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DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN

We publish below the declaration which the C.N.T. issued on the eve of the elections to the Cortes. This "political" document of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists demonstrates the whole "wretchedness of the anarchic philosophy before all the important events of the proletarian revolution." The inconsistency of the position of the C.N.T. and its objectively anti-revolutionary role have been sufficiently exposed in the preceding article.

At the moment this is being written, we receive additional confirmation through the latest declaration of the C.N.T., in which the leaders of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism have openly and cynically lined themselves up on the side of the bourgeois republic against the heroic fighters at Seville. The C.N.T. expresses its treason in the following infamous terms:

"There is not a single revolutionary syndicalist, not a single anarchist, conscious and responsible for his words who will declare he can readily do better than the Spanish republic and for that reason, none will attempt to destroy it, because one does not destroy without reconstructing anything better.

"We do not share the opinion of those who want the social revolution at all costs without knowing what they will do afterward. We are not prepared and we do not wish to take the place of the republic.

"The Social revolution is a regime of economic-industrial organization, of the fusion and of the discipline of the proletarian forces and the others that wish to follow them, in order to supplant the capitalist system and the state in organizing the economy and the conditions of social life."

We publish these declarations of the anarcho-syndicalists as documents, to allow our Opposition comrades in all countries to evaluate the positions of the political as well as the so-called anti-political tendencies in the Spanish proletarian movement. With the same end in view, we shall publish in the forthcoming issues, the important documents of the Catalan Federation and the official Spanish Communist party.

THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR*

The District Federation of the Unitary Unions of Madrid

To the Working People!

Comrades,

We are in a clearly revolutionary period. From all sides, the people demand its sovereign rights. In Andalusia the expropriation of the land is taking place at an accelerated pace. Many of the big landowners have fled to the cities or cut

*C.N.T.

of the country. In one day, by a magnificent and fruitful victory, the workers grouped within the C.N.T. have recovered part of that which rightly belongs to them and which the Cortes will never grant them.

In the face of this rise in the aspirations of the people, the political parties--from the Jaimists* up to the Communists--are preparing to strangle the revolution by means of a Constituent Assembly in which the people is to be represented by bourgeois and by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

To enter into Parliament means to sanction the yoke which is being prepared for us, to be deceived by palliating concessions and by illusory political rights, all of which have the purpose of reinforcing and maintaining untouchable the exploitation of man by man, the domination of the church over our conscience and over Spanish life, the dictatorship of the police, the corrupt judiciary. The mercenary bureaucracy and as their corollary--starvation wages, rationalization and the scourge of unemployment. That is why the District Federation of the Unitary Unions (Sindicato Unico) of Madrid addresses itself to the workers, to say to them: Comrades, do not expect anything from the Constituent Cortes, trust only your own efforts, enough deception! All politicians seek only personal gains. Against the shady ambitions and desires of the politicians, the C.N.T. raises its hosts. This organization, despite all its slanderers, has been and is today advancing concrete solutions which must be made known to the working people, to tally it to our side. The National Confederation of Labor (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo) will work swiftly and energetically for the expropriation of the landed estates and turn them over to the peasant unions; for the expropriation of the factories and shops and deliver them into the hands of the workers, the industrial and commercial unions; for the creation of cooperatives of distribution and of building construction; for living quarters for the producers.

All the existing wealth has been created by the efforts of the workers and belongs to them alone. The unions which embrace technicians and workers are the only ones that can administrate and organize production in the future. By the creation of Shop Committees and Agricultural Communes in contact with them, the C.N.T. will suppress every government which is tyranny, every power which is oppression. Sovereignty will have as its basis, the desires of the genuine majority of the working people.

We are fully conscious of our responsibility. We know that in order to build up this new society, we will have to overcome great difficulties, to fight against tradition and against enormous obstacles. But we will conquer all this with the aid of the workers, the oppressed, and those who desire progress, those who fight and hope for a better day. The political moment is full of chaos: Catalonia, Galicia

*Royalist party, called "Jaimist" after the pretender to the Spanish throne, Don Jaime. They are "constitutional monarchists" in contradistinction to the Habsburg absolutists, under the leadership of the deposed Alfonso.--Ed.note.

Andalusia...are torn by a torrent of passion and by the thirst for liberty, equality and justice. The political parties are harassed, they are seized by manifest disintegration, because the problem has ceased to be a political one and has been transformed into a social problem, and the social problem, we repeat, can only be solved by the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.)

Working people! The real revolution, your revolution, is to be realized, its moment arrived. The hour has come to rally to our side, to answer our call. Tomorrow it will be too late. A social democratic dictatorship in name, but bourgeois and reactionary as all the others, is threatening us. We must make a supreme effort to prevent the Spanish people from falling once again into ignominy, and in order to give it a titanic impetus in its ascending march, which it is pursuing tirelessly:

We are being charged with a lack of concrete solutions. Here are some of the solutions, clearly and lucidly explained. These are not all, but they will serve as a point of departure for the construction of a new world, a problem which we cannot foresee today, much less solve in advance. But we will give it its correct solution, with the aid of the people, consciously and with precision, when the girders of the new state of things will have been laid.

The National Confederation of Labor will suppress the magistracy, the clergy and militarism, because these professions constitute a legion of parasites that destroy and consume the wealth which we produce. Our society, that is, the society, for which the National Confederation of Labor is fighting, can be summarized in one sentence: "No more parasites! Only those that work, eat!" Workers, it is either ignominious dictatorship or the social revolution. Comrades, all to the C.N.T. for the edification of the economic life of the country.

MADRID, June 26, 1931

THE DISTRICT FEDERATION OF
THE UNITARY UNIONS.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE COMMUNIST FORCES
IN SPAIN AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST OPPOSITION----

The question of the unification of the Communist forces in Spain through a unification conference, and the attitude which our Spanish comrades will have to adopt on this question has given rise to a discussion in various sections of the International Left Opposition. In order to facilitate this discussion, we reproduce here several documents of the Spanish Left Opposition (Communismo #5) as well as the agenda for the unification conference presented by the Catalanian Federation and the Agrupacion de Madrid.--

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In its editorial contained in Communismo No. 3 (August 1931) the editorial board expresses the position of the Spanish Left Opposition in the question of unification as follows:

"Elsewhere in this issue, we publish documents concerning the problem of the unification of the Spanish Communist forces, with comment on the form in which the convocation of the unity conference is conceived. Here we want to treat other aspects of the same problem. The Catalonian Federation as well as the Independent Madrid Association (Agrupacion de Madrid) forget to mention the fact that it was the Spanish Left Opposition which first launched the idea of a unity conference. We claim the honor of having been the first ones to issue this slogan and we shall stress this fact all the more since there exists today a tendency to exclude the Communist Left Opposition from this unity conference. We ardently hope for the unification of the Spanish Communist proletariat and we are ready to cooperate with all our power toward the realization of this task. The Spanish revolution is on the march, and the existence of a strong Communist party, capable of leading the future revolutionary struggles of the Spanish working class is more imperative than ever. But the Unification Conference must not, under any conditions, be turned into an attempt to organize a new Communist party should the attempt to win over the leadership of the official party fail. We are prepared to participate in the unification conference, provided the manoeuvres that are being hatched behind the scenes do not prevent us from working with all our power for unity. We shall go to this conference also, to combat all ambiguous policies and all personal tricks of underhand politics."

ROUND ABOUT THE COMMUNIST UNIFICATION CONFERENCE

We have received the resolution given below, which was adopted by the Buniol District of the Spanish Communist Party in joint session with the Y.C.L. and the Committee of the Levante Federation of the Y.C.L. These comrades have a point of view with regard to the Unification Conference, identical with that of the Communist Left Opposition, on the same question. It is absolutely true, that only a genuine unification conference "with a direct and equitable representation for all the various factions and with equal rights for all to participate democratically in the debates and in the voting", that only such a conference will fulfill the task of unity.

No one has stressed more tenaciously, the imperative necessity of the unification of the Spanish Communist forces, than we have. The Spanish Oppositionists are not alone in pointing out the urgency of this question. They are sustained by the Oppositionists of all the various countries, who are pursuing the development of the Spanish revolution with the greatest interest. Our comrade Trotsky has addressed himself to the C.I. and denounced the historic responsibility that it bears for the division in the ranks of the Spanish Communists.

That is why we, the Spanish Oppositionists, are prepared to cooperate loyally toward the unification of the Spanish Communist ranks, a unification indispensable to the Spanish proletariat for the realization of the immense tasks facing it today.

"The Buniol District of the Spanish Communist party, meeting in a General Session with the Y.C.L. and with the Committee of the Levante Federation of the Y.C.L., decides—unanimously, after an ample analysis and discussion of the problems and tasks of Communism in Spain:

"1) to regretfully call attention to the dispersion of the Spanish Communist ranks, a dispersion which at the moment of revolutionary tension we witness today constitutes a crime against the revolution and suicide for the Communist movement;

"2) to call upon all the various factions--Central Committee of the C.F.S., Committee of the Workers and Peasants Bloc and Committee of the Left Opposition as well as the different Communist publications, Mundo Obrero - La Batalla - La Antorcha - Comunismo, and to demand of them to renounce their intransigence and to work energetically for the unification of all the Communist forces in Spain;

"3) for the realization of this immediately urgent task, we propose the convocation, within two months at the latest, of a General Unification Conference with direct and equitable representation for all the various factions and with equal rights for all to participate democratically in all the debates and in all the voting;

"4) the units, sections and the districts must discuss in advance the questions posed before Spanish Communism and the districts must send a direct representation, proportional to the number of their adherents, to the Unity Conference;

"5) After the convocation of the Unity Conference, all elements expelled for violations with regard to opinion, must be readmitted into the Communist ranks; the minority will have to submit in a disciplined manner to the decisions of the majority of the Conference and declare itself prepared to carry out the tasks outlined by the majority;

"6) We confirm our previous decisions which we have communicated to the Regional Committee in which we pointed out that we pursue the interests not only of any particular faction but those of the unified Spanish C.P., the vanguard of the revolutionary workers and peasant masses.

"7) The undersigned organizations will attentively await the reception that will be accorded to this appeal by the various factions and by the Communist publications. Those who will sabotage it will bear their responsibility before the Communists of Spain and of the entire world.

For the Committee appointed by the Gen'l Ass'y:

For the Buniol District: (signatures)
" " Regional Committee of the Y.C.L. of the
" " Levante (signatures)
" " District Committee (signatures)

Buniol, June 10, 1931.

THE CONFERENCE CALL

We publish herewith the official call for the Communist Unification Conference, issued by the Catalonian Federation, issued by the Catalonian Federation and the Agrupacion de Madrid:

"The Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation and the Agrupacion de Madrid have launched the idea of convoking a national conference for Communist unification. The seriousness of the moment demands the maximum of cooperation among all Spanish Communists.

"Despite the unanimous wishes of the membership, the leadership of the Spanish C.P. has not up to the present issued a call for a conference to establish the unity of the party.

"Therefore, the Catalonia-Balearic Communist Federation and the Agrupacion de Madrid invite all the individual Spanish Communist to the National Unification Conference, which will be held soon, with the following order of business:

- "1) The present political situation and the immediate tasks of the party: Reporter--Joaquin Maurin.
- "2) Trade Union question: Reporters --Evaristo Gil and Hilario Arlandis.
- "3) Peasant question: Reporters --Victor Colagne and Luis Garcia Palacids.
- "4) National question: Reporters -- Luis Portela and Jordi Arquer.
- "5) The Unification of the party: Reporter - Luis Portela
- "6) Youth movement: Reporter - Enrique Androles
- "7) Miscellaneous question.

For the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation--J. Maurin
For the Communist Agrupacion de Madrid -- Luis Portela.

Madrid-Barcelona, June 11, 1931.

It appears to us that in view of the imperative urgency of the problem of Communist unity in Spain, the date of the Conference should be indicated concretely, and that it should be the earliest possible date. The events are bringing new developments every day and make it obligatory for the Spanish proletariat to solve the problem of its political organization. Every day lost mean a battle lost.

The form of this call is in our opinion, insufficiently complete. A whole series of points, indispensable for a maximum of efficiency in the work undertaken, are not specified at all. It is not stated who can participate and what the rights and the duties of the participants to be.

Finally it is our belief that if all individual Communists are to be convoked, it is only logical to also invite them to a preliminary elaboration of the tasks of the Conference. From the call, it is clear that things have not been arranged in this manner. The Catalonian-Balearic Federation and the Agrupacion de Madrid have reserved the management of the conference entirely for themselves.

If a genuinely democratic conference is to be held, it is indispensable to establish democratic relationships in the preliminary work.

RESOLUTION OF THE I.C. OF THE S.C.O.

On different occasions, the E.C. of the Spanish Communist Opposition has been obliged to draw the attention of Gorkin to his inactivity, his absolute lack of seriousness and his doubtful political attitude.

In all his replies, Gorkin declared his unconditional adherence to the S.C.O. and to the I.L.O., often assuring us of his firm determination to regulate his political life and to put it entirely at the disposal of the Spanish Communist Left. In his last letter, written several days before he left Paris for Spain, he reiterated his intention to abandon his indefinite attitude and to work in the service of the S.C.O.

When Gorkin arrived at Madrid, the E.C. of the S.C.O. on the initiative of the Secretariat of the International Communist Left Opposition, called him before one of its sessions at which Gorkin's political activity at Paris was discussed. Gorkin avoided compromising himself in the discussion and offered his services to the Committee, to assign him to any of its activities.

But the Committee was forced, unfortunately, to come to the conclusion, that Gorkin still lacks even the slightest degree of seriousness and that, if he does sometimes call himself a Communist, he does so by mistake or when he thinks he can gain something at the expense of a Communist organization.

Consequently, the E.C. of the S.C.O. has decided at its meeting of June 28, to break all relations with Gorkin and to leave him free to act at his will. We are quite sure that Gorkin is very much satisfied to remain what he is, and that this suffices.

We publicly announce this decision to all comrades although we know very well that we are doing him a service by the fact alone that we mention his name.

The E.C. of the S.C.O.

* * *

The resolution of the Spanish section on Gorkin is very timely and conclusively clarifies its attitude toward him, an attitude which has always been to benevolent, in face of the fact that Gorkin has constantly attempted to perpetuate himself within the International Left Opposition through his ambiguity. As early as April 1931, Gorkin wrote in a letter to the I.S. that he puts himself entirely at the disposal of the I.S. for any work which would be of service to the International Opposition. At the same time, Gorkin continued to collaborate on "Monde" where he published vulgarly democratic articles on Spain, which had nothing in common with Communism or with the struggle of the Spanish proletariat. The I.S. called the attention of the Spanish comrades to this anti-Communist attitude of Gorkin, but believed that it was the duty of Spanish section itself to pronounce its judgment public

on the Gorkin case. Today this has been accomplished. We are certain that all Left Oppositionists will approve of the resolution of our Spanish comrades on Gorkin.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

A LETTER FROM THE ARGENTINE.

In No. 12-13 of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition, I first reported to our European Opposition comrades on the development of the Left Opposition in South America. A year has passed since. In this letter, I will submit information on our work during this year. I will stop for a moment to consider the Argentine, where the events were very instructive. But before speaking about ourselves, let us take up the work of the "representatives" of the C.I., their estimation of the situation and the manner in which they are preparing the masses for struggle.

This work can briefly be characterized as unprincipled and irresponsible. The executors of this work are only handful of bureaucrats. They have been incapable of analyzing the situation and of proving by facts that the party is the real vanguard of the proletariat and not a passive instrument in the hands of Stalin or of Molotov. Harnessed to the cart of the "third period", the Argentine "plenipotentiaries" of the C.I. started out in a gallop toward the seizure of power by the proletariat (no more and no less).

The Left Opposition warned the party in time against this adventure. We said that the revolution is not made by decree, and that it is necessary first to prepare the masses. While the bourgeois parties received in Buenos Aires alone hundreds of thousands of votes in the elections in 1929, the C.P. only got 3,000 votes. But this fact alone did not cause our "leaders" to reflect. The reactionaries unfurled a savage attack against the working class. A Fascist dictatorship was set up last September. The big bourgeoisie prepared the dictatorship for a long time and before the eyes of the whole world, with the aid of the British and the American capitalists. Only the official party could not foresee this preparation. When the dictatorship was established, our brave leaders who only yesterday wanted to seize the power, found themselves in a state of complete disintegration. The bourgeoisie profited largely from this. Since September last, our party has been driven underground. The Communists are ferociously persecuted. In most cases, it is the workers from the ranks that suffer from the mistakes of the leadership. It is sufficient only to find a leaflet on anyone's person, for the reactionaries to raise a cry: "A plot!" The violator is often banished to the torrid zones. The party is impotent and cannot raise any protest against this ruthless oppression, all the less so, since the summits of the party have become the abode for all sorts of agents of the bourgeoisie.

The ranks of the Left Opposition have not grown very much in the last year. Despite that and despite the limited number of our militants, we have displayed our activity in all

fields of proletarian struggle. The composition of our cadres is very diversified. The secretary of our organization is a Spaniard who has been in the Argentine for more than thirty years and he has a rich experience in trade union work. We have in our ranks, English comrades (Bolsheviks tested in struggle and excellent Oppositionists) Argentini-ans, Bolivians, Germans, etc. I repeat, we are not numerous, but we are very active and we are fighting resolutely for the victory of the ideas of the International Left Opposition among the advanced workers of our country. Since the institution of the Fascist dictatorship, we are being persecuted by the police. We have been forced to give up the publication of our paper "la verdad". Most of our comrades are in a miserable material condition, unemployment rages throughout, but that does not stop us in our work. Due to the great discontent, current in the party, we hope to win over the better elements, the most honest and the most conscious workers.

For more than a year we have established regular intercourse with our Spanish comrades. In one of his numerous letters written in his prison cell at Valencia (The letter of the Argentine comrade was written before the events of April 14, 1931) comrade Lacroix tells us that comrade Trotsky's pamphlet on the situation in Spain gives a powerful picture of the social forces present in the rising Spanish revolution. This pamphlet, he says will serve as a guide to the Left Opposition in Spain, in its march toward the Spanish October. The fiery example of the militant Spanish Oppositionists who maintain all their faith and their enthusiasm despite all the persecutions to which they are subjected, animates our action and serves to stimulate the work of the Left Opposition in the Argentine.

Communist greetings,

Buenos Aires, April 1931.

Dvorine.

AFTER THE SEVILLE EVENTS.

Between Two Waves

The Cortes has finally been convened under the sign of the cannon and of the most savage anti-working class repression. The Zamora-Caballero government, entrenched at its post after the bloodbath in Seville, has showed by its acts how it intends to "prove that the revolution is firm." "Firm" in the manner of Noske, firm in opening fire with their artillery and their machine guns, upon the workers who want to march forward. The Seville revolt has been crushed by the rifles of the Civil Guard, but it has not been crushed in the hearts of the Spanish proletariat. The urgent task of the moment is to have the latter assimilate for itself all the lessons which the revolt in Seville has brought with it.

There can be no doubt that this revolt marks the transition of the Spanish revolution to a new stage. The working class is breaking through to the forefront of the struggle, to bring about its own solutions. The phrases and the chatter of the petty bourgeoisie are giving way to the struggle in the street, to the strike struggles, which accentuate all the class antagonisms and expose the whole sorry falsehood of the Zamora-Caballero republic. It is necessary to grasp the character of the present phase completely and precisely. We must tirelessly denounce the danger of "adventures" by which the Spanish proletariat can be thrown back either through the wrong course of the leadership of the Communist International or through the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists within the ranks of the Spanish labor movement. But at the same time, we must relentlessly show ourselves to be the best interpreters of the will and the militancy of the masses, precisely so that this will and this militancy should not be dissipated in impotent attempts, in sterile adventures. In other words: in order to prevent all sorts of adventurism, we must avoid appearing in the eyes of the proletariat as curbstones. That is the essence of the policy of the Spanish Communists, and particularly the comrades of the Left Opposition should pursue at the present moment. The basic question is the question of leadership in the growing struggles. The revolt of Seville should be utilized by the Left Opposition in Spain to point out to the workers the road to the final battle and to victory. The burning need of the Spanish revolutionary movement is the unification of the working class under a unitary, clear-sighted and capable leadership. Such leadership is offered neither by the anarcho-syndicalists nor by the official faction of the Communist party. The Communist Opposition faces an enormous task, upon the accomplishment of which hangs the future fate of the revolution.

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We have more than once emphasized what an unstable anarcho-syndicalism represents to the victorious development of the revolutionary forces. In this issue of the Bulletin we are reprinting among other documents, a manifesto of the local federation of the Sindicato Unico (Anarcho-syndicalists) of Madrid, addressed to the working people. The manifesto was published on the eve of the elections to the Constituent Cortes and illustrates the doctrine which is bound to lead movements as the one in Seville to defeat.

After it declared, "in respect to its anti-politicism", its abstention from the elections to the Cortes, the C.N.T. today declares its desire to control the Cortes without participating in it. This "abstentionist" tactic is in reality the best means of allowing the Cortes to strangle the revolutionary forces, unimpeded. It is true, "the workers have nothing to await from the Cortes" and "they must trust only their own forces". But that is just the problem. The problem is precisely, to prove to the millions of workers

who have confidence in the Cortes why the Cortes can give them nothing as long as it remains an organ of the Capitalist dictatorship, that is, as long as the power rests in the hands of the bourgeoisie. To counter-pose the Soviets to the Cortes, as the official faction is doing, or to counterpose the unions to the Cortes, as the anarcho-syndicalists are doing instead of undermining the Cortes, only helps to maintain it. The tactic proposed by the Communist Left Opposition alone can destroy the confidence of the workers in the Cortes, abolish it and replace it finally by the organs of the proletarian power.

By saying to the workers that it alone "can suppress every government" -- every power "that is tyrannical and oppressive" by saying that "only the unions can administer and organize production in the future", that is, by confusing the proletarian with the capitalist power, the CNT in reality disarms the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of the regime that is based on private property and for the establishment of a society without exploiters and exploited. To suppress every government, to annihilate "every power" is possible only through the suppression of classes, through the institution of a new order, the first essential act of which is the seizure of power of the workers. Only the proletarian power will have the strength to forever drive out the gentry from their land, to expropriate the big capitalists, to place the large industries, the banks and all the means of production and exchange in the hands of labor. The organs of this power can only be the "workers' juntas", the Soviets of the workers, the peasants and the soldiers of Spain. There is no other way of achieving the suppression of the "parasites."

Belief in the possibility of the expropriation of the big landowners, in the expulsion of the capitalists from the factories, without the necessary struggle for the overthrow of the central government and the establishment of a workers' government can bring the Spanish workers the defeat which the same mistake brought the Italian workers in 1920: the mistake of not having been able to lead all the battles up to the establishment of the proletarian power. It is therefore wrong to say that every power is tyranny and oppression. Every power is the expression of the class struggle. The bourgeois power is the power of tyranny, a power for the oppression of the workers by the capitalists, while the proletarian power has as its sole aim, the destruction of the basis for all tyranny: the class antagonisms, and consequently in the last analysis, its own destruction.

Therein lies the specific character of the proletarian power, which distinguishes it from the power exercised by all other classes in history.

That is why it signifies support of the reactionaries, service to the "parasites", to place on the same level with the other parties, as the CNT does -- the Communist Party; that is, the party which fights for the suppression of

private property and for the liberation of the workers -- and the parties which fight for the preservation of the capitalist system. The Communist party has no "shady ambitions." It does not fight with the aim of dominating. It fights to free the workers from the oppression of the parasites, which the C.N.T. also declares it wants to destroy. But how can the workers attain their own liberation, if they have not at their head, a determined vanguard, to unite and guide it in all its actions by means of a correct revolutionary theory? This vanguard can only be the Communist party, that is, the party which embraces within its organization the militants most devoted to the proletarian cause, those armed with the experiences of world communism.

The unions have indisputably a great role to fulfill. They are the great battalions of the revolution. But their role can be decisive and victorious, only on the condition that they are imbued with a correct revolutionary conscience. And once again it must be stressed, that this conscience can be carried into the unions only by the Communist vanguard, that is the vanguard that applies in struggle the principles of Bolshevik-Leninist strategy and tactics, the principles of international Communism.

In the face of these tasks, the Stalinist faction which is at the head of the Communist party, reveals its impotence and plays a role that is disastrous for the development of the Spanish revolutionary movement. If on the one hand, the C.N.T. puts the Communist party into the same bag with the party of the Monarchists, the Stalinist faction, on the other hand, ranges the C.N.T. among the allies of the police, which is only another variation of the theory of social-fascism. It is necessary to put a stop to this disastrous policy. Only by means of a correct united front tactic -- and not that of the paper "Frente Unico" which only serves to discredit it -- can the Spanish Communists succeed in winning over to their banner the best militants in the C.N.T., the thousands of sincere, revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist workers as well as the thousands of workers deceived by the social-reformists. It is necessary to reach both the anarcho-syndicalist as well as the reformist workers on the basis of that which unites us in the struggle against the common enemy and to make them understand by means of their own experience, that there are no two ways of achieving the liberation of the workers, that there is only one: the revolutionary path of the revolutionary path of the Bolshevik-Leninists. In the interval between the struggles of Seville and the new great struggles for which we are headed, the Left Opposition in Spain must put all its forces at the service of this cause.

An intensified agitation must be organized against the government assassins of the Seville workers: for the dissolution of the Cortes which does not represent the country, for a new Cortes on the basis of universal suffrage extended to all men and women over 18 years of age. For relief on the land, for credits to the poor peasants, etc. This agitation should be concretized everywhere by the creation of

"workers' juntas" in which the proletarian united front will find its organic form. In the measure in which the working class will attain its unity under a capable and clear-sighted leadership, the forces of the revolution in Spain will develop and march on to victory.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

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GREECE

THE UNITED FRONT

The Archie-Marxists were the initiators of the united front of the Communist forces and continue to be the only ones to realize it, as a first necessary step toward the realization of the united front of all the exploited in the country. Long before the elections at Salonica, open and direct united front proposals were offered by the Bolshevik-Leninist Organization to the official party and to the "Spartacos" group. In the International Bulletin No. 3 there is contained the document in which the organization of the Archie-Marxists called upon the party and the "Spartacos" group to create a commission, in which each organization is to be represented by 5 members, to lead in the common struggle against the terror initiated by the Venizelos government against the working class, its organizations and its vanguard.

It is impossible to forget the anti-proletarian act of the Stalinist bureaucrats, who rejected this proposal presented in a document which our Archie-Marxist comrades delivered into their hands, while they were presiding over a public meeting of the party. Their bureaucratic dishonesty went so far as to withhold the document from the gathering. Finally, after long deliberations among themselves, one of the bureaucrats publicly rejected the proposal of the Archie-Marxists, calling it a "provocation from the police."

This happened just at the time when a new wave of terror and anti-working class repression rose to its full height. It was at the time when the two Communist soldiers Marcovitis and Panoussis were condemned to death by the Military Tribunal at Janina, where the Anti-Communist Law first went into effect, where the right to strike was denied the municipal workers and the state employees, where a law of "compulsory mobilization" was decreed against the striking bakery and transport workers.

The Archie-Marxists tirelessly called upon the member of the party and the Youth League, and explained them what the pressing tasks of the labor movement were, how imperative it was for the Communist forces to act in unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. At the same time, they also pointed out the reasons why the Stalinist leaders were

systematically sabotaging every attempt at common action by the Archio-Marxist Organization and the party. This persevering work of the Archio-Marxists soon bore its first fruits.

At the beginning of January, 1931, the appeal on the case of the Kalpaki mutineers came up, at Athens. Our comrades had organized a broad campaign for the liberation of the seven soldiers, two of whom had been condemned to death. The day of the trial, there were workers' demonstrations to save the mutineers. Before the university, there was a clash, in which the party members fraternized with the Archio-Marxists in their battle against the police. In the course of the battle, our comrade Saccos snatched the banner of the party out of the hands of the police and the party members called upon the Archio-Marxists to join in together and help them. In this manner, the united front was realized in the course of struggle itself, despite the refusal of the bureaucrats, despite all their slanders.

Still, the splitting activity of the Stalinist bonzes continued, although with weaker results and with lesser chances of success. But in their struggle against the Opposition, they did not even stop at adventurism. Thus, for instance, the "Committee of 50 members of the Unemployed of Athens and Pireus" -- which was under the control of the Archio-Marxists -- organized a general meeting of the unemployed at Athens on February 15, 1931, at the Papaloano theater. The leaders of the party, who up to that time had done nothing to organize the unemployed and to combat unemployment, decided on the same day, and at the same hour, to hold a meeting of unemployed at a nearby theater, the Alhambra, with one purpose: to sabotage the work of the Archio-Marxists.

In the course of struggle, the united front was once more realized, on April 9, 1931, during an unemployed demonstration before the city hall, organized by the "Committee of 50", in which 1500 workingmen and women participated. Here too, the party comrades fought side by side with the Archio-Marxists against the police. When they were arrested together with our own comrades, they fraternized in prison and sent out a joint appeal to all revolutionary workers of Greece. In this appeal, they denied all the slanders cast upon the Oppositionists in the central organ of the party, the "Rozospastis", and concluded with the declaration that the "Archio-Marxists are militants devoted to the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of our class and we will struggle together with them too, for the overthrow of the capitalist regime, and for the victory of Communism."

The preparations for the First of May stirred up a discussion between the Archio-Marxists and Stalinists, in their respective organs. In the "Pali Ton Taxaon" of April 17, our comrades made an appeal to the C.C. of the C.P.G. in the form of an open letter, in which they proposed a united front for May Day. In view of the grave situation of the working class affected by the crisis of unemployment and also of the fact that the great majority of the workers are still outside of

all organizations, while the forces of the organized minority remained divided -- they stressed especially that the immediate task of the Communists is the realization of trade union unity and the introduction of large masses of workers into their class organizations. In the same manner, it was necessary to concentrate all forces, taking into account the present objective and subjective situation of the Greek working class, for the organization of mass demonstrations of the workers on the First of May. And that necessarily presupposes -- the letter said -- the united front of all revolutionary forces.

The party once again prepared itself for a demonstration of the "third period" order, in which only a handful of courageous Communists can participate, but by such means the broad masses of the workers remain untouched. Concretely the discussion revolved around the question, where to organize the demonstration. Right in the center of Athens -- as the Stalinists proposed -- or at Renti (on the road between Athens and Pireus) where the workers had been accustomed to meet ever since 1918?

Despite all the efforts of our comrades to persuade the Stalinists to organize a joint May Day demonstration in a location in which the workers can be reached in their mass, the bureaucrats refused and persisted in their adventure.

The First of May came and the events proved that the Archio-Marxists had been right. In order to show the party members and all revolutionary workers as well, that the repeated proposals of the Opposition for a united front were not a manoeuvre, but rather the expression of a sincere desire, the Bolshevik-Leninist Organization decided, in spite of everything, to demonstrate on the First of May together with the party. Still, in all the towns of Greece, the Stalinists did their best to prevent the concentration of the demonstrators of both organizations, out of fear of being submerged by our comrades, who were numerically much stronger (at Athens - 90%) in the demonstrations.

The bourgeois press which well understood the significance of all this unanimously raised the alarm when it saw the united front established between the Archio-Marxists and the official party.

It was also evident that without the participation of the Archio-Marxists the demonstrations of the party would have fallen into ridicule and that it was our comrades who fought in the front ranks in the bloody encounters with the police on that day.

At Mytilene there took place - perhaps for the first time in the history of the International Left Opposition - a genuine united front between the Opposition and the party in straightforward, conscientious and sincere collaboration on the occasion of the elections of the legislative of July 15th, 1931 on that island. This case deserves that attention of the entire Left Opposition because such a collaboration in which party mem-

bers and members of the Opposition organized election meetings in common at which representative of the two organizations developed their point of view freely before the workers and peasants is an altogether exceptional occurrence in the struggle of the Opposition against the bureaucratic centrism.

Naturally the united front proposal was made by the Archio-Marxists and our comrades carried on a campaign for the candidate of the party despite the fact that the party's organized forces, from the point of view of quality as well as from the point of view of quantity, were much inferior to those of the Bolshevik-Leninist Organization. The Mytilone section of the C.P.G. -- contrary to the custom on similar occasions in other sections and especially at the centre -- accepted the proposals and rendered possible this genuine united front.

During the election campaign the work was divided between the Stalinists and the Archio-Marxists at the different meetings. The candidate of the party was assisted by a comrade of the Opposition. On the day of elections our comrades presented the party candidate at several places and it was precisely these that gave the greatest number of votes to the Communist candidates. The results obtained were 4,680 votes out of 21,000. The International Stalinist press which made great game out of the "Election Successes of the C.P. of Greece" took great care not to mention the fact that these results were obtained due to the united front with the "Greek Trotskyites".

Certainly it was not by accident that such a collaboration could be established precisely on a little island in the Aegean sea and not in New York or in Paris, for example, where the Stalinist bureaucracy has established itself solidly and dominates the party with ease. Nevertheless this fact permits us to get a better understanding of the disastrous role of the International Stalinist bureaucracy which we must piteously combat. (to be continued)

MYRTOS.

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IN OUR SECTIONS

SWITZERLAND-- (From a Letter of a Swiss Comrade) "Our work has shown some progress in Switzerland. We are not longer a 'student group' but a workers' group. We have already organized a series of public meetings, on the topics: 1) Fascism and 'Social Fascism' 2) Trade Union question 3) Socialism in One Country or the Permanent Revolution 4) The situation in the Communist Party of Switzerland 5) 'People's Revolution' or Proletarian Revolution in Germany. The lecture on Fascism and 'Social Fascism' was multigraphed and sold out (150 copies). On the 1st of August we issued an appeal to the comrades of the C.P.Sw. The comrades that are loyal to the line fought against us by means of physical terror but the sympathies for our work are increasing in the C.P. as well as in the Y.C.L."