# ORKERS

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

Right Wing Socialism and War

By Bertram D. Wolfe

## KAUTSKY ENLISTS FOR DEFENSE OF CAPITALISM

This is the second and concluding article on "Kautsky and the Coming War."

"A conflict between two democratic states," writes Karl Kautsky in the final chapter of his four-volume work on "War and Democracy," "is unthinkable today."

What are we to conclude from this remarkable statement? That bourgeois democracies like the United States and France and England are incapable of warring with each other? are free of capitalist-imperialist tendencies? that England and the United States will never go to war over oil, and control of the seas, and South America, and the Pacific and world hegemony? Can this fourvolume work be the voice of a Socialist a Marxist or even a Realpolitiker, a realistic bourgeois commentator on political affairs? Does Kautsky really think that the masses of the proletarians and noncapitalists rule those countries and determine their foreign policy? The answer is that Kautsky does! Or at least he says

"By democratic states," he writes "we mean those who are not merely endowed with democratic constitutions, but dominated by independent and politically schooled masses sup-porting themselves upon wage labor or, at least, labor of a non exploitative character. A conflict between two democratic states is unthinkable to-

This is the man whose war posi- opportunist line as it expresses itself time organizers are to be placed in the raised on the spot.

and 16, 1935) reprints and hails as the war position of Socialism. Imperialist England, imperialist America, imperialist France, who stride iron-heeled and spurred over prostrate peoples in Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America, are given a clean bill of health after the First World War and in advance of the econd!

"Quite different," continues Kautsky, "is the situation with respect to despotic or semi-despotic states, controlled by elements subsisting not upon their own peaceful labor but upon exercise of power and exploitation." Shades of J. P. Morgan, has it

"A peaceful democratic state," he continues, "coming into collision with a warlike, despotic state is placed before the alternative of yielding to the extortion of the despot.... But it is dear reader. He makes himself painfulan old rule that concessions never by clear. The "democracies" he means,

to increase his avarice, so that violent collision of the two states proves inevitable.'

Thus does Kautsky give the faded remants of a Marxist blessing to the 'democratic" brigands in the next scramble for imperialist loot, and justify the next war to "make the world safe for democracy," on the part of France, England, the United States, before it even begins. Verily, the old man is up early this time. He has learned something about chauvinist apologetics from the First World War and is beginning

his war preparations betimes. You may think, reader, that I am unfair to Kautsky. Perhaps he is not talking of France, England and the United States, not of the looters of India, Morrecco and the Phillipines, but of some future Socialist democracies? Alas, no.

ized peoples of the earth." And between them "a conflict is unthinkable." If only all imperialist powers were such demo cracies, then the League of Nations could adjust all disputes, and war would a more brazen, apologist than this old be unthinkable. "It is not true that capitalist competition leads to war," he continues, ". . . the warlike element in modern capitalism is now on the decline. (This is written in 1935 with the nations armed over the ears and the new scramble for the forcible redivision of the earth already begun!) The capitalists have learned to enter into understandings with each other on the question of monopolies. (Like the Vickers-Krupp-Schneider-Creusot understandings prior to 1914!) The exploiting and adventurist elements in democratic countries who still have an interest in war no longer possess the power to provoke war. . Only in undemocratic states can the war like elements, if assisted by peculiar cir-

make war.'

Has the dominant robber-baron bourgeoisie of the three greatest imperialist powers of the world ever found a better, renegade from Marxism belying and denying all the teachings of his youth and all the elementary evidence of com-mon sense? Is there space any longer for such writings in a socialist paper? Any place any more in the labor movement for a paper that will print such shameless glorification of imperialist capitalism without a word of scornful comment, with unctuous praise!

NEW EVILS OF

LESSER EVIL" THEORY

Kautsky has found new uses, or abuses, for the unfortunate theory of "the lesser

"In war," he writes, "our attitude must be determined not only by what we think of our own government but also of the opposing government. More than ever it becomes necessary to formulate our policy not on the basis of regarding the despotic governments involved as one solid reactionary mass, but on the basis of the lesser evil. We may oppose bitter ly a despotic government under which we live, but when this government is attacked by a despotism still worse than . we cannot escape the necessity of halting our opposition temporarily until such time as the enemy is repulsed." Thus the German social chauvinists supported the Kaiser because compared to the Czar he was the "lesser

## C.P.O. Member Meet in Enthusiastic Response To Lovestone's Report; Raise Nearly \$3,000

members of the Communist Opposition responded enthusiastically to a report of the conference of the International Com-munist Opposition, delivered by Jay Lovestone last Sunday.

Lovestone, who was the American delegate to the conference, dealt with a So? This is the man who once studied letter from the I.C.O. which was dis-reported plans for the extension of the

NEW YORK CITY—Several hundred in France, Germany and Czechoslovakia; field here and in the middle west, Work condition of the I.C.O. and its sections; and the problem of communist unity. He ended his report by a call to the mem-bership for an intensified struggle against the present ultra-right line of

the Comintern.
In line with this perspective Lovestone

ers Age is to be enlarged and increased financial support to the I.C.O. is planned. To carry out this program the National Buro needs \$5,000 and proposes to raise this sum by the end of February.

The attitude of the membership was expressed in the response to the appeal to make a beginning on this \$5,000 drive. evil," and the French social-patriots sup-Marx, interpreted and defended his patched to the Comintern; the present work here as well as in Europe. Full A sum of \$2,825 in cash and pledges was ported French imperialism because it was

(Continued on Page 4)

## REVIEW OF THE WEEK

VOIDING OF WAGNER BILL IS NEW SIGN OF DRIVE OF BOSSES; INCOME FIGURES PROVE ONLY 10% RECEIVE OVER \$5,000; PEACE POSSIBLE SAY DRESS BOSSES

#### WAGNER BILL VOIDING IS | sult. PART OF BOSS DRIVE

DECISION WHICH will arouse A the whole labor movement, and which incidentally continues the process of dismantling the whole structure created by Roosevelt in the course of his New Deal, was rendered by Federal Judge Merril E. Otis when he ruled the Wagner Disputes Act unconstitutional. The basis for his ruling is that manufacturing does not constitute commerce and is therefore not subject to federal regu-

union movement behind the Wagner Bill. In the passage of this bill organized labor saw a great victory in that its right to organize without interference from company stools, agents and organizations, was recognized and written into the law of the land. In the voiding of this bill labor will therefore be quick to see a direct blow by the open shop forces thruout the land who have been sounding the tocsin of war against labor these many

the law all that the Greens and the Wolls would have us see in it. Nor did we gulwould have us see in it. Nor did we gullibly swallow Green's cry of "Magna publican Party and the Liberty League Charta of Labor" in describing the now famous Section 7a of the National Recovery Act which preceded the Wagner Bill. Life itself has proven that Section 7a, which superficially promised so much, actually gave very little to labor. The greatest advances in the trade union movement were made by those unions which kept their powder dry even "while trusting in NRA." A recent survey of the Department of Labor (April 1935) covering 15,000 establishments and 2.000,000 workers proves conclusively that it was the radical critics who were correct in their characterizations of NRA. The survey showed that despite all talk of abolition of company unionism in the flush days of NRA 63.5% of all company unions covered by the survey were organized between 1933 and 1935during the lifetime of the NRA.

The official labor movement was ultimately forced to recognize this fact slight concessions they were forced to and to begin a movement for a new law make in the way of social legislation to "curb company unionism." The during this current crisis. Wagner Labor Disputes Bill was the re- It is from this standpoint that the

Weak as this bill was in its initial appearance, it was weakened, amended and explained away in and out of Committee, to a point where hardly more than the name remained unchanged. This was done to meet the widespread offensive against this bill by manufacturing interests. No one knew better then Green that the bill as finally formulated was of doubtful value for labor to say the least, but he had committed and aroused the labor movement in its support and had not the courage to back out at that point Behind it all lurks the belief and the conviction on the part of the Greens that of labor goes without saying. William Green had mobilized the whole trade union movement behind the Warren Price of the part of the Greens that it is possible, thru friendly Senators and thru "pull" in the government, to secure thru legislation that which labor that which labor the legislation that which labor the labor that able to win thru its own economic strength. The fallacy of this belief is being illustrated from day to day as the offensive of the bosses begins to unfold itself.

It is our belief that there is more to this decision than meets the eve. It is not only a case where the manufacturing interests attempt to destroy even such equivocal and doubtful laws because they feel that economic revival has reached a We were not of those who read into point where they no longer need submit aiming a blow at the reelection aspirations of the President. The arrow strikes even deeper.

Whatever labor may have failed to secure during these years of hunger and misery since the crisis broke in 1929 it did succeed in dramatizing its demands for minimum security thru its cries for unemployment insurance, for a national minimum wage and regulation of the hours of labor. Regardless of how inadequate and even misleading the unemployment insurance schemes now adopted by 9 states, regardless how inacceptable the minimum wage and hour regulations being decided upon for various industries in a number of states, they are setting certain precedents which the manufacturers and bankers would like to destroy in their infancy. Given the first signs of revival our captains of industry and finance would destroy what

decision on the Wagner Act must be considered and resisted. The decision must be fought as part of a general campaign to prepare labor against the orfensive of capital. This labor can do best by a most intensive drive for the organization of the unorganized along industrial lines and for the establishment of a Labor Party to fight on the political

#### G. O. P. GUNS OPEN FIRE ON NEW DEAL

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY began to shoot become to shoot heavier artillery in its campaign against all forms of social legislation-which is what the New Deal represents to it. One of its big guns, Pinchot of Pennsylvania, fired a broad side against the WPA in his state, charging it with being merely a "Democratic pie counter." We are certainly the last ones to defend the integrity of any capitalist party machine, but when one corrupt boss party attacks the other, we are sure of two things. That the charges are probably correct, and the accusers want their own share. In this particular case, more must be noted. The employers lined up behind the G.O.P. are going to use the charge of corruption to blast the flimsy WPA off the map. Coupled with Hoover's St. Louis speech it is clear that their idea of rugged individualism is "no relief for the unemployed in any form.'

Alfred Smith has stepped forth in an attempt to capture the leadership of the anti-New Deal wing of the Democrats The Liberty League, which knows class but not party lines, expects to use his in mobilizing their forces services against Roosevelt. The problem that really stares the anti-administration forces in the face is that of a candidate It is clear even to these Bourbons that no conservative can defeat Roosevelt Borah who is toying with the idea of the

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

Republican nomination, undoubtedly 1s | a half billions in 1934. However, since persuaded to express their discontent (30 billion dollars). with monopoly-capital thru this "trustbuster." (Altho the Herald Tribune is Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party.) The Republican Party doesn't merely re present another boss party, and there fore an unfit instrument for the expres sion of working-class politics. It represents now the concentrating point of the employers who are against social legislation in principle. To this attitude of the Republican Party and to the company-union spawning Democratic Party the answer of the workers is-a Labor

### BRITAIN BURNS FINGERS EDEN SEEN AS A SALVE

HE USUALLY SHREWD and farseeing British diplomacy had reckoned without its host when Baldwin's cabinet broke its election pledges concerning the League. The scapegoat method, altho forcing Hoare's resignation, nevertheless may prove a boomerang for rumors are circulating that Hoare will return, and to Baldwin's position at that. The appointment of Eden is a first step back to diplomatic subtlety, for Eden is negotiating, also behind the back of the League, a military alliance with the Mediterranean countries. any crisis, Britain will defend her colonial interests and will do it against the League if necessary even the Eden be Foreign Secretary. But his appointment serves to cover this up, because of his pro-league attitude.

#### INCOMES SHOW THAT RICH REMAIN RICH

WASHINGTON HAS JUST announced the total returns from all sources of individual incomes during the year of 1934. There is considerable jubilation over the fact that total income bas increased from slightly over 13 billion dollars in 1933 to over 14 and

being subjected to pressure from these comparisons from Washington are all elements, since he would serve as a half- with an eye on the statistics for 1929 we way liberal front for the G.O.P. In this glance at them and discover that this sense, he represents a great danger to high water mark in income for 1934 is the workers and farmers, who might be less than half the income during 1929

The press makes very much ado about the increase in payments from the "litcareful to point out that he never joined the fellows" that is from those whose income is under \$5,000. The implication apparently is that wealth is being somewhat more evenly distributed. We have not the time for extensive interpretation of the statistics submitted but one fact does stare one in the face: Returns on incomes of \$5,000 and over constituted 10.5% of the total filed and 40.7% of the total income received by the government. In other words about 10% of those paying the tax have corraled a little less than half of all taxable income.

> DEFEAT OF THE S.P. OLD GUARD became apparent with the returns from 45 branches. Of this number 32 have supported the Militants.

The Old Guard seems to be thinning

## ON THE LABOR FRONT

### DRESS BOSSES SAY THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE

Negotiations between the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union and the National Dress Manufacturers' Association and the Popular Priced Dress Manufacturers Group, Inc. are still proceeding in an effort to secure some settlement prior to January 31 when the agreement

Representatives of the Joint Board have made no statements about the prospects but spokesmen for the two associations have declared that a settlement of points at present contested will undoubtedly be made. They appeared to be quite certain that a strike can be avoided.

#### BRITISH MINERS BEING FORCED INTO STRIKE

Efforts of Britain's leaders of the mine workers to avert a general strike by securing the intervention of the government has so far failed. Negotiations (Continued on Page 4)

JAY LOVESTONE Just Returned from Europe, Speaks on

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 8 P. M.

Irving Plaza Hall 15th St. and Irving Place **EUROPE IN FERMENT** 

As German Left S.P. Sees U.S.S.R.

## **Return of Weimar Republic** Is Theme of German Congress

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
At the recent congress of the Communist Party of Germany, held abroad

justment with the policy of the "National after the 7th World Congress, the op-portunist line was not merely confirmed that German imperialism, under the out extended. It must be remembered leadership of the Nazis, could not conhowever, that the conference did not re- duct a successful war of revenge. We flect the opinion of the active party ask Ercoli: How do these tactics gib nembership in Germany. Delegates to with the view that the German Com the conference were chosen arbitrarily. munists must fight for the defeat of The party units in Germany did not get Germany in case of imperialist war a chance to discuss the resolutions of the What about the slogan of revolutionary 7th World Congress before the confer- defeatism which is a correct and mos ence and to choose their delegates ac- important slogan? cordingly. The burocracy arranged the conference in such a way that the former C.P.G. towards the "National Opposition" ultra-left majority in the Central Com-

We admit that under the existing conditions of illegality in Germany it is deal of time, to arrange discussions in which the entire party membership participates and thus achieves a genuine party conference. The Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), however, has proven that this is possible. The C.P.G. did not even try. The inner party regime ment. This is incorrect for two reasons. has remained unaltered; except that the As long as there is a Nazi dictatorship did not even try. The inner party regime

### EXTENSION OF

united front is the slogan against war foreign policy of the Nazi government.

because war would lead to the defeat of Germany. This is wrong. The correct of the Corridor in this manner? Were of the foreign policy of the Nazi government.

Munist Party which aims at the establishment of Soviet power.

The decision for cleansing the army of possible only on the basis of the party which aims at the establishment of Soviet power.

The decision for cleansing the army of possible only on the basis of the party which aims at the establishment of Soviet power.

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## BRADLEY'S ... .. CAFETERIA

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Another example of the turn of the is the demand that there be an attempt mittee was replaced by an ultra-right to drive a wedge between "the army and the Nazis. This proposal rests on the illusion that the army as a whol could be won over; and on the notion difficult, and above all it requires a good that it is not necessary to expose the various class antagonisms within the

Yet another slogan of a similar char acter is that of demanding the unification of all German peoples living outside of Germany thru international agreeultra-left course has given way to the in Germany, communists are not for the unification of German sections, at present part of other states, with Hitler ent part of other states, with Hitler to exist. This slogan acquires meaning First, the demand for the decentralGermany either by means of force or only as a logical conclusion of the deization of the party organization. This The extension of the opportunist political line manifested itself in the speech of Ercoli, the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The extension of the opportunist political line manifested itself in the speech of Ercoli, the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The extension of the opportunist political line manifested itself in the speech of the Executive Committee of the Communist Political line manifested itself in the speech of the Executive Committee of the Communist Political line manifested itself in the speech of the Executive Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist Political line manifested itself in the speech of the Nazis want to annex such territories only by force and bourgeois-parliamentary republic presentative of the Executive Committee of the Communist Political line manifested itself in the speech of the Executive Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist Political line manifested itself in the speech of the Nazis want to annex such territories only by force and bourgeois-parliamentary republic presentation of the Weimar means organization. This means organization is so obvious that one can suppose the middle and upper leading bodies and therefore are to do as they please. This supposes the existence of various bourgeois-parliamentary parties. This is no process the interests of the units are to dissociate themselves from the middle and upper leading bodies and therefore are to do as they please. This is no process the interests of the units are to dissociate themselves from the middle and upper leading bodies and the process the interests of the units are to dissociate themselves from the middle and upper leading bodies and the process the middle and upper leading bodies and the process the middle and upper leading bodies and the process the middle and upper leading bodies and the process the middle and upper leading bodies and the process that the main process the middle and upper leading International.

Ercoli comes to the astounding conclusion that the main slogan of the united front is the slogan against war because war would lead to the defeat of slogan grainst state of the communists favor the approximation of the communists favor the communistation of the communist favor the communist favor the communist community the communist favor the community the community that reason for communists opposing war is we to follow Ercoli's advice we would

say YES, but we say NO! Should the proletarian revolution be this slogan would still be incorrect. In such an event such actions would be decided upon by the international revolutionary class struggle, by the extension of the revolution beyond the boundaries of present-day Germany and not by the nternational agreement between the Soviet state and surrounding bourgeois

POLITICAL PARTIES

Another right wing slogan is the d mand for normal economic relations with all other countries. Of what importance is such a slogan to the oppressed working class in Germany in their struggle against fascism? This demand is d

By "National Opposition" Comrad Thalheimer means the bloc against Hit ler proposed by the C.P. to consist of the remnants of the Catholic Center Party, Bourgeois Democrats, Liberals Democrats, Communists, even Naionalists. The C.P. proposed as the goal of this bloc-the convocation of a National Assembly i.e. to restore the bour

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## **Quotation** Marks

THOREZ SHOULD KNOW!

N the Communist Party of Franc one should fight opportunism first and foremost, for we consider it the

ost serious danger. Practically these divergences man est themselves: 1. in an underestima on of the role of French imperialism. There has been among us a tendency to combat imperialism, bu particularly the imperialism of ou

SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST IN TERNATIONAL (1928). Taker from Inprecor Volume 8 Num-

signed to approximate the needs of the This is the slogan of Schacht. It is seinbly—the return to Weimar. extremely doubtful whether such a demand can be realized under the Nazi OPPORTUNISM IN

dictatorship. The C.P. further demands the restoration of the rights of all political parties ing features are characteristic:

such purposes. Cleansing the leading centralism. military staff of fascist elements is being Secondly, they propose that party ganization the tendency is toward conresorted to consistently and effectively cadres are to be developed in the fascist centration and perfection. This applies sian Junker and military clique to take Labor Front.

abandoned and that agricultural products be exchanged thru free trade. As communists we can not merely ask for the ledge of the membership. We reject to the design of the decision of the party. These ultra-right form of organization in certain lines of industry. However, it is quite possible liquidation of the fascist economy and its substitution by free trade. The cordinate of the members on the nature lighten the party members on the nature rect demand would be the organization and the effects of these decisions and printing industry, and in other industries of food cooperatives by the class organs to arouse resistance to them. freely chosen by the workers of city and

## Wm. Green Presents Case For Industrial Unionism

o deal. When men are organized by in-

dustry they can concentrate their econ

omic power more advantageously than

when organized into craft unions. The

results of such concentration of econ-

omic strength are the promotion of their

common welfare and the advancement of

The United Mine Workers of America

is an industrial organization. All men

employed in and around the coal mines

regardless of their skill or calling, belong

to the United Mine Workers of America.

In negotiating a wage scale between the

all classes of labor, skilled and unskille

employed in and around the coal mines

all for each and each for all. A settle

ment of the wage scale is not finally

reached until the schedules applying t

all classes of labor employed in an

The advantage of such a form of or-

desirable. Much complaint has been

cause little regard has been given to the

problems of the unskilled workers. It is

if unskilled workers are forced to work

In the development of industry and or

where groups of organizations are form-

Summing up the situation, some of

he advantages resulting from an indus-

as that of the skilled worker.

around the mines are agreed to.

their common interests.

The following article reprinted from tries can be eliminated altogether. The "The American Labor Yearbook" for constant friction resulting among craft 1917-18 when William Green was Secre- organizations in their contention fo tary-Treasurer of the United Mine jurisdiction causes the labor movement Workers, is taken from the Nation of more trouble and greater inconvenience December 18, 1935. than any other problem with which it has

By WILLIAM GREEN An industrial form of organization the organization of all men employed in an industry into one compact union. Craft unionism means the organization of men employed in their respective crafts, resulting in numerous organizations within a particular industry.

The organization of men by industry rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer cooperation, and tends to develop the highest form of organization. The highest form of organization. The causes of jurisdictional disputes are considerably decreased and in many indusiderably decreased and in many indus-

ourgeois opposition to fascism. We say country. This demand for a return to By this process the interest of the un-'designed" advisedly because it is wrong free trade is another attempt at adjust- skilled worker is given as much atteneven from the bourgeois point of view. ment to the slogan of the National As- tion as that of the skilled worker. It is indeed, in the fullest sense, a policy of

ORGANIZATION FORMS On the organization field the follow-

fascist elements likewise belongs to the ticipation of all party members in the category of bourgeois-democratic opvictorious over the fascist dictatorship, such approach of the position slogans and is useless even for Party line, i.e. thru genuine democratic

> by such generals as von Fritsche, etc.
> This policy would permit the old Prusto strive for all offices in the German the organization of industry and capital. In evaluating both organizational de- gradually passing from craft organiza-

> complete control of the army.
>
> The C.P.G. further demands that the cisions we find that they are not converged by the controlled economic system be ducive to party growth but to the destroyed by the converged b

ed into councils and federated bodies. December 4, 1935.

#### trial form of organization are the re-Young Communists Bewildered duction of opportunities or causes for jurisdictional disputes, the concentration of economic strength, the blending into By Proposal to Liquidate Y. C. L. of economic strength, the blending into harmonious cooperation of all men employed in industry, and the advancem and protection of the interests of the unskilled laborer in the same proportion

Since Gil Green returned from the ignore it altogether. Congress of the Young Communist In- These Y.C.L. meetings, the not conernational with the sensational "new tributing to clarity, serve to show the

the Y.C.L. But the nature of the turn speaking "for the line." the Y.C.L. But the nature of the turn (and the present Y.C.L. leadership) is such that the more they say about the new policies the greater becomes the new policies the greater becomes the late one Lovestoneite after anconfusion and the more are the con- the floor to one Lovestoneite after an-

And so it is, that every issue of the bers would take the floor. In the Down-Young Worker contradicts what is said town meeting the would-be clever chairn the previous issues and adds to the man kept a Lovestoneite from the floor maze and mess. At every opportunity, by calling on a League member who had thru the press and open membership not asked for the floor. The results were meetings, Y.C.L. members ask the same pitiful. He began to speak, stopped and questions over and over again and the sat down abruptly mumbling that he had enough time is spent and ink spilled in answering, the problems are far from Aside from the terrific damage the

During the last week alone there took ing the methods of adopting and enplace open section membership meetings, forcing the new turns are stupefying the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. The speakers labored hard and long in an extent that they may become useless explaining the intricacies of the new line to the movement even when these policies out in the end contributed nothing to are corrected. clarity. In the discussion from the floor. nowever, at all these meetings comrades f the Communist Youth Opposition brought out a few points which shed some light on the real meaning of the

change of policy. The questions raised by us "Lovestone ites" were: Organic unity, the "Young Generation" innovation, inner party lemocracy and unity of the Communist

How the leaders behaved in their summaries testifies to their unfitness to lirect the movement along constructive channels. Of the basic differences be ween Communism and Socialism only the united front remains: the elementary concept of class struggle is scrapped for rements of "the people"; open mempership meetings where the line is "explained" after it is adopted, announced and carried out by the leadership, are the highest form of party democracy; as for unity of the Communist movement. each Y.C.L. speaker blundered thru with an evasive answer when the persistent 

line" on the organizational changes and state of mind, to be more exact, the state organic unity, the Y.C.L. members have of confusion, of the Y.C.L. members. It been in a state of perpetual bewilder- is significant that Y.C.L. members did fascists workers, are being deported by ment.

The Young Communist League leadership, knowing this condition, is trying problem is foreign to them, the whole to "crime" the mambarship by atmosphere of the discussion is best of their restourant to the editor of the e to "enlighten" the membership by atmosphere of the discussion is bewil-answering questions in the Young Worker and by open membership meetings of have to say with confidence that they are rero and Sallitto defense committee

new opportunist line of the C.I. is do-

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## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE Austrian government has, in recent weeks, been making a studious attempt to win the support of the masses formerly following the powerful Social-Democratic party. Towards this end, ist desires for expansion, because of nasome of the most skilled negotiators of tional hatred and colonial possessions, the Cabinet have been conferring with the Soviet Union. The Union of Socialist representatives of the right wing of the Soviet Republics is developing its Austrian Social Democracy for the con-strength on territory which is five times clusion of a pact of truce as a first step the size of Europe, inhabited by 160 towards a pact of peace. Without fear of challenge, we are prepared to state materials from gold to platinum, from ment being arrived at between the Right country of the world with a swiftly Social Democrats and the Clerico-Fascist growing modern industry—on this terregime of Austria is rather substantial. Minister of Social Affairs Dobretsberger gigantic economic and cultural possibil has been authorized to offer government ities. The tempo of its development is positions to certain Austrian Socialists breathtaking. The difference between the provided their party pledges to help win capitalist world rent by crises and the the support or at least undermine the steadily growing, planned system of the hostility of Austrian labor towards the Soviet Union is tremendous. 20 million present government whose foundations unemployed, and rusty, unused machiner are rather shaky.

Todate no arrangement has as yet been arrived at because these Socialist leaders do not want to receive the posts at the hand of the present government. They country is not yet finished, its socialist insist on the restoration of some form of parliamentary elections and legalizaion of their own party. That Starhemberg will not remain adamant for long peace in order to continue socialist conin his opposition to this demand can be clearly seen by his very latest declaration that "The Social Democrats were not so bad after all. They merely abused the powers in their hands." Of course, monarchy. And that the Social Demo-depths. Throttling the production of crats of the Right will not be unyielding endered plenty of support to Dolfuss present Austrian government.

some form of Hungarian "parliamentary democracy" so as to win the toleration, if not the immediate support, of important sections of the workers following the lead of the Right Wing Social Democrats. which the proletarian dictatorship

AILY indications are piling up to the effect that 1936 will witness an election campaign in some respects comparable to that of 1896. From the statements issued by the general staff of the G.O.P. it is clear that big money will be flowing in the direction of the Republican Party, from the biggest bankers and manufacturers. The Republicans are counting on a bigger campaign chest than they have had in many an election "attacked by Prussian autocracy" and struggle. They are also certain that not now Kautsky wishes to make the merely indirectly but directly large num- betrayal of the class struggle in warfinancial magnates will participate in the next and all future wars!

coming presidential contest. These big money men appear to be determined to wipe out the Roosevelt ad- OF SOVIET UNION ministration. Apparently they suffer tion has become sound, that elements of crises are no longer with us, and that certain types of government intervention in the system of production and exchange are to-day not only unnecessary, but harmful. Despite all their loose talk about keeping government out of business they never veto subsidies to big banks, gifts to railroads, and unpayable loans to huge corporations. What they resist is mounting taxation and the slightest, most inadequate efforts at relief for the masses of the unemployed. These stalwart constitutionalists consider relief to a jobless worker as underwhinds his region of the side of Soviet Russia."

Las we must still doubt the Socialist and the Kautskys lead it. And as to the League of Nations, what they resent economic conditions can be gleaned from the latest report of Mr. J. F. T. O'Connor, Controller of the Currency, than from the bulletins of the life for the masses of the unemployed. These stalwart constitutionalists consider relief to a jobless worker as underwhich they will lead their antistic proposed to solve the side of Soviet Russia."

Alas, we must still doubt the Socialist International if the Kautskys lead it. And as to the League of Nations, what malevolent fraudulence can lead any friend of humanity or socialism to consistent the imperialist powers unite, as sooner or later they be present economic conditions can be gleaned from the latest report of Mr. J. F. T. O'Connor, Controller of the Currency, than from the bulletins of the present staff of the union autarchy and mad-dog nationalism, as its international if the Kautskys lead it. And as to the League of Nations, what malevolent fraudulence can lead any friend of humanity or socialism to consistent the problem—as they do most questions therefunds degenerates into market cosmopolitanism degenerates into market cosmopolitanism, as its international if the Kautskys lead it. And as to the League of Nations, what they are staff of the union international if the Kautskys lead it. And as to the League of Nations, what they are staff of the union international proposed to solve the side of Soviet Russia."

The side of Soviet Russia."

A tion in the system of production and ex-

fathers.

This division within the ranks of the decisive section of the ruling class is of affords are shrinking. Under such cir
This division within the ranks of the decisive section of the ruling class is of affords are shrinking. Under such cir
"What has been set up in Russia is most vital concern to the masses of cumstances the government bonds at a workers and farmers. Nothing could be lowered rate of interest must be taken more fallacious than a proposal to have on by the banks. It is a sort of Hobthe workers and farmers rally to the son's choice for the bankers. Furthersupport of Roosevelt in the coming more, the trend towards an increase i presidential elections. Such tactics smell the bank holdings of federal securities Kautsky regards Russia's "Oriental Des of the so-called "Peoples Front" policy is both marked and constant. in France, in which the Communists and The piled-up assets which some shal- will happen if the League of "Demo Socialist Party, which is in very many reviving prosperity are symptoms of the United States should lead the atrespects to the right of Roosevelt, has economic stagnation rather than extent tack? The reader would be mentally five members in the Laval Cabinet, and sion. The bankers would certainly like myopic indeed who does not envisage is responsible for hundreds of emergency to lend money. However, the element of decrees against the social, political, and interest and to no small extent the questions. economic welfare of the great masses of tion of security are involved here. Were forefront of that attack.

that the Communists in the United be so acute.

This excerpt from a longer article is scale and may finally result in war. This | Thus the postoponement of war may lead then from "Revolutionners Sozialisten" is the irreconcilable antagonism between to the prevention of war, or at least, if Briefe" official organ of the Left Wing capitalism and socialism which will lead war does break out the chances for the of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The leader of this group—"Arbeitskreis Revolutionaerer Socialisten is S. Aufheuser, formerly one of the

leaders of the trade union movement.

expansion of the fascist aggressor. The The only world power not plotting war because of economic crises, or imperial oil to iron, the greatest agricultura ritory and in this land of the mos on the capitalist side—full employmer and the construction of more and more industrial giants on the socialist side The political system of this gigantic Prolongation of Breathing Spell transformation has not yet been com pleted, but it is absolutely certain tha the Soviet Union is and must be for

But the very fact that two strongly conflicting and mutually exclusive econ omic and social systems face each other along with any such arrangement will on a universal scale contains the danger come far-reaching steps towards the restoration of the Austro-Hungarian italist system is shaken to its very consumption goods it is frantically encan be seen from the fact that they gaged in the production of tanks, planes, cannons and war ships. While in Europe whose program remains basic with the forces of destruction are growing, the Soviet Union is witnessing a growth We venture to prophecy that Austria is heading towards the introduction of which the Soviet Union is mastering its difficulties and represent a shining example to the struggling proletariat capitalist countries, it will be the butt of the capitalist guns. To the extent building an economic system that know no crises while the capitalist economist are beginning to doubt their own system,-to that extent, class hatred in creases and expands on a continental dle class and the petty bourgeoisie and freedom and winning power.

struction and to stabilize its own sys-

to a world-wide conflict even before the victory of revolution is so much greater. soviet system attains full maturity.
In its struggle with imperialism the In its struggle with imperialism the solution willy-nilly must come to gation of this breathing spell. The Hit- in the process of transition from ultraagreements with capitalist states whose ler says that nations do not want war, leftism yet here and there the limits of

o ultilize the differences in the imperialst camp (France vs Germany), must prevent alliance against the Soviet Union England Germany), must eliminate world proletariat is introduced as a lecisive factor. Only the increased activity of the workers parties of those countries allied with the Soviet Union will be able in the hour of decision to defeat the class antagonisms between the capitalist partners and the Soviet Union and insure the adherence to the treaties only the revolutionary vigilance of the proletariat will make it impossible for such a war to be turned into a class war

Actually, the Soviet Union has only one ally on whom it can rely, provided it is summoned quickly and developed adequately, and that is the international, the eve of war. It is true that Germany revolutionary working class. Only to the will avoid a world war until she is fully extent to which its power of action is armed hoping to change the alliances of ncreased, its firmness is established and the European nations in its favor and to its revolutionary elan strengthened can neutralize England and Italy and its cessfully negotiating a pact with the adthe catastrophe be postponed and the vassal states. That section of the antirelation of forces changed in favor of the fascist proletariat which is pinning its

Soviet Union. The growing industrialization of Russia, the utilization of its tremendous natural resources, the technical training of its people will increase its indus. trial and human strength as a military force. If, however, the world proletariat succeeds in postponing the war another few years, the Soviet Union will be in a position which will make it extremely dangerous for any imperialist alliance to attack it—the international working barbarous Hitler regime out of its own class will be strengthened thru the re- ranks as if a war were out of the quessystem as the agent of decaying mono- break it fulfills its revolutionary task both should speak up about this case.

The German proletariat faces a parexistence is likewise menaced by the it is the Cabinets that want war, the permissibility on the opposite extreme fact remains that no state in the whole opportunism—have already been reach-S. U. must try by means of diplomacy world cultivates and systematically ed and surpassed. Examples of the latglorifies war as does the German state. ter we have already discussed in the case In addition to this conscious psycho- of the Painters (united front with logical preparation for war we find a Zausner) and the Cloakmakers (organic strong fatalism among broad sections of unity with the Heins group). We must the bourgeoisie expecting great changes now take up another example in the its neighbors. The class nature of the from an imperialist war. The worst part case of the Dress Pressers Local 60 of the German the ILGWU. changed by these alliances. These al- proletariat including even its revolution iances are of significance only if the ary cadres toy with the thought that a WHO'S WHO? war is necessary in order to overthrow the hated Hitler regime from the outreasons come to the same conclusionnamely, war.

These proletarian fatalists start with ompletely isolated and would curely aefeated in the event of a war. This events, for example, the Anglo-German naval agreements, the vacillations o

is all the more dangerous since the fascist dictatorship is most aggressive in its foreign policy and is constantly of hopes of Hitler's defeat on a war and gain remarkably well. In the numerous hence neglects its own revolutionary forces and fails to counteract the fatalism of the bourgeoisie and the war propaganda of the growing generation with even gone to the extent of turning fire propaganda for peace and for the revolutionary independent struggle of the workers, is involuntarily becoming the ally of the Hitler regime.

The German proletariat must develop The ousting of Cherkess from the the revolutionary elements against the labor movement was hailed by every flection of the power of the Soviet Union tion. Only with organized and trained of individual countries in their imperial- thru the revolutionary overthrow of st designs and the nature of the fascist the fascist dictatorship or if war should poly capitalism will be clear to the mid- by defeating the opponents of socialism

(Continued from Page 1) bers of the wealthiest industrial and time into a permanent system for the

Karl Kautsky in his dotage has long been a professional Russenfresser. venom-dipped polemical pen has sput

Communist International to-day con

The 5,000 odd national banks are clog- socialist crusade?

To sum up, this suggestion of ours cally than it is, this problem would not TWO WAYS OF States could ever even dream of throw- Regardless of all rosy proclamations ing such support to Roosevelt in the which Washington may issue and cerface of a concentrated attack might ap- tainly will issue with increasing fre- patching up an argument against the the Old Guard means by its fetishism of exercised caution in associating with pear as fantastic. To this we can only quency as the election campaign warms conducting of a revolutionary struggle bourgeois democracy, its so-called "demo- dual unionist elements, so must they say that altogether too many times in the past have we been compelled to warn against proposals logically adopt-warn against proposals logically adopt-warn against Party seed by the official Communist Party seed by the official Communication Communist Party seed by the official Communication Communi ed by the official Communist Party as said of the authoritative spokesmen of events developed. What might appear the big banking interests. Hence Chair-States, France, England, tho war is "un-struggle against war. It pretends that fantastic to-day will probably be hailed man Leo T. Crowley of the Federal thinkable," yet, as an afterthought, when we can get the fruits of socialism with position to proletarian dictatorship, the as realistic to-morrow. We have seen Deposit Insurance Corporation and it does come, no revolutionary struggle out the struggle for socialism, that we opposition to revolutionary struggle policies no worse and no better than Robert V. Fleming, President of the against war. this sort adopted by the official Commun- American Bankers Association, have "In undemocratic states, however," during peace and true democracy) with- revolutionary struggle against war, the ist Party in violation of basic Commun- been working overtime seeking to have continues Kautsky as the reader holds out socialism, that we have them al- shameless gilding of the prison bars of

Kautsky Enlists for the Defense of Capitalism

mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding many with the doctrines of the founding many with the doctrines of the founding fathers.

The b,000 odd national banks are clogged with holdings of government obligations. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding mining his rugged individualism. However, subsidies to giant corporations they consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding solution. This condition is not a matter of choice on the part of the banks, but captured the policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding solution. The bound is not a matter of consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding solution. The bound is not a matter of consider as policy in the strictest harmony with the doctrines of the founding solution. The bound is not a matter of solution is not a matter of solution in the days of choice on the part of the banks are closed with the peace and freedom are becoming more and more incompatible with captured with the peace and freedom are

Socialists are hog-tied by the radical low observers might greet as a sign of cratic" Nations, if France, England, and the economic situation less unsound basi-

ist conceptions and in disregard of our banks return to the business of loan- his breath expecting a call to revolution ready in "democratic" countries, in cap- capitalism, what are they all but one and warnings. In opportunistic politics of ing money to private industry. So far at last from the venerable man, "in unitalist America, England and France! It the same thing, an opposition to social-the kind played by the sections of the their appeals have fallen on stone ears.

tered endlessly against the only land ment keeps the people down by force itself from Cherkess. Nothing of the where the workers rule. But to put over | . . . no party must be called upon to do | kind occurred. The "lefts" kept their his theory of the "lesser evil," he is wil- what may not be within its power to ac- mouths shut and thereby helped the adling to admit that even the Soviet Union complish." With this sorry philistinism ministration over a particularly rough may yet be the lesser evil.

"Socialists who consider it their duty to oppose the Soviet despotism in Russia in most emphatic manner PEACE AND DEMOCRACYwill thus be moved to support Soviet WITHOUT SOCIALISM Russia should it find itself attacked

the side of Soviet Russia."

the state economy of an Oriental despotism-not the socialized production Human beings or no human beings,

against at least those two countries potism" as the "lesser evil." But what

Kautsky doesn't care how he does i provided he succeeds at long last in

the breath of revolution dissipates into stretch of road that for a time threatened

Capitalism has had many a defender in

was once a trade unionist, so the capitalist apologist who was once a Marxist,
One would think that at least on the is the most shameless of his tribe.

true democracy, must remain a dream Cohen and Wasilevsky they went right as long as capitalism is not super- down the line in support of the adminis seded by socialism." (Can he be think- tration proposals! ing of the younger Kautsky who wrote "The Road to Power" and the AS TO UNITY polemics against Bernstein?)

and world peace . . ."

## TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

Altho the general line of the Com-

Outside of the administration forces there are to be found two groups, the side. Thus three tendencies for different Progressive Group, affiliated with the Progressives of Local 22, Local 1, etc. and the Rank and File Group, formerly connected with the Trade Union Unity the assumption that Hitler Germany is League and since its liquidation, an orphan. The administration forces headed by Max Cohen and Isidor Wasilevassumption is false as the most recent sky are known to be among the most conservative, if not reactionary. These were the allies and partners of Cherkess, recently bounced out of his office and mem-This conscious orientation towards war bership in the ILGWU because of graft and corruption.

When the newest wrinkel in the line began to unfold itself, the "Left Group" that local considered its first task that of atoning for the past by now becoming highly respectable. This they achieved by the simple process of sucministration. We must state that they questions that have come up they have followed a policy of complete endorsement of Cohen and Wasilevsky and have

THE CHERKESS CASE

honest trade unionist. Among the dress pressers, however, the question arose, what have our officials to say about it? which in turn will hinder the bourgeoisie forces will it be able to prevent war Cohen and Wasilevsky were so closely associated with him over a period of many years that it was but natural that Instead they maintained an unbroken silence. It was even rumored in the local that it was upon Cherkess' threat that they kept their silence. Be that as it may, one would surely expect the "lefts" support the demands of the progressives that the administration dissociate

UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTION

in great significance for the members of simultaneously by Germany and its heyday. But as it visibly decays and the local—the unemployment question. Japan. There can be no doubt that in disintegrates before our eyes, as it grows The progressives proposed: registration such event the Socialist International, ever more despotic, ever more warlike, of all unemployed; strict adherence to a like the League of Nations, will be on as its achievements crumble, as its delist in handing out jobs; elimination of mocracy withers and produces the temporary jobs during the season there-

But not so Kautsky. His impudence appoint two assistants to Wasilevsky. knows no bounds. Like the exploiter who This at a time of widespread unemploy One would think that at least on this the "lefts" would find their bearings "Some Socialists," he writes, "like to assert that enduring peace, like did not. True to their bargain with

olemics against Bernstein?)

It is with such a record of support of "Fortunately," he answers the the administration that the "left group" younger Kautsky and all revolution- now comes to ask for unification with socialists, "this extreme view is the Progressive Group. The latter has as false as the view, with which it is placed one condition before any discuscoupled, that democracy . . . is possible only under a Socialist regime. break their pact with the Cohen-Wasilev-What is true is that the establishment sky group! An eminently proper demand of democracy must precede Socialism in the face of several months of "left" activity along the new policy.

Now at last, we have the key to what Just as in the past the progress

can have the fruits of socialism (en- against capitalism, the opposition to

## Books of the Age

### By Bertram D. Wolfe

CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE, by | petty bourgeois socialism, democratic and Karl Marx. International Publishers. 159pp. \$1.00.

With the publication of this work International Publishers makes available for the first time in a complete, popularpriced form one of the most important of the Marxist classics.

"Class Struggles in France" has been available in English hitherto only in the Socialist Labor Party edition, an excellent translation by Henry Kuhn but with a mutilated version of the introduction of Engels, and at double the price of the present volume. International publishes for the first time the complete Engels introduction and adds many valuable explanatory notes.

"Class Struggles" has had an unhappy fate, symbolical of the fate of Marxism itself at the hands of the leaders of Social Democracy. The falsification of Engels' introduction by Bernstein, and latterly by Kautsky, was retold in my recent article on Kautsky (Workers Age, November 30, 1935) and need not be repeated. But it is necessary to add here that the American Socialist Labor Party reprinted the falsified introduction in 1922 as a pamphlet under the title "The Revolutionary Act, Military Insur-rection or Political and Economic Action," by Frederick Engels, and sought to draw from it the conclusion that revolution is outmoded. If it alleges that it was unaware of the forgery, and, taken in by Bernstein, acted in good faith, that would merely show how little the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party know of the spirit of Marxism.

#### Timely Lessons

But the work of Marx is far more important than the much discussed introduction by Engels. Like the "Eighteenth Brumaire" and the "Civil War in France' it is a brilliant example of Marx's ability to use his own historical method to catch history on the wing, to interpret current events while they are still taking place and lay bare their socio-political significance.

Still more important to the Marxist of today are the tactical lessons contained in this little masterpiece, lessons forgotten by the leaders of the Second International during the "peaceful," pre-war period, and denied by them today. Here the revolutionary socialist will find many passages defining and explaining the necessity of proletarian dictatorship; discussion of the role of the peasantry; of the need of alliances between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the former; withering analysis of the dangers of

### Review of Week

(Continued from Page 1) with the mine owners having lailed before, they are to be resumed on January 26 and if unsuccessful a general strike may result on January 27.

Efforts of the Laborites in parliament to have the Commons reconvene on January 21 instead of February 4, so that the miners difficulties could be considered was defeated.

By a vote of 478,000 against 28,000 miners had voted some weeks ago to call a general strike if their demand for a flat increase of 50c a day is not grant-

THREE KENTUCKY MINERS have been released as a result of the amnesty by Christmas drive of the Joint Committee for the release of the Kentucky miners. The three of the seven miners serving life sentence for the shootings at tower, William Hudson and Elzie Phil lips.

Governor Ruby Laffoon as one of his last official acts commuted the sentences of the three men to four and six months, thus making them immediately eligible

Release of the remaining four is being urged upon Gov. Chandler who succeeded Laffoon, by prominent Kentucky liberals and by the locals of the United Mine Workers Union.

BROOKLYN PAINTERS Union officials including Jacob Wellner (Jake the Bum), Revlin, Belsky and Goodman were found guilty of attempted extortion by Judge Brancato. Sentence has not yet been pronounced.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORK-ERS of Local 119 were locked out of the Central Park Casino (a city concession). A delegation is to see Park Commissioner Moses with a demand for reinstate-

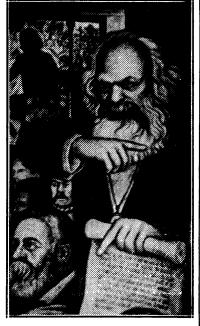
FRUEHAUF TRAILER CO. ordered, by the National Labor Relations Board, to cease using private detectives for the purpose of reporting union activities among the workers. Seven discharged employes were ordered reinstated. This is the first decision affecting the auto industry.

ASSOCIATED PRESS fired Morris Watson a reporter and active leader of the Newspaper Guild, for union activities. The case is before the National Relations Board.

constitutional illusions; interesting sidelights on Bonapartism, (a phenomenon bearing certain resemblances to modern fascism).

As to the question of proletarian dic tatorship, readers will remember the outrageous assertion of Kautsky that Marx only "mentioned it once and that in a private letter," an assertion either brazenly or stupidly repeated recently by Sidney Hook. This book alone is enough to destroy such falsehoods and the reputation of those who repeat them. Considerations of space forbid quotation, but I need only refer the reader to the last paragraph on page 42; the close of the first paragraph on page 58; the analysis of the clubs as the analog of the Russian soviets on page 83 and the top of page 99; the warning against constitutionalism ("the constitution is a fortress which safeguards only the besiegers not the besieged") on p. 130: and the selection of proletarian dictatorship or accepting their constitutional illusions as the distinction between revolutionary or basing its fight on the defense of the and petty bourgeois socialism on p. 126. constitution and democratic forms

bourgeoisie. tern) against accepting the leadership of proletariat to lean today.



In this little work Communists will against the attacks of the reaction and also find much needed discussion on the Bonapartism (read, fascism). Here one "Peoples' Front." Here Marx urges again will find many a Daladier and Herriot in and again the necessity, so recently re- the tragicomedy of the "defense of demodiscovered by the Comintern as it shakes cracy" by the pitiful "mountain" of the off its sectarian stupor, of alliances be- France of 1848 to '50. And, if we may tween the proletariat and the petty descend from tragi-comedy to burlesque And here also the party many analogs of the Leibowitzes and member will find much needed warnings Marcantonios on whom the American (as yet not rediscovered by the Comin- | Communist Party is encouraging the

the petty bourgeoisie in those alliances, This little classic should be in the pos-

session of every socialist and communist inicturesque and dramatic, aspiring to workingman and its lessons from the completeness and accuracy, and essenpast should be made part of the living equipment of revolutionary socialism, as it faces the problems of today.

EAT, DRINK AND BE WARY, by F. J. Schlink. Covici-Friede. 320pp. \$2.00.

Another "Consumers' Research" book, this time limiting itself to questions of diet and food adulteration. The field begins to show signs of being overworked; there is comparatively little new in this whole work for those who have read all the preceding books that have issued from the same source of information. Social analysis seems to become more and more tenuous with each work (Kallet's recent book is an honorable exception) until in Philip's "Skin Deep" and the present volume, it ceases altogether. There is much food for thought in this hair-raising record of adulterating, poisoning and undermining health of the entire community for profit, but Schlink offers no such "food." only "grandmother's instincts" and going back to "ante-bran, pre-crisco" days. We're willing to wager that Mr. Schlink himself will ingest more and more adulterated foods and profitable poisons until the profit system is abolished. But Mr. Schlink seems not to be much interested in the social order, or not to perceive its connection with the facts he records.

THE TWENTIES (Volume VI of the Series, "Our Times") by Mark Sullivan. 674pp. \$3.75.

This is the last volume of Mark Sulivan's history of the first quarter of the 20th century. It covers the Harding and Coolidge administrations from the nomination of Harding to the end of the reapot Dome scandals. Its author is a first-rate newspaperman, sensitive to the

tially conservative in his reaction to contemporary phenomena. In this, as in the preceding volumes, he tried hard to recreate the atmosphere of the epoch thru a recording of the events that made the headlines, the songs that were sung, the books read, the jokes cracked, the cartoons that were chuckled over, the clothes that were worn. The work has the virtues and defects of its method. It is lively, interesting, gossipy, superficial.

The things that future generations will consider most significant about this epoch often escape the recorder, and underlying forces are never analyzed. Yet it is entertaining reading, a solace for those who have a nostalgic affection for "the good old days" (as we read of the oil scandals, the lost generation, the Menckevian wise guys and the red raids, we are moved to ask: "What's good about them?"), and a useful source book for future historians which will save them much digging in newspapers, for above sound personal advice about following all, it is the careful distillation of innumerable headlines of the first half of the 1920's.

#### FIVE BEST BOOKS **OF** 1935

Novels Europa, by Robert Briffault. Scrib-

Of Time and the River, by Thomas Wolfe. Scribners.

- Non Fiction Karl Marx, by Franz Mehring. Covici-Friede.

Crisis of the Middle Class, by Louis Corey. Covici-Friede. Marxism and Modern Thought. Harcourt Brace.

## **LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . .** by James Sand

## A Pre-Marxian in America: Wilhelm Weitling

HE twilight of Wilhelm Weitling's thought and influence is concomitant with within five years he had outgrown Weitling's pulpit-communism to such an extent his second arrival in America in 1849. But a study of the course of his life and ideas is important for an understanding of American labor leadership since it is a general demonstration of what befell the pre-Marxian communists who based their Weltanschauungen on religion or mysticism. Weitling's contribution to the development of Marxism cannot be denied; indeed, it should be praised as well as recognized, as it was by Mehring in the jubilee edition of Weitling's Garantien in 1908, marking the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. Though he was a powerful stimulus to Marx, his program of action proved inadequate to the conditions of the proletariat under capitalism, and in America he fell back on the Proudhonist melange for a panacea. Within a decade of the beginning of his life in the United States he was no longer in the labor movement, and he died in 1871 after several years of megalomania during which he went berserk, believing that he had become a second, greater Isaac Newton, and claiming that he had made great astronomical discoveries.

Wilhelm Weitling was born in 1808 in Magdeburg, Germany. There he attended school and served an apprenticeship as a tailor. Later in life he said that the impulse to his thought on social questions came from his early environment. "If I many times boil up in rage on account of the wretchedness of society, it is because I in my life have often had the opportunity of seeing misery near to, and of feeling it, in part, myself; because I as a boy was reared in bitterest misery, so bitter, indeed, that I shudder to describe it." When he was 18 he became a journeyman tailor, and thereafter traveled about the countries of Western Europe, plying his trade. It is said that his quarrel over a girl, with a Hapsburg prince in Vienna in 1835 forced him to leave Austria, and he went to Paris intending to make his permanent home in France. There he become a member of the "Federation of the Just," the first international proletarian organization of any consequence.

He remained with the Federation throughout the rest of his life in Europe, becoming its most important organizer. In France, in Switzerland he set up secret, underground cells of workers for the overthrow of oppression and exploitation. In Switzerland he remained several years doing great work among the Prussian political exiles. He helped found a monthly organ called "The Cry for Help of the German Youth." The "Young Germany" movement in Switzerland embraced Weitling, and the poet Heine said that Weitling's works were considered the catechism of Young Germany. In Switzerland Weitling set up communal eating-houses for workers and revolutionists, but they petered out, as did the magazine after some little time. In 1838 Weitling's first book appeared under the Evarts on May 5, 1931, are Bill High- title, "Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte" (Humanity as it is and as it should be). Within two years it had been translated into Hungarian, and copies were in circulation among the workers in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Scandinavia. Marx at this time had just entered his twenties and had not even appeared on the revolutionary scene yet. In 1842 Weitling published his magnum opus, Die Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit. (Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom) This work raised Weitling to the most important place in the revolutionary movement of the time, but he never lived up to its early promise, and his evangelical radicalism contained within itself the seeds of its collapse.

In 1843 when the Swiss police discovered a copy of the prospectus of his third great work, Das Evangelium eines armen Suenders (Confessions of a Poor Sinner), they threw him into jail and then handed him over to the Prussian police. At his trial he conducted himself like a true revolutionary, and the entire European working class was stirred by his eloquent defense of communism and proletarian rights. The next year, after his release from Prussia, he was invited to London for a banquet in his honor, at which he spoke. The Rheinische Jahrbuecher two years later said of this meeting: "The proletarians of all nations begin under the banner of communistic democracy actually to fraternize." Weitling himself closed his speech in London with a rousing salute: "To young Europe: may the democrats of all nations, casting away all jealousy and national antipathy of the past, unite in a brotherly phalanx for the destruction of tyranny and for the universal triumph of equality." One German scholar said of this meeting that it led to the founding of the First International. Certainly it is highly important as marking the first time that the workers of England met in a common cause together with the continental workers.

Karl Marx was at this time entering full manhood, and had not yet laid the foundations of his thought. But he saw in Weitling's Garantien emotional stature and broad directive purpose, and in 1844 he wrote in the Paris Vorwaerts, "Where could the German bourgeoisie, including its philosophers and divines, point to a work championing bourgeois political emancipation which could in any way compare with Weitling's Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit'? One who compares the jejune and faint-hearted mediocrity of German political literature with this tremendous and brilliant debut of the German working class, one who compares the huge baby-shoes of the proletariat with the dwarfed and down-at-heel political shoes of the bourgeoisie, cannot but prophesy that Cinderella will grow to giant stature." But Marx's mind was omnivorous and his thought grew so rapidly that

that he and Engels could write the Communist Manifesto. They also became impatient with the Federation of the Just, and Engels has recorded their criticism of it in his History of the Communist League. He says:

"The social theories of the Federation, in so far as they existed at all, were wrong-headed. This was due to the conditions of the time. . . . The exploiter was a small master, and the workers in the trade lived in hopes of themselves becoming small masters. In addition, vestiges of the guild-spirit still adhered to the German craftsmen. They were not as yet fully fledged proletarians, were only in the way of becoming members of the modern proletariat, were still hangers-on of the petty bourgeoisie, the large-scale cap-

Marx and Engels were at this time in Brussels, and there Weitling met them. On March 30th 1846 there was an evening meeting of socialists, and Marx, Engels, and Weitling were down to speak on the subject: "How is it best to make propaganda in Germany?" Marx and Engels propounded the necessity for sound and shrewd tactics; whereas Weitling was uncomprosimingly revolutionary, ultra-left and anarchistic. Weitling was furious, and the next day he wrote to Hess: "Marx and Engels discussed the point violently against me. . . . I became enraged but Marx surpassed me; at last everything was in an uproar. . . . I see in Marx nothing else than a good encyclopedia but no genius." Engels returned this compliment ten-fold in the History of the Communist League.

He arrived in America late in 1847 and immediately set up a "Union for Deliverance." The news of the outbreak of the 1848 revolution in Germany sent him hurrying back, but he arrived after it was all over. He returned to America permanently in August 1849. In New York he established the "Arbeiter Verein" and helped found a communistic colony—communia—in Wisconsin. In 1851 he began to publish the Republik der Arbeiter. But the colony collapsed in 1852, the newspaper and the union passed out of existence in 1855.

Weitling threw overboard whatever there was good in his doctrine while he agitated in America. Instead of fighting for the ownership of production by the workers, a position he at first held as necessary to proletarian revolution, he directed his attention to exchange and came to agreement with Proudhon that wnership of exchange was the road to working class emancipation. This change in Weitling's doctrine has been ascribed by some labor historians to the different political conditions which Weitling found in the United States. They hold that Weitling's bank of exchange was a compromise between revolution and the existing order. Which is to say, in short, that Weitling had no long-range perspective on the development of capitalism and no understanding of its generic similarities of development. To be sure, the presence of the frontier, the agricultural economy prevalent, the wealth of natural resources, made revolution a more distant goal, but would never, and has never blinded Marxists from the realization that ultimately the means of production would come into the hands of a few exploiters and that the mode of production throughout would be exploitation through wage-labor of workers. Marx had not yet even begun to write Das Kapital, but already in the Manifesto this position was clear and Weitling might well have learned it if his mind had been open.

Despite the fact that Weitling was a moralist, and not a sociologist, he hit upon several brilliant ideas which Marx took over and further developed. He understood that society like nature is in constant flux, that change is the law of social life. In the Garantien, he says:

"Never will an organization of society be found which is unchangeably the best for all time, because that takes for granted a standstill of the intellectual capacities of man, a standstill of progress, which is not conceivable. Progress is a law of nature; a standstill is a gradual decomposition of society."

"Men are made to butcher each other and starve for national colors, arms, and the name of Sovereign. All passions and prejudices of the mass are excited in order to reduce them to machines without a will in the name of nationality and country; by these hollow sounds they are subjected to vanity and despotism, who rule them with the greatest ease."

On organized religion he had decided antagonistic views which he expressed at one time thus: "The mass of the population has been led on the road to misery and privation by the mummeries of religion, and is led by it still; and there are but few that see through the diabolical game that is played with them, and fewer still that have the courage to resent it, and make it known. 'But the hour is coming'."

After the failure of the newspaper, colony, union, and bank-of-exchange idea, Weitling secured a job in the immigration office at Castle Garden, New York. He died in 1871 leaving a wife and a large brood.

Weitling was in no sense a scientist; he was a prophet, and like most prophets he saw the broad outlines of the desired land but he knew not how to reach it.

> - In The Next Issue THE FATHER OF AMERICAN MARXISM: F. A. SORGE