

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Developments in Spanish Revolution

"The conservative classes of Spain," said Alcalá Zamora recently, "cannot be conservative; they are simply reactionary."

The Spanish bourgeoisie will disappear as a class without changing its characteristics. The structure of our economy, and consequently the role which Spain plays in world economy, fix a limited circle of necessity, within which our bourgeoisie must move.

where it was not conscious complicity, of the leaders of the revolutionary working class, stood out sharply on this occasion. In spite of the ambiguity of their phrases, and the abundance of promises did not hesitate to make statements of a most alarming character to the working class.

Cah these words, if properly understood, have more than one meaning? No; it is clear that the leaders of the C. N. T. took advantage of the meaning which they had for the revolutionary masses influenced by anarchism.

plorable echo in the working class. The socialist and anarchist leadership of our workers' movement, which had delivered up the whole revolution to the bourgeoisie, made its faults still worse on the change of regime.

On the proclamation of the Republic, the working class received nothing but poison from all sides. "At one stroke, and with dizzying speed, Spain has placed itself at the head of Europe and perhaps of the world," said Workers' Solidarity on April 16.

"Our attitude is one of full expectation and hope. Even if the opposite may seem to be the case, the political perspective of the moment represents a good promise for the working class" (April 17).

"We are convinced that the blow which has been struck at Spanish reaction will throw into the abyss of death the fascism of Europe and America" (April 18).

A Series of Articles on Spain

Beginning with the next issue, the Militant will commence the publication of a series of articles on the present situation in revolutionary Spain, by Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant.

Overthrow of Monarchy Inevitable

The monarchy had reached a situation which could no longer be sustained. Since the coming of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera it had been evident that monarchy and dictatorship would fall together.

The monarchy could not at that time resort to a regime of force—the dictatorship had just collapsed for lack of a base—nor did it have within itself a democratic solution.

Nor was there any call to be developed as to the meaning of the Republican-Socialist combination. Apart from the fact that in all its activity before the change of regime it has displayed a consistent counter-revolutionary line, the combination as an historical phenomenon was nothing new.

At the distance of a few months, it seems incredible that the working class could be hallucinated by the Republican-Socialist combination.

tendency. But when the bourgeoisie talks of "Communist danger" it does not refer to a struggle among tendencies, which it generally neither understands nor distinguishes, but to the working class all together, to the danger of a social revolution.

Change in Spain Reactionary

The bourgeoisie, without losing its fears, was abandoning the monarchy in proportion as the combination kept lessening the distance between monarchy and the revolution. Finally the rapprochement of the two camps was so close that in view of the municipal elections of April 12 the bourgeois politicians, who were defending their class against the monarchist entrenchments, understood that all resistance was useless and harmful.

Moreover, if the change of regime as it was realized was the natural result of the deeply reactionary downward slope which the revolution had taken, at the very beginning of the change the bourgeoisie found an excellent opportunity to emphasize to the full the reactionary character of the Republic.

A revolution which was pacific because it was no revolution, but the most perfect maneuver that the bourgeoisie could have executed in the face of a revolutionary situation, found the most de-

opposite of the truth of the Spanish revolution. The one thing that was not struck down in Spain was reaction. The monarchist elements scarcely suffered punishment from the Republic.

The promptness with which the Provisional Government called the Constituent Assembly was in response to the need of profiting by the prestige which the Republican-Socialist combination enjoyed. The halo thus created assured it the monopoly of the Assembly.

The Deception of the Cortes Left The distinguishing feature of the combination has been the complete subordination of the Left wing to the Right, which makes the organization even more deceptive. When the elections were held, the working masses and the middle class of our country were being radicalized.

These results could not be justified by the composition of the Assembly, since the Left elements were in the majority; they were explained by the manner in which the Assembly functioned. The Lefts said: "Since this Government is a mixture of tendencies we must submit, we must work out compromise formulas".

The left elements of the combination are only the tools which the right uses for its own advantage. For this the Republican-Socialist combination was created. If it had not fulfilled this function, the Right would have dissolved it.

The deceptive role which was represented by the elements of the Left created the necessity of compelling the socialists to form a homogeneous Government. This slogan, given out by us, was poorly understood even by the Communists.

The progress which the bourgeoisie has made are shown by the fact that now it dares to take off its mask. The same bourgeoisie, which took such pains at the beginning to cloak itself in socialism and radical-socialism, now feels it necessary to get rid of the subaltern personnel.

The Liquidation of the Left

The political liquidation of the Left, of which we can speak as if it were an accomplished fact, was accomplished, not by the revolutionary offensive of the working class, but it was the bourgeoisie that got rid of this tool after having used it to the full.

Communism, which we can say, has not figured or known how to figure in the revolution, must make up for lost time by a broad policy of unification of the working class. In the new phase of the class struggle, without fraud or concealment, the unity of the labor movement, the union of all forces, will be the firm base on which the offensive against the reaction must support itself.

—L. FERSEN.

Under the Banner of Marxism
Opposition in England

Party Members Form Nucleus to Fight for Leninism

On December 19 of last year, a group of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who have been active in it for years, met in London to constitute formally the English section of the International Left Opposition.

The absence of such a formally organized and active group of Oppositionists in England has always been felt acutely in our ranks, not only because of the general need of extending the influence and strength of the Marxian wing in all countries, but because in England specifically the official Communist party has, in relation to its strength and to the magnificent possibilities for revolutionary growth that the situation has offered, outdone itself to pile defeat upon error and error upon defeat.

The grave crisis of the ruling class and its institutions is convulsing the latter in every one of its parts. And in this process, such institutions as the Labour party and the Independent Labour Party show themselves to be very

quickly affected. In both of them, and particularly in the last-named, there is a growing discontentment with the leaders and their policies. Especially in the I. L. P. are there now tremendous possibilities for winning thousands of good revolutionary militants who are in its ranks. But in face of these possibilities, the Communist party, held in the strait-jacket of Stalinism by its Rusts and Pollitts, merely skims the very thinnest surface and disdainfully ignores the real opportunities which are offered it.

Small as our young British section is at its commencement, the Left Opposition has been significantly fortunate in winning to its banner a good group of active militants who do not seek in the ranks of our movement a safe refuge from the class struggle, as have many in the past who sought to cover up their own retirement from the revolution with the prestige and the great tradition of our movement.

Every one of the comrades who came together to constitute the group—with perhaps one exception—is a member of the party and, without fearing the consequences which the Stalinists nowadays impose upon the struggle for the ideas of Marx and Lenin, they are determined to carry on the fight within the party and, at all events, as a faction of the Communist party. By this alone, the English Opposition describes a clear line of demarcation between itself and those dilettantes and children of fantasy who have, in England, sometimes taken the name of the Opposition, for a thousand and one reasons, but not for a single one which justified the assumption.

The group has decided to issue a bulletin immediately, in preparation for the printed paper to come. The group, which was constituted with the aid of a representative of the International Secretariat who was present decided to establish relations with the latter body immediately.

New Trotsky Pamphlet Coming

WE ARE ABOUT TO GO TO PRESS with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS? This latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world.

The Communist International, the vanguard of the whole international working class is approaching a decisive historical task in Germany. Every month, every week, every day brings us closer to the critical moment. In 1923, the defeat of the German proletariat inaugurated a sweep of reaction that affected the working class of every capitalist country and served as a brake on the stormy advance of the post-war revolutionary movement.

The forces of Hitlerism, the prospective butchers of the German workers, are continually growing. World imperialism, seized in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis, is casting ravishing and greedy glances at the Soviet Republic in the East. These two processes are not divorced from one another. It lies in their very character for each to aid and abet the another.

In the meantime, the German working class remains divided. The social democrats still have a free hand in their deception of the workers. The Stalinist leaders of the Communist party, only yesterday the bold prophets of the "third period", are overcome with panic by the growth of the Fascists. They are falling into passivity, squirming helplessly and resorting to futile ejaculations. The situation is not lost yet, but the German nation is not lost yet, but the German Communist party, and with it the whole Communist International, is in danger of committing a blunder as tremendous in its consequences as the defeat of 1923.

Every Communist, every serious revolutionary worker must consider it his duty to pay the closest attention to what is now going on in Germany. Every conscientious proletarian fighter must keep his eyes peeled, use the utmost objectivity in his judgment.

In his new pamphlet, the leader of the first Red Army, the closest co-worker of Lenin, is appealing to all the worker Communists. What he has to say is of extraordinary historical importance. Every member of the Communist party, every sympathizer of Communism who is sincerely attached to the cause of the

revolution, must consider it his duty to obtain a copy of the latest work of Leon Trotsky and to read it carefully. The fate of the world revolution is at stake. Let no genuine revolutionary stand aside. Every worker and Communist must get a copy 10c per copy; 7 cents in bundles of GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. Order through Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO Open Forum

Every Sunday, 3 p.m.

JANUARY 17 By JOHN EDWARDS ON "LENIN & MARXISM" Free Admission at HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE. Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS—An Open Forum is being conducted each Friday evening by the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at the Crunden Branch Library, 14th & Cass Aves. The first of the open forums at which comrade George Roberts spoke, was on "Unemployment and the Unity of the working class". All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, begin at 7:30 P. M. The list of Open Forum meetings is as follows:

Friday, January 15, 1932: Speaker—Martin Payer on "Tom Mooney and the Frame-Up System". Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker—George Roberts on "Is Socialism in One Country Possible?" Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker—John Scott on "Fascism or Communism in Germany." The Admission is free. All workers are cordially invited.

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you are unable to get a copy at these places, write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION If the number of your wrapper is 97 or under, your subscription has expired. To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of The Militant, send in your renewal immediately to The Militant, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Entertainment In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus entertainment, Saturday, January 9th. The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

אונזער קאמף "UNSER KAMPF"

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