

# Letters from Fascist Germany

From the Lower Rhineland.

June 28, 1933.

On June 26 the information department of the S. S. (Schutz Staffel—Fascist Special Corps) succeeded in tracking down the district center and information service of the C. P. G. in the Lower Rhineland. Most of the persons connected with the latter were arrested. At the same time there were arrested in our city a former alderman and a printer. They were charged with the production of Communist leaflets—The Steel-Helmet (nationalist) Workers Camp was dissolved and several of the leading figures imprisoned. The arrests took place under the direction of the S. A. (Storm Troops—Fascist Regulars), who forced their way into the camp with loaded pistols.—The "red air raid over Berlin" is designated in these parts as a provocation of the government.—All workers are disappointed in the utter failure of internationalism. No support anywhere for the German workers! So it happens that sanctimonious protests of foreign social democrats, like that of Jouhaux in Geneva, is looked upon by many as a ray of light. Everyone is asking: Where is the Soviet Union?

### Beginning of July 1933

Those who believe that the Fascist terror is declining, are mistaken. Today a big bicycle raid took place in the proletarian quarters here. Everyone suspected of being a Communist had his bicycle or motorcycle confiscated. The inhabitants here feel like prisoners. The police come every day, and under one pretext or another, sneaks from one worker's rooms to another's, makes arrests, set the arrested free and then arrests them again, etc.—In a large concern, stickers considered "hostile to the state" were found on the walls of the women's toilet. 18 girls were arrested, three were held in prison for a long time in an effort to get confessions out of them.—In a suburb, six Communists were arrested by S. S. men right on the street, brought to an armory and from there, as heavily wounded, to the local jail.—Political prisoners are no longer allowed to receive visitors or mail, on the grounds of a "certain incident".—In Duesseldorf, several corpses were found near the Griefenberg woods. They were the bodies of persons formerly belonging to the Communist group "North-West Forward". An old comrade, Setin, who was over 60, had one time been the leader of a workers' concert band, was found dead, with a fractured skull.

### FROM SAXONY

...At the time of the raid of the People's House, all red flags, books, safes were confiscated.... Workers arrested were made to say the Lord's Prayer and to shout "Hell, Hitler!"

...The S. A. troops clipped the hair on the workers' heads in the shape of the swastika. The workers were then forced to gather horse-manure over a distance of more than a hundred meters with their bare hands, to smear the walls with it and then to scrub the walls. In the course of this, they were beaten bloody, and forced to beat one another and clip each other's hair. A S. P. G. worker who put on a swastika emblem so as to be able to proceed to work unhampered was found out and sent to the hospital with grave injuries. A worker from a "Proletarian First Aid (Medical)" group has his hands cut up "so that, you jackass, you won't be able to bandage anyone any more". Gauze and medicaments were taken away from him....

### Days after these raids, scraps of

### Threaten Deportation of Penna. Militant

Antonio Bellussi, a militant Italian worker of Luzerne, Pa. is being held for deportation for his activities on behalf of the labor movement by the federal immigration authorities of the New Deal government. Once again it is clearly revealed that despite its liberal phrases the Roosevelt government differs only by a thin veneer from the open deportation policies of the Hoover-Doak administration.

The case of comrade Bellussi shows in bold relief that any capitalist government in the United States, irrespective of its public declarations, follows a policy of victimizing the foreign born worker, sowing seeds of race hatred between him and the native born worker in the factory, mine and workshop, and deporting him when he fights in the interests of his class to the Fascist land of his origin where he is thrown to the tender mercies of the butchers and murderers of militant workers that hold sway in those countries. Only the mass movement of the workers can cement the ties between the native and foreign born workers.

The workers must come to the defense of Bellussi, stay the hand of the deportation agents and keep him from falling into the hands of Mussolini's hangmen.

Do not forget that THE MILITANT needs your support. The very best way to do it is to get a new sub.

## No Abatement in Terror, Workers Feel Effect of Party Failure

books torn up, flags and papers destroyed, and bits of skin, strands of hair and large puddles of blood could be seen in the courtyards. A priest from Z., for many years a member of the Nazis, was thought to be a Habbel because of the beard he had grown. The S. A. lugged him down from a street car and cut off his good Teuton beard.

Badly mangled proletarians were quartered with the insane. Their dependents were given to understand that they could get their release only upon signing a statement that they had not been maltreated....Workers put under "protective arrest" had to pay 2 Marks per day for "protection"....In the concentration camps—constant torture. Constant inquisitions. For food—mostly potatoes, to be peeled by hand. Any visitors allowed can see and speak to the prisoners only in the presence of Nazi attendants. In the evening the workers are made to stand at attention and to sing patriotic and Fascist songs, all under the threat of blackjacks. When the trade union headquarters and printshops were occupied, the social democratic workers were seized with panic. They had never

believed that Fascism would step right over their trade union headquarters. Among the Communist workers, many said: "Good for them. It won't hurt the swine." But these sentiments of hatred were soon overcome by feelings of being deserted and betrayed. Although the main guilt has to be ascribed to the social democratic leaders, many Communists also accuse their own leadership. Many say that it was necessary to talk less about united front and to do more about it. In a united front, they feel, concessions would have been made from both sides. But the leaders did not want this and now we have: misery. Others cuss and say: "Yes, the leaders could talk big; but now when it is becoming dangerous, they take the money and beat it out of the country". Work in the party has in some parts ceased altogether. The comrades avoid one another. Many think that Fascism will rule only for a short time and that then they will find each other again. Others are afraid because of the many who have gone over to the Nazis. As to the slogans ordered to be smeared over the walls like "The Red Front Fighters League Still Lives", and the distribution of leaflets calling for a general strike, many have a great aversion towards them and consider them as provocations, because they always accompanied with new persecutions.

## The Importance of the 6 Hour Day Slogan Under the N.I.R.A.

Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization of industry and the great swath which the crisis cut in employment, the organized labor movement in its larger part has turned toward the shorter work day as a means of absorbing into industry some part of the great army of unemployed.

The Socialist party and the A. F. of L. have officially gone on record for the six hour day, five day week. It goes without saying that the economic development of the United States makes possible not only a six hour day but even a shorter one.

The blanket code provides a thirty five and forty maximum hour week. Most of the codes submitted provide for forty hours. Thirty-five and forty hour maximum are stagger systems. They will not absorb the unemployed workers. The spokesmen for the electrical workers union stated that to absorb the unemployed in that trade an 11 hour maximum was necessary! On the other hand a forty hour maximum is an increase in hours in some trades.

The contradiction between the official position of organized labor and the labor provisions of the N. I. R. A. creates the condition for a struggle for a shorter day in the interest of the working class. But there is no struggle for the six hour day. Instead the labor fakery makes a pretense of opposing the hours stipulated in the various codes. Sidney Hillman appeared before the National Recovery Administration and attacked the forty hours demanded by the bosses on the ground that the average number of hours in the men's clothing industry in 1932 was a fraction over 37. To put men back to work he proposed 35! Others like John L. Lewis have come forward as the champions of the thirty hour week. They are of two kinds. Those that qualify the demand for the thirty hour week by stipulating a five day week or a six hour day are making demagogic use of the slogan to retain their leadership and their hold over their followers. Those who do not embellish their fakery with these qualifications are trying to put over a stagger system on the workers. For a maximum of thirty hours a week is not at all the six hour day, five day week. It may and most likely will be a three day week of ten hours.

The reasons for the absence of a militant struggle around the slogan of the six hour day, five day week are many. The A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucrats are not going to conduct struggles if they can avoid them. And they will lead those workers force upon them only to sell them out or steer them into channels as little harmful to the capitalist class as they can manage. The illusions sown by the NIRA also tend to keep the workers in a state of expectant and hopeful passivity.

But, deeper than these reasons lies the failure of the Communist party to give a correct analysis of the situation, to foresee the blows of the capitalist class and arm the workers with a correct policy and the correct slogans. The party's trade union policy isolated it from the organized working class movement. On the other hand from the beginning of the crisis the party staked its cards on the unemployed movement and attempted to build it as a movement separate and apart from the struggles of the class as a whole and the organized trade union movement. In pursuing this orientation it made unemployment insurance its central slogan. Later it added immediate relief. But at all times in this period it rejected the slogan of the six hour day five day week. In our thesis for our second na-

## Powerful Anti-Fascist Front in Chile

(Below is an appeal of the National Executive Council of the Anti-Fascist United Front in Chile issued to the workers of that country which can very well serve as a model to be followed by the revolutionary movements of the more advanced countries. This united front was organized at the initiative of the Left Opposition of Chile and the ideas that it advances are primarily those of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

"The working classes of Italy, Poland and Germany have felt the painful and bloody experience of Fascism. Workers: democrats, socialists, Alexanderists, Communists, anarchists or an other tendency—your elementary duty is to defend your family your wages, your class organizations and above all your right to life. Exploited comrades, against the feudal bourgeois united front of hunger, reaction, terror and war—strengthen the anti-Fascist united front wherever you work, build committees of struggles for your every day demands and against Fascism.

"The organization participating in the united front will hold preparatory meetings leading up to a great demonstration which will take place on July 1st.

"These are the objectives of the struggle of the Anti-Fascist front

"1. Dissolution and immediate disarmament of the republican militia.

"2. Abrogation of all repressive laws, full freedom of organization, press, to strike and assembly and amnesty for all political prisoners;

"3. For the six hour day, against the cutting of wages and for their proportionate increase to meet the needs of the working class.

"4. For better treatment and relief of the workers, the employees, the unemployed and their families.

"5. Abrogation of all taxes and tariffs on commodities of prime necessity.

"6. Put an end to the seizures of land from the peasants and Indians lower by 50 percent the taxes, the ground rents and the mortgages.

"This program is jointly signed by the following organizations:

"General Confederation of Workers,—Workers Federation of Chile,—Communist Left (Chilean Section of the I. L. O.),—Communist Party (Chilean Section of the C. I.),—Socialist party,—Students Federation,—General Association of Chilean Teachers,—I. W. W.—United Building Workers Committee—General Union of Cabinet Makers,—General Union of Bakers,—Employees Federation,—Leather Workers Union,—Tile Workers Union,—Carpenters Defensive Union,—Professional Tailors Union,—Young Communist Federation,—Founders Defensive Union."

ends and in the interests of the capitalists.

Serious struggles of the workers against the slavery which the NIRA will impose on them are ahead. If the party is going to discharge its duty toward the class it must break through its frightful sectarian isolation. At present it is travelling in the opposite direction. One of the first steps to change the course is a serious analysis of the past course and open admission that its policy on the shorter workday was false. Analyze like the bureaucratic white-wash of the Open Letter only make the confusion deeper. The party must adopt the slogan of the six hour day, five day week with increased pay and approach the A. F. of L. and the S. P. with a serious offer of a united front struggle for it. That is the road to defeat the attack which lies hidden in the wooden horse of the NIRA.

—T. STAMM.

On the other hand Powers, chairman of a delegation of workers in speaking on the shipbuilding code, demanded the six hour day, five day week (Daily Worker, July 24, 1933). And two days later the New York Times and the Daily Worker reported that Alex Noral of the Lumber Workers Union of the Northwest in speaking on the lumbermen's code, demanded "That the six hour day and five day week be established for the industry as a whole."

The lack of a correct policy by the Stalinists on the question of the shorter workday should be clear. In this respect the party can record only failure. The party is unable to influence the workers in their attitude toward the NIRA. It is seriously handicapped in exposing the fakery of its provisions. It has allowed the reformist and labor fakery to make capital out of the shorter work day for their own

# A Delegate Visits the Soviet Union

From the report of a foreign Communist, member of one of the May delegations which visited the U. S. S. R.

Reception at the station—music, the "Comintern" song (it is now being sung no less often than the Internationale), banners, dancing, pioneers, Comsomsols. At the same time, a crowd of more or less unconcerned onlookers, silent, passive, workers for the most part. Although I am joyfully moved by everything that is going on, I cannot overlook the difference between these two groups. One's attention is caught at once by the bad clothing; almost nobody has whole shoes. Those who are better dressed always have a briefcase in their hands. When we march in columns through the streets, with music and accompanied by enthusiastic Comsomsols—the same picture. Indifferent groups of people on the sidewalks, as far as I can see. One comrade tells us with indignation, "Trotzky is shown in a caricature next to Hitler!" Another says, "You simply cannot imagine how great the potential forces of the Opposition are". He says it in a half-regretful tone. Fear!

**Pessimism and Tiredness**  
A competent comrade, who works in the film industry, tells us that there has been no progress of late; the films have had to give up a great deal. The dominating tendency is: away from life, from reality; the public is also tired of "heavy" revolutionary subjects. "It is false to believe that slogans or directives come from above to this end; it is simply that pessimism and tiredness have accumulated among all, particularly the intelligentsia". And, after a brief interruption. "By the way, this reflects the economic situation". It was very difficult in the winter. Even the privileged foreigners received, for each two persons, eleven pounds of meat a month. The foreign worker is not able to stand the conditions under which the Russian worker has to work. Along with the fact that the Soviet Union had been painted to him as a Socialist paradise, it is not surprising that a number of workers and foremen who returned to Germany have joined the Fascists and are taking an active part in the struggle against Communism.

The difficulties of the newly-arrived foreign worker are especially enormous at the beginning. Only to secure his midday meal, he has to run for days from one office to another, from one organization to another. In general, one of the

## Outstanding Impression is Poverty of People and Long Queues

economic activity. The experience of the London Conference reinforces the Roosevelt policy of national concentration and mobilization, and at the same time indicates what its next phase will be. The policy in its full form is—to consolidate American capitalism nationally before proceeding to a new attack on Europe.

It is clear that this attack will take a wide variety of forms—financial, commercial, diplomatic, and military. Correspondingly the preparations for the attack cover a wide range—big navy program, reforestation camps, banking laws, railroad coordination, but above all, the NRA, the unparalleled agency of the capitalist State for the enslavement of the working class.

Roosevelt himself has let no opportunity pass to emphasize the connection between his program and the preparations for war. His inaugural speech openly asked for war-time powers; he linked up the reforestation camps with the army by putting the CCC (Civilian Conservation Camps) under the control of army officers, whose trade paper, the "Army and Navy Journal", boasts of the efficiency of the army in militarizing the untrained city youth; the one tangible result of the famous 3 billion-dollar "public works" program so far has been planning for the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars for armaments, tying up war preparations and the Roosevelt way out of the crisis in a very significant manner; and the Peace Boards now being organized under the NIRA are modeled on the War Labor Boards of Gompers, and say so openly. Even the administration of the NIRA is entrusted to a man who represents the double exploitation of the worker, as a capitalist and as an army man, General Hugh S. Johnson of the U. S. Army and the Moline Plow Co., a true representative of the double face of the Roosevelt program. The American eagle, holding the olive branch of class collaboration in one claw and the arrows of war in the other, is the genuine symbol of NIRA, not the inflated bluebird which decorates the grocery shops.

The closing of the London Conference, and the manner of its closing, constitute a milestone on the road toward the international conflagration toward which all this preparation and mobilization is pointing. No class-conscious worker ever had any illusions as to the possibilities of success of this effort to solve the contradictions of the capitalist world, in the agony of its world-wide crisis, by peace and mutual agreement. But now the demonstration has been made, the academic possibility of international understanding has been eliminated. War has been brought by that so much nearer.

Just as the capitalist class, and its executive committee, the State, in America recognize by their actions how closely the question of war is interwoven with the question of the issue out of the crisis, so must the American working class link its struggle against the NRA as a weapon of capitalist exploitation with its struggle against war. Against the class-collaborationism and social-patriotism of the bourgeois ideology which the ruling class is trying to force deeper into the ranks of the working class, with the help of reformist trade-unions and the Socialists, we must build up the working-class organizations of defense and offense, the militant trade union and the mass Communist party, posing the class demands: Higher wages and relief, the six-hour day and the five-day week, unemployment relief and unemployment insurance, the fight against Fascism and the fight against war.

—B. J. FIELD.

greatest difficulties in every kind of work is the red tape. It is still good where there is some initiative from below.

At the Marti shipbuilding plant in Leningrad, thanks to local initiative, a sanitary organization was created. The plant itself built the necessary apparatus, including complicated radiologic machinery. This fact, which shows the extent of local initiative, also shows the disorganization of economy. The production of this apparatus in a factory not designed for it naturally caused tenfold higher costs.

We were brought into a bourgeois hotel with orchestra, waiters in tail-coats, etc. An unpleasant contrast to real life. The hotel is intended for the use of foreigners, but the guests are for the most part Soviet and party officials.

### Poverty on Sidewalks

On the streets there is much poverty, many sidewalk vendors of matches and cigarettes many homeless people in rags, some as young as 15 to 18 years old. No one concerns himself with them. Even when they are taken away by the militia, they are released again in a day or two. Many peasants with bundles, and in rags, who have come on foot or by rail from the village, sit around on the steps, blocking the traffic with their bundles. They are waiting—for what?

Although I know the Russian language well, the interpreters and accompanying functionaries do not permit any contact with the "outside world". When one asks the interpreter, "Who are these people in rags?", he invariably answers, "Kulaks". A beggar approached our group! "What did he ask?" "He asked me to show him the way", the interpreter answered. Another poor fellow comes along. A woman interpreter steps up to him, takes his hand, and draws him aside. She is putting on a performance of "Meeting the acquaintance". We, who came along as a front, understood this and were seized by a deep feeling of shame. We did not look at each other.

In Moscow there is more life than in Leningrad, and living is easier. The people are better dressed, and the shops are not so poverty-stricken. But hours before they open there are enormously long lines standing before them. I saw such lines a hundred yards in length and more. The biggest lines are in front of the shops that sell bread without cards.

### No Admittance

In Leningrad we wanted to visit the Putilov Works. On the excuse that part of the delegation was tired, this was refused us. The real reason for the refusal was as follows: The Putilov Works were for a time the scene of constant visits. A number of incidents took place. The Putilov workers saw many foreign delegates, who came from capitalist countries, well dressed, well fed. Pointing out that they were more poorly dressed and ill-fed, they put corresponding questions to the foreigners.

The show windows are poor and dirty. Many portraits of Lenin and of Stalin, more of Stalin than of Lenin. One of my acquaintances, a German Communist who has been working a long time in Russia, tells me, "Do you know, there are many people here who have no love for Stalin, there are very many for whom it is better not to speak of Stalin at all. But Lenin is holy, he cannot be touched...."

## Why They All Climb On N.R.A. Bandwagon

1. The bankers support the NRA by agreeing to loan more money to obtain more interest.
2. The manufacturers agree to support the NRA by producing more commodities to obtain more industrial profits.
3. The wholesalers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities to obtain more commercial profits.
4. The retailers agree to support the NRA by selling more commodities at higher prices to obtain more profits.
5. The landlords agree to support the NRA by renting more property to obtain increased rents.
6. The government, the state as the executive committee of the capitalist class passed the NRA in an attempt to save a sick and tottering capitalist system, to establish a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the workers, to eliminate the small producers, and to prepare for a greater international struggle.
7. The labor leaders support the NRA, because they are agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class.
8. The farmers will support the NRA if they can obtain higher prices for their products—so they can pay the bankers the money they owe them.
9. The workers—? If they don't support the NRA they are unpatriotic, if they strike they will be outlawed. The workers are asked to support the NRA to enable the capitalist to get out of their backs—in order to compete with the other imperialists on the world market.

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