

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

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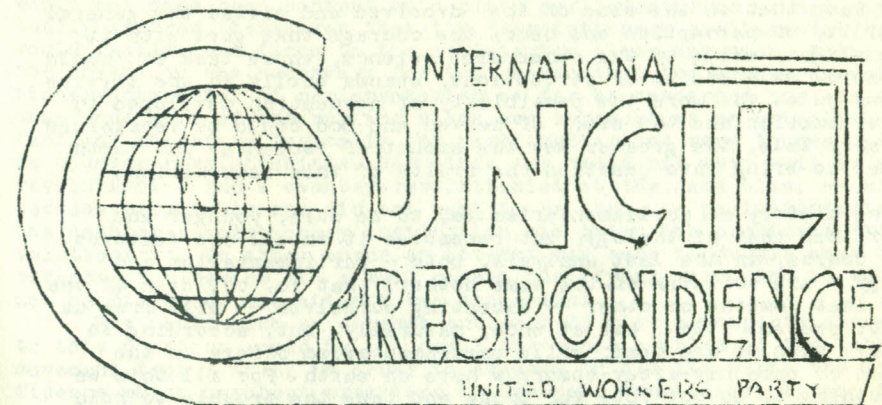
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" REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM "

Propaganda against parliamentarism among the working class was for a long while extremely difficult. The assumption that the worker too, or his confidant, must take part in the work of law-making, in order that the laws to be passed may have regard for the interests of the class, has grown into a nice, comfortable habit. And it is quite as well known as regrettable that no one more than the worker hangs on to old habits, conservatively and without insight--in fact, he clings to them even long after the bourgeoisie has thrown them back into the lumber-room. This holds of all phenomena of society, whether in the field of general culture, of custom and morality or of politics. The special field of politics -- parliamentarism -- naturally forms no exception; for here there asserts itself not only the lack of independent movement on the part of the working class, but a quite imposing array of forces by which, when the social milieu gives rise to such a movement, it is held up. Parliamentarism -- that is, the doctrine that the economic laws of a society are controlled by oratorical battles -- is of course not only a doctrine, a philosophy, but an eminently practical matter; practical, that is, for those who conduct these oratorical battles -- the members of Parliament, Congress, or whatever the law-making institution may be called in the different countries. For them, the Parliament is exactly the same thing that Heaven and God are for a parson. As soon as people refuse to believe in the existence of Heaven and God, the parson's existence also collapses. Heaven and God are thus questions involving the livelihood of a certain group of people; and just as everyone is interested in the maintenance of his existence, so also are the uniformed God-champions. Apply this example to parliamentarism, and we have the whole truth.

The circumstance, however, that something is "true" is by no means any assurance that this something will forthwith come into its own, without further ado. In the first place, this is prevented

by the fact that on the side of the deceived and misled the general possibility of perception and hence the courage that goes with it is too slight, while on the other side science, whose task it should be to serve as a medium of perceptions, stands wholly in the service of class rule. The more the possibility of perception developed in our civilization and the story of heaven and God could be recognized as a fairy tale, the greater was the amount of "science" put forth in order to bring into question the fruits of this recognition.

The history of parliamentarism is, to be sure, younger and briefer than that of theology, but resembles it in all its features. And of course, in the last analysis, both - parliamentarism and theology - are children of the same mother; that is, children of the belief that someone or other -- excepting ourselves -- will free us from our present ills. Not at once, naturally, but, according to theology, when we are dead; while parliamentarism offers us the prospect of some day-after-tomorrow here on earth. For all this we have nothing to do but vote for those who take the trouble to hold continually before our eyes the beauties of a posthumous paradise or of an earthly day-after-tomorrow, and to support them in a manner befitting their station -- naturally, in so far as possible, with paying in advance.

Just as the clergy in the age of enlightenment had to resort to much more refined means for keeping their little sheep in the fold, so also in times of extreme economic distress and the impossibility of a compromise between the ruling and the suppressed class the champions of parliamentarism had to rack their brains for extremely subtle proofs, which they set down in theses. The establishment and propagation of these proofs fell to the historical lot of the Communist International, in its various sections.

The world stands in an epoch of advanced revolutions, a process from which the communist parties were born. Their mission is there-with given: they must embrace the revolution. Since, however, embracing the revolution and acting in accordance therewith does not guarantee a full bourgeois existence, the functionaries of the sections must look for an occupation which they can find time to carry on in addition to their party work and the exercise of which does not conflict with their revolutionary profession of faith. They become -- in addition to paltry editors and party secretaries -- parliamentarians. Now even tho it may be true that the professional parliamentarians have enough time left over for performing their party work, still it is not such an easy matter to avoid conflicts arising from their revolutionary profession of faith and their parliamentary duties. In this extremity, none other than "science" had to spring to the rescue. It first of all gave birth to the most ridiculous word-monstrosity in the political thesaurus: "revolutionary parliamentarism".

No great amount of philological knowledge is needed in order to understand what an unmerited protective covering was acquired by parliamentarism and what a calumny was perpetrated on the concept "revolution" by this combining into a single phrase of two concepts which in their essence are nothing short of mortal enemies. Naturally, the reason for the invention and exploitation of this word-monstrosity was not that the beneficiaries of the communist party movement

would not have been content with plain parliamentarism or had actually assured themselves that the "revolutionary parliamentarism" would really lend force to the proletarian class movement. Rather, the invention was necessary for the reason that the counter-revolutionary character of parliamentarism, so far as concerned the class-conscious part of the working class, was regarded as an established fact, and therefore logically the parliamentarians were looked upon as counter-revolutionists. Now since one could not very well be a revolutionist and a counter-revolutionist at the same time, -- and because especially one did not want to be such, -- parliamentarism, the counter-revolutionary institution, was given the predicate "revolutionary". In other words, an attempt was made to juggle away the essence of a device with a well chosen qualifying word. And it can not be disputed: the attempt was successful.

How could such an attempt succeed? To give a complete answer to this question would be to unroll the whole problem of the labor movement from A to Z, in order to observe in all its parts the influence which has been exercised by the paid functionaries upon the organized and unorganized mass, and which has culminated unmistakably in the maintenance and consolidation of the bourgeois ideology. "Somebody or other will do it for us who of course is more clever than we are, and whom we are just too stupid to criticize; somebody who knows everything and can do everything". Naturally, this somebody can also revolutionize the Parliament or Congress, the counter-revolution in actuality. This state of fact -- that is the blind belief in the most impossible capacities of some "great" man or other -- is not so laughable as the mention of it appears; for it was nothing less than a state of fact, and as such had enormous, disastrous consequences for the working class.

It might, of course, be objected -- and this has been done quite frequently, -- that in itself it is quite a matter of indifference what a revolutionist does just on the side: whether he catches butterflies or belongs to a glee-club or casts a ballot into a box. And if a revolutionist has gone so far as to exercise the right to vote, why should he not also exercise that of being voted for? Superficially regarded, these objections appear quite logical. But they will not bear thorough examination. It will probably not be denied that the workers grow politically stale even when they engage, "just on the side", in cultural and athletic clubs or other such organizations not expressly revolutionary in their tendencies. Well, such organizations can not even so much as be mentioned in the same breath with parliamentarism. The most that those organizations do to the worker is to take away his spare time, which he might employ to better advantage. Since their tendency is neither expressly revolutionary nor counter-revolutionary; they also demand no distinct profession of faith from their members. Otherwise with parliamentarism. If one embraces it, and if one wants to obtain a seat in parliament or congress, one must turn to such people as believe in the possibilities and capacities of this institution. It is out of the question to read them the Communist Manifesto. Or rather: it can be done if the object in view is exclusively political propaganda; but it can not be done if one wants to win the votes of electors. For good or ill, one must then rely on the "illusions of the masses". The question as to what sort of following a professedly revolutionary party acquires through such sort of propaganda is best answered by answering the question: What do the voters, the "masses with

the illusions", expect of a "revolutionary" party to which they have given their votes? They expect from it that it will do what other parties have not as yet been able to bring about; namely: the liberation from all ills. Its following consists therefore of people who expect their liberation from anywhere except from their own action. And this circumstance is not altered by the fact that the communist sections have stamped their voters as "professed revolutionists". In order to cover up the fact that the leading "revolutionists", the functionaries of the communist sections, had been transformed into philistines; the philistine voters were transformed with a shout in the communist press into revolutionists. And if the philistine voter could thus become so quickly and cheaply a revolutionist, then why could the revolutionist, the ordinary worker, not also be a philistine voter? He had, of course, the guarantee that his enthusiasm was not for parliamentarism without circumlocution, but for revolutionary parliamentarism. And so, from one "ballot battle" to the next, the membership of the communist sections was and is being educated to the conception that one may embrace both revolution and parliamentarism. Matters went still farther, however, so that quite soon the adherents of the communist sections no longer embraced the one as well as the other, but came to look upon "revolutionary parliamentarism" as the solution. "Without revolutionary parliamentarism no revolution!" What wonder that the communist section of Germany, for example, fell down so miserably: Hitler had actually, with a single stroke, torn away the basis of its revolution--parliamentarism. But before the good old institution had suffered this fate, it had plenty of time to vent its fury, it was able to disintegrate the ideologically best part of the working class and to defame individual revolutionists and groups thereof; in short: it was able to do a real job. Let us hold in further course to the German example. It was here that "revolutionary parliamentarism" celebrated its greatest triumphs.

Like all the baits which were presented in "ballot battles" for catching the little voting fish, so also "revolutionary parliamentarism" was at first nothing more than a theory in which the voters had to believe. Since the voter, as already stated, is just that person who can have confidence in everything except himself, in his own knowledge and capacities, he therefore did not consider himself capable of testing the presented theories for their real value and soundness. And so the voter just believed: at one time, that it would be a good thing if the German Kaiser came back, -- for which he settled in full with a ballot for the Conservatives -- at another time, that it would be a good thing if a little more thought were again directed to God, who in the confusion of revolutionary events had been losing his following, -- for which the voter settled in full with a ballot for the Catholic Center -- and still another time the voter had no particular belief about anything, and he voted for the strategists of "revolutionary" parliamentarism. Naturally, he had previously, for the sake of caution, "thoroughly tested" all the other promises put forth by the odd dozen political parties, and for this he had been given plenty of opportunity by the thirty or so parliamentary elections of the post-war period. The difference between the theories expounded in the elections and the practice followed in the parliaments was in 999 out of a thousand cases explained in vulgar manner as being the result of the unwillingness of the parties to keep their promises. That the promises could not

be redeemed, that the whole parliamentary business rested upon an objective and not upon a subjective swindle -- such a realization could not be expected from a person who had no confidence in himself, hence also no confidence in his critical capacity.

He voted therefore -- before in final despair he landed with the Nazis -- "revolutionary". And the number of those was not small who in such manner received the commission to disrupt from their seats in Parliament the present world economic order. That number, the number of the "revolutionary" parliamentarians, did not, to be sure, increase with the growing uncompromisingness of the communists toward the capitalist world, but it increased in the same measure in which the communists unscrupulously took over unto themselves all those election baits which had proved themselves highly effective when employed by the other parties. Until they finally came to the contest with Hitler: a contest which turned on the point as to which of the two parties was the real and only representative of "national" interests. The one side gladly admitted that the rabbi stank, while the other side was equally willing to recognize that the monk stank; it appears, alas, that Heine's assertion of more than a hundred years ago, that they both stank, was all in vain.

Now it is extremely difficult to determine factually, on the basis of certain particulars, in what the difference consisted between theory and practice in the case of "revolutionary" parliamentarism, because, of course, the theory was an absurdity in itself, -- as absurd as dry water or cold fire or, as previously here defined: revolutionary counter-revolution. One must therefore simply hold to what the communists themselves held forth in connection with this slogan. And so, it was learned that their theory represents practically two concrete things: exposure of the workers' enemies, and parliamentary support of extra-parliamentary actions. The exposure was supposed to proceed in this way: that from the vantage position of the parliamentary benches there should be made public all the wrong which the ruling class and its open and concealed lackeys have committed against the working class. The press was then to provide for further dissemination; for all parliamentary speeches could be printed without fear of punishment, without regard for whether they were offensive or otherwise damaging to individuals or whole organizations. The second manner of parliamentary activity was thought of in this way: that when the workers for some reason or other come into motion against the employers, the communists, with speeches from the parliamentary benches, were to render assistance among the undecided. Naturally, here again by means of exposures. "Revolutionary" parliamentarism was therefore, as we see, exclusively a matter of exposures.

Exposures are naturally something precious, and they have constantly been employed in the workers' struggle against their exploiters. But, strangely enough, they have been applied not only by the workers against the exploiters, but very frequently also the other way round -- and, as shown by Hitler's victory after a great number of parliamentary battles, with much greater success than by the communists. The exposing tactic is accordingly not in itself a revolutionary tactic, and, applied in Parliament, it does not logically make Parliament revolutionary. Generally considered, parliamentarism is simply nothing more than fifty percent self-glorification --- hence propaganda for the next election -- and fifty percent exposure.

That the success of the exposing was much slighter for the communists than for the Nazis has already been mentioned. But of course, this is still not to say how slight it was. Very probably, it was equal to zero. The alternating successes which the communists saw in the increase of the number of seats they occupied in the various Parliaments were certainly attained by way of the enormous amount of individual propagandizing on the part of the army of nameless proletarians in the shops and relief stations. But that could not be confessed at any price; otherwise the bureaucracy casting furtive eyes on seats in Parliament would have lost every plausible ground on which to stand for election.

But apart from such a question, which can not be answered in a manner which is wholly satisfactory, there yet still remains a very essential question, namely: the cost of the questionable success of the exposing. It is well known that the communists in their heyday -- that is, shortly before they gave over the field without a struggle to Hitler -- had nearly a hundred seats in the Reichstag. Hence from all parts of the country there came together in Berlin the communist forces most highly trained in agitation and propaganda, in order to witness in Parliament the flat, stale and unprofitable harangues of other parties. When things were running high, there was occasion once a week for a communist, in a three-quarter-hour speech to conduct communistic exposing. The number of times that the communists took the floor and the length of their speaking time was accordingly not left to their own discretion, but was governed in painfully exact manner in accordance with the order of business, which was loyally adhered to by the communists as well. In case, someone or other persisted in disregarding that order, he could be excluded for one or more sittings. In and of itself, that would have been no misfortune, if his pay had not been correspondingly out.

Thus in order to deliver one three-quarter-hour exposing speech per week, there assembled in Berlin alone -- not to speak of the odd dozen provincial Parliaments, which likewise swallowed a large number of good agitators -- some hundred party functionaries (mainly secretaries and editors), who were thus made unavailable for any real party activity. If each of these functionaries had held only one meeting each week and if each of these meetings had been attended by only a hundred people -- certainly a modest figure for Germany -- in that case all conceivable exposing could have been conducted before ten thousand attentive listeners in speeches extending over one hour and thirty minutes. That is, the performance of each functionary would have been double that of the entire communist fraction in the Reichstag. In other words: the functionaries of the Reichstag fraction could have conducted two hundred times the amount of exposing if they had shifted their field of action from the Reichstag into the country. This numerical example may be applied also, if one likes, to the other Parliaments. It would then be seen how much time was squandered by the parliament-thirsty communist bureaucracy; time which might have been employed in providing a systematic revolutionary education of the working class.

It may be objected that certain exposures were in violation of law and that the exposing conducted in Parliament, even if unlawful, remained unpunished. Theoretically, that is correct, but practically quite without significance; for precisely during the time

in which the communists were preaching the necessity of revolutionary parliamentarism, from the end of the war to Hitler, the propagandistic opportunities in Germany were ample. In case, however, a decisive exposing speech had once really been made, then the bourgeoisie had only to clamp down on the newspapers in order to deprive it of any effect beyond the few listeners in parliament.

As a matter of fact, in the history of the German Reichstag there was only one solitary exposing speech to which success was generally attributed. It was the speech of Karl Liebknecht (1912) against the corruption which had arisen in the business connection between the army and its cannon-furnisher Krupp. To this example of exposing there might possibly be added the nicely memorized phrases that Philipp Scheidemann delivered in the Zabern military scandal; but this exhausts the list of all the exposures which the bourgeoisie found painful. And the success? The officers involved were pensioned at the cost of the tax-payers or "fell up the steps". And yet it was precisely in the year 1913, hence in the midst of the exposing campaign, that the Social Democracy, by which this later exposure was conducted, for the first time granted financial means to Prussian-German militarism.

But of course, one may say, the communists are not social-democrats. And that is correct. For while the social-democrats still for a time shamefully opposed the war, among the communists this false shame has already quite vanished. In proof of this, there is no need to go back to the offer which Clara Zetkin at that time made in the Reichstag to the German Reichswehr. We have only to refer to the statement of the German delegate Wilhelm Pieck some weeks ago on the occasion of the world congress of the Comintern. He said, verbally: "A war conducted by a country with democratic government against a country with fascist government is a noble war, and the communists should take part in it." Perhaps the communists want to have the opportunity, through voluntary and active participation in capitalist wars, to expose the bad and unpatriotic conduct of war on the part of the bourgeoisie. In the case of the Comintern, one must of course be prepared for everything.

We might show, further, by way of a very pertinent example, that the communists in the parliaments by no means constantly conducted that sort of exposing that borders on lese majesty or high treason, and which might have been dangerous to the press or to ordinary speakers at meetings. During the Ruhr occupation in 1923 a high official of the Ministry of Communications came to the Communist Reichstag fraction and produced the most detailed data regarding instructions of the government for blowing up blast furnaces, flooding shafts, disrupting canals and sluices -- in short, for carrying out in the Ruhr district a "Hindenburg program". Various dynamitings had already taken place on a number of transport routes by the workers there employed, on instruction from "above". The conference at which the "Hindenburg program" was decided upon was held in the rooms of a ministry of the Reich and was attended, through delegates, by the following organizations: Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Communications, Social Democratic Party, Democratic Party, Center, General-German Trade-Union League, Hirsch-Dunker Trade Unions, Christian Trade-Union League and the legal shop councils concerned. All the data were

first brought together in an article by a Reichstag member and offered to the Rote Fahne for publication. The paper declined publication on the ground that it would be prosecuted for high treason. The offer of a Reichstag member to take over the responsibility for the Rote Fahne the day on which the "exposure" was to appear was likewise declined, without any reason being given. Thereupon an attempt was made to lay bare the criminal beginning of the Cuno government by way of a "Little Inquiry" addressed to the Reichstag. The communist fraction, however, forbade the member in question to present the "Little Inquiry". A few days later came one of the "great discussions" frequent at the time. In the joint session of the fraction and of the central committee of the Communist Party preceding this discussion it was decided, in spite of the pressure of two deputies and against their votes, that the fraction's speaker was not to mention the "Hindenburg program". And so it was done. All which we feel in duty bound to expose in order not only to show how little effective parliamentary exposures are, but also how little subjective will is involved behind the objective paltriness. What, then, still remains over of the bombastic theory of exposing? Nothing but a veil behind which those parliamentary bourgeois conceal themselves who need the votes of anti-capitalist but still innocent prolets, or else the votes of those who had already tried all the other parties and been disappointed. This latter sort, which unquestionably made up the majority of the communist votes for parliament, finally landed with Hitler.

Let us now turn to the cases of "parliamentary support of extra-parliamentary actions", which by the side of the exposures are to furnish the justification for the entrance of communists into bourgeois Parliaments. For this purpose, let us imagine that a considerable part of the workers has for some reason or other come into actions. It is not to be assumed that this happened because a parliamentarian made a speech. Actions of the workers have a more material basis than the mere effect of a speech. The reason, however, which led to the action determines also its direction and its fate. Actions in connection with a strike, for example, proceed in the direction of winning the strike. They pass beyond their initial character when the ruling class, through economic or political reprisals, forces upon them other means of attack or defense. If in a strike the situation for the workers is favorable--that is, if they have a good prospect of attaining the immediate goal--they will leave off with a mere strike, and the best parliamentary speech ever delivered will not result in so much as the stirring of a mouse. On the other hand, when the prospects were bad, there has never been a case in which the parliamentary speeches of the communists were able to convert such unpromising undertakings into promising ones. Here also let us take an example from the more recent history of the labor movement. When in March 1921 the uprising which goes by the name of the "March action" took place in Central Germany, it was in so far "supported" by the communist Reichstag fraction as one of its speakers called on the workers to "seize arms wherever they can be found". Now it is well known that this central-german uprising was strictly an armed affair, and logically the workers took not only arms where they could find them, but also other things which were necessary to the open struggle with the white guardists. Naturally, the workers had the arming action already long behind them at the time the call for it

came from the parliamentary field. Scope, course and fate of the uprising remained also absolutely unaffected by communist speeches, which received their most attentive reading from the German judges, who later sent the insurrectionary workers to the penitentiaries. The nature of the uprising made it a sort of guerilla struggle, and this in turn determined its scope and course. The guerilla struggle naturally resulted in group-forming, and these groups in turn had to bring forth leaders who, thrown entirely upon their own resources, could not pay the slightest attention to communist speeches in the Reichstag. And because they could not, and therefore quite reasonably did not, they were dubbed bandit ringleaders in the party press. Such the nature of parliamentary support of extra-parliamentary actions. It reveals itself, exactly like the exposing, as a bluff, the disingenuous nature of which is not perceived by the uncritical worker and for which he therefore falls.

The working class must learn to ask: "What is the parliament (or congress)?" and not as hitherto: "Who represents my interests in the Parliament (or Congress)?" At best, the Parliament is the means with which there can be undertaken a suitable distribution of the sphere of power and interests between the individual capitalistic rivals. In effect, then, an instrument for settling the conflicts of interests within the ruling class itself, and hence a means of strengthening the ruling class. To grant to the suppressed class, by way of parliament, any political or economic advantage whatsoever, would merely mean to give back to the working class, without a struggle, what the exploiting class daily pillages from it with much pains and no little danger. Anyone who considers the ruling class and especially its parliamentary sycophants to be so "soft", let him calmly keep on voting. Anyone, however, who has no illusions regarding the essence of capitalism, leaves the babbling bourgeois to themselves and forms with his class comrades an army which doesn't treat with the bourgeoisie but brings it low.

W.T.

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#### ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM AND COUNCIL COMMUNISM

For many years the left communist groups have been referred to as the Anti-parliamentarians because they were opposed to parliamentary participation and parliamentary activity. They are still designated by that name and even refer to themselves as the Anti-parliamentary movement. During the reformist era of capitalism this was correct as it differentiated them from the parliamentary socialists in the labor movement. The controversy between these two sections raged about the question as to which was most effective in getting reforms - legislative action in parliaments or direct action and strikes on the economic field. The struggle between the opposing ideas and tactics dates back to the first international, and even before.

During the upswing period of capitalism, when it was expanding and developing, it was possible to grant concessions to the working-

class because of the increase in productivity and the resulting increase in profits. These reforms, however, were seldom granted without much struggle. There were victories and defeats in both wings of the movement and the economic and political organizations grew and developed with capitalism. The controversy as to which was most effective of these activities continued.

The present period of capitalist decline, however, is one in which generally no concessions are possible for the working-class. Further, we have definitely left the era of democracy, the era of free competition. This democracy which served the conflicting interests of small capitalists during the developing stage of capitalism, is now no longer compatible. Monopoly capitalism in a period of permanent crisis, where the short waves of upswing and "prosperity" are the exception and where capitalist crisis is the general rule, finds dictatorship and organized terror the only means to insure it a tranquil proletariat. Democracy, parliamentarism and the parliamentary organizations become obsolete and in fact cannot be tolerated. Where parliamentarism still remains, it only indicates that the general world crisis has not attained sufficient depth. The unquestionable tendency throughout the capitalist world is toward fascism and the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class.

This development also renders the controversy of the parliamentarians in the movement with the left communist groups obsolete as well. The name "anti-parliamentary" therefore is historically outworn and should be discarded. In its place the better title, council communism should be adopted as it designates as a name the major principle difference between the old and the new labor movement. This difference on the role that organization plays in the class-struggle and in the proletarian revolution is of increasing importance, while the question of parliamentary activity is of decreasing secondary importance throughout the world movement.

The name Council Communism has been adopted by some groups and is used extensively in our literature. It should be used by all left communist groups who adhere to the international council communist movement. This new movement growing up in the new historical period in which we live, holds that the proletarian revolution is a class question and it devotes its efforts to aiding the working-class to carry through its historical revolutionary role, a task in which the old labor movement failed.

In contra-distinction to the old party form of organization, universally common to the parliamentary politicians in the old labor movement, the new labor movement holds that the soviets, the workers' councils are the real fighting organizations of the working class.

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## REPORT FROM DENMARK

22d Congress of the D.S.P.

The 22d congress of the danish Social Democracy was held in Aalborg, beginning June 23 and ending June 26.

According to the report of the central organ, the "Social-Demokraten" of June 24, the congress was opened with pompous ceremonies and the whole of laboring Denmark was represented. That is, 500 Delegates represented, according to the report of party secretary Hedtoft-Hansen. 1207 unions with a total of 192,000 members. The guest were the president of the Second International, de Brouckere, together with general secretary de Block (Belgium), Boeckmann (Holland), party secretary Anders Nilson and treasurer Wallin (Sweden). That exhausts the list on non-danish representatives. The ordinary worker wonders: "Where, then, are all the heroes of the Second International? Where are the representatives of the german, austrian, english, french and all the other socialdemocratic parties of the many nations?" It would seem that there are only two alternatives: Either the pompous congress was regarded as not so very important, so that many refrained from putting in an appearance; or else they preferred to keep silent about the world political situation, which of course rests on the altered economic situation. Or did a representative of the german Social Democracy not venture to make his appearance and speak because he would have had to confess that its "democracy" had been given up without a struggle; or that the german S.P. had indeed made bold to proceed in strength with police and the military against the german working class, but cowardly backed down when the question was one of defending the most elementary basic rights of the proletariat? Or did a representative of the austrian Social Democracy not venture to make his appearance and speak because he would have had to confess that it is impossible to arrive at socialism by way of formal democracy, even with a 51-percent majority (Vienna had even a 70-percent majority). And the danish worker might then have recognized clearly that the central point of Marxism, namely, "that the working class in its struggle for socialism can not simply take possession of the existing capitalist state machine, but must break it up", is an incontestable historical truth which contains theoretical and organizational consequences.

Anyhow, lets make an attempt to understand the congress in its significance to the danish working class. The central problem was posed by the leader of the danish party, Prime Minister Stauning. His disquisitions, which are embodied in the "Manifesto to the Danish People", culminated in the following ideas:

"The crisis of capital is a world crisis. It is not, as some may believe, of a transitory nature, but is a permanent phenomenon. Various great nations are going over, in so far as they are in a position to do so, to autarchy. Denmark is in the main dependent on export. She can in future only have regard for her purchasers. Her heaviest purchaser is England; consequently we must buy from England as much as England from us. But beyond that, we too must try to go over to autarchy as much as possible. The main department in the danish economy is agriculture. On it our strength must be concentrated; it must be aided, if necessary thru state intervention. This

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planned-economic aid, which may also be denoted as adaptation economy, has nothing to do with Marxism or Socialism... Nation now stands against nation. Because I realize this, I am ready to make theoretical and economic sacrifices. The national sentiment and the national interests are themselves realities of which one speaks not only on formal occasions. Nor are we justified in overlooking the fact that the spread between the selling prices of our agricultural products and the prices which we pay on the world market is too great. The prices for agricultural products have increased since 1913 by 20 to 25 percent, while the purchasing prices for metal wares, machines, lime, building stone, fuel, oil, clothing and textiles have increased by 24 to 92 percent. Agriculture is in need of constant help. The trade unions must comprehend also their new tasks in the new epoch. To be sure, the workers shall not be deprived of their right to strike, but it has to be considered whether a strike may endanger the whole nation, as was the case with the meat-market workers' strike of last year. At that time we stood the first test and then simply ended the strike. We must find new forms, in order that the economy as such may be preserved in the present situation from useless struggles.... In the concert of nations we blow the old shawm of peace. It is true that our faith in enduring peace, in disarmament and in the power of the League of Nations, etc., has been disappointed. Nevertheless, we hope that the great countries will recognize our will to neutrality and will not deny us the right to live. We want with all our united strength to develop and strengthen the productive forces in the country and the people, to draw the whole people with us into labor and to have Denmark for the people."

Thus we have sought to reproduce the confession of a beautiful soul. What is now to be said of it from the standpoint of the revolutionary worker? The world crisis did not begin just in the last few years, but has been clearly recognizable at least since the year 1918. The social-democratic parties in all countries contested this recognition and set about to heal the numerous wounds of world capitalism. Pacifist slogans -- "No More War", "United States of Europe", "By way of Democracy to Socialism", -- were the ideologically false guide-posts which diverted the proletariat from its historically necessary task, overthrow of the profit order, and set it upon false paths. Since capitalism must ever seek for new and higher forms of its concentration, it showed aside the stage-dressing of formal democracy wherever it felt ideologically and organizationally strong enough, in order with new organizations to put thru its necessary new forms -- state capitalism. "Planned economy" and "self-sufficiency" are the watchwords of this epoch on the one hand, and on the other the sentiment of nationality as a duty of the worker together with simultaneous outlawry of the strike. In Denmark the prohibition of striking is designed to bring it about that in the coming equalization of purchase and sale prices the wage cut occurring thru increase of the prices of means of subsistence shall be accepted by the workers without a struggle. Now if the proletariat as a class is not to be thoroughly pauperized, it too must seek for new forms in its struggle for emancipation. It must realize that any joint action with its bourgeoisie is simply bound to worsen its situation, and that it, the proletariat, will always have to pay the expenses of the reconstruction.

On Monday, July 29, 1935, Copenhagen witnessed a great demonstration of the L.S. movement (banding together of the country population) in front of the royal castle Amalienborg. There were approximately 35,000 people assembled, who demonstrated to the royal family and to the government their "distress". The King spoke to the demonstrators of the general distress and drank to the health of Denmark. He then received the deputation and referred it, since of course he was a constitutional monarch, to the government of the country. The social-democratic prime minister Stauning also received the representatives of this movement and referred to the usual way of negotiation. The delegation presented to the government various demands, the fulfillment of which was awaited within two weeks. There was demanded a guarantee of the prices, adapted to the conditions of production, for agricultural products; abolition of certain taxes, and abolition of all distraints. If these demands should not be met, the agriculturalists would have recourse to counter-measures for obtaining their rights. The demonstration in its various phases was broadcasted, and a great number of anti-capitalist words fell upon the ether.

Now what is the L.S. movement, and what does it want? In the year 1930 the big land-owner Knud Bach, the leader of the movement, gathered about him a number of his compeers, and together they started this danish peasant organization in which, so perfectly after the german model of the Nazi movement, everything is combined in perfect harmony: by the side of the count, the ordinary country worker; by the side of the larger or smaller peasant, the director of the corporation. According to its literature, the L.S. aims to be a pure "trade-union" movement. This literature gives as the reason for the advance of the working class, that by the side of its political party it has also the trade unions which hold in check the "hundred-percent" politicians. All the peasant politicians have betrayed the peasants; the peasants must therefore have a trade organization of their own and also venture to make use of the same means of struggle as the working class; and it would surely be a paradox if Minister Stauning, who came up out of the trade movement, should venture to take action against a production strike on the part of the peasants. These big land-owners, who refrain from coming forth openly as Nazis, are enabled to represent their standpoint in three dailies and three weekly periodicals. The movement itself has a so-called council of 21, in which are seven representatives of the meat markets, seven of the dairy farms and seven of the inner direction of the L.S. In one of their programmatic leaflets they come out for autarchy in so far as possible, a fair wage for good work, together with a wage determined by the economic conditions and also a flexible currency, in the main a depreciation of the krone. They demand also the setting aside of the class state created by Marxism and Liberalism. The main idea which hovers before the directors of the L.S. movement is an agricultural cartel over the whole of Denmark, in order in the first place to be able to fix the prices within the country and then for products going abroad, whenever there is an opportunity to deliver enormous quantities of butter, lard, eggs and poultry to countries at war - even when one is neutral - of course, to the full extent possible. Besides, it is clear to the L.S. that it is only by way of a national revolution, thru setting aside of the class state which has created egoism, that the conditions can take a turn for the better. A new age has dawned, and countries like Italy and Germany are path-breakers for the new

idea of national self-sufficiency.

The danish working class under-estimates this new movement, and comfort is found in the circumstance that after all only 35,000 people were present, whose votes are not decisive. It is also said that many farm workers were given double pay for taking part in the demonstration, tho privately they favor democracy. In reality, this is a camouflaged Nazi movement in which the danish National Socialist Labor Party is working with a view to the goal.

The parliamentary parties have treated with this movement and taken a stand with regard to its demands. The demands have been rejected, but the negotiation itself was no sign of strength on the part of the parliamentary parties and the rejection merely helps the L.S. in its propaganda. The L.S. has now proceeded to the so-called valuta strike; that is, the goods delivered to the members are not to be paid for until later, even tho they may have received money which might be used for that purpose. From the purely democratic point of view, all this is illegal, to be sure, but the government doesn't dare to proceed against the movement. The motto of the Social Democracy -- "Democracy, lay on!" -- is put into practice only against the proleats who once venture to go their own ways in the class struggle. As regards the goal, moreover, Stauning and Knud Bach are at one. Both want the autarchy policy to the full extent in which this is possible in the age of world monopoly and so far as permitted by the country's scant raw materials. And because of his realization of this situation, Stauning is willing to make economic and theoretical sacrifices, as he said at the last party congress; that is, the sacrifices are to be made by the workers, and precisely for the benefit of a suffering farm economy. The only point of difference concerns the methods.

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#### The Third International in the Opinion of the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeois-liberal MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (August 2, 1935) writes:

"What Karl Marx said of the Democrats in his day is true of the Communists in our own day - that they emerge from the most shameful defeat with looks of triumph on their faces. The Communists who make up the Third International tried to capture the trade unions in various European countries, but they failed miserably. Then they tried to set up rival trade unions, but they failed again. They talked much about direct action and armed rebellion, but in all the big historic battles on behalf of the working class - the general strike that repelled the German counter-revolution in 1920, the Austrian and Spanish insurrections last year - the Communists were hardly to be seen. Only when direct action was altogether senseless did the Communists take it, as in the futile German insurrections of 1921 and 1923 and the mad Estonian revolt of 1924. Even when in Germany they had a large following, thanks to the mistakes of the Social Democrats, they were unable to do anything that was not harmful to the working class. They helped reaction into power directly and indirectly. They taught the Nazis lessons in demagoguery, violence, and political cynicism. They were the allies of the

Nazis in the assault on democratic institutions. One might have thought this week's congress of the Third International in Moscow would take some stock of the ruin it has brought about, but not at all; the congress explains amid much cheering that despite minor errors - there must, of course, be some "Leninist self-criticism" - the Communists were always fundamentally right and everybody else always fundamentally wrong. Perhaps the future of Europe will be with some form of Communism, but that it will never be with the Communism of the Third International is made much more certain by that International itself and its congresses in Moscow than it could ever be made either by Hitler or by Mussolini. "

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#### Critical Remarks Concerning "The Rise of a New Labor Movement"

The article which appeared in the C.C. (August 1935) under the above title was an attempt to bring before the revolutionary workers the essential features of the new labor movement now in process of development. The C.C. stands open for all expressions of opinion which may be regarded as serving to clarify the question thus broached. We begin by presenting some critical remarks which seem to us worthy of consideration.

I find passages in your work that strikes me as well thought out and correct; particularly the disquisitions concerning the mass uprising, which in virtue of its inner tendencies and the conduct of the bourgeoisie passes beyond itself. Nevertheless, on this point also I wish to present a few observations; but I will follow your own exposition.

On the whole, it seems to me that your work, in spite of various good features, is written too far aloof from any real and concrete movement of the working masses on the actual present-day field of struggle, and that its results have been arrived at more thru speculative, so-to-say "philosophic" after-thought instead of thru serious analyses of the present class situation in the various countries, or investigation of the given state of capitalist economy and politics on the national and international fields. This becomes clear as early as where you speak of the working class as a "lifeless thing". Such a statement is simply false. For the working class even today is a quite "active" force in the social development. Its support of the Social Democracy in various European countries, in the United States its entry into the trade unions bought by Roosevelt -- such things, among others, are after all a socially very effectual, tho to us extremely uncomfortable bit of "activity". For the workers accomplish in this way, however badly, a bit of reformist class action, strive for their (socially ever smaller) share of the product which they themselves create. This "activity" has a quite determinate, even tho conservative, effect in capitalist reality. A revolutionary passive class is not a "lifeless thing";

tho it is true that its activity is, in the first place, relatively weak and, secondly, goes in a direction which does not consciously lead to communist struggle. Unconsciously, however, even a reformist policy in which class interests are represented contributes a certain social propulsion and drives things forward. Fascism, as Silone has shown for Italy and as the German experience also has thought, is not the blow directed against a class standing at the threshold of revolution, but precisely against its reformist activity, which at a certain stage of monopoly capital and in connection with a certain sharpening of the crisis becomes intolerable to the bourgeoisie, already struggling for its economic existence and which sees itself attacked in its substance by reason of its own economic contradictions. While it may be true that reformism--which, nevertheless, has been carried on and tolerated by an entire class -- has at a certain level a capitalistic function, it still at the same time forms an inner contradiction of capitalism, somewhat in the same way as does the competitive struggle between agrarian capital and export industry. And it is quite possible that capitalism in various countries will go to pieces precisely by reason of these manifold inner contradictions. Thus it is much more probable that German fascism will collapse than that it will be overrun by a revolution. The revolutionary struggle will probably not occur until after the collapse (cf. also the Russian revolution).

What you say about the necessity and the course of the proletarian mass action and its council form is in many respects correct, but not sufficiently concrete. How does the development look from this point of view? You speak of a "leap in the unfolding of the class forces". The phrase stands there as if you had succumbed to an Hegelian belief in miracles. For after all, "leaps" in the historical development have always been the result of the most manifold molecular processes. It would be our task to investigate the general social conditions as given by capitalism as well as those relating more particularly to the proletariat as a class and which are effective in this respect in the present-day situation in the various countries.

You make your exposition still more obscure with something to the effect that a revolutionary mass thrust will will not bring forth a new "organizational apparatus" but a "new vital principle". In the first place, I fail to understand what this "vital principle" is supposed to be, and secondly, how such a concept can be set in the place of organization. When you reject the hitherto existing "organizational apparatus" of the capitalist State, of the reformist and bolshevist organizations, you are on good ground. And when you grant that, on the other hand, the mere organizational form of the councils is still far from guaranteeing any class-conscious action, you are again right: any belief to the contrary would be council mysticism. You can hardly deny, however, that without suitable organizations any class struggle and any mastery of society is impossible. When the fighting proletariat in the course of its experiences on the field prescribed for it by the class enemy proceeds in a socialist direction, it is compelled to shape for itself new organizations, which we call "councils". It must even develop out of the council form a "State", in so far as it has to bring down and hold down its class enemy and ward off the attack of possible capitalist armies from the outside. The proletariat can

absolutely not dispense with a machinery of suppression in this sense, as you may be convinced by going back to Engels.

I agree that "it is class power that we need". However, we are not justified in using that power in order to skip over the question of the middle class, particularly that of the peasants. All previous experience shows that revolutions were accomplished only in case these middle strata also sensed the intolerableness of the previous conditions and welcomed a change. The European proletariat has, furthermore, to solve the decisive question of putting food supply forthwith on a sound footing and will thus be decisively faced with the problem of having it out with the farmers. Force is the worst method to that end and will be made only use of in case of extreme need. Hence the question of the relation to the peasants and to the other parts of the middle strata -- not so much "after the day of the seizure of power", but in the struggle for power and during the exercise thereof, hence in a thousand gigantic difficulties -- stands for us on the order of the day.

Now to the most important question, that of the "new organization". We are no doubt on the point that a political organization can not replace the independent action of the class, and therefore that reformist, centrist and bolshevist, i.e. bourgeois forms of leadership organizations must be thrown out of commission. It appears, however, that we are not agreed as to the role to be played by the "new organization" in the proletarian struggle. As you expound it, the role of communist organization in the development of the proletariat is a quite subordinate one. So I infer at least from the circumstance that you speak of the small groups which stand quite loosely side by side, can naturally have mutual understanding, but really keep on existing as small independent centers and, in consequence, their work is in so far as possible purely propagandistic, while substantially the class goes its own way. I regard such a conception as inadequate, and believe that it stands in contradiction to reality and to the tasks which lie before us.

You have resorted to undue simplification by saying that the class is at present a "lifeless thing" and will all of a sudden negotiate a "leap" to class consciousness. But don't think that by so doing you merely pass over the difficult but pressing task of investigating everything exactly and concretely, without which you can not take a single step forward? For in reality the working class in the various countries is not an unwritten page; it is rather already burdened and plagued with a long past. You think that now Fascism has destroyed the old organizations they are out of the way and that the workers begin all over again to construct in proper class manner. The old, however, is still far from being out of the way. Remains still exist, for the present, even where Fascism prevails, remains which are much greater than what is painfully struggling thru anew. There are still in existence great social centers for the old: bolshevist Russia and the American trade unions. These latter, in spite of all the savageness of the workers' struggles there (even with violations of the principle of private property, such as you describe) and a socially tense situation, are for the present giving a firm footing to what in Europe is now going under. As to how long that is possible, that is a question which is unsettled: one reason for following matters

there objectively and accurately. The old continues to live on also in people's minds. I am thinking of a collapse of German Fascism, and of the possibility that then a dozen parties will be on hand to swoop down on the workers: bolshevist and centrist and reformist currents of diverse hue, and by the side of them various groupings which want to begin from the ground up and which can still not by a long shot be clear regarding everything essential. Now it seems to me that your attitude makes it impossible to exert the highest degree of influence upon this chaotic situation, or that at least makes such action much more difficult. Communists need an organization (they need, as I think, even a second, analogous organization of an industrial cast), -- an organization which, to be sure, on the inside makes impossible all steam-roller methods and leadership rule, but which as a strictly coherent instrument can become effective. A federalistic organization can not put itself across, because it quite fails to conform to the monopoly capitalist situation in which the proletariat finds itself. It would be still a step backward behind the old movement, instead of a step beyond it.

Unless you aim for that, and not only nationally but on an internationally scale, then in the first place you leave the field uncontested to the other organizations which for the present are still capable of action and which want to divert the proletariat a second time into the swamp. And secondly, you form in substance only locally limited centers of experience for which it becomes much more difficult to rise to general class experience. For the unifying and internationalizing of all experience remains as one of the central tasks of a communist organization. Thirdly, however, you treat of the "new organization" not at all as if it consisted of workers, but as if it existed beside the workers. It is surely clear, however, that the communist elements that join together in the groups are likewise parts of the class, the most advanced portions. Their organization will accordingly seek to take an active part, in whatever concrete forms, in all mass struggles. It can hardly take a position to one side, in order afterwards to draw theoretical conclusions.

Committees of action, councils, etc. are the most general forms of the class organs. The ripeness of the struggling masses, which have to obtain these organs by great exertion, is manifested not in the lack of parties etc., but in the circumstance that in their struggles, they try themselves out and finally thrust upon the political line which the most advanced of these organizations embodies. This organization, which must certainly not be called by the name "party" and will also be fundamentally different from what is now so called, can enormously accelerate the maturing process of the masses, in that it impels to the maximal unfoldment of forces. But during and even after a seizure of power there will still be backward elements leaning to other parties of the same backward character, parties with which we shall accordingly have to settle accounts. You will perhaps say: in that case we shall form, in addition to the dozen, the thirteenth party. But such a viewpoint is false. For we embody other principles, other conceptions of organization, and our work will have a different aspect. But we must become effective, and that in the highest possible measure.

Furthermore, you quite overlook, in the main, the field of

struggle as to which the working class has no choice. Not only in the sense that you make no attempt to sketch the manifold and enormously contradictory picture of present-day capitalism, or that you fail to investigate its features. But also in the sense that of all the general and fundamental matters you emphasize only one thing: the capitalist struggle for profit. That this struggle has, however, in the first place, a definite, varying economic structure of capitalism as its basis, and a greater still more quickly changing field of political guarantees as its second sphere of action, -- all that fails to enter your range of vision. And yet the whole development of capitalism proceeds in the interaction and in the antagonism of economy and politics.

The proletariat is stationed on both fields, on both it must fight the enemy, must accordingly break up a power apparatus and win a productive apparatus, and this production apparatus must be fundamentally transformed and secured politically anew. The proletariat can therefore not keep out of this interaction and this antagonism, must organizationally master both of these apparatuses in the stages of its revolution (for I speak here of the stages of the perhaps long continuing decisive struggle, not of what will come later). That is to say: Political councils as instruments of proletarian class power, economic councils as organs for the taking over of the seats of production and for bringing them into action not alone with a view to so-called work of construction, but also adapted to the conditions of the continuing class war, with the proletarian people as they are in reality. Or in other words: Communist organization on the line of socialization and on the line of the conquest of power. (Industrial organization and political organization.)

That appears to me necessary as a basic orientation, and from it now follow the further questions of the momentary beginning, of the momentary working methods, of the momentarily possible cooperation, etc. My remarks are intended merely as suggestions and points for discussion. As an actual, practical preliminary question I pose the following: What do you think of the building up of an international cooperation for the purpose of forming a picture, as concrete and many-sided as possible, of the present-day economic and political reality in the various countries? In other words: How shall we shape for ourselves a general perspective, resting on the investigation of facts, and into which can be built a discussion of the questions of further organizational construction, of tactics, etc.? Our knowledge of the enemy we want to overcome is of course quite inadequate, so that he surprises us again and again. These things appear to me, therefore, not only the most important at present, but also those regarding which an understanding is first possible.

H.W.

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#### Please Notice

In a forthcoming issue of the C.C. we will publish an answer to the above criticism. We will also publish a critique on the Theses which were adapted by the Brussels Conference as reported on in # 11 of the C.C. Don't miss reading this discussion.

The intellectual middle class, the engineers, scientists, technical employees, etc. are a necessary part of industrial production, quite as indispensable as the workers themselves. Technical progress, in replacing workers by machines, tends to increase their number. Therefore their class interests and their class character must be of increasing importance in the social struggles.

Their growing numbers reflect the growing importance of science and theory in the production of life necessities. In a communist society all will partake of scientific knowledge. In capitalist society it is the privilege and the speciality of a separate class, the intellectual middle class.

The members of this class, contrary to the old independent middle class of small business men, live by selling their labor power to the capitalists. Their salaries indicate a higher cost of living and a more expensive education than that of the common workers. In the socialist press they are called proletarians; (indeed, they are not owners of instruments of production) who need must join the workers. But it is only their lower ranks that merge gradually into skilled labor; the higher ranks, by origin and standard of living, by relationship, social standing and culture, feel themselves middle class men, who can rise even to the position of a director, and thus be ranked with the big capitalists. Some of them sympathized with social democracy, but the bulk was filled with the capitalist spirit of striving for a better position for themselves only. In Italy and Germany they form the intellectual backbone of fascism.

What are the social ideals of this class ?

They realize that capitalism is not eternal; they already perceive the signs of its decline: in economic crisis, in political revolts and revolutions, in social struggles, in world war. It is not the exploitation of labor that annoys them in capitalism; it is the disorder in capitalism, the anarchy in production that provokes their criticism. Where they rule in the factory, the efficiency of labor by means of strict order and conscious regulation is raised to the highest degree. But outside the factory, in society, where capitalists, stock gamblers and politicians rule, they see the worst disorder and inefficiency, a scandalous waste of human labor, and the inevitable consequence: poverty and ruin for the whole of society.

What they want, therefore, is organization of production, conscious regulation of labor over the whole of society. They feel themselves the spiritual leaders, the class of intellect and knowledge, destined to take over the lead from the incapable hands of the present rulers. In America the ideas of "technocracy" are the first tokens of such a mode of thinking. By a scientific management of the whole of production under a central direction which does away with competition and which divests the individual capitalists from their arbitrary power, the amount of product can be raised to such a height, that there will be abundance for

everybody.

This social ideal of the intellectual middle class is a kind of socialism, but it is not necessarily directed against the capitalist class. It does not mean to expropriate them or to take their profits away from them. On the contrary, in depriving them of their arbitrary power to damage one another, in abolishing the enormous waste, it will raise the productivity of labor to such a degree, that the profits will increase considerably. And at the same time it renders possible an increase and securing of the workers' portion, so that all reason for revolt or revolution is taken away.

It is not a socialism of the workers, but a socialism for the workers; a socialism made by others, also for the benefit of the workers. The exploitation of the workers will not cease, it will be made more rational. With equal justice this social system may be called "organized capitalism".

There is, of course, no place for democracy in this system. Democracy means, at least formally, rule of the mass, of the whole people. But this socialism is founded upon the rule, the leadership of the few, of the intellectual minority. In present-day capitalism the technical middle class are leaders and directors of the labor process; they command the workers. They can imagine an ideal society only with this leading and commanding function preserved and extended. The intellectual class does not admit differences founded on noble birth or riches; but it admits differences in brains, in mental capacity and it considers itself as the class of men with the best brains, selected to lead the great masses of the ungifted common people, destined to be common workers.

Hence the political system belonging to this middle class socialism can never be democracy; it must be the dictatorship of a leading bureaucracy. The socialism once proclaimed as their social goal by the vanguard of the working class, was international. Because they saw production as a worldwide unit process and the class struggle of the workers as the common cause of the working class of the whole world. The intellectual class, however, owing to its middle class origin to the close connection with the capitalist class, has a strong national feeling. Moreover, the instrument necessary for the regulation of production exists as power organ of the state. Its socialist goal therefore means a national state socialism. Its rule is the rule of a state bureaucracy, its system of production is state capitalism. International world unity is a far-away dream to them, not a matter of practical ideals.

Some characteristics of the social ideals of the intellectual class are found in social-democracy, especially in its state-socialist program, though its relation of leaders to masses has a more democratic stamp. In German National Socialism some others of these characteristics are perceptible. The tendencies of a class are never reproduced purely in a political party or a political movement. They are the underlying basis, the underground stream, taking its course and growing after fixed laws, determined by class interests, by needs of social development, by the deepest subconscious feelings which the social conditions produce in a class. They are not

adequately represented in the surface phenomena, in the political events, the party platforms, the government's changes, the measures taken, the revolutions, the programmes --because in all these the traditions, the existing power factors, the relative force of contesting or co-operating classes, groups, parties, play a role. But then always anew, the realities hidden beneath the surface break through, upset the old and determine the new ideas and political events. So we have to look into these events for the class forces at work in them, just as for the forces of nature we look into the natural phenomena.

In fascism and national socialism the class spirit of the intellectual middle classes appears in its first germs. We see as yet only a common revolt against democracy, with only a faint and vague desire for an economically constructive policy. Nevertheless, the spiritual force of the national-socialist slogans of the intellectual class was sufficient to carry away numbers of workers who saw in it an organizing power against capitalist disorder.

It is possible that these parties will realise, or try to realise the class ideals of the intellectual class? This class is well-nigh powerless against the capitalist class. The social power of the intellectuals, measured by their number, their class consciousness, their social feeling, is still far below the power which the working class had long ago already attained. The capitalist class in Europe and America is so powerful that it does not need to tolerate any organization or regulation of production beyond its own interests. It is only when capitalism feels itself extremely weakened and endangered, by hard and long crisis, by worker's revolts, by world war, that conditions are different. Then the intellectuals, together with part of the workers, may be called upon to introduce constructive policy, tending towards state capitalistic experiments.

Then, however, the working class, rising against the unbearable oppression of monopolistic capitalism, by means of revolutionary movements, should succeed in beating down capitalist power, what will the intellectual class do? Then the position will be reversed; the working class, by its mighty fighting power, carries the other discontented classes along with it, in a common assault on capitalism. Then great parts of the intellectual class will join them, won over by the great socialist and communist ideals, and will consider them as their common cause. In every revolutionary movement in history we see great numbers joining it in a common enthusiasm for aims more radical than their own ideals, thereby making victory more easy. But afterwards it appeared that each of the allies interpreted the slogans and aims in his own way, thus causing dissensions and new fights between the former comrades. The same will doubtlessly be the case in future revolutionary movements.

The slogans: against capitalism, for socialism or communism, will become common to the revolutionary classes. But for each class they mean a different form of social organization. The working class has to build up production from below, by their direct hold over the factories, and to organize them by means of their workers' councils into a democratic commonwealth. The intellectual class will try to install a centrally organized state socialism, directed by a leading bureaucracy.

Is not the intellectual class right in this? Is it not necessary that in these most difficult times of fighting and social

reconstruction the ignorant masses should be directed by those who have the best brains? Is it not true, that for that period this selected minority class, trained in science, in general and special knowledge, are the natural leaders, till up to the time when new generations have been born?

No, this is not true. The organization of society is not a matter of technics, of scientific knowledge. The technics of production are excellent already. Capitalism has developed the science of the forces of nature and its application to a high level. This is the domain of the superior knowledge of the intellectuals. As technical experts in the process of production they may apply their brains for the benefit of the community.

But social organization has to deal with other things: with social forces and with the knowledge of social forces. It is an organization of men. And here the intellectuals have no special capacities. What they bring along is only the haughty prejudices of the capitalist class. In social insight, in knowledge of the real class relations of society the intellectuals stand below the working class. Because their mind clings to ideas belonging to a passing period. Because outside of their physical machines, in matters of human relationship, they are wont to deal not with the realities of social life itself, but with their spiritual images, conceptions, theories, abstractions.

Social organization does not depend on qualities of the intellect of a minority. It depends on qualities of character of the whole working people. It is the consolidation of the workers into one unity, through strong moral and economic forces, which can not be commanded by leaders but must grow up in the masses in their fight for freedom.

Thus the social ideals and aims of the intellectuals and of the working class oppose one another. The intellectual class, when it should try to establish some social order, must call upon old instincts of obedience, upon the slave feelings of a bygone humanity. For its state-socialist aims it will find allies in socialdemocratic and party-communist platforms, in union leaders, in the capitalistic ideas of timid and backward workers, who think communist freedom too high for them, and in the beaten remnants of the capitalist force. Then the working class, finding itself opposed by this block, trying under the banner of "socialism against anarchy" to preserve the domination of a ruling class over the working class, will need all its wisdom and all its unity to find and to fight its way to freedom.

J.H.

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The U.W.P. will have classes on political economy and dialectical materialism during fall and winter months in Chicago, Buffalo and New York. For information write to U.W.P., 1604 N. California Ave. Chicago, Ill., or to Peter Berck, 4316, 48 th Street. Long Island City, N.Y.

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The Council-Communist Press of Chicago will publish a series of important pamphlets in the next six months. Some money is available, but more is needed. You are asked to help in this work by buying a subscription for some of these pamphlets in advance. A few of the manuscripts we are planning to publish are:

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