, Biscaya, Barruelo, etc. This change coincided with the split within the ranks of the Spanish social democracy during the discussion of the 21 conditions of the Communist International.

The G. U. W. at that time had less than 200,000 members. Most of its forces were concentrated almost exclusively in Biscaya (with about 35,000 members), in the Asturias (more than 30,000) in Madrid (with almost 90,000). The rest were Castille (peasants) and some industrial

workers in the province of Guipuzcoa. The N. C. L. had almost 1,000,000 adherents, and its most salient trait was

- ne individualist anarchist adventurion triumph of capitalism over the Spanish

During the 1923 coup d'Etat, the an-L. Catalonia, Andalusia, the Asturias, Galicia and other centers where the N. C. L. counted organizations, were suddenly "pacified", according to the exreacral leaders dissolve the trade union organizations. One may assert that if the N. C. L. had not been dissolved, if the conference. it had been endowed with a concrete revolutionary program, the existence of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera would have been of short duration.

Eight years have passed. The political regime has undergone modifications. The divided, in the order of their numbers, N. C. L. has been reconstituted, powerful between Andalusia (peasants), Galicia from the organic point of view even (peasants and construction workers), old though it is much more reformist than when it was dissolved.

The G. U. W. has retained and increased its membership a little, at the present time it has about 230,000 workthe violent, revolutionary, half-collective, ers. The N. C. L. has reorganized and half-individual struggle. It soon fell into should have about 800,000 members. The the unpardonable error of replying only division of the members by regions has the conference. by individual violence to the repression changed profoundly. The G. U. W. has of the bourgeoisie, principally in Cata- lost strength in the Asturias and in Bis- trade unions which had belonged, and lonia. This aspect of the struggle, the lack of revolutionary program on the lack of revolutionary program on the lost strength in the asturias and in Bistrade unions which had on the way it encountered a class. The bosses prefer the workers of the Spanish Left Opposition.

N. C. L. with a revolutionary tradition the G. U. W. to those of the N. C. L. which in spite of the Spanish Left Opposition. lack of revolutionary program on the ers), who went to increase the ranks of the unitary trade union of miners of the part of the N. C. L., the political myopia the N. C. L. in their great majority. On Asturias, gave their adherence to the

The dictatorship of Primo de Riveral and the incompetence of its leaders, led the other hand, it has sought to create its roots a little in Madrid (the center of social reformism), and has lost members in Andalusia, won by the 'founders" of the Committee of Reconstruc-Non of Stalin-Losovsky.

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity

Up to 1926 Shortly after its foundation, the Spanish Communist Party was able to conduct a fruitful and intense campaign for trade union unity. The slogan of the holding archist leaders of the N. C. L. found of a national conference of unification of no other way out and were unable to act the trade union forces did not at first otherwise than by dissolving the N. C. find a great echo, but to the extent that the social democracy leaned towards reformism, while the anarchists dissolved the N. C. L., the masses accepted the idea of trade union unity with conviction. pression of the Spanish bourgeoisie. We have spoken of this movement numer-This event played a big role in the long ous times, and we cited the culminating duration of the dictatorial regime of event which was the convocation of the Primo de Rivera. The bourgeoisie saw conference of San Sebastien (suspended in it a great success of the dictator; the by Primo de Rivera), in 1926. Let us working class suffered an abrupt shock speak of this event once more, even and a brutal deception by seeing the con | though it be known to the readers, in order to show what was the attitude of the anarchists and the socialists before

The G| U. W., whose secretary general, Largo Caballero, was a member of the State Council of Primo de Rivera (today he is a minister of the republic) could act freely and legally. All the big bureaucratic artillery of Sr. Largo Caballero was mobilized against the San Sebastien trade union unity conference. Primo, as thanks for the services rendered by Caballero, suspended the conference. But he could not prevent the workers' federations of Toledo and San Sebastien, as well as a great number of trade unions adhering to the N. C. L., from having given their adherence to Primo to Berenguer, then began the

The N. C. L. was dissolved. But some C. L. which everybody knows.

conference. A few leaders of the N. C. L. were supporters of trade union unity (even though they are its greatest foes today), Jose Villaverde, the present manager of the Solidaridad Obrera (of the N. C. L. in Galicia), Jose Viadin, Antonio Amador, and many others made declarations in defense of the unity idea. The Spanish working masses adopted with enthusiasm the slogan of trade unity. Even a few anarchist leaders showed themselves as unity supporters, even though there are the most rabid splitters today. In general, the leaders of the G. U. W. were resolute enemies of un-

It is at this moment that there took place the moral rupture of the Anglo-Rusian Committee, during the betrayal of the miners' strike by the General Council of the English trade unions. The Spanish social reformists made haste, protected by the freedom granted them by Primo de Rivera, to denounce the fact of the dissolution of the Anglo-Russian Committee in their favor. The Russians had broken the pact, the Russians suicidal actions. deal with the English as traitors, the English with whom they maintained connections during the strike. With this situation coincided the tactic of the Profintern which, from unity, became splitting. The bureaucrats of the Spanish C. P. removed our comfade Juan Andrade from the post of manager of the central organ of the C. P. S., la Antorcha, which had conducted such brilliant campaigns

for trade union unity." With the change of tactics supervened the disillusionment of the working masses, the furious attack of the social reformists, and the change of position of the anarcho-syndicalists.

Deception and Uncertainty The preceding period was followed by two or three years of demoralization in the ranks of the working masses. The socialists sought to support the party committees created by Primo de Rivera, organisms of treason and class collaboration which constituted a powerful weapon for trapping a certain number of ignorant workers. The G. U. W. int creased its membership a little. Without other changes there came the period of the transmission of powers from

which, in spite of ts enormous mistakes, and to the unorganized. The immense Madrid.

gave to the Spanish revolutionary proietariat days of triumpn and or giory. The anarcno-syndicansts utilized this circumstance to denounce the Communists as enemies of trade union unity and of the N. C. L. They pointed to the Committee of neconstruction as supporting proof. The socialists are traitors who collaborated with Primo de Rivera. This is the language our anarchists employed. The working ciass, more or less, unconscious, believed them. then deception and uncertainty supervened among the workers, who witnessed numerous changes of tactles without having the slightest explanation given them. In their minus developed the idea of the socialist treason, and they no songer thought of unity of the G. U. W. and the N. C. L. They considered it impossible and laughed at those who would make such a proposal. The Communists, pioneers of trade union unity, had changed their tactic for that of trade union "splitting". That is what the anarchists said and what the Communists proved by their

Misery, Class Struggle and Tande Union Unity

The present situation, the labor crisis, hunger and misery in the proletarian homes, are not correctly appraised by the reformist leaders of the G. U. W. and the N. C. L. The working masses want to fight for a better situation. The bourgeois republic has in no way solved the miserable position of the working masses. The Andalusian proletariat, famished, is demanding bread and work. The spark will light the fire throughout Spain. The workers are rebelling. The G. U. W. betrays. The N. C. L. does not know what to do, its leaders are afraid of the masses. The N. C. L. has forces to carry out a social revolution. But the essential thing is lacking: a program. Its leaders have none. There is absent a C. P. which should be the vanguard of the working class. And the anarchist leaders publish the following declaration: "The Spanish working class is not capable of replacing the bourgeois republic." This phrase throws deception into the hearts and minds of the working masses. What is to be done? Propose the fusion of the G. U. W. and the N. C. period of the reorganization of the N. L.? The 230,000 members of the G. U. W., almost all of them, constitute a sort these difficulties will be overcome if we

majority of the members of the G. U. W. are opposed to the fusion; the leaders of the G. U. W. expel from its midst whoever defends trade union unity, as happened recently to the union of trading employees of Madrid, an organization led by the Communists.

The workers and the leaders of the N. C. L. also laugh at anybody who comes to propose the fusion of the two organi-44 ions. It is impossible. There are however, also in the G U. W., revolutionary workers, and others of good faith, however confused. Those who are grouped in the N. C. L., discontented with their leaders, hope that from somewhere will emerge a correct and a revolutionary orientation; they have confidence in their forces and they love the N. C. L., their N. C. L. and its revolutionary tradition. We must unite the revolutionary workers of the N. C. L. with those who are in the G. U. W. The Communists must fight in the G. U. W. and in the N. C. L. for trade union unity on the basis of the N. C. L.; the workers of the G. U. W. must be convinced of the necessity of fighting with their brothers of the N. C. L., by realizing first the united front for winning immediate demands, and then for revolutionary trade union unity. We know that the reformist leaders of the G. U. W. will expel from their ranks the militants and also the organizations which do not support their standpoints, and which do not declare themselves partisans of trade union unity . They must immediately demand their entry into the N. C. L. And if in this organization it is not always easy to act, because the anarcho-syndicalist leaders also know how to expel dictatorially, we can count upon the fact that the ranks of the organization are a little more oleran and understanding than the unconditional defenders of Largo Caballero and Co.

The problem of trade union unity in Spain is more difficult than in the other countries, even though there existed in the past a vast unity atmosphere. And that because of the sectarianism of the leaders, of the lack of understanding and the deception of the masses, of the false policy followed by the bureaucracy of the Spanish Communist Party. But in spite of all, it cannot be doubted that skilfully apply the correct tactics by

-HENRI LACROIX.