

Erwin Seligman
237 E, 88 St,
New York 28, N,



AIR MAIL

Mr, Dr, Anton Pannekoek
Regentessaan 8

Zeist- Holland

Holland.

(Regentesselaan 8)

AIR MAIL!

AIR MAIL

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AIR MAIL



11/1

Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei von Amerika

DEUTSCHSPRACHIGES
KOMITEE



P. O. Box 1076, Church St. Sta.
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N. Y.
U. S. A.

April 24, 1952.
237 E, 88 St,
New York 28.

Mr, Dr, Anton Pannekoek
Regentesselaan 8
Zeist- Holland.

Werter Genosse Pannekoek:

Ich erlaube es mir an dich zu schreiben, aus dem einfachen Grunde weil ich das Bedürfniss dazu habe und auch weil ich von dem Genossen -"Paul Mattick -153 W, 21 St,- New York-" deine wertvolle Adresse erfahren hatte.

Der Grund meines Schreibens geht dahin, dich zu fragen ob du eine Kopie von -Die Urgesellschaft- in der Russischen Sprache an der Hand hast, und welches vor der Russischen Revolution gedruckt wurde. Das Werk erschien hier in Amerika unter dem Titel, bei dem Autor, -Lewis H, Morgan) -Ancient-Society -"

Ferner sagte mir dein Bekannter dass du jetzt am Werke bist und ein Werk heutiger Geschichtsauffassung mit der Vergangenheit herausbringen willst. Ich erlaube mir dich anzufragen ob es dir möglich ist mir ein Exemplar in Deutsch, oder in English zukommen zu lassen, aber auch gleichzeitig mit der Preisangabe. Kamerad, Paul Mattick, gab mir dein letztes Werk -"Workers Councils-" und das andere Werk -"Lenin as Philosopher- mit nach Hause, welches mich zur Frage veranlasste-, dich um eine Deutsche Kopie des Werkes -Workers Councils." in der deutschen Sprache zu übermitteln.

Ich kenne Genossen Mattick nur sehr flüchtig, anderenfalls könnte ich dir mehr von ihm berichten. Du ersiehst dass ich Mitglied der S.L.P. Amerikas bin, und Esperanto spreche auch gut unseren verstorbenen Genossen -Weder- kannte welcher ja dir kein unbekannter gewesen sein sollte.

Solltest du irgends etwas von mir wünschen, dann schreibe an meine Adresse -237 E. 88 St. New York 28. N.Y. und solltest du etwas von unserer Partei wünschen, dann bitte schreibe an unsere Partei.

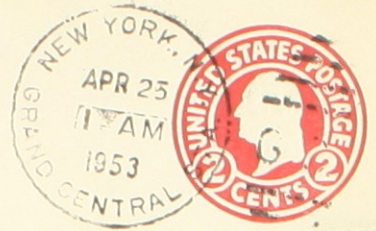
Damit will ich schließen, und dir das Allerbeste von ganzem Herzen wünschen.!

Mit sozialistischen Grüßen ,

Lewis Seligman

E. Seligman
237 E 88th St
New York 28

M/2



Mr.
Dr. Anton Tamme Kose
Regentenskeer Str. 8
Leist.
Hollaud



Principle of Industrial Unionism Missed by Advocate of 'Councils'

WORKERS' COUNCILS, by Dr. Anton Pannekoek. Published in English by *The Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils*, Melbourne, Australia.

By E. F. Teichert

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It is, for the most part, an unwieldy compilation of aimless theorizing. Its sentences are often confusing or contradictory, but this may be due to some extent to the translation. Our review will be confined primarily to the rather small part of the book devoted to "Workers' Councils," from which we quote two of the most pertinent paragraphs:

Thus the working class is confronted with the necessity of itself taking production in hand. The mastery over the machines, over the means of production, must be taken out of the unworthy hands that abuse them. This is the common cause of all producers, of all who do the real productive work—the workers, the technicians, the farmers. But it is the workers, chief and permanent sufferers from the capitalist system, and, moreover, majority of the population, on whom it impends to free themselves and the world from this scourge. They must... [manage] the means of production. They must be masters of the factories, masters of their own labor, to conduct it at their will. Then the machines will be put to their true use, the production of abundance of goods to provide for the life necessities of all.

This is the task of the workers in the days to come. This is the only road to freedom, this is the revolution for which society is ripening. By such a revolution the character of production is entirely reversed; new principles will form the basis of society. First, because the exploitation ceases. The produce of common labor... [will belong to] all those who take part in the work. No surplus value to capital any more; ended is the claim of superfluous capitalists to a part of the produce.

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And a proposition that goes only halfway is worse than none at all, for it inspires hope without showing how to give that hope meaning and effect, hence it may lead the hopeful to disaster.

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Obviously Socialism can never be established unless the workers take "production in hand," that is, unless they take over, hold and collectively operate the means of wealth production. But since they have not yet done so anywhere, the important question now is: How can the working class be recruited for the organization that will give it the power to take "production in hand"? If we read the book aright, this is to be done by law, i.e., by retaining the political State for a sort of transition period. For in the section titled "Law" (page 17), Dr. Pannekoek holds: "With the growing feeling that existing law is contrary to justice, their [the workers'] will is roused to change it and to make their conviction of right and justice the law of society." And, in the concluding sentences of that section, he says that this business of making "their convictions of right and justice the law of society" will only be a "preliminary condition," because a "heavy and lengthy struggle" will be needed to "overcome the resistance of the capitalist class defending its rule with the utmost power."

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It logically follows from this that the working class must organize *itself* to abolish capitalism, and to do this it must first be enlightened with a knowledge of Socialism. How can it be thus enlightened without an independent political organization of labor? How can it be enlightened if not through an independent Socialist organization that has dedicated itself to the exclusive task of working class emancipation? We hold that it cannot. This, to us, is as logical, and as simple, as the fact that two plus two equals four. "Without political organization the labor movement cannot triumph," said De Leon. "Without the economic organization, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat."

No Grasp of Socialist Industrial Unionism

The De Leonist finds nothing in Pannekoek's book that resembles a clearly defined revolutionary Socialist program. One cannot tell whether his "Workers' Councils" are intended to become a permanent part of future Socialist society, or whether they are to play a part only on the road to Socialism. There is nothing that can even remotely be compared with the principles of revolutionary Socialist Industrial Unionism—the only organized proletarian power that can give the *coup de grace* to decadent class rule and at the same time set in motion the administrative machinery of the new classless Socialist Commonwealth. On the other hand, there is ample evidence to warrant the conclusion that Dr. Pannekoek considers all the pseudo-Socialist parties, as well as the capitalist-inspired labor organizations, useful in "directing the thoughts of the workers" toward their revolutionary goal. It is no more possible for pseudo-Socialism and capitalist-inspired labor unions to "direct the thoughts of the workers" toward scientific Marxian Socialism than for the ruling class itself to do so, for both proceed from the capitalist premise that the wage system in one form or another must be retained.

Marxian Socialism calls for the abolition of the wage system. This cannot be done unless the workers are in possession of industry. But taking possession of industry is a revolutionary act. It cannot be accomplished willy-nilly one fine day when the workers decide to rise "spontaneously." To rise "spontaneously" is a wonderful thing. But to rise "spontaneously"

One Hit and In New Book

[The WEEKLY PEOPLE of received for review a considerable number of books on Soviet Russia so many, in fact, that with our limited staff it is impossible to do all of them at length. We trust brief reviews will serve to give our readers a general idea of the and tone of the books dealt with. In later issues we shall longer reviews of a number of on Russia that seem to us of er significance and value.—Ed.]

STALIN'S SATELLITES IN ROPE, by Ygael Gluckstein. Beacon Press, Boston, publishers. 334 pages, \$3.50.

This well documented, book analyzes the method by which Soviet Russia entered the so-called "satellite" nations of Central and Southeastern Europe during World War II, and remained to dominate them. Accounts of this operation in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet zones of Germany and Austria are included. The author traces the changing conditions in agriculture, industry and commerce in these regions before the war, during the Nazi occupation, and later under Soviet domination. In his opinion, the Soviet "satellites" must inevitably fall apart because of internal weakness, and he analyzes various symptoms of this process: the "great leader" cult, the inquisition and purges, the inevitable disillusionment of even convinced Communist satellite nations after their countries have been tied in with Russia's backward economy and standard of living, etc. The author's acute analysis of the complex political relations between these satellite countries, and their relations with each other and with the Soviet Union, is intensely interesting and valuable.

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This book purports to be a "sensational" new material, many, showing that Germany, as always in the past, plots with Russia against the world in accordance with the "Reich" by which all German s-

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QUESTION PERIOD

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Wrote by Dr. Anton Panichas, Published in English by The Workers' Advocate for Workers' Councils, Detroit, Mich.

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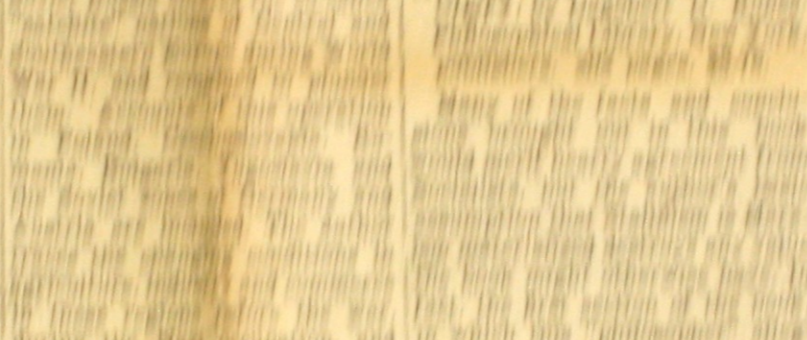
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One Hit and Three Misses In New Books on Stalinism

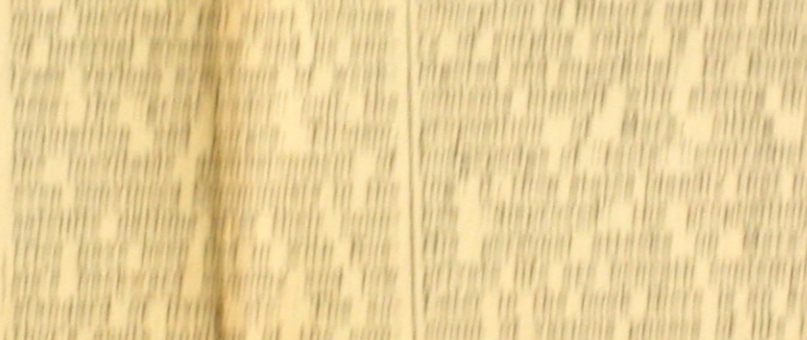
The Workers' Advocate for Workers' Councils, Detroit, Michigan, has published three new books on Stalinism. The books are "The Criminal Career of Stalinist Despotism," "The Communist Scamman," and "Stalinist Corruption of Marxism." The books are available for purchase from the Workers' Advocate for Workers' Councils, Detroit, Michigan.

The CRIMINAL Career of STALINIST DESPOTISM

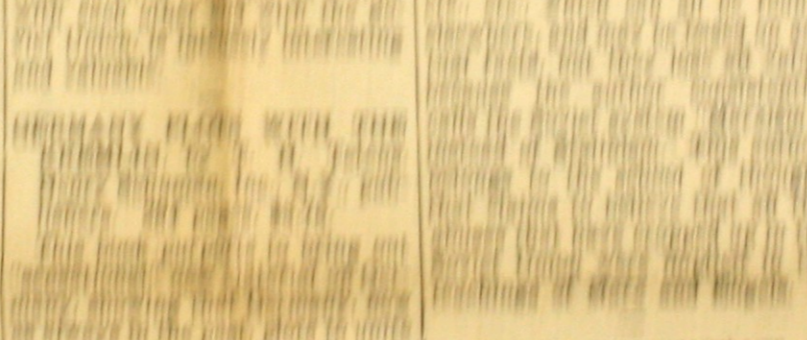
TRACED IN THESE S. L. P. PUBLICATIONS



W. J. FOSTER THE CRIMINAL CAREER OF STALINIST DESPOTISM



W. J. FOSTER THE COMMUNIST SCAMMAN



W. J. FOSTER STALINIST CORRUPTION OF MARXISM



W. J. FOSTER SOVIET RUSSIA



W. J. FOSTER SOVIET RUSSIA

Head office, with branches in New York, London, and other cities.

QUESTION PERIOD

Should the Socialist Industrial Union be organized

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and politicians are guided. The author also claims that many American statesmen, including for one, George F. Kennan, have been influenced by early training and education, so that they fall in with pan-German ideas and play into the hands of the German plotters. Much of the "evidence" quoted in this book is unsubstantiated, a mixed collection of clippings taken out of context, all taken at face value regardless of the enormous diversity and varying reliability of the sources.

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON SOCIETY, by Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, New York, publishers. 202 pages, \$3.75.

Many of the facts and conclusions brought out in this book would merit hearty agreement from Socialists, but the author's basic assumption that Stalinism is Marxism materialized destroys any value the book might otherwise have. In fact, the first section of the book, in which this "philosopher" allegedly analyzes Marx and his principal teachings, the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value, is incredibly bigoted and superficial. Dr. Runes contents himself with stating the proposition of Marx, citing a hodgepodge of "facts" "contradicting" it, then states blandly that he has "disproved" the proposition. His personal attacks on Marx's private life are beneath contempt. Later in the book there is an account of various phases of life in the Soviet Union, living and housing conditions, labor, censorship, etc., etc., which can all be found elsewhere, and may be based on actual facts, but they lose all value because the author consistently calls the Soviet system "Marxism," instead of Stalinism. This author belongs to the school of thought that claims to believe that all the abuses that have cropped up in the Soviet Union were implicit in the teachings of Marx and Engels.

A CENTURY OF CONFLICT, by Stefan T. Possony. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, publishers. 440 pages, \$7.50.

This book, by a military expert, traces "Communist" revolutionary techniques from the time of Marx and Engels to the present day (and into the future), showing how Communists have carried out through the years their carefully worked out plan for world domination. The entire viewpoint of the book is military, and the acts of the U.S.S.R. at home and abroad are regarded as being based on long-term military strategy. This is in turn based on a two-sided concept of conflict: build up one's own

United States and its allies regarding the methods to be used to break Soviet power without actual war. The portions of this book that are factual are very interesting, but many of the basic assumptions are untenable.

The CRIMINAL Career of STALINIST DESPOTISM TRACED IN THESE S. L. P. PUBLICATIONS

Published 1932 64 pages . . . 15c. Published 1932 48 pages . . . 10c. Temporarily out of print. Published 1939 112 pages . . . 15c. Published 1940 16 pages . . . 5c. Published 1940 160 pages . . . 15c. Published 1943 32 pages . . . 5c. Published 1940 64 pages . . . 15c.

The Marxian Socialist Labor Party has closely followed developments in Russia since the hope-inspiring Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. From the first, however, we emphasized the inapplicability of "Leninist" tactics to advanced capitalist nations for the reasons fully explained and analyzed in the pamphlet, "Proletarian Democracy vs. Dictatorships and Despotism."

With the emergence of the Stalinist dictatorship in Russia and its subsequent anti-Socialist acts and policies, hope gave way to disappointment, and this in turn was replaced by the realization that the Stalinists (and their international dupes and tools) are actually the enemies of Marxian Socialism and the cause of the workers of the world.

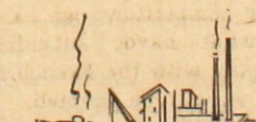
With documented evidence, with Marxian logic and understanding, the pamphlets shown above expose the Stalinist regime and provide the background of understanding that will enable the reader correctly to appraise the infamous role the Stalinists are playing in helping to lead the world to the very brink of total destruction.

Send order, with remittance, to NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO. P.O.B. 1076, Church St. Station, New York 8, N.Y. (61 Cliff St.)

QUESTION PERIOD

Why must the Socialist Industrial Union be organized BEFORE Socialism takes over?

There are three reasons: First of all, the Socialist Industrial Union is indispensable to the taking over. Without the Socialist Industrial Union there



Carthage. The...
han was ordered from Germany
for a McCarthy investigation be-
cause he called Cohen and Schine
"junketeering gumshoes."

U.S. capitalism MUST take the
blame for the cowardice instilled
into the minds of so many Ameri-
cans by McCarthyism. Though
palmed off as such, McCarthyism
is NOT Americanism. It is capi-
talist reaction. It seeks to eradi-
cate the American principles of
freedom as a means of perpetu-
ating capitalism and the wage-en-
slavement of the workers. To fight
it, we must strike at its cause—
capitalism. And we must establish
the industrial democracy of Social-
ism to win a permanent victory
over it.



QUESTION PERIOD

What is the basis of your claim that the working class is organizable as a class into one classconscious union?

The National Secretary of the S.L.P., writing in the WEEKLY PEOPLE nearly two decades ago, put it this way:

The working class can be organized because it is, first, the only class that has no stake in capitalism, second, because it is the only class that has a unifying principle, and third, because it is the only class that is indispensable.

The three reasons form a solid basis for the Socialist premise that the working class, despite its past and present divisions, is organizable into one classconscious body. Spelled out, this is what they mean:

The working class is the only class with no stake in capitalism.
By "stake" is meant property stake or material interest. The capitalist class *does* have a property stake and it enjoys special economic privileges. But the very nature of the wage system (under which the price of labor power is determined by the same economic laws that govern the exchange of other commodities) keeps the workers in a perpetual state of economic dependence. Hence they *never can* accumulate a property stake. Thus far, most of the workers have been deluded by capitalist propaganda into *hoping* that some day they can achieve a modest measure of independence. Today that hope has all but vanished and all that millions of wage slaves have to look forward to is the carrot-on-a-stick called pensions and/or so-called social security. Truly, the workers have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to win.

The working class is the only class with a unifying principle.
The capitalists are divided by the competitive, dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism. Their material interests drive them apart. But the opposite is true in the case of the workers. The very fact that they are exploited gives them a common, unifying interest in ending the exploitation. Moreover, since it is through the private ownership of the tools and other means of social production that a minority of capitalists are able to exploit the numerically powerful working class, the workers have a common interest in wresting the socially operated tools from their private owners and making them social property. Finally, the evolution of the tool, from a simple, hand-operated tool, to a complex, socially-operated machine brings the workers together, teaches them how to cooperate, how to function as a collective body. As Marx put it:

"The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers."

1. How large is the group?
2. How much food does it need?
3. How long will available supplies last?

Under primitive communal society that problem was solved democratically. All ate abundantly when there was plenty of food, and when the supply dwindled, everybody got less.

Under capitalism the situation is quite different. The workers eat sparingly when they work—only their masters eat well. The workers starve when they have produced more than their masters can sell—but their masters still eat well. Man's actual, and potential, productive capacity has never been greater than it is today, yet never has the lash of hunger and privation been so keenly felt by so many. Even in our own "prosperous" country, it was recently announced, 50 per cent of the working class youth in certain areas was found unfit for military service because of malnutrition.

Material Conditions Determine Social Forms

The problem our primitive ancestors solved stumblingly in a machineless age of scarcity has a simple solution in our machine age of potential plenty. That problem must be solved by the simple "form" of revolutionary Socialist Industrial Unionism, the only power that will enable the working class to take, hold and operate the industries and thus remove the private-ownership barrier that now stands between it and the wealth it creates. This collective ownership and control will project the democratic administration of Socialism, an administration that will not consist of politicians, representing *private* interests, but of democratically elected representatives from industry, who will represent society's *collective* interests. The legislative work of these industrial representatives "will not be the complicated one which a society of conflicting interests, such as capitalism, requires, but the easy one which can be summed up in the statistics of the wealth needed, the wealth producible, and the work required" to produce it.

We do not presume to lay down for the rest of the world a precise formula for political action, or lay out in minute detail the exact form that the revolutionary Socialist Industrial Union must assume. We do not presume to do this because, despite the interna-

lism that under totalitarianism the "State incorporates the working masses into its social organization as the obedient producers of value and surplus value." The only possible conclusion here is that under totalitarianism that portion of the wealth of which labor is robbed manifests itself in two forms—"value" and "surplus value." This is confusing. All socially necessary labor creates value, and all laborers receive in return a wage which, in general, equals in value the amount required to keep them alive and to reproduce their kind. But the fact that only a few hours of labor are necessary to produce the laborer's daily subsistence does not prevent the capitalist from compelling him to stay on the job a full day to produce wealth over and above what he needs to live. For this he is not paid, and the capitalist rakes it in as his own. That unpaid portion of the workers' product is *surplus value*, that is, it is value created as a "surplus" above and beyond the value of the workers' subsistence. It does not matter, therefore, whether a modern "government" be the executive committee of a totalitarian State, a Stalinist police State, an Ultramontane or theocratic State, a "Socialist" or "Labor" State or a bourgeois democratic State. In every instance the working class produces surplus value for the benefit of the ruling class.

We cannot take up space to treat such un-Marxian terminology as "the people's masses," "workers and employees," "workers and technicians," etc., etc., or the numerous ambiguities and inconsistencies with which the pages of "Workers' Councils" are peppered. We will give only one example. On Page 216 Dr. Pannekoek says:

When we say that, hence, war is inseparable from capitalism, that war can only disappear with capitalism itself, this does not mean that war against war is of no use and that we have to wait till capitalism has been destroyed. It means that the fight against war is inseparable from fight against capitalism.

Naive Theories on Ending Wars
But if the "fight against war is inseparable from [the] fight against capitalism," then "war can only disappear with capitalism." If this is so, and we hold that it is, then it is *capitalism* that must be abolished. But on the next page Dr. Pannekoek shows us how to "fight against war" without abolishing capitalism. Says he:

A government, a ruling class can-

Mean Disaster?

By Robert Long

If the expectations of William E. Braham of Zenith Plastics Co. of California are fulfilled, radar defenses may soon have a difficult time detecting invading planes. Mr. Braham, who supervised the design of the first Lockheed Constellation transport, says radar waves will largely pass through a new plastic material suitable for aircraft fabrication. The only waves reflected will be from metal parts such as those in the engine. But the metal parts can be such a small fraction of the whole plane, it is maintained, that radar would have a very hard time locating them. (*Science News Letter*, February 28.)

Wing and fuselage sections are made by first placing glass fiber over molds. Bakelite plastic resins are next applied and allowed to set. Similar layers are then added until the desired thickness is reached. Weight for weight, the plastic-impregnated glass cloth is equivalent in strength to aluminum or magnesium alloys.

It is said that the plastic material offers some notable advantages besides its transparency to radar waves. One of these is heat-resistant characteristics which may make it superior to aluminum alloys for supersonic planes. Friction of air with the plane surfaces can generate much troublesome heat at high speeds. Above 300 degrees Fahrenheit the strength of aluminum alloys falls off rapidly. The reinforced plastic can stand temperatures up to 500 degrees Fahrenheit.

Mr. Braham thinks that the process may save 80 per cent of the structural design and production man-hours in building wings and fuselages. The great stride this may mean in production efficiency is overshadowed, however, by the military possibilities.

Even the best radar system can stop only a fraction of ordinary attacking planes. If planes nearly invisible to radar are perfected, of course a much larger number can get through to deliver atomic or hydrogen bombs. When countries devote the greater part of their research to military developments, it can portend nothing but destruction on a hitherto unimagined scale.

Capitalism and Its Ills edge and understanding in Dr. Pannekoek's book.

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By ERIC HASS, Editor Weekly People



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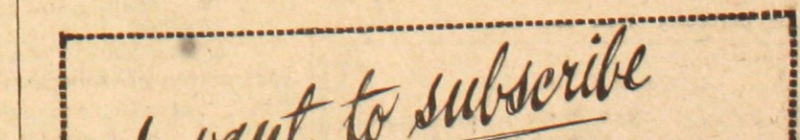
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EXCERPTS FROM POEM "PLAYING WITH FIRE"

By George Scheffel

The god of Greed is cunning. He devises
A multitude of various disguises:
As rabble-rouser oft he masquerades;
As man of God in garbs of many shades;
As politician, public benefactor:

All struggle for a better, finer life
To which the toiling multitude aspires.
With spurious epithets they hope to quench the fires
That burn eternal in all human strife.
They rather would destroy Creation's dower
Than yield an atom of their stolen power.
With cynicism and smugness they lay claim
To all the wealth begot since Adam came.
Driving their plunder-stakes into the earth,

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Erwin Seligman
of New York

NEW YORK, April 25, 53.

237 E. 88 St.

Mr,
Anton Pannekoec
Regentessehaar 8
Zeist-Holland.

Werter Genosse Pannekoec:

anbei und einliegend sehen sie wenn sie es noch nicht bekommen haben einen auszug aus der hiesigen sozialistischen Zeitung "Weekly People", welche hier erscheint und mit der ich einst verbunden war. Ich möchte ihnen die Freude nicht verderben und ihnen dieses zusenden damit sie ersehen können was die S.L.P. von ihrer sache sich denkt.!

Bitte nehmen siees mir nicht übel wenn ich ihnen dieses sende und ich nehme an dassdie S.L.P. ihnen einen Auszug zusenden wird.

Ich schließe mit den sozialistischen Grüßen,

Ihr,
Erwin Seligman
Erwin Seligman.