IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Developments in Spanish Revolution

conservative; they are simply reactionary." This is true. As in all backward countries, the Spanish bourgeoisie is tied up with the most reactionary castes of the country. Its political torpor, its fear, which make it embrace the first cutthroat that comes along, or the arrogant fanatics of Lerrdux like a shipwrecked man holding on to a plank, these are an irremediable evil in our bourgeoisie. Senor Zamora's exhortations to come out of its present state are wasted. The evil has deep roots.

The Spanish bougreoisie will disappear as a class without changing its characteristics. The structure of our economy and consequently the role whch Spain plays in world economy, fix a limited circle of necessity, within which our bourgeoisie must move. The contradictions of Spanish economy cannot be solved by the bourgeoise and logically tend to become sharper. It is enough to see that after eight months of the Repu- No: it is clear that the leaders of the blic, and in spite of the declarations of C. N. T. took advantage of the meaning spective of the moment represents a good the republicans, not only have the bonds which subordinated Spain to world capitalism remained, but they have even drawn tighter. The Republic has not made the least change in the internal more natural, then, since the same state, of affairs continues, than that its consequence should keep on manifesting themselves. Our bourgeoisie will continue to be, while it exists, among the most reactionary in Europe.

In reality the Republic changed nothing, but retained the same state of affairs. The activity of Maura and of Alcala Zamora, the same before as after the change of regime, was a continual exhortation to their class to convince it of the necessity for a change; and in spite of the notable success which they achieved, the bourgeoisie could not be calmed down until it saw itself protected by a regime of force.

Overthrow of Monarchy Inevitable

The monarchy had reached a situation which could no longer be sustained. monarchy and dictatorship would fall avoid being uprooted with the dictatorship could not be successful. Their recould not be successful. Their responsibilities overtook them alike. The immense majority of Spain felt that the problem posed was a constitutional one. The bourgeoisie, for its part, had a special interest in not moving the question off this plane. It posed in the first lace the question of responsibilieies, not with the purposes of demanding retribuexceeding strictly political limits.

The monarchy could not at that time resort to a regime of force—the dictatorship had just collapsed for lack of a understood that all resistance was useless base-nor did it have within itself a dem- and harmful. If the Republic was inocratic solution. The most conservtaive stalled in Spain almost unanimously it solution was therefore to unload all re- was because the bourgeoisie saw the sponsibility on a regime for which there possibility of effecting the change almost was no remedy, and to weaken as much without losses. The pacific and origas possible the consequence of its fall. inal manner in which the change of re-It was the duty of a consciously-guided gime was effected in Spain proves the

Socialist combination. Apart from the which the fallen regime sheltered, nor fact that in all its activity before the its most representative men, suffered a change of regime it has displayed a con- major damage. The whole monarchy makes the organization even more decepsistent counter-revolutionary line, the became republican to save itself. Even tive. When the elections were held, combination as an historical phenomenon the king conducted himself, in a way, was nothing new. In all countries there as a sympathizer. have occurred political conditions which have tended to blur the class struggle it was realized was the natural result under the excuse that the revolution in of the deeply reactionary downward terests various classes. Certainly-but slope which the revolution had taken, it interests them in opposite ways. For at the very beginning of the change the the bourgeoisie, the important thing in a bourgeoisie found an excellent opportunrevolutionary situation, and the thing ity to emphasize to the full the reacthat determine its maneuvers, is the tionary character of the Republic. The fear of being tied up by the proletariat; fact that the Republic had been installfor the proletariat, the interest of the ed without violence and as a result of revolution is the occasion which it offers to impose its will on the bourgeoisie, to subjudgate it, and suppress its class domination.

At the distance of a few months, it could be hallucinated by the Republican- have executed in the face of a revolu-Socialist combination. All the weakness, tionary situation, found the most de-

"The conservative classes of Spain", where it was not conscious complicity, plorable echo in the working class. The said Alcala Zamora recently, "cannot be 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. If the delay of the Republican-Socialist combination in coming to a struggle did not suffice, the declarations of some of its eminent members could not leave the least doubt as to the policy which the combination was to pursue. On April 9 Manuel Azana made the following special statement for "Workers' Solidarity"; "It has been agreed that the participation of the workers will not turn aside the political revolution, by changing it into a social revolution. Besides, what they call the Communist danger is no reason for resigning ourselves to the present regime and letting it continue."

Can these words, if properly understood, have more than one meaning? masses influenced by anrchism. The av. 17). ersion to Communism, which the leaders; of the C. N. T. tried so hard to maintain, ary workers who were against Communism repudiated it as a working-class workers an interpretation which was 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. If the socialists and anarchists, for separate reasons, immediately deprived the proletariat of any class action, they devoted themselves immediately to presenting as a victory what was only the result of their mistakes.

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' grotesque meaning have certain words of his assistance. Workers' Solidarity today!

"Our attitude is one of full exceptation and hope. Even if the opposite may seem to be the case, the political perwhich they had for the revolutionary promise for the working class" (April

"We are convinced that the blow which has been struck at Spanish reaction will was in this case a source of deception for throw into the abyss of death the fascstructure of the country. Nothing is the workers themselves. The revolution- ism of Europe and America" (April 18).

The leaders of the C. N. T. gave the

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. Comrade Shachtman has just returned from two months in Europe, part of which was occupied with a visit to Spain. In both Madrid and Barcelona, he had the opportunity of speaking with prominent and authoritative spokesmen of the socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, Catalonian nationalist and Communist movements, and to view the general situation at close range. The series of articles will deal with the economic conditions of the workers under the republican regime, the possibilities of a socialist government, the struggle in the trade union movement between the conflicting political tendencies, the interesting dispute developing between the anarchists and the syndicalists in the National Confederation of Labor, the situation in the Communist party, the Maurin group, and the Left Opposition, and so forth. Our readers are urged to watch for these articles every week and to call the attention of other workers to them.

tendency. But when the bourgeoisie opposite of the truth of the Spanish revtogether. The forces which the mon- talks of "Communist danger" it does not olution. The one thing that was not archy exerted at the last moment to refer to a struggle among tendencies, struck down in Spain was reaction. The which it generally neither understands monarchist elements scarcely suffered nor distinguishes, but to the working punishment from the Republic. On the sponsibilities overtook the dictatorship 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 kevolution. Finally the rapprochement of the two camps was so tion, but to prevent the revolution from close than in view of the municipal elections of April 12 the bourgeois politicians, who were defending their class against the mondrchist entrenchments, movement not to let itself be deceived. | profoundly reactionary character of the Nor was there any call to be develved change. In reality it was the monarchy as to the meaning of the Republican- that was saved. Neither the interests

> Moreover, if the change of regime as a few elections, provoked throughout the country the greatest democratic confusion ever recorded in history.

A revolution which was pacific because it was no revolution, but the most perseems incredible that the working class fect maneuver that the bourgeoisie could

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other hand, the working class, when it began to show itself as such, was the object of the most brutal repression. On the 1st of May, that is, a fortnight after the proclamation of the Republic, the repression began. In Barcelona and in Bilbao the police force was aimed at the

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 Asembly. It was in the interests of the bourgeoisie that the Republic was fixed up by means of the combination, which also made the electoral law. Things were so organized that all groups apart from the combination could scarcely influence the progress 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 the working masses and the middle class of our country were being radicalized. Within the combination, this was reflected in the growth of the Left wing, and above all, in the Socialist Patry, which is the most numerous group. Still, in the Assembly, the internal mechanism of the combination was put into motion, and then we saw that the one who gave orders was the Right wing.

The Assembly began to play a most indecent farce. The bills presented were almost ultra-Left. In the course of the discussions they were constantly mutilated. If at the last minute there still remained anything that the right wing considered dangerous, Senor Alcala Zamora would intervene and "create clarity".

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 tendencles we must submit, we must work out compromise formulas" In the name of formulas of agreement, we notice that although there is a left majority in the Assembly, these lefts are Communist party, and with it the whole politcally impotent.

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. At all difficult moments, the coalition was in danger of being broken up. At the time when the religious question was being discussed, for instance, if the socialists had defended the point of view of the projected Constitution, it would Lenin, is appealing to all the worker have won in the Assembly, and all the Communists. What he has to say is of rights, including the radicals, Maura extraordinary historical importance. Evand Zamora, would have undertaken an ery member of the Communist party, are unable to get a copy at these places, open fight against the Constitution and every sympathizer of Communism who is write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th York Section of the Communist League

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 Workers' and Peasants' Bloc called it reactionary. Trying to adopt a revolutionary position, the Bloc gave out a slogan which seems a joke; it announced itself in favor of a Government of Pestana-Vallina-Peiro

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 begeinning to cloak itself in socialism and radical-socialism, now feels it necessary to get rid of the subaltern personnel. It is natural that the latter should resist the abandonment of its privileged position, and propose coalition Governmente; so long as the Assembly exists, the reaction will govern through of the general need of extending the in-Solidarity on April 16. It took all the a coalition Government. The short space fluence and strength of the Marxian vulgarity of anarchism to interpret the of time left for the Assembly is the last situation in such a manner. What a concession that the bougeoiste makes to England specifically the official Commun-

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 bourgeoisle that got rid of this tool after having used it to the full. The bourgeoisie has made a step forward, and if the situation demands, can come back to using successfully bourgeois radicalism, since no revolutionary force has arisen to take its place, since it has not been liquidated in a revolutionary manner. The revolutionary liquidation of the bourgeois left and of socialism must be carried out now, taking advantage of its political decadence, not letting it-deceive the workers into trying out its demagogic radicalism as an opposition.

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 wihch the offensive against the reeaction must support itself, and the only base one can bring the working class a sound revolutionary leadership. Prime de Rivera it had been evident that cracy has done its best to convert the Soviets into a fetish which the masses feel to be out of reach, the Factory Committees, even if they cannot fill the function which the Soviets did in Russia, and its institutions is convulsing the united front of the workers.

Madrid, December, 1931

TORIOUS? This latest work of the lead-

world. It analyses in clear and distinct

strokes, the problems facing Communism

and offers the Bolshevik solution to

The Communist International, the van-

guard of the whole international working

class is approaching a decisive histor-

ical task in Germany. Every month,

every week, every day brings us closer

to the critical moment. In 1923, the de-

feat of the German proletariat inaug-

urated a sweep of reaction that affected

country and served as a brake on the

stormy dayance of the post-war revolu-

tionary movement. Today, we are con-

fronted with a similarly decisive situa-

The forces of Hitlerism, the prospective

butchers of the German workers, are con-

tinually 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

In the meantime, the German working

class remains divided. The social dem-

ocrats still have a free hand in their de-

ception 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 sit-

uation is not lost yet, but the German

Communist International, is in danger of

committing a blunder as tremendous in

Every Communist, every serious rev-

duty to pay the closest attention to what

is now going on in Germany. Every con-

his eyes peeled, use the utmost objec-

In his new pamphlet, the leader of the

first Red Army, the closest co-worker of

tivity in his judgment.

its consequences as the defeat of 1923.

tion in Germany.

abet the another.

the working class of every capitalist

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most burning need of the moment for the dles) of GERMANY-THE KEY TO

revolutionary movement of the entire THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

Under the Banner of Marxism

Opposition in England

Party Members Form Nucleus to Fight for Leninism

ternational 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 wing in all countries, but because in ist 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. More than ten years of official British Communism have elapsed today without the party having yet made a deep impression upon the proletariat. The striking decline of British imperialism has barely, if

at all, been accelerated by the revolutionary activity that the British party is at its commencement, the Left Opposishould have displayed. The unexampled tion has been signally fortunate in winmovement of the British workers in ning to its banner a good group of active the coal and general strikes of 1926 sim- militants who do not seek in the ranks of ply swept over the English party without our movement a safe refuge from the depositing anything but the thinnest fay-I class struggle, as have many in the past er of new strength upon it, a layer who sought to cover up their own rewhich, moreover, it promptly proceeded tirement from the revolution with the to lose. From the disgraceful record of prestige and the great tradition of our the first and even the second Labor gov- movement. On the contrary, our Engernment, the party has been able to lish group is composed of party mem-

cracy that the revolutionary standard is capable of attracting the most adcome only to drop out in almost equal numbers after a brief stay.

The grave crisis of the ruling class must nevertheless be the place for the latter in every one of its parts. And in this process, such institutions as the Labour party and the Independent Lab--L. FERSEN. | our Party show the aselves to be very

Every worker and Communist must

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East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

On December 19 of last year, a group, quickly affected. In both of them, and of members of the Communist Party of particularly in the last-named, there is Great Britain who have been active in a growing discontentment with the leadit for years, met in London to constitute ers and their policies. Especially in the formally the English section of the In-) 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 straitjacket of Stalinism by its Rusts and Pollitts, merely skims the very thinnest surface and disdainfully ignores the real opportunities which are offered it.

With the British situation as a whole, and with the position of the British party, we shall soon have occasion to deal in greater detail. But even these brief and sketchy comments, together with what is now general knowledge about the state of affairs, demonstrate plentifully the need and the prospects for growth of a well-knit section of the Left Opposition in England.

Small as our young British section make only the smallest minimum of bers who are not only well known for capital among the working class. Even their activities in the movement but now, when a section of the British work- whose adherence to the Opposition is a ers are being driven by the contradic- continuation on a higher plane and in tions of capitalism, driven by the hun- an organized manner of a struggle dreds to join the party, indicating by against bureaucratism and opportunism the flow to Communism which takes which they have conducted, under other place in spite of the Stalinist bureau- forms, in the recent past of the party.

Every one of the comrades who came together to constitute the group-with vanced workers-even now, the party perhaps one exception-is a metaber of acts largely as a sieve into which the the party and, without fearing the conhundreds of new Communist workers sequences which the Stalinists nowadays imose 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 dilletantes 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. On the fringes of the movement in England-as everywhere else-are a number of tiny little sects, stewing hopelessly and in quiet isolation in the stale juice of their own superiority; individuals and individualists; in short, opportunists, do-nothings, sectarians of all kinds who have painted themselves up with the colors of the Opposition in the expectation that it would not only obligate them to nothing serious but that it would relieve them of a slashing criticism and separation from the Left Opposition. Of this too we shall have another occasion to

> 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 immedi-

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Mooney and the American Frame-Up

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System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

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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 fol-

Friday, January 15, 1932: Speaker-Martin Payer on "Tom Mooney and the of the Youth Section, Communist League Frame-Up System".

olutionary worker must consider it his Country Possible?"

Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker-John Scott on "Fascism or Communism | scientious proletarian fighter must keep in Germany."

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you tainment, Saturday, January 9th. The sincerely attached to the cause of the Street, New York, N. Y.

are cordially invited.

Entertainment

In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of America (Opposition), will be held on Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker- Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at George Roberts on "Is Socialism In One 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining The Admission is free All workers Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus enteraffair is under the auspices of the New