

HOW BOLSHEVIKS FIGHT DROUGHT  
CONFERENCE OF THE "SOCIALIST" (?) LEAGUE

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE



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## SPRING INDICES IN THE U.S.S.R.

THIS spring the barometer on our planet has set and indicates: "Clear, no change," as if signalling the calm before the storm. But in human society, both in the Land of Soviets and in capitalist countries, the spring is passing exceptionally stormily, bringing something new every day, bringing changes each day. Both in the Socialist and capitalist worlds, life is feverishly rushing on breaking down all barriers. But what a tremendous difference there is in the qualitative indices of the movement in these two hostile worlds!

The people of the great Land of the Soviets, in their overwhelming majority, have gathered and welded themselves into a single powerful bloc: and the Party of Bolsheviks, the Soviet government, the millions of workers and the many million-strong peasantry of the collective farms *essentially* live one life, are of one will, and face one great goal, namely, socialist construction, the creation of the conditions requisite for the enjoyment of an intelligent, cultural, prosperous, socialist life by the millions of the toiling population in classless society. The moment the Party sends out the signal that there is a break or lag behind in any sphere of the great field of construction, the whole of Soviet public opinion promptly rallies together, waves of energy roll over the great country, the break is liquidated, and the lag behind is overcome. There are no obstacles which this iron torrent cannot sweep away. And all this is no longer accomplished in the former way, usual to the Land of Soviets, the way of "storming." The word "storming" is held in honour in the Soviet Union no longer. The Party is now carrying on a sharp struggle against "storm" methods and impetuosity in work, with the ebb and flow so characteristic of them. Obstacles are now overcome in an organised manner by means of every-day stubborn persistence. Otherwise no improvement in the *quality of work* is possible, and the struggle for quality is now the chief battle slogan of the Party in the Land of the Soviets. This does not imply, however, that routine has set in, in the country, that the rôle of heroism and heroic personalities has now declined in the U.S.S.R. On the contrary. It means that the heroism of individuals is now abundantly fed by organised, every-day, heroic and "shock" work, and by the struggle of the masses, the masses of nameless ones who, however, single out, day by day, hundreds and thousands of "famous" and "celebrated" heroes of labour from their midst. They are heroes whom the Party and the working class promote, make famous, support and encourage both morally and materially, in every way.

This is the way the new men are now being forged in the U.S.S.R., in the vast laboratory of socialist construction, and these peoples are creating miracles.

Eloquent examples of this are provided by the spring indices in the Land of the Soviets.

The first index of the Soviet spring was the heroic feat of the members of the *Chelyuskin* expedition, and of the Soviet pilots who rescued them. What was the significance of this heroic feat, which drew the attention of the whole world? It was not only the self-restraint and firmness of Comrade Schmidt, the head of the Arctic expedition, nor the tremendous endurance of the crew, nor the bravery of the Soviet pilots. No; this feat reflected something immeasurably greater: it reflected the heroic pathos of emancipated labour in its struggle for science, in its struggle for the conquest of the blind elements of nature, it reflected the organisation and socialist discipline of emancipated labour, and the tremendous successes attained by the Land of the Soviets in the mastery of technique.

The second index of the Soviet spring is the first great improvements attained in ferrous metallurgy for the four months of 1934. When enumerating the shortcomings present in our large-scale industry, Comrade Stalin, in his report to the Seventeenth Party Congress, pointed in the first place to the "continued lagging behind of ferrous metallurgy," and when enumerating the next urgent problems connected with the improvement of industry, he gave first place to the task—

- "(1) of preserving the leading rôle of the engineering industry in the industrial system;
- (2) of abolishing the lagging behind of ferrous metallurgy."

Comrade Stalin's appeal rallied the Party and the working class and the results of this are already available. The blast furnace and steel-smelting departments in the metallurgical plants achieved great successes in mastering new technique during the first four months of the current year. For these four months the country received 3,103 thousand tons of pig iron, as against 1,960 thousand tons for the same period last year, which means an increase of 58 per cent., or of 1,143 thousand tons of pig iron. And this forward progress is increasing. Ferrous metallurgy improved its work considerably and exceeded the records of the preceding months. As compared with the total level of the first quarter of last year, the smelting of pig iron has grown by 60.7 per cent., of steel by 49.9 per cent., of rolled iron by 41.6 per cent. As compared with February of the current year, metallurgy made a

step forward in March along the *whole front*, namely, pig iron by 4.7 per cent., steel by 4.3 per cent. rolled iron by 7.1 per cent. An analysis of the quarterly dynamics of the growth of the production in the blast-furnace and recasting (steel, rolled metal) shops shows that the recasting shops have begun to make the first steps towards the level of pig iron smelting. This is corroborated by the fact that the quarterly plan for rolling has been fulfilled to the extent of 94.5 per cent., for steel smelting 92 per cent., and pig iron 93.7 per cent.

The tremendous increase in the production of ferrous metallurgy is due not only, and not so much to the introduction into the industry of new blast and open hearth furnaces, nor to "storming" methods, but to the persistent mastery of technique and to the better organisation of labour. The productivity of labour is growing throughout the whole of heavy industry. The growth of gross production in the first quarter by 28 per cent. as compared with the first quarter of last year, has been achieved with an increase of labour power employed by only 8.9 per cent. in the same period. If last year (as well as in the preceding years) the increase in the productivity of labour in the heavy industry was brought about mainly arising out of the increase in the machine construction industry, then in 1934 the growth of the productivity of labour in the machine construction industry has been on the average level of the whole of heavy industry (17.1 per cent.). Thus nearly all the basic branches of heavy industry have begun to participate in the improvement of the productivity of labour. The fact that the winter "seasonal" phenomenon, the formerly usual decrease of production in winter time is now being overcome, is an evidence of an improvement in the quality of the work being done in ferrous metallurgy. The latter fact is also proved by the increased co-efficient of the utilisation of the volume of blast furnaces, i.e., reduction of the number of cubic metres of furnace required for smelting one ton of pig iron. This was revealed with particular clearness in April, 1934, the first month of the competition being held in ferrous metallurgy. For this month, the co-efficient of the utilisation of the volume of blast furnaces, as compared with the last month increased considerably at the Magnitogorsk, Azovstal, Makeevka, Stalino, Zaporozhstal, Petrovsky, Voroshilov, Frunse, Kosogorsk and Kertch plants. The average daily volume of steel per square metre of furnace area has likewise increased in this first month of the competition in a number of the largest plants ("Hammer and Sickle," "Comintern," Lysyeva, Makeevka, Nizhne-Salda, Petrovsky, Stalino, Frunse, Taganrog and Voroshilov).

Due to the heroic efforts of the working class, "the increment of production in heavy industry for the first quarter of the current year exceeds by almost ten times the increment for the corresponding period of last year" (*Za Industrializatsiu*, April 17th and May 6th, and *Pravda*, May 17th, 1934).

The spring indices proclaim that the working class of the Soviet Union has achieved very great successes in the fulfilment of the task set before it by the Party, namely, "to overcome the lagging behind of ferrous metallurgy." It has also fulfilled another task, namely, "to preserve for the machine construction industry its present leading rôle in the system of industry." Let us quote only one example: In four years the Stalingrad Tractor Plant has reached its full projected capacity, having produced its 100 thousandth tractor; it has achieved a 30 per cent. increase in the productivity of labour in one year, and the record figure of 16,494 roubles worth of production per worker, as a result of which all the money invested in the construction of the plant—about 200 million roubles—has been totally covered. (*Za Industrializatsiu*, April 11th).

The third index of the Soviet spring is the successful covering of the second issue of the "Second Five-Year Plan" loan, which was carried out more promptly than that of the first issue in 1933. The total amount of money subscribed for the first ten days exceeds 3 billion roubles, which exceeds the amount subscribed last year by almost 550 million roubles.

"The speed at which subscriptions were made excels all the previous years. The unprecedented success in the realisation of the loan reflects the growth of the political consciousness of the toiling masses, their readiness to strengthen and to defend the land of socialism in its economic independence. . . . Is there any other place in the world, any other country, where such success is possible for a state loan. It is only possible in a country where the toilers themselves are the masters" (*Economic Life*, May 1st).

The fourth index of the Soviet spring is the present sowing campaign in the Soviet Union. In his report to the Seventeenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin quoted the table of gross production of cereal and technical crops throughout the U.S.S.R. and added:

"Lastly it will be seen from this table that the year 1933, the first year after the completion of the reorganisational period, marks a turning-point in the development of grain and technical crops. That shows that from now onwards grain crops first, and then technical

crops will firmly and surely advance with giant strides."

Comrade Stalin linked up this statement with the idea that "the toiling peasantry, our Soviet peasantry, has placed itself finally and irrevocably under the red banner of socialism."

We do not deal with meteorological conditions, over which we have as yet no control in the Soviet Union, and towards the mastery of which Soviet scientific thought and the Soviet planning organisations are as yet only engaged on assiduous work, and are disclosing grandiose perspectives for the future (irrigation of Trans-Volga districts, etc.).

If we estimate our present sowing campaign from the point of view of its organisation, then we can state that the words of Comrade Stalin have already been brilliantly justified this spring.

Formerly, in the period when the reorganisation of agricultural economy was in full swing, the Party took the line of extending the sowing areas by all means, but now, beginning with 1932, when the reorganisation period in agricultural economy neared completion, it took the line of improving the cultivation of the land, of introducing the proper rotation of crops and fallow, and of improving the yield in general. But the first condition for improving the yield is to sow early and to complete the sowing period in the shortest possible time, for, in the first place this makes it possible to utilise the moisture accumulated in the soil during the winter, and, secondly, it facilitates the further operation of a number of agricultural campaigns which take place simultaneously, and which therefore call for a tremendous strain on labour and animal power. These were the factors which the Party and the Soviet government took as a basis when organising the present sowing campaign, and in this respect it scored tremendous successes this spring even as compared with the last year, which was a culminating year.

We see from the summary of the course of the sowing of the summer crops on May 15th, 1934 ("Socialist Agriculture," No. 114), that by this date 67,207 hectares were sown this year as compared with 53,075 thousand hectares on May 15th, 1933, i.e., an increase of 14,132 hectares. While 55.9 per cent. of the plan was fulfilled by May 15th last year, on May 15th this year 72.3 per cent. of the plan was fulfilled. Last year a turning-point occurred in the Ukraine, whereas in the North Caucasus district there was a marked lag behind. This year, by May 10th the Ukrainian S.S.R. had fulfilled 85.9 per cent. of its plan, while the North Caucasus district had fulfilled its plan completely by 100.9 per cent. In the past, it was the Kuban which was most infested by kulak elements, and which was most backward

in fulfilling its plan. This spring a telegram from Rostov-on-Don, dated May 14th, reported in "Socialist Agriculture" that—

"87.4 per cent. of summer crops has been sown by May 10th. For the first time in recent years the Kuban districts finished the sowing of ear crops in record short time, and outdid the North Caucasus in speed. With very few exceptions all the Kuban districts totally completed the sowing of summer crops. Kuban, the saboteur, which permanently lagged behind in the past has now become the pride of the region. This remarkable fact showed the tremendous power of the Party, and of its advance guard, the political departments."

This year the Azov-Black-Sea region (Kuban belongs to it) was separated from the North Caucasus region, and a competition began between the two regions. The comrades from Piatigorsk reported the following in connection with this competition, in their telegram of May 10th ("Socialist Agriculture," May 11th):

"The Party organisation, collective farmers, the workers and specialists of North Caucasus are celebrating to-day the first brilliant victory in their competition with the Azov-Black-Sea district. The newly-organised region finished its sowing plan on May 9th in extremely quick time, unprecedented in the history of the national districts of Caucasus, of the Terek regions and Stavropol . . . Below are the comparative data for the last three years: in 1932, sowing on the territory of the present region began on April 1st and ended on June 15th—lasting 75 days; in 1933, from March 20th to June 24th, a total of 96 days; in 1934 the region began sowing on March 15th and finished on May 9th, 55 days in all. Particularly brilliant are the achievements of the masses of collective farmers in the sowing of cotton, this crop which is fond of heat; 40 days have actually been gained this year. This spring 5,418 tractors worked in the fields of North Caucasus; good and timely repair work enabled the tractors to go out in the fields without any delay. The average ground covered per tractor per calendar day this spring is 3.8 hectares, as compared with 2.8 hectares last spring. Last year 29 kilograms of fuel were consumed per hectare of ploughed land, as compared with only 24 kilograms this year. This year the tractor drivers of Northern Caucasus saved 5,472 tons of fuel for the country during the spring sowing."

In 1932 our greatest "break" occurred in the sowing and cultivation of beets. In this connection Comrade Stalin expressed himself as follows at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party:

"In the sugar beet districts where the re-organisation of agriculture proceeded at the most rapid rate, sugar beets, the cultivation of which was the last to enter the period of re-organisation, suffered the worst decline in the last year of organisation, viz., in 1932, the output dropped below the pre-war level."

In 1933 the sowing and cultivation of beet was somewhat improved, but the "break" was not yet finally liquidated and the crop of beet was below that of 1913 (90 million centners as against 109 million centners). This year brilliant successes have been scored in the sowing of beet. Comrade Lubchenko, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, wrote in the *Pravda* of May 11th:

"Particular mention must be made of the successful fulfilment of the task connected with sugar beet. If in 1932 the Ukraine only fulfilled 9.5 per cent. of its plan for beet growing by May 5th and 48 per cent. for the year 1933, then this year the plan of beet sowing was fully accomplished by May 5th . . ."

This year the sowing campaign is characterised by an improvement in the quality of the work as compared with the past. In the article quoted above, Comrade Lubchenko wrote as follows about the Ukraine:

"Parallel with this, we have undoubted achievements in regard to the quality of the work. In the overwhelming majority of regions a tremendous amount of work was done in regard to clearing the fields from weeds, double-harrowing, cultivation, selection and cleaning of seeds. It is characteristic that this year it was not only the advanced leaders of the collective farms who actively fought for raising the quality of work done, but the entire mass of collective farmers did so, too. In former years we have had no April fallow, last year only 10,000 hectares of fallow were raised in the early part of May. In 1934 by May 5th already 1,138,000 hectares were raised, or 50.8 per cent. of the plan. The Dniepropetrovsk region, which is the most important from the cereal point of view, has already raised 84.6 per cent. of fallow."

Great achievements may also be mentioned this spring as regards cattle breeding, this most backward section of agriculture. *Pravda* of May 11th publishes, for instance, the following "noteworthy facts": By May, 1933, 26,000 mares were covered, by May, 1934, over 300,000 mares were covered, according to incomplete data. In the first quarter of 1933, 40,690 calves, 55,726 pigs and 41,069 lambs were born in the collective farms. For the same period of 1934, 76,369

calves, 320,224 pigs and 143,155 lambs were born in collective farms.

The great elation observed at present in the collective farms in the spring sowing campaign is accompanied by a very marked cultural and political improvement in the village. Here is a letter from the Dniepropetrovsk district ("Socialist Agriculture" of May 4th):

"Along with forcing the pace as regards sowing and fallowing, the last two decades of April were decades of a *general cultural drive*. Not a house belonging to a collective farm family is to be found throughout the entire district that has not been whitewashed; in hundreds of villages there has been a planned arrangement of the streets, sidewalks have been put down, parks organised and new theatres opened."

The editorial in the "Socialist Agriculture" of May 8th writes of that same Dniepropetrovsk district:

"After having done with their field work in the spring, the collective farmers developed a genuine mass movement for the introduction of cultural order in the collective farm streets, and in the living quarters of collective farmers. The Dniepropetrovsk collective farmers have gone to such "trifles," as bringing the wells into order, they even went as far as destroying pests and harmful weeds, which had entrenched themselves in the areas appropriated by the railways. This growth of organisation is only possible if a sharp break has taken place in the consciousness of the masses, if there is a genuine creative upsurge among the millions, manifested particularly in the way the village spent its *May First days*. The day of international fraternal solidarity, the Red May holidays became a festival dear to the collective farm peasants. Is this not another proof that the dark rural 'originality' is passing away with the former farming régime, in the midst of stubborn class collisions, and is gradually giving way to the shoots of a new socialist consciousness?"

What do all these facts signify? They signify that the slogan of Comrade Stalin and of the Bolshevik Party—"to make all collective farms Bolshevik and all collective farmers prosperous"—is rapidly being put into life.

Such are the spring indices in the Land of Soviets.

And how is the present spring passing in capitalist countries? There is no united national spring there; there is a profound split in society and this irreconcilable split is becoming deeper every day. There also the spring is passing stormily. But how does this stormy boiling over manifest itself there? What is it aiming at? There, the whole energy of the ruling classes, of

the dominating parties and of the state power is directed to the preparation of war, of imperialist war, a predatory and, above all, a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, to save capitalism from proletarian revolution. This is spoken of quite openly there, without even covering the war preparations with a pacifist fig leaf. The soil is burning to such an extent under the feet of the war instigators that Poland, for instance, which signed a ten-year non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., is not ashamed of signing an agreement immediately afterwards with fascist Germany, which is quite openly getting ready for war on the Soviet Union.

The soil is burning under their feet to such a degree that Latvia, which signed a similar pact along with the other Baltic countries to protect its national independence, hastens, not without a blessing from England, to unify its régime with the fascist régime in Germany, hastens to make a rapprochement with the latter, fully aware that it must pay for this rapprochement with its independence and with the return of the German barons to Latvia. But what does a Latvian kulak care about the independence of his bourgeois fatherland, what does he care whether the German barons will once more be able to saddle the Latvian toiling peasantry, if in payment for his treachery he will be able to sell his milk and butter in Germany to-day at a higher profit, while to-morrow, in the event of the success of the German adventure, he will be given a safe guarantee to suck the blood of the Latvian agricultural labourer and the proletariat?

The war, which is being feverishly prepared in the capitalist countries, is the most unpopular, the most hated of all the wars for the workers and peasant-poor in all countries. The bourgeoisie is fully aware of this. This is the reason why, in making preparations for *foreign* war, it begins with *domestic* war, with a debauch of fascist terror against the toiling classes, with a view to strengthening its rear.

Japan has turned Manchukuo into a jumping-off ground for war against the Soviet Union and is "pacifying" this country, preparing, so it seems to her—a reliable rear there, responding to the guerilla movement by murdering 20 thousand citizens, by physical annihilation of a whole district.

In Europe fascist revolutions are being turned out like hot cakes. The fascist coup d'état in Austria has been immediately followed by a fascist coup d'état in Bulgaria, while a new wave of fascist terror has been announced in the leading fascist country, in Hitlerite Germany, terror unprecedented even there.

And in the so-called "democratic" countries,

fascism is rapidly raising its head this spring in anticipation of the oncoming new round of revolutions and wars. In the period between April 5th to 15th, the French government issued twenty emergency decrees which produced four milliards of "economies" by enforcing cuts in the wages of state employees and in the pensions of ex-servicemen. The Radicals at their Congress in Clairmon-Feron carried a resolution to support the government of national unity and its emergency decrees. A powerful movement is going on in the direction of the unification of all parties. The fascist organisations are arming themselves quite openly. Thirty thousand fascists demonstrated in the streets of Paris on April 13th. In his speech, Jiniou, the director of the "Journée Industrielle," the organ of heavy industry, expressed the fascist desires of the whole of French heavy industry, when he said that: "A strong state is necessary if methods of organised economy, as we understand it, are to be applied, for rigorous discipline is incompatible with demagoguery. Furthermore, a revolution of disorder can be avoided only by the revolution of order, which is proclaimed by capitalism, and for which it considers itself responsible."

This is the way that the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries who are terrorising the toiling classes, are preparing for war in the days of spring.

"But if the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, the working class of capitalist countries who have been moved to desperation by the four years of the crisis and unemployment, takes the path of revolution." ". . . the idea of storm is maturing in the consciousness of the masses—there can hardly be any doubt as to this" (Stalin).

The way May the First of this year passed in capitalist countries is a sufficiently clear spring index in this respect. For example, strikes took place at the munition plants in France, barricades were put up in Paris, 200 thousand participated in the demonstrations and May First meetings in New York. A meeting, attended by 15,000 people, took place in the woods near Vienna, where the blood spilled by the fascist government of Dolfuss had not yet had time to dry. All this, and similar facts, are sufficiently glaring spring storm signals.

The spring indications in the land of the Soviets and those in the capitalist countries differ radically in quality as day does from night, but they are both evidence of the same thing, namely, that a collision between these two worlds is approaching extremely rapidly, a collision between the young, tempestuously growing socialist world, full of life, and the senile, dying world of capitalism. A juxtaposition of the present spring in these two worlds is sufficient to show clearly what profound

and prophetic meaning is contained in the following words uttered by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party :

"Thus you see that things are moving towards a new imperialist war as a way out of the present situation.

"Of course, there are no grounds for assuming that the war can provide a real way out. On the contrary, it must confuse the situation still more.

More than that, it will certainly unleash the revolution and put in question the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries, as was the case in the course of the first imperialist war. And if, notwithstanding the experience of the first imperialist war, the bourgeois politicians clutch at war, as a drowning man clutches at a straw, it shows that they have become utterly confused, have reached an impasse, and are ready to rush headlong over the precipice."

## HOW THE BOLSHEVIKS FIGHT THE DROUGHT

Below we reprint an article which appeared in the "Pravda," dated June 3rd, 1934, written by E. Yevdokimov, 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 of fighting the drought by "trusting to God" and "praying for good weather," etc., has passed, 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, "Communist International."

**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 organisation. We had an opportunity of seeing clearly all the weak and strong points of our Party and economic work ; we had the chance to test, as on a touchstone, the firmness and stamina of our collective farms, the stability of our first successes, and finally the fighting ability of our Party organisations 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 up the soil, alternated with frosts which raged fiercely until the middle of May.

If we recall the day-to-day experience of this grim period, and particularly the critical May days, the first thing that strikes us is the *total absence of even the slightest symptoms of panic, of even any shade of downheartedness.* There 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 organisation to secure an increase in the speed at which the sowing was to take place, in the depths of the ploughing, and in securing that the seeds be correctly covered up. And at that 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 organisations 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 to-day 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 to-day by the harsh and determined check of the elements. The early sowing and the deep ploughing brought their results. The total losses throughout the region due to the frosts and drought amount to-day to not more than two or three per cent. of the harvesting area. The collective farmers have seen this and appreciate the fact. The importance 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 organisations 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 labour 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. The most incredible things could be seen in those days. People brought water in pails to the collective farm fields, sometimes several kilometres 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 this is not important. What is important is that the call of the Party organisation 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 times 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 nearly in 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 heterogenous 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 organised, however extensive 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. Why, it is an outstanding fact that the kulak elements, the priests 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 organisations, 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 already 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 prin-

\* The Communist Children's Organisation.—Ed.

ciples 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 organisation, 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. To-day 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.

To-day 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, 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 honour. They fulfilled the sowing plan by May 9th, and by May 25th 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 organised rather well. Hay mowing has been developed on a large scale, and the ensilage of forage organised in unprecedented dimensions.

Now about the prospects for the crops. The crops have improved considerably. The main thing now is to organise the harvesting. Here the task of the regional Party organisations consists in the *developing 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 take, and we will take, a bigger crop than last year*, as a result of the Bolshevik organisation 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 People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. will fulfil 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, perhaps you will hurry up and help us a little.

(June 3rd, 1934.)

We regret that the following portion of article in No. 10, "May-Day Review," was inadvertently omitted from page 375.—Ed.

*England.* In spite of the sabotage of the reformists, the Communist Party was able to mobilise demonstrations of thousands in all the main centres. Outstanding this year was the strike led by the Communist Party that broke out in the Lucas workers in Birmingham against the

attempt to introduce a new variety of the Bedaux system, and the participation of several thousands of the strikers in the Party demonstration. The reformists held their usual afternoon processions and meetings on the Sunday following May Day, the Communists holding opposition meetings, etc. In Glasgow, the Communist meeting was attended by over 30,000 workers, which was many times the size of the reformist meetings.

From the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany.

## THE VICTIM LASHES HIS ASSASSINS

(Re Comrade Jon Scher's article published below.)

"KILLED while attempting to escape" — such is the official version being spread by the Nazis, about the heroic death of Comrade Scher 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 still more atrocious crime by the same kind of infamy.

The International Committee of Struggle for the release of Thaelmann, Dimitrov and the other imprisoned anti-fascists has already drawn the attention of public opinion to one fact blabbed out by drunken storm troopers. Comrade Scher'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 cleared up a little.

In the body of Comrade Scher which was 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 Jon Scher, and in all probability Eugene Schonhaar, 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 Jon Scher 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 have succeeded in rescuing almost the entire heritage left behind by Comrade Scher, 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 of the fascists through the medium of which Hitler, Rosenberg and Göbbels, acting on the instructions of Krupp, Thyssen and Hindenburg, are endeavouring 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, Jon Scher, pupil and friend of Ernst Thaelmann, on how to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Our comrade Jon Scher, 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 Scher 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 Scher, 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, organisation and the immediate tasks facing our Party were raised in it. We know that Comrade Scher raised the questions of the revolutionary way out of the crisis for Germany, of the rôle 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 organisation 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 concretised 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 rôle 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 Scher'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 Scher, to the hatred of fascism and to the courageous confidence in victory, which inspired our friend and comrade-in-arms, the Bolshevik Jon Scher.

By imparting to the international working class the thoughts penned by Comrade Scher

himself, which are a call to struggle, we thereby erect the best possible monument to the memory of Comrade Scher 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 Scher's corpse to the Novavésky forest, serve as a warning signal to all anti-fascists of the need to intensify our mass struggle in defence 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 Scher 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 was 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 Jon Scher 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 NURENBERG CONGRESS FOR THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

By JON SCHER.

*The Basic Question.*

THE programme 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 utilise the years of relative stabilisation to consolidate its power.

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

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 stabilising 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 be by no means considered a question of theorising, but an event corresponding to the condition of the crisis, to the difficulties facing the bourgeois, to the threat of a rising revolutionary upsurge, when the fascist

lackeys in the government undertook the following direct tasks, at the end of July, 1933, namely, to convene a congress where *the 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 demagogy.

## ABOUT TWO MAIN POINTS.

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 thousand storm troopers* (with knapsacks, spades, and kitchen utensils), in the *chauvinist revelry* which filled the whole city of Nurenberg with parades and military music, in the big Reichswehr manoeuvres 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 Nurenberg Congress was a real mobilisation 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, Nurenberg showed, in the second case, that *fascism is not coping with 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 revolu-

tions and wars. This estimate is doubly correct with regard to fascist Germany. On the 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 rapidly 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 to-day, 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, Com-

munist, which is already in possession of one sixth of the globe, is stretching its arms 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 flame 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 the domestic contradictions of the British Empire to their extremity, 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.

WHY ANTI-SEMITISM DID NOT ACHIEVE ITS PURPOSE.

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

This is how *Frederick Engels* characterised anti-Semitism. Comrade Stalin has concretised 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 organise 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 recognise that their illusions were deceptive and that despite the expulsion of Jews by fascist policy, they themselves *have been abandoned to the full fury of the crisis*.

But even less did they succeed in kindling up 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 down-trodden 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 of 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*.

"THE RACIAL THEORY" AND THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

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 is 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 achieved 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, wanted 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 sometime continues onward, 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 labour 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 com-

pel 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 50 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.

#### THE "RACIAL THEORY" AND THE WORKING CLASS.

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 provi-



dence 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, 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 characterised 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 mobilising 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 suggest the following recipe with regard to these masses.

"Whatever those lack who are not born with the inherent perception (of the beauty, dignity and honour of the fascist dictatorship) what even 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*.

#### THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAPITAL.

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 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 on the correctness of the Marxian theory of the state and on 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 determines existence, but existence that determines consciousness.

The reports made at the Nuremberg Congress corroborate the triumph of the "Communist Manifesto" to the effect that the past history of humanity is the history of class struggles.

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 organisation which was convened, at a cost of 75 million marks—to “smash” the hated Marxism and Communism.

#### NURENBERG ADMISSIONS.

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 contradiction 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 labour\* has reached its climax? Why, all the newspapers trumpeted about the successes of “conscious labour.” But something must have been wrong, because:

“It is quite likely that even very wise people are not able to attain absolute clarity on particularly difficult conditions.”

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 fewer 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 measures taken by us to-day always may turn out to be ineffective.”

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

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

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 recognise 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 recognises that he cannot win over the working class, and that all his fairy tales about the unity of the people are paper 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.”

#### “SOCIALISM” IS HITLER’S CAPITAL.

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 “Labour” 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 million 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 jeopardising its wealth, by counterfeiting its contents, and transforming the militant demand for welfare on earth into an organisation 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

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

heaven," bear abundant fruit even to-day 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 rationalisation, 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 or 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 must allow himself to be exploited. *Therein lies the secret of Hitler's socialism.*

"The General Council of Economy," which occupied a box of honour at the Congress, was not quite satisfied with this formulation. Then Shuman, the leader of the German Labour 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 flavour, and excited the stormy applause of all the exploiters.

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

"Socialism is not an economic régime. 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 socialist" character to socialism are, to a certain extent, clear that it will be rather difficult to impose this phantasmal capitalist socialism upon the workers.

#### A HOWL AGAINST "LIBERALISM."

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. Honour 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 prerequisites for the capitalist common good is the "legalised" 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 fulfilment of Hitler's dema-

gogic 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 Bruning-Papen emergency decrees.

The struggle against "private good," the struggle against liberalism, is a struggle against *female labour*, 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 demagogy 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.*

#### IN A FIT OF LIES AGAINST COMMUNISM.

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 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 policy* 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 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 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 organising 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 *organising 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 recognised 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 organiser, 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.

#### THE GLORIFICATION OF WHITE TERROR.

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 mobilising 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, than renounce, if even once, the principles which are recognised 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 unrecognised 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 thousand 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 "Völkischer 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 favour of the profits of monopolist capital and the war industry.

We can say already to-day 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.

#### THE TWO PRINCIPAL LESSONS OF NUREMBERG.

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 on the further fate of German capitalism. Nuremberg signalled 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 rôle 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 "Volkszeitung" 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, Heines and Goering.

Immediately after Nuremberg, a number of unions of the "German Labour 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 Labour Front," and the labour exchanges and in the forced labour 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, Zoergiebel, 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 their work in the service of the bourgeoisie.

\* Com. Int. No. 6, 1924. Quoted by Manuilsky at Eleventh Plenum. "C.P.S. and the Crisis of Capitalism."

We will confine ourselves to the facts quoted by us so as to give a correct appraisal of the Nurenberg Congress. The deductions on 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

PROF. E. VARGA.

(PART I.)

The article we print below, which exposes the fraudulent character of the latest "plan" being popularised among the working class should prove of special interest to English readers, and especially to readers of "Plebs," the official organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges. This journal, which is alleged to have a Marxian viewpoint, and is now devoting so much energy to spreading the counter-revolutionary "Socialism's New Start" (see No. 11 C.I. for crushing exposure of this.—Ed.) among British workers, has thought fit, in its June issue, to give publicity to the "Plan of Action" of M. Henri De Man and express its "indebtedness" to one of its readers for giving the summary which it prints, of this "important pamphlet," adding that "it ought to stimulate discussion on the great issue that faces the whole Socialist movement."

We have no doubt that rank-and-file readers of the "Plebs" who are genuinely striving for Marxism and really anxious to solve "the great issues that face the whole Socialist movement" will, after reading such "Marxist" gems as that "De Man follows Marx's analytical method . . . he believes in free and democratic institutions,"\* that "the present methods of distributing credit have brought about the world crisis in both production and distribution,"† and that "for this plan we appeal not only to the working class, but also to all other classes suffering from the present crisis. It must be realised immediately by constitutional means"‡—these comrades, we feel sure, will request the Editor to square his alleged "Marxism" with the anti-Marxist, anti-working class rubbish with which he sees fit to fill the pages of his journal.

A reading of the article below will assist in achieving Marxist clarity on the exact nature of De Man's "Plan of Action" to save capitalism.

Editorial Board, "Communist International."

\* "Plebs," June, page 126.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

**F**OR more than six months the entire activity of the Labour 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 Labour 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 long-sought, finally discovered "Plan," which is to solve the social question in Belgium and 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 Labour Party (only the representatives of 8,500 members abstained from voting) to mobilise the entire party, the trade unions, and the co-operatives for the realisation 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 address! Why, *economic struggles would merely handicap the realisation of this plan*, for they would only repel the petty and middle bourgeoisie. And as the resolution of the Congress points out, the realisation 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 realisation 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 summarised 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 Labour 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 Labour 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 labour organisations.

#### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PLAN.

*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 organisations 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 labour 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 realisation 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 General Council of Marx’s International consisted predominantly of the representatives 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 servile “state,” of a “conservative” party which supports a régime 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 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 Labour Party of Belgium as well. The heroic fight of the miners in Borinage developed contrary to the wish of the leaders. The discontent at the policy of the social-democratic party leadership which enabled the mineowners to cut the miners’ wages 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 Labour 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 to-morrow, 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, Borinage, 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 mouth-piece 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 Labour 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 Labour 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 Labour 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 promptly suppress it.

And here is Vandervelde importing the Frankfurt university professor, Mr. Henri de Man, who drafted the project of the notorious "Plan of Action" for the Belgian Labour Party. The propaganda of the plan, deftly arranged with all the means at the disposal of stagecraft, has helped to divert the attention of the Belgian proletariat for a time 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 pretence that a wide offensive was being developed by the B.L.P. for the purpose of realising socialism.

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

This is what Wauters wrote in the *Peuple* of December 23rd, 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 16th, 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 programme 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 rôle of this Plan in its issue of January 26th, 1933:

"The Plan is such that it satisfies and remunerates both the rights and the lefts inside the party, both the right and the left wings of the party. It satisfies the left wing, as Deat writes, by attaching a definite condition to every case of collaboration with other parties, wedges itself into the very structure of the régime (?), 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 Labour 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 Vorwärts," the central organ for 1934 of German Social Democracy in emigration, writes:

"What the Belgian Labour 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 29th, 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 labour 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 4th, 1934, Leon Blum writes:

"Sure enough . . . the Belgian Labour 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 programme 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 analyse 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 Labour Party and who is hailed by the parties of the Second International as their new leader.

#### WHO ACTUALLY IS MR. HENRI DE MAN?

De Man has been known to the Belgian workers ever 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 took place in January, 1910. It was at this period that De Man wrote a pamphlet, the "Labour 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 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, and the Hungarian Soviet Republic arose—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 labour movement, De Man leaves the labour movement once more, but this time he does not retire to the "freedom of vagabond life," but leaves for Frankfurt-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 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."

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 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 does Henri De Man charac-

\* 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 ones."

† 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."

\* La Vie Socialiste of November 25, 1933, and of 6/1, 18/1, 27/1, 1934.

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

terises 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 cannot be brought about by violence ; *violence not only provokes a rebuff from those who suffer from it, but also demoralises 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 realisation 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" Gandhi!—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 fetters 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 of 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 upbraid the communists and humiliate 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 favoured 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.

*The German bourgeoisie received De Man as one of their own.* His next anti-Marxist books were published one after the 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 long services, which were recognised as "scientific," De Man was appointed professor of the Frankfort 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 *Peuple* of January 4th, 1934 :

"On May 23rd, 1933, the rector of the Frankfort 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, Jaurés, 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 régime.

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 favour 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 25th, 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 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 NATIONALISATION OF CREDIT.

The first point in De Man's Plan, its centre, so to speak, is the "nationalisation of credit." This nationalisation 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 realises 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* (emphasised by me—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 emphasise that it is not a question of nationalising the banks, but of merging them into one bank, each bank preserving its own organisational independence. The banks merely agree to sell part of their shares to the new state credit institute and to obey the direction of the centre. 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 reimbursement of these sums* is imposed upon the credit institute. It will be realised in a form precluding all possibilities of using these forms again to the detriment of the interests of the new order of the régime."

"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 Labour Party has proceeded to propagate the realisation of the nationalisation of credits planned for a number of years ahead, and was subjugating everything else to this purpose, this "*nationalisation 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 specially issued for the case in question, all the banks issued new shares and handed them over for resale to the "Finance Reconstruction Corporation," the central "Institute of State Credit." The Finance Reconstruction Corporation undoubtedly enjoys "predominant influence" in the big American 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 "nationalisation 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 nationalised, 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.\*

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 "*nationalisation of credits*," will have full reasons to be perplexed by these facts. It is quite clear that the sorrows of the working class will receive no balm from the "nationalisation of credits" in the spirit of the Plan. As before, over 11 million unemployed still remain in the U.S.A., the cost of living is rising, 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 "nationalisation of credits" 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 Impending Catastrophe and How to Struggle Against It," put forward the nationalisation of the banks as the first demand?

Let us look closer into the matter.

In the first place, Lenin does not call for the nationalisation of "credit," does not call for *the participation of the state* in the banks which continue to remain dominated by the private capitalists, but "unification of all banks into one. The state control over banking operations. *Nationalisation of the banks.*" (Lenin, Vol. XXI., Part 1, page 185.)

\* We wish to point out the curious fact, that Kita Icci, the leader of the Japanese Fascists, mapped out the following programme for nationalising 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. Tanin and E. Iohan, "The Military-Fascist Movement in Japan," page 63, Moscow, 1933).

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

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

"No real control is possible over individual banks and their operations (even after abolition of the commercial secret, etc.) for it is impossible to trace all those most complicated, most involved and subtle methods used in drawing up the balance sheets, in organising bogus enterprises and branch banks, in using fictitious persons, and so on and so forth.

"Only the merging of all banks into one . . . offers the *possibility* of real control."

Ibid. 185.

What was true for Russia is in still greater degree true for Belgium. The Russian banks carried on their manipulation exclusively at home, whereas the big Belgian banks have "interests" throughout the whole world. The Societe General, for instance, is a shareholder in a whole 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 offshoots 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 hands of the Societe General, while the latter directly dispose of billions of money? A check is only *possible* provided all the banks are united and nationalised.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE WHICH MANAGES THE BANKS IS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE.

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 Impending Catastrophe and How to Struggle Against it," Lenin put forward the slogan of nationalisation of the banks along with other *transitory* revolutionary slogans, which thus brought the masses to the proletarian revo-

lution. 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 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 nationalisation 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.

What are, then, the means by which Vandervelde and De Man wish to realise 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 realising this Plan, and hereby declares that it will not recognise participation in a government which does not recognise the 'Plan of Work' as the programme subject to immediate realisation, 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 Labour Party to win a majority at the next parliamentary elections, or else a coalition government whose programme is the operation of the 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 electoral 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 elections. 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 organisations, 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 the 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, Pilsudsky in Poland, Hitler in Germany, seized power without any parliamentary majority. The fact that they only had an insignificant minority in parliament did not by any means prevent Mussolini or Pilsudsky 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 realise 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 proves the *impossibility of successfully waging an armed struggle in defence 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 nationalisation 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 realising 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 realised 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 bourgeoisie parties. *But within the framework of the state, ruled by the bourgeoisie, the "nationalisation of credit" provided by the Plan would not improve the position of the proletariat in the slightest degree.*

We will prove this concretely further on. We must first say a few words about the "nationalisation" of the basic branches of raw material production, in so far as the propagandists advocating the Plan invariably emphasise that the entire Plan must be regarded as a single entity.

#### THE "NATIONALISATION" OF RAW MATERIAL PRODUCTION.

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

"The legislative power will take all necessary measures to organise the most important monopolised 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 values, 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 values, comprising part of the funds of the nationalised banks."

In simple language, this is how matters stand. The newly-established central credit institute will buy part of the shares of the monopolised 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 nationalising 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 "nationalised" 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 what this would mean for the proletariat, we shall attempt to investigate *how many* workers would be engaged in these enterprises of a *mixed type* and how many would there 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 "nationalised" *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 plans, we will assume that *all* the enterprises in the raw material industry will be "nationalised." In such a case, to what extent would the Belgian workers be employed in these "nationalised" 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 "nationalisation":—

#### Number of Workers in Branches subject to Nationalisation in 1932 (in thousands).

Coal	...	...	...	130
Coke	...	...	...	4
Pig Iron	...	...	...	6
Steel	...	...	...	9
Rolled Metal	...	...	...	25
Zinc	...	...	...	5
Other Metals	...	...	...	4
Stone Quarries	...	...	...	28
				<hr/>
				209
				<hr/>

Thus, in round figures, only 200,000 Belgian workers would be working in the nationalised branches of industry. On the other hand the realisation 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 nationalisation, but we know that this number is not very large.

We will explain further in more detail that the

"nationalisation" 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 10 per cent. of all Belgian industrial workers are engaged.* And that is all. *Voilà tout.*

(To be continued.)

## JAPANESE IMPERIALISM ON A WAR FOOTING

G. SAFAROV.

### I.—IN THE SNARES OF INTERNATIONAL CONTRADICTIONS.

**J**APANESE imperialism is trying to display speed and verve everywhere it can. In this way it is counting on catching not only its rivals unawares, but also its friends. The seizure of Manchuria and the easy victory in Northern China lent wings to its hopes. At one blow it tried to achieve the dominating position in Shanghai. The barbarous destruction of Chapei served this aim.

It was unable, however, to carry it out. Japanese imperialism had to make a partial retreat, meeting the resistance of a number of imperialist powers which, among other things, were afraid of playing into the hands of the national unity of China and the Soviet movement. Japanese imperialism carried on its further play like a gambler staking all on one card, openly taking the line of provoking war against the U.S.S.R. Would it not be a masterly move to *unite a new partition and enslavement of China with a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union?* Such was the idea of Araki and Co. The partition of China, in their opinion, was bound to blunt the antagonism of imperialist interests and set the hands of Japanese imperialism free. On the other hand, an attack on the Soviet Union, in the minds of Araki and Co., would be bound to open the hearts and purses of the other imperialists, scared at the growth of the country of victorious Socialism.

The coming of Hitler to power in Germany brought the danger of armed conflicts of imperialists in Europe extremely near and cooled the sympathy of the French bankers towards the enterprise of the Japanese military clique down considerably. The rôle of organiser of the united imperialist front against the U.S.S.R. was taken

by diehard England. The British diehards displayed an unfeigned desire to help the monarchy of the Mikado to prepare for a blow against the Soviet Union. Behind the scenes they urged Japan and Germany to draw together against the U.S.S.R. They hoped to play on the isolation of the American bourgeoisie in the sphere of foreign policy. But the consistent peace policy of the Socialist Government upset their plans. The Japan of the Mikado did not acquire much popularity by its shouts for the "unity of the civilised world against the accursed Bolsheviks," while the destructive effect of its dumping on the industry of other countries, the rapidity and breadth of its seizures in China, the menace of its sword to the entire world, compelled the other capitalist robbers to be on the alert. Though each of them is going in its own way towards a new world war for the imperialist division of the world, nevertheless they do not wish to march under the orders of Japanese imperialism.

The upper ten thousand in Japan, without the slightest doubt, thought that by spring, 1934, the sympathy of the capitalist world for an attack on the Soviet Union would be so great that Araki and Co. would be able to obtain the widest financial support needed by them for a big war against the U.S.S.R. without undue effort. We should not forget what Lenin said at the Second Congress of the Communist International: "It was possible for Japan to plunder the Eastern, Asiatic countries, but it cannot have any independent financial or military power without the support of another country."

Japanese imperialism carried on the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, relying on the Anglo-Japanese alliance which ensured it financial aid and help in munitions, and at the same time

sheltered it from the interference of the other "great powers."

British imperialism has made certain advances to the Japanese warmongers. It has carried out the Indo-Japanese trading agreement. It has formally half-recognised the puppet government of Manchukuo. It promises to encourage the struggle against the U.S.S.R. in the future.

But this support is too scanty for Japanese imperialism to feel the firm ground of the old Anglo-Japanese alliance under its feet. It orientates itself on a new Anglo-Japanese anti-Soviet alliance. The Minister of Finance, Takahasi, replying in Parliament on March 8th, 1934, to questions on the financial measures of the U.S.A., had good reason to soothe the excited parliamentarians with the following characteristic statement: "*The pound sterling, which fluctuates within comparatively small ranges will furnish the standard by which to fix the purchase price of gold.*" In the struggle for financial hegemony between the City and Wall Street, the Japanese yen, the yen of dumping, chooses to seek the support of the City.

However, the hole in Japanese finances is getting bigger and wider. Every year the national debt grows by one billion yen. Half the deposits in the banks are government paper issued to cover the deficit in the state budget. Financial crash is hovering over the ruling classes of Japan, and this is evidently clearly realised by their well wishers. The French "*Comite des Forges,*" which was always generous with support of anti-Soviet adventures, in 1931-32 having almost promised to supply Japan with money for "assimilating" Manchuria and the *Soviet maritime provinces*, is at present financing fascism in France, and only gave 100,000 francs for "raising productive forces of Manchukuo." The French cannon and aviation magnates, like their English colleagues, willingly accept Japanese orders for tanks and bombing planes, but have no illusions regarding the financial stability of the monarchy of the Mikado. In particular, the British diehard bourgeoisie are indignant that Japanese dumping, which is doing tremendous damage to British textile capital, serves as a supplementary means of strengthening the Japanese army and navy.

In addition to this, British imperialism, which is independently breaking into Szechwan, Yunnan and Sinkiang and strengthening its dominating influence in the South of China, realises the instabilities and dangers of the uneven development of capitalism, in particular the instabilities and dangers of the uneven penetra-

tion of various imperialisms into China. Whereas the capital investments of Great Britain in China in 1902 comprised 33 per cent. of all foreign investments, in 1914 they were 36.7 per cent., and in 1931 they were 36.7 per cent., while Japanese capital investments rose by leaps: 1902—0.1 per cent., 1914—13.6 per cent., 1931—35.1 per cent.\*

The energetic conduct of the fierce young bandit causes the greatest uneasiness. Japanese exports jumped from 1,147 million yen in 1931, to 1,861 million yen in 1933, though the currency was depreciated. The increase in the exports of textiles was still more rapid—757.8 million yen in 1931, 1,171.8 million yen in 1933. British capital sees how Japanese imperialism in every place where it steps, squarely raises the question of a new repartition of the right to domination, a repartition of slave-owners' privileges. In the first six months of 1931, 32 and 33, Holland provided 11 per cent., 8.6 per cent. and 5 per cent. of the imports to Indonesia, which is its colony. The corresponding share of Japan was 12.12 and 20 per cent. Japanese capital is trying to seize the oil fields of Borneo which supplies oil to its navy. The conclusion of a treaty between Great Britain and Holland on a British guarantee for the inviolability of the Dutch colonial possessions shows that British imperialism is advising Araki, Hayasi, Suetsugu, not to forget about its power.

Japanese imperialism in turn retaliates by plans to create its own first-class naval base in Siam side by side with the British stronghold of Singapore.

The struggle for the partition and enslaving of China and the preparations for counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. are not taking place in empty space, but in the conditions of the sharp or even critical—it might be said the "crisis" intensification—of *all* the imperialist contradictions in the most varied combinations. The struggle for world financial hegemony, the struggle for new exports of capital to the colonies and dependent countries, the struggle for the division of the world in general and the struggle for domination on the Pacific are mixed up with the struggle for the partition of China and the preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union. This not only complicates the entire international situation and makes it full of unexpected features and combinations, but also increases the instability of the international position of Japanese imperialism.

The good-hearted American bourgeoisie are

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\* C. F. Remer, *Foreign Investments in China*, New York, 1933, p. 76.



absolutely beside themselves when, at every step, the fact of their military helplessness is flourished before their noses by the Japanese Arakis. The cut-throats of Japanese imperialism say to them by their conduct: "Look! On the bedrock of your exceptional "prosperity" you were unable to form a strong navy and fortify strategic positions in the Pacific. You waited until the crisis came and now you have to launch your belated warships under the N.R.A. flag. But now it's our turn. You keep your hands off! On the shallow bog of dumping and war in China we have advanced to the first ranks of claimants for world domination. The crisis has broken up the old relationship of forces which more directly and plainly reflected the relations between the strength of the capital of the various countries. Now it is not diplomacy, but war which decides." These arguments of the Japanese imperialists are not a guess but a fact.

Take the noisy speech of the commander of the Japanese naval force, Vice-Admiral Nobumasa Suetsugu. First of all he explains what Japanese imperialism understands by the maintenance of peace: "We fought the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars for peace in the East. Through the maintenance of peace in the East we ensured the rise and progress of Japan."\*

When the Japanese exploiters say "peace" it means "war"—it is impossible to speak more openly.

The brave Vice-Admiral Suetsugu speaks without any embarrassment of the possibility of a military clash between Japan and U.S.A. during the Japanese attack on Shanghai: "If it came to war, it was doubtful if the American navy would defeat the Japanese navy."

Suetsugu asks the question whether it is possible to blockade Japan and sends the threat to American capital: "Perhaps America thinks that Japan cannot be handled so easily. They are now bringing aeroplanes to Canton in large numbers. They are reinforcing the air lines at Shanghai, Hankow, etc. At the present moment they are bringing more to Canton and then to Amoy and Fuchow, constructing air bases along the coast up to Shanghai. Then they have resumed diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia."

American imperialism at one time clearly overestimated the strength of its economic pressure. Even the Nanking Government of the Kuomintang has recently been in fairly close contact with Japanese imperialism despite the fact that for years American imperialism behind its back has been trying to "unite" China under its own hand, in spite of the fact that it was never sparing of bombing planes and poison gas to help Chang-

Kai-shek against Soviet China. In helping the puppets of bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution to crush and plunder the many millions of the masses in China, American imperialism helped Japanese imperialism . . . to become the chief counsellor of Nanking.

It has long ago tried to outdo the strength of the Japanese naval strategic positions which lock up the approaches to the shores of China, by forming its own base points on these shores, especially for aviation. But this policy of American imperialism in China was sufficiently uncouth and contradictory to make it easier for the Japanese invaders of China to strengthen their position.

The same duality permeates the policy of the American bourgeoisie in respect to the U.S.S.R. On the one hand, American capital cannot help recognising the growing strength of the Socialist state as an international factor for peace. On the other hand, American capital is stealthily encouraging the provoking of attacks by Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. Such a fight would weaken Japan, would tie up the U.S.S.R. and permit American capital to obtain war super-profits and speculate in the rôle of super-arbitrator. Such are the ideas of many of the American bourgeoisie. And they encourage Suetsugu to shake his fist under the nose of U.S.A.: "Put the cards on the table! Do you want China to unite around the existing Chinese Soviet Republic? Do you want the U.S.S.R. to become excessively strong? Then why do you seek in the air to counter-balance our naval superiority? Remember for the time being our navy is stronger than yours."

However, no matter how cowardly and double-faced the position of the American capitalists, Japanese imperialism feels that its balancing between the preparations for an immediate war against the U.S.S.R. and the preparations for an armed conflict with the U.S.A. for domination in China and on the Pacific forms the Achilles heel of its international position. Japanese imperialism acting like a juggler. It uses "pan-Asiatism" and the "salvation of Western civilisation from the Eastern barbarism of Bolshevism," it appeals for a united imperialist front against the U.S.S.R. and the revolution in China; its dumping has the character of the collection of tribute from other capitalist countries for Japanese armaments, it applies diplomatic extortion with threats of military violence, it sinks to obsequious begging in search of financial aid from the pillars of the City, Wall Street and the banks of Paris; all this is put into operation. Everything is used. It is as if a whole collection of plates and dishes are

\* Trans-Pacific, 25.1.34.

spinning in the air, are caught by the juggler and again spun in the air.

The counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. occupies the centre of all the plans.

The Japanese warmongers unblushingly depict the seizure and enslavement of Manchuria as the first chapter of this war. "In the event of the Soviet-Japanese war, the Soviet could until the Manchurian incident, face the Imperial Army with the entire region from Maritime Provinces to Harbin as their first defence line, taking advantage of the C.E.R. that extends as far as Changehan. This military vantage ground of the Soviets, however, was practically destroyed in favour of Japan as the new state of Manchukuo came into existence. This means that once hostilities break out between Japan and Soviet Russia under the existing circumstances, the latter is in danger of having its *frontiers immediately crossed by the Japanese troops.*"

Getting a foretaste of this possibility of invading Soviet territory, the English mouthpiece in Tokyo states with self-satisfaction: "Considering the fact that commercial interest is prompt to demand a recognition of facts, there is no likelihood of recognition (Manchukwo) being unduly delayed."\*

Nevertheless Japanese imperialism is far from sure of its own forces. It talks backward and forward with Hitler, curries favour with the diehards, blackmails the American bourgeoisie, etc.

The extreme instability and contradictoriness of its international situation reduces the value of its anti-Soviet trump card. The insufficiency of its armaments, the shortcomings in its preparations for war, it tries to compensate with the help of its elder brothers "from the imperialist camp" and the extraordinary intensification of its attack on the foreign markets. But here it is awaited by contradictions which arise from the close approach of a new epoch of revolutions and wars.

## 2.—DUMPING AND PARASITIC SUPER-PROFITS UNDER SAIL.

It is known that Japanese imperialism is a special kind of imperialism. Only in the middle of the last century the guns of the American Admiral "opened" the doors of Japan for relations with the capitalist world. At that time the country was so littered with the fragments of the rotting feudal past that scores of peasant revolts and plebian movements in the towns were unable to unseat the representatives of the old reactionary aristocracy from power. However, the turn towards capitalism on the shoulders of the

crushed and enslaved masses was made. The government machine, seized by the speculators and business entrepreneurs from the ranks of the Samurai, was put at the service of their easy and rapid enrichment under the pretext of encouraging capitalist progress. The country which only yesterday had been threatened by colonial seizure and national partition proved to be, under the cloak of the monarchy of the Mikado, a united dictatorship of parvenu Samurai, speculators and their bourgeois allies. Japanese capitalism rose to the rank of a first-rate imperialist power on the shoulders of war and colonial annexation. Its path was unusual. It followed the steps of the last representatives of feudalism, copying them, adapting itself to them. It seized Korea and Formosa, invaded China, utilising all its military superiority. Inside the country it preserved and cemented reactionary semi-feudal landlordism, dooming the masses of the peasants to a dependent and slavish position. It converted the landlord exploitation into a prop for itself. The exploitation of the daughters of the peasants, sold for a certain term to the manufacturers, produced the Japanese textile industry and its fabulous and predacious profits. Japanese capitalism compensated shortage of mineral resources by annexations on the mainland of Asia and by sweating and bleeding the Japanese workers and peasants even more. Lenin wrote about this Japan and the old Tsarist Russia: "In Japan and Russia there is a *monopoly of military force, unbounded territory or special conveniences for plundering colonials, while China, etc., supplement and partly substitute the monopoly of modern finance capital.*"

This definition contains the key to the understanding of the essence, the internal content and the basis of Japanese imperialism, which came into being in an unusual manner, with a tremendous proportion of the feudal past intermixed with it.

The bourgeois economists were brought to an impasse by the staggering successes of Japanese dumping. They began to discourse widely on the "riddle of Japanese economics," etc. In reality, the source of the temporary and ostentatious "prosperity" of Japanese imperialism in the economic sphere is to be sought . . . in its decay and parasitism and in the contradictions of world capitalism. The rotten cheap goods of Japan have already flooded the world once—at the time of the first world imperialist war. Araki himself called this dumped rubbish "soulless commodities" because it gave Japanese industry a reputation as the supplier of all kinds of muck.

At the period of the world imperialist war a

\* "Japan Weekly Chronicle," March 15th, 1934.

convulsive and extreme widening of the productive apparatus of Japanese capitalism took place. It went far beyond the national limits, and when capitalist Europe returned to a peace footing, the productive apparatus of Japanese capitalism became a burden on itself. The home market together with the Japanese colonies with their scanty means could not support and nourish it. The foreign markets however were again chiefly in the hands of the first-rate imperialist powers. Along with this, the war had excited the appetites of the financial sharks of Japan, who had grown fat on war contracts. They were accustomed to get scores and hundreds per cent. in super-profits and dividends. The return to a peace situation disclosed the weak side of an imperialism that had been too late in coming into existence. At the same time, this return to a peace footing opened up a zone of convulsive struggle of the magnates of the Japanese financial oligarchy to save their inflated war super-profits and dividends. *Taxation robbery and government-organised embezzlement of the public funds* (under the form of subsidies, relief and all other forms of putting their hands into public pocket) in Japan for scores of years speeded up and strengthened the accumulation of capital. At the period of post-war development, the period of the general crisis of capitalism, this taxation, plunder and robbery of the public funds on Japanese soil penetrated more than ever before into all the pores of government and economic life. The old feudal habits of the Samurai — not to hesitate to squeeze tribute out of the downtrodden masses of the people—made themselves felt here to their full extent and helped the financial firms, the steamship companies, the metallurgical firms, the chemical and aviation undertakings to compensate for the losses suffered due to the contraction of the market by the extraordinary plunder of public funds.

At present the military-fascist leaders are hurling their thunders with regard to the venality and corruption of the political parties and parliamentarism in Japan. They carefully conceal that they themselves together with the pseudo-parliamentary cliques and their patrons are nourished by this pilfering of the public funds in which post-war capitalism in Japan, especially, has found its particular "national" safety valve.

At the same time the prolonged semi-stagnant condition of industry prepared the attack on the standards of living of the working class and the peasants. Not only as down-trodden tax-payers, but also as the hired slaves of capital and serf-like tenants on the landlords' land, the workers and peasants of Japan had to carry on their

shoulders the burden of the inflation productive apparatus which was working under capacity, or rather the *burden of the inflated profits and dividends of the factories working under capacity*. Whereas the annual production of a weaver in 1926 was 22,300 yards, in 1932 it had reached 51,300 yards. "It is not rare to see Japanese girls working on 20 looms."\*

In Japan capitalist hired slavery is supported by the rule of the semi-feudal usurer forms and methods of exploitation in the villages. These pre-capitalist relics are thickly planted around the capitalist factory where an unlimited economic absolute monarchy reigns under the name of "paternalism," where the working women are kept prisoners in factory barracks, and the wages are 15-20 yen a month.

Japanese dumping is bred by Japanese slavery and Japanese poverty. It is the dumping of cheap labour from a country which, being an imperialist great power, keeps the toilers of town and village in the situation of colonial pariahs. Japanese imperialism produced the prosperity of its financial oligarchy and the military and palace bureaucracy on this basis. For this basis, for this "historic" foundation, for its annexations—Korea, Formosa and Manchuria — it is struggling "against dangerous thoughts," against the influence of Bolshevism. This was frankly said by the successor of Araki, Hayashi, even before he took up the post of war minister.

The financial oligarchy in Japan, just as in any other imperialist country, represents the parasitic power of monopolist capital which has stretched out its threads to all the vital centres of national economy. It is sufficient to remember that 12 big banks each with a capital of over 100 million yen in 1926 had deposits to the sum of 3,630,225,000 yen or 41.3 per cent. of the total sum of all the deposits of private banks. Exactly two years later the total deposits of these 12 big banks reached 4,769,540,000 yen or 51.75 per cent. of the total of all bank deposits. The five super-big banks out of these 12, namely, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Daiti, in 1927 owned 2,716 millions or 41.6 per cent. of the total bank deposits of 6,522 millions. Even in the period of the world economic crisis, in 1933, in the biggest industrial centre of the country, Osaka, three big banks fused—No. 34, Yamagauchi and Konoiike. The United Sanwa Bank exceeds in size the giants of finance capital Mitsui, Mitsubishi, etc. Its total deposits amount to 993 million yen.

Recently figures were published in the Japanese press on the incomes of the pillars of the

\* "Manchester Guardian," November 10th, 1933.

Japanese plutocracy. "As was the case formerly, Baron Hisaya Wazaki, a shareholder in Mitsubishi, Goshi Kaisha Takakimi Mitsui, and the chairman of Mitsui Gomei Kaisha stand at the head of the list of over 300 persons of various classes. These persons who have such a big influence on the business of the biggest firms of Japan, maintain their high position year after year in the financial world of the Empire. Their *annual income is estimated at six million yen each*. Next come Baron Koyata Twasaki, the chairman of Mitsui Goshi and Mr. Kikoyata Twasaki, participator in the same firm, with an income of about 5 million each. The third place is taken by Genemon Mitsui, the chairman of the Mitsui and Motonosuke Mitsui bank, and the Vice-President of Mitsui Gomei; each of them receives 3,300,000 yen annually. The rest of the big 10 plutocrats are Baron Takakiyo Mitsui, director of the bank Mitsui Tashitaro Mitsui, working in Mitsui Gomei, with an income of 3 millions a year, and Baron Kishihoro Okura, head of the firm "Okura and Co.," with an annual income of 2½ million yen. The next 30 on the list have an income of 1-2 millions a year.\*

The Minister of Finances Takahasi, speaking in the so-called parliament said: "In the last session of the Diet I expressed a desire for a tax increase from 1935 with a view to balancing the budget, but I did not express it definitely as a settled intention and I can say nothing definite now. They say that the munition industries that are profiting should be specially taxed, but my view is that the years 1935 and 1936 are really critical and the present is a preparatory period. Preparations require money, but at the same time we have to see that the purses of the people (!!) should not be empty when the crisis really comes, and requires a tax increase to meet it."†

"Critical times" in Japan have become an umbrella for all weathers. The coming of this "crisis" in the form of a big war and, very probably before 1935, is very enthusiastically entered by the financial sharks in the quotations of their bonds. "Critical times" serve as a shield for the police terror and the military-fascist attack. "Critical times" in the hands of the Japanese social-fascists of the monarchist-police persuasion play the rôle of a bludgeon against class struggle, against resistance to fiercely attacking capital.

And simultaneously "critical times" are a concealment and protection against taxation for the monstrous military and crisis super-profits of the magnates of finance capital.

The Minister of the Mikado falls on his face before the bankers' millions. He is so humbly servile because in Japan the strength of the traditional armour of feudalism — the power of the monarchy of the Mikado, the strength of the influence of the court Camarilla, bureaucrats and the reactionary military clique, the strength of landlordism, are all supported by the economic power of the financial oligarchy which feels itself to be unprotected without these accoutrements.

Through all modern Japanese history, the close connection of the sword of the Samurai and the moneybag stand out plainly. It would have been impossible to raise the super-profits of Japanese finance capital to such a disproportionately great height, when it made its debut on the world stage as a late upstart, without a firm support in a well-developed heavy industry, if it had not been for the interference of the sword. The sword of the Samurai defended landlordism against the onslaught of peasant movements and supplied industry with cheap and downtrodden labourers from the villages. This same sword of the Samurai carried capitalist Japan on to the path of war, helped to subjugate Korea and Formosa and seized Chinese territory. Finally, the sword of the Samurai made the monarchy into the backbone of the organisation and unity of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, under the aegis of the bureaucracy of the court and the army.

In Japan the power of the monarchy and the military fist do not form a simple appendage to bourgeois rule, as for example, in England. Here the elementary cleansing work of the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not been done and not completed. And therefore the *monarchy and the military mailed fist* have, in certain respects a self-sufficient significance, since they preserve the "historic advantages" of Japanese capitalism in the competitive struggle, as they serve as a *bridge between the feudal past, the relics of which in Japan show such vitality and economic and political strength, and the power of the most modern finance capital*.

The strivings towards extension, expansion, domination over all Asia, unite in Japan the entire camp of the exploiting classes because the bourgeoisie and landlords together with the military and "civil" bureaucracy are seeking the way out of those contradictions which press on bourgeois-landlord Japan, rapidly shaking its traditional pillars on the foreign arena. This modern bourgeois-landlord Japan is a hybrid born from the crossing of semi-feudal barbarism with capitalism, which, not having had time to mature, rapidly became over-ripe. This bourgeois-landlord Japan is torn, disorganised and

\* "Japan Advertiser," February 17, 1934.

† Trans-Pacific, February 15, 1934.

exhausted by the contradictions between the inflated productive apparatus which nourishes the claims of finance capital for world domination, and the poverty-stricken condition of the home market, fettered owing to the pauper level of life of the vast majority of the toilers. One-quarter of the exports of this Japan consists of raw silk exacted from the peasants. The textiles produced by the hands of the enslaved textile workers form the greater part—1,171.8 millions out of 1,861 millions. Japanese imperialism more than other imperialism, is sailing into the future on the floats of an *inflationary war boom*.

But this has its limits, and the limit is in the restriction of the possibility of speculating with devaluated currency, the impossibility of an unlimited increase in the rate of exploitation of the Japanese worker who is already squeezed to the wall by poverty, the contraction of the sphere for dumping owing to the protective measures of other capitalist countries, the danger of financial bankruptcy, etc.

Beggars can only use beggars' products. This has become the rule of the modern fierce struggle of the capitalists for markets at the present day. Japanese capital has here passed the others because it proved to be better adapted than the others to the level of a market catering for paupers. But it sees that its good fortune will not last long. Highly concentrated monopolist capital, accustomed to rely on the "divine right" of the absolute monarchy and the semi-feudal military mailed fist, is thirsting to defend its monstrous super-profits at all costs. Dumping, the plundering of Manchuria and Northern China, the huge gains derived from the preparation of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, are all merely temporary palliatives. The way out should be sought by bringing new millions and tens of millions of colonial slaves into subjection under the heel of the Mikado, Araki, Mitsui and Mitsubishi, slaves who will have to be subjugated by the Japanese bayonet and who will have to supply cheap colonial raw material, the cheap labour of colonial coolies and a new widening of the market of colonial paupers at the expense of the subjugated peoples. Japan is to become a *new slave-owning Rome for colonial Asia*. Its fate proved to be the mission of becoming a slave-owning city-state of the colonial world, the "industrial workshop of Asia," the single state dominating Asia.

But can this be achieved when, side by side with enslaved Korea, stands the Soviet Far East, where Socialism is being victoriously built, where Bolshevik collective farms are strengthening, and in particular the Korean collective

farms, where the new Soviet culture is awakening to life scores of formerly enslaved peoples.

Japanese imperialism is taking the line of war against the Soviet Union, because through war it seeks salvation from revolution in Japan. Araki, Hayashi, the bank magnates, the fertiliser kings, and the barons of cheap dumping, are acting in 1934 after the style of the tsarist minister Pleve, who 30 years ago provoked war against Japan, guided by the calculation that "Russia needs a bloodletting," because otherwise revolution was inevitable.

### 3.—THE MILITARY-FASCIST OFFENSIVE ON THE BASIS OF THE WAR INFLATION BOOM.

"Supplied with large prospective appropriations under the 1934-35 budget, the War and Navy Ministers are proceeding with joint plans to recruit 80,000 impoverished agriculturists into munition works, thus aiding their condition and obtaining reserves of trained labour for mobilisation in emergencies."\* This was the statement published recently in the press. The leaders of the military apparatus and the more or less open organisers of the military fascist movement are clearly trying to maintain their shaken authority, which is being subjected to heavy blows, especially under the influence of the new and sharp intensification of the agrarian crisis. The harvest this year was much better than the previous year and showed a surplus of about 15,000,000 koku (a koku is over 4 bushels). The surplus of rice available for the market is not in the hands of the peasant masses, who are starving in the presence of this abundance, but in the hands of the speculating landlords, the bourgeois co-operatives and the grain dealers. The buying up of rice by the government assists to bring down prices, because the government does not pay in cash, but in rice bonds. The over-production of rice, not only in Japan itself, but in the colonies under its rule, weighs down on the market. These colonies are in such a slavish and downtrodden condition that the rice produced by them at the orders of the Japanese overlords cannot be consumed by them and is exported. Rice is an inaccessible luxury for them. The present consumption of rice in Korea according to the admission of the Japanese papers, has fallen by 60 per cent. since 1912, whereas the consumption of cheap Chinese millet during this period has increased by more than 50 per cent.

The deepening of the agrarian crisis showed

\* Trans-Pacific. 8.11.34.

that the source of all this (which cannot be eliminated under the rule of the capitalists and landlords) is, on the one hand, the ruin of the peasant masses of Japan by landlordism and finance capital, and on the other, the fact that Korea and Formosa are forced to act as agrarian appendage for the supply of raw material to the dominating country.

The military fascist gang, hiding behind the parasitic boom of the war industry and shouting about "critical times for the nation" was able to conceal for some time the increase of the taxation robbery of the masses of the people for the purpose of carrying on the bandit war in China and preparing for the attacks on the U.S.S.R. But murder will out. The war expenditure has become so swollen that it has restricted the possibility of using the budget to help along even the exploiting strata of the villages, as represented by the medium landlords and kulaks, now in debt and on the way to ruin. To this should be added the "misfortune" of a good harvest. The parties of Seukai and Minseito, the corrupt political coterie of the stunted and powerless pseudo-parliamentarism of Japan, were able to raise their voices against the extreme appetites of the military clique and take a small revenge on them, throwing the accusation at them, of ruining the villages which the military clique had used hitherto as a trump card against these parties.

The deepening of the agrarian crisis and the darkening outlook for Japanese foreign trade, together with the extremely rapid intensification of the critical financial situation, compelled the fascist war-mongers to somewhat tone down their voices. Japanese political life is such a confused and contradictory tangle, however, that we have no reason to believe these superficial political indications. Without any doubt, the military fascist movement in Japan, which comes forward under the flag of the military dictatorship for the sake of a rapid *military* dénouement both in the struggle against China and in the struggle directed against the Soviet Union, encounters obstacles in the course of its attack which it has to *get round*. The resignation of Araki, which changed nothing in essence, marked this turning point.

"The national fervour, suddenly inflamed at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese clash in Manchuria, and fanned by the subsequent events such as the Shanghai incident or the discussions at the League of Nations has gradually subsided after the settlement of the Shanghai affair, the restoration of order in Manchuria and the establishment of Manchukuo, the Japanese withdrawal

from the League and an apparent recovery of prosperity in trade and in industry."\*

This is how Minakami explains the course of events in Shakai Seisaku Tiho. Every word of it is full of hypocrisy and deceit, deliberately calculated on putting vigilance to sleep. The Japanese fascist war-mongers are given a certificate of patriotic pacifism. The excited national feeling being pacified, it was only necessary for a bounteous rain of super-profits to pour on to the heated soil, and everything became "normal" once again.

Such explanations, which concealed the traces of the military-fascist offensive and the feverish war preparations, are scattered over the pages of the international bourgeois and social-fascist press.

What are the roots of the military-fascist movement in Japan, and what is their nature? This is the fundamental question, the reply to which predetermines the estimate of the present situation.

It is self-evident that in a country which still remains an absolute monarchy and a country of all-pervading military, police and bureaucratic arbitrariness, fascism is distinguished by many peculiarities. It would be ridiculous here to seek the centre of gravity of the fascist movement in the strivings of finance capital to get rid of the cumbersome frame-work of parliamentarism, which hinders it. "The absolute monarchy which was formed in Japan after 1868,† with all the changes in its policy," states the thesis of the West-European Bureau of the E.C.C.I., "kept entire power in its hands, enlarging its bureaucratic apparatus of violence and oppression of the toiling masses all the time. Based chiefly on the feudal-parasitic class of landlords, on the one hand, and the predatory bourgeoisie who were rapidly becoming wealthy, on the other, being in a constant and close bloc with the *upper ranks* of these classes and representing the interests of both with a fair amount of flexibility, the Japanese monarchy at the same time maintains its *independent relatively big rôle* and its *absolute character* only concealed by pseudo-constitutional forms . . . The financial oligarchy has become closely fused with the entire system of the bureaucratic monarchy which carries out its policy. The Japanese bourgeoisie grew up and became wealthy by the *predatory exploitation of the Japanese workers, the unlimited robbery of the peasants, war profits, the embezzlement of government funds and the plunder*

\* "Japan Times," March 2, 1934.

† After the shallow revolution from above which established a centralised monarchy by the liquidation of the former feudal principalities.

of colonial peoples, Japanese imperialism grew up in the conditions of military-police reaction and on the basis of the feudal relics in the country. Having reached a high development, Japanese capitalism was and remains reactionary and monarchist.\*

The majority of the people of this country have paid for the development of its capitalism, for the entrance of Japan into the ranks of imperialist powers, by long years of slavery, combining capitalist exploitation and oppression with semi-feudal serfdom. At the top, at the helm of the government, under the shelter of the Mikado, the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy, together with the landlords, came so closely together and became so intimate because by *combining* their oppression they succeeded in converting the toiling masses into colonial pariahs, in *crushing* the masses down with their economic, military and bureaucratic power. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in this country is so late, that, while moving towards it, the country was gripped in the vice of the general crisis of capitalism. The rice riots of 1918 were the first serious warning. The breakdown of anti-Soviet intervention in Siberia and the Far East seriously shook the position of the ruling classes and gave an impulse to a new revolutionary growth of the workers' movement and later to the formation of the Communist Party. It is characteristic that, at the root of many fascist groupings, there is to be found this starting point of the "struggle against Bolshevism." It was precisely the October Revolution which most decisively shook the pillars of imperialist domination over the colonies, over the backward and despondent peoples, and struck a blow at that "monopoly of military force, the special convenience of plundering China, etc.," which in Japan serves as the *corner-stone* of the entire reactionary monarchist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the higher strata of the landlords. In the face of the growing "Bolshevik menace," the ruling classes were compelled to adopt new methods of struggle for the masses, first of all for the masses of the petty-bourgeois population which had begun to grow active under the influence of the example of the proletariat. The parliamentary parties in Japan were incapable of bringing any considerable masses into their ranks, both in view of their origin, their composition and the character of their activity. The two-party system in Japan was by no means the reflection of the parliamentary struggle for power of the two camps of the ruling classes. It was and is an auxiliary weapon of the absolute monarchy and

reactionary monarchist capitalism. This auxiliary weapon was needed by the monarchy and the exploiting classes not so much for the purpose of sowing "constitutional illusions" as for regulating the inter-relations between the various groups in the upper ranks of the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and the landlords, and for guaranteeing the proper share in the "respectable" incomes from tax robbery, subsidies, embezzlement and graft.

It was not difficult for Japanese fascism to utilise this servile and provokingly anti-popular character of the Seyukai and Minseito parties to put itself in the rôle of the "saviour of the monarchy and the fatherland" from the stingy corruption of Japanese pseudo-parliamentarism.

From 1929 to 1931 the economic crisis developed in Japan more or less analogous with other capitalist countries, though with a series of substantial variations determined by the peculiarities of its economics. These peculiar variations were that (1) in Japan the industrial crisis was intensified to an extreme degree by the crisis of agriculture, which was declining as the result of the unbearable domination of semi-feudal landlordism and its inability to adapt itself to the changed conditions of competition on the world market; (2) the downward movement of the social structure in Japan had a specially sharp and destructive character owing to the fact that the economic crisis seized Japanese industry and trade even when there existed an *extraordinarily varied and confused interweaving of modern capitalist forms with backward and hybrid forms of hand-manufacture, home industry, small handicrafts and small trading*. The crisis caused an increase in the indebtedness of the peasant masses and the separation of the peasants from the land, and caused a general worsening in the position of the toiling peasants to the point of mass starvation. On the other hand, the crisis rendered landlords' property valueless and increased their indebtedness. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of small business men who found nourishment in the pores of the industrial system, were ruined. Monopolist capital took advantage of the devastation of the crisis to get rid of numerous semi-medieval appendages and to grow at their expense.

Meanwhile, even as early as in autumn, 1931, bourgeois-landlord Japan drew its imperialist sword. The annexationist war with the prospects of its further growth into a big counter-revolutionary war against the country of the victorious Five-Year Plan came to save the exploiting classes, and at the same time the mass discontent of the workers, peasants and urban poor increased enormously and began to rise to the

\* Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz, 20/5, 1932.

surface. At the same time a rift opened up in the *bourgeois-landlord bloc*, a difference became evident between the *power of the possessing upper strata* of the exploiting classes and the "masses" of small and middle capitalists and landlords. The time for the military-fascist movement had now come. And the black hundreds of the old type, the banner bearers of military-feudal imperialism, worried about the future of the monarchy, the army and navy, and also the fascists of the latest Japanese pattern, the advocates of the pan-Asiatic mission of Japanese imperialism, opened up the front of their offensive. The "rightful" representatives of the financial oligarchy went beyond all bounds. They lost the sense of proportion. They forgot that speculation on the bankruptcy of landlordism undermines the very basis of bourgeois-landlord class domination. They forgot that for an aggressive war of conquest it was necessary to have the "unity of the nation" and that the "unity of the nation" requires the ability to draw to their side the exploiting upper strata of the villages and the upper ranks of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, who became inflamed very easily in the conditions of crisis. It was precisely this which sounded in the shots of the military-fascist conspirators who directed their bullets against the Premier Inyukai and the bank magnate Daa.

The transition from the sharp zone of economic and agrarian crisis to an annexationist war, and its satellite, the war inflation boom, supplied the Japanese military-fascist movement with a concrete national political content. Japanese fascism regards a war of plunder in China and a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. as a *preventative against revolution in Japan*. The junior military officers were the pace-makers of the fascist offensive because they most directly reflected the discontent of that "mass" strata of landlords and capitalists whose position had been shaken. Simultaneously these officers were the mouthpiece of their senior commanders who considered it necessary to remind the bureaucratic and banking leaders that a serious big war requires a serious fighting reconstruction, and in this matter the military mailed fist must "partly supplement and partly replace the monopoly of finance-capital" not for the purpose of belittling its ruling hand, but for the very purpose of increasing it, by compensating for the shortcomings of the financial oligarchy which had grown up in an atmosphere of parasitism under the constant guardianship of the reactionary monarchy.

In Japan, as in every other bourgeois country, "fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship

of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Fascism tries to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the *petty bourgeoisie*, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and civil servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities, and also to penetrate into the working class."\*

The peculiarity of Japan is the fact that the "aggressiveness of monopolist capital in Japan is multiplied by the military adventurism of absolutist, military feudal imperialism."†

The protective interests of the reactionary monarchial system supply additional inflammatory material for organising military adventures and attacks. The most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital in Japan are the bulwark of the reactionary monarchist system, of the army and navy of the Mikado. Japanese fascism is not merely protecting the dictatorship of capital. It is defending the reactionary monarchy of the Mikado and landlordism. For this very reason, despite all the differences between the old reactionary and the new fascist groups they cannot be contrasted to each other. They are communicating vessels!

The economic crisis and the war shook up the masses of the people and awakened their interest in politics. Fascism in its most varied shades, is trying to lay hold of this political activation and stop it sweeping away the dam of the police-monarchist régime. This régime itself needs the help of fascism so that, aided by *substitutes for the mass movement* it can mitigate the excess pressure of international and internal class contradictions. The Tzarist monarchy of the Romanovs tried more than once to divert the discontent of the masses into the channels of anti-Jewish pogroms, and of other oppressed nationalities. Modern imperialism tries to do this on an incomparably bigger scale, trying to turn the discontent of the masses with decaying and dying capitalism to the inflaming of a world imperialist slaughter and the struggle against the U.S.S.R. and the working class. However, the "democratic" manoeuvring powers of Japanese imperialism are ridiculously limited. *Fascism widens the manoeuvring powers of the absolute reactionary monarchy*. The right black-hundred flank of the military-fascist movement in Japan is represented by the Society of the Black Dragon or Kokichni Kai. To it are affiliated the reservist organisations, which are officially supported by the War Ministry. The

\* Thirteenth Plenum, E.C.C.I.

† Thesis of the West-European Bureau, E.C.C.I.



centre is represented by the organisations of bourgeois circles such as Kokukin Domei and other groupings, which are trying to centralise and fuse politically all the bourgeois-landlord camp into one body under the name of the "Great Mission of Japan in Asia" and the "triumph of the national idea in the struggle against Bolshevism." The rôle of transmission belt to the plebeian masses of town and village is played, on the one hand, by the mixed conspirative organisations of union officers and kulak-landlord elements, and on the other hand, by the fascist organisations which are speculating on anti-capitalist demagoguery, on "national Socialism," etc., like the party of Akamatsu, ex-leader of social democracy. Japanese social-fascism is in extremely close relations to Japanese fascism. The reformist leader and secretary of the Federation of Labor, Mitsuoka, declared in an interview:

"Since 1914 we have been insisting that national and class interests do not clash. The General Federation of Labor at times has been severely criticised for being nationalistic, but now its methods are being followed by others. We have become prudent and learned the advisability of settling labour disputes by negotiations as much as possible, instead of precipitating strikes without adequate preparation (!) just for the love of it. *This policy was practically impossible while Communists were in our camp. It was for that reason the police authorities were hard on us, but they are now tolerant (!) towards all labour organisations which are extricated from the grip of Communism.*"\*

Mitsuoka personifies the servility and police grovelling of Japanese social-fascism and its function as auxiliary to the police-monarchy and fascism.

The swelling of the war inflation boom permitted Japanese fascism to assume the task of initiator in the "national" mobilisation for war. The plundering of China was announced as a "piece of socialism" by the Japanese social-fascists themselves. The task of subjugating all Asia and bringing it under the heel of the Mikado was represented as the carrying out of the liberation of Asia from the domination of white imperialism. Fascism raised a great fuss around the national mobilisation of all resources and the plan of saving the nation. Having cleared the path to the government coffers for new groups of the medium landlords and capitalists it lost a considerable part of its fighting

energy, however. On the other hand, the dates originally fixed for the attack on the U.S.S.R. were altered. The task of uniting and combining the entire exploiting camp into a single united "national" party could not be solved by a cavalry raid—a couple of shots by conspirators and the presentation of the candidature of Araki to the post of National super-dictator. This task still remains to be solved, by rounding off the sharp corners and carrying on complex flanking manoeuvres through Kokumin Domei, the new organisations of reserve officers Kodokai, Meirin-Kai, etc.

The fights of the military-fascist groups with the parliamentary parties have transcended the limits of family quarrels alarming both sides. The official declaration of Meirin-Kai states: "The political parties are hinting that the farming villages will be reduced to poverty because of the military. In fact we do not advocate war talk or use arguments liable to create public unrest. But the views of the Minseito, even were they the truth (!) are liable to direct the farming population against the military, thus bringing about the so-called alienating of the people, which has become tense in determination to meet the anticipated crisis, but it can be said that it is most injurious to the nation in other ways."\*

This is symptomatic. Both on the international arena and inside Japanese imperialism, a number of new manoeuvres and diversions have to be carried on in order to break through to the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The possible reverses and surprises of this war are so great that they cause considerable hesitations even among the Japanese bourgeoisie, who understand that they will have to fight, not against the Chinese emperor and not against the Russian Tzar, but against the international fatherland of all the toilers, with growing revolution in their rear and Soviet China rising on the flank.

Nevertheless, the existence of this risk and the new difficulties on the path of war against the U.S.S.R. do not diminish the danger of this war, but on the contrary intensify it, because Japanese imperialism has started a desperate gamble it already feels that it is getting out of its depth and is trying to save its critical and contradictory position by new adventures. It is steadily accumulating forces and funds in Manchuria, building hundreds of miles of new military railways, getting its hands on North China, preparing diversions against the Mongolian Peoples'

\* Trans-Pacific, February 1, 1934.

\* Trans-Pacific, February 8, 1932.

Republic and is avidly waiting for the moment to attack the Soviet borders.

Japanese imperialism is trying to save its parasitic decaying social system, swelling out its territorial borders and hurling its military forces against the "Red danger," which is menacing by its creative force and the contagious example of its socialist construction.

All the diplomatic, military, economic and political calculations tend to this.

Bankrupt imperialism is trying to discount its bills under the pretence of saving bourgeois civilisation. It sees its only chance in this. And here is the boundary separating it from revolutionary retribution.

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

By A. MARTYNOV.

(Regarding an Article from Kurt Stern.)

COMRADE R. wrote an article in the "Communist International" No. 7, entitled "How Not to Struggle Against Fascism," in which, by the way, he criticised Kurt Stern's article on "Fascist Ideology," published in issue No. 23 of the "Gegenangriffe." 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 extremely 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. Com-

rade 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 formulae 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 extremist sharpening of class antagonisms."*

Is the thesis, printed in heavy type and the significance of which is emphasised 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" (Lenin, Vol. XXIV., p. 10).

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 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 (although 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 consequently the dictatorship of the bourgeois—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 (*gleichsetzen*) 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 demagogy (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 question, as Comrade Stern ascribes it to him, that liberalism and "demagogy," 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 demagogy" (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, indentifying 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, the protective system in these days is conservative, while the free trade system works destructively. It

breaks up old nationalities and carries antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word, the free trade system hastens the Social Revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen, I am in favour of free trade. (Marx, "Free Trade," N.Y. Labour News Co.)

Did Comrade Stern interpret Spengler's reference to Marx's words correctly? Absolutely on the contrary. Spengler is not so naïve 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 its corresponding liberal Manchester ideology. In the quotation, Marx emphasises 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 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 it 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 revolutionising 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 organises this revolution. It is only in certain cases that they consider it necessary for demagogic reasons to gloss over this difference, though only in words, but 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 Centre 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 proved 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 Centre 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 for 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 labour 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 organisations, because the workers who are gathered in these organisations draw strength from the very fact of their being organisationally 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 organisations and the reformist trade unions, drive the workers into a common organisation with the employers, which is under the control and leadership of the fascists. They terrorise the workers, and at the same time try to poison them with their demagoguery 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 realised, if it could be realised, 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, seethe there with still more intensive hatred against the régime 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 demagoguery sows in the minds of certain strata of workers and by the old 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

struggles 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, fulfils its rôle as agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, its rôle of saviour of the bourgeoisie.

But does this mean that the establishment of open fascist dictatorship in a country does not alter the rôle of social-democracy in this country, and 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 organisationally. In such conditions, social-democracy no longer exists as a united party in these countries. We note a double process going on in 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 manoeuvres. On the other hand, not only important strata of social-democratic workers, but social-democratic functionaries, and even entire social-democratic organisations are honestly beginning to see 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 criticising 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.

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# THE MANOEUVRES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE IN GREAT BRITAIN

**W**HEN, after the 1926 general strike in England, there was a danger that masses of workers, disillusioned in their reformist leaders, would turn to Communism, George Lansbury undertook the task of organising a "Ginger Group" inside the Labour Party. The task of this group was to side-track the leftward moving workers, but thanks to the good work of the Communist Party, this group only existed for a comparatively short while. Its organ "Lansbury's Labour Weekly" became finally merged in the I.L.P.'s "New Leader," Lansbury went where he belonged, i.e., to the ranks of open reformism, to the leadership of the Labour Party, and leading members of the group became Labour M.P.'s in the 1929 election.

After the defeat of the Labour Party in the 1931 elections, the possibility arose once again that the workers who were disillusioned in the second Labour Government would move to Communism, and a new "Socialist League" was established, headed by Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the leading members of the Labour Party, and including surviving members of Lansbury's one-time "Ginger Group," renegades from the Communist Party, etc.

The second annual Conference of this organisation has just recently taken place (May 20th onwards) where it was reported that it had a membership of 3,000. What tasks did this Conference set itself? The answer to this question becomes clear from an examination of Sir Stafford Cripps' speech at the Conference as Chairman, and from the discussion on the various points on the agenda. From Sir Stafford Cripps' speech it is clear that the task of the Socialist League is to preserve the illusion among the working class that the Labour Party is a Socialist Party. ("The Labour Party," he stated, "was definitely committed to Socialism.") If this is so, why then the need for a Socialist League? But the S.L. leaders feel the pulse of the British workers, and understand that many workers are beginning to doubt this — so they effect a manoeuvre. "There is no important difference within the Labour Party as to the final objective," says Sir Cripps, "it was in considering the means to reach that objective that there were wide differences of opinion." So the worker is to believe that the Socialist League will fulfil the task of making the Labour Party adopt the 'right' means to reach its objective—allegedly Socialism. In what consists the

"wrong" means now being used by the Labour Party? Like the clever lawyer he is, Sir Stafford Cripps makes the implication in his speech that the Labour Party adheres to "the theory of gradualism" whereas the Socialist League's policy "would desire the transition to Socialism to be carried through as quickly as possible" (an old song—reminiscent of the I.L.P.'s "Socialism in our time"). Here, then is the manoeuvre—to persuade the worker that it is merely a question of the "tempo" at which the Labour Party wishes to establish "Socialism"—and not that the Labour Party's Socialism is a plan to find a way out of the crisis for British Capitalism at the expense of the workers and toilers.

But let us have a look at the Socialist League's "tempo." What does the beknighted Sir Stafford propose? Very simple—a third Labour Government! But the anti-gradualist Sir Stafford takes good care to insure himself in advance. "If," says he, "a victory could be snatched at the polls from a deluded electorate, it would be bound to end in failure or dictatorship." (Take note, therefore, that according to the worthy Cripps, there is no capitalist dictatorship in Great Britain now.) So he prepares now for the possibility that a third Labour Government may not come up to the expectations of the workers, by making the reservation that it must be a Labour Government elected by the votes of workers who are not "deluded," i.e., what the I.L.P. leaders might call "consciously Socialist" workers. Thus the worthy Cripps places the whole blame on the workers for the oncoming treachery to Socialism of a third Labour Government. Even if, we gather, a Labour Government is filled with the most ardent Socialist intentions, it will not be able to do anything, if the workers are not all "class conscious," "conscious Socialists" in advance. Only then does Sir Stafford Cripps consider a real Socialist Labour Government possible.

But let us see what Sir Cripps wants. To use his own words, he wants nothing less than "economic freedom and economic democracy," and does not consider it necessary to refer to "political freedom" or "political democracy" for the workers. We must presume that diehard imperialist England with its National Government are a sufficiently firm support for democracy as far as he is concerned, and that he stands for the workers remaining politically where they are, i.e., for the preservation of the

British robber State and its institutions. Nor are we mistaken in our opinion for, as he goes on to say, "Anybody who contemplates the possibility of a Labour Government would naturally desire to see that Government armed (terrible word!) with every *constitutional* (our italics.—D) weapon for overcoming opposition . . ." But what is the British *Constitution* if not the legally sanctified political form of the domination of the dictatorship of the capitalists? Perhaps, however, Sir Stafford was here only referring to a "gradualist" Labour Government and not to a "Socialist League" all-in-a-hurry Labour Government. Lest we should do him an injustice we quote him once again word for word: "We, i.e., the Socialist League, must obtain a mandate for the use of every power that exists under the *constitution* (our italics.—D.) with which to arm a working class government in the final round for economic power." So Sir Cripps proposes to leave the bourgeois State and institutions untouched.

Truly the Labour "Daily Herald" correspondent can write with enthusiasm about this speech that it was "an assertion of unity of purpose with the Labour Party!" And to make this point still more clear, let us examine what is meant by this high-sounding "economic power." It is true that earlier on, the orator declared that "it is Socialism and not State capitalism . . . that we have in view." But will anybody dare to accuse Sir Cripps of employing the lawyer's art when he boldly declares later on that what he wants is "the immediate (relatively! —D.) transfer (which way, by confiscation without compensation or by purchase?—D.) to the community (i.e., exploiters plus workers—D.) of the main points of economic power, say the credit and monetary system, and the land? It is true that the Socialist League's National Council issued a pamphlet to the Conference, entitled "Forward to Socialism" which was proposed as a "clear-cut alternative to gradualism as involving a first Five-Year Plan (no less! —D.) for a Socialist Government" among the first aims of which would be to deal with the "Socialisation of Finance, the land, overseas trade, and putting the House of Lords in its proper place!" But, there again, fundamental issues are cunningly dodged. What, for instance, does "Socialisation" imply—does it mean confiscation without compensation or does it merely mean State purchase. Then, who is going to do the "socialising"? Is it going to be the existing capitalist State machine with just a change in the Ministers holding the portfolios, or is it to be the armed workers, who by armed power, are able to force their will on their oppressors?

And finally, it would be interesting to learn what Sir Stafford Cripps has to say about the factories, the mines, the railways, the banks, the cattle and implements on the big landed estates, etc. What kind of economic freedom will the workers have without these as their basis? The economic freedom that the workers of England are searching for is the economic freedom that the workers have in the Soviet Union, the land where the first and second Five-Year Plans of Socialist construction are realities based on the expropriation of the means of production, the banks, etc., by the armed force of the workers and toilers. Not the re-hash of the Labour Party's own programme with the introduction of the red herring of "putting the House of Lords in its place" (not abolishing it, mark you!—D.) and the demagogic announcement of a series of "ambulance proposals" including slum clearance, etc., £2 a week for an unemployed man, wife and two children, etc.

One delegate did indeed blurt out the truth of this mockery when he asked, "What did this (programme) supply that was not already in the Labour Party policy report?"—and it is worthy of note that the voting for the acceptance of this sham "Socialist" programme was 51 for and 13 against.

The "economic power" sought for by the Socialist League is clearly revealed, therefore, as but a second edition of the Labour Party's own "Nationalisation" and "public control" proposals, which provide "economic power" to the capitalists under fancy titles.

That the pressure of the masses is indeed powerful in Great Britain is shown by the further points on the agenda, particularly by the point dealing with the United Front. A resolution was passed without much discussion "regretting the attitude of the Labour Party Executive to every approach from other sections of the movement, and urging the National Joint Council to take the lead in uniting the workers of Britain behind a militant programme (and calling for) joint action for immediate purposes which could be entered without any group being required to abandon its distinctive outlook." After the resolution was already passed, a howl was set up by Susan Lawrence, a leader of the Labour Party, that "the Socialist League will split if the United Front and connection with the Communists becomes part of its tenets." But this was all a storm in a teacup, which did not fail, however, to show the real line of these Socialist League leaders towards the United Front, for as one of them declared, "they must see that the Labour Party E.C. itself took up the fight instead of letting the Communists

lead" (an unwilling compliment to the hated Communists!—D.). Sir Stafford Cripps might have been defending a capitalist crook caught in the act, before the King's Bench, when he cleared matters up by indicating why the National Council had agreed to the resolution. As he blandly exclaimed, "the resolution did not say they were going to have a united front with anybody at all." And so the resolution about "united action" by no means implies "the united front with anybody at all." By no means! Certainly not with the Communists!

But as for a united front with the Labour henchmen of the capitalist class — well, these things are better not stated in black and white, as any lawyer knows!

After all these—need the Conference spend much attention on other things?—well, resolutions are easily passed, so "alarm was expressed" (dear! dear!) at the "tendencies inside the Labour Party presenting schemes of rationalisation" in the cotton and transport industries "as Socialism"—not opposition to this rationalisation, of course, but really, why call them "Socialism"? And other resolutions were also passed—even going so far as "declaring against war and fascist tendencies" in Great Britain—so now we may rest secure in our beds. Is it not clear from this that the high-sounding talk of "Five-Year Plans," "end to gradualism," etc., indulged in by the Socialist League is meant to distract the workers from the day-to-day struggle against war, fascism and the capitalist offensive in general? To leave no doubt on this score the conference was rounded off by a slanderous insult against the heroic workers of Austria and Germany, by the adoption of a resolution "declaring against the unjust treatment of working class leaders (my italics.—D.) in Austria and Germany"—and by "leaders," of course, is meant the treacherous Social-Democratic leadership which betrayed the workers to fascist terror.

What tasks does this Conference impose on the Communists in England?

Firstly, to appreciate that the intensification of the activity of the Socialist League is indirect evidence of the existence of leftward moving masses as yet under the influence of the Labour Party.

Secondly, that the task therefore is to make the closest possible approach, on the basis of the united front in the day-to-day struggle, to the rank and file masses of the Labour Party, reformist trade unions, etc.

Thirdly, that all efforts be made to approach any workers under the influence of the Socialist

League, whether they are inside or outside of it, to work with them in the day-to-day struggle, and to make clear the rôle of the Socialist League.

Fourthly, to expose the manoeuvres of the Socialist League, to show its rôle as buffer between the leftward moving Labour Party masses and the Communist Party, shielding the Labour leadership and preventing the workers liberating themselves from the treacherous influence of Social Democracy and from coming to Communism.

Fifthly, to make a detailed and regular study of the arguments, etc., of the Socialist League so as to expose it all the better, particularly to utilise the experiences of the last two Labour Governments to make clear the rôle of a possible third Labour Government.

And sixthly, to drive ahead with recruitment for the Communist Party, as a vital necessity for the British working class in the present situation—the existence of the Socialist League proving that possibilities for building the C.P. exist.

P.S.—It is an interesting commentary on the I.L.P. leadership that, just as it covers up the real anti-working class, social-fascist rôle of the Labour Party leadership by stressing that it is a "bad" leadership, and that reformist policy is "inadequate," so it hides the real rôle of the Socialist League.

Thus, for instance, in the "New Leader," May 25th, the Socialist League is characterised as follows:—"An air of absolute unreality pervaded the (Socialist League) Conference, due to the refusal of the delegates to realise that the *Parliamentary Labour Party, which the League hopes will carry through the Socialist revolution* in the next Parliament, will, in the main, consist of the same men and women who attacked the working class in the last Parliament. Who believes they have the spirit or the capacity to do the job? Nevertheless, with supreme optimism, the *Socialist League believes that it can influence the next Labour Government in a Socialist direction!* (My italics.—D.)

How innocent and noble-minded are the Socialist League, according to this estimate! But we believe we have shown that this estimate is a false—but not an accidental one. For the I.L.P. and the Socialist League leadership have this much in common, namely, to prevent the workers coming to Communism—though while the former do it outside the Labour Party, the latter do it inside.

D.