The Only Road

# Bonapartism and Fascism

An Analysis of the Present Moment in the German Situation

(Continued from page 1) rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate ment of their domination. Yet this is testing), are incapable of commanding a at times to dig his boots into his face. bound up with convulsions, with the nation of sixty-five millions, torn by the In a perfected form, Bonapartism came upon the scene in the Papen-Schleicher

government. Wherein lies the difference? Bruening asserted that he knew no greater happiness than to "serve" Hindenburg and Paragraph 48. Hitler "supported" with his fist Bruening's right hip. But with the left elbow Bruening rested on Wels' shoulder. In the Reichstag, Bruening found a majority which relieved him of the necessity of counting on the Reich-

### BRUENING AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The more Bruening's independence from the parliament grew, the more independ ent did the summits of the bureaucracy feel themselves from Bruening and the political groupings standing behind them. There only remained finally to break the bonds with the Reichstag. The von Papen government emerged from an immaculate bureaucratic conception. With the right elbow it rests upon Hitler's shoulder. With the police fist it wards off the proletariat on the Left. Therein lies the secret of its "stability", that is, of the fact that it did not collapse at the moment of its birth.

The Bruening government bore a clerkcal-bureaucratic-police character. The Reichswehr still remained in recerte. Next to the police, the "Iron Front" torical forces. Its independent weight in Hitler's locomotive,-then in this case In defence of its actions against the served as a direct prop of Order. It is precisely in wiping out the dependence of the "Iron Front" that lay the essence of the Hindenburg-Papen coup d'Etat. The Generality moves up automatically and only by this is to be explained that National-Socialists. If the latter do not to first place.

there won't be any miracles. . . .

Unfortunately, however, the Communist party has also been taken completely by surprise by the events. The Stal- tachments of people with material auxi- only upon the evil will of Fascism, but inist bureaucracy was unable to foresee liaries in the form of prisons, etc. With also upon the revolutionary will of the to the overthrow of bourgeois society, a thing. Today Thaelmann, Remmele respect to the present governmental proletariat. and others speak on every occasion of power, it can even be said that the "the coup d'Etat of July 20." How is Reichswehr alone really exists. But the that? At first they contended that Reichswehr in no way represents a sub-Fascism is already here and that only missive and guaranteed instrument in the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" could hands of that group of people at whose speak of it as something in the future. Now it turns out that to pass over from Bruening to Papen-for the present not to Hitler but only to Papen-a whole "coup d'Etat" was necessary. Yet the class content of Severing, Bruening and Hitler, these sages taught us, is "one and the same thing." Then whence and wherefore the coup d'Etat?

But the confusion doesn't come to an end with this. Even though the difference between Bonapartism and Fascism has now been revealed plainly enough, Thaelmann, Remmele and others speak of the Fascist coup d'Etat of July 20. At the same time, they warn the workers against the approaching danger of the Hitlerist, that is, of the equally Fascist overturn. Finally, the social democracy is designated just as before as social Fascist. The unfolding events between produdction for a world market, are in this way reduced to this, that and national boundaries, lie at the botspecies of Fascism takes the power from each other with the aid of "Fascist" coups d'Etat. Isn't it clear that the whole Stalinist theory was created only for the purpose of gluing up the human brain?

### FINISHING OFF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The less prepared the workers were, the more the appearance of the Papen government on the scene had to arouse the impression of strength: complete ignoring of the parties, new emergency decrees, dissolution of the Reichstag, tion which brought on the last world tical sense and not in the bourgeois pressive measures, state of seige in the capital, abolition of the Prussian proportions, endangering the proletariat "Democracy". And with what ease! A of the world and the Soviet Union. The lion you kill with a shot; the flea you real solution of this problem can be squash between the fingernails; social had only on the basis of the proletarian democratic ministers are finished off world revolution. with a fillip.

Only, in spite of the appearance of concentrated forces, the Papen government "as such" is weaker yet than its predecessor. The Bonapartist regime can attain a comparatively stable and dur- there is contained another contradiction able character only in the event that it of a more menacing character. Each brings a revolutionary epoch to a close; delay in "solving" the question of the rewhen the relationship of forces has al- division of the earth enlarges the proready been tested in battles; when the spects of the extension of the October revolutionary classes are already spent revolution, of the social revolution. On while the possessing classes have not yet the other hand, each step toward the freed themelves from the fear: will not "solution" of the problem of the redivithe morrow bring new convulsions? sion of the earth sets into motion the Without this basic condition, that is, forces of the social revolution. This American imperialism. without a preceding exhaustion of the clearly reveals the present stage of capmass energies in battles, the Bonapartist | italism as the decay stage.

regime is in no position to develop. barons, the magnates of capital and the imperialists by obtaining markets, by tionary theory there can be no revolu- was set up by the great Communists of bankers have undertaken the attempt to establishing Fascism in Germany, by tion." In 1917, Lenin and Trotsky filled the middle of the 19th century, by Marx secure their weal by means of the police smashing the Soviet Union is possible. this formula with reality by applying and his adherents, in opposition to the and the regular army. The idea of giv- A lease of life for capitalism depends the theory of the Permanent Revolution democratic ideology which, as is known, ing up all power to Hitler, who sup- as much upon the action or rather, in- to the weakest link in the capitalist presumed that all questions should be

run Hitler will be a submissive instru- steeled they may be (which still requires It might have been assumed that Bruen- risk of a long and weary civil war profoundest social antagonisms. ing would hold on until the final solu- and great expenses. To be sure, Fasc- Reichswehr represents only one element tion. Yet, in the course of events, and ism, as the Italian example shows, leads in the interplay of forces, and not the other link inserted itself: the Papen in the end to a militarist-bureaucratic decisive one. government. Were we to be exact, we dictatorship of the Bonapartist type. should have to make a rectification of But for that it requires a number of does not reflect baldly the political sitour old designation: the Bruening gov- years even in the event of a complete uation in the country which has led to ernment was a pre-Bonapartist govern- victory: a longer span of years in Ger- the Bonapartist experiment. The parliament. Bruening was only a precursor. many than in Italy. It is clear that the possessing classes would prefer a more cilable wings, offers an obvious and irreself prefers it that way.

> of the Papen government consists in the ary arithmetic that decides. What deneutralization of the irreconcilable cides is the struggle. camps, in no way signifies, of course, PROSPECTS FOR that the forces of the revolutionary pro- TOMORROW present day.

### WHAT PAPEN REPRESENTS

is next to nil. Therefore it could do only the unconcessed extra-parliament- Zurich workers, the social democracy nothing but take fright at its own ges- ary road remains. A combination with- writes: ticulations and grow dizzy from the out the Center would more easily and voids arising on all sides of it. By this speedily insure the predominance of the The social democratic leaders turned now there have been two parts of cow- the same time do not pass over to the out to be completely duped. And it is ardice to each part of audacity. With immediate assault, then the Bonapartist no more than proper for them in periods Prussia, that is, the social democracy, character of the government will have to of social crises. These petty bourgeois the government played a sure game: it emerge more sharply: von Schleicher dress myself by means of the present intriguers appear to be clever only un- knew that these gentlemen would offer would have his "hundred days" . . der those conditions where cleverness no resistance. But after it had dissolved without the preceding Napoleonic years. isn't necessary. Now they pull the covers the Reichstag, it summoned new elections over their heads at night, sweat and and did not dare to postpone them. After too generously. The Reichswehr does not more than one been the objects of hope for a miracle: Perhaps in the end proclaiming the state of martial law, decide. Schleicher does not suffice. The calumny. You doubtless know that we sure, in both instances. Wherever the views of the Zurich Communists may be, we may yet be able to save not only our it hastened to explain: It is only in order extra-parliamentary dictatorship of the were even accused of being in the ser-classes are conducting an implacable I will always be found on the same side we may yet be able to save not only out to facilitate the capitulation without a necks but also the overstuffed furniture to facilitate the capitulation without a Junkers and the magnates of financial the capitulation without a large struggle, in the last analysis, we always of the barrichde with them. Even if

designated the state of the armed de- to fulfill this task? That depends not ich social democracy.

head stands Papen. In reality, the government is rather a sort of political

commission of the Reichswehr. But with all its preponderance over the government, the Reichswehr can nevertheless lay no claim to any independent political role. A hundred thousand soldiers, no matter how fused and

In its fashion, the new Reichswehr ment without a majority, with irreconeconomical path, that is, the path of futable argument in favor of dictator-Schleicher and not of Hitler, not to ship. Once more the confines of demspeak of the fact that Schleicher him- ocracy emerge in all their obviousness. Where it is a question of the foundations The fact that the source of existence of society itself, it is not parliament-

the revolutionary way out for the work- would signify the "legalization" of the talism do not fell them beforehand. ers. With a correct leadership of the seizure of power by the National-Socialated without difficulty and not a chink the Fascist coup d'Etat. What relation- events of June 15 and 16. Today, on could remain open for Bonapartism. Un- ships would develop in the early days June 25, I have received from friends a assumed the deceptive form of a than it is for the German people. Polit- with the Communists.'. In this docu-"strength" of the Bonapartist clique, ically, all the conceivable combinations ment the Zurich Social Democracy, Therein lies the political formula of the with Hitler signify the directution of which is running the municipality in to Fascism.

Hundred days-no, we are figuring far

—L. TROTSKY. Prinkipo, August 2, 1932.

> READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

## Letter to the Workers of Zurich

In the night of the 15th of June, vio-lent encounters took place in Zurich be- Trotsky Replies to a Calumny the minutes the following extract from tween the workers and the police. I learned of these events from the cables of the bourgeois press agencies, which were, consequently, very tendencious and out knowing the details, it is not very years of my conscious life I have served tized as counter-revolutionary. The difficult to get a general idea of the character of these events. Encounter's between workers, especially striking workers or the jobless, and the police are abundant in the whole history of capitalism. The present terrible crists which is revealing all the rottenness of the capitalist system is stretching the neryous tension of the bourgeoisie to the extreme and is driving it to make use of the police and the army at the slightest alarm. On the other hand, the very just indignation of the workers against the bourgeoiste is growing and is seeking of the bloody encounter is one and the letariat and of the reactionary petty We shall not undertake to counsel from same. Capitalism has reduced the workbourgeoisie weigh equally on the scale afar what road the attempts at form- ers to starvation, to misery, to despair. of history. The whole question shifts ing a government will take in the next Capitalism is throwing them out into the here onto the field of politics. Through days. Our hypotheses would come streets. Capitalism is beating them down the mechanics of the "Iron Front" the tardily in any case, and besides, it is by armed force. The lackeys of the them, deprived the exploiters of their cause: the social democracy cannot pose social democracy paralyzes the proletar- not the possible transitional forms and capitalist press calumniate the workers iat. With the policy of brainless ultim- combinations which decide the question. and the capitalist judges condemn the and the weapons in the hands of the atism the Stalinist bureaucracy blocks A bloc of the Right wing with the Center "leaders" to jail if the bullets of capi-

This was the simple and obvious exproletariat, Fascism would be extermin- ists, that is, the most suitable cloak for planation I gave, far from Zurich, to the fortunately that is not the situation. The between Hitler, Schleicher and the Cen- leaflet issued by the "Socialist Party paralyzed strength of the proletariat has ter leaders, is more important for them of Zurich" entitled "Settling Accounts bureaucracy, courts, police and army in- that town, attempts to vindicate itself of all responsibility for the repression If it is assumed that the Center will against the strikers and the demonstratnot agree to a coalition, in which to ore. Ascording to this document, the The Papen government represents the would have to pay with a rapture with fault of the conflict is incumbent not impersonal outting point of great his its own workers for the role of a brake upon capitalism but upon Communism.

"Lenin and Trotsky, in similar situations, were severe against all the ultrain the deeds of the government up to immediately unite with Papen and at Left syndicalists of the anarchist tendency. They pittlessly crushed in blood all the putschists."

This leastet has instigated me to adletter to the Zurich workers. It is the aim of the present letter to denounce this calumny. Lenin and myself have against the workers rising against the and who have fallen victims of the new the small, innocent savings. But struggle of the social democratic leaders. capital can be stood firmly on its feet theless I have never known a more men-However, isn't there a Reichswehr? only by the method of a wearisome and dacious and a baser calumny than the sorted to. This will always be the case other—I do not know of any—these are We are not inclined to forget it. Engels relentless civil war. Will Hitler be able one cast on us by the leaflet of the Zur- as long as the classes continue to exist. the mistakes of our class, these are the

The whole life of Lenin was dedicated what class exercises the violence.

## of the Social Democrats

my name because during the thirty-five forces permit me, the cause of the emancipation of the working class. -But the Soviet power, the Messrs.

Social Democratic journalists will reply, didn't it employ measures of reprisal against the anarchists of the Left Social Revolutionists who attempted to organize an insurrection? To be sure! But the difference lies precisely in this-an insignificant difference, isn't it, comrades, workers?-that with us it was a matter of defending, not a bourgeois state, but a proletarian state. The Bolsheviks had previously organized the October insurtendency was heading the strike and the rection (1917) by means of which the ed gentry and the officers who attempted demonstration at Zurich, the character proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie, took possession of its banks and factorproletarian dictatorship consists. Yes we have defended this regime effectively with guns in hand. For its defense we hurled all sorts of curses on our heads. the Hohenzollerns who tried to strangle the Soviet republic. But the Bolsheviks With an iron fist they defended the workers' state. The domestic enemies of the proletarian diotatorship were the bourgeoisie divested of their rights, the bourgeols officers and students, gentlemen of the type of Conradi who assassinated my friend Vorovsky. The Russian social democrats (the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists) directly and indirectly supported this struggle against the workers' state. In all instances in which they rose against it with guns in hand, we treated them without mercy.

But the Zurich social democracy is

of its state, its privileges, its laws, its Litovsk conference, on January 14, 1918, "democratic" peacock-feathers with justice, its police, its prisons and its General Hoffman, the actual head of the which the social democracy is covering army. How then can anyone employ the German General Staff on the Eastern itself up, it has acted and it is acting name of Lenin to justify the reprisals of Front, protested against the violence em- in the events of Zurich as the direct the bourgeoisie against the workers. I ployed by the Soviet governmet. I take agent of the class enemy. The social also protest against the utilization of the occasion to quote verbatim from

"The honorable general has remarked that our government rests on force and employs violence against all those who profess adverse ideas which are stigmaand continue to serve in so far as my honorable general is absolutely correct when he says that our government rests on force. Up to the present, history has not known any other type of government. As long as society will be composed of classes engaged in struggle, the state will inevitably be an arm of compulsion. and will make use of a coercive apparatus . . . That, in our actions, which astonishes and outrages the governments of other countries-is the fact that we arrest not the strikers but the capitalists who lock out the workers, the fact that we do not shoot down the peasants who demand the land but arrest the land-

The leaders of the Zurich democracy ies, confiscated the land of the rural have not gone any further tha General gentry and turned it over to the peasants, Hoffman in so far as they speak of viochased out the parasites from their pal- leuce without defining the class which aces and put up the workers' children in employs this violence. And for good voting rights, concentrated the power this question openly and honestly, since workers and thus guarded the first pro- ist regime. In the petty local questions, letarian state against its enemies. It is the secondary ones, for example—the precisely therein that the regime of the municipal questions, the social democracy attempts to bargain with capitalism for the workers, in order to maintain its authority among them. But wherever created the Red Army. Social democracy it is a matter of the fundamental interof the entire world condemned us and est of the capitalist order and of private property, the very foundations of The German social democracy supported the exploitation of man by man, there the social democracy, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Austria, in France and in did not allow themselves to be strangled. the entire world, invariably takes the side of the exploiters. It has once more demonstrated this in a striking fashion by the June events in Zurich.

Since the gentlemen of the social democratic leadership have taken advantage by referring to Lenin and to myself in casting off their guilt, I will say the following in conclusion: although I cannot judge the events in Zurich except through the accounts rendered by the bourgeois journals to which I can hardly accord more than ten percent of credence, I nevertheless declare in all security, since the labor movement is involved, that all my sympathies are without the slightest reserve on the side of those deceiving you when it refers to Lenin who participated in the strike, who proand Trotsky to justify its bloody violence tested against the brutalitay of the police capitalist state. Violence is used, to be attacks. No matter what the tactical But the whole question is determined by mistakes of the proletarian revolution which is raising its head against the At one of the sessions of the Brest- capitalist yoke. In spite of all the (Continued on page 2)

## The Theory of Permanent Revolution and American Imperialism

National Reformism

ating position in the world chain of capitalism ever since the world war. Prior to the world war American capitalism struggled to obtain this position. Now the American imperialists must wage a

world capitalist conditions. The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation, tom of the contradiction between the international responsibilities and internal needs of the American imperialists. The international responsibilities of American capitalism can only be properly fulfilled on the basis of the solution of the internal needs. On the other hand, the American imperialists can only solve the internal difficulties confronting than on the basis of world capitalism.

The solution of this contradiction not possible under the rule of the American capitalists or any other capitalists. At the bottom, it is the same contradicwar and now has developed to greater

The imperialist struggle for the redivision of the earth is the central problem earth in one straight line. The theory of the American imperialists, to which of the Permanent Revolution does not a other problems are subordinated. But within this imperialist problem

much concerned with the world revolu-i but all were drowned in the workers constant struggle to maintain and extend tion as the Communists are, but for op- blood. this power against the onslaughts of the posite reasons. Therefore, the interven- jective situations but-wrong policies. other capitalist nations. This new post- tion of the U. S. dollar, for economic tion places greater responsibilities upon or military purpose, to hold in check the the United States in the maintenance of October revolution has been a major task of the American Imperialists since 1917. The danger of the extension of the October revolution is a life and death matter for world capitalism and the United States representing the dominating factor. This compels Wall Street to proceed in a fashion altogether contrary to

> the 19th century. The burning question of the capitalproblem of the proletariat. Our problem is the understanding and application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Theirs-the defeat of the Per manent Revolution.

the lingering "isolationist", ideology of

dialectic or imperialism or a whole series of other words are used in the polidictionary sense. The theory of the permanent revolution has nothing in common with the old Bucharin concept, which on the basis of the October revolution, estimates that a mounting wave of revolutions, one right on top of the other, would sweep capitalism from the donsider as "permanent", the time element in the series of revolution. The theory of the Permanent Revolution considers the development of the revolution from country to country, in their interrelationship, regardless of ebbs and flows, PERMANENT until the class problems of the proletariat are SOLVED. Let us follow the process of the class

Although a solution for capitalism is but not understood in living reality, is the historic origin of the theory. The Through the Papen government, the not possible, a breathing spell for some the Lenin formula, "Without a revolu- conception of the permanent revolution 

Weak links and favorable ob-

The vanguard fighters already know the role social democracy played in these revolutions. It is the task of the Left: Opposition to explain the role Stalinism played in these revolutions since 1923. as the flower of the reaction against the social revolution as such." October did not then, nor does it now. understand the theory of the Permanent ists is the opposite side of the burning Revolution. Stalinism has merely usurped the heritage of the October Revolution, which is the first fruit of the

theory of the Permanent Revolution. There are reasons for the one success-The word permanent, like the word ful revolution and the many failures reflection of the character of world eco revolution in 1923 were the world imthat followed. The determining factor nomy, of the world development of pro- perialists successful in their intervenin the problem was not the objective ductive forces, and the world scale of tion through the Dawes Plan and then condition which was the most favorable, the class struggle. The social revolu- the Young Plan. And likewise, in every but the vanguard and its policies or lack tion begins on national grounds. But it other revolutionary situation, the world of policies. The major defeats of the cannot be completed on these grounds." capitalists intervened at the start but proletariat and the Communist vanguard "In an isolated proletarian dictator- were only successful to the degree that commenced with the 1923 revolution in ship, the internal and external contradic-t the policies of the vanguard deviated Germany. Up to that time the Russian tions grow inevitably together with the from Marxism, from the theory of the revolution under the leadership of Lenin growing successes. Remaining isolated, Permanent Revolution. Correct theory and Trotsky was consolidating itself, the proletarian state must finally be- and correct action is no guarantee to the International was building a world come a victim of these contradictions, victory but only through the Marxian party, and the workers were in motion The way out for it lies only in the vicagainst world capitalism. Upon the de- tory of the proletariat of the advanced gain power. feat of the 1923 revolution the American countries. Viewed from this standpoint, dollar propped up decay capitalism, and the national revolution is not a self-suf-Stalinism replaced Marxism in the Com- ficient whole! it is only a link in the in- extension of the October revolution. We munist International. The theory of ternational chain. The international revsocialism in one country replaced the olution presents a permanent process in fight accordingly. Today we have another theory of the Permanent Revolution, na- spite of all fleeting rises and falls."\* tional reformism replaced international-

The theory of the Permanent Revolu-Permanent Revolution and its relation to tion may be outlined in the following manner: "First, it embraces the problem The most important Marxian concept to- of the transition of the democratic revday, repeated by Stalinism in dead form olution into the socialist. This is really

The United States has held the domin- The Conflict Between Proletarian Internationalism and Stalinist direct introduction to the proletarian

revolution as such. For an indefinitely long time and in constant internal strug- American imperialism. gle all social relations are transformed. The process necessarily retains a political History will look to Stalinism for an in economy, technique, science, the fam- the capitalists of the "weak link" only answer. And the question can only be ily, morals and usages develop in com- becomes effective when the vanguard of answered upon the basis of the applica- plicated reciprocal action and do not the proletariat does not present a policy tion of the theory of the Permanent allow society to reach an equilibrium. based on a Marxian revolutionary theory. Revolution. Stalinism as a bud and now Therein lies the permanent character of In Russia with Lenin and Trotsky, the

> social revolution which constitutes the vention. But the non-Marxian revoluthird aspect of the theory of the per- tionary theory of Stalinism, for a series manent revolution, results from the state of revolutions, since 1923 did not enable of economy and social structure of hu- the proletariat to hold in check the counmanity. Internationalism is no abstract ter-offensive of the imperialists. principle, but a theoretical and political

What is the relation of American imperialism to this theory, or to be more stream with the theory of socialism in exact, the continuation of the Russian one country. A theory which stifles and revolution to the world revolution? The checks the action of the Communist United States as the strongest link of parties in the struggle to extend the world capitalism struggles to prevent the October revolution. proletarian revolution from absorbing the world, no matter where the civil war breaks out. World capitalism, which in- erican Imperialism to world capitalism cludes American Imperialism as the and world economy. To extend the Octdynamo of the system of reaction, in- ober revolution means to reject the Staltervenes in every class struggle between inist revisionist theory of socialism in the exploiters and exploited.

must be smashed. The October revolution must be extended. The iron ring of the world capitalists, (with the backing of the American dollar) around the Soviet Union must be broken. The extension of the October revolution means "The second aspect of the 'permanent' to fight, not only the national bourgetheory already characterizes the socialist oisie, but to fight world capitalism and particularly the economic pressure of

The break-down of capitalfsm, in the economic and political crisis stays the character, that is, it develops through hands of world capitalism in their fight collisions of various groups of society against the world proletariat and the in transformation. Outbreaks of Civil revolutionary workers fighting the cap-War and foreign war's alternate with per- italists on the "weak link". The interiods of 'peaceful' reforms. Revolutions vention of the imperialists in support of correct revolutionary theory and action "The international character of the held at bay the world capitalist inter-

> Only after the defeat of the German policy and action can the projectariat

> American imperialism in its "peace role" stands as the bulwark against the expect nothing else from America and problem. Stalinism is a new growth of revisionism, poisoning the Marxian

To extend the October revolution, means to understand the relation of Amone country and all that flows from it. The weak links of the capitalist chain To extend the October revolution means