Marxists in face of Fascism

WRITINGS BY MARXISTS ON FASCISM FROM THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

David Beetham



Contents

Abbreviations	page	ix
Preface and Acknowledgements		viii
Introduction		1
Chronological Table		64
I Fascism in Italy, 1921–8	•	82
1 On Fascism, 1921 ('Italy and Spain', 'Element	al	
Forces', 'The Two Fascisms') Antonio Gramsci		82
2 Towards a Definition of Fascism (1922) Giovan	ni	
Zibordi		88
3 Rome Theses (1922) Amadeo Bordega and Umber	'to	
Terracini		96
4 Capital's Offensive (1922) Karl Radek		99
5 The Struggle against Fascism (1923) Klara Zetk		102
6 The Nature and Historical Significance of Fascis	m	
(1923) Gyula Sas		113
7 Democracy and Fascism (1924) Antonio Gram.	sci	121
8 The International Situation and the Struggle		
against Fascism (1926) Antonio Gramsci		124
9 The Contradictions of Fascism in Power (1920)	5)	
Palmiro Togliatti		127
10 The Hegemony of the Working Class in the An	ti-	
Fascist Struggle (1928) Palmiro Togliatti		132
11 On the Question of Fascism (1928) Palmiro Togli	iatti	136
II The Communist International: From 'Social-Fascism	•	
to Popular Front		149
12 The Victory of Fascism over the November		
Republic (1923) German Communist Party		149
13 Resolution on Fascism (1924) Fifth World Congre	223	,
of the Comintern		152
14 The Period of Bourgeois-Democratic 'Pacifism'	,	-
(1924) Joseph Stalin		153
(·)		-,,

•	\sim
V1	Contents

	15	Theses on the International Situation (1929)	
		Executive of the Comintern	155
	16	On Fascism (1931) Dmitrii Manuilski	157
		The Revolutionary Way Out and the KPD (1932)	
		Ernst Thälmann	161
	18	On the German Situation (1933) Palmiro Togliatti	168
		Resolution adopted by the National Conference,	
		July 1934 French Communist Party	171
	20	The Socialist-Communist Pact (1934) Léon Blum	174
		The Working Class Against Fascism (1935) Georgi	
		Dimitrov	179
Ш	Cor	mmunists in Opposition, 1928–37	187
	22	On Fascism (1928) August Thalheimer	187
	23	So-called Social-Fascism (1929) August Thalheimer	195
	24	The Development of Fascism in Germany (1930)	
		August Thalbeimer	197
	25	The Danger of Fascism in Germany (1930) Leon	
		Trotsky	204
	26	For a Worker's United Front against Fascism	
		(1931) Leon Trotsky	208
-	27	Lessons of the Italian Experience (1932) Leon	
		Trotsky	211
	28	Bonapartism and Fascism (1934) Leon Trotsky	214
	29	Against the 'People's Front' (1935) Leon Trotsky	222
	30	The Spanish Revolution, The Communist Party	
		and the Opposition (1932) Andrés Nin	225
	31	The Political Situation and Tasks of the Proletariat	
		(1937) Andrés Nin	229
	32	What is Fascism? (1934) Ignazio Silone	236
IV	So	cial Democracy and Fascism	245
	33	Force and Democracy (1927) Karl Kautsky	245
		Speech to the SPD Conference (1927) Rudolf	
		Hilferding	250
	35	In the Danger Zone (1930) Rudolf Hilferding	254
	36	Between the Decisions (1933) Rudolf Hilferding	259
		No to 'Toleration' (1930) Max Seydewitz	264

		Contents	vii
	38	The Mission of the Socialist Workers' Party	
		(1932) Max Seydewitz	267
	39	Some Causes and Consequences of German	
		National-Socialism (1933) Karl Kautsky	270
	40	Methods and Aims of the Struggle against Fascism	
		(1933) Karl Kautsky	272
	41	Revolutionary Socialism (1934) Rudolf Hilferding	274
		Revolutionary Social Democracy (1934)	
	•-	Alexander Schifrin	276
	.43	The Only Route to Power (1934) Max Seydewitz	281
		The Struggle for State Power (Linz Programme,	
		1926) Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria	283
	45	Austrian Democracy Under Fire (1934) Otto Bauer	284
		Fascism (1936) Otto Bauer	294
		The Unification of Socialism (1936) Otto Bauer	297
		The Origins of Fascism (1935) Richard Löwenthal	301
v	The	Fascist State, the Economy, and War	309
	49	The Proletariat, Fascism, and the Italian	
		Economy (1927) Angelo Tasca	309
	50	Fascist Italy, Hotbed of War (1927) Palmiro	
		Togliatti	314
	51	The Corporations and State Capitalism (1934)	
		Ignazio Silone	319
	52	The Fascist State and Monopoly Capitalism	
		(1935) Richard Löwenthal	325
	53	The 'Controlled' Economy (1936) Otto Bauer	340
		Fascism and War (1938) Otto Bauer	346
	Bio	ographical Notes	366
	No	otes and List of sources	374
Index			

.