

Revolution in Spain

AN ARMED proletariat is fighting for its life in Spain. Masses are thrown around the fascized ministries in Madrid.

The workers of Spain have learned a lesson from Austria and Germany—that the Social Democratic leaders cannot be trusted. They have been plundered and robbed of their victory by a bloated bourgeoisie. All workers' parties have formed a united front—Communists, Socialists, trade unions and anarcho-sindicalists. The revolution in Spain, now four years old, has reached the decisive stage of demanding all power to the workers and peasants. The Communist Party of Spain, which three years ago had 800 members and received 40,000 votes, today has over 30,000 dues-paying members and in the 1932 election polled 600,000 votes. Its strength has forced the united front, forced the open struggle against immediate fascization by the Lerroux agents of Spanish capital—forced the treacherous Largo Caballero to declare for a dictatorship of the proletariat!

To understand these events let us briefly recapitulate from February 22, 1931, when Socialists and Republicans signed the pact of San Sebastian, pledging to oust the king and establish a Democratic Republic of Workers of All Classes. One of the principal signatories was Alcala Zamora, leader of the insurgent intellectuals, who was later to be elected the Republic's first president.

On April 12, 1931, this bloc routed the Monarchists at the municipal elections. Alfonso issued his farewell manifesto and fled the country. The June elections gave the Republican-Socialist bloc an overwhelming victory. Millions of workers voted for what they thought was their own Revolution, only to be bitterly disillusioned. The Socialists, under Professor Julian Besteiro and Largo Caballero, captured 113 seats; the Radical Republicans (with right leanings) of Lerroux got 86 seats; and the Radical Socialists (Republicans with Socialist "leanings") won 54 seats. The Socialists, however, declined to assume power. They said Spain was not yet ready for a Socialist government. Their leaders actually deplored their large political representation! In this Socialist policy there is a resemblance to Trotsky's teachings. Writing on the Spanish revolution, Trotsky believed that the

slogan of the bourgeois-landowners' Republic was also the slogan of the proletariat. Let the bourgeoisie perform its historic mission. Feudal hangovers in Spain must first be destroyed—by whom? By profiteers and exploiters! The bourgeoisie proceeded to carry out its historic mission of robbing and plundering the workers and farmers of their share in the Revolution. Largo Caballero, as Minister of Labor, fought against strikes, against the seizure of land, against workers and farmers.

In the year that followed, the Republic floundered in the sea of capitalistic world crisis. Strikes totalled 6,000. The budget was increased by 600 million pesetas. The peseta dropped to the lowest point in 31 years, due to the maneuvers of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank which secured for the Standard Oil fifty percent of Spain's gasoline business. The cost of living rose, exports decreased to below pre-war levels. To suppress the discontent, Spanish capitalists began to plan a new fascist coup. The defeated reactionaries reorganized their forces. Under the leadership of the Catholic Popular-Actionist Jose Maria Gil Robles, they formed the S.E.D.A. (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right Parties) and began a systematic campaign in the villages, still the stronghold of Catholicism, especially among the women, who are notoriously religious. The Coalition government helped the reactionaries by tying down the workers. Azana formed the Guardia de Asalto, Storm Troopers who are now shooting down revolutionary masses. A law was passed making the carrying of weapons a crime, but the law was never applied to fascists. Strikes were declared illegal unless a 10-day notice was given. The Jurado Mixto (Labor Board) was set up to arbitrate differences between employees and wage-earners—(a move that Roosevelt has just proposed to put over on U. S. workers). Communist publications, Mundo Obrero, Juventud Roja (Red Youth) and others were suppressed although there was no legal censorship.

Azana's government was superseded by a centrist government headed by Lerroux, the present butcher of the counter-revolution. This government found it was expected to be a rubber stamp for the Right, and dissolved. In the new elections, the Socialists lost their big ma-

jority. C.E.D.A. gained 170 votes at the expense of the Left bloc, and Robles' Accion Popular Catolica secured 113 of these. C.E.D.A. chose Alejandro Lerroux again to form another government, but Lerroux, a traditional fighting Republican, was not yet entirely trained to swallow orders. A number of minor cabinets followed and failed in rapid succession. Finally in 1934, Ricardo Samper, a Valencia Republican who had served under Lerroux, governed as the "front" for C.E.D.A. and Robles.

Every indication pointed to Samper's collapse on October first, the date for reconvening Parliament. A struggle was expected over the Catalan Agrarian Law, giving the land to rent-paying peasants. The law was declared unconstitutional. Samper wanted to arbitrate the question. Robles denounced him for weakness, and demanded stronger measures of suppression. On September 20, Samper declared that Spain was in the presence of a revolutionary movement. The Basque municipalities were revolting. Forty mayors were jailed with their councils. The Catalan Esquerra (Secessionists) declared itself in permanent session to aid the Basques. Finally, and most telling blow of all, the Alianza Obrero (United Labor Front) was formed, comprising the Socialist Federation of Labor, the Syndicalist National Confederation of Labor and the Communist-led Red Trade Unions. The Government discovered that the Socialists were in possession of arms.

On October 1, the reconvening of Parliament, Robles openly denounced the Samper government for weakness and vacillation. President Alcala Zamora, playing traitor to the revolution he had headed in 1931, summoned Lerroux to form a government. Lerroux refused to do so until he had heard the wishes of Gil Robles. The Robles forces successfully demanded that their fascist friends be given three key positions in the new Cabinet: Agriculture—to defend the interests of the feudal landlords; Labor—to promote the interests of finance capital, and Justice—to effectuate the fascist laws.

The workers answered with the general strike paralyzing the entire Spanish peninsula. The general strike was quickly raised to the level of a revolutionary struggle for power.

Plotting the American Pogroms

3. One Anti-Semite Wilts Under Fire

JOHN L. SPIVAK

[The third article in the series by John L. Spivak was to have dealt with the role played in the present anti-Semitic campaign in America by rich Jews who have contributed to anti-Semitic organizations. That article is postponed a week to make room for the interview given below with Sidney Brooks, economic research director of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Committee, and to Brooks' letter to THE NEW MASSES. Brooks' letter is well worth studying. The points of fact he raises will be dealt with later. The unmistakable fact that stands out all over his letter—as well as in Spivak's interview with him—is that the Nazi, the Fascist, the anti-Semite, when under exposure and attack, is a very different creature from the arrogant Nazi, Fascist and anti-Semite when he is doing the attacking.—THE EDITORS.]

WASHINGTON.

I MET a scared agent of the secret espionage Order of '76 by appointment in the Racquet Club on 16th Street where Washington's blue bloods, diplomats and "big business" men gather to inveigh against Communism and the "Menace of the Jew."

I was in the State Department when I telephoned Sidney Brooks, of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee for an interview. Readers of THE NEW MASSES will remember that Brooks, close in the confidences of Senators and Congressmen, was shown to be the son of Col. Edwin Emerson, notorious Hitler agent, who first organized the anti-Semitic movement on a national scale in the United States.

I had just been informed by THE NEW MASSES that a letter from Brooks had arrived. The questions Mr. Brooks raises as to the accuracy of certain statements in my article of Oct. 2 can be settled only after examination of data which is not available here in Washington. I hope to be able to settle that question next week. But meanwhile I tried to get an immediate appointment with Brooks. He asked me to call later.

Two hours later, with Seymour Waldman of the Daily Worker Washington staff beside me I telephoned his office again. His secretary answered.

"Oh, yes, Mr. Spivak. Mr. Brooks isn't here just now, but he asked you to call him at the Racquet Club."

I had never been to Washington's Racquet Club. I had heard a lot about it. I knew that Kurt G. Sell, the Nazi foreign press correspondent, lived at the swanky club, and Sell is always in touch with the German embassy. I thought it was fitting that a NEW MASSES

reporter see an Order of '76 espionage agent at this place.

I took a stenographer along with me to take notes of the interview so that Brooks could not say he was misquoted. The club, however, would not permit her in and with Waldman beside me I took my own laborious and detailed notes. Mr. Brooks came down the wide luxuriously carpeted stairway to receive us. He is of medium height, rather dark.

We were ushered upstairs to a stylishly furnished sun parlor. There, a well-dressed man to whom he introduced us without mentioning his name, rose to greet us.

"I wrote to your magazine," Brooks began. "They have my letter. I have said all I have to say."

"I understand that you do not want to say any more than you wrote. There is only one thing I am assuming: that you are, as you wrote, a patriotic American?"

"Of course."

"Certainly then, you would be interested in helping to expose any subversive activities in the United States which threaten the peace of the country?"

"I am not interested in uncovering subversive elements."

The man with him feigned to read his newspaper. His eyes were glued to the same spot on the same page. At this he raised his head and looked at Brooks.

"I'm interested in a number of things," Brooks continued. "But I am not engaged in the work you mentioned."

He was so pathetically on the defensive that I smiled assuringly to him.

"But I hadn't said you were—as yet. I merely asked you if you were interested in uncovering such subversive activities."

"I might be opposed to them but I am not free to participate actively."

"Isn't it your duty as an American citizen?"

Brooks threw his cigarette away.

"That is a question I am answerable for only to myself."

"In your application to the Order of '76 you stated that you were in the army. There you took an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States. Did that oath end when you were mustered out?"

"So far as the army was concerned it did."

"And you felt no desire to uphold the Constitution after you left the army?"

Brooks looked helplessly at his friend whose eyes were still glued to the same story on the same page.

"I've expressed myself in my letter," he finally answered.

"All right. Now let's get to your letter to THE NEW MASSES. You say you never

heard of William Goodales, the name under which William Dudley Pelley was registered at the Hotel Edison?"

"That's right."

"Had you ever been to the Hotel Edison?"

"Yes. I've been there a number of times."

"When? Do you remember the dates?"

"I know the dates but I refer you to the Hotel Edison for that information."

"Did you ever meet Pelley?"

"No."

"Did you ever meet Royal Scott Gulden, of the mustard king family, who is the director of the Order of '76?"

"Yes—but not while I was registered at the Hotel Edison," he added desperately. "I don't remember just when I met him. I guess it was on the day I made the application to join the Order."

"Your father, Col. Edwin Emerson, is in the United States. Has he communicated with you about the articles in THE NEW MASSES?"

Brooks looked helplessly at the man with him and bit his lip.

"Yes," he said coldly, his mouth a thin line.

"What did he say?"

"That is a matter between my father and myself."

"You knew that your father and his wife were broke at times. Then they suddenly got some money. Did your father ever tell you where he got that money and from whom?"

"That is an unnecessary question."

"All right. You saw your father at 17 Battery Place in New York, did you not?"

"Yes."

"You knew that his rent was being paid by the German Consul General and that he was engaged in organizing anti-Semitic movements in this country?"

"I know nothing about that."

"Did your father ever take you into his confidence as to what he was doing in this country?"

"I knew he was connected with the Friends of Germany—"

"Did you ever hear him speak on anti-Semitism?"

"I heard him speak once at the Harvard Club in New York. His subject was Pirate Treasure."

Brooks looked at me and grinned triumphantly.

"Wasn't it at this innocent meeting that you met Gulden and Guenther Orgell, head of the German Foreign Secret Political Service in this country and—"

"I don't remember whom I met at that meeting."

"Isn't it strange that the leaders of anti-