Stalinists Strengthen Fascism

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(This is the second in a series of articles based on the stenogram of the report on "Problems of Strategy and Policy in the Struggle Against War" made by Bertram D. Wolfe to the plenary session of the I.C.L.L. held recently.—The Editor.)

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EARL BROWDER has sunk so low that he does not hesitate to play with the Spanish issue in order to sing the song of preparedness for the U. S. I have here in the Daily Worker of December 10th, a speech by Earl Browder at the Hippodrome: "Next Steps In the Defense of the Spanish Republic." A headline in this article says: "The Struggle For Spain is a Struggle For Implementing Roosevelt's Chicago Speech."

The speech "on Spain" completely whitewashes American imperialism. Now, the United States has endorsed and supported a bloody puppet dictatorship in Cuba. The United States has endorsed and supported a bloody dictatorship in Brazil. The United States has set up and supports a bloody dictatorship in San Domingo, which has just murdered 12,000 **Haitian toilers.** How does Browder fight this ruthless imperialism in Latin America? I quote: "If German and Italian fascism are victorious in Spain, and Japan crushes China ,they will surely open up a series of wars of conquest and aggression on the part of the insolent fascist states all over the world. Already, **they have invaded the Americas, have seized Brazil, have massacred 8,000 Haitians right at our doorstep, are taking over Cuba** and are preparing an armed insurrection in Mexico against the Cardenas republic" (Emphasis mine—B.D.W.).

This, at the expense of the Spanish people, is a whitewash of American imperialism. The welfare not only of American imperialism now concerns Earl Browder, but even of French and British imperialism. He continues: "It would mean converting China into a Japanese colony, and **immediate menace to French Indo-China, India Australia and the Philippines."**

When he begins defending imperialism, he goes the whole hog, not only with the American government but with the governments of all our potential or imaginary allies. He goes further—he whitewashes the Roosevelt act of strangling the Spanish government by embargo: "When the United States government, **thru its Congress,** shamefully broke all its treaty obligations with the Spanish republic and imposed a blockade against it, solely on the ground that it was in trouble and suffering invasion, this was a demonstration that **the U.S. Congress, in its present composition, is a very unreliable support** for democracy." It was Roosevelt, the President, by executive order, that promulgated the embargo, and Browder uses it for an attack against Congress and for the strengthening of the arm of the Executive, in other words, for a deliberate step towards fascist dictatorship for war purposes.

Whitewashing Fascism

Next, he whitewashes the fascism of other potential allies in his imagined line-up for the coming "war against fascism." Here are his remarks on Poland: "There is information that the Chicago speech, coming at a moment when the Polish fascists were pressing for complete fascization of the Polish state and alignment with Hitler, heartened the Polish anti-fascists sufficiently to defeat at least for a time this conspiracy." In other words, Poland is not yet fascist because it has not joined Hitler!

Still in the name of the next steps "to aid the Spanish people," Browder repeats the pledge of the Communist Party of the United States to be the agent of counter-revolution in connection with the coming war. Maybe some of us don't know the language of that pledge. At any rate, Browder thought it worth repeating—and I think it worth repeating here: "The Communist Party repudiates now, as in the past, all theories and porposals looking toward a forcible imposition of socialism or any utopia upon the majority of the people. We repudiate the 'reckless resolve to seize power' by any minority. If there should arise in America anything similar to the situation in Spain, where the Democratic republic, while repulsing the fascist invasion, was stabbed in the back by the 'uncontrollable extremists' (a minority of the anarchists and the Trotskyite P.O.U.M.) then **we,** like our brothers of the Spanish Communist Party, **would be in the forefront to suppress such 'extremists',** who are really agents of fascism, and render them harmless."

This is a pledge to play a counter-revolutionary role in the next war, even before it is asked. I say, this is a new low in the entire history of strike-breaking and treason in the history of the international working class.

Strengthening The Fascist Trend

I want to emphasize that already, now, the Communist Party is using the slogan of "the struggle against fascism" to strengthen certain fascist tendencies developing here at home. How? I enumerate a few moves in that direction:

By strengthening the power of the Executive. By whitewashing the crime against Spain.

By whitewashing and endorsing the Roosevelt housing-plan fraud.

By endorsing and urging Roosevelt to carry out more vigorously his Chicago war speech.

By endorsing his war preparations.

By developing a war psychology.

By fostering the "Stand behind the President" attitude.

By urging a classless national front.

I quote now the Christmas Eve editorial of the Daily Worker:—three sentences of it—"Landon's message to Roosevelt represents a chiding of certain Congressional cliques which resorted to an irresponsible advocacy of the Ludlow Amendment in their efforts to knife effective discussion on America's course following the Panay bombings. . . . But Landon took care to tell Roosevelt that he was speaking only of the conflicts that 'begin at the water's edge,' not of domestic struggles for political supremacy. . . . It is for Roosevelt to move boldly forward, as the American people desire it."

The Communist Party is supplementing this direct campaign for war by the vilest attacks on those who are against war. On December 3, we find a headline in the Daily Worker under the column known as "Change The World" which reads: "Scratch an isolationist and find a fascist." The Communist Party further strengthens the fascist tendencies in America by endorsing semi-fascist and potentially fascist organizations. I quote now from the West Side Flash, published every week by the 10th A.D. unit of the Communist Party, and not without the sanction and direction of the New York district office and not against the line of the Central Committee of the party. The West Side Flash heads this issue: "We, The People . . ." Its only other headline is: "American Legion Promotes Peace." I quote from this article on the recent convention of the American Legion:

"The American Legion, now holding its convention in N.Y., feels that the peace of the U.S. is in immediate danger.

"That is why the question of peace is playing such a prominent role in the Legion's activities.

"The Communist Party feels that a conference of all progressive groups in the United States standing for peace would really represent the overwhelming majority of the American people.

"Such a conference could be a tremendous force to arouse action to maintain peace.

"We of the West Side should see to it that our boys in the American Legion should support and promote such a program."

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(The next article in this series will appear in the coming issue.—The Editor.)

Lenin's G Politico

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last week)

UNDERLYING all the activities of the Bolsheviks from 1905 to 1917 was a consistent and carefully formulated theory of the course and perspectives of the Russian revolution. In its social content, the revolution would be bourgeois-democratic in character—here they agreed with the Mensheviks and disagreed with Trotsky, who insisted that it would be proletarian and socialist. Because of Russia's historical backwardness which faced it with the tasks of a bourgeois revolution in the twentieth century, the revolution could achieve success only under the hegemony of the proletariat in close alliance with the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie ("revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry")—here in disagreement with both the Mensheviks, who looked to the liberals to take the lead, and Trotsky, who spoke of a "workers government" ("proletarian-socialist dictatorship") replacing Czarism. Revolution in Russia would arouse to revolution the working masses of Western Europe, which was already ripe for socialism, and the socialist proletariat there, once in power, would turn around and help the Russian workers advance towards the socialist revolution in that country. In 1905, Lenin had already clearly formulated this three-stage perspective:[6]

"We must not be afraid of a complete victory for social-democracy in the democratic revolution . . . for such victory will enable us to rouse Europe and the socialist proletariat of Europe will then throw off the yoke of the bourgeoisie and, in its turn, help us to carry out the socialist revolution."

Just ten years later, towards the end of 1915, the editors of the Bolshevik paper, Sotsial-Demokrat, proposed "a few theses" written by Lenin, in which the same conception finds a very similar formulation:[7]

"4. Soviets of workers deputies

6. V. I. Lenin: Two Tactics of Social-Democracy, June-July 1905.

7. V. I. Lenin: A Few Theses, Proposed by the Editors of the Sotsial-Demokrat, in Sotsial-Demokrat, October 26, 1915.