make this problem the central axis of our self-schooling and propaganda. Until theory seizes the masses: then theory becomes a material power. And it is only then that we learn to know the full significance of the words:

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

It must not be overlooked that the foreign exchange problem in its relation to the securing of raw materials is not confined to normal methods. Although the Reich and German industry in general has received no foreign credits till now (it remains to be seen what the outcome of England's conciliation policy will be), yet some monopolistic firms are receiving them and thus are independent of the general credit difficulties in securing their raw materials. Thus the I.G. dye trust (I.G.Farben) reports that the concern disposed over four times as much in raw material credits in 1934 as compared to 1933, namely 28 million marks. The credit resources of I.G. are far from exhausted by this, as it can offer credit securities of enormous value in its foreign branches, partnerships, etc. For example there is the hydrogenation process in which the
Rockefellers participate, used not only in coal but in making benzine out of oil as well. The big concerns, Siemens, Mannesmann, the steel trust cost 70 million; similar reserves for securing raw materials.

The second problem, that of finance, is subject to similar conditions. True, the domestic debt has increased correspondingly. From the standpoint of the respectable merchant the period of bankruptcy has been reached long ago. An indebtedness of 20 milliard marks accounts for the figures of the "Reichskreditgesellschaft", more than half of the first half of 1923, offers a clear picture of the hazardous state of German finance. But Gamber Schacht still holds a few tricks in his hand—though the Reichsbank and the finance ministry have recently appealed for foreign credits to the various commissions and observers representing American and other foreign financiers and government institutions in Berlin—"the fact that this debt is an internal one (because of refusal of foreign credits) constitutes Schacht's main chance. The debts have remained within the country; the creditors are the beneficiaries of the public works and armament policy and it is possible to exert considerable pressure on them, for instance, the argument that if the large capitalists consider a large loan unsafe the previous credits become worthless. Incidentally a part of the domestic note issue, underwritten by the large concerns has been transferred to foreign institutions, though it is impossible to estimate the actual amount. However, with or without pressure, the capitalists themselves are interested in seeing a part of the short-term loans transformed into long-term credits.

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

At present the only measures contemplated are those serving the imposition of a great domestic loan, following the forced loans on the banks and insurance companies to the tune of 1,2 milliard marks, which Gamber Schacht has lightened the burden. Further 90 to 95 millions is added by the change of the house rent tax into a forced loan. However this is but robbing Peter to pay Paul, for the elimination of the tax on the one hand is made up by the forced loan on the other hand, although the budget took this into consideration.

At present, then, it is planned to float a large loan at low interest which is made attractive to the lower income classes with tax reductions. The capital market has been prepared partly through the limiting of public works, which aroused the opposition of the profit-hungry industrialists and aggravates the unemployment problem (for which an outlet has been provided by compulsory military service), partly through manipulation of the Gold Discount Bank belonging to the Reichsbank, which is authorized to issue notes for 200 million marks. The money market appears unusually flexible. The English newspaper, the Financial Times, has cut the discount rate of 3 1/2 to 3 3/8% for day-to-day loans plenty is offered at 2%.

Political and moral pressure is to do the rest to starting the loan of 2 milliard marks. Behind the scenes violent conflict occurs over floating the loan, especially among the bankers, so as to avoid heavy depreciation, as a loan of this magnitude cannot be floated successfully if sale and loan privileges are denied. The third great problem is that of the foreign relations. Here, also, overestimation of the difficulties must be avoided; we must reach conclusions after sober consideration, especially in regard to war, when, and against whom?

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

What is the internal political situation in Germany? In view of the widespread espionage in personal contacts as well as mail communications it is difficult to arrive at conclusions that are complete and accurate. However, what knowledge we have is based on personal observations and experiences in various parts of the Reich, on contacts with various strata and interests. The picture we have shows that National Socialism not only has not captured the working masses as a "Weltanschaung" but that sentiment is receding against it. This applies to those who originally supported it or were "converted" in 1933 as well as to that group whose class interests were represented by it in the middle classes. Not the least opposition comes from the farmers, driven thereto by the inheritance law, all but whose first-born are disinheritcd. Their illusions were shattered by the failure of the settlement policy and the unlimited support given to the great landed pro-
pristers. Unemployment in the cities closes that avenue of escape to these and they are forced into the labor camps, on road-building, and in the agricultural aid (Landlklle), where these farmer's sons are herded together with unemployed industrial workers and large farmers, and are depicted in a number of letters recounting their experiences. Ten to twelve hours work per day with shelter and lodging of a kind already notorious among the Polish seasonal laborers in Pomeraia and East Prussia. In many cases wages of 20 marks from which is deducted the social insurance and similar fees as well as their travel expenses, which had been advanced by the state in railroad tickets. The slaves are not only shipped regardless of their wishes, but must pay the shipping costs themselves.

The middle class in the city also feels cheated—the destruction of the mortgage and loan capitalists, the elimination of the department store did not materialize after "clean" Aryans capitalists took over these functions. The small dealer and the tradesman note no greater purchasing power and feel the pinch of large capital. The wholesalers are increasing prices more rapidly than the retailers, in view of public sentiment were granted only a small rise of prices. The small dealer and the tradesmen note a reduced number of customers doing business in his store. The worker, who must purchase goods at increased prices, is shiped regardless of his wishes, but must pay the shipping costs.

These income figures in the greatest chemical concern are typical of working class conditions generally. According to the statistics of the GDR, all Labor Front industrial workers amount to 21.3 marks, with average working hours of 43 weekly. In addition there are the increased prices for food and cost of living, which increase not fully determinable because the quality of goods is deteriorating constantly in order to make the prices appear less oppressive.

Deductions and penalties of various kinds aggravate the worker's lot. Idle time, time spent going from one job to another, and other necessary but unproductive functions are penalized. For example, an iron foundry in April of this year, with a 60-hour week reckoned the pay of an skilled worker, including overtime, at 46.95 marks, deductions 10.20 marks, leaving a net of 36.75. To evade scale provisions skilled workers often are hired as helpers under the pretext no work in their branch is available. Within a short while they find themselves doing the work of skilled hands—helpers' wages. Protests are seldom heard, the workers' "representatives" are mere puppets of the employers, in the bureau of the Labor Front the worker is sent from Pontius to Pilate and runs the risk of having his "Arxian" past thoroughly investigated. Should his protests receive support he is sure to get his walking papers from his employers at the earliest opportunity.

What goes on in the plants and factories? True, there appears to be peace, enforcing this policy that supports the Nazi achievement, the espionage and stool pigeon system, and unlimited terrorism. Reports we have received of open opposition through underground channels show either individual acts of pure desperation that expired without further lasting results. Further investigations show these acts are not to be considered general, no matter how much they may be symptoms of general sentiment, although not of a general preparedness for working class action. The working class is not yet ready for concerted action. The whole of the German labor movement, with the exception of some known as incendiaries, who are welcomed with open arms by the present government, still represents itself as being fully supported by the German masses. The press is forbidden to announce the time and place of the Führer's and the important officials' appearances and when that knowledge is unavoidable, special precautions and protection are provided. But the clenched fist is still sunk deep in the pocket.

What now? We see that all sections of the population, excepting large capitalists and that fraction in government and industrial jobs united by the National Socialists into an uncensurable system of corruption, are disasstified. Despite this an immediate collapse cannot be predicted. Aside from the working class there exists the fear of "what after", the fear of the Real...
The German working class cannot be saved from without. True, the class struggle is international, but it merely signifies that the working class of every country must settle its score with its class enemy. Every block policy and alliance outside results in the stranding of the development of the working class and the surrender to the ruling class.

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

"NATIONAL BOLSHEVISIM"

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

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

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

Because the belief that capitalism has no objective limit, the belief that capitalism is "conceivable without expansion" -- and its modern Russian corollary, the belief that socialism is possible in one country and that this socialism and capitalism can live peaceably side by side -- leads necessarily to a particular international attitude.
It leads to an attitude in accordance to which imperialism is not the period of the decisive struggle for (world) socialism, but the diabolic invention of a clique of greedy men. It leads to a program according to which the bourgeoisie may be persuaded that imperialism and Fascism are hail from the capitalist viewpoint, and after the supposed instigators of imperialism have been isolated, a block constituted of the proletariat and wide bourgeois layers with the idea of paralyzing imperialism through 'partial disarmament,' by rendering it inoffensive.

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

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

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

Yesterday, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany resolved at the behest of the Moscow center: There is no principle difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism. "They wrote: "The task of the Communists is in no way to seek with blue spectacles a pseudo-theory of the existence of some kind of difference between Democracy and Fascism." (Die Internationale, January 1932, p.31) Yesterday all workers who refused to recognize that ". . . the hegemony of the Bolshevik leadership" were branded as "social fascists." Yesterday "genius-leader" Stalin declared: "The Social-Democracy is the moderate wing of Fascism." Yesterday the only action against Fascism that was permitted by the Moscow center was through the "united front from below," that is, inside the Bolshevik Party. Yesterday all who begged Moscow to stop the nonsense, to permit a real united front against the Nazis, to bolster up opposition to Hitler by giving direct aid to such a united front, were called agents-provocateurs seeking the destruction of the "workers' fatherland." No doubt resistance to Fascism in the absolute minority -- would have emboldened Germany in a civil war. And in 1935 the biggest slice of foreign credit received by the Soviet entrepreneurs came guaranteed from the German State. A Germany troubled by a civil war would not have been in the position to continue to give credit and Hitler did not fail to renew this business arrangement with the "workers' fatherland" when he attained State power.

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

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

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

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

The ruling class cannot carry on its wars without prizing the masses for enthusiastic participation in the slaughter. To prepare the masses for efficient service in a war, the politicians must get the masses to confuse their interests with the interests of..."
the "nation", with which are already identified the interests of the dominant class. Capitalism finds the slogans that do the job of deception and always succeed in getting the masses to fight its war as long as the latter do not understand their historic position, as long as they do not see the difference between their interests and the interests of the master class, as long as they do not free their hearts and minds from the charm of the national illusion whereby the trick of confusion is worked.

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

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

THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

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

The following general basic conception was evolved:

The attempt of the various national bourgeoisies to remedy the economic crisis by means of the old private-capitalist methods has essentially failed and has led to a further sharpening of the general world crisis. In this connection, local structural alterations are of little account. The impossibility of overcoming the crisis on the basis of private capitalism advances toward its highest state of perfection and the epoch of the bourgeois attains its historical close. The state-capitalist economic system reveals itself essentially as a coordination of the tendencies toward the overcoming of the earlier class stratification of wage labor existence, capitalist economy prevails.
the class struggle will thus hereafter be less determined through transitory, constantly changing crisis convulsions than through the sharpening of the class antagonisms between the exploiting and impoverished masses, on the one hand, and on the other the parasitical bureaucracy in charge of the politico-economic state apparatus.

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

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

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

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

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

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The wind by which fascism is being propelled.

To speak the language of the Social Democracy: "If one wants to avoid being an alien, he must become a hammer." And so the old labor movement is making ready to do away with fascism by taking it up into itself. This is not easy, to be sure; and it takes an enormous lot of impudence to run after executioner's jobs where a part of their own comrades was just recently slaughtered like cattle by the competitors. It is difficult, because a bad conscience takes away that peace and satisfaction which the "born" fascists possess "by nature" when they beat the life out of workers and other swine. Criticism on the part of labor, however, is not feared; not even on the part of their own subjects in the organizations. There has been plenty of opportunity in the last fifty years to "educate" and "enlighten" the workers, so that today they are actually capable, if the beloved leader so desires, of taking black for white or -- what amounts to the same thing -- of seeing in Vandervelde or Stalin the "adored friends" and leaders of labor. The labor organizations have stuffed their hangers-on ideologically through this inverted state of affairs, and have in the meantime learned a number of things from the proceedings of the last few years. As a part of capitalismo and bound up with its fortunes, they have done everything to show their gratitude to this world. They had already arranged themselves in this last possible manner, won for themselves a number of governments posts, even tho the struggle in this connection was only a matter of talk. They have built themselves houses, shoved wonderful broad seats under their buttocks and filled police jobs, tho in this latter case the uniform collars sorely rubbed the fat necks. They have even administered the colonies with gas bombs and airplanes; they have laid up money without, like true idealists, asking from whence it came; and they have also, even tho (as they write in their memoirs) only with heavy heart and out of their great sense of responsibility, shot down and bayonetted the revolutionary workers, wherever necessary and naturally in the interests of growing socialism. And when they have arranged themselves in the social scale, capital has found them unserviceable for its further ends and shown them the door. Just as the bourgeoisie by way of diplomacy sets one power against another, plays group off against group, just as it is a strangle of all against all, so Capital has also promoted the competition among those who specialize in slaughtering workers and always held with the victors whose aim it furthered. The fascist victor had more to offer them, filled with the "language of reason" in order to establish themselves who pays, so also only one song any more can be sung. It runs: Gone are the lovely times of good-natured horse-trading, gone are the lovely days of "reforms"; they task of all organizations bound up with capitalism has been contracted to the safeguarding of Capital which is completely identical with the State -- against all enemies within and without.

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

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

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

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The struggle in the American Socialist Party, which began with the nothing else can be expected from the other countries; in these the “opposition”, which drew back in due time in order not to sink nothing except to go farther and farther to the right, to take on of holding the masses in check, this role might under certain cir-

At the office of the Social Democracy political systems change only in order that the bureaucracy may be eternalized. The Social Democracy is quite prepared to furnish the bureaucracy for a fascist state system. And of course it has no need, to that end, of any special transformation: its own state-capitalist conception is in principle not at all different from monopolistic fascism, but is at most still more consistent. And so it merely competes with other aspir-

Whether it will be given once more to the Social Democracy to carry on functions contributing directly to the maintenance of the State does not depend on the Social Democracy but on a number of circumstances of a national and international character which are not yet sufficiently transparent to permit of accurate conclusions. One thing is clearer: if the fascists can carry on only in competition with the fascists, then certainly

If we take such a “traditionally democratic and peace-loving” country as Switzerland and see that even there the Social Democracy can carry on only in competition with the fascists, then certainly nothing else can be expected from the other countries; in these the tendency visible in Switzerland can only occur in sharpened form, and does so occur. It is only in countries like the United States, where the Social Democracy still plays no real role, that it can still afford the luxury of keeping silent about its real ideas and concealing its reactionary policy behind the old phrases. The struggle in the American Socialist Party, which began with the victory of the reactionaries and consequently ended in the same way, speaks loudly enough as to what is the proper course within the socialist world movement. And besides it was quickly realized by the “opposition”, which drew back in due time in order not to sink down into revolutionary poverty. The whole dispute was practically only the wrangling of a temporary dissatisfaction within the party after the European scandal, the boundless ambitions of political adventurers who were impatient to get on in the world. All that could come of it, however, was that the “Old Guard” was served with that general confusion in which thieves can take refuge; but the spirit of opposition is not the spirit of the bureaucracies, which, as we have seen, may be deprived of their daily bread. And so they have taken fright at their own program and have provided themselves with a new one in order not to attract unpleasant attention. By a previous program, which dates from 1920, contains, in contradistinction to the German “Bolshevism” and in harmony with the “better” Austrian Marxism, the after all here quite ingenious flourish of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary transitional stage to socialism. The new program of 1925 has dropped this phrase about the dictatorship and replaced it with the one about the “people’s state.” To the Swiss Socialism it is no longer a question of socialism, but of the “defense of present democracy”. And so the present program contains a full realm of nonsensical phrases concerned with the winning of the middle strata, the peasants, etc. The demand for dictatorship, it was explained at the party conference to the accompaniment of great applause, is still applicable only to countries already fascist; for democratic countries like Switzerland, this demand would be a crime. The realistic watchword today is the people’s partnership (Volksgemeinschaft), not the fascist one, to be sure, but the social-democratic one. The debates at the party congress became especially lively when the question of national defense was taken up. The party recognized quite as a matter of course, “the necessity of an armed frontier guard, which finds its embodiment in the militia”. However, the militia shall be “subject to the will of and, consequently, on the basis of the people’s program of how this is accomplished”—how under capitalism one can have an anti-capitalist people’s Partnership—will no doubt forever re-

The Belgian Success

That the Social Democracy failed, so many people assert, to learn from the political findings in Germany and Austria the “right thing” is not going to any unwillingness on the spirit of the circumstances that the “right thing” is beyond its power to learn.
When the Social Democracy wants to change at all, it can, from its own nature, only copy fascism. Its course in Switzerland is in fact an excellent indication of its "progress".

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

The Triumph of the United Front

The success of the Belgian socialists still looks paltry in comparison with the triumph of the French "communists". Upon the conclusion of the ruso-french alliance, the policy of the Communist party of France (C.P.F.) suffered a sharp turn. All the previous watchwords were exchanged for those of the people's front and national defense. This transformation was soon extended to all sections of the Third International, with the exception of those countries whose leaders might under certain circumstances be contrary to the franco-russian bloc. At the same time there case about the dissolution of the communist trade-union leagues and their conversion, wherever possible, into the reactionary trade-unions, which is the main aim of this development in the spirit of the Social Democracy, which receives an offer of organic unity. Quite open efforts are made toward the liquidation of the communist parties and of their international. The Social Democracy still maintains a waiting attitude: the attempt at suicide on the part of the Third International is for the present still looked upon in cracy in the various countries is still too closely linked up with its own national bourgeoisie, while the Social Democracy is exclusively attached to the new russian bourgeoisie. In those countries, however, where the interests of its own run parallel with those of the new russian bourgeoisie, as in Czechoslovakia and France, the Social Democracy is much more inclined to the organic unity. The reason advanced by the Social Democracy for its restraint in regard to the unity efforts of the Third International is amusing: this latter had become too reactionary for the socialists. The communists "struggle" in union with the new reactionists. The population -- with the Catholics for religious liberty, with the germans, hollander for the right to have other reactionary organizations by the side of the fascist ones -- makes a "Front of the Strasser group for the genuine anti-communism." These demands of the "communists" go a bit too far even for the Social Democrats. In connection with the negotiations for the united front in France, the C.L.F. come out against the demand of the Socialists looking to the partial socialization of individual capitalist monopolies, on the ground that such demands went too far and would hinder the forming of the people's front." Nevertheless, the united front came out, and not only with the Social Democracy: but also with the petty-bourgeoisie, on the basis of demanus and watchwords which resembled those of the fascists almost too closely. When it comes to deceiving the workers, the Social Democracy is surely open to convictions of a similar nature. But only with patience: soon Norman Thomas too, just like his swiss colleagues, will know how to prize this opportunism as the last word in socialist realistic policy.

The French people's Front

Defense of Bread, particularly the bread of the middle classes, the retardation of the crisis in France, retarded also the growth of fascism. But even now the fascist forces within the ranks of the allies of the C.P.F. are quite as strong as those which for the present are willing to go along with the communists. The petty-bourgeois groups which can derive no profit from the present united front will very shortly, in their inevitable disappointment, proceed from half to full fascism and drag a part of the workers with them. In Germany, as also in France the Communist Party is preparing the masses for the coming crisis. With his intentions, anyone who, instead of pursuing a revolutionary policy, makes compromises with the fascists for the state jobs can only, under the present conditions, help fascists into the saddle. "That the united front of the C.P.F. seems to-day, the fascists will reap tomorrow."
of the communists, as certain defenders of the 'pure doctrine' would have it. Since the petty bourgeoisie refuse to accept the platform of the C.P., the C.P. accepts the platform of the petty Bourgeoisie. Here are the party's demands: Taxes on large fortunes; state ownership of the Bank of France; control over the book-keeping of the banks. Or as the platform of the C.P. sums it up in a word: the rich shall pay. Why not go farther? That sort of effect would result from the phrase. 'The rich are politely requested to hang themselves.' In the light of this program, one can really dub Roosevelt an ultra-radical.

A people's front embraces the whole people. If the rich are to pay, they must first be made financially sound. This also has been looked after by the C.P., through the aid which it has assured to France, L'Humanité, the daily newspaper of the C.P., wrote on the occasion of the signature of the Russo-French pact: 'What could be more natural than the fact that our commune are resolved to separate them from the memories of all the communists, as certain defenders of the 'pure doctrine' would have it. Since the petty bourgeoisie refuse to accept the platform of the C.P., the C.P. accepts the platform of the petty Bourgeoisie. Here are the party's demands: Taxes on large fortunes; state ownership of the Bank of France; control over the book-keeping of the banks. Or as the platform of the C.P. sums it up in a word: the rich shall pay. Why not go farther? That sort of effect would result from the phrase. 'The rich are politely requested to hang themselves.' In the light of this program, one can really dub Roosevelt an ultra-radical.

The Last Congress of the Communist International

After the nationalistic adventures of the French communists, the 7th congress of the Communist International could no longer present any surprises. Altho the French policy is only a repetition of the policy of the C.I. under Lenin and Trotsky in Germany around the year 1923, or of its policy in Turkey, it wants to maintain the alliance with all this fact is that the C.I. regrets that Stalin, upon the request of Laval, has declared his approval of France's military measures. "To be sure; what could really be more natural?"

The last congress of the Communist International has gone the way of all professions revolutionary flesh with admirable precision to its end. For, in a time of anything for any polemic, we have only the satisfaction of the recording. Let us listen to Tikhon Piek: "If communists fight to the death (à la Germany?) against Fascism and every manifestation of reaction (except the Russian, Czech, and French varieties, be it understood). To us it is not a matter of indifference which political system prevails in this or that capitalist country. Since parliamentary and the remain of democratic liberties, in spite of the heavy yoke of the capitalist system, offer new and all possibilities for the open fighting organs of the proletariat, we are ready to defend the remnants of parliamentary and democracy against Fascism and in further course to conduct the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We consider protection to all peoples against capitalist slavery and fascist suppression. (what magnanimity!) We have been and constantly are for the right of self-determination of every people, however small. If German fascism attacks the national independence and unity of small independent states in Europe, a war waged by the national bourgeoisie of these states will be a just war, in which proletarians and communists cannot avoid taking part. And a little later he may say that he in the opinion of the C.P. sum up in a word: the rich shall pay. Why not go farther? That sort of effect would result from the phrase. 'The rich are politely requested to hang themselves.' In the light of this program, one can really dub Roosevelt an ultra-radical.

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

While on the one hand, however, the C.I. regrets that it has not proceeded sharply enough against Versailles, on the other hand, by defending the course of action the French government is following, it wants to maintain the Versailles policy. While it fights against German fascism, at the same time it assists German fascism in its annexation policy. The Russian government recently concluded with Hitler Germany contracts by which the German air fleet obtains the necessary fuel. Business is business. The simultaneous support of the French and of the German army is not by any means a contradiction. The maintenance of world capitalism is the enduring task, the alliance policy is highly changeable.

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

All that ought to put a lot of life into the "oppositionists" of the C.P. But the Marxist state is still hanging on. To all the degeneracy of the Communist thing they oppose except the calling up of the past. "Back to Lenin," or "back to Trotsky", for "a new Climmerwal", for "better leaders": that is the battle cry of the end of the cry, which lese itself in its own wind. The Lovestoneites who for years have combated the
"ultra-left" course of the C.P. against its ultra-right course because the Stalinists are still not resigned to setting them up again with salaries. Trotsky founds for the second time the Fourth International with members whom he has fortunately just brought to shelter in the Second International. The bureaucrats quarrel over the ever fewer paid posts and disguise their quarrel behind an alleged struggle for this or that correct Leninist line. These ridiculous half-and-half organizations, small parasites of the greater spongers, are not the heirs of the Third International, nor its carrion crows. They are going under with it, as they were only capable of living off it. But for them also the revolutionary workers have no tears to shed. To speak for once with the original superman, against all the present-day supermen of the C.P. and its offal, the workers can only - and not without satisfaction -- say: "What falls shall furthermore be kicked."

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