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# DO THE FASCISTS IDENTIFY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND LIBERALISM WITH BOLSHEVISM?

By A. MARTYNOV

(Regarding an article by Kurt Stern.)

COMRADE R. wrote an article in *The Communist International*, No. 6, entitled "How Not to Struggle Against Fascism", in which, by the way, he criticized Kurt Stern's article on "Fascist Ideology" published in issue No. 23 of the *Gegenangriff*. Comrade R. counted Comrade Stern as one of those authors "who seem to believe in the existence of a *real contradiction in principle* [my italics—A.M.] between fascist ideology and the ideology of social-democracy. In confirmation of this, he based his argument on the following words of Comrade Stern, where the latter states that as far as fascist ideology is concerned, all those who do not openly pass over to the camp of fascism (i.e., social-democracy and liberalism, and generally speaking, any bourgeois democratic ideology at all) are Bolsheviks. Here is the quotation:

"The extreme intense sharpening of class contradictions brings about a clear division of fronts: 'Here is fascism; there is Bolshevism'. Hence it follows and must follow, that *for fascist ideology everything that does not come openly into the Fascist camp is Bolshevism*. . . . Fascism, as the last bulwark of the ruling class against the menace of the proletarian revolution, must, both in practice and in its ideology, reject and struggle most fiercely against liberalism."

Comrade Kurt Stern has addressed a letter to the editorial board of *The Communist International*, in which he expresses his great perplexity regarding the charge made against him by Comrade R. He bases his point on the fact that in his article he twice made the reservation that fascist ideology is not to be distinguished in principle from the bourgeois ideology of the pre-fascist period, and that the fascists only pretend that such a contradiction in principle exists. Comrade Kurt Stern wants to achieve "full clarity on the questions which he raises".

We are quite willing and ready to meet Comrade Stern's wish. We shall try to clear up this question thoroughly. We do this all the more willingly as Comrade Stern's mistake reflects similar mistakes to be observed in the views held by many, many social-democratic workers who are ready to form one front with the Communists but who stumble on this question. They are puzzled by the question as to why the Communists call the party

which they, the social-democratic workers follow, a social-fascist party, when the fascists have banned it and are persecuting its members.

Let us begin with Comrade Stern.

Comrade Stern really did make two reservations, but in the whole course of his argument he showed that these are only formal "reservations". For he repeats in these reservations the current formulas of the Comintern, but does not infuse any concrete content into them, and, therefore slips down to a social-democratic viewpoint.

In confirmation of his orthodoxy, Comrade Stern quotes the following thesis advanced by him, namely that:

*"Fascism is the dictatorial form of the domination of finance capital in the epoch of the extreme sharpening of class antagonisms."*

Is this thesis, printed in heavy type and the significance of which is emphasized by the author, correct? No, it is absolutely incorrect. The words "the dictatorial form of the domination of finance capital" allow one to think that there is a dictatorial fascist domination of capital, and a non-dictatorial, bourgeois-democratic domination of capital. But this is a deep blunder. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is by no means a specific peculiarity of fascism. Before fascism, in the epoch of monopolistic capital, bourgeois democracy was also and now, in those places where it has been preserved, it continues to be the *dictatorship* of finance capital. As Lenin puts it: "terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie dominate in actual fact in the most democratic republics, coming out openly every time when it begins to appear to the exploiters that the power of capital is wavering".\*

The dictatorship of finance capital is precisely the feature which is common to both modern bourgeois democracy and to fascism; it is the point that organically connects the two. The difference between them is only that bourgeois democracy is the hidden, while fascism is the naked, open form of the dictatorship of finance capital. The specific peculiarity of fascism is that "fascism is the open, terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialist elements of finance

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 10, Russian ed.

capital". (Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.) Anyone who, like Comrade Stern, does not understand that the dictatorial form (naked or hidden) of the domination of finance capital is the link that connects (and not the feature that distinguishes) between fascism and contemporary bourgeois democracy, will never understand why, under the conditions of the present sharpening of class antagonisms, fascism *organically* grew out of bourgeois democracy. Anyone who, like Comrade Stern, does not understand that the dictatorial form of the domination of finance capital (though it be hidden by democratic institutions) is characteristic of modern bourgeois democracy as well, will not understand why, under the conditions of the sharpening of the class contradictions in the epoch of the crisis of capitalism, social-democracy *inevitably* becomes transformed into social-fascism. This transformation was inevitable precisely because modern social-democracy, which closely coalesced with the bourgeois State from the very beginning of the post-war period, saved the bourgeois State from the proletarian revolution, a condition of things only rendered possible by consolidating the dictatorship of finance capital. In addition, it was possible because to the extent that class antagonisms sharpened, it easily gave up one *liberal* position after another as something *secondary* by comparison with the main thing, the saving of the bourgeois State, and subsequently the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,—in this way unnoticeably transforming itself into a social-fascist party.

Let us follow Comrade Stern further.

Comrade Stern devoted his article to a criticism of Spengler's new book. He proves in his article (and not without foundation) that Spengler comes out in his new book as a pure-blooded fascist. But how does he prove that Spengler is a pure-blooded "waschechter" fascist? This is how he does it:

"One of the numerous proofs of this is the identification (gleitzeiten) of Marxism with liberalism, a point which we can find among all the theoreticians of the third empire."

In confirmation of the allegation that Spengler places a sign of equality between Marxism and liberalism, which we are told is characteristic of all fascists, Comrade Stern quotes the following words of Spengler, commenting on them in brackets:

"Liberalism against the tendency of demagoguery [read—class struggle] is the form in which sick [bourgeois] society commits suicide. With such a perspective it gives up its head. The class struggle which is carried on against it furiously and mercilessly, finds it ready for political capitulation. . . ."

Does Spengler assert in this quotation, as Comrade Stern ascribes it to him, that liberalism and "demagoguery", *i.e.*, revolutionary Marxism, are one and the same thing? By no means. In this quotation, Spengler says that liberalism opposes itself to the "tendencies of demagoguery" (*i.e.*, revolutionary Marxism). But he asserts that under the conditions when bourgeois society is already "sick", the counterposing of liberalism to revolutionary Marxism is a form of counterposing which is suicidal for bourgeois society. In other words, in the quotation referred to, Spengler only corroborates the correctness of the assertion of the Comintern that in the conditions of dying capitalism "the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) and in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redivision of the globe)" (Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

We hope that from the words quoted from the resolution of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Stern does not come to the conclusion that for the Comintern as well, bourgeois democracy and Communism are of the same significance.

Further, Comrade Stern gives another example to prove that Spengler, having become a fascist, and therefore, we are to believe, identifying liberalism with Communism, he allegedly "transforms Marx into a Manchester Liberal". In confirmation of this, he bases his argument on Spengler's words to the effect that "Marx even greeted the capitalism of free competition", when he stated in his speech:

"But, generally speaking, protectionism is now conservative whereas the system of free trade is destructive. It destroys one-time nationalities, and reduces to the extreme the opposition between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In a word, the system of free trade accelerates the social revolution. *But only in this revolutionary sense, gentlemen, do I declare for free trade. . . .*"\*

Did Comrade Stern interpret Spengler's reference to Marx's words correctly? Absolutely on the contrary. Spengler is not so naive as to draw the conclusion from these words of Marx, that Marx identified himself with Manchester liberalism. Of course Spengler knows that Marx, in his works, gave a smashing criticism of capitalism in the epoch of free competition, and of its corresponding liberal Manchester ideology. In the quotation, Marx emphasizes that he declares for free trade "only in the revolutionary sense", *i.e.*, only in so far as free trade in the period of transition from feudalism to

\* Marx, *Works*, Vol. V, page 461, Russian ed. (Italian mine—A.M.)



capitalism, which breaks up all feudal paths, and clears the way on a national and international scale for the development of all the contradictions of capitalism, reduces to the extreme the opposition between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Spengler, of course, could not miss the conditional character of Marx's support for free trade. But this is sufficient for Spengler. Spengler knows quite well that in spite of the fact that from the very beginning liberalism created the conditions for the development and sharpening of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, none the less it rendered irreplaceable service to capitalism during the course of an entire historical epoch. Now, when bourgeois society has become "sick", when the basis for bourgeois reformism and the corruption of the upper strata of the working class has narrowed, and when we have entered the epoch of the world proletarian revolution, liberalism with its bourgeois democratic institutions has become an impediment for bourgeois society. It is only for this reason that Spengler drags out Marx's statement now about the revolutionizing effect of free trade to prove that the bourgeoisie must bury liberalism in order to save itself, and not by any means to prove what no one believes, namely, that liberalism and revolutionary Marxism are one and the same thing. With all their profound political ignorance the fascists cannot but see the difference between parliamentarism which has now become a hindrance in the struggle against revolution, and Communism, which organizes this revolution. It is only in certain cases that they consider it necessary for demagogic reasons to gloss over this difference, but only in words, by no means in deeds.

At this point we may finish with Comrade Stern's profound argumentation. Now that we have unravelled all that Comrade Stern muddled up in his article, it will be easier for us to answer the question which occupies our attention, namely, what are the real inter-relations between fascism and social-democracy?

There is no doubt that when fascism comes to power, it persecutes not only Bolshevik Communists but also social-democrats and liberals and even the Catholic Center Party, although the difference in this persecution is to be seen by the way the fascists continue to pay a pension to the social-democrat Noske, who is on the retired list, while they cut off the heads of Bolshevik Communists whom they lay their hands on.

But really, why do the fascists persecute social-democracy and the other bourgeois democratic parties? Is it because these parties are hostile to the dictatorship of finance capital in general, or have become hostile to it since the time when it began to be put into operation in its stark form by the

fascists? Of course not. These parties have proven by their activities that they have faithfully and truly served and are continuing to serve the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The fascists persecute the Social-Democratic Party and the party of the Catholic Center because the *workers* who are voluntarily united by these parties which are *formally* independent of the State, are, in spite of their leaders, becoming more and more permeated with hatred towards capitalism and towards the dictatorship of finance capital. The fascists persecute these parties because capitalism has become too weak to buy off sufficiently broad layers of workers, because the social basis of social-democracy, namely the labor aristocracy, is becoming ever more narrowed down, and because, as the general crisis of capitalism deepens, *any and every legal form of uniting* the workers, separate from the employers, along any democratic lines at all, be they united in reformist or in Catholic trade unions or in the Social-Democratic Party, becomes dangerous for the bourgeoisie. This is so *in spite* of the leaders of the parties and organizations, because the workers who are gathered in these organizations draw strength from the very fact of their being organizationally consolidated, and are eager to struggle, showing an ever greater urge to the united front of struggle, together with the Communists. This is why the fascists dissolve the social-democratic organizations and the reformist trade unions, drive the workers into a common organization with the employers, which is under the control and leadership of the fascists. They terrorize the workers, and at the same time, try to poison them with their demagogy in which anti-capitalist phrases *fade* away more and more, while *fierce* nationalist baiting becomes greater and greater. In this way the fascists hope to restew the workers in the fascist pot and to eat away the spirit of the class struggle.

If this hope of the fascists were to be realized, if it could be realized, social-democracy would have lost all importance for the bourgeoisie, and would have become historically unnecessary. But the fascists are not able and will not be able to achieve this. The overwhelming majority of the working masses, who are driven into the fascist stalls, seeth there with still more intensive hatred against the regime of capitalist slavery. The idea of storming capitalism is more and more ripening in the consciousness of these masses. What can hinder or hold back the transformation of this spontaneous discontent into conscious revolutionary struggle against capitalism, into the only real struggle which is being carried on under the banner of Communism? It can only be hindered by the new illusions which fascist demagogy sows in the minds of certain strata of workers and by the old illusions which social-democ-

racy sowed among the masses, illusions which social-democracy, hankering after its old positions, is attempting to regenerate and consolidate when it asserts that the wheels of history may still be turned back, that bourgeois democracy, restored and regenerated, can once again take the place of the fascist dictatorship, that social-democracy can also be regenerated after correcting its "mistakes" and painting itself up as a "revolutionary" party. Social-democracy has adapted itself to the new conditions, has learnt much from the fascists in order to increase its worth in the camp of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time appropriating one or other formula from the Bolsheviks (after extracting their revolutionary essence), in order to preserve their influence over the social-democratic working masses, who are more and more being drawn to Communism. But social-democracy, hankering after its old positions, is trying in all ways to undermine the united front struggle of the social-democratic, non-party and Communist workers being developed under the leadership of the Communist Party, thereby postponing the inevitable doom of the fascist dictatorship. This is how social-democracy, under the new conditions, fulfills its role as agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, its role of Savior of the Bourgeoisie.

But does this mean that the establishment of open fascist dictatorship in a country does not alter the role of social-democracy in this country, and that

we should not introduce any alterations into our tactics in relation to social-democracy? By no means. Social-democracy is now undergoing a deep crisis everywhere. In the countries where there is an open fascist dictatorship it has been smashed and crushed organizationally. In such conditions, social-democracy no longer exists as a united party in these countries. We note a double process going on among social-democracy in the fascist countries. On the one hand, the deep-rooted social-democrats are making desperate efforts to maintain their one-time influence over the workers by camouflage and all kinds of maneuvers. On the other hand, not only important strata of social-democratic workers, but social-democratic functionaries, and even entire social-democratic organizations are honestly beginning to seek new paths and are being attracted to Communism. It is clear that while we continue to carry on a merciless struggle against the social-democrats of the first category, we must make advances to social-democrats of the second category, and by all possible means render easy their passage over to the Communist camp, by criticizing them in a friendly way, but bearing firmly in mind that the fact that they are seriously prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder with us under the conditions of fascist terror outweighs all the social-democratic survivals which inevitably still remain among these class comrades of ours.

## THE EIGHTH CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

By B. SHERMAN

**T**HE Eighth Convention\* of the Communist Party of the United States took place nine months after the issuance of the Open Letter to the Party membership by the Extraordinary Party Conference of July, 1933. It met in the midst of the second powerful strike wave since the N.R.A. went into effect. This new strike wave reflects the tremendous sharpening of class antagonisms in the country,

\* Agenda of the Convention:

1. Report of C. C. on the situation in the U. S. A. and the tasks of the Party.
2. Lessons of the economic struggles and the tasks of the Communists.
3. The winning of the working youth.

During the Convention the following Commissions were elected and met:

Political, Organization, Negro, Agrarian, Literature, School, Women, and Trade Union Conferences of various industries.

and the rapidly increasing resistance of the working class to the Roosevelt program, which sought to find a way out of the crisis for the capitalist class at the expense of the toiling masses. The Convention therefore had before it the concrete problem of first of all checking up on the Control Tasks adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference, examining to what extent these were carried out and drawing the necessary conclusions; secondly, to review the experience of recent struggles and to formulate very concretely the immediate tasks of the Party for the coming period, in accordance with the line of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. We will confine ourselves to an examination of to what extent the Eighth Convention fulfilled this role.

There is no doubt that the Convention reflected the considerable growth and improved composition of the Party, compared to the time of the Seventh Convention (1930), or even compared to last year. Of



the 233 regular delegates, more than 50 per cent were from basic industries such as steel, metal, marine, railroad, mining, auto, and textile. The majority of the delegates were native-born American, including 39 Negroes. A noteworthy fact is that more than 25 per cent of the delegates were workers who had joined the Party within the last nine months, showing a significant growth of new Party cadres; the discussion was predominantly of rank-and-file members and comrades active in mass work, and dealt with practical and illuminating experiences of the Party and trade unions. The reports and discussion showed that the Party had begun to penetrate the basic industries, and to strengthen its work in the shops and trade unions.

In discussing the trade union work of the Party, it is necessary to take note of some recent developments in the American labor movement. The carrying through of the Roosevelt program is accompanied by the use of much social demagoguery, and the bourgeoisie is in need of utilizing social reformism to a greater extent than ever; it is for this role that the American Federation of Labor has been utilized so considerably in the past year. At the same time, the bourgeoisie is also carrying on an intensified campaign to establish company unions. A classic example of these tactics can be seen in the Roosevelt auto agreement to avert the threatened general strike in the auto industry in March, 1934, where simultaneous "recognition" is given to both the A. F. of L. and the company unions, in effect, a victory for company unionism, which was carried further by the recognition of the company unions in the revised Wagner Labor Disputes Bill.

The past year has seen the increasingly prominent role played by the A. F. of L. in strikes. If we go back to 1931, we find that the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. led about two-thirds of the organized strikes, (as against those that broke out spontaneously). In 1932, the A. F. of L. was already leading about two-thirds of the strikes, and the T.U.U.L. one-third. In early 1933, before the N.R.A., we led the first big strikes (auto, etc.); but in the first big strike wave that followed the N.R.A., from July to November, 1933, when one million workers were involved, the T.U.U.L. led 16 per cent, the A. F. of L. led 49 per cent, and the independent unions led 16 per cent of the workers on strike. For the first time in many years mass strikes took place in auto, steel, and marine industries. In the later stages of the first strike wave, the sentiments of the workers assumed a more offensive character and the strikes contained more developed elements of political struggle (strikes against injunctions and arbitration, against N.R.A. codes, for release of strike prisoners, beginning of sympathy strikes). The second strike wave, beginning in March, 1934, involved nearly half

a million workers, with the A. F. of L. playing a constantly increasing role. In March, April and May, the A. F. of L. led 68 per cent of the strikes, the independent unions 18 per cent and the T.U.U.L. only 5 per cent. Of course, it is not sufficient to take these figures alone to get an accurate picture of the work of the Party in the strikes, because in addition to the strikes directly led by the revolutionary unions, the Party also influenced considerably some strikes led by A. F. of L. and independent unions, through our united front activity and through our work inside of these unions. This is especially true in such strikes as the longshoremen's and seamen's strike on the Pacific Coast, in the aircraft workers' strikes in Buffalo and Hartford, and other strikes in various industries.

These strikes have taken on an increasingly sharp character, leading to violent collisions with the armed forces (Alabama, San Francisco, Toledo, Minneapolis) and influencing broad sympathy actions of the workers in other industries (sympathy strikes on Pacific Coast and Minneapolis, general strike votes taken in San Francisco, Minneapolis, Toledo and Butte).

During the past year the trade unions have grown very rapidly. According to official figures there was an increase of 450,000 by May, but what is also important is that several hundred thousand were recruited through hundreds of new Federal locals in such basic industries as auto, metal, rubber, etc. The independent unions have recruited about 150,000 workers, and the T.U.U.L. unions recruited about 100,000 new members. (During this same period, the membership of the company unions increased to 3 million.) But in order to understand better what has happened, it is necessary to examine the relationship of forces in some of the most important industries.

In the mining industry, where the T.U.U.L. union formerly led big strikes, the A. F. of L. is now the dominant factor, with about 350,000 organized into the U.M.W.A. (There are also independent unions in southern Illinois and the anthracite.) The N.M.U. is a small organization with only a few thousand members. Our policy till about a year ago was to lay main emphasis on the building of the National Miners Union. Then the A. F. of L. unions began their big upward surge. As late as July, 1933, some comrades in the leadership of the N.M.U. took the position that the A. F. of L. union was in a state of collapse. Due to our sectarian isolation, we did not see or properly estimate what was going on among the mass of the miners. It was not until December, 1933, that on the basis of the new situation the Party shifted the main emphasis in its trade union work among the miners to oppositional activity inside the reformist trade unions. But due to the

slowness with which the activity developed we could not crystallize the tremendous anti-Lewis sentiment among the miners around the opposition program. The U.M.W.A. convention saw the opposition very weakly represented, in spite of the dissatisfaction of the miners with the Lewis clique. The objective conditions are now extremely favorable for the development of mass opposition work inside the A. F. of L. and independent unions in the mining industry; this can be seen from the successes of the opposition in southern Illinois, where the opposition slates won all or part of the official positions in 15 large locals of the Progressive Miners Union, with a membership of 6,000 to 8,000.

In the auto industry, the T.U.U.L. union led the first big strikes in the beginning of 1933. Today, thousands are organized into the A. F. of L. Federal locals and the Mechanics Educational Society, an independent union mainly of skilled tool-and-die-makers; the Auto Workers' Union, on the other hand, has declined. Our sectarian approach to the skilled tool-and-die-makers caused the influence of the Auto Workers' Union over them to be weakened. The M.E.S.A. rapidly grew to a mass organization and led important strikes. When the Party began opposition work inside the M.E.S.A., we made serious errors which led to extreme weakening of the Auto Workers' Union and strengthened illusions in the minds of the workers about the militant and rank-and-file character of the M.E.S.A. We were slow in taking up a sharp fight against the Matthew Smith leadership, which has been moving closer to the A. F. of L. In our approach to the A. F. of L. workers, such formulations as "He who places the interests of any particular organization first is a splitter," when incorrectly and inefficiently explained, only played into the hands of the reformist bureaucracy, in their fight against the Auto Workers' Union; further examples of the tendencies to forget the A.W.U. could be seen in March when leaflets were at first issued to the workers in Detroit plants without sufficiently explaining to the workers the need for following the leadership and policy of the A.W.U. It is no wonder that in spite of the tremendous amount of agitational activity of the Auto Workers' Union and a certain amount of influence it has, it was isolated from the struggle and was unable to exercise any decisive influence to prevent the betrayals, and could not become a mass organization. The opposition work in the A. F. of L. and M.E.S.A. has been strengthened and improved in the last period. In the recent M.E.S.A. election, the opposition was a strong minority, and the Smith leadership has begun an expulsion campaign against the Communists. At a recent United Front Conference called by the A.W.U., 26 delegates from the M.E.S.A. attended, and 14 A. F. of L. locals were represented.

The activity of the Party and A.W.U. was influential in the calling of the Motor Products strike in April, at the time the Party Convention was held.

When we examine the recent developments in the steel industry, we see that the Party and the T.U.U.L. union were much more alert to the changing relationship of forces. The Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union has recruited thousands of workers and led a number of struggles, and is an important factor, but at the same time the A. F. of L. union in steel has grown to 30,000 members and is a major factor in spite of the fact that it still has no serious basis in the big plants and the big majority of the steel workers are unorganized.

By correctly placing the main emphasis on building the T.U.U.L. union, but not forgetting the importance of building the united front with the A. F. of L. locals, it was possible for the Party and the Industrial Union to influence the opposition program adopted at the A. A. convention in preparation for a general steel strike, which was a big defeat for the A. F. of L. leadership. The united front activity developed by the Industrial Union both before and after the Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers, on a local and district scale, is one of the best examples the Party has of a concrete approach to the united front tactics. Even in steel, however, we have not stressed enough the development of opposition work inside the A. A. locals; this is especially important because of the vacillating character of some of the opposition leaders which plays into the hands of the Tighe machine. One of the weakest points in our preparations for the steel strike was that side by side with the independent activity of the Industrial Union and its approach to the A. F. of L. locals and district organizations, we had little or no organized opposition groups inside the A. F. of L. union, and our influence was exerted mainly from the outside.

In marine, while the Marine Workers' Industrial Union has led a number of successful strikes among the seamen, the opposition work among the longshoremen in the A. F. of L. is very weak, particularly in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. In the strike struggles on the Pacific Coast, it was possible, by combining opposition work in the A. F. of L. together with the independent activity of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union and its correct approach to the united front, to exert some influence on the longshoremen's struggle in San Francisco, and to play an important role in spreading the strike to the seamen.

It is clear from all the developments both before and after the Eighth Convention, that it was absolutely correct and timely for the Convention resolution and discussion to focus the main attention of the Party on building a mass opposition in the reformist unions, side by side with the building of the



revolutionary unions. And this will enable us to play a greater role in the leadership of strike struggles. The Party Convention found it necessary, therefore, to wage a sharp struggle against the ideology expressed in the position of Zack, a position which would have led to the complete isolation of the Party from the main masses of the workers. Zack's position is a negation of work inside the reformist unions, and would lead to taking the most militant workers out of the A. F. of L. and abandoning the struggle against the reformist bureaucracy.

The fact that Zack found no support for his position at the Convention should not lull the Party into thinking that such tendencies do not exist in the practice of the Party. A greater popularization of the Convention decisions and a better ideological campaign against such "Left" opportunist tendencies as expressed by Zack, will help to clarify the whole Party and mobilize it to carry through its tasks in the trade unions.

It is necessary in practice to concretize the line of the Party on this question after a serious examination of our position in specific industries. For instance, would it not strengthen the Party's position in the auto industry, if we did not build weak parallel organizations in localities and plants where the Federal locals of the A. F. of L. have mass organization, but concentrated our forces on building a mass opposition inside the Federal locals, and giving leadership to the discontent and mass resentment of the auto workers in the A. F. of L. against the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy which helped the Roosevelt Government to give recognition to the employers' company unions? Is it not necessary to struggle against tendencies to leave the A. F. of L. due to betrayals, which only isolate the militant elements from the masses, instead of remaining inside the A. F. of L. to carry on a struggle against the leadership, and influencing and stimulating a similar struggle of the rank-and-file in other reformist unions? These problems and many others require an immediate and urgent solution by the Party.

The discussion that took place at the Party Convention on the Negro question is of great importance. The Convention revealed a great improvement in the political development of the Negro cadres of the Party, and the strengthening of the Party's organization and influence not only among the share-croppers, but also among the miners and steel workers in Alabama. Shortly after the Convention, successful May Day demonstrations and meetings of Negro and White workers took place in such Southern centers as New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, and Norfolk, in many of them for the first time. But the number of Negroes in the Party still constitutes only about 10 per cent of the Party membership, and one of the weakest points of the work of the revolutionary

unions is the insufficient work among Negroes, which in such industries as steel, etc., means the penetration of the biggest and most important plants. It should be noted that while the Negro reformist organizations have become more active, the Party is carrying on inadequate struggle against them. One of the most dangerous of these movements is the Pan-Pacific movement, which is fostered by the Japanese imperialists and advocates the unity of all colored peoples against "white supremacy". The insufficient struggle of the Party against Negro reformism was shown in petty-bourgeois Negro nationalist tendencies penetrating the ranks of the Party. The Convention carried on a sharp struggle against Noel, who expressed some of these tendencies and attempted to organize a group around himself. In this struggle Noel was completely isolated and there was no doubt that the Negro comrades were more solidly united than ever in support of the Central Committee leadership. The Convention correctly placed the question of the struggle against white chauvinism as the main danger, but in the discussion this was not explained sufficiently. The Party has intensified the struggle against Negro bourgeois nationalism, and its penetration into the ranks of the toilers and the Party itself. At the same time it must ward off any possibility of its watchfulness being weakened in the struggle against white chauvinism, which is the main and growing danger. It is necessary also here to popularize the Convention decisions on the Negro question, to clarify the whole Party on the necessity of the struggle on two fronts, and to place as the main question the struggle against white chauvinism. It is necessary for the Party to strengthen the fight against Negro reformism and win over the masses under its influence.

The situation of the Party organization as revealed at the Convention was considerably improved as compared to last year, and shows that a real beginning has been made in carrying through the Control Tasks set by the Extraordinary Party Conference. The Party membership is over 24,000, as compared to 7,500 at the Seventh Convention four years ago, and 19,000 last year. The percentage of dues-paying members has increased from 75 per cent to 90 per cent. The fluctuation is still very high, but decreased from 77 per cent two years ago to 53 per cent. The Party has organizations in about 500 cities, with 27 districts and 200 sections. In the last recruiting drive, of over 7,000 new members, 92 per cent were proletarian, 52 per cent native-born Americans, 13 per cent Negroes, 17 per cent women, 38 per cent employed workers, 11 per cent A. F. of L. members, 16 per cent T. U. U. L. members, and the average age was 36 years old. At the Seventh Convention the Party had only 64 shop units with 571 members; at the time of the Open Letter, 140 shop units com-

prising 4 per cent of the Party membership; at the Eighth Convention, 338 shop units with 2,355 members, comprising 9 per cent of the membership. In basic industries, the Party had in 1933 only 68 shop units with 459 members; today it has 154 shop units in basic industry, with 1,323 members, working in factories where 350,000 workers are employed.

Although there has been some improvement in the shop work of the Party, and increased attention of the Central Committee and District and section leadership to giving concrete guidance to the concentration points, we cannot at all be satisfied with the present situation. In some districts, (Buffalo, New York, etc.) some of the shop units have actively participated in the organization and leadership of the workers in struggle. But on the whole and particularly in the concentration districts (Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago) there is as yet no decisive improvement in the Party's work in the factories. An example can be seen in the Detroit district, which reported at the Convention that the Party has a shop unit in every important auto plant; but these shop units, at least until recently, played an insignificant role in the strike situation. The majority of our shop units are in small shops and light industries, and 80 per cent of our units are still street units. In the last recruiting drive less than 25 per cent of the new members were from the basic industries. The shop units have a poor political life, often functioning only as a trade union fraction; they react very slowly to shop issues, and to political questions. Only 47 shop units, out of 338, issue shop papers. Not enough attention has been paid by the Party leadership to help the shop units solve the problem of overcoming the obstacles to illegal activity in the shops, and combining this with open activity.

We did not sufficiently explain the role of the A. F. of L. leaders, we underestimated their maneuvering ability in placing themselves at the head of strike movements to more easily carry through their treacherous policy. One of the shortcomings of the Convention discussion is that there was not sufficient discussion of our experiences in the concentration industries. The Convention did not give enough attention to the checking up of the control tasks in the concentration districts, and examining why they were not fulfilled.

It is necessary to say a few words about some other shortcomings, although it is not possible to go into detail within the scope of this article. The struggle against social-fascism was weakened in the Party

in the recent period as reflected in the lack of attention to this question in the Convention discussions. Although we have had some successes in developing the united front with the workers in the reformist organizations and in winning over Socialist workers, the concrete forms of struggle against social fascism are still too narrow, and must receive more serious attention by the Party; this is brought more sharply to our attention by the "Left" turn of the Socialist Party Convention, by the activity of the Musteites in strikes, in the trade unions and unemployed organizations, and by the third-party movement. In the struggle against fascism not enough stress is laid on the struggle for the defense of the democratic rights of the workers. The Party must also pay closer attention to the growth of fascist organizations in the United States. The struggle for unemployment insurance must be made much broader; that this can be done is seen by the wide response in support of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. Roosevelt's demagoguery about unemployment insurance urgently requires that the Party shall concretely and convincingly expose the Wagner Bill, and the various state unemployment insurance schemes enacted or pending in various legislatures, and enliven the campaign for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. It is necessary that we bring forward the Party's program for public works, as against Roosevelt's proposed housing program. The Convention paid far too little attention to the agrarian work; some questions still require clarification, regarding our relief program and our approach to the reformist farmers' organizations. That the Party does not give sufficient attention to the work among the farmers can be seen in its slow reaction to the drought situation and its weak struggle against the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

If we estimate the work of the Party as a whole, it can be said that the Eighth Convention showed that the Party is much better equipped to fulfill its tasks than previously. The election of a new Central Committee which drew in many new comrades active in mass work, American workers, Negroes, and leaders of trade unions, has considerably strengthened the leadership of the Party. What is required now is a greater popularization and verification of the Convention decisions, greater alertness to the issues at hand, which will serve to mobilize the whole Party, to increase its tempo of growth and Bolshevization and fulfill the tasks set by the Eighth Convention of the Party.



# THE VICTIM LASHES HIS ASSASSINS

(Re Comrade John Scheer's article published below.)

**"K**ILLED while attempting to escape"—such is the official version being spread by the Nazis, about the heroic death of Comrade Scheer, who, from the moment Comrade Thaelmann was arrested, headed the Political Bureau of the German Communist Party.

The whole world is aware of the meaning of the words "Killed while attempting to escape". They call to mind the treacherous murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by Noske's bandits, and represent a formula covering up one of the basest manifestations of white terror.

Hitler Fascism decided to make an effort to cover up a little more atrocious crime by the same kind of infamy.

The International Committee of Struggle for the release of Thaelmann, Dimitroff and the other imprisoned anti-fascists has already drawn the attention of public opinion to one fact blabbed out by drunken storm troopers. Comrade Scheer's body was completely mutilated by tortures inflicted upon him in the *Kolumbia Haus Jail*. He was pressed to a red-hot stove, and all the hair on his body was seared. As he lay helpless on the floor, he was trampled on by many feet, the result being that he received serious internal injuries. His ankles were smashed into a mass of blood. The arm joints were crushed by narrow hand shackles. Such being the case, it may seem rather odd that the fascist beasts should have thought it necessary to load this broken-up body in a car, all bound up as it was with ropes, with hands and feet shackled, and send it off into the forest late at night. This mystery is now beginning to get a little cleared up.

In the body of Comrade Scheer which was all bound up like a parcel there was not a spark of life. . . . It was a corpse, the head of which had been shattered by dum-dum bullets, that was taken into the forest.

Comrade John Scheer and in all probability Eugene Schenhaar, were done to death in *Kolumbia Haus Jail*, a day before the 'official' date of their death. So shocking were the tortures and the traces left on their bodies, that the fascist hangmen decided to cast in the face of the whole world the most brazen lie, that the corpses, you see, attacked their tormentors and made an attempt to escape to the woods. . . .

This shameless fascist lie, however, has, contrary to the expectations of the fascists, turned out to be a mighty revolutionary truth. The murdered John Scheer is making an onslaught on the fascist lackeys

of capital even from his grave, scourging his assassins with the whip of revolution.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has succeeded in rescuing almost the entire heritage left behind by Comrade Scheer, among which, by the way, they found the following manuscript, published for the first time below. In this manuscript the dead class fighter comes back to life. In it, his Bolshevik spirit is alive and fights alongside of and for us. In it the dead leader of the illegal Communist Party of Germany, with Marxist certainty and revolutionary virulence smashes the brazen ideology through the medium of which Hitler, Rosenberg and Goebbels, acting on the instructions of Krupp, Thyssen and Hindenburg, are endeavoring to delude the people and to bring them to ruin.

We are of the opinion that this article has not become "obsolete", and that it cannot become "obsolete". Its essential value lies in the fact that it exposes the very essence of the "Fascist Congress of Victory" and of the "national-socialist world outlook", and discloses the robber capitalist ins and outs of the fascist deception of the masses.

But this is not the main point. The most essential point, which preserves such great value in this article, lies in the example furnished by the metal worker John Scheer, pupil and friend of Ernst Thaelmann, on how to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Our comrade John Scheer demonstrated to the whole Party, what terrible weapons historical materialism and revolutionary dialectics are in our hands.

If revolutionary workers will master not only the factual material contained in the article published below, but, what is the main thing, if they grasp the method by which it exposes Hitler's tirades, then this article will acquire invaluable importance in developing a mass ideological offensive against the dictatorship of capital.

We do not feel ourselves justified in changing even a single word in this article. This last work by Comrade Scheer is of a very compact nature and abounds in quotations. From its concluding sentences we may draw the conclusion that it represents the first part of a general, and more voluminous work. It has been gathered from comrades who worked with Comrade Scheer, that the second part was also completed. The draft plan of the second part shows that it contained conclusions on the questions touched on in the first part, while all the burning questions of practical policy, organiza-

tion and the immediate tasks facing our Party were raised in it. We know that Comrade Scheer raised the questions of the revolutionary way out of the crisis for Germany, of the role of social-democracy, of the tasks of the revolutionary trade unions, of the problem of the united front, and of the unification of the working class. He wrote about the organization of economic and political strikes and of mass strikes against fascist terror, of the relation of the workers to the peasant masses, to the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, and thus concretized the problem of the proletarian revolution as a genuine people's revolution, a problem which was raised in its full importance by Comrade Thaelmann as early as the February Plenum of 1932. The second part, in addition, deals with the struggle against imperialist war, with the role of the Soviet Union in our class policy, with the improvement of our Party's mass work and with the lessons of the Leipzig trial, such as it was possible to deduce before the end of November, 1933.

Thus, we have left the first part absolutely unchanged, and we hope that our valiant Party workers will succeed in finding the second part as well in some garret or cellar. And in the meanwhile, let the manuscript we publish below bear witness to Comrade Scheer's political might and the enthusiasm with which he continued the cause of Comrade Thaelmann, aided by the weapons of Lenin and Stalin; let it bear witness to the heavy loss sustained by our Party through the death of Comrade Scheer, to the hatred of fascism and to the courageous confidence in victory, which inspired our friend and comrade-in-arms, the Bolshevik John Scheer.

By imparting to the international working class the thoughts penned by Comrade Scheer himself, which are a call to struggle, we thereby erect the best possible monument to the memory of Comrade Scheer in the minds and hearts of the revolutionary anti-fascists. He will remain alive eternally in the memory of his class and his Party. We take into our

hands the arms which he deposited in the arsenal of Communism and will continue the struggle fully confident that our coming victory is not far distant.

Let the murder committed in the *Kolumbia Haus Jail* in Berlin and the dastardly version about the "flight" of Comrade Scheer's corpse to the Novesky forest serve as a warning signal to all anti-fascists of the need to intensify our mass struggle in defense of our imprisoned comrades-in-arms, who each minute are threatened with a similar treacherous death. It is imperative first and foremost that Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, who is considered by the German fascists as their most valuable hostage, be wrested from the claws of the hangmen.

The cowardly murderers are on the alert. Immediately after Comrade Scheer was murdered, Comrade Thaelmann was thrown into the *Kolumbia Haus Jail*. They wanted to force him to speak, but he refused to give any testimony before the blood-covered storm troopers, and demanded a public trial. This was followed by incredibly brutal torture. The lackeys of Thyssen and Krupp handled him in such a way, that he was unable either to sit, stand, or lie down. Such torture continued systematically for two weeks. He is now heavily shackled in the Moabit prison. For many weeks Comrade Thaelmann's wife has been denied the right to visit him. Nobody visits him.

In reply to an enquiry about his health, a delegation of workers from Paris, which was refused permission to see him, received the following reluctant reply from a fascist official: "He is better." At the moment when we publish these lines, we do not know whether he is being tortured again.

His life is in great danger. The murder of John Scheer is a reminder to all that we must *protect, rescue and release Comrade Thaelmann!*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY  
Berlin, End of March, 1934.

## THE LESSONS OF THE NUREMBERG CONGRESS FOR THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

By JOHN SCHEER

**T**HE program of the Communist International contains the following sentence:

"In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but, after it has established itself at the helm of state, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as a terrorist dictatorship of big capital."

This statement is quite correct and is corroborated by Italian fascism, for whom it was possible to utilize the years of relative stabilization to consolidate its power.

Hitler's dictatorship, however, has to deal, not with relative stabilization, but with an economic crisis which has lasted many years. This crisis, which compelled the fascists to hurriedly convene the Nuremberg



Party Congress, contains two dangerous points for the fascist dictatorship:

1. The growing impoverishment of the masses exposes the demagogic social phrases of the fascist dictatorship, which is compelled to resort to ever more savage terror, and *prevents its consolidation and stabilization*.

2. Led by the Communist Party, the working class threatens strikes and mass actions. Any phrase uttered by the Nazis against the capitalists increases the danger that the followers of the fascists will *accept this sentence at its face value*, and also proceed to engage in anti-capitalist activity.

Thus, after being in power for seven months, the fascist dictatorship in Germany was compelled to shed its anti-capitalist rattles, *without to any extent stabilizing its position*.

The German bourgeoisie, which is one of the cleverest in the world, is well aware that it is dancing on a volcano. It knows that it can only maintain power as a ruling class thanks to the grandiose scale of its bloody terror. But it is not less well aware that naked fascist terror, operated for the benefit of the profits of the heavy industry, and of the *Junkers* and bankers, without any ideological embellishments, can last only a short time, and will sooner or later lead to a revolutionary explosion.

For this reason it must by no means be considered a question of theorizing, but an event corresponding to the condition of the crisis, to the difficulties facing the bourgeoisie, to the threat of a rising revolutionary upsurge, when the fascist lackeys in the government received the following direct tasks, at the end of July, 1933, namely, to convene a congress, where fascist theory would be totally stripped of all anti-capitalist phrases, and where a powerful offensive would be developed against Communism. This congress was to find ideological embellishments for the most brutal white terror, and a *tremendous chauvinist wave* was to be raised by the new efforts of nationalist demagoguery.

The concrete political aims which the German bourgeoisie and the fascist hangmen at their service set themselves were manifested in a purely outward manner, namely, *in a demonstration of 120,000 storm troopers* (with knapsacks, spades, and kitchen utensils), in the chauvinist revelry which filled the whole city of Nuremberg with parades and military music, in the big Reichswehr maneuvers engineered on the spot, and with the body of general officers *swearing allegiance* to the government of the dictatorship. All this served as a proof that the international position is strained to the extreme and that a new imperialist war is a burning and real danger. *The German bourgeoisie has made up its mind to go to war*. The working class must not allow itself to be lulled to sleep for a single moment either by the League of

Nations, by peace treaties, by disarmament conferences or by the brazen phrases about peace uttered by its own bourgeoisie.

The second fact is the offensive of the storm troopers against Communism to the strain of pogrom songs. The Nuremberg Congress was a real mobilization of all the lowest destructive instincts of chauvinism against the revolutionary class struggle and the Communist Party, which was presented at the Congress as a horde of traitors, murderers, incendiaries, nihilists and miscreants.

Consequently, Nuremberg showed, in the second case, that *fascism is not overcoming Communism*, that the bourgeoisie are preparing to increase their terror by the winter time to a tremendous degree, since they feel that in Germany we are *on the threshold of a new revolutionary upsurge*.

The Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated that the world stands before a new round of revolutions and wars. This estimate is doubly correct with regard to fascist Germany. On one hand, *the bourgeoisie is instigating war at a mad pace*, so as to weaken the revolutionary upsurge by means of chauvinism and war, and thus to avoid the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, the Communists are feverishly rallying the working class and the toilers for a *socialist people's revolution*, so as to prevent the outbreak of war, and to save the working class and the toilers, the millions of victims which will fall in a new bloody slaughter of the peoples, and to lead them to a revolutionary way out of the crisis—to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

"A people without territory"—such is the starting point of the fascist war fever, and one which was very soon extended to the slogan—"To the East for territory."

In his book *My Struggle*, Hitler explains in detail what this means:

"It goes without saying that such a policy can be carried out not only in the Cameroons, but today almost exclusively and primarily, in Europe. We must soberly and coolly adopt the point of view that under no circumstances could it have been *the intention of Heaven* to give one people on this earth, territory fifty times larger than another has. In this case we must not permit ourselves to be diverted by political boundaries from the boundaries of eternal right."

It is quite obvious that the country to which the above quoted statement refers is the *Soviet Union*.

A quite definitely new, a very high stage of fascist war policy against the Soviet Union was revealed at the Nuremberg Congress. Hitler's fascism became transformed into the pioneer of interventionist war by the whole capitalist world against the U.S.S.R.

The feats of the Japanese war instigators give no peace to the German fascists.

In his concluding speech on "Germany's European Mission", Hitler directed himself to the capitalists of the whole of Europe:

"If even *one* people in Western or Central Europe falls into Bolshevism, the corroding action of this poison will spread itself further and will destroy the oldest and the most beautiful cultural treasures of the world."

In his report on "Racial Prerequisites in Foreign Politics", Rosenberg developed in detail the thesis of the necessity of a crusade of the Aryan races against the lower Asiatic-Russian races. He confronted international capital with the following problem:

"Under the influence of the continued pressure of political and financial demands, Communism, which is already in possession of one sixth of the globe, is stretching its arm to *Central Europe* too."

He supported the necessity for having allies for an anti-Soviet war by the following considerations:

"From the objective point of view, the position is now such, that *every weakening* of Germany, means the *strengthening* of world Communism."

And when Germany finally left the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, all the speeches made by Hitler and Goebbels which were to justify this step, were reduced to the following: Germany seeks friendship with Italy, Germany wishes to eliminate all contradictions with England. After the return of the Saar, Germany has no contradictions with France. *Fascist Germany has only one enemy, namely, Communism!*

Hence the foreign political meaning of the racial theory of the Nuremberg Congress consists in the fact, that by unfurling the banner of war against the U.S.S.R., the Nazis hope to gain the sympathies of the imperialists of the whole world, so that the latter may direct *all their war armaments against the Soviet Union.*

Thus, the racial theory represents a definite imperialist theory of war, sharpened mainly against the U.S.S.R., the Nazis stressing the kinship of the Aryans of all countries, and addressing themselves to the "Aryans" of England, and to the Scandinavian "Aryans" with the invitation to kindle the flames of war against the U.S.S.R. They also appeal to the mixed Anglo-German Aryans in America, in an effort to transform their European anti-Bolshevik mission into a world mission.

The matter, however, is not so simple as that. The imperialists of other countries understand that a strong Germany may become a menace not only

to the Soviet Union, but also to their own positions as world powers. On the other hand, the racial theory invented by German finance capital will reduce to their extremity the domestic contradictions of the British empire, just as it will likewise sharpen the internal political situation in America to a tremendous degree. This is the reason why all the imperialist States, which are to a great extent passing over to fascist methods of government, can under no circumstances approve of, let alone accept, the Hitler "race theory".

But the above should by no means close the eyes of the German workers to the fact that German monopolist capital finds the fascist racial theory extremely useful mainly to unbridle chauvinistic frames of mind, and it is our task to give a decisive repulse to this theory.

"Anti-Semitism is nothing but the reaction of the perishing strain of society against modern society, and under an allegedly socialist mask, serves obviously *reactionary purposes.*"

This is how Frederick Engels characterized anti-Semitism. Comrade Stalin has concretized this well-known general Marxist thesis by the following brilliant proposition in relation to present-day conditions:

"Anti-Semitism serves the exploiters as a lightning conductor, by means of which they wish to save themselves from the *blow directed against them by the workers.*"

Here we are given the key to the solution of the anti-Semitic orgies, with which the bloody fascist dictatorship commenced its rule. The workers must bear in mind that anti-Semitic badgering is always, and first and foremost, directed against the revolutionary proletariat. At critical moments the bourgeoisie organizes anti-Semitic pogroms, so as to disrupt the revolutionary class struggle. Anti-Semitic theories always serve the efforts to discredit Marxism and the proletarian revolution ("Jewish machinations"). Anti-Semitism always has in view to unleash against the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist vanguard the very lowest instincts of hatred and murder in the ranks of the capitalist terrorist gangs.

Fascism calculated on creating a certain foundation for itself among the masses by means of its counter-revolutionary and anti-Semitic badgering. Having in passing frustrated the lives of several hundreds of thousands of Jews, it has succeeded in securing positions for its fascist job hunters, and thus interested them *materially* in the badgering of Jews.

But now, after nine months of the existence of Hitler's dictatorship, the small traders, handicraftsmen, lawyers, physicians and actors have to recognize that their illusions were deceptive and that despite the expulsion of Jews by fascist policy, they them-

selves *have been abandoned to the full fury of the crisis.*

But even less did they succeed in arousing anti-Semitism among the workers. During 60 years of class struggle the German workers passed through a great school and acquired Marxist traditions:

"Only absolutely ignorant, absolutely downtrodden people can believe the lies and slanders, spread about the Jews . . . it is not the Jews who are the enemies of the toilers but the capitalists," said Lenin. (Retranslation—Ed.)

The eight million unemployed workers and employees could only reply with contemptuous laughter, when Hitler wanted to impress them that "the Jews are to blame" for unemployment and the crisis.

The boycott of the Jews excited a tremendous sensation on the international arena, for the German bourgeoisie used this opportunity as a pretext for carrying out a boycott not only of Jewish merchandise, but also of all the import trade of Germany's foreign competitors.

The world imperialists replied to this by staging a Jewish "anti-boycott", and it proved to be *three times more effective* and stronger, for the victor countries not only actually have more powerful means, but Germany also depends upon its exports to a much greater degree than any other big imperialist competitor. Thus, the result of the Jewish boycott, this joint invention of Goering and Goebbels, turned out to be nothing more nor less than the *complete collapse of German exports.*

Thus, from the point of view both of foreign and domestic policy, anti-Semitism proved to be far from an ideal means for strengthening the position of the fascist dictatorship of capital. It is essential that we understand that anti-Semitism will also continue in the future to remain one of the basest weapons of the bourgeoisie and fascism, and from time to time we will have to live through anti-Semitic excesses. The Nuremberg Congress made an attempt to create in the place of anti-Semitism—the blows in response to which proved to be stronger than the original ones—*an all-embracing accomplished theory of national badgering, whereby the objects of monopolist capital are to be achieved.*

For a period of seven months, day in and day out, the Nazi press "slaughtered" Marxism, "put an end" to Communism and "destroyed" Bolshevism. Huge bonfires of Marxist and Communist literature were set afire in all the public squares. Nevertheless, nothing could give better proof that the might and *triumphal progress of Marxism and Communism are a fact*, than the necessity of making the struggle against Communism the pivot of the whole Party Congress in Nuremberg.

In the sweat of his brow Hitler tried to fabricate

an "absolutely new" nationalist world-outlook, without a precedent, to take the place of Marxism. We can say in advance that the same thing happened to him as has happened to all the bourgeois apologists of capitalism. They trained all their forces to "refute" Marxism, but achieve nothing other than a colossal *strengthening* of the irrefutable and indisputable principles launched by Marxism. And the same thing happened to Hitler, who stated that:

"But both the concepts 'to order' and 'to obey' acquire an absolutely different and compulsory sense, when people of *different worth* clash, or come in contact with one another, and a general and purposeful union is created by the stronger section!

"In the most primitive sense of this word it takes place at the time, when man subjects animals to his power, when he wrests them from their free existence and includes them in his life process, *without asking the consent of his assistants from the animal kingdom.*"

In this case our "natural philosopher" deduces human society and the relations between men from the relations of man to domestic animals. Hence follows "a simple solution" of the whole problem:

"The higher race subjugates the lower one, thus entering into relations which henceforward unite unequal races."

And then, this sorry Hackenkreuzer brain, which absolutely fails to note that the German working class are not working cattle, nor herds of sheep, wants to inflict a "destructive blow" on Communism, as follows:

"And as soon as this process of the formation of a people and a state commenced, the Communist Era of humanity ended. For Communism represents a *most primitive, initial form and by no means the highest stage of development.*"

For Hitler, this exhausts all the problems of Communism, and the philosopher continues unhindered:

"The primitive abilities of one race originally create different values than do the more developed or different type of abilities of its companions in life.

"*The idea of private ownership* is therefore indissolubly linked up with the conviction that the productivity of *man's labor varies in kind and value*, and at the same time varies with the different character and different value of the man himself."

Any worker will understand Hitler's "logic" without fail. According to this logic, the fascist racial theory would formulate the question as follows: "What is the relation of a *cow* to the *current banking account* of a big landowner? What business has a *watch dog* in the Huge Villa with the *balance sheet of the Krupp concern?*"

The lower races with primitive abilities are working cattle, which must work, whereas private ownership is the property of the higher race, of the "Aryan Masters" in Germany, who, on the basis of the composition of their blood and divine providence, claim the absolute right to exploit and oppress the lower races. Hitler even refers to the extent to which capitalist private owners compel the working class to multiply their riches, in the following historical allegory:

"Thus, it was not where the Aryans lived exclusively among their own that the high and important Aryan culture arose, but everywhere where they came into a live connection with races brought up in a different way."

Thus, at the present period, when capitalism is rotting in its own crisis, the Nazis borrow the basic concepts of their philosophy from the ideology of slavery. This is by no means accidental, for modern capitalist exploitation is striving, under the scourge of fascist dictatorship, to transform fifty million German workers, peasants and toilers into slaves devoid of all rights, into cannon fodder for an anti-Soviet war, for the sake of the profits of monopolist capital.

Hitler further declared at the Nuremberg Congress, that "a normal strain of our abilities is conditioned by the *inner racial composition of our people*". It is therefore the greatest task of fascism to secure the predominant rule of those "Aryans" who created the German people out of a conglomeration of ingredients only "by means of their heroism, and due to their inner vocation".

But how are the lower races to be found in this "conglomeration of different ingredients", what are their symptoms? Hitler's lengthy report, entitled "Heroism—Race—Art", describes it as follows:

"It is quite natural that actually a part of the human species achieves the fulfilment of its life's task by merely satisfying its lower vital requirements.

"Those who need nothing but food and drink to satisfy and fill their life, never understood those who prefer to renounce their daily bread in order to satisfy the yearnings of the soul and the hunger of the mind."

Such approximately are the symptoms of the lower race, namely, a man who does not go beyond the limits of primitive requirements, and who never rose above the sphere of "animal interests". He lives in the depths of the "mere material idea of life". This, then, is the lower race, which, as we see, thinks first and foremost of food and drink, and rests in the depths of an exclusively materialist perception of life. Such a race is, to a certain extent,

an "animal" race, and rages against the capitalist crisis and fascist hunger dictatorship.

Hitler writes the following lines as to the bestial pedigree of these people:

"It would also be wrong to think that this man will ever be able to understand or grasp that providence did not endow his species with the ability to independently understand things."

*All this refers to the working class.* Even a blind man with a stick will notice that as regards foreign policy the racial theory represents a *theory of war against the U.S.S.R.*, and as regards home policy, it is a *theory of civil war against the working class*. Millions of starving workers, who are suffering bitter want at the present moment, whose strivings are limited to a crust of bread, clothing and coal, are characterized as a lower animal race, and the chairman of the fascist collegium of executioners, the creature of Krupp and Thyssen, throws still another infamy into their haggard faces:

"The distance between the lower people who are still counted as human beings, and our higher races, is greater than that between man at the lowest stage of development and an ape on the highest stage of development."

It is important to note that here it is not by any means a question of natural history. Such an "objective" assertion would have been quite in place in the pure science of natural history, where a comparison is made between the gorilla and Neanderthal man, or African dwarfs. The "religious" Hitler would have raised a decisive protest against this. But here it is a question of mobilizing against the threat of economic strikes, against unemployed struggles, of covering up the bloody excesses, which the fascist dictatorship is unleashing against the working class. The fascist dictatorship suggests the following recipe with regard to these masses:

"Whatever those lack who are not born with the inherent perception [of the beauty, dignity and honor of the fascist dictatorship] whatever they will never be able to grasp by their mind and heart, should be replaced by conscious training of them at least in the spirit of timid respect."

By "conscious training" is meant the rubber club, steel rods and the dungeons of the storm troopers, while Hitler's dictatorship is vainly trying to create "timid respect" by means of treacherous murders, by torturing hostages, by mass death sentences and shooting people "when trying to escape".

Thus, the fascist racial theory is exposed as the most brazen, open, *low grade theory of capital against the working class*.

Covering himself with a cannonade against "liberalism" and "democracy", Hitler expounds why the



lower races, which do not possess the fortune of belonging to the higher Aryan culture and to private property, must also keep silence on political questions. In this case Hitler is arguing against the "democrats", without taking account of the fact that the working class will draw its own Marxian conclusion.

"It is contended that all people belonging to any nation may manage or ensure the management of a factory or a landed estate. And, at the same time, it is solemnly stated, in the name of democracy, that they are all capable of ruling, or ensuring the rule of a State."

This demagogue is full of indignation when he exclaims further:

"This is a contradiction in itself. Either all the people, as a result of equal abilities, are capable of equally ruling a state, and then the support of the idea of property is not only unjust, but it is simply stupid, or men are really unable to manage as common property, the material and cultural blessings of the nation, created by common effort, and then they are still less capable of jointly ruling the state."

Further on we are forced to face one of the greatest surprises of the Nuremberg Congress. The deadly foe of Marxism delivered a homily to the democratic demagogues about the correctness of the Marxian theory of the State and about the basic theses of historic materialism according to which the political situation of the classes (Hitler disguises them into races) corresponds to their position in the productive process, while the State is the instrument of the ruling class, which is created and developed to ensure the oppression of the exploited classes. Without being conscious of it, Hitler expresses this in the following words:

"The joint control of values by everybody is considered to be impossible for the reason, that not all participate in an equal degree in the creation of these values. But in this case, the joint management of the state by everybody is still less possible because it least of all owes its existence to all, but merely to a definite part, which is the bearer and thus the keeper of the state, because it was never its creator."

Thus, we have before us the basic theses of the "new national-socialist world outlook", and we find that it represents a nauseating concoction of the old theories of the dictatorship of capital. The reader, if he is a Marxist, will see here the truth of the words: "Whoever attacks Marxism will perish from Marxism".

Hitler's report corroborates the triumph of historical materialism; it is not consciousness that de-

termines existence, but existence that determines consciousness.

The report made at the Nuremberg Congress corroborates the triumph of the *Communist Manifesto* to the effect that the past history of humanity is the history of class struggle.

Nuremberg corroborates the *Marxian theory of the State* to the effect that the State is the weapon of the ruling class for the exploitation and suppression of the exploited classes.

Nothing more could be expected from an organization which was convened—at a cost of twenty-five million marks—to "smash" the hated Marxism and Communism.

All this clattering of swords and shouting about races could not conceal the inner uncertainty of the fascist dictatorship, its impotence in face of the growing crisis, the contraction of its mass basis and its foreign political isolation. Why was Hitler so tempestuous in demanding "self-certainty on the part of the leadership"? Why did he call for "blind trust on the part of those who are led"? Was it not a "congress of victory", where the fight for labor\* has reached its climax? Why, all the newspapers trumpeted about the successes of "conscious labor". But something must have been wrong, because:

"It is therefore possible that one or other are not able to attain absolute clarity on particularly difficult questions."

Why should such a painful sigh come from the breast of the leader? We will quote only one fact. While, according to the data of the fascist press in July, 1933, the number of workers employed was 700,000 persons more than in July, 1932, the receipts from wage taxes in July, 1933, were 3.7 million marks lower, as compared with 1932. Notwithstanding all their statistical machinations, the crisis sharpened to such an extent, that, in July, 1933, the German workers and employees of the "third empire" earned 40 million marks less than in July, 1932, whereas in August, 1933, despite all statistical frauds, the number of unemployed in Germany began to grow at a furious rate. Under the blows of this crisis the demagogue Hitler made the following admissions:

"It is therefore possible that one or other measure taken by us to-day always may turn out to be ineffective."

These two oral utterances of Hitler reveal the confusion concealed under the Nuremberg banners, and show the vacuum concealed behind the pompous front. The crisis goes on. Hitler's liquidation of

\* *Arbeiterschlacht* (the fight for labor), i.e., all the measures taken by Hitler's government for the liquidation of unemployment.—Ed.

unemployment has proved to be a failure. The spasmodic measures undertaken by the government have failed. The export trade is ruined. The home market is contracting more and more. The deadly hatred of the working class for fascism, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is assuming ever more aggressive forms. The slogan of "national unity" and "overcoming class contradictions" turned out to be a soap bubble of the Ministry of Propaganda. This is the reason why Hitler is so furious against the Marxists and the critics. This is why he shouted about the confidence of the people, because the catastrophe has not been eliminated and we are living in times "when its [the people's] will must help to avoid the catastrophe". But his most important confession is the one where, while contemptuously slighting the workers as a "lower race", he states the basic problem of the "national-socialist training of the working masses" as follows:

"For the rest, by the way, they [the workers] must only learn to recognize the vital manifestations of one section of their people, just as the other section [Nazi-Aryans] must take into account the state of their minds."

This is the most essential thing. Hitler humbly recognizes that he cannot win over the working class, and that all his fairy tales about the unity of the people are pure nonsense and that "the Nazis must take into account the state of mind of the workers", and that all they have at their disposal to prove their assertion are means of terror. Hitler unleashes an orgy of abuse against the workers, whom he calls the "scum of the big cities", and the "uncultured dregs of the nation".

The crisis and the indignation of the masses continue to grow, and, as the result of the general state of affairs, the necessity has arisen of fabricating a new demagogy for the fooling of the workers, in place of the anti-capitalist phrases in use hitherto. "Socialism" was a word not to the liking of the employers. The N.S.D.A.P.,\* which is ready to throw overboard all anti-capitalist concepts in its terminology, could not screw up enough courage to leave the slogan of "Socialism" to its fate, nor can it risk, in spite of the growing hostility of the working class, dropping the word "Labor" from its title. This would have meant to openly remove the mask from the terrorist gangs at the service of capital. This would have been a blow in the face of the millions of deluded adherents of fascism. This would have pushed the millions of masses directly towards Communism.

Did not a similar thing happen with Christianity two thousand years ago? Did not the ruling class of that time succeed in extracting the sting out of

the mass movement, which was jeopardizing its wealth, by counterfeiting its contents, and transforming the militant demand for welfare on earth into an organization of "beatitude for the soul in the highest spiritual spheres"? Does not this daring chess move which turned the poor into "poor in spirit" and which converted the kingdom on earth they demanded into the "kingdom of heaven", bear abundant fruit even today to all the exploiting companies?

"What the ancient Romans could do", thinks Goebbels, "we, the Nazis, can certainly accomplish too, if such is the demand of Krupp and Thyssen." Thus was the theory of "hereditary predisposition" fabricated by the Nazis. Due to divine providence, each person is born for a predestined purpose, which he bears in his blood. And then Hitler delivers the following nonsense:

"On the day that he selects his profession, life faces every man with the question of his origin. Don't we ourselves say 'the boy is born for such and such a thing', and all this means is *that he obeys an inner voice*, which gives him more correct advice, than superficial human reason.

"An individual man is never his own master. He is guided everywhere and he must obey constantly.

"In his youth he is faced with the opportunity only of selecting the train which he wants to board. But as soon as he takes his seat, he thereby delivers his life to the leadership of others."

Such is the mixture of lies and stupidity that the "leader" offers to the German workers. If the eight million of unemployed are starving in Germany, if those partially employed are suffocating under the scourge of capitalist rationalization, and if the ruined small tradesman resorts to the gas tap, if the peasant, whose property has been sold by auction, sees the ruin of the whole of his life's work, it means that in their youth they boarded *the wrong train*. The "heredity" in their blood was bad. "The boy was born a failure." If all these boys had boarded the "train of the rich", instead of the train of miners and metal workers, we would now have several millions of millionaires instead of the unemployed. But they were not born for that purpose, and therefore Hitler declares:

"If, however, the word 'socialism' is to have any sense, it can have only the following one, namely, having in view the preservation of the whole, with iron justice to load upon the shoulders of each person only that which corresponds to his *inherent predisposition*, and thereby to his *value*."

Consequently, a starving man must starve still more, while a rich man must devour still more. A capitalist must exploit still more, while the worker

\* National-Socialist German Labor Party.—Ed.

must allow himself to be exploited. *Therein lies the secret of Hitler's socialism.*

"The General Council of Economy" which occupied a box of honor at the Congress was not quite satisfied with this formulation. Then Schuman, the leader of the German Labor Front, at a special session of the N.S.B.O. in Nuremberg, succeeded in finding a salutary word, which rid the word "socialism", in the sense in which it is interpreted by the Nazis, of its entire anti-capitalist flavor, and excited the stormy applause of all the exploiters.

"The labor question is not a *question of the stomach but a question of the soul.*

"Socialism is not an economic regime. Socialism is the spiritual promise of the people."

However, these lackeys of the capitalist hangman, who, in order to please Thyssen and the Crown Prince, attributed a "salon socialism" character to Socialism, are to a certain extent clear that it will be rather difficult to impose this phantasmal capitalist socialism upon the workers.

From Hitler, Rosenberg and Goebbels to Hirl, Ley and Schuman, they all raised a loud howl against "liberalism". The "materialist mercantile spirit of the liberal age regards everything, even the toiling person, even the place of work, as a commodity. To us, on the other hand, a toiling man is the crown of creation, our native soil is something sacred, our fatherland", exclaimed Hirl, the incendiary in the school for recruits, in simulated wrath, while his partner Rosenberg echoed him with the words:

"Blood is *dearer* than gold,—a plot of land is *dearer* than a parcel of shares. Honor is more *valuable* than the highest dividend."

It is clear to everybody, that the "General Council of Economy" are rubbing their hands, since all this is being said for the broad "unified" masses, and not for Messrs. the industrialists, the Junkers and bankers, who finance this riff-raff, with a view to fooling the people.

The slogan that the "common good stands before the private good" passes like a red thread through all the reports, as the pivot of the "national-socialist world outlook". Then comes the definition of the "common good" and the "private good".

The employers who "disinterestedly" devote themselves and their "initiative" to the "service of German national economy" are certainly "generally useful", there being no doubt left by the explanations of Schmidt, the Minister of National Economy, and by Hitler's speech to the well fed chiefs, that the prerequisite for the capitalist common good is the "legalized" private good. But quite a different song is sung with regard to the workers.

"Private good" implies demands for wage increases, demands for doles, demands that the price

of necessities be cut down, that the burden of taxation be eliminated. "Liberals" is the name given to peasants and small handicraftsmen who demand the fulfillment of Hitler's demagogic anti-capitalist promises, who expect that the bondage of usury will be abolished, that exploiters, usurers and profiteers will be sent to the gallows, and who anticipate a "struggle against the rich" and the abolition of the Bruening-Papen emergency decrees.

The struggle against "private good", the struggle against liberalism, is a struggle against *female labor*, against "double earnings", i.e., against there being two workers in one family, against casual "accessory earnings of the unemployed", against the influx of *unemployed from the countryside*, against the attempts of the "small people" to get rid of their tax arrears (the big people have already thrice been exempted from taxation arrears by law).

"The struggle against private good and liberalism", such is the slogan which justifies the terror not only against the working class, but also against the *peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie*. The fact that this demagoguery assumed its widest dimensions at the Nuremberg Congress, reflects best of all the process of the desertion of the peasants and the middle strata from the Nazi camp, and the growing difficulties facing fascism from among its own adherents. *Nuremberg served as a clear proof that the mass basis of fascism in Germany is contracting with every month.*

Fascism senses the inner want of a firm foundation and the weakness of its "philosophy". This is the reason why it clothes its incitement to war on the U.S.S.R. and its pogrom activities against Communism in philosophic "garments", which in a scientific sense represents a stupid lie:

"And as soon as this process of the formation of a people and a state was begun the Communist era of humanity came to an end.

"For Communism represents a *primitive initial form* and by no means its highest stage of development."

For fully half an hour Hitler rode this old hackneyed hobby in order to prove that the Communists want to send the working class and the toilers back beyond the stone age, into the primeval forests, to the apes at their highest stage of development.

"Therefore it is not at all accidental, that Communism and its leaders preach and promote a backward development in all the spheres of culture. Marxism, not only in the political, but also in the cultural sphere, brings us by force to nihilism."

This is how this man lies, a man who is faced by the facts of *socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.*, of the socialist *cultural revolution*, of the *national pol-*

icy of the Bolsheviks and the *improvement of the living standards even among the nomadic peoples* which inhabit the remotest extremities of the Soviet Union.

Similar importance is assumed by their malicious howl against the Communist Party of Germany, which was called a gang of traitors, murderers and incendiaries, every time it was mentioned.

And again the question comes up, why was so much energy expended at the Nuremberg Congress against "exterminated" Marxism and "destroyed" Bolshevism? What else was there expressed here if not the fact that Marxism is stronger now than ever, that the Communist Party is advancing and that Hitler has not succeeded in harnessing the working class to the chariot of the German bourgeoisie? Does he not state in detail, that fascism must take into account their (the working class) state of mind?

Hitler goes still further. Although he "authoritatively" established on many an occasion that the working class in itself does not possess the ability of organizing itself, and it "lacks a born leader", nevertheless he is afraid that the working class may prove to be an attracting force as far as the intelligentsia are concerned, and he appeals to fascism, to attract all clever people to itself without fail, for otherwise it will be its own fault, "if born talent creates a field of activity for itself, if only for the purpose of *organizing the slaves*, after the example of Spartacus".

This is the nightmare which oppresses the German capitalist class and Hitler. Suffering from mania grandiosa, this apologist of capitalism has not quite grasped the thing which the bourgeoisie has recognized and expressed through fascist terror. The proletariat do not need to await the "talents" which have passed unnoticed by the fascists. *The German working class has long had a leader, a teacher, and an organizer, namely, the Communist Party.*

*Our leader, comrade Ernst Thaelmann, who has grown up in the last 50 years of class battles in Germany, is a son of the working class, armed with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, a leader elected by the fiery enthusiasm and confidence of millions of German workers.*

Fascism is able to give neither work nor bread, but only a chauvinist "spiritual communion of the people" and racial philosophy. In view of the aggravation of the crisis, it is mobilizing its forces for the intensification of terror, and is developing a philosophy of "heroism", as being the outstanding racial feature of our Aryans. "The national-socialist movement must unite with heroism. It is better to agree to any opposition, or want, then renounce, if even once, the principles which are recognized as correct."

This is the language of murderers, who have

decided to defend capitalist exploitation to the last in face of all opposition. Hitler becomes even more frank:

"The heroic idea must always be prepared for the fact that it may remain unrecognized by modernity."

Why is it so? *Because it has not received this recognition from modernity.* Here we have once more an admission of the growing isolation of the fascist dictatorship, which is creating the "heroic theory" for its own consolation.

Thus, the 120,000 storm troopers were not only to demonstrate before the world imperialists the feasibility of a war pact with Germany against the Soviet Union, but in its home policy as well it was to serve as a threat to the working class and the starving toilers. The *Volkischer Beobachter* addressed a supplement to the Nuremberg Congress with an editorial headed "The Storm Troopers Are Our Fate". This is the opinion not only of the editorial board but of the whole capitalist class of Germany as well.

Nevertheless the Nuremberg Congress had as its task to intensify the lust for blood among the terrorist gangs, and to wage a tremendous struggle among the broad masses against "private good", a struggle for the "common good", a struggle for "unreserved sacrifice at the altar of the fatherland", a struggle to ensure that the workers and toilers are led where Thyssen and Krupp want them to go, *that they should sacrifice wages and dole, their liberty and life in favor of the profits of monopolist capital and the war industry.*

We can say already today that the German proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany will devote all its efforts to destroy these brazen schemes and to smash the demagogy of the fascists.

Notwithstanding all the phrases about the annihilation of Communism, the national-socialist congress in Nuremberg, the "Congress of Victory" of the party which stands at the helm of power, represented a picture of utter bankruptcy. Nuremberg was a demonstration of the greatest alarm of finance capital about the further fate of German capitalism. Nuremberg signalized the growing discontent of the masses and the increasing influence of the C. P. G.

*The most important lesson which we have drawn from Nuremberg consists in the following: The Nuremberg Congress was a convulsive effort on the part of fascism to preserve its mass basis and to prepare the leading cadres of the terrorist gangs for the aggravation of the situation.*

*At the same time the Nuremberg Congress shows that the role of social-democracy, as the main social support of the dictatorship of capital, has not altered.*



We will point out the following facts:

Immediately after the Nuremberg Congress, Engelhorn in Stuttgart published for mass circulation *The Ruin of Marxism*, the work of the former editor of the social-democratic *Volks-Zeitung* of Dusseldorf.

At the Reichstag arson trial, Arens, a former social-democratic municipal councillor, spoke as one of the *main witnesses* against the *Brown Book*, for Goldorf, Schulz, Heiness and Goering.

Immediately after Nuremberg a number of unions of the "German Labor Front" received strict instructions to *moderate their tone with regard to social-democratic workers*, and to the functionaries in particular.

Immediately after Nuremberg, a number of middle and higher trade union officials were released from concentration camps and placed as "auxiliary workers" in the "German Labor Front", at the labor exchanges and in the forced labor camps.

At the beginning of October, 1933, the *Berliner Borsenzeitung* quotes the results of a big investigation, drawing the alarming deduction that the three million social-democratic workers stand as a wall against Hitler, threatening to become a "prey to Communism".

Finally, in looking through the minutes of the

Nuremberg Party Congress we find that Hitler handled social-democracy "carefully" so to speak, and that notwithstanding his pretensions to "totality", he did not at all forget the activities of Noske, Zorgeibel, Severing and Leipart.

And, vice versa, in looking over all social-democratic documents issued during the last months, we find that social-democracy has taken full account of the depths of the crisis of German capitalism and the danger of a revolutionary upsurge. As a result, therefore, all the actions both of the Prague Central Committee and of the openly gross and masked "Leftist" agents of the Prague Central Committee are being carried out in Germany under the sign of a *general offensive against Communism*, under the sign of feverish work to support and deepen the split of the working class. Hence, in addition to everything else, the Nuremberg Congress is proof of the absolute correctness of the way Comrade Stalin in 1924 so brilliantly defined, in the pamphlet *On the International Situation*, the complicity of fascism and social-democracy in the work in the service of the bourgeoisie.

We will confine ourselves to the facts quoted by us so as to give a correct appraisal of the Nuremberg Congress. The deductions about the strategy and tactics of our Party, as well as its immediate tasks in Germany, will be given in the next article.

## THE DE MAN PLAN IS A FRAUD ON THE WORKERS

By E. VARGA

### PART I

FOR more than six months already the entire activity of the Labor Party of Belgium has been concentrated around the so-called "Plan". In the press, at all meetings and gatherings, in the plenum of the Council of the Belgian Labor Party in November, 1933, at the Emergency Congress which took place in the winter of 1933-34, in a word, one and all are busy with this longed for, finally discovered "Plan", which is to solve the social question in Belgium and is to transform Belgium in planned fashion into a land of socialism. At the Emergency Congress, a resolution was adopted by the votes of representatives of 563,451 members of the Belgian Labor Party (only the representatives of 8,500 members abstained from voting) to mobilize the entire party, the trade unions, and the co-operatives for the realization of this Plan. All the rest, and particularly the struggle and the pressing every-day needs of the proletariat, have been shifted to the background. What, indeed, is the need to wage economic struggles for wage increases for a few paltry francs, if the workers will find in this miracle

of a plan the key to the solution of all problems, a miraculous means of entering right into socialism solemnly and with flying banners, without the need to struggle, and assisted by nothing but the peaceful means of propaganda and the election bulletin! Why, *economic struggles would merely handicap the realization of this plan*, for they would only repel the petty and middle bourgeoisie. And as the resolution of the Congress points out, the realization of this miracle-plan is not to be thought of without either the one or the other:

"The Congress . . . appeals not only to the working class, but also to *all classes* of the population, who are suffering from the present economic collapse, as well as to *all well-meaning people*, irrespective of party or creed, to join in united and joint action. . . ." (Italics mine—E. V.)

Who will deny that the majority of capitalists "are suffering from the present economic collapse"? Well, they should not be rudely repelled straight

away by excessive demands regarding wages, otherwise they will refuse to help in the realization of the great "Plan". Hence no economic struggles should be waged: Let the workers suffer patiently a few more years! Now, when we have the "Plan", socialism is assured.

The "Left" Spaak summarized the change of policy by the B. L. P. as follows:

"Hitherto we have fought *against something* [evidently against the bourgeoisie—E.V.] but now we shall fight *for something*, for the Plan."

So as to put the "Plan" into operation the leadership of the Labor Party of Belgium expresses its readiness to *collaborate with all the enemies of the working class*.

The resolution of the above mentioned Congress reads:

"The Congress . . . declares that it is ready to accept . . . the support of all groupings who will subscribe to our plan of work."

For the sake of the Plan, the Labor Party of Belgium wants to force the heaviest sacrifices upon the Belgian proletariat, namely, renunciation of the struggle for wage increases, renunciation of resistance to the capitalist offensive, and alliance with all the enemies of the working class, with the "well-meaning" capitalists, with priests, bishops, and the yellow labor organizations.

*Why did the leadership of Belgian social-democracy come out with the de Man Plan just in the autumn of 1933?*

The social-democratic parties, which were once the class organizations of the proletariat, have now become the main social bulwark of the existing capitalist social system. To eliminate all suspicion of so-called "Communist demagogy", we will quote Henri de Man himself:

"If it were not for the support rendered by the social-democratic parties to the capitalist social system the latter would have been overthrown by the proletariat long ago.

"Since the time of the world war, a political situation has set in throughout the whole of Europe, excepting Russia, in which the socialist labor parties, chiefly when they are in power, are compelled to promote a policy of preserving the state, whereas the bourgeois parties, on the contrary, must support a reformist policy. There is probably not a single reform, in the sense of putting reformist ideas into practice, the realization of which in recent years has not been the work of the anti-socialist parties. On the contrary, wherever the socialists held power, either by themselves, or with the assistance of other parties, they were compelled to direct all their efforts towards conserving, for example to preserve the republic and

to consolidate state power in Germany, or to restore capitalist economy in the countries devastated by war. At the same time, it was precisely in order not to let the requisite political power out of their hands for nothing that as far as possible they excluded from their practical policy everything, which was specifically socialist." (De Man *Psychology of Socialism*, page 358.—Emphasis mine.—E. V.)

De Man also demonstrates how common a phenomenon the participation of social-democratic leaders in bourgeois governments has become, in the following words:

"The Central Council of Marx's International consisted predominantly of the representative of a cosmopolitan 'bohemia' [! ]—of political emigrants. Half a century later, in the first post-war years, there was not a single member of the Bureau of the Second International who was not a *minister* in his country, either *in the past, in the present, or in the future.*" (De Man, *Psychology of Socialism*, page 470.) (Emphasis mine—E.V.)

Little by little the social-democratic workers began to notice the change going on among the party bosses and in the policy of their parties. They, *i. e.*, the workers, began to become indignant. They did not want to be members of a "conservative" party which supports a regime founded on the preservation of capitalist exploitation. The discontent with the reformist leadership increased with the advent of the crisis, which contributed to the rapid worsening of the position of the proletariat and provoked internal crises in all the social-democratic parties.

The leading organs of the social-democratic parties and of the trade unions maintain the viewpoint that during a period of crisis, the struggle to improve the conditions of the workers, and to check the capitalist offensive, has no prospects. The workers, embittered by years of incessant unemployment, and of want and destitution, neither wish to, nor are able to reconcile themselves to this point of view. They begin "wild" strikes. Some of them go over to the Communists, while others exercise the greatest pressure upon the social-democratic leadership of their party and the trade unions, so to force them to wage a genuine struggle against the bourgeoisie.

A profound ferment is going on in the Labor Party of Belgium as well. The heroic fight of the miners in Beaurinage developed contrary to the wish of the leaders. The discontent at the policy of the social-democratic party leadership which enabled the mine-owners to cut the miners' wage-rates five times in two years, to reduce unemployed social insurance, old age and invalids' pensions, grow more and more.

Sent, the secretary of the Liege Federation of the Belgian Labor Party, correctly described the situation at the Congress of 1933:

"A few years ago, the workers had boundless confidence in us. It is quite different now. We still have followers, they still vote for us by habit, because we are all a little conservative, all of us. . . . But tomorrow, should you announce that we must wait a few years more, you will be told: 'We don't want such leaders any longer.'"

The victory of fascism in Germany has strengthened the spontaneous striving of the workers to fight jointly with the Communists against developing fascism. Before the Congress took place, the Federations of Liege, Beaurinage, etc., adopted resolutions in which they called for a general strike and even "for the violent seizure of power by means of insurrection" (*une prise du pouvoir insurrectionnelle*), though they did not express it sufficiently definitely.

At the Congress there was a "Left" wing under the leadership of Spaak, Sent and others. There was also an openly *Right* wing, headed by the Mayor of Antwerp, Huysmans, whose mouthpiece at the Congress was Mathier, who demanded the unconditional participation of the B. L. P. in the government:

"I declare," said he, "that our only refuge at this moment is our participation in the government. It is our life-belt. We must strive to participate in the government with anybody."

Vandervelde, with his large experience, and tried and tested in this kind of business, succeeded in securing a victory for the Rights. Against the votes of the representatives of 105,000 members (20 per cent of the members of the Belgian Labor Party), the Congress adopted a resolution, "condemning revolutionary violence and rejecting the preparation of a general strike". The motion of the Brussels Federation of the Belgian Labor Party proposing to establish a united front with the Communists on a national scale was rejected by the votes of the representatives of 348,000 members as against 135,000 members, *i. e.*, against a minority of 27 per cent. But Vandervelde knows quite well that a 27 per cent vote at the Congress for the united front with the Communists means in practice not less than 50 per cent of the number of workers, members of the Belgian Labor Party. Vandervelde is extremely well aware that the majority of Belgian workers, independent of the party they belong to, are striving to struggle. Vandervelde knows that the "Left danger" is growing in the B. L. P., and he is taking good care to suppress it promptly.

And here is Vandervelde importing the Frankfort university professor, Mr. Henri de Man, who drafted the project of the notorious "Plan of Work" for the

Belgian Labor Party. The propaganda of the Plan, deftly arranged with all the means at the disposal of stage art, has helped for a time to divert the attention of the Belgian proletariat from its struggle against the bourgeoisie, and from the struggle for its daily bread, towards a remote goal, having at the same time created the pretense that a wide offensive was being developed by the B. L. P. for the purpose of realizing socialism.

"Circumstances have hitherto held it [the Belgian Party—E. V.] on the defensive. The Plan of Work [spelled invariably in capitals—E. V.] is a proof of its well thought intention to take the offensive."

This is what Woters wrote in the *Peuple* of December 23, 1933 (article headed "On the Eve of the Congress").

It was solemnly announced that socialism in Belgium had reached a turning point.

In the *Peuple* of November 16, 1933, we read the following in the report on the Plenum of the Council of the B. L. P.:

"Everybody who was present at the reading of the draft plan of action prepared by Henri de Man, had the impression that socialism in our country had reached a turning point, and that a new era was being opened before him."

The Rights and the "Lefts" joined hands on the program outlined in this Plan. The *Bulletin Quotidien*, the organ of the "French Committee of Metallurgy" destined for home consumption, gives the following neat characteristic of the inner-party role of this Plan in its issue of January 26, 1933:

"The Plan is such that it satisfies and remunerates both the Rights and the Lefts inside the party, both the right and left wing of the party. It satisfies the left wing, as Dea writes, by attaching a definite condition to every case of collaboration with other parties, wedges itself into the very structure of the regime [?] and thus skips over the old and artificial contradiction between reform and revolution. The plan satisfies the right wing because it admits of all kinds of coalitions under certain conditions, because it calls for democratic methods and the gaining of universal suffrage. This is why all elements in the Labor party will once more rally around this Plan."

Is it a wonder then, that all the parties of the Second International, which are either split or are in danger of being split, have hailed the Plan of de Man with such joy?

Here are some examples: The *Neue Vorwaerts*, the central organ for 1934 of German social-democracy in emigration writes:

"What the Belgian Labor Party is undertaking now should have been put into operation during the crisis by German social-democracy."

That is to say, had the Severings and Welses concocted a "Plan" in good time akin to de Man's plan, it would have prevented Hitler's advent to power.

The Viennese *Arbeiterzeitung* of December 29, 1933, writes:

"The acceptance of de Man's Plan may become not only a turning point in the history of the Belgian Party, but even an event and a model for the international labor movement."

And so: the leaders of Austrian social-democracy were dreaming of a dam against fascism in the form of a paper "Plan" six weeks prior to the Austrian battles.

The thing that is most symptomatic of the situation is the controversy between the "neo-socialists" and old socialists in France. Both sides have proclaimed themselves to be the followers of de Man's Plan. The French "neo-socialists" are in raptures over this plan and declare their complete agreement with it,\* and the old socialists likewise are using all efforts to show that de Man's Plan is *their* policy. In the *Populaire* of January 4, 1934, Leon Blum writes:

"Sure enough. . . . The Belgian Labor Party has just now done the very thing in Brussels which our party adopted unanimously at the Congress in the Huyguens Hall."

And the Bureau of the Second International, headed by Vandervelde, is making an attempt once more to heal the split between its brethren in France on the basis of a common program something like the de Man Plan.

Everything points to the fact that the de Man Plan will very soon be imitated in all the other parties of the Second International. It is therefore all the more indispensable to analyze its content concretely. But before proceeding to this task, we would like to say a few words about the *personality* of Henri de Man, the man who has been made the vice-chairman of the Belgian Labor Party and who is hailed by the parties of the Second International as their new leader.

De Man has been known to the Belgian workers even since pre-war times. A young intellectual bursting with ambition, he was, together with de Brouker, a leader of the "*Marxist Left*" opposition, which was against the participation of the B. L. P. in the government, at the Emergency Congress which

\* *La Vie Socialiste* of November 25, 1933 and of January 6, 18, and 27, 1934.

took place in January 1910. It was at this period that de Man wrote a pamphlet, *The Labor Movement in Belgium*, jointly with de Brouker.\* In this pamphlet de Man pretends to be a revolutionary Marxist, whereas in reality he is a centrist of the Kautskian type. It is true that he finds some sharp words with which to flog the petty-bourgeois-reformist spirit, which at that time already was predominant in the B. L. P. and the business tendencies which prevailed in the co-operatives.\*\*

War breaks out. De Man voluntarily goes to the front as an officer. After the war he leaves Europe, "in order to find the possibility of a new spiritual equilibrium in the freedom of vagabond life full of adventures in America"\*\*\*. While the working class of Europe was starving and was trying to throw off the yoke of capitalism in mighty battles; while the Russian workers were heroically defending their dictatorship on all fronts against the intervention of fourteen States, while the Hungarian Soviet Republic sprang up and fell; while Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were brutally murdered in Germany; while the Communist International was founded—Mr. de Man was busy searching for a "new spiritual equilibrium".

After "starring" for two years as the leader of working class education in the Belgian labor movement, de Man leaves the labor movement once more, but this time he does not retire to the "freedom of vagabond life", but leaves for Frankfort-on-the-Main in Germany. He devotes himself to science, the result being that he is transformed from Paul to Saul, from a "Marxist" into an anti-Marxist. His book *The Psychology of Socialism*,\*\*\*\* represents a "scientific" foundation of the theory of class collaboration, social-patriotism, for the betrayal of the cause of the proletarian revolution by the reformist leaders, and their desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie, etc.

The German bourgeoisie hailed this book with enthusiasm. The *Berliner Boersenkurier* wrote:

"His book is probably the most serious analysis of Marxist thought and of its influence, hitherto undertaken by conscious socialists."

\* Appeared as an "Appendix to No. 9" of the *Neue Zeit*, in Stuttgart in 1911.

\*\* In the propagandist organ of the people's House, he writes, the following slogan could be read "Consumers' societies destroy the borders separating the non-propertied classes from the propertied one".

\*\*\* From the preface to the book *On the Other Side of Marxism*, page 12.

\*\*\*\* This book appeared in 1926, in an edition de luxe published by the bourgeois publishing house of E. Diedrich, Jena. Price—17 marks (!). The French translation of this book was published in Brussels under the title *On the Other Side of Marxism*.

Graf Herman Keiserling wrote:

"I consider Henri de Man's book as the most important book on the social problem after Marx's *Capital*. Nobody before de Man has been able to discern so sharply and to understand so profoundly the basic motive forces of our time as he has done."

Let us see how Henri de Man characterizes himself in this book. Let us quote his own words:

"It is true that I do feel a greater kinship of souls with the reformist practician than with the radical chatterer, and the street sewers in a working class district and a bed of flowers in front of a worker's house are dearer to me than any new theory of the class struggle. But I never did conceal the fact that one of the most bitter disappointments of my life was the understanding of how impossible it is to bring the working masses to a better existence by any other way than by turning bourgeois." (*Psychology of Socialism*, page 410.)

"The most bitter disappointment" of Mr. de Man is a secondary consideration: the main thing is that, according to his own admission, he became an open reformist, became a Right.

It is true that further down Mr. de Man still continues to call himself a "revolutionary", but he is the kind of revolutionary needed by the ruling classes. Let him speak for himself:

"Do I believe in revolution? Well, the older I am, the more I feel myself a revolutionary, but the less I believe in revolution. I am a revolutionary. This means, that for me the transformation of the capitalist order into a socialist one is a *spiritual* impulse, which I consider as such only when I take into consideration the contradictions of two irreconcilable lawful principles.

"But as my revolutionary sensation becomes deeper I depart from the superficial and romantic understanding of revolution, which may seemingly force an upsurge with sudden violence, and I consider that every upsurge needs time and freedom. . . .

"I think that in reality it is a question of something much more profound and essential than an upheaval in the mode of governing (facon de gouverner); it is the mode of living (facon de vivre) which is the decisive point. The requisite psychological reconstruction can not be brought about by violence: *violence not only provokes a rebuff from those who suffer from it, but also demoralizes those who use it.* And decisive importance will attach to the fact that the elevation of the working class to power may mean the actual realization of socialism only to the extent that they, *i. e.*, the working class, will be able to renounce the use of violence." (*Psychology of Socialism*, page 427.)

A fine "revolutionary" who is against using violence, a sort of "moral" revolutionary, a "soulful" revolutionary, a "Marxist" Ghandi!—just what is wanted by the bourgeoisie which applies violence to the workers every day by means of its policemen, gendarmes and soldiers, and which festers the workers in prisons, and beats and murders them.

The bourgeoisie of the whole world hate the Communists because they defend the correct, purely Marxist point of view, that the violent rule of the bourgeoisie can be overthrown by nothing but the violent, armed uprising of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie hate the Soviet Union, because the latter shows to the workers or the whole world, that the rule of the bourgeoisie *can be overthrown*, and that one can get along quite well without any bourgeoisie. Anybody who wants to be in the good books of the bourgeoisie, must fight the Communists and slander the Soviet Union. Well, de Man does both. Among other things we find the following lovely lines about the Communists in his book:

"This brings us to the question, as to whether the political fanaticism of the Communists is not some kind of political paranoia, which is the result of the displacement favored by the Marxist negation of the ethical character of the political will?" (*Psychology of Socialism*, page 390.)

Translated into everyday language this simply means that the Communists are crazy.

And as regards the Soviet Union, de Man uses a highly scientific language to repeat all the slanderous fables of the bourgeoisie regarding the oppression of workers, "Red" imperialism, and so forth. Here is an example:

"What it [Russian Communism] has actually brought about is . . . nothing but the construction of capitalism, but only in its crude, primitive form, which is a national peculiarity of conditions." (*Psychology of Socialism*, page 361.)

The great scientist de Man forgets only one thing, namely to give a plain answer to the question as to how is capitalism to be built without a class of capitalists.

His next anti-Marxist books were published one after other, and always by bourgeois publishers. Even German social-democracy did not dare to issue them through its party publishing houses. As a recompense for his services, which were recognized as "scientific", de Man was appointed professor of the Frankfurt university.

Hitler came to power. Hundreds of social-democratic, radical pacifist professors lost their chairs. But the fascists feel perfect confidence in the "revolutionary" de Man. He himself wrote in the *People* of January 4, 1934:



"On May 23, 1933, the rector of the Frankfurt University made me an offer in written form that I resume the delivery of my lectures in October of the current year."

Hitler banned hundreds of revolutionary books, including those written by Marx, Lenin, Jaures, and others, but *de Man's books are freely offered for sale in fascist Germany*. His last big book (343 pages) headed *The Socialist Idea* has appeared unmolested under Hitler's regime.

Not only the German, but also the Belgian bourgeoisie feels absolute confidence in de Man. Since 1931 Mr. de Man has been a permanent contributor to the *Information Bulletin of the National Belgian Bank*. His leading articles appear regularly in this aristocratic organ, which is destined for consumption by the big Belgian bourgeoisie. At the very height of the campaign in favor of the rescuing and all-saving "Plan", de Man still found time to write an editorial for the current issue of this organ of October 25, 1933. Of course, we do not know what fee Mr. Henri de Man receives from the National Bank for each of these articles, but it is certainly not less than a Belgian textile worker earns in a whole year.

Every sensible worker must ask himself the question: "Is it possible that a man who enjoys the confidence of the big Belgian bourgeoisie to such an extent that he is even a permanent contributor to the organ of the bulwark of Belgian capitalism, the *Information Bulletin of the National Belgian Bank*—is it possible that such a man who is on the payroll of the Belgian big bourgeoisie could be a leader of the working class in the fight for socialism?" We don't believe in any miracles.

The first point in de Man's Plan, its center, so to speak, is the "nationalization of credit". This nationalization is provided for as follows:

"The establishment of a state credit institute for the purpose of subjugating the operations of credit banks to the directives of the plan. The law, especially issued for this purpose, will enable us to hand over to this institute, valuables the ownership of which it requires to ensure itself a preponderant influence in the leadership of the large banking organs, which in their totality realize at present the monopoly of credit."

Further the Plan provides for the subjugation of the following to the new State credit institute, namely, the money institutions, which are under the control ("trusteeship") of the State, the National Bank, and the emission bank.

"The establishment of a *finance commissariat* [emphasis mine—E. V.] invested with direct legislative power and bringing about the general management of credit, the monetary system and the making up of balance sheets."

We wish to emphasize that it is not a question of nationalizing the banks, but of merging them into one bank, each bank preserving its own organizational independence. The banks merely agree to sell part of their shares to the new State credit institute and to obey the direction of the center. The text of de Man's Plan leaves no doubts whatsoever that it is precisely a matter of *purchasing the shares*, although the word "expropriation" is used in the text:

"The redemption of valuables which may be required is either done by means of voluntary cession or by means of expropriation in the interests of social benefit. *The re-imbusement of these sums* is imposed upon the credit institute. It will be realized in a form precluding all possibilities of using these forms again to the detriment of the interests of the new order of the regime."

"The expropriation" spoken of here is not expropriation in the revolutionary meaning of this word: it does not mean expropriation without compensation, but "expropriation" in the *bourgeois sense* for the "social benefit and welfare", as is the custom under capitalism from time immemorial. For instance, if the laying of a railway line calls for an expropriation of a field or some plot of land, and the railway company fails to come to an agreement with the owner about the price of the land, it is "expropriated": which means, that a *government commission fixes the price of the plot of land*.

But the following circumstance is the most curious of all. It appears that while the Belgian Labor Party has proceeded to propagate the realization of the nationalization of credits planned for a number of years ahead, and was subjugating everything else to this purpose, this "nationalization of credits", which is alleged to mean the transition to socialism, has *already been put into practice in one capitalist country*. Sure enough! In the United States of America, in 1933-34, on the basis of a law especially issued for the case in question, all the banks issued new shares and handed them over for resale to the "Reconstruction Finance Corporation", the central "Institute of State Credit". The Reconstruction Finance Corporation undoubtedly enjoys "predominant influence" in the big U.S. banks, and certainly brings about the "general management of credits, monetary system and the movement of balance-sheets".

And there is still another country, where the "nationalization of credits" has been put into practice in the spirit of de Man, if not formally, at least in essence. This is fascist Germany, where the big monetary institutions are either totally nationalized, like the Imperial Credit Society, for instance, or the Discount Bank, or the Prussian Savings Bank, and so forth, or else the government owns a decisive portion of their shares (as in the Dresden Bank and in the German Discount Bank). All the monetary

organs depend upon the Reichsbank, and although Schacht, the president of the Reichsbank, does not bear the title of "finance commissar" he is in reality the dictator over the credit system of Germany.\*

As we see here, Kita Icoi is "more socialistic" than de Man. He proposes to confiscate without any compensation the capitals of the banks which exceed the fixed norm of 10 million yen, whereas de Man merely plans to take over the shares of the banks after fully reimbursing their cost.

The Belgian workers who, under the influence of the widely developed propaganda of the B.L.P., were beginning to believe in the redeeming action of the "nationalization of credits", will have full reason to be perplexed by these facts. It is quite clear that the plight of the working class will receive no help from the "nationalization of credits" in the spirit of the Plan. As before, over 11,000,000 unemployed still remain in the U.S.A., the cost of living is getting higher, wages are being cut, while profits on capital still continue to grow. There is no need to speak of the disastrous position of the workers in fascist Germany.

But the followers of de Man might raise the objection that if the "nationalization of credit" does not improve the position of the workers, if it is not a step towards the establishment of socialism, then why did Lenin in his famous pamphlet, *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It*, put forward the nationalization of the banks as the first demand?

Let us look closer into the matter.

In the first place Lenin does not call for the nationalization of "credit", does not call for *the participation of the State* in the banks which continue to remain dominated by the private capitalists, but for the unification of all banks into one, and for the State control over banking operations, i.e., *for the nationalization of the banks.*\*\*

\* We wish to point out the curious fact that Kita Icoi, the leader of the Japanese fascists, mapped out the following program for nationalizing credits in his book, *A Bill for the Reconstruction of Japan*, ten years before de Man: A ministry of banks is established. Its capital is composed of capitals confiscated from the banks, which exceed a fixed norm [10 million yen—E. V.] and out of confiscated private properties which exceed a norm. Large capital investments abroad are unified. Credits are granted to other economic ministries. Private banks receive credit. Share quotations and prices are regulated. The safety of savings is guaranteed, etc. (O. Tunin and E. Iohan, *The Military-Fascist Movement in Japan*, page 63, Moscow, 1933.)

\*\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 165, International Publishers, 1932.

And Lenin proceeds to explain why no actual control is possible unless all the banks are united into one:

"No actual control is possible over separate banks and their operations (even if the commercial secrets are abolished, etc.), for it is impossible to follow all these most intricate, complex, and artful ways and means which are used in making up balance sheets, in founding fictitious enterprises and branches, in making use of sleeping partners, and so forth, and so on. It is only the unification of all banks into one . . . that will make real control possible."\*

What was true for Russia is in a still greater degree true for Belgium. The Russian banks carried on their manipulations exclusively at home whereas the big Belgian banks have "interests" throughout the whole world. The Societe Generale, for instance, is a shareholder in a large number of foreign banking institutions, such as the Foreign Belgian Bank, The Italo-Belgian Bank, The Belgian-American Mortgage Society, The State Bank of Morocco, The "Union Parisien" Bank, The Viennese Banking Company, The Belgian Congo Bank, The Congo Commercial Bank, etc. In addition it is a shareholder in many more big industrial undertakings such as the copper mines of Catanga and Congo, the subway in Paris, and in nearly all the big industrial enterprises in Belgium. Some of these big banks, such as the "Union Parisien", or the Viennese Banking Company, have numerous off-shoots in all countries of the world. How is it possible for anyone to check this intricate system from the outside? How is it possible to prevent operations from outside which involve the transfer of funds from one enterprise to another? How is it possible to prevent the bribing of auditors from the State Credit Institute by the heads of the Societe Generale, while the latter directly dispose of billions of money? A check is only possible, provided all the banks are united and nationalized.

An actual check and management are *impossible* unless the banks are united. But this does not yet solve the question. *It is the character of the State, that brings about this control and management, which is the decisive factor.*

In September, 1917, on the eve of the October upheaval, in his article, *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It*, Lenin put forward the slogan of nationalization of the banks along with other *transitory* revolutionary slogans, which thus brought the masses to the proletarian revolution. Lenin showed that these slogans could be the means of salvation from the impending catastrophe only if they were steps towards socialism. And for this

\* *Ibid.*, page 165.

purpose it was imperative that they be put into operation not by a State which called itself "revolutionary-democratic", while in reality preserving a reactionary-bureaucratic character, but by a State which was really democratic, *i.e.*, which in reality took the interests of the majority of the population into account, and was actually revolutionary, *i.e.*, which crushed everything *harmful and obsolete* in a most determined and ruthless manner. Such a State could be established only by the proletariat gaining power, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Such a State could only be a revolutionary dictatorship of democracy headed by the revolutionary proletariat, only a Soviet State, only a revolutionary democracy, advancing in complete alliance with the proletariat, supporting its struggle, as the only class which is revolutionary to the end, only a State which puts into practice the union of the proletariat with the poorest peasantry.

Thus Lenin linked up in the closest manner the slogan of the nationalization of the banks, and other transient revolutionary slogans, with the overgrowing of the bourgeois democratic into the proletarian revolution, and with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only then does Lenin consider the nationalization of the banks as a step towards the establishment of socialism when it is operated by *the State of the workers, by a revolutionary-democratic State, i.e.*, by a State in which power belongs to the armed organization of the population of the workers and peasants. If, however, the State preserves its former character of a reactionary-bureaucratic State, then the nationalization of the banks represents no step towards socialism.

What are then the means by which Vandervelde and de Man wish to realize their "Plan of Work"?

"... Henceforward the B. L. P. proceeds to struggle for the gaining of power by all constitutional means for the purpose of realizing this plan, and hereby declares that it will not recognize participation in a government which does not recognize the 'Plan of Work' as the program subject to immediate realization, but is ready in the interests of winning and establishing power to accept the support of all groupings, which will declare their support for the 'Plan'."

So "power is to be gained" *through winning the support of a parliamentary majority for this Plan.* There are evidently two ways possible for its achievement, namely, either for the Belgian Labor Party to win a majority at the next parliamentary elections, or else a coalition government whose program is the operation of this famous Plan.

The present Belgian parliament was elected in 1932, and new elections will take place in 1936. The Plan, undoubtedly, is also to serve as an elec-

toral platform. In his speech at the Congress, de Man stressed that:

"The Plan will be able to function well only provided we succeed in winning over the majority required in its interests."

Let us assume that the B.L.P. really does gain a slight majority at the election. Though this is not very probable, such a possibility is not precluded. What will happen then?

Is it possible that after the Italian, German, Austrian, Polish and many other experiences, Vandervelde, de Man and Mathier imagine that the big bourgeoisie of Belgium will simply lay down its arms before a parliamentary majority? Do they really imagine that the big bourgeoisie, which has troops, police, armed fascist organizations, the whole State apparatus, and gigantic sums of money at its disposal, would simply submit to an edict issued by a government which has only a slight majority of votes to lean upon, but not an armed force?

They cannot actually and honestly think so. Parliament always was in essence a weapon of the rule of bourgeoisie. If this weapon turns against its masters, they will simply cast it aside.

*For the bourgeoisie, parliamentarism always is a means of bringing about (and of camouflaging) its class domination, but is never an end in itself.* Mussolini in Italy, Pilsudski in Poland, Hitler in Germany, seized power without any parliamentary majority. The fact that they had only an insignificant minority in parliament did not by any means prevent Mussolini or Pilsudski from bringing about the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

This question has developed to such an extent, that the Belgian *workers* had to and did raise it. And what is the reply given them by the leaders of the B.L.P.? De Man declared in his speech at the Congress that:

"We are striving to gain power by peaceful, legal, constitutional action in conformity with the methods of democracy. Some of our comrades have stated, that due to the strong reaction on the part of our adversaries it is impossible to realize the Plan by constitutional means. *Freedom must be used in order to gain the majority.* Only an infringement of our liberty could make us leave the constitutional path. . . . *But if our liberties will be touched, encroached upon, we will not permit ourselves to be suppressed, as did the German socialists.*"

This is literally word for word the very thing which the "Left" Austro-Marxists always declared. But the experience of the armed struggle of the Austrian workers, which broke out against the will of the leaders of Austrian social-democracy, clearly prove *the impossibility of successfully waging an*

armed struggle in defense of rights and liberties within the framework of the bourgeois State. The proletariat must take the offensive against the power of the bourgeoisie, it must overthrow this power with an armed hand, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, smash the old State apparatus and replace it by a new one. This is the only way that the proletariat can defend its "freedom", or, rather, win it ("freedom" for workers in a bourgeois State is always extremely limited, and relative); only such a State can really bring about the nationalization of the banks.

But Vandervelde, de Man and Huysmans do not at all think of an armed struggle against the bourgeoisie with a view to realizing their Plan. The Belgian bourgeoisie is perfectly well aware that the former minister, Vandervelde, and de Man, against whose activity as professor and publicist even Hitler has had nothing to say, represent no danger for the rule of bourgeoisie. They, i.e., Vandervelde, de Man and others, decided that even if the Plan is to be realized in general, then it will be so within the framework of the democratic parliamentary State, i.e., a State of the bourgeoisie, in coalition with bourgeois parties. But within the framework of the State, ruled by the bourgeoisie, the "nationalization of credit" provided by the Plan would not improve the position of the proletariat in the slightest degree.

We will prove it concretely further on. We must first say a few words about the "nationalization" of the basic branches of raw material production, insofar as the propagandists advocating the Plan invariably emphasize that the entire Plan must be regarded as a single entity.

The second "great" measure provided by the Plan is the "nationalization" of the basic branches of raw material of production. The Plan reads literally as follows:

"The legislative power will take all necessary measures to organize the most important monopolized branches, which produce raw materials, or electromotive power, as socially necessary enterprises.

"A consortium will be created in each of these branches of production, whose task it will be to subordinate the given branch to the directives of the Plan.

"These various industrial consortiums acquire, on a similar basis as provided above for the credit institute, those valuables, the ownership of which secures them preponderant influence in the management of the enterprises in the corresponding sphere of their action. The Credit Institute will grant these industrial consortiums the authority to receive the valuables, comprising part of the funds of the nationalized banks."

In simple language, this is how matters stand. The newly established central credit institute will buy part of the shares of the monopolized branches of industry producing raw materials and electric power. It is not stated how big this part is to be. "Influence preponderante", preponderant influence, may mean 51 per cent of the shares, and 25 to 30 per cent of the total number of shares as well. Hence, it is not a question of nationalizing the monopolies, nor of their passage into the hands of the State, to say nothing of their expropriation without compensation, but of transforming them into so-called "mixed economic enterprises", jointly owned by the State and private capitalists. This is the form which we meet in numerous cases in various capitalist countries. The same refers to the banks as well, which are also not to be "nationalized" and do not pass into the hands of the State, but are merely transformed into enterprises of a mixed type.

Before proceeding to the question as to what this would mean for the proletariat, we shall attempt to investigate how many workers there would be engaged in these enterprises of a mixed type and how many there would be in the "private sector" which remains intact.

This calculation is handicapped by the circumstance that the Plan does not mention nor do the speeches and articles on this subject say anything as to whether the raw material industry will be "nationalized" as a whole, i.e., all the enterprises producing raw materials, or merely the monopoly enterprises in the raw material industry. But to avoid the reproach that we underrate the importance of the Plan, we will assume that all the enterprises in the raw material industry will be "nationalized". In such a case, to what extent would the Belgian workers be employed in these "nationalized" enterprises? In the book *The Economic Position of Belgium for 1932*, published by the National Bank of Belgium, the following data are given of the number of workers engaged in the branches of industry, which could be subject to this "nationalization":

Number of Workers in Branches Subject to Nationalization:	
Industry	in 1932 (in thousands)
Coal	130
Coke	4
Pig iron	6
Steel	9
Rolled metal	25
Zinc	5
Other metals	4
Stone Quarries	28

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Thus, in round figures, only 200,000 Belgian

workers would be working in the nationalized branches of industry. On the other hand the realization of de Man's Plan would leave the position of the remaining two millions (in round figures) almost unchanged. The railways in Belgium already belong to the State.

We were unable to establish how many workers are engaged in electrical enterprises, which are also subject to nationalization, but we know that this number is not very large.

We will explain further, in more detail, that the

(To Be Continued)

"nationalization" brought about by the bourgeois State does not signify any improvement for the working class. Here we only wanted to show that the contention of the adherents of the plan who allege that the plan involves a radical "change in the structure" of Belgian economy, is absolutely incorrect. It merely means the participation of the State (a bourgeois State) in branches of industries where approximately ten per cent of all Belgian industrial workers are engaged. And that is all. Voila tout.

## HOW THE BOLSHEVIKS FIGHT THE DROUGHT

By E. YEVDOKIMOV

NOTE: Below we reprint an article which appeared in the Pravda dated June 3, 1934, written by the Secretary of the North Caucasian Regional Committee of C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks).

This article should be of especial interest in view of the drought that has affected many parts of the world this year, bringing ruin and additional suffering to the toiling peasants, etc., in the capitalist and colonial countries. It shows that for the collective farmers of the Soviet Union, the time has passed of fighting the drought by "trusting to God" and "praying for good weather", etc., and that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective farm system of agriculture alone provide the conditions for a real struggle against the natural elements.—Editorial Board.

**T**HE danger of drought, which threatened the North Caucasus from the very first days of the spring, and which has been dispelled in the main only in the last few days, represented a serious trial for the regional Party organization. We had an opportunity of seeing clearly all the weak and strong points of our Party and economic work; we had a chance to test, as on a touch-stone, the firmness and stamina of our collective farms, the stability of our first successes, and finally the fighting ability of our Party organizations and of the non-Party active workers.

From the very first days of the sowing campaign worry was with us. The meteorological conditions even before the sowing were such that there was no room for illusions; strong eastern winds, which dry the soil, alternated with frosts which raged fiercely until the middle of May.

If we will recall the day-to-day experience of this grim period, and particularly the critical May days, the first thing that will strike us will be a total absence of even the slightest symptoms of panic, of

even any shade of downheartedness. This was no fatalism here, no anticipation of some lucky chance. On the contrary, boiling energetic work was going on during all these many, many days, in accordance with a single plan, Bolshevik work directed towards preventing the imminent danger.

The more serious and obvious the danger became, the more determined, active and united was the pressure of the Party organization to secure an increase in the speed at which the sowing was to take place, in the depths of the plowing, and in securing that the seeds be correctly covered up. And at the same time, long before the sowing was finished, the regional committee gave instructions that the irrigation system, the canals, pools, wells and small streams should be cleaned and brought in order. It was also in the first days of spring that the regional committee of the Party turned the attention of the Party organizations in the region to the task of weeding and of raising the fallow, as powerful weapons in the struggle for crops.

We have sufficient basis today for summing up some of the results.

The first and the basic result is that the crops sown by the collective and State farms, withstood the drought as never before. Continued dry weather failed to wrest from us any considerable region, whereas in the conditions of individual farming, this period of drought would undoubtedly have resulted in disaster for the population. If there could have been any discussions hitherto about the quality of this year's spring sowing in our region, they have been dismissed today by the harsh and determined check of the elements. The early sowing and the deep plowing brought their results. The total losses throughout the region due to the frosts and drought amount today to not more than two or three per cent of the harvesting area. The collective farmers have seen this, and appreciate the fact. The im-



portance of this for the further productive development of the collective farms requires no comment. We are firmly convinced that both the autumn sowing of the present year and the spring sowing of the following year will be carried out in a still more widespread and persistent struggle for quality and for agronomic technique.

The second most important result consists in the fact that the regional Party organizations have seen all their strong and weak points in these days, as in a looking glass. As events have proven, it must now be clear to every Communist that *the authority of our Party in the broadest masses of the peasantry is literally unlimited*. There was no confusion whatever in the ranks of the collective farmers, but a certainty that the Party knows and will indicate, when, how, and what is to be done.

In incredibly difficult circumstances, under the scorching rays of the sun, the women never for a minute stopped weeding, even in such hectares of ear crops, which seemed long before not to be worth wasting time on. But their labor was not in vain: the rains which now fell enlivened even the most hopeless crops and they enlivened them only because after a good sowing the basic weeds were removed from the fields in good time.

And when, in the critical days of May, the regional committee of the Party issued the call to proceed to water the crops, literally in two days the entire region, from pioneers to old men, was roused to action. People brought water in pails to the collective farms, sometimes several kilometers away; all the fire pumps were put into action, dams and dykes were built, canals were dug, and the water brought around to the sown area. In certain collective farms, there was much, perhaps, from the point of view of economic advisability, that was unnecessary work, but just now it is not this which is important. What is important is that the call of the Party organization for the watering of the ground was carried out by the peasant masses without any of the traditional "hesitation", without any "moujik" doubts and "eternal" suspicion, but as if they had been doing such things from time immemorial.

There were not a few pictures of genuine heroism, which amazed people who had seen a great deal during their lives. Thus, for instance, in Northern Ossetia I met a young melioration expert who called the speed of the work on the irrigation construction "perfectly stupendous", and not fitting in with any technical computation. And, sure enough new irrigation constructions were built, or old ones repaired in three to four days (the Lenokum dam, for instance), whereas in the opinion of the experts, weeks and even months are required to accomplish such a job. Individual "shock" collective farmers

excavated 12 cubic metres of ground (Dar-Kock in Ossetia).

Approximately 150 thousand hectares were watered altogether throughout the region in five to six days, without taking account of scores and hundreds of isolated hectares watered in nearly every collective farm. The direct danger was over, abundant rains passed almost throughout the whole district, but irrigation is not abandoned, and therein lies the new and essential factor from the point of view of the growth and consolidation of the collective farms. The work connected with the construction of new water reservoirs, new pools and wells and with improving the already existing sources of moisture is going on. *And firm support must now be rendered to our collective farms in this great task, so that we may be able to come out fully armed in such waterless regions as the Stavropol District*. The regional Party committee has already a definite plan in mind on how to work in this section, and will work persistently to accomplish it.

Now, about the weak points of our work, which were disclosed in connection with the threat of the drought. The main thing is *the weakness of Party-mass explanatory and educational work*.

How was it shown?

As is well known, even the working class is heterogeneous in its composition, and even more so is this true with regard to the collective farm peasantry. And in mass movements, no matter however successfully they are organized, however extensively and grandiose the scale, no matter how amazing the power of Bolshevik influence, individual, even if small, backward strata and groups among the peasants must never be neglected. Even at the time of our greatest successes, our class enemy is striving to get hold of these backward elements, attempting to introduce and to inject through them the poison of disintegration into the ranks of those who are getting down to the task, making use of every failure, of each blunder.

This time the enemy found nothing in the long run which he could make use of, but this does not by any means imply that an end has been made of the influence of hostile class elements. It is an outstanding fact that the kulak elements, the priest and the mullahs put new life into their activity and attempted to speculate on the drought danger, in order to improve their absolutely shattered affairs, if only a little.

And here it was disclosed that many Party organizations, including political departments as well, have quite unnecessarily given up anti-religious propaganda, the propaganda of natural sciences. We began to explain the causes of the drought, where the rain comes from, and how to struggle against the drought, when the storm, so to speak, was al-

ready on us. It was discovered, for instance, that a tremendous number of the *active* workers had never in their lives seen even an ordinary barometer, and did not know the principles of its construction, whereas the priests and the mullahs frequently have barometers in their possession.

The time has come when we must decisively improve the *quality* of our agitation and propaganda, the quality of our entire mass political and educational work. And this is at present one of the most essential questions in the activity of the entire Party organizations, and particularly of the political departments in our region. Here is one of the many examples which I could quote. This year we demanded that there should be a check-up of the seeds for sprouting. Today the collective farmers are now demanding that we give them their own collective farm laboratory. And we have immediately set ourselves the task of equipping 500 *hut* laboratories in the collective farms.

Today all of us, including the secretary of the Party Committee, the chairman of the Regional Government Executive Committee, and members of the political departments, must *take up study* in earnest, is order to improve the *quality* of our political and productive agitation and propaganda. And here our affairs proved to be "poor". Our attention to economic trifles has not been combined with the improvement in the quality of our political-educational work. A *turn* is imperative in this respect, and the sooner we accomplish it, the better things will go at harvesting time.

And so, the state and the collective farms in our region have passed a serious examination, and have passed it with honor. They fulfilled the sowing plan

by May 9, and by May 25, the region had sown *over and above the plan*, 54,286 hectares of ear crops, 50,644 hectares of maize and 15,620 hectares of millet. In addition to this we are now concluding the sowing of 100,000 hectares of maize and millet under an *additional* plan. The raising of fallow has been fundamentally completed. The weeding of ear crops has been finished, the weeding of cultivated crops seems to have been organized rather well. Hay mowing has been developed on a large scale, and the ensilage of forage organized in unprecedented dimensions.

Now about the prospects for the crops. The crops have improved considerably. The main thing now is to organize the harvesting. Here the task of the regional Party organizations consists in the *development of a Bolshevik struggle for each ear, for every seed of the harvest*. And we are firmly convinced, that in spite of the meteorological peculiarities this year, *we must reap and we will reap a bigger crop than last year*, as a result of the Bolshevik organization of the harvesting campaign.

We do not intend to give up the priority we have gained in the sowing campaign either in the harvesting or in grain deliveries to the government. It is true that there is one small "if"—if the Peoples Commissariat for Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. will fulfill its obligations with regard to the supply of weeding and harvesting implements more efficiently than hitherto. Of the 1,250 horse-cultivators ordered, only 800 have been delivered, out of 140 tractor-mowers, only 15 have arrived to date, out of 550 reapers we have received only 392, etc.

Comrades, maybe you will hurry up a little, and help us some?

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