Movement Towards Unity Against Fascism Grows

though not a word about it is to be almost surely become revolution. seen in the pages of the bourgeois press. Its correspondents and reporters have been ordered by the doesn't exist, while at the same time more and more police and shock troops are sent out from the capital to enforce the illusion with leaden arguments. Our correspondent reports that to date, seven hundred Civil Guards have been killed ---which means that the workers are on the offensive, and in a grimly determined, though disorganized way, are putting up a fight that may become the first step of a serious struggle for definitive power.

The strike, called by the Land Workers' Federation of the Socialist Union General de Trabajadores, demands the return of the rights abrogated by the cancellation of reformist land laws passed by the Azana-Socialist government. The gist of these rights are: 1, collective bargainin: 2, fixed wages and hours; and 3, the employment of local, organized labor in preference to transient immigrant labor, either from other egions or from Portugal. This last practise has for many years allowed the landowners to maneuver the work in such a way as to shift the cheapest labor from region to region, at the same time shifting responsibility for the workers in off seasons. Since, as a rule, a land worker can expect a job not more than six or eight months out of the year, unemployment is chronic, and no provision whatsoever has ever been made for relief; and now the quite minimum protection contained in the land labor laws has been completely done away with, this being the backbone of a general reactionary offensive backed first and most powerfully by the landowners, whose two parties, the Agrarios and the Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Agrarias dominate the present Cortes.

Catalonian Land Laws As part of this same offensive, the land reforms voted in Catalonia its familiar cross-fire of "united tween Roehm and Schleicher. Not by the autonomous government, un- front from below", which is echoed because they were not personally der left-republican control, have by the anarchists with the slogan inclined to conclude a compromise. the National Tribunal of Constitu- And the Izquierda Comunista, (In- ed two opposing social orientations, Italy. As such it reviews the past ing section. tional Guarantees—mostly of mon-ternationalist Communist) while it two opposing social forces. If archist derivation. The Catalonian has grown considerably since it Schleicher's struggle had any signilaws provide reforms of another dissociated itself from the C. P., ficance at all then it must have character than those sponsored na- and though it enjoys widespread been a struggle for the absolute tionally by the Socialists. They prestige and commands respect, is domination of the Reichswehr. And are designed to protect peasant still too small and too weak to take Roehm's "second revolution" could renters, who by these laws are en- the leadership of the situation. titled to demand revision of contracts, expropriation (with arbi- like ferment in the shaping of the Reichswehr. His "second revolutrated pay) of land worked by the Workers' Alliance, looked upon by tion" was a struggle for the spoils fixed according to the tax-value of liance, started in Barcelonia, is an the land, instead of in crops as organization of united-front comformerly; it is not to exceed fifty percent of the price paid before, analogous to soviets, and has arand must always allow first for a oused so much interest and sympa-

in Catalonia are peasant-renters, pressure from below, it has taken Herren clique: Alversleben, Bose, who form the majority of the popu- shape in some cases, locally, elselation, and are also the strongest political base of the Catalan government, it has apparently defied is, all workers' organizations ex- the S.A., he would have seized at Madrid, re-passing the laws with a cept the C. P. are represented in it with unmitigated joy. He would in Italy is derived from consumpretroactive character - though it, and sometimes the C. P. too is meanwhile it begs the peasants and forced to take part in some specific workers not to take direct action, but to wait for orders. The peasants, however, have started carrying the laws out in their own way -expropriating the crops, while the successful strike was called out recity petty-bourgeoisie supports them | cently on a Workers' Alliance basis. on the issue of Catalan rights, for Given a national scope, this organwhich the industrial workers too ization would unquestionably raise are ready to fight. Thus potential- the morale of the entire working ly, another kind of civil war waits class, and give it a powerful fighton the threshold. Ships have been ing weapon. It is this that must ordered to the ports nearest Barce- be watched-for on it depends, to lona, the Catalan deputies have re- a tremendous degree, and until a tired from the national parliament, revolutionary party takes leaderand each side waits for the other ship the triumph or defeat of revto break the grim deadlock-both olution in Spain.

Conflict almost to the point of governments hoping to smooth matcivil war is now raging in Spain, ters over because such a war would

"We are almost surely at the doors of either triumphant revolution or a Catholic Fascist dictatorleactionary Spanish government to ship," our correspondent writes. ignore the national agricultural "Spain is living the most crucial workers' strike-on pain of heavy moments of her modern history." that it brings about instead an exfines --- and the government itself The objective conditions for revolu- treme accentuation of the class takes the position that the strike tion are present: the workers in a struggle, a government of degener- ing of the Reichstag-to extermin- Brown Shirts passing in review but mood no longer willing to compro- ates, rakes and criminals as well as ate every possible bit of opposition mise, the army sympathetic to the abject material misery. workers, and no formidable armed force that can be relied upon to support the Right. On the other ly among all layers of the German hand, the workers are handicapped people. Fascism was in reality unby two serious factors. One, fat- able to placate any of them, but igue, after three years of ceaseless, heroic struggle involving a good deal of loss, both organizationally it did no one was able to foresee sible on the basis of the informaand by death and repression. Two, clearly. and this is the pivot of the question, the workers are confused, bewildered, split into conflicting groups and parties, and with no real faith in the revolutionary will of any.

> The Socialists, who control the great mass of organized workers (at renkiub clique of Papen and Schleileast a million) have been agitating for out-and-out revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and no more for the extraordinary courage of combination with the bourgeoisie, Papen in his famous Marburg but have done nothing whatsoever speech. concrete in that direction; while at the same time they continue their alliance with the left-republicans, endorse, but avoid, united front action, and merely "deplore" and "lament" their loss every time a So- the actual creator of the Nazi party, cialist mayor is removed arbitrarily Ernst Roehm. from office. In reality they are working hard to bring back the left-republican forces, talking revolution only in order to keep the workers under control - as the workers by this time are beginning poly of the armed forces. The "loyto realize.

one time were the great driving ator of the Reichswehr forces, revolutionary force in Spain, have become much weakened and disorganized because of irresponsible putsches and revolts under terrorist leadership. They, too, sidestep the united front question, calling for a "united front within the C.N.T."the Anarcho-Syndicalist trade-union federation. The official Communist Party fights the united front with been declared "unconstitutional" by of "united front in the streets". But rather because they represent-

same hands for eighteen years or most Spanish workers as their most over; rent is to be paid in cash, immediate hope. The Workers' Almittees. It operates in a manner thy among the workers throughout huber. At the same time he also Since most of the land-workers the country that through sheer where, regionally, and sometimes only for given strikes. In Catalon- the assassination of Schleicher to action. The same conditions are true of Valencia and parts of Extremadura and Castile. In the city of Zaragoza, an overwhelmingly

An Appeal for Our Cuban Comrades

In the series of rearguard battles the uniformed brigand Batista? The hysteric Hitler is capable of being waged in Cuba by the work- The answer to these questions will skillful intrigues, he can cover up ing class, the Bolshevik Leninist Party is very active. While not supplied with unlimited funds as are the Stalinists, our comrades party is able to bring sufficient are deeply rooted in the unions, es- pressure to bear within the labor pecially in the sugar industry and movement. The party organization among the commercial employees. must be strengthened, tightened

One of the most solid labor organizations of the island, the General Union of Commercial Employees with a membership of 7,000, publishes a 24 page magazine, "Proletarian Culture" which contains a number of valuable informative and theoretical articles including in the last issue one by Comrade Trotsky.

through the Commercial Employees Comrades and sympathizers are relike to appear as a Robespierre To sum up the picture of Fascism is but the result of the ex-Union is striving for the establish- quested to send their contributions sending a Danton and a Hebert to in Italy ever since its inception we treme convulsions of our epoch, and engaged in building the League in ment of trade union unity in a to the National Office, 144 Second the guillotine but in reality he is find that the workers are the most that it will install itself, despite all Minneapolis, in Detroit and on the Workers' Alliance.

the National Confederation of La- they wish them. Every contribu- has taken upon himself the reform- that the arts and sciences are in the old parties have proved them. of The Militant and to establish the bor, be forced into a united front tion to the work of the Cuban Boling of the reprobates. The recent decay, that higher education is alselves incapable of leading it—does here in a solid front shevik Leninist Party is a blow days have shown that Fascism has most non-existent and that all that not lead society towards the only monthly publication. of labor be organized in time to dealt at American imperialism. prevent a Fascist coup by the A. B. C. and further repressions by

depend to a great extent on whether or not the Bolshevik Leninist the Party congress to be held soon, for organization purposes and for labor defense. The Cuban comrades have appealed to the Communist League of America for support. The intense activity and difficult struggles they have passed through during the revolutionary period have drained practically every local source of funds, and it has been The Bolshevik Leninist Party necessary for them to appeal to us. and bloodhounds. Hitler would of the country. Can the Stalinists, who dominate may also obtain collection lists if Al Hitler, the cousin of Al Capone, middle class is taxed to starvation, unless armed with a new party, for spared to increase the circulation

GERMAN FASCISM **UNMASKED**

Fascism promises the abolition | les, must be the envy of any leader | in a very simple manner: On the of the class struggle, clean govern- of a Macedonian band. ment and material prosperity. In the last three days German Fascism has demonstrated before the whole world in unmistakable terms

What happened? For months dissatisfaction developed increasing-

Discontent on Two Sides

The spirit of dissatisfaction crystallized around two poles. Hitler faced putsches from two sides. The dissatisfaction of a section of heavy industry and, especially of the Junkers, was canatized by the Hercher who counted upon the support of the Reichswehr. That accounts

The dissatisfaction of the petty bourgeoisie, who had received nothing and were even endangered by removal from their positions took

In view of the impending danger Hitler compromised with the Reichswehr. Hitler, "the loyal", made them a sacraficial gift of his friends and gave them the monoal" Reichswehr generals, returning The Anarcho-Syndicalists, who at the favor, betrayed the actual cre-Schleicher and his clique. And then the deed was done with the benediction of heavy industry.

> Rochm-Schleicher Combine Impossible

Hitler and Goering are today creating one of those famous "amalgams" from these two oppositional groups but all the facts point to the impossibility of common action behave been nothing but a struggle Yet this is the group which acts for the final subordination of the

of the petty bourgeois parvenues. The second version-that Hitler avenged Schleicher with the heads of the S.A.—is no less contradicted by the facts. For Hitler did not only exterminate the leadership of the S.A.: Heines, Ernst, Schneidslaughtered the Papen-Schleicher Klausener. If he had had the slightest opportunity to attribute never have had to take it upon his tion (sales) taxes—taxes levied on own shoulders.

The Hitler-Goebbels Legend and the "left" wing of Fascism was the upper strata of society supplies conducted by the police, the Reichswehr and the socially select, black shirted elite troops of Hitler and Goering, the semi-government S.S. forces. There is hardly a doubt left that it was conducted along preventive lines. The victory of Goering in the North and of Hitler in the South was achieved too smoothly. People like Roehm, wounded fourteen times on the battlefield, are not captured alive, nor with such insignificant losses, once they have begun the struggle. All the stories of Hitler and Goebbels about the execution of the coup must be considered as pure legend. his atrocities with clouds of stifling

The Struggle for "Morality" Hitler, knowing his German philistines, conducts the struggle in the name of "morality". Of course the victims were sexually abnor-

Our information is still inadeworking class apepars to have remained removed from the events. (Only because of this situation was that this situation would culminate The explanation of the passivity of

an inner-Fascist conflict possible.) with the dramatic explosions that the working class is not yet posevents, shows that they are better and more rapidly informed than those who are under the thumb of Gocbbels' censorship.)

The fact that the murder of butchers like Heines as well as the sharpers of the Herrenklub did not evoke any sympathy among the workers is not an adequate explanation. The explanation of the tragic and painful fact that in face of such a conflict in the enemy camp the working class should be so far removed from intervening to strugfollowing: the defeat without a shape in the form of the S.A. and struggle caused by the bankruptcy of the Socialist and Communist parties has demoralized the proletariat to such a point, so deprived it of all serious organization, that this proletariat could not intervene however favorable the moment might be.

How Long Will Hitler Last?

For the moment Hitler appears to be the master of the situation. But for how long? And how? Two photographs which were reproduced in the world press illustrate that

In Mussolini's

That technically impeccable journal of "objective" bourgeois opinion—Fortune—devotes the con tents of its entire July issue to sie is a bad exchange for the fighttwelve years-the era of Fascist dictatorship in Italy. What it finds there is not entirely unpalatable to the taste of its editors or advertisers. But that's to be expected. How will the working class and the little business man react to the following:

1) 14,000 bankrupteles during 1933, mostly of small business. 2) The national income has dropped since 1929 from 100 bil-

lions to 75 billion lire. 3) State and local taxes have increased from 27% to 32% of na-

4) The average wage for a worker in Italy is eight (8) cents an

tional income.

5) This is the lowest wage scale

in Europe. Taxes on Necessities

Almost half of the total revenue the most elementary needs of the Italian masses. The income tax The struggle against the "right" which, of necessity, is gotten from only 20% of the revenue. In fact, in that portion of the article deal-

> that income tax in the higher brackets-"is a mild drain on the wealthy in comparison with other nations." That a government exacting a 'mild drain from the wealthy" and inflicting an eight cent hourly wage on its laboring class can hardly be

> construed as impartial never, ap-

parently, entered the refined skulls

ing with finances it is pointed out

of the immaculate editors. With impartial unction it is pointed out that strikes are prohibited-but so are lockouts. Now there, what could be fairer than that, Only this is forgotten-that unemployment-which is but a subtle form of lockout—is not prohi-

Culture Under Fascism

What does Mussolini preach?: -"the fruitful and unassailable inequality of men." The transform-In Havana province, the Labor and consolidated. Rayo, the party mal; of course they led a life of ing of women from human beings to Federation is led by Bolshevik organ, must be assured of the pos- debachery at the expense of a incubating machines. Culture insibility of regular publication. Re- starved people; of course, the deed! Divide and multiply like sources must be made available for Roehms, Heines, Ernsts were bloody rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to powerful blow. These have already butchers who have on their con- women. Bear kids so that they had their consequences on the Saar. science the lives of thousands of can be reared to become obedient | The international working class our brothers. But who are their and bloodthirsty tools of Fascism. should exploit the lessons of these accusers? Those who were their The Ballila, ages 8 to 14, are issued events in the entire world by exbest friends despite knowledge of real rifles and bayonets in minia- plaining that Fascism does not all these vices for fifteen years! ture. The city of Milan spends mean peace and well-being but etrate the masses a medium is re-Who are their accusers? Hitler, more for its police than for prim- crime, murder, misery to an ex-Goering and their pack of dogs, ary education. And in all of Italy treme degree. Basing themselves on posal and will become more effecfirebrands, drunkards, rakes, per- there were last year but 47,000 these facts they should beat down tive as we succeed in building the verts, bullies, neurotics, traitors students attending the universities the Fascist bands. But it is nec. League. To make it more effective

Ave., N. Y. C., from which they the leader of a mob of gangsters. poorly paid in the world, that the these "lessons" if the proletariat- Pacific Coast. No efforts are being

30th of January Hitler returns the salutes of the upraised arms of the quate. But what is revealed is an Brown Shirts passing under his unequalled slaughter. Mixing the window rendering him homage. useful with the agreeable, the sad- Hitler, June 30, 1934: The same ist Goering profits by the occasion window, the same Hitler, the same -as he did at the time of the burn- salute. But outside are not the the Reichswehr, with their iron in a veritable St. Bartholomews helmets and rifles on their shoul-Night. In the midst of all this the ders. And behind Hitler is General von Litzmann.

Italy and Germany

The transformation, that we have

predicted, from the Hitlerite Fascism to Bonapartist dictatorship of the state apparatus and especially tion at hand. (The first letters of of the army has not only occurred our German friends, dated after the more rapidly than in Italy (corresponding to the German rhythm of development which is decidedly different from the Italian developmanner and with an incomparably less stable perspective in the economically most developed country of Europe, as against backward ltaly. If the rapidity of rhythm and the different perspective are due to the great difference of social or victory in one or several pro- that whatever integrity there is structure, the sanguinary side of vinces. We, the Bolshevik-Leninthe convulsions are explained in ists, have frequently and openly it rests in the lower ranks. The large part by the extremely accengle for its rights, can only be the tuated economic situation, which Hitler faces instead of the prosperity which favored Mussolini, and which has created an enormous pressure of class forces and a veritably desperate situation.

Up till now it has only been the upper layers which reflected the class contradictions which have entered into the struggle. Tomorrow when the devil finally overcomes his disgust and claims Hindenburg, the contradictions from above will break out anew. And other occasions will not be wanting. It is true that the top layers have become more restrained and more uniform. But in return the regime has registered heavy losses in its base. It is true that with the struggle against the S.A., rotten with corruption, Hitler has generated not a little enthusiasm among the philistines and he has justified the excuse in the eyes of many discontented: "If Hitler knew he that the Stalinist peasant policy is would have intervened." But the following a disastrous road. moral" part of the petty bourge

Petty Bourgeois Discontent

normal sexual relations will have ited to the rigid confines outlined the Kuomintang. The question is long the friends of the "immoral". pulsion is the price of the slightest represents the workers or not and number of irreconcilable enemies into the party apparatus who bow against the Junkers, its Steel Helmets and its cousins of the Reichswehr, has not yet pronounced its

threatened with new reprisals from the state apparatus of Goering on eaucrats, perform the most amazing received reports from the Nanking the one hand and by brutal attacks contortions with the most graceful and Shanghai prisons that some of by the bosses on the other. But it skill at every new zig-zag and work our bravest militants have died of can be predicted that in these at- their way into the good graces of tortures inflicted by the prison autacks and in the next crisis of the this perspicacious leadership. The thorities. There are many more regime things will happen differently. For the ring of iron with which the S.A. have surrounded the factories, the home, the saloons and the working class families has been broken. And no police in the world can replace this truly popular class. Although we do not give ourselves to any illusions on approaching struggles for power of the German working class-for it is deeply beaten, shattered, disorganized-one thing is certain. The next period offers it great possibilities to reconquer its lost positions. Everything depends on the degree in which the German working class knows how to forge a real Communist Party in place of the organizations which have failed yesterday. Not a few black days are ahead of Hitler. For not only the social but also the economic and political consequences of the new developments add to the old difficulties facing the moment. To bring our press to

A Priceless Lesson

The international working class has received a priceless lesson. International Fascism has received a

essary that it does not forget that we have sent several organizers in t American imperialism.

Latin American Dept. of the National Committee.

put at the head of one of the most fascism inculcates in the minds of solution possible, towards the taking of power, towards socialism.

Paris, July 2, 1984.

This is the way we have proceed-like way we have proceed-like

China

Terror and Capitulation Grip Worker's Ranks

and its imperialist masters. The alarming danger.

I am devoting this letter to information on the following most important questions: the "soviet territory", the bureaucratic regime and the renegades from Communism as well as the Stalinists at work in the Labor Defense Association (the Chinese I.L.D.).

I wish to state firstly that everything written in this letter is based on authentic facts. As I am now a member of the Stalinist L.D.A. ment), but in a more dramatic my daily work gives me an opportunity to draw an accurate picture of the Stalinists in China.

The "Soviet Territory"

1. It is four years now that the Stalinists have been shouting at the top of their voices about conquest up the city workers and seeking revolutionary cadres in the village. The Stalinists stand Marxism on its head-not the peasants following the proletariat but leading them. Four years have passed and the peasant partisans still remain in the same condition, sometimes with more and sometimes with less territory. One section of the peasant partisans led by Hsieng-tsien from the border of the Honan, Hupei and Anwhei provinces to the border of Shansi, Kansu and Szecha big advance last year but they were unable to occupy even Wanhsien, the second important part on the upper Yangste valley. At present they have suffered severe defeats and have made no further steps forward. All this is not said to prove that the peasant partisans Internal "Life" 2. Mistakes in principle ques-

tions, impotence in the political life of the country accompanied by dishonest methods in the party the fact that a trade union cannot And besides this "moral" part cause the Stalinist bureaucrats to exist legally without a mass founwill have to pay the same taxes to- refuse to acknowledge their errors dation. While, on the contrary, the morrow. Will have to suffer the and to constantly seek "scape-goats" same bankruptcy and instead of be- at every turn in the road. Expres- ist as a struggling organization ing satisfied with the apostle of sion of opinion in the party is lim- even if it is not given permission by their doubts on those who were so by the bureaucracy. Immediate ex- determined upon whether the union With the difficulties to come Hitler doubt. Words cannot express the not on its legality or illegality. But can no longer count on any extend- venomous hate the Stalinists dised support from the petty bourgeoi- play against the International Comsie, but rather on an important munists. Only those are permitted ox", as the Chinese proverb says. from its ranks. The S.A. which had to the bureaucracy in utter obsegrown campaigning in the struggle quiousness. Militancy and integrity ers has jumped skyward in recent count for nothing with them.

This stifiling regime opens the door for spies, adventurers and government agents of every descrip-The working class is directly tion to enter the leading apparatus conditions are somewhat better of the party. They flatter the bur- than they were previously I have results are not unexpected:

Yen, the chairman of the Shang- China but if help from the outside hai Union of Labor (an illegal red could manage to reach the impristrade union controlled by the C.P.) oned comrades many fatalities had been a spy for more than six might be avoided.

Shanghai, June 20. - Much has mouths. Through his nefarious happened since my last letter. Al- work a few score of militant comthough many important events rades were arrested by the police. have taken place throughout the Zee, secretary of the Chapei Disworld the revolutionary movement trict Committee, was a spy for in China remains in much the more than a year but the bureausame condition. The official cracy was ignorant of the fact. Communist party and the Left Rank and file comrades, dissatisfied Opposition have suffered savage with his activities, were rebuffed by repressions from the Kuomintang the bureaucracy when they demanded his removal. It took the Stalinparty led by the Stalinists faces an ists a long time to discover on whose side the error had been.

Significant Figures

Besides the spies who work in cooperation with the police there are those who turn renegade after arrest. If we express these facts in percentage the number of turncoats and spies in the upper and lower ranks of the party is as follows: From 1932 to June 1933, 75% of these were spics, including among them Lu Fu-tai, Chairman of the National Union of Labor and Chon Kwang-ia, secretary of the Klangsu Provincial Committee. while the renegades after arrest numbered from 25 to 35%. From June 1933 to the Fall of 1933 the former was 80% and the latter 20%. In these figures can be seen among the members of this party criticized the party policy in giving monstrous size of the upper category shows that our accusation that the Stalinists have betrayed comrades to the police is not at all unlikely.

The Economic Crisis

3. The economic crisis is deepening day by day. Capitalist exploitation of labor in China is more terrible than ever. Despite the savage white terror of the Kuomintang has changed its field of operations Blue Shirt Society (Fascists) the Chinese workers still rise time and again for improvement of their living conditions. During the strugwan provinces. This section made gle in the Shun Sin Seventh Cotton Mill in the Fall of 1933 and the strike against a wage cut in the Shanghai Mei-ia Silk weaving factory in January-February 1934 the workers automatically demanded legal trade unions and wanted to organize an open strike committee. But the Stalinists objected and held are not brave fighters but rather that the workers organizations must be secretly organized or they will face prohibition by the police since they had not registered as a

> The Stalinists are ignorant of to try to convince the Stalinists of this is like "playing a harp to an Under the reign of white terror the number of political prisonyears. In Kiangsu (including Shanghai), in the latter half of 1932 and at the close of 1933 the number had risen to 2,000. Although prison such tragedies in every part of

movement against the working Make the Org-Press Drive a Success

In the great events now taking | big task for ourselves, and we have place in various parts of the coun- done that because we count upon try our organization is playing an your support. We can report an ever more direct and definite role. excellent response so far to our ap-This is the beginning to a new ad- peals for the organization and press vance. A revolutionary organization is built in the fire of the class successful conclusion, as successful struggle and it is in that sense that the League assumes its present

We are on the way to new gains; but the job ahead is still an enor

The building and strengthening of the League is the crying need of ever wider circles has become an indispensable necessity. It is in that way that our views, our policy will win new supporters and become a greater influence. It is in that way that our organization and its symiathizers become a more active and a more vital force in the

Ideas become a power when they penetrate the masses. But to per quired. This medium is at our dis-

campaign. If we can bring it to a as it has started, there need not be the slightest doubt that new and great gains will be recorded for the League, for the views we represent, for the development of the new revolutionary party and for the strengthening of the labor movement as a whole. Additional quick response is im-

perative. Will you help us finish the job? Will you do your share in the organization and press campaign? We count upon you. Funds Received in the Organization

and Press Campaign.

(omes must report)
J. P., Chicago\$ 1.00
H. S., Hutchinson 1.00
M. M., N.Y.C 15.00
Student, West Haven 1.00
A. Konikow, Boston 15.00
C. Hoffman, Chicago 1.00
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