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# COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE

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For Theory and Discussion

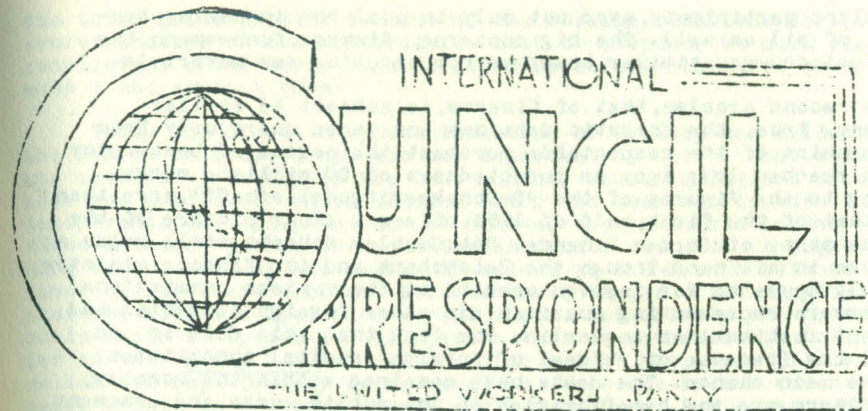
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UNITED WORKERS' PARTY





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GERMANY TODAY

The catastrophic economic condition of Germany, especially in regard to raw materials and finance, leads to the conclusion that the system will soon collapse. The ability of capitalism to "muddle through" is often under-estimated by the revolutionary proletariat. The example of the war years (with certain reservations) is invoked. But, even without considering the intensification of agricultural production that has progressed greatly since the war, the raw-material situation today offers more avenues of escape than formerly. Although the actual production of artificial raw materials, such as benzine or fibre, fail to fulfill the boastful announcements made, essential sources are available. Besides, no matter how limited the exports, with the regulation of the valuta policy the most urgent raw-material needs can be met. That these manipulations lead to constant annoyance of certain trade circles; that regular export trade suffers and the inner contradictions are intensified is obvious. All efforts to overcome the difficulties lead but to a postponement, not an overcoming, of the crisis.

It must not be overlooked that the foreign exchange problem in its relation to the securing of raw materials is not confined to normal methods. Although the Reich and German industry in general has received no foreign credits till now (it remains to be seen what the outcome of England's conciliation policy will be), yet some monopolistic firms are receiving them and thus are independent of the general credit difficulties in securing their raw materials. Thus the I.G. dye trust (I.G. Farben) reports that the concern disposed over four times as much in raw material credits in 1934 as compared to 1933, namely 28 million marks. The credit resources of I.G. are far from exhausted by this, as it can offer credit securities of enormous value in its foreign branches, partnerships, etc. For example there is the hydrogenation process in which the



Rockefellers participate, used not only in coal but in making benzine out of oil as well. The big concerns, Siemens, Mannesmann, the steel trust command similar reserves for securing raw materials.

The second problem, that of finance, is subject to similar conditions. True, the domestic debt has increased enormously. From the standpoint of the respectable merchant the period of bankruptcy has been reached long ago. An indebtedness of 20 milliard marks according to the figures of the "Reichskreditgesellschaft", more than double that of the first half of 1934, offers a clear picture of the hazardous state of German finance. But Gambler Schacht still holds a few tricks in his hand. Though the Reichsbank and the finance ministry has vainly appealed for foreign credits to the various commissions and observers representing American and other foreign financial and government institutions in Berlin- the fact that this debt is an internal one (because of refusal of foreign credits) constitutes Schacht's main chance. The debts have remained within the country; the creditors are the beneficiaries of the public works and armament policy and it is possible to exert considerable pressure on them, for instance, the argument that if the large capitalists consider a large loan unsafe the previous credits become worthless. Incidentally a part of the domestic note issue, underwritten by the large concerns has been transferred to foreign institutions, though it is impossible to estimate the actual amount. However, with or without pressure, the capitalists themselves are interested in seeing a part of the short-term loans transformed into long term credits.

Of course, it is still impossible for them to perform feats of magic and the card tricks of high finance will not be sufficient to forestall eventual collapse. But as yet the possibilities of postponing, of staving off collapse exist. Nevertheless the resources of the various economic groups are drained and the basis of the system over the longer period is undermined.

At present the only measures contemplated are those serving the imposition of a great domestic loan, following the forced loans on the banks and insurance companies to the tune of 1,2 milliard marks, which temporarily lightened the burden. A further 70 to 90 millions is added by the change of the house rent tax into a forced loan. However this is but robbing Peter to pay Paul, for the elimination of the tax on the one hand is made up by the forced loan on the other hand, although the budget took this into consideration.

At present, then, it is planned to float a large loan at low interest, which is made attractive to the lower income classes with tax reductions. The capital market has been prepared- partly through the limiting of public works, which aroused the opposition of the profit-hungry industrialists and aggravates the unemployment problem (for which an outlet has been provided by compulsory military service ); partly through manipulation of the Gold Discount Bank belonging to the Reichsbank, which is authorized to issue notes for 200 million marks. The money market appears unusually flexible. The English "Economist" points out that in spite of an interest rate of  $3 \frac{1}{8}$  to  $3 \frac{3}{8}$  % for day-to-day loans plenty is offered at 2%. Political and moral pressure is to do the rest in starting the loan of 2 milliard marks. Behind the scenes violent conflict occurs over the methods of floating the loan, especially as to the exact forms, so as to avoid heavy depreciation, as a loan of this magnitude cannot be floated successfully if sale and loan privileges are denied.

The third great problem is that of the foreign relations. Here, also, overestimation of the difficulties must be avoided; we must reach conclusions after sober consideration, especially in regard to war, when ? and against whom?

True, the almost complete isolation of Germany was evident in the Geneva deliberations. But how important is that ? What will be the results? A review of the last months, when the English white book was published, which delayed Simon and Eden's trip; when England, France and Italy united at Geneva, when McDonald in the "News Letters" joined the anti-German front, every one thought the Ring around Germany was as firmly welded as the French defense lines on its eastern front. But the commentaries of the English press to Hitler's speech of May 21 showed how quickly the gates could again be opened. Not all papers were as enthusiastic for Hitler as the Daily Mail of May 22 which said, "His words will bring relief and hope. Germany being ready to cooperate in the cause of peace should be welcomed warmly and met half-way. Our government should do all that is in its power to satisfy her legitimate aspirations including the return of Germany's colonies. Hitler, after all, is the one great constructive mind that Germany has produced in this generation." But other papers, including the Daily Herald, adopted a friendly attitude, not to speak of the hymn of praise of "Comrade" Phillip Snowden. Here it becomes obvious that German policy is neither so blind nor insane and unconsciously displays more sense than it is credited with by many fanatics who are blind to the capitalism of other countries and only see the capitalism of the Nazis in the dark colors. Hitler, the spearhead of modern Germany, does not want war with a united Europe. He aims at a new bloc policy, to take advantage of the breaches in the anti-German front. That this is sound policy should be obvious. The fact that France under pretext of a few undelivered telephone posts in 1923 occupied the Ruhr, against a disarmed Germany, while in 1935 it participates in a conciliation policy with rearmed Germany, demonstrates the new international developments, shows how far the conflicts of the various imperialisms are forcing new alignments. Rearmed Germany is a desirable ally for either of the main groups of powers in the next conflict. War is not imminent because of the re-establishment of German military power. Only when Germany has oriented itself in relation to international capitalism and formed the consequent alliances will the war question become acute. And this orientation of course will depend also on the German internal situation.

What is the internal political situation in Germany? In view of the widespread espionage in personal contacts as well as mail communications it is difficult to arrive at conclusions that are complete and accurate. However, what knowledge we have is based on personal observations and experiences in various parts of the Reich, on contacts with various strata and interests. The picture we have shows that National Socialism not only has not captured the broad masses as a "Weltanschauung" but that sentiment is recoiling against it. This applies to those who originally supported it or were "converted" in 1933 as well as to that group whose class interests were originally represented by it - the middle classes. Not the least opposition comes from the farmers, driven thereto by the inheritance law, all but whose first-born are disinherited. Their illusions were shattered by the failure of the settlement policy and the unlimited support given to the great landed pro-



prietors. Unemployment in the cities closes that avenue of escape to them and they are forced into the labor camps, on road-building, and into the Reichswehr where they are not at all the loyal subjects they are usually pictured. The conditions in the camps, and in the agricultural aid (Landhilfe), where these farmer's sons are herded together with unemployed industrial workers to work for landed proprietors and large farmers, are depicted in a number of letters recounting their experiences. Ten to twelve hours work per day with shelter and lodging of a kind already notorious among the Polish seasonal laborers in Pomerania and East Prussia in pre-war days; wages of 20 marks from which is deducted the social insurance and similar fees as well as their travel expenses, which had been advanced by the state in railroad tickets. The slaves are not only shipped regardless of their wishes, but must pay the shipping costs themselves.

The middle class in the city also feels cheated - the destruction of the mortgage and loan capitalists, the elimination of the department stores did not materialize after "clean" Aryan capitalists took over these functions. The small dealer and the tradesmen note no greater purchasing power and feel the pinch of large capital. The wholesalers are increasing prices more rapidly than the retailers can follow, as the market remains sluggish. This applies to all finished textile goods and food, especially the latter, as farmers selling milk and meat were granted much higher prices while the retailers, in view of public sentiment were granted only a small increase. At the same time this policy favors the better rationalized large concerns and intensifies the concentration of capital.

The boasted credit facilities to the middle classes, promised by the National Socialist economists, proved a similar failure. The bank statistics point to the number of single credits granted of less than 20,000 marks - The German Bank & Discount Co. estimated these loans constituted 90% of the total in 1934. But the total amount loaned to small and medium sized concerns is only about 25%. The other 75 % of the total money loaned is in the hands of 10 % of the borrowers. Since 1933 a further drop in small and medium loans has occurred. While the total of loans from 300 to 20,000 marks receded from 235 million marks to 210 million - about 10 % - the total loans above 20,000 marks increased from 470 million to 620 million marks - about 30 %.

The beneficiaries all along the line are the large capitalists, the banks, industry and landed proprietors. Never before was a government so clearly the expression of the class rule of monopoly capitalism as the absolute leader-dictatorship of the National Socialist State. This appears in the balances of the great corporations such as I.G. Dye, Siemens, Krupp and Mannesmann Brothers. I.G. Dye, aside from invisible reserves, in 1934 earned 51 million mark dividends and extras, as well as 80 million marks by lowering of book investments with a total of wages, including salaries, of about 200 million marks, divided among 165,000 persons - an average of 1,200 marks annually. This shows the degree of working class exploitation when it is considered that this "high" average includes the incomes of the better paid employees as well as that of executives up to Bosch and Duisberg themselves.

These income figures in the greatest chemical concern are typical of working class conditions generally. According to the statistics of the German Labor Front the average weekly wages of industrial workers amount to 21  $\frac{1}{2}$  marks, with average working hours of 43 weekly. In addition there are the increased prices for food and clothing, an increase not fully determinable because the quality of goods is deteriorating constantly in order to make the price increase appear less oppressive.

Deductions and penalties of various kinds aggravate the worker's lot. Idle time, time spent going from one job to another, and other necessary but unproductive functions are penalized. For example, an iron foundry in April of this year, with a 60-hour week reckoned the pay of an skilled worker, including overtime, at 46.15 marks, deductions 10.20 marks, leaving a net of 35.95. To evade scale provisions skilled workers often are hired as helpers under the pretext no work in their branch is available. Within a short while they find themselves doing the work of skilled hands - at helpers' wages. Protests are seldom made, the workers' "representatives" are mere puppets of the employers, in the bureaus of the Labor Front the worker is sent from Pontius to Pilate and runs the risk of having his "Marxian" past thoroughly investigated. Should his protests receive support he is sure to get his walking papers from his employers at the earliest opportunity.

What goes on in the plants and factories? True, there appears to be peace, enforced by that supreme and only Nazi achievement, the espionage and stool pigeon system, and unlimited terrorism. Reports we have received of open opposition through underground channels show either individual acts of pure desperation that expired without effect or prove false upon further investigation. These acts are not to be considered general, no matter how much they may be symptoms of general sentiment, although not of a general preparedness for working class action. The working class is not yet ready for concerted action. Fear is too great; nor should we labor under any illusions in regard to the illegal apparatus of the German Communist party which is so honeycombed with spies that the Russian Ochrana appears like a harmless affair by comparison. A vicious factor here are certain elements of the returned immigrants - proletarians formerly known as sincere fighters, who fled in 1933 and through their hopeless situation were reduced to slum proletarians, corrupted by conditions and frequently through blackmail are subservient to the secret police - who are welcomed with open arms by their former comrades only to betray them. Fear is further magnified by the enormous penitentiary sentences for even the smallest implication in illegal activity. Of course this terrorism is proof that the Nazi regime knows its insecurity and proves the lie in which it represents itself as being fully supported by the German masses. The press is forbidden to announce the time and place of the Fuehrer's and the important officials' appearances and when that knowledge is unavoidable, special precautions and protection are provided. But the clenched fist is still sunk deep in the pocket.

What now? We see that all sections of the population, excepting large capitalists and the parasites in government and incidental jobs united by the National Socialists into an unprecedented system of corruption, are dissatisfied. Despite this an immediate collapse cannot be predicted. Aside from the working class there exists the fear of "what after", the fear of the real



revolution. The concept often heard in 1933 : " The gentlemen will soon declare bankruptcy, then comes the military dictatorship," is out of date. For this concept has been realized in the dictatorship of large capital through the military. This dictatorship already extends over the Nazis, as is shown in the events of June 30, 1934, the subsequent retirement of Feder, Darre, and others as well as their satellites. The higher bureaucracy again is manned by the old heads. Although the front still shows Hitler, Goering and Goebbels as well as the swastika flag, the interior is manned by others, the transformation has already occurred behind the scenes. The decisive powers, who allowed the Nazis to seize power in order to suppress the working class - sometimes themselves suppressed in the confusion - now are in complete control.

One activity was left to the Nazis, that of propaganda in fields outside of economic. The seizure of economic power was paid for in this small-change. The religious warfare is not approved by Schacht, Bosch, Krupp, etc., but it is tolerated because it may be a continuous source of dissent and weakness within Nazi ranks. As to anti-Semitism it has eliminated a good deal of unwelcome competition. And, after all, the essence of Nazi ideology is the training to slave-like devotion in hierarchic order, a phase that is pleasing alike to the Catholic Church as well as to large capital.

This is the sociological basis from which the new labor movement must arise. All we have so far are mere beginnings, illegal circles, limited action outside of those belonging. That this activity is hampered by the great number of factions and tendencies is regretted by many. But this is the natural process of social conflict, especially when it is considered that the traditions of several generations were destroyed in the Spring of 1933. This naturally had paralyzing effect, produced confusion, a feeling that all social laws were inoperative. Hesitation marks the new beginnings, for the essential feature of the labor organizations had been the prevention of the very things that now must be done in order to assure proletarian victory - the independent thought and action of the masses. Hundreds of thousands whose leadership has been destroyed still manifest an anxious desire for "new leadership". But the Nazi power soon eliminates any new leadership. The new organization of the working class must be born in the blood and filth of monopolistic capitalist rule, as the process of a class striving for clarity and, to them, a new goal. But the conviction that the past must not repeat itself, that the party structure of the old, large party organizations is forever through, has already captured large numbers of workers.

What causes alarm among these revolutionary workers is that so little seems to have been learned outside of Germany as a result of their experiences. This applies particularly to the supporters of Russian policy whose aim is to chain the masses in their struggle against Hitler to the chariot of Russian state policy. They recall the time when Russian politicians and leaders of the Third International issued the slogan of an enslaved Germany; when Bucharin in 1923 declared Germany to be an exploited colonial country, which justified an alliance with Russia. From this developed the quaint program of national and social deliverance that created so much havoc among workers and not only threw the mass of non-party supporters but many good proletarians into Hitler's arms.

The German working class cannot be saved from without. True, the class struggle is international, but that merely signifies that the working class of every country must settle its scores with its class enemy. Every block policy and alliance outside results in the strangling of the development of the working class and the surrender to the ruling class.

The consciousness of solidarity with the working class of the world is an important factor for the revolutionary workers of Germany, but this solidarity should manifest itself only in their determined, uncompromising warfare against their own enemies. Economically speaking, the workers of other lands are not much better off than those of Germany. War is not the creator of all things, but it is certainly the midwife of revolution and the probability is great that only the next war will open the flood-gates of revolution in Germany. But if the war comes as a crusade against Hitler it will lead to another "August 1914." The workers will be playing into the hands of their ruling classes. It is by no means certain that Germany will be the loser, for if war comes it will not be against an isolated Germany.

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\* NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM \*

The chief task of the Bolshvist parties outside of Russia has been, since their beginning, the encouragement of universal good will to the "Soviet" union, the rallying of varied social elements in opposition to attempts at interference with the industrial development and modernization of Russia.

The revolutionary phrases of 1918 are still with them. The language of post-war Bolshevism was most flamboyant, most revolutionary during the "third period", which followed in wake of the defeat of the Russian State in its attempt to play off the "national liberation" of China against Russia's closest imperialist rivals. After 1933, however, the Bolshvist "Communist" parties have also stepped forward openly as international parties of peace, that is, peace for the sake of the U.S.S.R.

They, too, proposed to paralyze imperialism by means of peace congresses and by encouraging popular moves for disarmament. Under the influence of Russia's need of completing its national progressive revolution -- under the stimulus of Russia's historic need of solving its economic backwardness, the Leninist parties began to abandon the more "erratic" features of their practice flowing from their contradictory theoretic stand. Willy-nilly they are returning to the program of the Social-Democracy, from which the same Russian Revolution had torn them away.

Because the belief that capitalism has no objective limit, the belief that capitalism is "conceivable without expansion" -- and its modern Russian corollary, the belief that socialism is possible in one country and that this socialism and capitalism can live peacefully side by side -- leads necessarily to a particular international attitude.



It leads to an attitude in accordance to which imperialism is not the period of the decisive struggle for (world) socialism, but the diabolic invention of a clique of greedy men. It leads to a program according to which the bourgeoisie may be persuaded that imperialism and militarism are bad from the capitalist viewpoint, and after the supposed instigators of imperialism have been isolated, a block constituted of the proletariat and wide bourgeois layers with the idea of paralyzing imperialism through 'partial disarmament', by rendering it inoffensive.

"Just as the decadent liberalism of the last century turned with appeals from the badly informed monarchy to the better informed monarchy, so the 'Marxist center' (before 1914) wanted to appeal from the badly enlightened bourgeoisie to the more enlightened bourgeoisie -- from the policy of imperialist catastrophes to that of international disarmament, from the struggle of the great powers for the world dictatorship of the canon to the pacific federation of national democratic States. The struggle between the proletariat and capital was to give way to a utopia of compromise between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which would 'soften' the antagonism among the imperialist powers. (From the Anticritique, second part of Accumulation of Capital.)

Luxemburg wrote this in 1915, immediately after the World War had shattered the hopes of the social-democratic peace lovers, who themselves had helped to create the illusion of war "to make the world safe for democracy", a "war to end war".

By today, the Bolsheviks, heirs to the Social-Democracy, have succeeded in fashioning a new illusion, which serves to prime the workers of the world for the next "great war". They say that the Soviet Union is the workers' Fatherland. They say it is the duty of the workers to defend this fatherland, to bear arms in its defence, especially since a probable opponent of Russia in the coming international war will be Hitler barbarism. They describe such participation of the workers in the next war as "revolutionary defence."

Yesterday, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany resolved at the behest of the Moscow center: "There is no principle difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism." They wrote: "The task of the Communists is in no way to seek with blue spectacles a pseudo-theory of the existence of some kind of difference between Democracy and Fascism" (Die Internationale, January 1932, p. 31). Yesterday all workers who refused to recognize the "hegemony of the Bolshevik leadership" were branded as "social fascists". Yesterday "genius-leader" Stalin declared: "The Social-Democracy is the moderate wing of Fascism". Yesterday the only action against Fascism that was permitted by the Moscow center was through the "united front from below", that is, inside the Bolshevik Party. Yesterday all who begged Moscow to stop the nonsense, to permit a real united front against the Nazis, to bolster up opposition to Hitler by giving direct aid to such a united front, were called agents-provocateurs seeking the destruction of the "workers' fatherland". No doubt resistance to Fascism in 1932--even by a resolute minority--would have embroiled Germany in a civil war. And in 1932 the biggest slice of foreign credit received by the Soviet entrepreneurs came guaranteed from the German State. A Germany troubled by a civil war would not have.

been in the position to continue to give credit and Hitler did not fail to renew this business arrangement with the "workers' fatherland" when he attained State power.

Today Moscow is a lover of Democracy with a capital letter. Yet, even bourgeois democracy. Today Moscow sees so much of a difference between bourgeois democracy and Fascism that it calls for the formation of "popular" and "national" united fronts, including bourgeois democratic groups and some that are not so democratic. Today Bolshevik politicians are advised to enter bourgeois coalition governments wherever such governments are opposed to Fascism.

But it is doubtful if by "Fascism" Moscow means, in this case, Mussolini's rule in Italy. It has made close economic pacts with Italy. General Nobile and a large staff of technico-military experts have been in the U.S.S.R. for the last two years. They are not in the "workers' fatherland" to eat bortsch and Russian pumpnickel. They are in the land of Bolshevik socialism to develop the "socialist" sinews of war. Is not the partnership of fascist Italy in the Franco-Soviet war block possible? In view of Nazi Germany's designs on Austria, in view of Mussolini's fear of the threat of a huge Germany on the northern borders of Italy, such a partnership is probable.

It is, moreover, vain to deny the possibility (by the time the war breaks out) of a patriotic united front of the French "friends of the Soviet Union" and the French fascists. Steps in that direction have already been taken by the Russian "foreign legion" in France. The French Bolsheviks have proposed, even to the indignation of the social-democratic Populaire, a "united national front of the Socialist, Communist and fascist youth." A formal invitation to join in was made to the Jeunesse Patriote and Solidarite Francaise, the two organizations embracing most young elements of French Fascism. "After all", argues the Moscow center, "the French Fascists are not pro-German. They are anti-German. The coming war will be a war of us and our allies against Germany and its allies."

By Fascism, Moscow means all those powers that are likely to be found in the block of States opposing the probable Franco-Italo-Soviet block in the next world war. The coming war, like the past world war, will be a contest between blocks of powers over economic advantages in the world. In this contest the Soviet Union will be a partner in a combine made up of avowed imperialist States. We are told that it is still the duty of the workers of the world, and especially the workers in the imperialist countries allied with the U.S.S.R., to bear arms in the defence of the "socialist fatherland". But the defence of the Soviet fatherland now coincides with the defence of several imperialist fatherlands. Revolutionary defence now equals national defence. Like the Social-Democracy in 1914, the Bolshevik "Communist" parties have taken the next logical step, as indicated by Rosa Luxemburg. Yesterday they organized peace congresses. Today they are parties of national defence.

The ruling class cannot carry on its wars without priming the masses for enthusiastic participation in the slaughter. To prepare the masses for efficient service in a war, the politicians must get the masses to confuse their interests with the interests of



the "nation", with which are already identified the interests of the dominant class. Capitalism finds the slogans that do the job of confusion. It will always succeed in getting the masses to fight its war as long as the latter do not understand their historic position, as long as they do not see the difference between their interests and the interests of the master class, as long as they do not free their hearts and minds from the charm of the national illusion whereby the trick of confusion is worked.

Just like "make the world safe for democracy" and "defend German civilization against Russian barbarism" in 1914 -- so "save the world from fascism" and "defend the Soviet fatherland" in the impending war. The Bolshevik "Communist" parties, appendages of the Russian State, are helping to put over the old swindle. They are doing their bit in influencing the workers of the West to identify their interests with the interests of the ruling class of their countries. They are squelching revolutionary opposition to the coming war.

It seems hard to repudiate the U.S.S.R. Like its progressive revolution of 1917-1919, the progressive war that Russia will fight in the near future is already mobilizing to its support the sympathies of many workers and liberal intellectuals of the world. What was done then in the name of the "world revolution", is now attempted in the name of a "socialist fatherland". But the worker who has learned what are his class interests knows he has no fatherland. He owes no allegiance to any existing national state. The same fatherland that has at present an open military pact with the Banque de France was a few years ago quite ready to come to an agreement with Hitler's Germany. The State that the worker can rightly call his own will have one task to fulfill -- to abolish wage slavery on the surface of the globe and thus do away with the very institution of the State. By this token shall you know the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

H.G.

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THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

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Toward the middle of June, 1935, there was held in Brussels a conference of the international council-communist groups, at which, among others, our German, Dutch and Danish groups were represented.

The conference served to show, after thorough discussion, that the various groups possess a unitary conception regarding the international tendencies of capitalist development, which economically are heading for state capitalism and politically for fascism. A unitary conception likewise prevailed in regard to the situation of the labor movement in the various countries and to the resulting tasks and tactical necessities.

The following general basic conception was evolved:  
The attempt of the various national bourgeoisies to remedy the economic crisis by means of the old private-capitalist methods

has essentially failed and has led to a further sharpening of the general world crisis. In this connection, local structural alterations are to be noted. The impossibility of overcoming the crisis on the basis of private economy leads, on an international scale, to an accentuation of the tendencies toward relieving the private-economy anarchy through state-capitalist "planned economy". With this development the socialization process of capitalism advances toward its highest state of perfection and the epoch of the bourgeoisie attains its historical close. The state-capitalist economic system reveals itself essentially as a coordination of the different class interests to a unitary economic order, whereby private-capitalist initiative is abolished in favor of state-capitalist. This development does not unconditionally presuppose the abolition of private property in means of production, as happened in Russia, but certainly comes to light in the direction and "planning" of economy through the State. Corresponding to these structural alterations of economy, there changes also the social super-structure. Thus fascism expresses itself in a nationalization of minds, elimination of the right of the masses to participate in the forming of decisions and replacement of that right by the authoritarian principle of leadership, militarizing of the entire nation, together with dictatorship of a party over the masses, in which connection the dictatorship may be bolshevist, socialist, democratic, bourgeois, nationalistic. This general development leads to the overcoming of the earlier class stratification of bourgeois society--big bourgeoisie, middle strata and proletariat--and to the emergence of two starkly opposed social groupings: the class of owners of the means of production with its trinitarian apparatus of party, economy and State, and the great majority of the population as exploited, impoverished masses of producers.

The elaboration of state-capitalist "planned economy" likewise clearly demonstrates the identity of this historical close of the bourgeois epoch with the socialist final goal of the old labor movement. And precisely in virtue of this necessary development the working masses are bound to realize more and more clearly that the new economy must take a form which is fundamentally of a different nature from that of the Socialists and Bolsheviks with their projects of a socialist planned economy resting, just like the capitalist variety, on wage labor. So long as wage labor exists, capitalist economy prevails.

The state - capitalist development, in the elaboration of "planned economy" logically bridges over the national antagonisms and demands the formation of mammoth economies transcending national boundaries. The capitalist competitive struggle is thus shifted more and more onto the field of whole continents against each other. The overcoming of the national antagonisms within the continental framework is therefore only a question of time, the duration which is conditioned by the necessity of bringing about a cooperation within the framework of the mammoth economy. The "mammoth planned economy" is thus an overcoming of the old capitalist mechanism of crisis based on the competitive struggle for the available markets, the opening of new markets and the tapping of new sources of profit. The explosion-like, undulatory crisis convulsions tend more and more to disappear. Their place is taken by the latent, constantly sharpening crisis, which leads to a slow but unremitting impoverishment of the masses. The development of



the class struggle will thus hereafter be less determined through transitory, constantly changing crisis convulsions than through the sharpening of the class antagonisms between the exploited and impoverished masses, on the one hand, and on the other the parasitical bureaucracy in charge of the politico-economic state apparatus.

The overcoming of the class antagonisms through the proletarian revolution is possible only as the self-emancipation of the masses. In each phase of their struggles, the masses must have the initiative and direction in their own hands: this is the only assurance against every form of tutelage and leadership over the masses. This self-emancipation is at the same time one of the essential presuppositions in the reshaping of the economic relations. Through the circumstance that the masses liberate themselves, they also acquire the schooling for the direction of the economic process, and the discovery of methods for the direct right of disposal of the producers over the means of production and over the products is possible only by way of the councils and shop organizations. It is only through doing away with each and every kind of wage labor that the complete overcoming of all capitalist modes of economy is assured. So that we now have as the immediate tasks of the workers' movement, to the end of their self-emancipation from capitalist exploitation and suppression, the abolition of wage labor and its replacement by labor-time accounting and the exercise of direct producers' control over the products and means of production, as the basis of the new economic order.

The new labor movement must not only recognize, but above all practically apply, the lessons of the Paris Commune and of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and 1917 as well as the experiences of the development down to the present time. This is necessary because the smashing of the state apparatus and the combining of the power of decision and execution in the hands of the masses, organized in councils under their constant control, is possible only through practical application of the council principle in all developing struggles of the working masses. It is therefore the task of the council-communist groups in all countries not yet gone fascist to promote the autonomous direction of these struggles, as well as to strive for the extension of all struggles beyond their local and occupational limits into mass struggles and to intervene in such struggles actively on their own part. By the side of this, propaganda directed to making the masses conscious concerning the real tasks of the workers' struggle in relation to the reshaping of economy and the replacement of wage labor by labor-time accounting should be conducted in the most intensive manner possible and in a generally understandable form adapted to the workers' ideology.

By putting to use the experiences of the illegal movement in the fascist countries, the council-communist groups must prepare themselves even now for the state of illegality and adopt all corresponding measures: The organizational safeguarding of the labor movement through elaboration of the group system. Elimination of all old working methods and rejection of unserviceable and unreliable connections (the local conditions and the changing composition of the groups make desirable the application of new working methods varying from case to case). Elaboration of forms and methods for winning masses now standing aloof or in the enemy camp. Avoidance of slogan propaganda. Adaptation of ideas to the altered conditions, etc.

One would think it would soon be superfluous to come out in opposition to the old labor movement. The two Internationals and the organizations connected with and related to them not only unmask themselves long before midnight; they also change their masks so often that really the most stupid should have a chance to discover their real features. But masquerade and deception can still be borne more easily than truth, as also the recognition of reality is no assurance that it has been mastered. Like religion, so also the hope in the old labor movement permits the illusion of later amendment of the present misery and hence the justification of one's own inactivity and the overlooking of one's own weakness. The deceivers are not by any means clever; they live merely on what, from the standpoint of the revolution, is the unripeness of the crisis; they feed on the dead-time between the revolutionary eruptions, like hyenas on corpses. Because of their fear of being misunderstood, misjudged and perhaps also mistreated by the ruling class, they offer a new demonstration each day of their true prostituted nature. They think to save their own skins by binding themselves to do the work which today really belongs to the fascists. In whichever direction we look, (and only occasionally with the forced exception of the countries already gone fascist), we see the endeavors of the old labor organizations to prolong their bankrupt existence not by combatting fascism, to be sure, but by making it superfluous. They promise their capitalists not to lay hands upon the present system of exploitation, but to defend it with claws and teeth and to conform with all its needs, even to conducting war. In order to hold up the march of fascism they have selected the easiest means: they offer to do the fascist work in their own special manner.

Nevertheless, world history, in so far as it depends at all on groups and individuals, does not depend on the lackeys but on their masters, so that no doubt even this new example of "Realpolitik" on the part of the organizations still falsely denominated as a "labor movement" will not avail to assure their existence. The at present peculiar constellation of the capitalist powers, which are making ready for a new war, can by no means be regarded as fixed; all sorts of surprising shifts are still possible, and on these will depend, among other things, the further development of fascism. Reversals of German, Russian and French policy are capable of putting an end also to the present pseudo-struggle for the safeguarding of democracy against fascism, in which connection all that the Russians would have to do would be to identify fascism with socialism and make this latter not to depend any more on the presence of democracy. Meanwhile it is perhaps still possible for a time to point out "successes" to the "freedom-loving anti-fascists" and to continue laying rotten laurels in the more modest but still ample lap. The Russian-French alliance has somewhat hindered the development of French fascism, but this hindrance will only be the secret of the accelerated progress to come later. For the purpose of holding and clubbing down the workers, it is not very likely that the bourgeoisie will bring into service the used-up lackeys out of the labor movement, but rather the new, fresh, job-hungry, petty-bourgeois rabble which, now that capitalism is on the decline, can no longer found the families which, notwithstanding monogamous



culture, are complete with the servant-maid system. The wind has not been taken out of the sails of the fascists, but the old labor movement itself is the wind by which fascism is being propelled.

To speak the language of the Social Democracy: "If one wants to avoid being an anvil, he must become a hammer." And so the old labor movement is making ready to do away with fascism by taking it up into itself. This is not easy, to be sure; and it takes an enormous lot of impudence to run after executioner's jobs where a part of their own comrades was just recently slaughtered like cattle by the competitors. It is difficult, because a bad conscience takes away that peace and satisfaction which the "born" fascists possess "by nature" when they beat the life out of workers and other swine. Criticism on the part of labor, however, is not feared; not even on the part of their own subjects in the organizations. There has been plenty of opportunity in the last fifty years to "educate" and "enlighten" the workers, so that today they are actually capable, if the beloved leader so desires, of taking black for white or -- what amounts to the same thing -- of seeing in Vandervelde or Stalin the "adored friends" and leaders of labor. The labor organizations have stupefied their hangers-on ideologically in quite the same way as Capitalism has idiotized the whole of humanity, in far greater measure than any other form of society and precisely by way of civilization and the increase of education. A beast can live, self-respecting people go under. When people today really think, they are quite on the way to insanity. When they fight like wild animals for their own interests, they act correctly and intelligently. That such a condition is not desirable does not do away with it; it merely compels to the revolutionary solution of this inverted state of affairs, in order that one may finally make the leap from the animal kingdom into the realm of freedom.

We are yielding to no illusion whatever; we place no hopes in the awakening of the insight of the masses; we have no confidence that one day the "scales will fall from their eyes" and that they will recognize intellectually their true problems and needs. The hangers-on of the old labor organizations who have not yet come out against them will probably never do so as a result of their own perspicacity, but at most as a result of their hunger, which will no longer be able to stand the sight of their well-fed leaders. But as yet that point has not been reached; they can still be led farther along the path of their own demoralization. What the cretins of the old labor movement and their school of corruption still lacked they have meanwhile learned from the fascists. If the occasion arose, there is no doubt that the owners of the labor organizations could once more do their part in making out of the poorest also the truest sons of the respective fatherlands.

As a matter of fact, the whole policy of both internationals is directed to giving the organizations a proper place in the "people's front", to conforming with the people's interests, that is, with the interests of monopoly capital which are passed off as such, because they must and because it pays. While their previous policy was adjusted to "taking advantage of the rents" in the bourgeois camp -- such as the A.F. of L. comes out at one time for the Republican and at another for the Democratic Party, according as one or the other has the most to promise it -- this see-saw policy is no longer possible now that the exercise of power has necessarily been monopolized. Since there is only one any more

who pays, so also only one song any more can be sung. It runs: Enthusiastically and without reserve, join in the "peoples front". Gone are the lovely times of good-natured horse-trading, gone the lovely days of "reforms"; they task of all organizations bound up with capitalism has been contracted to the safeguarding of Capital -- which is completely identical with the State -- against all enemies within and without.

#### From the "Dictatorship" to the "People's Government"

The Second International and its various national affiliates have actually, however strange it may sound, learned a number of things from the proceedings of the last few years. As a part of capitalism and bound up with its fortunes, they have done everything to show their gratitude to this world. They had already arranged themselves in the best possible manner, won for themselves a number of governments posts, even tho the struggle in this connection was only a matter of talk. They have built themselves houses, shoved wonderful broad seats under their buttocks and filled police jobs, tho in this latter case the uniform collars sorely rubbed the fat necks. They have even administered the colonies with gas bombs and airplanes; they have laid up money without, like true idealists, asking from whence it came; and they have also, even tho (as they write in their memoirs) only with heavy heart and out of their great sense of responsibility, shot down and bayoneted the revolutionary workers, wherever necessary -- naturally in the interests of growing socialism. And yet they have come down in the social scale. After these genuine services, capital has found them unserviceable for its further ends and shown them the door. Just as the bourgeoisie by way of diplomacy sets one power against another, plays group off against group, just as in this system generally it is a struggle of all against all, so Capital has also promoted the competition among those who specialize in slaughtering workers and always held with the victors whose aim it furthered. The fascist victors had more to offer, they fitted in far better with the "spirit of the times". They were not burdened with a past; with respect to the bourgeoisie they were not ambiguous, and they are reliable.

The dismantling of the labor organizations, which accompanies the dismantling of democracy and which in its turn is only the political reflection of the monopolistic development, has been rather a shock to the labor-movement enterprises. That would lead to a radicalization of the socialist parties: such was the guess of those people who never become one thing or the other, who refuse to say anything bad about anyone or any organization, since of course, as a socialist if nothing else, one was bound to believe in the goodness of man. These slimy natures, whose brains are no less flabby than their bellies, are still not disappointed, in spite of the fact that what occurred was the exact opposite of what they expected. After indulging for a time in a more radical phraseology and after the exhibitions of tipsy leaders of the Social Democracy, wounded by mistake, with all which it was sought to master the disturbance brought into the rest of the organization by reason of a few thousand worker's corpses, the leaders soon came out again with the "language of reason" in order to establish themselves



anew upon the ruins. The Social Democracy went not to the left, but to the right. In all countries it throttled the spineless "opposition" and took up its struggle against fascism on the basis of capitalism; that is, it began a sharpened competitive struggle for the right to deceive workers. The Social Democracy reasoned --and from its own standpoint, with razor-edged logic-- that it had lost out in the competition not because it had not been radical enough, but because it had been too radical. They had not offered the ruling class enough guarantees and so also had not found sufficient support among the "broad masses". But one doesn't want to be historically surpassed: even the democracy may perish, still that is not the end of every bureaucracy. While to the half-bolshevist Romain Rolland, people die in order that God may live, so to the Social Democracy political systems change only in order that the bureaucracy may be eternalized. The Social Democracy is quite prepared to furnish the bureaucracy for a fascist state system. And of course it has no need, to that end, of any special transformation: its own state-capitalist conception is in principle not at all different from monopolistic fascism, but is at most still more consistent. And so it merely competes with other aspirants for the parasitical functions in the capitalist system of exploitation.

Whether it will be given once more to the Social Democracy to carry on functions contributing directly to the maintenance of the State does not depend on the Social Democracy but on a number of circumstances of a national and international character which are not yet sufficiently transparent to permit of accurate conclusions. One thing, however, is clear: if the fascists should prove incapable of holding the masses in check, this role might under certain circumstances once more fall to the Social Democracy, and the role would certainly not be refused. Meanwhile, however, there remains to the Social Democracy, by the side and on the basis of this hope, nothing except to go farther and farther to the right, to take on more and more of the fascist coloring.

If we take such a "traditionally democratic and peace-loving" country as Switzerland and see that even there the Social Democracy can carry on only in competition with the fascists, then certainly nothing else can be expected from the other countries; in these the tendency visible in Switzerland can only occur in sharpened form, and does so occur. It is only in countries like the United States, where the Social Democracy still plays no real role, that it can still afford the luxury of keeping silent about its real ideas and concealing its reactionary policy behind the old phrases. The struggle in the American Socialist Party, which began with the victory of the reactionaries and consequently ended in the same way, speaks loudly enough as to what is the proper course within the Socialist world movement. And besides it was quickly realized by the "opposition", which drew back in due time in order not to sink down into revolutionary poverty. The whole dispute was practically only the warding off of a temporary dissatisfaction within the party after the European scandal, the bound up also with the ambitions of political adventures who were impatient to get on in the world. All that could come of it, however, was that the "Old Guard" was served with that general confusion in which thieves can take refuge, in which the spirit of opposition grows tired and wears itself out, and the positions of the reactionaries are con-

solidated anew. Anyone who has once viewed these "oppositionists" sheep at close range could only be amused at the eagerness with which all the competitors of the Socialist Party took pains to get "in touch" with them.

But to come back to Switzerland. There also, as everywhere, the fascist movement keeps on growing, and the danger draws nearer that the various social-democratic national councillors and a whole array of employees will be deprived of their daily bread. And so they have taken fright at their own program and have provided themselves with a new one in order not to attract unpleasant attention. The previous program, which dates from 1920, contains, in contradistinction to the German Noske-socialism and in harmony with the "better" Austrian Marxism, the after all here quite innocent flourish of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary transitional stage to socialism. The new program of 1935 has dropped this phrase about the dictatorship and replaced it with the one about the "people's state.". To the Swiss Social Democracy it is no longer a question of socialism, but of the "defense of present democracy". And so the present program contains a full realm of senseless phrases concerned with the winning of the middle strata, the peasants, etc. The demand for dictatorship, it was explained at the party conference to the accompaniment of great applause, is still applicable at most only to countries already fascist; for democratic countries like Switzerland, this demand would be a crime. The realistic watchword today is the people's partnership (Volksgemeinschaft), --not the fascist one, to be sure, but the social-democratic one. The debates at the party congress became very lively when the question of national defense was taken up. The party recognized quite as a matter of course, "the necessity of an armed frontier guard, which finds its embodiment in the militia". However, the militia shall be "subject to the will of an anti-capitalist people's partnership". The question of how this is accomplished--how under capitalism one can have an anti-capitalist people's partnership--will no doubt forever remain a secret of the Social Democracy, which of course has always felt an attraction for things which looked very much like a cross between a rocking horse and a oil sardine. National Councillor Nobs declared at the party congress: "Anti-militarism in democratic countries may lead to a world victory of fascism." So that to the Social Democracy anyone who today is opposed to militarism is an abettor of fascism, and consequently according to this logic it must be assumed that in the democratic countries socialism can be actualized only through the bayonets of the capitalist army. By the side of these things, the party naturally came out for a planned economy and selected as a model, from the great store of ideas on this subject, the Belgium "Plan of Labor", whose author, Henryk de Man, a specialist in mass psychology, is a sufficient guarantee that we have to do here with nothing more than the playful idiotizing of the masses. It was hoped that this plan would have quite special effects upon the middle strata. Etc., etc., etc.

#### The Belgian Success

That the Social Democracy failed, as so many people assert, to learn from the proceedings in Germany and Austria the "right thing" is not owing to any unwillingness to learn but to the circumstance that the "right thing" is beyond its power to learn.



When the Social Democracy wants to change at all, it can, from its very nature, only copy fascism. Its course in Switzerland is in fact an excellent indication of its "progress".

The socialist labor party of Belgium offers a further example of this necessity. The "De Man Plan" which it adopted and from which it expected so much new life is only slightly distinguished from the "planned-economy" nonsense of the fascists. All that it finally amounts to is a demand for government control over the banks and key industries and their partial socialization; combatting the monopolies; assistance for the smaller enterprises; rescue of the middle class and peasants; social legislation for the workers; and the other well-known dissonances of the modern song of planned economy which, very unctiously intoned, seeks once more to become popular. The circumstance that the belgian bourgeoisie failed at first to find it agreeable does not affect in the least its insipidity and senselessness. The belgian government thinks to transplant its Congo policy into the motherland, but the white belgian negroes were not yet sufficiently demoralized to bow forthwith to the whip of emergency decrees. A series of strikes, which threatened to turn into a general strike, compelled the belgian bourgeoisie to accept a temporary compromise to the effect that the "Plan of Labor" would be seriously taken under advisement. Its author was for the present given a government post, and thereupon the Social Democracy, without going so far as to wage war, concluded an armistice with the bourgeoisie. This armistice is in reality nothing more than a close season for the legal labor movement, which is allowed to grow still a bit fatter before the drive upon it gets under way. During this close season the Social Democracy renders its bourgeoisie the final service: the energies which had been revealed in the proletariat are being counteracted through the talk of planned economy. The awakened forces are allowed to blow out in illusions, until the workers are sufficiently demoralized to accept fascism willingly. But "Socialism" is still on the march in Belgium as it once was in Germany. And it will probably leave quite as many workers' corpses along its way and end up in the fascist dictatorship just as did the german socialism. It is probable also, however, that the social-democratic leaders will in the meanwhile develop into hundred-percent fascists.

#### The Triumph of the United Front

The success of the belgian socialists still looks paltry in comparison with the triumph of the french "communists". Upon the conclusion of the russo-french alliance, the policy of the Communist Party of France (C.P.F.) suffered a sharp turn. All the previous watchwords were exchanged for those of the people's front and national defense. This transformation was soon extended to all sections of the Third International, with the exception of those countries which might under certain circumstances operate contrary to the franco-russian block. At the same time there came about the dissolution of the communist trade-union leagues and their conversion, wherever possible, into the reactionary trade-unions. Parallel to this development is the flirtation with the Social Democracy, which receives an offer of organic unity. Quite open efforts are made toward the liquidation of the communist parties and of their international. The Social Democracy still

maintains a waiting attitude: the attempt at suicide on the part of the Third International is for the present still looked upon in the spirit of a competitor and not of a partner. The Social Democracy in the various countries is still too closely linked up with its own national bourgeoisie, while the "communists" are still exclusively attached to the new russian bourgeoisie. In those countries, however, where the interests of its own run parallel with those of the new russian bourgeoisie, as in Czechoslovakia and France, the Social Democracy is much more inclined to the organic unity. The reason advanced by the Social Democracy for its restraint in regard to the unity efforts of the Third International are amusing: this latter had become too reactionary for the socialists. The communists "struggle" in union with all strata of the population -- with the Catholics for religious liberty, with the german steel helmets for the right to have other reactionary organizations by the side of the fascist ones, with the "Black Front" of the Strasser group for the genuine as against the opportunistic Hitler fascism -- these demands of the "communists" go a bit too far even for the Social Democrats. In connection with the negotiations for the united front in France, the C.P.F. came out against the demand of the Socialists looking to the partial socialization of individual capitalist monopolies, on the ground that such demands went too far and would hinder the forming of the people's front." Nevertheless, the united front came out, and not only with the Social Democrats but also with the petty-bourgeoisie, on the basis of demands and watchwords which resembled those of the fascists almost to a hair. When it comes to deceiving the workers, the Social Democracy is surely open to conviction. Still it remains a joke when Norman Thomas can say of the present program of the communist party: "Certainly we Socialists can not be stampeded by temporary communist opportunism into a similar position." But only have patience: soon Norman Thomas too, just like his swiss colleagues, will know how to prize this opportunism as the last word in socialist realistic policy.

The french people's front was formed around the slogan: Defense of Bread, particularly the bread of the middle classes. the retardation of the crisis in France retarded also the growth of fascism. But even now the fascist forces within the ranks of the allies of the C.P.F. are quite as strong as those which for the present are willing to go along with the communists. The petty-bourgeois groups which can derive no profit from the present united front will very shortly, in their inevitable disappointment, proceed from half to full fascism and drag a part of the workers with them. As in Germany, so also in France the Communist Party is preparing the masses for the coming fascism. Regardless of his intentions, anyone who, instead of pursuing a revolutionary policy, merely competes with the fascists for the state jobs can only, under the present conditions, help fascism into the saddle. That the united front of the C.P.F. sows today, the fascists will reap tomorrow.

"We are firmly decided," writes the french communist press, "to take up the struggle against impoverishment, without, however, repelling anyone from the people's front -- without raising demands which could only bring about divisions, at which the fascists would rejoice, as for instance a demand upon the (petty-bourgeois) Radical Party to take over the slogans and the program



of the communists, as certain defenders of the 'pure doctrine' would like to do." Since the petty bourgeoisie refuse to accept the platform of the C.P., the C.P. accepts the platform of the petty Bourgeoisie. Here are the party's demands: Taxes on large fortunes; state ownership of the Bank of France; control over the book-keeping of the banks. Or as the C.P. sums it up in the vernacular: "The rich shall pay." Why not go farther? What sort of effect would result from the phrase, "The rich are politely requested to hang themselves"? In the light of this program, one can really dub Roosevelt an ultra-radical.

A people's front embraces the whole people. If the rich are to pay, they must first be made financially sound. This also has been looked after by the C.P., through the aid which it has assured to french imperialism. L' Humanité, the daily newspaper of the C.P.F., wrote on the occasion of the signature of the russo-french pact: "What could be more natural than the fact that our comrade Stalin, upon the request of Laval, should have declared his approval of France's military measures." To be sure; what could really be more natural?

### The Last Congress of the Communist International

After the nationalistic adventures of the french communists, the 7th congress of the Communist International could no longer present any surprises. Altho the french policy is only a repetition of the policy of the C.I. under Lenin and Trotsky in Germany around the year 1923, or of its policy in Turkey and China, still this fact appears to have vanished from the memories of all the bureaucrats who have been neglected by Stalin. They have accordingly been greatly aroused over the consistent carrying out of Leninism by way of Stalin, as this was manifested at the 7th congress. As ridiculous, however, as the genuine Leninist policy must be today, equally pitiful are its present-day exponents. The perfect valet Piek and the cheap actor Dimitrov set the tone. The stupidity was naturally a unanimous stupidity, the counter-revolutionary unmasking was resolved as one man. A betrayal of revolutionary principles is here out of the question, for one can not betray what he has never represented. The present world situation compels the Third International to speak just a bit more openly than the "conspiratorial" souls would otherwise wish to do. The Third International has gone the way of all professional revolutionary flesh with admirable precision to its end. For us, there is no occasion for any polemic; we have only the satisfaction of the recording. Let us listen to Wilhelm Piek: "We communists fight to the death (à la Germany?) against Fascism and every manifestation of reaction (except the russian, czech and french varieties, be it understood). To us it is not a matter of indifference which political system prevails in this or that capitalist country. Since parliamentarism and the remains of democratic liberties, in spite of the heavy yoke of the capitalist system, offer some slight possibilities for the open fighting organizations of the proletariat, we are ready to defend the remnants of parliamentarism and democracy against Fascism and in further course to conduct the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We communists furnish protection to all peoples against capitalist slavery and fascist suppression. (what magnanimity!) We have been and constantly are

for the right of self-determination of every people, however small. If German fascism attacks the national independence and unity of small independent states in Europe, a war waged by the national bourgeoisie of these states will be a just war, in which proletarians and communists cannot avoid taking part." And a little later he foams on: "the era of the dominance of reformism in the labor movement comes to an end, there begins the era of the Communist International. It is a struggle for the happiness and freedom of the working masses." Now we have it: the era of reformism is followed by the struggle for happiness. What magnificent progress!

Of course there was also to be had cheap some genuine "bolshvist self-criticism", in spite of the ever correct line. "We neglected the opportunity," Piek explained, "to give out at the proper time fighting slogans against the price policy of monopoly capital by which the peasants were ruined, as well as against 'interest slavery'" (one of the most fetching fascist slogans). "In many countries the petty bourgeoisie did not find in the communist parties sufficient understanding for effective support in its resistance to the trusts and the banks by which it was being bled white. The german communists did not consider in due time the significances of the yoke of Versailles, and enabled the bourgeoisie to turn to its own account the hatred of the masses for that yoke." In a word, Piek complained that the communists had been such poor fascists, that they conducted such wretched competition.

While on the one hand, however, the C.I. regrets that it has not proceeded sharply enough against Versailles, on the other hand, by its support of France, it wants to maintain the Versaille policy. While it fights against german fascism, at the same time it assists german fascism in its armament policy. The russian government recently concluded with Hitler Germany contracts by which the german air fleet is supplied with the necessary fuel for the next three years. Business is business. The simultaneous support of the french and of the german army is not by any means a contradiction. The maintenance of world capitalism is the enduring task, the alliance policy is highly changeable.

As Moscow sets the tune, so the various sections of the International dance. The American Communist Party today comes out for such things as the "Worker's and Farmer's Labor Party", which is to be based upon the half-fascist A.F. of L. and which incidentally is to take up into itself the whole liberal virus. And all for a number of laws to be wrung from Congress, for an amendment to the Constitution designed to hamstring reaction, and other such nice things at which before this time it could only laugh compassionately. It represents the impossible and the nonsensical, for it doesn't care to represent anything at all, but only to assure in some manner or other the daily bread for its functionaries.

All that ought to put a lot of life into the "oppositionists" of the C.P. But their moribund state is still hanging on. To all the degeneracy of the Communist International they have nothing to oppose except the calling up of the past. "Back to Lenin", or "back to Trotsky", for "a new Zimmerwala", for "better leaders": that is the beginning and the end of their cry, which loses itself in its own wind. The Lovestoneites who for years have combatted the



"ultra-left" course of the C.P. shout/against its ultra-right course because the Stalinists are still not resigned to setting them up again with salaries. Trotsky founds for the second time the Fourth International with members whom he has fortunately just brought to shelter in the Second International. The bureaucrats quarrel over the ever fewer paid posts and disguise their quarrel behind an alleged struggle for this or that correct Leninist line. These ridiculous half-and-half organizations, small parasites of the greater spongers, are not the heirs of the Third International, nor its carrion crows. They are going under with it, as they were only capable of living off it. But for them also the revolutionary workers have no tears to shed. To speak for once with the original superman against all the present-day supermen of the C.P. and its offal, the workers can only - and not without satisfaction -- say: "What falls shall furthermore be kicked."

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