

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Character of Fascism

An Analysis of the Composition of the Hitlerist Camp

(Continued from last issue) Today, the task stands before us, before the Communists, to gather the entire working class around the slogan of the struggle against the threatening Fascist overthrow. There is no doubt, that this struggle will also bring about a conflict with the "lesser evil". There is no doubt that the struggle against wage robbery, which is a struggle in the trade unions and in the factories and which constitutes an inseparable element of the formation of the united front, will also bring about a struggle against the regime of emergency decrees. The Struggle Against Social Democracy, and the United Front No one (and least of all ourselves) desires the suspension of the struggle against the S. P. G., the suspension of criticism—a "reconciliation". But it is necessary to realize that the struggle against the S. P. G. must be conducted in the form of a united front tactic, under the slogan "against the seizure of power by Hitler". Lenin demonstrated very cleverly the essence of this tactic when he recommended that the English Communists "support" Henderson under certain conditions (Infantile Leftism, page 76, German edition). By making it clear for them that they would support Henderson "as the hangman's rope supports the hanged."

Lessons of the Recent Events in Spain

An Official Document of the Spanish Left Opposition on the Results of the Struggle

The following is a circular letter sent out to the local organizations by the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, which evaluates the revolutionary events that broke out in Spain in the middle of January. —Ed. Dear comrades: The Spanish Left Opposition, engaged in collecting facts and documents which will permit it to make a more detailed analysis of the recent events, considers it necessary for the moment to indicate cursorily and as briefly as possible, a few considerations brought forward by the developments of the movement. We shall first approach the negative features of it. (1) The movement lacked in continuity. Beginning in the heights of Llobregat and Cardener, it received the backing of Barcelona and other places in Catalonia, when it was already crushed in the former towns. This spelled death for the movement. One of the most important lessons to be deduced from this, is the following: a strike of such amplitude must arise simultaneously or be initiated by the large industrial centers (Barcelona in the first place) and in no case in the periphery of the country. (2) The movement was immature. It lacked an immediate impulsion capable of pushing the masses forward. It should have been declared, for example, one or two days after the successes of Arnedo had aroused to action, the entire proletariat. (3) The National Confederation of Labor did not assign concrete tasks to the movement. This disorientated it and was the principal cause of the failure, as was made evident by the strike in Barcelona. (4) It was a manifest mistake to declare the strike on a Saturday. On such a day, failure is assured in advance. (5) If in Barcelona, the strike had started Friday morning, when the movement unfolded in Cardener and Llobregat had not yet been put down, and limited to 24 hours, the proletariat of Barcelona would undoubtedly have displayed a unanimous manifestation of solidarity. The situation did not permit it to go further and the results obtained would have been undeniably far greater. (6) The official party again covered itself with ridicule, calling for a strike anew, on the 25th, when the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor) had already decided to go back to work. With this, they once more compromised the prestige of Communism before the masses of the workers and merely proved that the only aim of its leaders is to remain in the good graces of the Comintern bureaucracy, not even shrinking back from washing all the immense possibilities that the Spanish situation offers to the development of Communism. (7) Finally, there was demonstrated the abominable influence exercised in the C. N. T. by the elements that go under the classification of the "group of thirty" (Pestania, etc.) who, by opposing the declaration of the strike in Catalonia at the Regional Conference on Thursday, called forth a counter-attack by the local Federation of Barcelona, led by the F. I. A. (anarchist) elements, who decided to join the movement when the circumstances had already become unfavorable. Nevertheless, the movement also had its positive features. (1) For the first time, in the course of the revolutionary period, the proletariat had entered a vast movement of a distinct class character. And this is of enormous importance. (2) The working masses showed themselves that they had almost freed themselves from democratic illusions, still strong in the September strikes, which makes the conviction ever more deeply inrooted that only the proletarian insurrection can solve the revolutionary crisis that the country is facing. (3) In spite of the incapable leadership and organization of the Anarchists, the workers of Cardener and Llobregat fought with admirable solidarity and discipline and withdrew in perfect strategic order and with a minimum of losses, when they were convinced that movement was defeated. (4) The most important fact to be recorded in the uprising of Cardener and Llobregat is its distinct political character. The workers had seized the city halls and had hoisted the banner of the proletarian revolution on top of the buildings themselves. That is to say, they had seized political power for themselves. In some places, the anarchist elements had proclaimed openly that their aim was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a big step forward that the Communists can point to with pride. The general conclusions to be drawn from this hasty review, are the following: Kai-Shek in the crushing of the Chinese proletariat in 1925-27 by the infamous "bloc of the four classes", while Trotsky was being shouted down as an ultra-Leftist for demanding the creation of Soviets, dares accuse the closest comrade of Lenin, of being "against a Soviet China". Cheap slanders cost these people nothing. For concrete analysis, they can very easily substitute a quotation from Stalin; for Communist arguments, they can easily substitute a few of the "great masters" pet epithets. Just why Trotsky's slogan of a Constituent Assembly—issued as an immediate demand for the purpose of once more rallying the

The Latest Anti-Trotsky Campaign

In the February 19-20 issues of the Daily Worker, there finally appears the American edition of the latest Stalin tragicomedy—entitled "For Political Decisiveness and Clarity in Our Anti-War Activities" (The European title was something like "Against Rotten Liberalism, Against Trotskyism—the Vanguard of the Counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie") a version rendered by one, Sam Don. The cast has not yet, it appears, been selected. But it should not be difficult to find a few native talents, American Slutskys, and even Yaroslavskys, what with the unemployment raging everywhere and the dramatic industry, we gather, not being excluded. For the present, however, we shall restrict ourselves to the text. The prologue which constitutes part of the monolog given by Stalin himself at the Sixteenth party congress of the C. P. S. U., still leaves us fairly cold, the accompanying comment reminds us somewhat, by its structure, of the ancient coribantes. It is unclear just what is being driven at until we read (at last) "To disarm and dissipate the revolutionary forces, the bourgeoisie brings into play and makes use of "Trotskyism—the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie (Stalin)". Being interested to an extent, we wonder: just how does the bourgeoisie do all this? We do not have to wait long for an answer: The Militant, in the pre-conference theses of the American Left Opposition, says that the Soviet Union is not immune from the convulsions of the world crisis! "What is the class meaning of the above statement?", soliloquizes our Don. "To carry out the main aim of our class enemies, the armed intervention against the Soviet Union!" Nothing less. Isn't it clear? Clear as mud. As a contribution to "political decisiveness and clarity in our anti-war activities", these profound words probably have no equal. Every worker will grasp this: not the Japanese looters, not the French reactionaries nor the gentlemen brigands of Wall Street, but Trotsky and the "Trotskyites"—"the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie (Stalin)"—are the war-mongers to be feared by the whole proletariat. And how does "Trotskyism"—"dissipate and disarm the revolutionary forces"? Simple. By pointing out the Thermidorian danger involved in the theory of socialism in one country—while Stalin and Molotov find a place for Groman and Ossachi and Ramsin in the economic councils of the Soviet State. By pointing concretely to the danger facing the Soviet Union in the event of a Fascist overthrow in Germany—while the Stalinist press chokes itself on unintelligible and confused abstractions, and doesn't mention the German situation by as much as one word. By analyzing the factors making for revolutionary solutions to the critical situation in the Far East—while the Stalinists lull the masses with the legend of a still to be achieved Soviet China. But, enough of this. Does Don think he is fooling anybody but himself, when he takes quotations from The Militant out of their context, when he picks out half-sentences and isolated phrases? Is it not a sign of the weakness of his own political position that he finds himself incapable of coping with the complete idea of an opponent? Why should he avoid explaining the lines accompanying the quotation he makes from our thesis,

FOR YOUR LIBRARY
Books by Leon Trotsky
THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
1. A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages hard paper cover 35c
2. THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION
(Part 2 of the "Draft Program")
86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman
THE SPANISH REVOLUTION
30 pages, paper cover 10c
THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
paper bound .50
THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
Translated by Max Eastman
Vol. I—The Overthrow of Czarism
Special price for shareholders—\$3.00
For members of the Communist League of America \$3.50
Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street
New York City

A TIMELY DEBATE NO WORKER CAN AFFORD TO MISS!
COMMUNISM vs. ANARCHISM IN SPAIN
For Communism: MAX SHACHTMAN
For Anarchism: CARLO TRESCA
Editor of Il Martello
well-known Italian-American Anarchist.
ROGER BALDWIN
Chairman
Friday, March 4, 1932 at 8 P. M.
at IRVING PLAZA, 15th St. & IRVING PLACE
Admission: Thirty-Cent Cents
Tickets can be procured at the offices of The Militant, 84 East 10th St., and Il Martello, 82 East 10th Street, New York City.