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The Fascist International

By Harry F. Ward
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The union of the Fascist nations has been forming for some time. It was organized and brought into the open by the struggle in Spain. The military plan for the Spanish revolt was made in Germany, according to documents published in The Manchester Guardian, and the amount of military materials and personnel supplied to the rebels by Italy and Germany has been reported by unbiased American correspondents. This continuous Fascist aid to the rebels has been recognized by our most conservative papers. The international Fascist offensive is an attack on Democracy, not only in Spain, but throughout the world.

At the Nuremberg Congress, following the Olympic Games, Hitler called for a world crusade against Bolshevism. Shortly thereafter the Pope invited all Christians to join in a holy war against Communism—the anti-Christ. Then came Mussolini urging the forces of order everywhere to get together in “a decisive conflict to defend civilization against anarchy.” Next Hitler and Mussolini signed an agreement, offensive and defensive. Then a treaty was announced between Hitler and Japan. A little later came reports of a similar engagement between Mussolini and Japan.

A New Historic Form

In the international field, this is a new historic form. It is basically different from the Second (Socialist) International, and the Third (Communist) International. They are composed of political parties. This new one is composed of governments. The others carry on their work through propaganda. This one uses armies. The Socialist International tried to use Democracy and the Communist International, since 1935, has been trying to defend it. The Fascist International seeks to overthrow Democracy by force of arms.

This international offensive against democratic government marks a turning point in world history. Spain is the battleground for control of the future. The international forces that are there contending have started something vaster than a new world war. It is not a struggle between two ideas, like the religious wars of old. It is a vital conflict between two ways of organizing life—the democratic and the autocratic. The issue is whether the people or the exploiters of the people are to rule. It involves the question of whether life is to go forward or
backward. Just as all the forces of reaction in Spain gathered together to crush the lawful People's Front Government and establish a military dictatorship, so all the international forces of reaction—political, economic, cultural—join in the Fascist offensive against Democracy. How many of our newspaper owners want the Spanish rebels to succeed and are deceiving their readers about the issues in the struggle? Plenty of our patriotic profiteers make no bones about saying that they would prefer a Hitler or a Mussolini here to a people's government.

**Union of Reaction**

At the beginning of the capitalist period of history, all the forces of feudal reaction united against the growing Democracy. Now, at the end of the period, they gather again—all the feudal remnants, all of the capitalist reaction—to destroy the democratic process before it leads to the social change that will remove them from the seat of power. Since the People's Front governments were formed in France and in Spain, the forces of reaction have discovered that if they are to preserve their power and privilege, they must swiftly destroy Democracy. What our steel and coal barons, our automobile and textile magnates, have long done in their local communities, what Hitler and Mussolini have done in Germany and Italy, is now being attempted on a world scale. In the concrete, it is the fight between democratic and Fascist forms of government that has started in Spain. In the broad, the struggle is between reaction and progress, for only by the democratic process can life go forward into the development of its higher possibilities.

By taking the offensive against people's governments, the Fascist leaders of the forces of reaction have put a sharp choice before all those who believe in the principles of Democracy. They must act now, and act together, or government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the earth for a period. The Fascist leaders see the issue clearly and act accordingly. They understand that the exercise by the people of their right to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing awakens the people to exercise the same control over the economic and cultural means of life. So they confuse the issue by the cry of "Communism." Will the believers in Democracy be deceived, or will they follow the road they have chosen, knowing that it is the only way to peace and freedom?

Consider the strange situation in which we find ourselves. We have been passing, in many of our States, laws to outlaw radical groups, and one political party in particular, on the hypothesis that this party proposes to overthrow the Constitution and Government of the United
States by force and violence. And those laws have been used to express legally the will of the corporate interests. Here is the unreality with which we have been dealing. Now we face the reality, and a black and terrible reality it is: the Fascist International has organized an attack upon the basic principle of Democracy, and proposes to overthrow everywhere the right of the people to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing. If there is any doubt about it, if the actions in Spain are not convincing, we have only to read the second clause in the protocol that is attached to the agreement between Germany and Japan, and we find that it binds the respective parties to take severe measures at home and abroad against those who directly or indirectly aid in the specific activities of the Communist International.

**Red-Baiting A Formula**

With that clause in mind, let us recall how constitutional government was overthrown in Germany. Remember how the people of Germany were whipped up into a frenzy against Communism by the Reichstag fire and the reports that the Communists had done it. Under the cloak of that lie what remained of the democratic constitution of Germany was destroyed. This is the technique which is now to be employed internationally by the black Fascist International, the same technique which has been used in Spain to destroy the People's Government under the anti-Communist slogan. This formula will serve well in Czechoslovakia on the ground that it has made an alliance with the Soviet Union, and that it is therefore an instrument for promoting the activities of the Communist International. It will serve for an attack on the People's Front Government in France, as it has in Spain. It will serve the same purpose in the countries of Latin America, where the Fascist groups are already organized.

No, this conflict that has been started on the soil of Spain cannot be localized. It must be recognized that what we face today is not simply the ambitions of imperialism, not simply a conflict of fanatical enthusiasts, but something far deeper. History has come to the point where two diametrically opposite ways of organizing the life of mankind are now fighting for control of the next period of human existence.

The democratic method has been challenging the autocratic way of life, the ancient way of the aristocrats and emperors and lords (they are all different types of the same breed). The democratic method has been seeking the way of peace, has been upholding the right of peoples to rule themselves. And now we come to the testing time, and
as at the beginning of this period when all the forces of reaction joined to crush the newly born Democracy, so now all the forces of reaction—economic, political, cultural—are using the Fascist system and its armies as the instruments in the endeavor to prevent the democratic method from taking the next step and extending the control of the people over the things that are necessary to their life. That is the meaning in the large of this conflict that has started upon the soil of Spain, but is a world-wide issue.

**A Modern "Crusade"**

There is another force that has joined this black International which must be reckoned with. Did it escape attention that the voice of the Vatican (and the voice of the Vatican today is the voice of the Jesuits that control the Vatican), was heard in between Hitler’s speech, calling the world to a crusade against Bolshevism, and Mussolini’s speech, calling the world in defense of law and order against monarchy? In between these two, the voice of the Pope called Christians everywhere, Protestants as well as Catholics, to join in a holy war against the anti-Christ, Communism. And so you have the Vatican throwing its lot in with the Fascist International. It is well to bear in mind that the Vatican attacking Democracy, under the guise of a crusade against Communism, is an organized force that knows more about propaganda than Mr. Hearst can ever learn if he stayed on this earth 1000 years.

The Vatican is organizing its crusade, and it is expected that Protestants will join up. The Pro Deo societies organized in some European countries to unite Protestants with Catholics in the attack on Communism are to be extended around the world. One of the things that brought Cardinal Pacelli, "closest collaborator" of the Pope, to this country was to find out what support for the campaign could be secured here, politically and religiously. Our "red-baiting" Protestants, spiritual kin to reaction everywhere, are now invited to sing "All one body we." The question is how many liberals and pacifists, how many simple, honest folk, will be deceived into irretrievable disaster by the false battle cry.

The Fascist offensive makes it perfectly clear that the defense of peace today in the defense of Democracy, that those who would end war must end Fascism. Does this mean another vain attempt to make the world safe for Democracy? This time the people face reality, not the illusions of a slogan under which the purposes of economic imperialism were concealed. This time the attack is against People’s Front governments, because they register a forward step in Democracy. The effort is to crush the people before they take the next step, and establish the
people's power completely. The issue today is not a crusade in behalf of a fictitious Democracy, but the defense of the reality against actual attack. How is this to be done?

Can Democracies Unite?

The issue cannot be decided by a clear line-up between the so-called democratic countries and the united Fascist states. Not even with the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the "democratic bloc," where it clearly belongs by virtue of its economic democracy and its new constitution. Indeed that line-up cannot at present be formed. If it could be the democratic governments would not have deprived the Spanish People's Government of its lawful right to buy what it needed to put down a military revolt. And the shameful lying record of the Non-Intervention Committee would never have been written. If there were a clear line-up between the democratic countries and the Fascist states, Hitler would not be maneuvering continually for the support of England, and Mussolini would not be seeking loans from England and the United States.

It is only when there are people's front governments in Great Britain and the United States that there can be a clear line of division between the democratic world and the Fascist world. As long as there are not, Hitler and Mussolini can get help from the reactionary elements in the democratic countries to destroy the People's Front governments on the plea that they are, or lead to, Soviets. It is these Fascist, or potentially Fascist, elements in the democratic countries that have helped and are helping the Fascists to power elsewhere. They do this through financial aid, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously in the ordinary ways of money making. Thus, it is clear that if the democratic forces in the other countries are successfully to resist the Fascist offensive, they must defeat the forces of reaction at home. The strength of the enemy abroad is the persence of the enemy within the gates. Unless he is discovered and disarmed, the citadel of Democracy is lost.

War and Fascism Indivisible

What are the peace forces to do? One does not attend a World Peace Congress like that held in Brussels recently, while the Spanish Civil War is still going on, without being terribly aware that the organized peace forces of the world are just as far behind the present situation as they were behind the coming of the World War in 1914. The world is moving too fast for them. None of the machinery that has been devised heretofore to deal with the war problem is capable of
dealing with the present situation. The record of what has been done and not done in Europe by the League of Nations and by the democratic countries is sufficient to prove the case. It is perfectly clear that any movement against war that is to meet this present attack upon Democracy must be based upon the fundamental principle of the American League Against War and Fascism—the indivisibility of war and Fascism.

The reason that the United States, England and France are in danger of attack from this Fascist offensive is because our financiers have been supplying them with the means with which to attack Democracy. Unless we can stop the Fascist-minded people in our own country from selling materials and making loans to the Fascist powers, we can make no successful resistance to the Fascist offensive. More than this we must do, we should have done it long ago—the needs of humanity require it, the obligations of our own history require it—we must put our economic support behind the Government of Spain. This our job because we are in no such risk of war as England and France are.

How To Defeat Fascism

There are only three ways in which the Fascist International can be defeated—by its own contradictions and antagonisms, by the force of arms, by economic strangulation. From the present course of events it looks as though the differences between the Fascist allies can be submerged long enough to carry on their projected offensive. They may have overreached themselves in announcing their alliance too early, and in recognizing Franco too soon, thus obligating themselves to a test of strength before they are ready. This prospect may split them. But if they surmount this difficulty, the fact that ultimately they must destroy each other because they have no solution for the basic economic problem, does not avail to prevent the present destruction of Democracy.

If the issue is now carried to the field of arms, there is no guarantee that more Fascism will not come out of the next world war than came out of the last. In this country the beginning of war certainly involves the attempt to set up Fascist controls. The Industrial Mobilization Plan of the War Department provides the machinery for Fascist dictatorship, immediate and complete.

No Loans, No Credits, No Supplies

The only way to avoid this doubtful conflict is for the “democratic” countries to withdraw all economic support from the Fascist
powers—no loans, no credits, no supplies. Obviously this will not be attempted except by people’s front governments. Plainly these cannot be established without first exposing and outvoting the internal Fascist and potentially Fascist forces. The defeat of Fascism abroad requires the defeat of reaction at home. The defeat of reaction at home brings the defeat of the Fascists abroad. It cuts off their base of supplies. If, in desperation, they attempt war it cannot last long. Their own combined economic resources are not sufficient.

But Democracy cannot win by a defensive campaign. Its hidden strength is that it provides the people with a method through which they can solve the economic problem before which the Fascist forces are helpless. Reaction can be stopped from controlling the next period of history if the democratic forces will take the economic offensive in time. Unless the people’s front forces can extend peoples’ control swiftly to the economic field, and start to provide jobs and security for all, they lose. The slogan of Democracy, “All Power to the People,” means that the people must take over and run the economic machine upon which their lives depend. When the democratic countries do this, and do it successfully, they will detach the deceived followers from the Fascist leaders. They will then be in a position to offer economic security, through economic Democracy on a world scale, to all peoples. Then both war and tyranny can be ended. Collective security can become a reality. Peace and freedom can be established.

The forces that are determined to shatter peace and destroy Democracy are now on the aggressive. They can only be stopped by the united will and active efforts of great sections of the American people. You who desire peace and value Democracy dare delay no longer in throwing your energies and support into the people’s movement against our common enemies—Fascism and War.

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