Erwin Seligman
237 E, 88 St,
New York 28, N,
17-PM.



AIR MAIL

Mr, Dr, Anton Pannekock Regentessaan 8

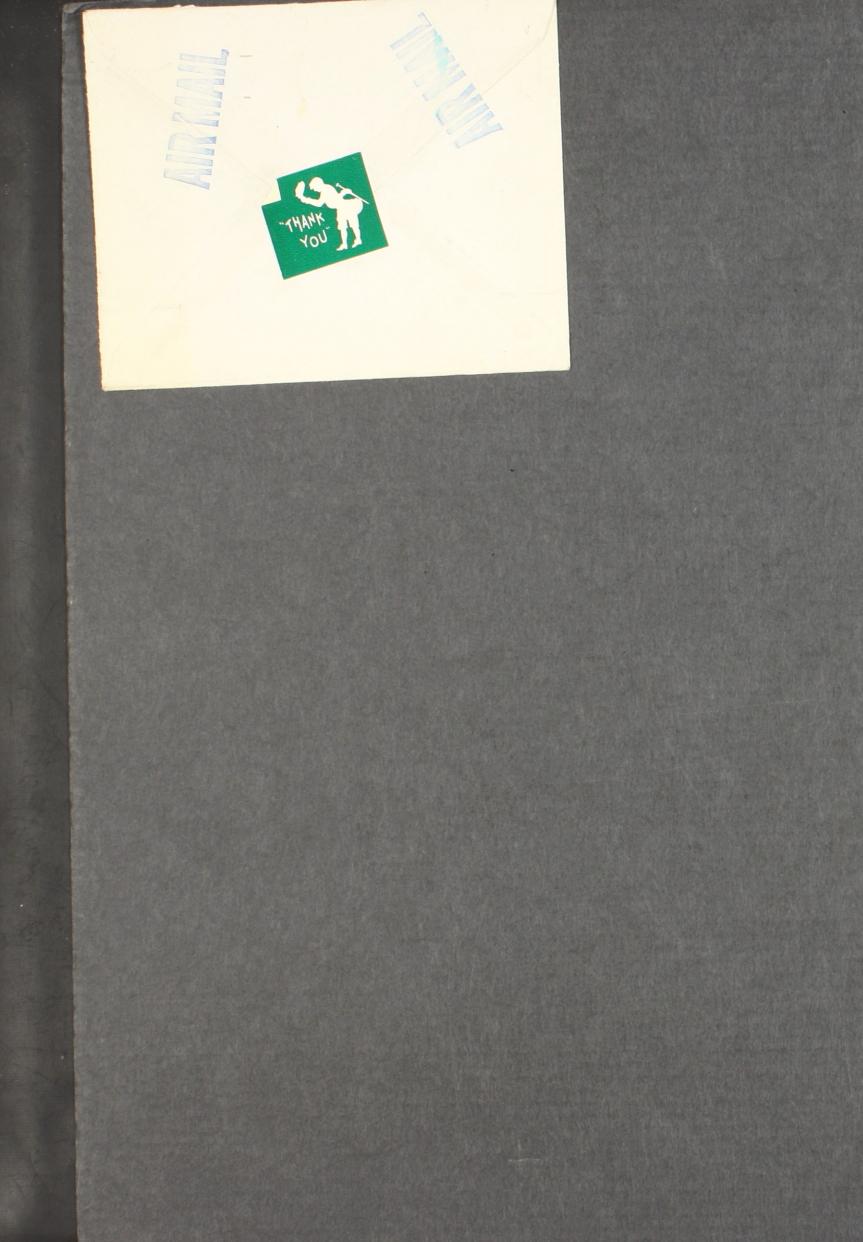
Zeist- Holland

Holland.

(Regentesselaan 8)

AIRL MAIL!

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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.

> fipril 24, 1952. 237 E, 88 St, New ork 28.

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

Werter Genosse Pannekock:

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 Mork-" deine werte Addresse 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 hasst, und welches vor der Russischen Revolution gedruckt wurde. Das Werk erschien hier in Amerika unter dem titl, bei dem Author, -Lewis H, Morgan) -Ancient-Society -"

Ferner sagte mir dein bekannter dass du jezt am Werke bisst und ein Werk heutiger Geschischtsauffassung mit der vergangenheit herrraus bringen willst. Ich erlaube mir dich anzufragen ob es dir möglich ist mir ein Excemplar in Deutsch, oder in English zukommen zu lassen, aber auch gleichzeitig mit der Preisangabe. kamarad, Paul Mattick, gab mir dein leztes Werk-"Workers Councils-" und das andere Werk-" Lenin as Phiosopher- mit nach Hause, welches mich zur Frage veranlasste-, dich um eine Deutsche Kopie des Werkes-Workers Councels." 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. merikas bin, und Esperanto spreche auch gut unseren verstorbenen Genossen -Weder- kannte welcher ja dir kein unbekannter gewesen sein sollte.

Sollsest du irgrnd etwas von mir wünschen, dann schreibe an meine Addresse -237 E. 88 St. New York 28. N.Y. und solltest du etws 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,

Enviroleligmen

E. Seligman 137 E 88°54 New York 28 Mr. Janne koor Regenterschaar Sh. 8 Leist-Ylalland ANSHINGTON TERRITOHY Bookshelf of a Workingman

Principle of Industrial Unionism Missed by Advocate of 'Councils'

WORKERS' COUNCILS, by Dr. Anton Pannekoek. Published in English | gle" with the ruling class will have by The Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils, Melbourne, Aus-

Bu E. F. Teichert

A 234-page book has been received from Australia, entitled "Workers' Councils." It was written by Dr. Anton Pannekoek, of Holland, reputed Marxist and advocate of "workers' councils." It is divided into five chapters as follows: "The Task," "The Fight," "The Foe," "The War" and "The Peace." The first four parts were written while Holland was under Nazi occupation, and the fifth part was added after the war. The document was first published in book form (in English) in 1950 by the Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils, in Melbourne.

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 con-fronted 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] 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

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 is the claim of superfluous capitalists to a part of the produce.

Stripped of contradictions, the proposition these two paragraphs contain is sound as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough, either in these or other paragraphs.

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.

Author Shows Confusion on Basic Issue

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.'

If we understand this correctly, then two vital points have been overlooked: (1) Not law, but economic development has deprived the working class of the ownership and control of the means of production. It is not made subservient to class rule by law, but by poverty, that is, by its lack of ownership in the means of produc-

(2) Being without property, the source of all economic power, the working class, therefore, has no power to enforce anything under capitalism by "law." Only when the working class controls the source of power can its "convictions of right and justice" become "the law," because then its "strug-

ended.

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

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 "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"

Bookshelf of a Workin

One Hit an In New B

The WEEKLY PEOPLE of received for review a consi number of books on Soviet R so many, in fact, that with o ited staff it is impossible to all of them at length. We trus brief reviews will serve to givers a general idea of the cand tone of the books dealt

In later issues we shall longer reviews of a number o on Russia that seem to us of er significance and value.—Ed

STALIN'S SATELLITES I ROPE, by Ygael Gluckste Beacon Press, Boston, p ers. 334 pages, \$3.50.

This well documented, book analyzes the method by Soviet Russia entered the se 'satellite" nations of Centr Southeastern Europe during War II, and remained to them. Accounts of this op in Poland, Czechoslovaki mania, Bulgaria, Yugoslav the Soviet zones of Germa Austria are included. The traces the changing condit agriculture, industry and co in these regions before t during the Nazi occupation later under Soviet dominat his opinion, the Soviet " must inevitably fall apart of internal weakness, and lyzes various symptoms of ness: the "great leader" of inquisition and purges, the inevitable disillusionr even convinced Communist satellite nations after the tries have been tied in wi sia's backward economy standard of living, etc. thor's acute analysis of t plex political relations these satellite countries, a with each other and with viet Union, is intensely in and valuable.

GERMANY PLOTS WIT KREMLIN, by T. H. Henry Schuman, Inc., N lishers. 294 pages, \$3.

This book purports to 'sensational" new materia many, showing that Germ as always in the past, plot with Russia against the accordance with the "Re by which all German s

leads to tragedy. "Let no fatalism in our coun Leon warned us. "The Soc public is no predestined development. The Socia public depends, not upon conditions only; it depe these-plus clearness of assist in the evolutionar Nor was the agency of th needful at any previous social evolution in the cl gle to the extent that it



UESTION

Principle of Industrial Unionism Missed by Advocate of 'Councils'

One Hit and Three Misses

In New Hooks on Stalinism

The ERIMINAL Career of







Communist |



III BTATINIST CORRUPTION

OF MARKISM

Missed by Advocate of 'Councils'

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ceived for review a considerable thor also claims that many Amerities their teachings in this field, war. so many, in fact, that with our limican statesmen, including for one, further developed by Lenin and The portions of this book that are It logically follows from this ited staff it is impossible to review all of them at length. We trust these fluenced by early training and edu- and economic ideology, that have many of the basic assumptions are ganize itself to abolish capitalism, and to do this it must first be en-In later issues we shall publish 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 ROPE, by Ygael Gluckstein. The value regardless of the enormous Beacon Press, Boston, publishdiversity and varying reliability of This well documented, factual

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

Many of the facts and concluin Poland, Czechoslovakia, Ru- sions brought out in this book mania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and would merit hearty agreement from the Soviet zones of Germany and Socialists, but the author's basic Austria are included. The author assumption that Stalinism is Marxtraces the changing conditions in ism materialized destroys any value agriculture, industry and commerce the book might otherwise have. In in these regions before the war, fact, the first section of the book, during the Nazi occupation, and in which this "philosopher" alleglater under Soviet domination. In edly analyzes Marx and his prinhis opinion, the Soviet "empire" cipal teachings, the materialist must inevitably fall apart because | conception of history and the theoof internal weakness, and he ana- ry of surplus value, is incredibly bigoted and superficial. Dr. Runes lyzes various symptoms of weakcontents himself with stating the ness: the "great leader" cult, the inquisition and purges, Titoism, proposition of Marx, citing a the inevitable disillusionment of hodgepodge of "facts" "contradicteven convinced Communists in the ing" it, then states blandly that he has "disproved" the proposition. satellite nations after their countries have been tied in with Rus- His personal attacks on Marx's sia's backward economy and low private life are beneath contempt. standard of living, etc. The au- Later in the book there is an acthor's acute analysis of the com- count of various phases of life in the Soviet Union, living and housplex political relations within these satellite countries, as well as ing conditions, labor, censorship, with each other and with the So- etc., etc., which can all be found viet Union, is intensely interesting elsewhere, and may be based on actual facts, but they lose all value because the author consistently GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE calls the Soviet system "Marxism, KREMLIN, by T. H. Tetens. instead of Stalinism. This author belongs to the school of thought Henry Schuman, Inc., N.Y., pubthat claims to believe that all the abuses that have cropped up in the This book purports to bring out Soviet Union were implicit in the sensational" new material on Gerteachings of Marx and Engels. many, showing that Germany, now

as always in the past, plots to unite with Russia against the West, in A CENTURY OF CONFLICT, by Stefan T. Possony. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, publishby which all German statesmen ers. 440 pages, \$7.50.

> This book, by a military expert, races "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 con-

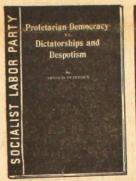
thor considers Engels as well as United States and its affect regain The WEEKLY PEOPLE office has and politicians are guided. The au- ed in military strategy, and that break Soviet power without actual

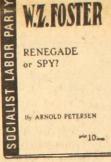
Marx to have been deeply interest- ing the methods to be used to

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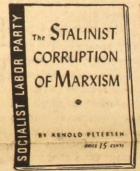
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With documented evidence, with Marxian logic and understanding. the pamphlets shown above expose the Stalinist regime and provide the background of understanding that will enable the reader correctly to appraise the infamous role the Stalinists are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

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accordance with the "Realpolitik"

leads to tragedy. "Let there be

no fatalism in our councils," De

Leon warned us. "The Socialist Re-

public is no predestined inevitable

development. The Socialist Re-

Nor was the agency of the intellect



THE NEW PHASE OF THE WORLD CRISIS

With the death of Joseph Stalin the world crisis entered a new and portentous phase. But it is still the same

McCarthy's Reign of Fear

G. David Schine and Roy M. Cohen are two of Senator Joseph R. WITCH-HUNTER'S McCarthy's inquisitors.

Schine, according to Cohen, "has made a lifetime study of Commu- Hotels, operators of the Roney Plaza nism." Schine, like Cohen, is 26. and Boca Raton Hotels in Florida.

The two inquisitors recently made a 17-day whirlwind, witchhunting tour of western Europe. ited. Their main efforts were spent in searching for such "Com- trolled by Capone mobsters. munist" publications as The New Republic and The Nation in U.S. information (or propaganda) centers, but they also spent some time trying to investigate the British Broadcasting Company.

Senator McCarthy's witch-hunts and inquisitorial practices are handled with kid gloves by the Eisenhower Administration and most of the U.S. capitalist press.

In Great Britain and Europe, however, the McCarthy inquisitors ran up against critics who have not yet had cause to be cowed by U. S. capitalism's witch-hunting. Newspapers and radio stations in Great cause he called Cohen and Schine Britain, Germany and Austria were reported to have been caustic in their editorial comments on Mc- blame for the cowardice instilled Carthy's inquisitorial invasion of into the minds of so many Ameri-Britain's broadcasting affairs."

Americans in the information cen- over it.

class that is indispensable

BACKGROUND

G. David Schine, the McCarthy inquisitor, is president of the Schine

On May 1, 1951, the Kefauver committee stated that the (now oned) professional gambler, Frank Erickson, rented the gambling con-They gave whole days, or parts of cession at the Boca Raton for \$22,000 days, to the investigation of Com- and at the Roney Plaza for \$45,000.

After Erickson was forced out of the munism in each country they vis- deals, the Kefauver committee added, the gambling concessions were taken over by the S. and G. Syndicate, con-

When reminded of these facts on his recent return from his witchhunting tour of Europe, Schine answered, according to the New York cal and industrial organizations "Post." "We are here to answer questions about the trip to Europe.'

ters, etc., were under orders from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to cooperate with their inquisitors, and they were faced with the loss of their jobs and careers, and with smears, if they dared to voice their honest opinions of Mc-Carthyism. Thus Theodore Kaghan was ordered from Germany for a McCarthy investigation be-"junketeering gumshoes."

U.S. capitalism MUST take the Europe. The very conservative cans by McCarthyism. Though London Financial Times was espe- palmed off as such, McCarthyism cially caustic. It said that "these is NOT Americanism. It is capitwo brash young men," "scummy talist reaction. It seeks to eradisnoopers" and "distempered jack- cate the American principles of als" "should be told to keep out of freedom as a means of perpetuating capitalism and the wage-en-The opinions expressed by the slavement of the workers. To fight workers starve when they have Financial Times were undoubtedly it, we must strike at its causeshared by many of the Americans capitalism. And we must establish can sell—but their masters still by Cohen and Schine - but the ism to win a permanent victory tial, productive capacity has never

Bookshelf of a Workingman

A Product of Capitalism Principle of Industrial Unionism Missed by Advocate of 'Councils'

WORKERS' COUNCILS, by Dr. Anton Pannekoek. Published in Eng- not go into war with people unwilling lish by The Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils, Melbourne, that a decided, conscious refusal on not prevent it, they had no greater organizations that Dr. Pannekoek, Australia.

On page 61 Dr. Pannekoek tells us: "We cannot exactly foresee future forms of the workers' fight for freedom " If he means that we cannot "exactly foresee" the "form," or character, of the politithey must organize to insure their freedom, we cannot agree. We cannot agree because the problem to be solved, plus the conditions prevailing, determines those "forms."

From that primitive time when men first organized into communal groups they were compelled to solve the simple mathematical

- 1. How large is the group?
- 2. How much food does it need? 3. How long will available sup-
- Under primitive communal socie-

ty that problem was solved demowhen there was plenty of food, and body got less.

Under capitalism the situation is quite different. The workers eat sparingly when they workonly their masters eat well. The been greater than it is today, yet 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 servce because of malnutrition.

Material Conditions Determine

(Concluded from April 25 issue) | tional character of class rule, economic and political conditions are in no two countries exactly alike. But the principle to be embraced is the same everywhere, since the working class's task is the same everywhere—the principle that it is on the political feld that the workers must be recruited for the industrial organization that will enable them to abolish class rule.

> Since space does not permit our reviewing each of the cumbersome chapters in "Workers' Councils," we will touch on only a few inconsistencies and errors.

> > Confusion as to Value and Surplus Value

On page 224 Dr. Pannekoek tells us 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 cratically. All ate abundantly totalitarianism that portion of the wealth of which labor is robbed when the supply dwindled, every- manifests itself in two forms- California are fulfilled, radar deis confusing. All socially necestime detecting invading planes. Mr. sary labor creates value, and all Braham, who supervised the delaborers receive in return a wage sign of the first Lockheed Constelwhich, in general, equals in value lation transport, says radar waves the amount required to keep them will largely pass through a new produced more than their masters alive and to reproduce their kind. plastic material suitable for air-But the fact that only a few hours craft fabrication. The only waves in Europe who were investigated the industrial democracy of Socialed the Industrial d not prevent the capitalist from the metal parts can be such a small compelling him to stay on the job fraction of the whole plane, it is privation been so keenly felt by so a full day to produce wealth over maintained, that radar would have and above what he needs to live. a very hard time locating them. For this he is not paid, and the (Science News Letter, February capitalist rakes it in as his own. 28.) That unpaid portion of the workers' product is surplus value, that made by first placing glass fiber is, it is value created as a "sur- over molds. Bakelite plastic resins plus" above and beyond the value are next applied and allowed to does not matter, therefore, wheth- until the desired thickness is The problem our primitive an- er a modern "government" be the reached. Weight for weight, the cestors solved stumblingly in a executive committee of a totalitar- plastic-impregnated glass cloth is machineless age of scarcity has a ian State, a Stalinist police State, equivalent in strength to aluminum simple solution in our machine age an Ultramontane or theocratic of potential plenty. That problem State, a "Socialist" or "Labor" must be solved by the simple State or a bourgeois democratic rial offers some notable advantages

private-ownership barrier that now "the people's masses," "workers tion of air with the plane surfaces

the part of the people's masses, demonstrated in outspoken, widely heard influence on the forces then makprotest, can have a determining in-fluence upon the governmental policy finger. ing for war than the snap of a useful in "directing the thoughts

. More efficient will be the protest if the masses go into the streets demonstrating; against their tens and hundred thousands all riot acts and injunctions are meaningless. And as long as industry is in the hands when these are not sufficient, or are suppressed by military violence, the workers and employees in traffic and industry can strike. Such a strike of working class "demonstrations" is not for wages, but to save society from utter destruction.

in this age of unremitting imperi- should imperialist interests dictate alist warfare, can still hold that it, can blow a sizable chunk of Hol-'determining influence" upon im- right off the face of the European perialist governments, history sim-

Must Progress Mean Disaster?

By Robert Long

If the expectations of William E. Braham of Zenith Plastics Co. of "value" and "surplus value." This fenses may soon have a difficult

Wing and fuselage sections are of the workers' subsistence. It set. Similar layers are then added or magnesium alloys.

It is said that the plastic mate-"form" of revolutionary Socialist State. In every instance the work- besides its transparency to radar Industrial Unionism, the only pow- ing class produces surplus value waves. One of these is heat-resiser that will enable the working for the benefit of the ruling class. tant characteristics which may industries and thus remove the such un-Marxian terminology as loys for supersonic planes. Fric-

class experience during the past set in motion against Socialism by one hundred years has been in a dying social system seem overvain. Is it possible for Dr. Panne- whelming. Where they do not conkoek to have forgotten that, in fuse, they tend to imbue great 1914, the workers did demonstrate numbers in all countries with a against war by the thousands-in fear of entrenched power, and a Italy, in Germany, in the United spirit of resignation to it. Among States and elsewhere? Were these the agencies that contribute most demonstrations effective in pre- criminally to this confusion are the

To any mind not befogged by pedantry it is as clear as day that of the capitalist class, that class alone has all the power, regardless and "strikes," etc. And as long as that class has all the power, the For one who, in this atomic age, dropping of one hydrogen bomb, demonstrations" and land, together with all its "demon-'strikes" constitute a weapon of strating" and "striking" workers continent in less than the wink of ply does not exist and all working an eye. For the class that owns the industry also controls the bombs turned out by it.

> Only Organized Workers Can Abolish Capitalism and Its Ills

Superficially observed, the forces Pannekoek's book.

olutionary goal. Not one of these directs the workers' attention to the source of all economic power; not one of these teaches them how to organize to seize that power. However, with a sound knowledge and understanding of Marxian Socialism, one sees that the seemingly overwhelming forces working against Socialism are not overwhelming at all. The ruling class is mighty but it is not almighty, as De Leon would tell us. There is one power to which it must eventually succumb, and that is the power implied in the might of the integrally organized working class.

The Marxian reader, however, will search in vain for such knowldge and understanding in Dr.

The S. L. P. and the Internationals

By ERIC HASS, Editor Weekly People



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Price 30 cents

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

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.

up against critics who have not yet Carthylish Britain, Germany and Austria were "junketeering gumshoes." reported to have been caustic in Britain's broadcasting affairs."

Americans in the information cen- over it.

capitalism's witch-hunting. News- for a McCarthy investigation bepapers and radio stations in Great cause he called Cohen and Schine

U.S. capitalism MUST take the their editorial comments on Mc- blame for the cowardice instilled Carthy's inquisitorial invasion of into the minds of so many Ameri-Europe. The very conservative cans by McCarthyism. Though London Financial Times was espe- palmed off as such, McCarthyism cially caustic. It said that "these is NOT Americanism. It is capitwo brash young men," "scummy talist reaction. It seeks to eradi-

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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-astick called pensions and/or so-called social security. Truly, the workers have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world

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."

- had cause to be cowed by U. S. han was ordered from Germany
 - ty that problem was solved demo- sible conclusion here is that under cratically. All ate abundantly totalitarianism that portion of the when the supply dwindled, every-

How large is the group?

body got less. Under capitalism the situation snoopers" and "distempered jack- cate the American principles of is quite different. The workers als" "should be told to keep out of freedom as a means of perpetuat- eat sparingly when they workmany. Even in our own "prospernounced, 50 per cent of the working class youth in certain areas That unpaid portion of the work- Wing and fuselage sections are e because of malnutrition.

Material Conditions Determine Social Forms

machineless age of scarcity has a ian State, a Stalinist police State, simple solution in our machine age an Ultramontane or theocratic or magnesium alloys. of potential plenty. That problem State, a "Socialist" or "Labor" must be solved by the simple State or a bourgeois democratic rial offers some notable advantages "form" of revolutionary Socialist State. In every instance the work- besides its transparency to radar Industrial Unionism, the only pow- ing class produces surplus value waves. One of these is heat-resiser that will enable the working for the benefit of the ruling class. tant characteristics which may class to take, hold and operate the We cannot take up space to treat make it superior to aluminum alindustries and thus remove the such un-Marxian terminology as loys for supersonic planes. Fricprivate-ownership barrier that now "the people's masses," "workers tion of air with the plane surfaces stands between it and the wealth it and employees," "workers and can generate much troublesome creates. This collective ownership technicians," etc., etc., or the nu- heat at high speeds. Above 300 and control will project the demo- merous ambiguities and inconsis- degrees Fahrenheit the strength of cratic administration of Socialism, tencies with which the pages of aluminum alloys falls off rapidly. an administration that will not "Workers' Councils" are peppered. The reinforced plastic can stand consist of politicians, representing We will give only one example. On temperatures up to 500 degrees private interests, but of democrati- Page 216 Dr. Pannekoek says: cally elected representatives from industry, who will represent socie- separable from capitalism, that war flicting interests, such as capital- against war is inseparable from fight ism, 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.

sume. We do not presume to do ishing capitalism. Says he: this because, despite the interna-

as the obedient producers of value Under primitive communal socie- and surplus value." The only pos-

When we say that, hence, war is inagainst war is of no use and that we against capitalism.

Naive Theories on Ending Wars

A government, a ruling class can-scale.

us that under totalitarianism the IIIUSU IIUSI COS 2. How much food does it need? "State incorporates the working Mean Disaster? 3. How long will available sup- masses into its social organization

By Robert Long

If the expectations of William E. when there was plenty of food, and wealth of which labor is robbed Braham of Zenith Plastics Co. of manifests itself in two forms- California are fulfilled, radar de-'value" and "surplus value." This fenses may soon have a difficult is confusing. All socially necestime detecting invading planes. Mr. sary labor creates value, and all Braham, who supervised the delaborers receive in return a wage sign of the first Lockheed Consteling capitalism and the wage-en- only their masters eat well. The which, in general, equals in value lation transport, says radar waves The opinions expressed by the slavement of the workers. To fight workers starve when they have the amount required to keep them will largely pass through a new produced more than their masters alive and to reproduce their kind. plastic material suitable for airshared by many of the Americans capitalism. And we must establish can sell—but their masters still But the fact that only a few hours craft fabrication. The only waves in Europe who were investigated the industrial democracy of Sociale eat well. Man's actual, and poten- of labor are necessary to produce reflected will be from metal parts by Cohen and Schine — but the ism to win a permanent victory tial, productive capacity has never the laborer's daily subsistence does such as those in the engine. But been greater than it is today, yet not prevent the capitalist from the metal parts can be such a small never has the lash of hunger and compelling him to stay on the job fraction of the whole plane, it is privation been so keenly felt by so a full day to produce wealth over maintained, that radar would have and above what he needs to live. a very hard time locating them. For this he is not paid, and the | (Science News Letter, February

was found unfit for military servis, it is value created as a "sur- over molds. Bakelite plastic resins plus" above and beyond the value are next applied and allowed to of the workers' subsistence. It set. Similar layers are then added does not matter, therefore, wheth- until the desired thickness is The problem our primitive an- er a modern "government" be the reached. Weight for weight, the cestors solved stumblingly in a executive committee of a totalitar- plastic-impregnated glass cloth is equivalent in strength to aluminum

> It is said that the plastic mate-Fahrenheit.

Mr. Braham thinks that the process may save 80 per cent of ty's collective interests. The legis- can only disappear with capitalism it- the structural design and produclative work of these industrial repself, this does not mean that war tion man-hours in building wings and fuselages. The great stride resentatives "will not be the comhave to wait till capitalism has been
plicated one which a society of condestroyed. It means that the fight
this may mean in production efficiency is overshadowed, however by the military possibilities.

Even the best radar system can But if the "fight against war is stop only a fraction of ordinary atinseparable from [the] fight tacking planes. If planes nearly against capitalism," then "war can invisible to radar are perfected, of We do not presume to lay down only disappear with capitalism." If course a much larger number can for the rest of the world a precise this is so, and we hold that it is, get through to deliver atomic or formula for political action, or lay then it is capitalism that must be hydrogen bombs. When countries out in minute detail the exact abolished. But on the next page devote the greater part of their reform that the revolutionary So- Dr. Pannekoek shows us how to search to military developments, it cialist Industrial Union must as- "fight against war" without abol- can portend nothing but destruction on a hitherto unimagined

EXCERPTS FROM POEM "PLAYING WITH FIRE"

The god of Greed is cunning. He devises A multitude of various disguises: As rabble-rouser oft he masquerades:

As politician, public benefactor:

By George Scheftel

As man of God in garbs of many shades; .

All struggle for a better, finer life To which the toiling multitude aspires. With spurious epithets they hope to quench the

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,

Capitalism and Its Ills Superficially observed, the forces Pannekoek's book.

edge and understanding in Dr.

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For example, it ain't so that nationalized medicine or nationalized coal is Socialism. There's no more Socialism in a nationalized coal mine than there is in a nationalized post office or a nationalized army.

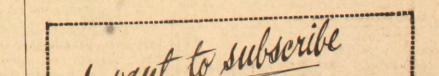
Also, it just ain't so that Malenkov & Company are building Socialism in Russia. What the Stalinist betrayers of Marxism are building is a bureaucratic despotism disguised as Socialism.

But to learn to tell what "ain't so" about Socialism, you should learn what IS SO. For those who want to do this, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the only Englishlanguage Marxian paper in America, is a "must."



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Mr, Inton Pannekoec Regentessehaar 8 Zeist-Holland.

Werter Genosse Pannekoec:

anbei und einliegend sehen sie wenn sie es noch nicht bekommen jaben einen auszug aus der hiesiegen sozialistischen Zeitung "Weekly Feople", 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 5.L.P. von ihrer sache sich denkt.!

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

Ich schließe mit den sozialistischen Grüssen,

maris elian

Erwin Seligman.