## 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, be- the high expense of democratic reforms, before the Communists, to gather the and if possible, also the new expense inentire working class around the slogan herent in a Fascist overthrow". 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 not yet reached the conclusions of Trotthe trade unions and in the factories and sky! which constitutes an inseparable element of the formation of the united front. will also bring about a struggle against for a prolonged period of time-most 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 for them that they would support Henderson "as the hangman's rope supports the hanged."

Manuilsky and Thaelmann make very light of the matter, by substituting here also, for the question of a concrete analysis, for the question of the varying in the future, up to the proletarian revstruggle on the different fronts, a non-Marxist commonplace like: "the main enemy is the dictatorship of capital-that is, every bourgeois government and its supporters". According to this schema, it will always remain a mystery, why the Bolsheviki fought with Kerensky against Kornilov and did not carry on the struggle against Kerensky in a stereotyped fashion.

bring.

People who regard Bruening as Fascist, that is, the overture as the opera, can very easily become altogether blind and deaf.

theory, has "deepened" it by the article and mock at the significance of the in the January issue of Die Internation- slogan of the General Strike (which we, ale, composed by the group of anthors for our part, have never separated from that works under the pseudonym of the question of immediate partial

"It may be assumed that the execution of the dictatorship of the bourgeois confusion with regard to Fascism can ie no matter through what methods, lead to capitulation at the moment of and particularly when it is a question of the establishment of the Fascist dicta-Fascist methods—will in the first in torship, because these people will saystance, and in the long run, be in the just as the despicable Kolaroffs, the hands of the Centre in a very strong Bulgarian Thaelmanns, did on June 9, measure". (Die Internationale Vol. 33, 1923-"Why get excited particularly now,

The content of the present situation is characterized crudely but not incorrectly has most unhappily capitulated to Fascby Thaelmann: "Today, the Centre is the ism three times already (Bulgaria, Polcarrier of the policy of an interchange- and, Finland) is coming to another and the National Socialists for the dic- of the defeatist attitude made by Thael he has finally reached the estimation his own theories, false to the roots, are formulated by Trotsky in the following not cast aside. manner in 1929:

construct the constitution, so that the the Marxist. advantages of Fascism with those of

manner, they hope to save themselves

Unfortunately, however, Thaelmann, who characterizes this situation as Fascism and who neglects entirely the economic relationships and the political perspectives that lie in this situation, has

"Will the bourgeoisie be able to take certainly not. In other words, the bourgeoisie cannot build up a regime that will allow it to base itself in a peaceful manner, on the workers as well as bearing the expense for the social reforms or for the convulsions of a civil war. The contributions are too great, they will be broken in one direction or the other." (Trotsky, The Austrian Crisis).

Dangers of Calling Present Condition Fascism

The fundamental error, of charactergrotesque, is the sentence he attaches to proves to be fatal. the quotation brought above: "At times, the preponderance rests with the social democracy and that will probably be true, from the class point of view, also olution in Germany."

A truly annihilating prognosis, this prognosis put forward by Thaelmann: form and it will remain so. Year after to rule, nourished by the starvation of the patient proletariat, interchangeably supported by his zealous and inexhaustible retainers, the National Socialist tiveness to the development of events, Party of Germany and "social Fascism", in which case the seizure of power by ie") a version rendered by one, Sam influenced by them, nevertheless. The not to want to see the Facsist danger, Hitler is just as unlikely as the disintequences which genuine Fascism will gration of the S. P. G., until such a of the second five year plan-the "people's revolution" finally arrives.

It is clear that this prognosis is somewhat dulled by the struggle with the Thaelmann Fails to Correct False Views Nacis. It is clear, that the party and strikes).

It is clear that the entire ideolgical when one Fascist is merely replacing another Fascist"? The Comintern, which

"This will also determine the policy this fatal error in the problem of Fascthat the bourgeoisie will adopt in the ism? Simply by referring to the thinkocracy, with the aid of Fascism, to re- utlskys, this question is not solved for it clear? Clear as mud.

Stalinist Comintern leadership to differentiate between Hitler, Bruening and

"The entire aggravation of the class struggle proves that the differences in the methods of class rule between socalled bourgeois democracy and Fascism are constantly being wiped out, and are actually, in practice, wiped out already. Can anyone attempt to prove that, for example, the policy of the German social democracy with regard to the country of socialist construction—the U. S. S. R.-is any more "progressive" .than the policy of Italian Fascism!" (Report of Manuilsky to the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I.—our emphasis, E. B.)

That means: the final touchstone is the policy of the Stalinist Comintern leadership, whose basic task is no longer the world revolution but the conthis path? To its actual conclusion and struction of socialism in one country, are the foreign trade relations of the Soviet Union: and so it happens that a considerable lack of sensitiveness arises in these people, their eyes glued on Mussolini, with regard to the Hitler queson the ruined petty bourgeoisie, without tion. But even in this case, these people, generalizing mechanically, are falling into error. In the instance, the often ity. Beginning in the heights of Llobremisused argument of the difference between Germany and Italy is very much in place. Mussolini means-oil exports. But Hitler means-war of intervention.

The nationalist attitude towards Marxism, which in Germany has led through the program of the national and social izing this condition as Fascism, is av- liberation, (to use Manuilsky's own plitude must arise simultaneously or be enged by the prognosis. We have already jargon) to the "descent to the level of initiated by the large industrial centers 76, German edition). By making it clear heard above, of Thaelmann's "prolonged the middle classes, in the Menshevik, and (Barcelona in the-first place) and in Centre-Fascism". What is even more not in the Bolshevik manner", here too no case in the periphery of the country

—E. BAUER.

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

which evaluates the revolutionary events that broke out in Spain in the middle of January. -Ed.

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 ic necessary for the moment to indicate cursorily and as briefly as possible, a few considerations brought forward by the velopments of the movement.

by the Executive Committee of the

Spanish Communist Opposition,

We shall first approach the negative features of it.

(1) The movement lacked in continugat and Cardoner, 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 am-(2) The movement was immature. It

lacked an immediate impulsion capable of pushing the masses forward. It should

two days after the successes of Arnedo tain that the working class will unwavhad aroused to action, the entire prole- eringly support a revolutionary move-(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 the proletariat will enable them to 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 movegat had not yet been put down, and dispersed by the authorities, this first would have been undeniably far greater.

(6) The official party again covered anew, on the 25th, when the C. N. T. already decided to go back to work. With yet a small force in Catalonia. 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 Fed.) whose driving force remained sterremain in the good graces of the Com- ile because of the inconsistency of their lutern 1-a cancracy, not even shrinking doctrines. But in the last events there sibilities that the Spanish situation of and timid, an evolution toward our point

the abominable influence exercised in the propaganda of our principles and mak-C. N. T. by the elements that go under ing an attempt at practical approach to the classification of the "group of thirty" the F. A. I. for immediate action, which (Pestania, etc.) who, by opposing the however does not mean that we give up declaration of the strike in Catalonia at our freedom of criticism. 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 proleto find a few native talents, American with the world market which becomes an tariat had entered a vast movement of increasingly important factor in the dev- a distinct class character. And this is of enormous importance.

clearly that they had almost freed them- | tion of an armed defense. It is a matselves from democratic illusions, still ter of life and death. strong in the September strikes, which makes the conviction ever more deeply The prologue which constitutes part of advances of the Soviet Union stand out 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 Cardoner 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 Cardoner 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 follow

Kai-Shek in the crushing of the Chinese proletariat in 1925-27 by the infamous a great influence in this movement, but "bloc of the four classes", while Trotsky its members participated in every possiwas being shouted down as an ultra- ble way, and some of them have fallen Leftist for demanding the creation of at the hand of the enemy. Now taking Soviets, dares accuse the closest comrade advantage of the lessons that the moveof Lenin, of being "against a Soviet ple nothing. For concrete analysis, they can very easily substitute a quotation from Stalin; for Communist arguments, pointing concretely to the danger facing attack against the Soviet Union. But, bly—issued as an immediate demand for (Continued on page 3)

have been declared, for example, one or | (1) Everything permits us to ascerment whose aims are clear and precise. We must intensify our Communist propaganda with all our means, making it clear for the working class that only the establishment of the dictatorship of achieve emancipation.

(2) This fight will not remain a lost fight. But the working class would occupy stronger positions if it were to take addvantage of the movement for the creation of Soviets and revolutionment unfolded in Cardoner and Llobre- ary Juntas. Even though temporarily limited to 24 hours, the proletariat of experience will not remain in vain and Barcelona would undoubtedly have dis- the irrepressible organs of struggle will played a unanimous manifestation of arise again in the new and inevitable solidarity. The situation did not permit conflicts that the immediate future will it to go further and the results obtained produce. To this fight, the Communist party and the Worker's and Peasant's Bloc should have dedicated itself: this itself with ridicule, calling for a strike struggle the Communist Left Opposition would have conducted itself were it not (National Confederation of Labor) had for the fact that in numbers it is as

(3) We have repeatedly contended that there are sincere revolutionary elements in the F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist back from viasting all the immense pos- has been initiated, although confused fers to the development of Communism. of view. It is necessary to give this (7) Finally, there was demonstrated evolution an impulse, intensifying the (4) The reactionary bourgeois forces

are organizing themselves. The recent events have provoked a panic among the bourgeoisie who had seen in this chaotic, disconnected, disorientated moevment the possibility of avictory. In order to oppose the danger that menaces it, it will hasten the organization of counter revolutionary forces to annihilate the flower of the proletariat by installing a Fascist dictatorship. In order to avoid it, an immediate united front of the working class becomes imperative without dis-(2) The working masses showed tinction of tendencies for the organiza-

(5) The elements constituting the "group of 30" and the leaders of the U. G. T. (the Reformist Center), notwithstanding the fact that there are distinct differences between them, constitute today a check against the development of the revolutionary movement. To eliminate them from the leadership of the workers organizations is an indispensible condition for victory.

(6) Never before has it become so evident as now that a powerful Communist party a truly revolutionary party of the masses capable of fusing and leading the revolutionary attack of the proletariat is what is needed. But this party is not to be an organization like the present official party, dominated by the most unbridled adventurism and the most scandalous irresponsibility before the masses, nor like the B. O. C. the workers' and peasants' bloc) an organization of "sympathizers" and not an instrument of struggle, but genuine Bolshevik party that can only issue out of a general congress of unification and deserve the confidence of the masses.

These are, in the main, the principle considerations that we gather from the latest events. Due to its small numerical force in Catalona, the Left was not able to play a decisive role nor exercise ment offers it, will continue with intransigeant tenacity its work of renovating the Communist movement, dedicating all its forces to give to the Spanish proletariat the arm that it absolutely needs, the powerful Communist weapon that will lead it to victory.

The Left Communist Opposition of Catalonia Barcelona, Jan. 26, 1932.

CARLO TRESCA

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The Latest Anti-Trotsky Campaign In the February 19-20 issues of the why doesn't he complete the quotation? Germany has already reached its Fascist Daily Worker, there finally appears the That part in our thesis (The Militant American edition of the latest Stalin July 25, 1931) reads:

year, the genial Bruening will continue tragicomedy-entitled "For Political Decisiveness and Clarity in Our Anti-War Activities" (The European title was something like "Against Rotten Liberal-

The cast has not yet, it appears, been Slutskys, and even Yaroslavskys, what with the unemployment raging everywhere and the dramatic industry, we The party, far from revising its false its Brandlerist page boys underestimate gather, not being excluded. For the present, however, we shall restrict ourselves to the text.

convulsions of the world crisis!

As a contribution to "political decisbourgeoisie will be able to combine the Basis For False Analyses and Tactics iveness and clarity in our anti-war ac-Manuilsky has, however, perhaps un- tivities", these profound words probably thing very hard to forget. democracy, those of Fascism in essence, intentionally, informed us why it is im- have no equal. Every worker will grasp this: not the Japanese looters, not the by the whole proletariat.

the Soviet Union in the event of a Fascachieved 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 on half-sentences and isolated phrases? Is idea of an opponent? Why should he letarian world revolution alone. avoid explaining the lines accompanying Finally, this despicable scribbier,

"The Soviet Union, too, which has not

and cannot be liberated from the pressure of world economy has also felt the effects of the international crisis, to a ism, Against Trotskyism-the Vanguard far more limited extent than the capiof the Counter-revolutionary bourgeois- talist countries it is true, but it has been radical international decline of commodity prices has seriously affected Soviet exports, that is, its growing connection elepment of its machino-facture." Can Don prove that this is not true? Is it an act of dissipating and disarming

the revolutionary forces, when on the basis of this fact, as well as on the basis of the fact that "Yet, the successes and the monolog given by Stalin himself at even more prominently in contrast to the the Sixteenth party congress of the C. universal anarchy and decline of capital-P. S. U., still leaves us fairly cold, the ists economy . . . the advances toward accompanying comment reminds us some- the socialist ideal are being made clear what, by its structure, of the ancient to ever greater millions throughout the coribantes. It is unclear just what is world" (same thesis), the Left Opposibeing driven at until we read (at last) tion proposes to the American working "To disarm and dissipate the revolu-class the slogan of a demand for long tionary forces, the bourgeoisic brings into term credits to the Soviet Union? The play and makes use of "Trotskyism-the Dons and the other sycophants of the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist court have only one answer bourgeoisie (Stalin)". Being interested What we say is against the theory of to an extent, we wonder: just how does socialism in one country. And that is the bourgeoisie do all this? We do not quite true. For it is this same theory have to wait long for an answer: The that prevents our Communist Internaable exploitation of the social democracy cross-road. The very reserved criticism Militant, in the pre-conference theses of tional from utilizing the tremendous opthe American Left Opposition, says that portunities offered by the present situatatorship of the bourgeoisie." With this, mann serves no purpose at all as long as the Soviet Union is not immune from the tion for revolutionary action. It is this "What is the class meaning of the stroke on the entire Communist move We must pose the question here: why above statement?", soliloquizes our Don. ment, in the face of impending social "To carry out the main aim of our class convulsions in Germany and the Far enemies, the armed intervention against East. It was the theory of socialism in near future: to force the social dem. ing ability of the Thaelmanns and Manthe subsequent-betrayal of the British General Strike in 1926 ,and that is some-And it is this same theory which makes

Stalin and all his little Dons so violently French reactionaries not the gentlemen antagonistic to the Communist slogan of brigands of Wall Street, but Trotsky and a Soviet United States of Europe. All the "Trotskyites"-"the vanguard of the of Europe has been wracked violently by counter-revolutionary bourgelosic (Stal- the reparations problem, by the tariff in)"-are the war-mongers to be feared conflicts ever since the war. For the past two years especially, has this problem been in the forefront of contin- China". Cheap slanders cost these peopate and disarm the revolutionary ental politics. The capitalist powers have forces"? Simple. By pointing out the shown themselves incapable of coping Thermidorian danger involved in the with the problem, the American strangletheory of socialism in one country-while hold on European economy has been Stalin and Molotov find a place for Gro- tightened, the only result of the efforts they can easily sustitute a few of the man and Ossachi and Ramsin in the eco- of the bourgeois powers has been an adnomic councils of the Soviet State. By vance in the preparations for a common Trotsky's slogan of a Constituent Assemnevertheless, if we believe the Dons and the purpose of once more rallying the ist overthrow in Germany-while the their master, the slogan for a Soviet Stalinist press chokes itself on unintel- United States of Europe is counter-revligible and confused abstractions, and olutionary. Why? Because "the Union doesn't mention the German situation by of the Socialist Soviet Republics . . as much as one word. By analyzing the is the central problem of world politics factors making for revolutionary solu- today", is the very enlightening answer tions to the critical situation in the Far of the Stalinist scrivener. Why?-Be-East-while the Stalinists luli the mass- cause the disorientated Stalinist appares with the legend of a still to be atus, smitten with the dreadful disease of national socialism, fears a social upheaval in Western Europe, lest it should infringe on the Five Year Plan in Russia. But let them beware! Treachery to the cause of the world revolution can only be paid for by an inevitable failure it not a sign of the weakness of his own of the Five Year Plan and socialist conpolitical position that he finds himself struction in Soviet Runda, which can be incapable of coping with the complete guaranteed by an extension of the pro-

makes from our thesis, whose masters gave actual aid to Chiang

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