

Spain

Movement Towards Unity Against Fascism Grows

Conflict almost to the point of civil war is now raging in Spain, though not a word about it is to be seen in the pages of the bourgeois press.

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.

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Catalonian Land Laws As part of this same offensive, the land reforms voted in Catalonia by the autonomous government, under left-republican control, have been declared "unconstitutional" by the National Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees—mostly of monarchist derivation.

Since most of the land-workers in Catalonia are peasant-renters, who form the majority of the population, and are also the strongest political base of the Catalan government, it has apparently defied Madrid, re-passing the laws with a retroactive character—though meanwhile it begs the peasants and workers not to take direct action, but to wait for orders.

An Appeal for Our Cuban Comrades

In the series of rearguard battles being waged in Cuba by the working class, the Bolshevik Leninist Party is very active. While not supplied with unlimited funds as are the Stalinists, our comrades are deeply rooted in the unions, especially in the sugar industry and among the commercial employees.

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.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party through the Commercial Employees Union is striving for the establishment of trade union unity in a Workers' Alliance.

Can the Stalinists, who dominate the National Confederation of Labor, be forced into a united front against Fascism? Can a solid front of labor be organized in time to prevent a Fascist coup by the A. B. C. and further repressions by

governments hoping to smooth matters over because such a war would almost surely become revolution.

"We are almost surely at the doors of either triumphant revolution or a Catholic Fascist dictatorship," our correspondent writes. "Spain is living the most crucial moments of her modern history."

The objective conditions for revolution are present: the workers in a mood no longer willing to compromise, the army sympathetic to the workers, and no formidable armed force that can be relied upon to support the Right.

The Socialists, who control the great mass of organized workers (at least a million) have been agitating for out-and-out revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and no more combination with the bourgeoisie, but have done nothing whatsoever concrete in that direction.

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Yet this is the group which acts like ferment in the shaping of the Workers' Alliance, looked upon by most Spanish workers as their most immediate hope. The Workers' Alliance, started in Barcelona, is an organization of united-front committees. It operates in a manner analogous to soviets, and has aroused so much interest and sympathy among the workers throughout the country that through sheer pressure from below, it has taken shape in some cases, locally, elsewhere, regionally, and sometimes only for given strikes.

The struggle against the "right" and the "left" wing of Fascism was 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 Struggle for "Morality"

Hitler, knowing his German philistines, conducts the struggle in the name of "morality." Of course the victims were sexually abnormal; of course they led a life of debauchery at the expense of a starved people; of course, the Roehms, Heines, Ernsts were bloody butchers who have on their conscience the lives of thousands of our brothers.

Who are their accusers? Hitler, Goering and their pack of dogs, frebrands, drunkards, rakes, perverts, bullies, neurotics, traitors and bloodhounds. Hitler would like to appear as a Robespierre sending a Danton and a Hebert to the guillotine but in reality he is the leader of a mob of gangsters. Al Hitler, the cousin of Al Capone, has taken upon himself the reforming of the reprobates. The recent days have shown that Fascism has put at the head of one of the most advanced nations in the world a band which, for its want of scrup-

GERMAN FASCISM UNMASKED

Fascism promises the abolition of the class struggle, clean government and material prosperity. In the last three days German Fascism has demonstrated before the whole world in unmistakable terms that it brings about instead an extreme accentuation of the class struggle, a government of degenerates, rakes and criminals as well as abject material misery.

What happened? For months dissatisfaction developed increasingly among all layers of the German people. Fascism was in reality unable to placate any of them, but that this situation would culminate with the dramatic explosions that it did no one was able to foresee clearly.

The spirit of dissatisfaction crystallized around two poles. Hitler faced putches from two sides. The dissatisfaction of a section of heavy industry and, especially of the Junkers, was canalized by the Herrenklub clique of Papen and Schleicher who counted upon the support of the Reichswehr.

The dissatisfaction of the petty bourgeoisie, who had received nothing and were even endangered by removal from their positions took shape in the form of the S.A. and the actual creator of the Nazi party, Ernst Roehm.

In view of the impending danger Hitler compromised with the Reichswehr. Hitler, "the loyal", made them a sacrificial gift of his friends and gave them the monopoly of the armed forces. The "loyal" Reichswehr generals, turning the favor, betrayed the actual creator of the Reichswehr forces, Schleicher and his clique. And then the deed was done with the benediction of heavy industry.

Roehm-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 between Roehm and Schleicher. Not because they were not personally inclined to conclude a compromise. But rather because they represented two opposing social orientations, two opposing social forces.

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, Schneiderhuber. At the same time he also slaughtered the Papen-Schleicher Herren clique: Alversleben, Bose, Klausener. If he had had the slightest opportunity to attribute the assassination of Schleicher to the S.A., he would have seized at it with unmitigated joy.

The Hitler-Goebbels Legend

The struggle against the "right" and the "left" wing of Fascism was 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.

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Culture Under Fascism

What does Mussolini preach?—"the fruitful and unassailable inequality of men." The transforming of women from human beings to incubating machines. Culture indeed! Divide and multiply like rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to women. Bear kids so that they can be reared to become obedient and bloodthirsty tools of Fascism.

To sum up the picture of Fascism in Italy ever since its inception we find that the workers are the most poorly paid in the world, that the middle class is taxed to starvation, that the arts and sciences are in decay, that higher education is almost non-existent and that all that Fascism inculcates in the minds of the masses is obedience and slavishness.

les, must be the envy of any leader of a Macedonian band.

Our information is still inadequate. But what is revealed is an unequalled slaughter. Mixing the useful with the agreeable, the sadist Goering profits by the occasion—as he did at the time of the burning of the Reichstag—to exterminate every possible bit of opposition in a veritable St. Bartholomew's Night. In the midst of all this the working class appears to have remained removed from the events.

The fact that the murder of butchers like Heines as well as the sharpeners 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 struggle for its rights, can only be the following: the defeat without a 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 "Paradise"

That technically impeccable journal of "objective" bourgeois opinion—Fortune—devotes the contents of its entire July issue to Italy. As such it reviews the past twelve 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 bankruptcies during 1933, mostly of small business.
2) The national income has dropped since 1929 from 100 billions to 75 billion lire.
3) State and local taxes have increased from 27% to 32% of national income.
4) The average wage for a worker in Italy is eight (8) cents an hour.
5) This is the lowest wage scale in Europe.

Almost half of the total revenue in Italy is derived from consumption (sales) taxes—taxes levied on the most elementary needs of the Italian masses. The income tax which, of necessity, is gotten from the upper strata of society supplies only 20% of the revenue. In fact, in that portion of the article dealing with finances it is pointed out that income tax in the higher brackets—"is a mild drain on the wealthy in comparison with other nations."

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in a very simple manner: On the 30th of January Hitler returns the salutes of the upraised arms of the Brown Shirts passing under his window rendering him homage. Hitler, June 30, 1934: The same window, the same Hitler, the same salute. But outside are not the Brown Shirts passing in review but the Reichswehr, with their iron helmets and rifles on their shoulders. 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 of the army has not only occurred more rapidly than in Italy (corresponding to the German rhythm of development which is decidedly different from the Italian development), but in a more dramatic manner and with an incomparably less stable perspective in the economically most developed country of Europe, as against backward Italy. If the rapidity of rhythm and the different perspective are due to the great difference of social structure, the sanguinary side of the convulsions are explained in large part by the extremely accentuated 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 has justified the excuse in the eyes of many discontented: "If Hitler knew he would have intervened." But the "moral" part of the petty bourgeoisie is a bad exchange for the fighting section.

Petty Bourgeois Discontent

And besides this "moral" part will have to pay the same taxes tomorrow. Will have to suffer the same bankruptcy and instead of being satisfied with the apostle of normal sexual relations will have their doubts on those who were so long the friends of the "immoral." With the difficulties to come Hitler can no longer count on any extended support from the petty bourgeoisie, but rather on an important number of irreconcilable enemies from its ranks. The S.A. which had grown campaigning in the struggle against the Junkers, its Steel Helms and its cousins of the Reichswehr, has not yet pronounced its last word.

The working class is directly threatened with new reprisals from the state apparatus of Goering on the one hand and by brutal attacks by the bosses on the other. But it can be predicted that in these attacks and in the next crisis of the 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 movement against the working 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 him.

A Priceless Lesson

The international working class has received a priceless lesson. International Fascism has received a powerful blow. These have already had their consequences on the Saar. The international working class should exploit the lessons of these events in the entire world by explaining that Fascism does not mean peace and well-being but crime, murder, misery to an extreme degree. Basing themselves on these facts they should beat down the Fascist bands. But it is necessary that it does not forget that Fascism is but the result of the extreme convulsions of our epoch, and that it will install itself, despite all these "lessons" if the proletariat—unless armed with a new party, for the old parties have proved themselves incapable of leading it—does not lead society towards the only solution possible, towards the taking of power, towards socialism. Paris, July 2, 1934. —E. B.

China

Terror and Capitulation Grip Worker's Ranks

Shanghai, June 20.—Much has happened since my last letter. Although many important events have taken place throughout the world the revolutionary movement in China remains in much the same condition. The official Communist party and the Left Opposition have suffered savage repressions from the Kuomintang and its imperialist masters. The party led by the Stalinists faces an 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. 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 or victory in one or several provinces. We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, have frequently and openly criticized the party policy in giving 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-tsiun has changed its field of operations from the border of the Honan, Hupel and Anwei provinces to the border of Shanxi, Kansu and Szechwan provinces. This section made a big advance last year but they were unable to occupy even Wanhshien, the second important part on the upper Yangtze 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 are not brave fighters but rather that the Stalinist peasant policy is following a disastrous road.

Internal "Life"

2. Mistakes in principle questions, impotence in the political life of the country accompanied by dishonest methods in the party cause the Stalinist bureaucrats to refuse to acknowledge their errors and to constantly seek "scape-goats" at every turn in the road. Expression of opinion in the party is limited to the rigid confines outlined by the bureaucracy. Immediate expulsion is the price of the slightest doubt. Words cannot express the venomous hate the Stalinists display against the International Communists. Only those are permitted into the party apparatus who bow to the bureaucracy in utter obsequiousness. Militancy and integrity count for nothing with them.

This stifling regime opens the door for spies, adventurers and government agents of every description to enter the leading apparatus of the party. They flatter the bureaucrats, perform the most amazing contortions with the most graceful skill at every new zig-zag and work their way into the good graces of this perspicacious leadership. The results are not unexpected.

Yen, the chairman of the Shanghai Union of Labor (an illegal red trade union controlled by the C.P.) had been a spy for more than six

months. Through his nefarious work a few score of militant comrades were arrested by the police. Zee, secretary of the Chapel District Committee, was a spy for more than a year but the bureaucracy was ignorant of the fact. Rank and file comrades, disaffected with his activities, were rebuffed by the bureaucracy when they demanded his removal. It took the Stalinists 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 spies, including among them Lu Fu-tai, Chairman of the National Union of Labor and Chou Kwang-in, secretary of the Kiangsu 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 that whatever integrity there is among the members of this party it rests in the lower ranks. The 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 Blue Shirt Society (Fascists) the Chinese workers still rise time and again for improvement of their living conditions. During the struggle in the Shun Sin Seventh Cotton Mill in the Fall of 1933 and the strike against a wage cut in the Shanghai Mei-lia 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 that the workers' organizations must be secretly organized or they will face prohibition by the police since they had not registered as a legal body in the offices of the Kuomintang.

The Stalinists are ignorant of the fact that a trade union cannot exist legally without a mass foundation. While, on the contrary, the mass unions of the workers can exist as a struggling organization even if it is not given permission by the Kuomintang. The question is determined upon whether the union represents the workers or not and not on its legality or illegality. But to try to convince the Stalinists of this is like "playing a harp to an ox", as the Chinese proverb says.

4. Under the reign of white terror the number of political prisoners has jumped skyward in recent years. 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 conditions are somewhat better than they were previously I have received reports from the Nanking and Shanghai prisons that some of our bravest militants have died of tortures inflicted by the prison authorities. There are many more such tragedies in every part of China but if help from the outside could manage to reach the imprisoned comrades many fatalities might be avoided. —P.K.

Make the Org-Press Drive a Success

In the great events now taking place in various parts of the country our organization is playing an ever more direct and definite role. This is the beginning to a new advance. A revolutionary organization is built in the fire of the class struggle and it is in that sense that the League assumes its present responsibility.

We are on the way to new gains; but the job ahead is still an enormous one.

The building and strengthening of the League is the crying need of the moment. To bring our press to 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 sympathizers become a more active and a more vital force in the labor movement.

Ideas become a power when they penetrate the masses. But to penetrate the masses a medium is required. This medium is at our disposal and will become more effective as we succeed in building the League. To make it more effective we have sent several organizers into the field. They are now actively engaged in building the League in Minneapolis, in Detroit and on the Pacific Coast. No efforts are being spared to increase the circulation of The Militant and to establish the New International as a regular monthly publication.

This is the way we have proceeded; but to complete the job we need your support. We have set a

big task for ourselves, and we have done that because we count upon your support. We can report an excellent response so far to our appeals for the organization and press campaign. If we can bring it to a successful conclusion, as successful 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 imperative. 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. (Since Last Report)

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