

different capitalist countries. Mussolini, for example, would be at any time willing to turn against Hitler, no matter how much at present a Rome-Berlin agreement is valued. There would be no real difficulties to find enough capital from one or another nation for investment in Abyssinia which possesses valuable soil for exploitation. Money doesn't smell. In Spain, as well, the question does not resolve itself in the defeat of "Polshewism", but the main object is the exploitation of mines and especially the acquisition of the mercury monopoly of that country.

The conflict in Spain teaches a serious lesson to the world proletariat: that it is impossible for the workers of one country to do away with their own bourgeoisie. The class front of today embraces the whole world. The decisive battle between international capitalism and international socialism has begun. The masses were aware of this long before the leaders of the socialist movement began to realize it. The volunteers who hurried to the Spanish Front from all countries to help their fellow workers defeat the fascists understood that not only the fate of the Spanish working class but that of the world working class was at stake. The working class organizations, however, furthered the Non-Intervention Comedy insofar as they propagated the slogan: Democracy against Fascism. Even to this day these socialists look at England and France as democratic powers. In the "Sozialistische Warte" of Aug. 1, 1937, E. Vandervelde makes a statement in which he gently reproaches the representatives of the democratic countries of the Non-Intervention Committee that "with the approval of their respective governments, they permit the fascists gangsters to lead them by the nose" But, in reality, it is the proletariat that is "led by the nose" if it falls for such hypocritical statements as "the democratic countries tried in vain to fight successfully the fascist gangsters".

The present English Premier N. Chamberlain approaches more frankly the real conditions when he protests against a differentiation between fascistic and democratic countries. He knows quite well that not only the fascists consider a treaty merely a piece of paper when necessity demands, but that this applies to any other capitalist country including England. And if Mussolini declared cynically that when conquering Abyssinia he only followed English colonial policies, he can truthfully point to historical events. In reference to Spain, he also frankly confessed that "in this great struggle which represents two forms of culture and two entirely different world views, fascist Italy could not remain on the neutral side". Slowly but steadily the picture improves in vision.

International capitalism has a very clear conception about the real factors underlying the economic development, and it is not denied that the present "prosperity period" is due to the enormous rearmament projects carried out all over the world. The socialist newspapers, however, changed their policy. Nothing is mentioned any more about the crisis involving the economic structure of the entire capitalistic system. From their viewpoint everything is to be explained by a "faulty program of capitalist rationalization" which would mean that the change in the "organic composition of capital" was brought about by the deliberate acts of some irresponsible entrepreneurs and not by the economic forces and contradictions inherent in the capitalistic system itself. That such an ideology can express itself at a time when there are millions of unemployed (in spite of the flourishing rearmament industries) is to be explained by the development and failure of the socialist movement of the past years. The tremendous ideological confusion in the socialist camp that followed the collapse of the socialist movement in Germany and Austria, and which was intensified by the recent developments in Russia, is best illustrated by the attitude of socialist leaders in the Spanish situation. In the article by E. Vandervelde, mentioned above, he criticises the "system of one-sided neutrality" in Spain and he concludes as follows: "If in any country the socialists, under the influence of certain considerations, would follow the neutrality pact, or would restrict themselves to weak protests of a policy whose fatal consequences are becoming very conspicuous, then by this very act they would exclude themselves automatically from international socialism."

Correct! And now may we ask what has been done by the socialists of all countries to uncover the swindle of the Non-Intervention-Policy? They precisely restricted themselves to "weak protests" against the neutrality policy of the democratic countries. Apart from the solidarity of those volunteers that went to Spain and the delivery of war material thru Mexico and Russia--which was a business transaction as any other--where was there proof of "international socialist cooperation"? We may quote here the General strike of English Miners in 1926, whose terrible defeat was the result of insufficient international solidarity. Instead of collecting funds and assuring them moral support, the miners and sailors of Germany, France, etc., should have aided their British fellow-workers by refusing to dig and ship coal to England. Instead, they continued working and thus became--whether knowingly or not--strike-breakers. It was lack of international solidarity which brought the British miners down in defeat, and again it is lack of international solidarity which stabs the



Spanish proletariat in the back. If the workers of the world do not realize this very soon, the capitalist non-intervention comedy will have fulfilled its purpose - namely, to turn it into a proletarian non-intervention tragedy.

- Hartwig -

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HITLER'S NATIONAL "SOCIALISM"

A study of official statistics shows the changes in the real income of the German workers since Hitler came to power as follows:

	1932	1936
	(million marks)	
Incomes (wages & salaries)	26,001	34,540
<u>Supplementary incomes:</u>		
Unemployment relief	2,812	865
Rent reductions	200	
Benefits from Social Insurance	3,007	3,360
Decline in savings	200	
Marriage loans		60
Winter aid		200
Reductions in fat prices		100
Total gross income	32,220	39,125
<u>Deductions:</u>		
Wage tax	781	1,497
Contributions for unemployment relief	205	
Poll tax (increase 1936)		100
Workers contribution to:		
Unemployment insurance	515	750
Other social insurance	1,300	1,656
Contributions to Winter aid		110
Other compulsory contributions		40
Total deductions	2,801	4,153
Total Net Income	29,419	34,972

This net income must be translated into terms of purchasing power, for in 1936 prices were higher than in 1932. The official cost of living index of the Reich Statistical Office is of no use for this purpose. This was admitted in Nov. 1935, even by the Institut fur Konjunkturforschung in its half yearly report. Commodities are both dearer and poorer in quality. Taking everything into account, it is certainly no exaggeration to say, so far as the bulk of the workers is con-

cerned, at least 125 Marks must be spent in 1936 to get anything like what could be obtained in 1932 for 100 Marks. To allow for this in calculating the change in the purchasing power of the net income of the German workers, we must make a deduction of 20 per cent in the figure for 1936, which reduces this to 28,000 million marks as compared with 29,400 million marks in 1932. So that the purchasing power of the workers has thus not increased by 33 per cent as the Nazis claim, but has decreased by 5 per cent. This in spite of an increase in the employment figures by 35 per cent, and in spite of an increase in the total industrial working hours of 84 per cent.

That is what Fascism means to the workers. For the ruling class, it has been a brilliant stroke of business. The employers have gotten about 14,000 million working hours for nothing.

- H. S. -

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NOTE

THE COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE OFTEN ACCEPTS ARTICLES FROM WRITERS WHO ARE NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE GROUPS OF COUNCIL COMMUNISTS. THESE ARTICLES ARE SIGNED TO DENOTE THAT WE DO NOT NECESSARILY ENDORSE THE VIEW OF THE WRITER. ALL MATERIAL PRESENTED WITHOUT SIGNATURE IS TO BE CONSIDERED AS THE COLLECTIVE WORK OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUPS OF COUNCIL COMMUNISTS. WE WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS, CRITICISM AND ARTICLES.

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IN FOLLOWING ISSUES OF THE C.C.

ORIGIN OF ORTHODOX MARXISM.-BERNSTEIN, KAUTSKY, LUXEMBURG, LENIN. --- BY KARL KORSCH.

HISTORY OF THE MARXIAN IDEOLOGY IN RUSSIA - KARL KORSCH.

MARXISM AND PSYCHOLOGY - DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY - BY CARL SCHLICHT.

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READ: OUTLINE STUDY COURSE IN MARXIAN ECONOMICS  
Based on Vol. I of Capital, by Karl Marx.  
50 Cents



AFTER THE REVOLUTION - Economic Reconstruction in Spain Today. By D.A. Santillan. Greenberg Publishers. 127 pp. \$1.25

To Santillan, one of Spain's prominent anarchists, there are three practicable schools of economy: 1-private capitalism; 2-state capitalism; 3-socialized economy or communism. He rejects the first two and chooses the third "not only because it is more just, but because it is the only means of overcoming the monstrous contradiction of competitive production based on profit" (p.79). To make such an economy possible, all power must rest in the hands of the workers since "no one knows better than the workers themselves the capacity of each one in a determined establishment" (50). As the best and most democratic form of representation, he proposes the council system which is to be organized as follows: in each establishment the workers would appoint an administrative and technical council; these councils would form a syndicate and the syndicates would be coordinated in the council of the industry branch. In this way all establishments would proceed from the simple to the complex; from the factory council to the syndicate; from the syndicate to the branch council; from the branch council to the local federation; and from the latter to the regional and ultimately to the national council. (52).

According to this plan, production and management will be organized from the bottom up. It will be noted, however, that the syndicates (unions) continue to function and the position assigned to them by Santillan is a very important one inasmuch as they should act as mediators between the factory councils and the branch, regional and national councils. "The workers, administrators, and technicians of each shop or factory would be guided and coordinated by the function of the syndicates" (57); which means, in simple and direct language, that the syndicates have the last word. Regardless of what the workers in any given factory might want or propose, the syndicate, as the guide, will determine the course. Even if we go so far as to admit that during the first phase of the revolution many workers might remain indifferent to the needs of the revolution and thus unduly stress production and consumption resources, we maintain that the dual power exercised by the syndicates constitutes a grave danger towards the development of real communism, the society of free and equal producers. It must be borne in mind that syndicates, including the anarchist CNT,

are pre-revolutionary organizations which were organized principally to wrest concessions from the capitalist class. In order to do this most efficiently, a staff of organizers, an apparatus, was necessary. This staff became the new bureaucracy, its members the leaders and guides of the workers. (Though the CNT did not pay high salaries and changed the personnel rather frequently, it could not eliminate the apparatus as such which, in spite of counter-arguments, permitted the development of a bureaucracy.) This bureaucracy, whether it consists of good or bad leaders is of no concern, Santillan wishes to keep intact and expects from it "guidance" in the workers' attempt to reorganize society along communistic lines. To us, this form of dual power, at the best, will lead to state capitalism, the very thing which Santillan so vehemently decries in his articles dealing with Soviet Russia's economy. In Russia it is one party which exercises the power; in Santillan's anarchist Spain the syndicates will do it; the result is the same.

Santillan's program has striking similarities with the post-war German factory council system. There, too, the workers were permitted to elect councils and voice their demands and grievances; there, too, the unions acted as guides and advisors, and in such efficient manner that not only the bosses but also the workers themselves soon laughed it out of existence. We recognize, of course, the difference between the type of organizations and the situation the anarchists might find after "their" revolution, and yet, we consider our parallel quite fitting. We do not ask, "Who are the organizations that head the workers?" We insist on knowing "who is actually in control over the means of production", and upon this answer we base our analysis as to the character of the revolution.

In Spain, as elsewhere, the task of the revolutionary forces is not to consolidate the power of any party or syndicate, but to curtail and, if possible, abolish it at once so that the revolution may live, that revolution which aims to abolish the existing capitalistic relationship - wage slavery. Dual power breeds unrest, disintegration, favoritism, exploitation. To avoid it, all power must rest in the workers' councils. They alone are capable of reorganizing society without, and even against, the educated guides. The councils will need technicians and statisticians, to be sure; but these will have no executive power. They will merely carry out the orders of the workers, be it a plan for a new factory or the compilation of data assembled by factory councils. In Santillan's plan, however, technicians and statisticians shall determine the required volume of production that is needed to give to each worker so and so much of this or that commodity. In



reality this would mean almost unlimited power over the mass of consumption goods on the part of the statisticians against which the workers have practically no means of opposition. The result would be the renewal of the class struggle, the syndicates and their statisticians playing the role of the former capitalist exploiters. But this plan is also impracticable from the viewpoint of a planned economy inasmuch as the market will function as the regulator of supply and demand much the same as under capitalism where this phenomenon leads to competition, shortage of profits, and finally, crises.

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THE CRISIS AND DECLINE OF CAPITALISM. Published by International Council Correspondence, P.O. Box 5343, Chicago, Ill. 28 pp. 10 cents.

This pamphlet should be read by all workers interested in Marxian economics. It outlines the principles of Capital, the theory of value and surplus value, the consequences of the accumulation process based on value production, and illustrates these postulates from the history and the present status of American capitalism. Mainly, the pamphlet deals with Henryk Grossman's exposition of Marx theory of Crisis and Collapse, published in 1929 in Germany. As this book is unfortunately not yet available in English, the pamphlet becomes a necessity for those workers interested in the advance of economic thought among Marxists. The theory of over-accumulation, by which all existing under-consumption theories in vogue in the labor movement are shown up as ill-conceived Marxism, revolutionizes not only the theoretical, but also the practical, problems of the class struggle. The development of crises, the forces which overcome depressions, the tendencies stalling off the collapse of capitalism and also their historical character, which make for the permanent crisis of capitalism, are explained in a manner as simple as possible. Consideration is also given to the present "boom" and its limitations.

As the edition is limited, it will be wise to order a copy at once.

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ECONOMIC WELFARE by Oscar Newfang. A Plan For Economic Security For Every Family. 187 pp. \$1.50  
Earnes & Noble, Inc. New York.

In a brief and well written exposition of the mechanism of the present economic system, Oscar Newfang presents laissez-faire as the cause of all existing social misery.

In this system the masses become more and more impoverished, the rich concentrate more and more of the Social Wealth in their hands. This situation is reflected in all phases of social and economic life and brings about crises and depressions; that is, situations in which commodities cannot be sold because of the insufficient purchasing power of the masses. Newfang's argumentation quite often sounds as if presented by a socialist, though he favors a "middle course between extreme laissez faire and the extreme regimentation of fascism or communism", and proposes a system which he calls "Economic Government". No longer shall economics and morals be divorced. He conceives a plan by which to bring security to every family without abolishing the classes. Economy is to be regulated by governmental control. This economic government would promote thruout the country the free and clear possession of farms and homes. The wage system would be replaced by a partnership system which would eliminate unemployment and the class struggle. After these basic demands, Newfang outlines the consequences of the proposed fundamental changes of the system in all spheres of industrial and social life, on the basis of a National Economy as well as from the point of view of world capitalism. His plan is based on the assumption that capitalism can be regulated, organized and planned. There is no need on our part for a theoretical refutation of this book, as we have already tried often enough to show that a planned capitalism is an impossibility. In practical life there is nothing which would lend support to Newfang's utopian ideas. His "partnership" system is, furthermore, only another name for a somewhat modified wage system; it does not preclude exploitation. Newfang does not say in what way, by what means, his plan could be realized, and that, in our opinion, is just as well. A middle class mind is trying to find a solution for society which favors the middle class. But history is destined to be made by the proletariat which cannot regulate, but only abolish, the capitalist system of production.

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AN OUTLINE OF FINANCE. By Arthur Woodburn.-The N.C. L.C. Publishing Society, 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3. 181 pp. 2/6.

This text book throws light on what, to the average man, are the "mysteries" of finance. It deals in simple language with the gold standard, banking, trustification, the creation of credit, the financing of a company, the Stock Exchange, inflation, balance sheets, local government finance, national finance, etc. The book begins with the origin of the existing social



system and ends with a sketch of the economic future of society. Socialism to the author is what it was for Lenin, "nothing but the next step forward from state capitalist monopoly...nothing but state capitalist monopoly made to benefit the whole people". And so it is clear to Woodburn "that socialists will require to have control of social administration for some time before the point defined as socialism can be reached. Otherwise, socialism would be established by non-socialists--an extremely improbable supposition." An "extremely improbable supposition" for the social democrat Woodburn. To him, "labor's first duty in the realm of finance is to obtain the power of directing the wealth in desirable directions instead of undesirable, e.g. to house building rather than to gambling institutions; to education rather than to war preparations". "To suggest", he says in a footnote, "that nationalization of the banks, etc., means that the socialists in power are going to appropriate the depositor's money is as ridiculous as to suggest that to municipalize the reservoirs means that the councilors will drink all the water. The simple fact is that instead of the flow of investments being, as at present, directed by irresponsible stock exchange speculators, they would be under the guidance of public experts acting according to the principles of public policy."

To Woodburn, the "control of capital means control of capitalism. With the nationalization of investments, insurance and banks, the great bulk of the available capital would be under the direction of the government, and it would then be possible to guide its investment in the direction of building up a socialist economy". So that to Woodburn it is not the abolition of capital-relations, but the control of capital that means socialism. Governmental control of capital means, for the workers, that they will then be controlled by the government instead of by the individual capitalists. Control of capital always means also control of the workers. What Woodburn is aiming at is not socialism at all, but state capitalism. And for his new system of exploitation, he naturally needs the carrying over of the "mysteries" of finance into the new society. But apart from his bureaucratic illusions about socialism, his description of the financial mechanism of capitalism makes worth-while reading for the critical worker.

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SOCIAL SECURITY, by Abraham Epstein. League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., New York City. 36 pp. 10 cents.

Epstein sets forth in this booklet, written from a

capitalist-liberal point of view, the necessity for an extensive program of social security similar to those which have been in effect for almost 50 years in some European countries. To him the aim of social insurance is "the establishment of a minimum level of economic sustenance below which no one should fall during such emergencies as unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age". He explains the existing Social Security Act and subjects it to some criticism. "The basis of the Act must be changed from a private insurance scheme to a socially and economically constructive social insurance program. The Social Security Act must be amended so that it will enhance national security thru a better balance in the national economy achieved by increasing mass purchasing power thru progressive taxation". Obviously, his whole argument is based on a consistent ignorance of fundamental problems of capitalism. He never inquires whether all his proposals are objectively possible, or whether, if carried thru, they would actually mean an easing of the lives of the poor. The quest for social security is so much nonsense. Laws enacted for this purpose can only prove the absence of all security. What Epstein is really concerned with, even though he may not know it, is the organizing of the existing and growing misery to safeguard the present social system which he mistakenly thinks capable of balancing the national economy. The social reformer steps in where the clubs of the police prove inadequate. For demonstration of this fact, and also for the information contained, this pamphlet may be recommended.

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

by Theresa Wolfson and Abraham Weiss. League For Industrial Democracy. 52 pp. 15 cents.

This pamphlet, though written by people to whom labor problems and organizations are a phase of bourgeois sociology, nevertheless makes worthwhile reading. The authors think themselves very progressive for fostering the C.I.O. movement; but in order to arrive at this point of view, they sketch the whole development of trade unionism in America in such an efficient manner that their pamphlet should be in the hands of all workers. Considering its size, we feel justified in stating that it is probably the best exposition of the development of the trade unions published of late. It starts with the earliest attempts at organization, describes the rise and decline of the Knights of Labor, the attempts of the I.W.W. at industrial unionization, explaining the success and the shortcomings of the A.F. of L. and suggests also the economic reasons which led to the present C.I.O. movement.



THE LABOR SPY, by Gordon Hopkins. Social Action.  
32 pp. 10 cents.

This study is largely based upon the evidence presented before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor headed by Senator R.M. LaFollette, Jr. While still other sources were records of the cases of the National Labor Relations Board. It deals with industrial espionage, tells how spies are obtained, how they work, by whom they are used, and then recommends some silly legislative remedies,---which reminds us of the much touted Anti-Lynching Law which was supposed to work in the interests of the unfortunate. Here it is in practice: "Penitentiary sentences are being imposed, under the Virginia Anti-lynching Law, on strikers convicted of taking part in a melee at the gate of the Industrial Rayon Corporation's mill at Cowington on July 7th. Union men tried to prevent non-union men from returning to work. Two automobiles were overturned but no one was seriously injured. Instead of preferring assault and battery charges against the strikers, warrants were sworn out under the Anti-Lynching Law, passed in 1928. The three strikers thus far convicted, members of the C.I.O.-textile union, have received terms from two to four years from a jury brought from neighboring Highland County. Attorneys believe that if a single conviction of this sort is permitted to stand, the organized labor movement in Virginia will be virtually destroyed." (New York Times, Aug. 15, 1937) All progressive legislation under capitalism actually furthers capitalist progress which sometimes consists in nothing more than putting workers behind bars. Legislative action against the Labor Spy will be taken when the latter is replaced by something better.

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JOHN L. LEWIS EXPOSED, by Eric Hass. New York Labor News Co., P.O. Box 1076, City Hall Station. 69pp. 10¢

This pamphlet published by the Socialist Labor Party will make very good reading for workers. To understand the C.I.O. it is also necessary to be informed in regards to its leadership. The dirty history of John L. Lewis in the trade-union movement might somewhat dampen the unjustified enthusiasm which many workers feel for the C.I.O. Although the pamphlet is written in the spirit of competition--that is, the authors see in the C.I.O. a fake industrial unionism and in their own unionization plans the only salvation for the workers, and oppose the rotten leader of the C.I.O. with their own excellent leaders--the material assembled in this pamphlet should, nevertheless, be brought to the workers' attention. The Socialist Labor Party's position on the question of

organization precludes on its part an understanding of the forces which bring about and again destroy unions, whether based on trades or industries. These people cannot recognize the forces which transform labor leaders into fakers, and so they have nothing of real importance to say against the C.I.O. But their pamphlet serves one purpose quite well: that of showing up the lousy character of the fathead by whom the C.I.O. is ruled.

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THE SOVIETS, by Albert Rhys Williams. Harcourt, Brace & Co.-383 Madison Ave., New York City. 554pp. \$3.00

Sometimes a lack of understanding appears as an objective attitude. Works written with such a "detachment from personal interestedness" are almost always very dull. Williams' book, pro-bolshevik not because he wants to be subjective, but because he does not know any better, proved to be hard reading to this reviewer. Once more Williams restates what was already set forth in so many volumes and by so many people: namely, that there is progress in Russia. And this progress is shown in all phases of social life with the exception of one, the brutal exploitation of the mass of the workers and the consequent political dictatorship over the workers. Williams really does not know what constitutes capitalism, so he cannot be blamed for not knowing what sort of society exists in Russia. He likes it, for he is not one of the Russian wage workers. One of his reviewers has said that this book, on account of its information, may well serve as a useful college course. We must agree it is perfect for such purposes in capitalist colleges. "His system of questions and answers," says the congenitally superficial Duranty, "is the easiest and the best manner of informing the American public about the Russian scene." Surely the "public" should always be served with questions and answers simultaneously. In this way all unwarranted questions are avoided and life becomes much easier. For those people who, like the religious fanatics, can spend a life time in rereading again and again what they already know, this book might be recommended.

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THE LETTERS OF LENIN, Translated (and often very badly) by Elizabeth Hill and Doris Mundie. Chapman & Hall, London.--Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. 495 pp. \$4.00

These letters, chronologically arranged, consist of both personal and political correspondence. There are letters to his mother, wife, sisters, brother and others, from prison, from Siberia and from abroad. The



political letters cover the whole period from 1895 until his death. Most of the letters are of no real interest either to the revolutionary worker or to the student of Marxism. They might be of interest to the psychologists and those people interested in the human side of the "more-than-human" leader. Those who worship personalities will discover again in the insignificance of most of the letters the grandiose simplicity of the genius. A few of the letters, however, are very illuminating with regard to the psychology of the professional revolutionist, and also with regards to the character of Bolshevism. It seems in reading these letters, that Lenin was always struggling for supremacy and for domination within his organization and the labor movement. All other aspiring personalities are constantly attacked, belittled or ridiculed. There does not seem to be one who could please Lenin, though there are also exceptions, for he praises a man very much who proved later to be a stool pigeon....

On Oct. 31, 1914, Lenin writes: "The Second International is definitely dead. The opportunists have killed it, (and not "parliamentarization", as that clumsy Pannekoek called it)". As if opportunism were a mental sickness, as if it could be divorced from the objective possibility of being opportunist which was provided by the organization of the Second International, whose existence and importance was in turn largely dependent on Parliamentarism. But Lenin's opponents from the right were not much better treated than those from the left. On Dec. 3, 1904, he says that Trotsky's pamphlet, "Our Political Tasks" is as rotten as himself. And even as late as Feb. 17, 1917, he cries out: "What a swine that Trotsky is". But all this was forgotten as soon as Trotsky subordinated himself under the genius, because after all, Lenin controlled the party machine, and this control he would never give up.

In the autumn of 1920, in a note to A. J. Elizarova, he states: "The basic principle of Government in the spirit of all the decisions of the Russian Communist Party and the Central Soviet institutions is that a definite person is wholly responsible for conducting a definite piece of work. I have been conducting the work and I am responsible. A certain person is in my way, since he is not responsible and is not in control. That is confusion! That is chaos! It is the interference of a person unsuitable for responsible work, and I demand his removal".

This principle of Government precludes a real Soviet rule. Thus also in a letter to the National Commissars (Aug. 29, 1918) he states: "It is essential that in the reports, which ought to be as popular as possible, the

following points should be quoted:...the participation of workers in the Government, (the outstanding individual workers and workers' organizations, etc.,)...". So that what he has in view is not a workers' Government, but merely their participation in the Government, just as all capitalist governments find it to their advantage to have labor representations. How, in case of the existence of workers' rule could the following order of Lenin be issued, directed to the members of the Council of Defense and dated Feb. 1, 1920: "The railway transport position is catastrophic. Bread transport to Moscow has ceased. Special measures are essential to save the situation. The following measures should be passed: decrease the individual bread rations for those workers who are not transport workers. Let thousands perish, but the country must be saved." But not only the country, also its elite has to be saved. In April of the same year, a very sensitive Lenin, like a real "father of his people", after the latter have successfully perished for the country, writes to his lick-spittle, Adoratsky: "I have passed it on to Comrade Hodorovsky asking him to help you with regard to rations, fuel, etc. Has anything been done to help you in the way of rations? Fuel? Is there anything else you need?" No doubt, also here, Stalin is the best disciple of Lenin, by introducing incomes ranging from 100 to 20,000 rubles.

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THE WEB OF THOUGHT AND ACTION, by H. Levy.-Watts & Co., London, 5 and 6 Johnson's Court, Fleet St. E.C.4. 238 pp. 2/6 net.

Professor Levy's book, the second volume in the Library of Science and Culture, explores the social and philosophical meaning of scientific advance. The book is extremely well written and its manner of presentation interesting. Experts from a variety of different fields are cross examined in order to find out what they have contributed in their field of study and activity to the order and chaos of modern civilization. And this in order to "unearth a philosophy of life--a philosophy that will lead, if successful, to an understanding of the way in which the world about us behaves and of our conduct in relation to it; and it must fit the one into the other as a united picture". Interviewing the "man on the street", a scientific engineer, a politician, an economist, a representative of religion, a language expert, a social historian, a biologist, a psychologist, and a physicist, Professor Levy assembles a wealth of facts and ideas relating to nature and society which establishes the Web of Thought and Action responsible for the present social misery, but also for the recognition of the necessity for conscious control, "which means



predicting the next higher level of social life, and working consciously for it. That means studying history as a science, and it means emerging from the study and entering the social laboratory where politics is practiced and history is made". Although Professor Levy's approach to social change is still bound up with the traditional position that only theory and insight permit successful action, nevertheless his exposition of the many existing ideas, including his own, is quite illuminating and well worth recommending to readers interested in Marxian thought.

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EARL BROWDER, COMMUNIST OR TOOL OF WALL STREET.  
(Stalin, Trotsky or Lenin) by George Marlen.  
P.O.Box 67, Station D, N. Y. \$1.00

Marlen's book forces the reviewer to contradictory statements. On the one hand the documentary evidence of the treacherous role of the Comintern and sundry split-off groups is startling, convincing and deserves to be read. On the other hand, the author's theoretical weakness is equally startling and makes for painful reading. The introduction itself, telling of his personal struggle with the Party bureaucracy concerning his novel, "The Road", creates the impression that the present book is mainly his personal revenge for having been shoved aside. Only after all his attempts to further his own personal aims had proven futile did he break with the CP, and that was as late as 1933--after six years of bickering. Of course, we realize that very often only personal experiences open people's eyes, but in this case we have to do with an intellectual who purports to be an independent thinker on political matters. Still, aside from this part of Marlen's book, there remain many pages interesting enough to be read and to be remembered. Especially the quotations from literally hundreds of papers and magazines should prove a useful weapon against the comintern as well as the Trotskyites and other dissenters. But wherever he attempts to answer burning questions of the present labor movement, he reveals an ignorance or a defective sense of reality, which leaves one dumbfounded.

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FROM LENIN TO STALIN, by Victor Serge.-Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., New York City. 112pp. 50¢

Far from agreeing with Serge on any of the points he raises and answers in this pamphlet, nevertheless we sincerely wish that all workers would read this booklet. Especially his comrades of the Trotsky movement should read it carefully and again. Then he himself should spend some time in contemplation of what he has

written. For Serge here describes a fascistic system just as crude as Hitler's, and just as dangerous for the working class. If he is convinced of what he says, then he must be insane in maintaining farther on with his "Old Man" Trotsky, that Russia is still a Workers' State worthy of being defended by the international working class.

Serge is still a Leninist; that is, an unsuccessful Stalinist, and for this reason he is incapable of describing the period from Lenin to Stalin from a historical materialistic point of view. He sees the whole development largely as the product of bad men, as the result of their wrong ideas, especially Stalin's, or due to a lack of ideas, such as are sacred to Serge. The pamphlet contains nothing which would make clear to workers why Lenin's theories and the Russian scene should lead to Stalinism. The prevailing opinion here is that another policy, probably that of the "Old Man", might have changed conditions in Russia considerably.

History is not looked upon as a product of class struggles, but as if made by the competitive quarrels of organizations and leaders. The individual Lenin is responsible for the success, the individual Stalin responsible for the betrayal of the revolution. But apart from this bourgeois attitude of Serge's towards the Russian revolution, his account of the first years of the revolution and the Third International, as well as of Stalin's period, brings out so many interesting facts throwing light on the whole development, that this pamphlet should be read. We have no interest at this time in presenting a theoretical refutation of Serge's views. We have dealt with Leninism quite often and will deal with it again. But one thing more we must say: the pamphlet is excellently written and will disappoint no one.

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Leon Trotsky, The Stalin School of Falsification.  
Pioneer Publishers. 336pp. \$3.50

This is the second volume of the selected works of Trotsky, which are being brought out by International Publishers. The first volume, "The 3d International after Lenin", contained Trotsky's criticism of the draft program of the C.I. and a statement of his position on the Chinese revolution. In this second volume, Trotsky demonstrates how the new school of Soviet historians has distorted the history of the Russian Revolution. The idea behind this falsification was not only to eliminate Trotsky's name from that history, but also to undermine the very basis of the revolution. Anyone interested in these quarrels between the bolshevik factions will find the book attractive. We have found it a deadly bore.



L.C.R. James, World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International. Pioneer Publishers. 429 pp. \$ 3.50.

This elaborate statement of the trotskyite position is distinguished from other such works in the fact that here the bourgeois ideology underlying the whole of bolshevist thought comes more clearly to light than ever before. It is essentially no more than an idealization of Lenin, of the same sickening sort as the idealization of Stalin in the ranks of the party faithful. History is seen by James, the somewhat apologetically, as a struggle between principles incorporated in two individuals. Books like this show clearly that the bolshevik movement is related to the workers only in the same sense as is the bourgeoisie: the workers are to be used for the needs of the Party, as they are now used for the profit requirements of capital. Apart from this, all the slogans of the Trotsky movement turn up again; the book contains not a single new thought. The whole work is characterized by such nonsensical statements as the following: "Unless a new International is created, the U.S.S.R. as a workers' state is doomed". In other words, the Russians have to be saved against their own will; for so far, they have killed off their would-be saviors. But the fatherland must be defended, even if this very same fatherland represents only another sort of fascism. Occasionally, however, a doubt creeps into James's mind as to the quality of Lenin's organizational principles. The centralism exercised in the bolshevik party was good for the workers, he says, only because Lenin was such a good revolutionist, while with a Stalin at the head it becomes bad. So that the whole history of the labor movement, which in James's opinion depends on the existence of a party, is now in reality seen to depend on the qualities of the leader (not even leaders, but leader). And this book is dedicated to a "marxist" group!

Many attacks launched in this book upon the stalinist regime are justifiable only on the assumption that the author is ignorant of the pre-Stalin policy of the Communist International. That Stalinism is partly also the product of the Lenin-Trotsky era in Russia, James can not admit, for that would mean to abandon his bourgeois approach to history. Whatever James says about the pre-Stalin period of the C.I. is simply wrong. He speaks, for instance, of the "anarchist tendencies" of the (german) Spartakists, which frightened the then existing workers' councils and precluded an alliance between them and the Spartakists. Leaving the objective conditions to one side, we may say that it was not the anarchistic but the social-democratic tendencies among

the Spartakists which precluded a more revolutionary and consistent policy on the part of this organization. The little success of the Spartacus League might be attributed to a lack of what James calls anarchist tendencies. The early failures of the C.I. are just as closely connected with Lenin and Trotsky as the later failures with Stalin's administration. "The Socialists, in 1918," James says, "were afraid of starting socialism with a ruined economy." They must already, then, have been Trotskyites, because Trotsky said in 1923: "It is not at all in our interest (the interest of the C.I.) to have the revolution break out in a Europe which is bled and exhausted and to have the proletariat receive from the hands of the bourgeoisie nothing but ruins."

Farther on, in speaking of the Kapp Putsch, James says: "The German C.P. put itself at the head of the fighting"; but he does not say that this was done only in support of the democratic regime against the reactionaries, and that after the defeat of Kapp the C.P. helped to disarm the workers and to deliver them over to the capitalists. James goes on to blame the C.P. for its aggressive tactic in Central Germany in 1921; but the fact is that the C.P. was not aggressive at all, but sabotaged the whole struggle. Brandler, then in power, explained the uprising as the work of the Communist Labor Party (K.A.P.D.), for which the C.P. was not responsible. For this service, he became an honorary member of the C.I., to the delight of Lenin and Trotsky. The K.A.P.D. was, in James's opinion, "infested with syndicalist tendencies and did not consolidate itself". The truth is that the K.A.P.D. was always an outspokenly marxist organization; it existed down to 1933, and still plays its part in the illegal German movement. But funniest of all, James actually writes: "If Brandler had met in Moscow, not Stalin... but Lenin, there would have been a revolution in Germany in 1933." How simple world history really is! James's new Song of Lenin provides material for a few good laughs, but otherwise it is devoid of all value.

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THE NATIONAL DEBT AND GOVERNMENT CREDIT. Twentieth Century Fund. 330 W. 43d St. New York, 1937. 169pp. \$1.75.

Since 1930, the gross debt of the United States Government has more than doubled, climbing from about 16 to more than 36 billions. This was brought about by way of a policy of financing deficits. The authors of this admirably written volume believe that the increase of indebtedness has not yet undermined government credit. They point out that in most of the European countries the debt burden is relatively heavier. But if the size of the debt is not as yet a cause for



concern to capitalist society, the trend of the development certainly is. The budget must eventually be balanced, unless there is to be inflation. Besides a balanced budget, the authors recommend a debt reduction of one billion yearly. To this recommendation a reviewer in the New York Times has properly answered: "The problem today is not what to do but how to do it." The authors have no real answer to this question. For it is one of the contradictions of capitalism that its government expenditures rise continuously, in spite of the more and more urgent need for cutting down on the part of surplus value floating to the government. The tool of capitalism becomes too heavy for capital. Anyhow, the book may be recommended to workers interested in the difficulties of present-day capitalism.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT and ACCUMULATION

(David Weintraub in TECHNOLOGICAL TRENDS AND NATIONAL POLICY; including the Social Implications of new Inventions. Report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee. Washington: 1937. \$1.00)

"The problem of "technological unemployment" is essentially twofold: One, the expansion of total production sufficiently to overcome the effect on unemployment of declining labor requirements and increasing labor supply; and two, adjustment of the individual employment dislocations, which accompany technological progress. The growth in total output from 1920 to 1929 was not sufficient, in the light of the increased productivity and the growth of the labor supply, to absorb all the available manpower; the result was a substantial volume of unemployment during this entire period. The data examined indicate that... we must look to a much more rapid expansion of production than has taken place between 1933 and 1935 before we can expect a return either to the employment or to the unemployment levels of the predepression period. A rough calculation indicates that, in order for unemployment to drop to the 1929 level by 1937, goods and services produced would have to reach a point 20 per cent higher than that in 1929, even if the productivity level of 1935 remained unchanged. Further technological advance in industries would necessitate an even greater expansion of production to restore predepression unemployment levels, while a continued relative growth of service activities would tend to minimize the volume of expansion required. The outlook for the immediate future seems to be in the direction of further technological progress...., it may be expected that the dislocations occasioned by technological progress will continue to present serious problems of industrial, economic, and social readjustment."

#### ONE YEAR "PEOPLE'S FRONT" IN FRANCE (continued from page 15)

becomes apparent.

What was the social content of this development, the organizational form of which we referred to? When Blum-Faure supported by Jouhaux-Thorez took over the government we witnessed the most powerful strike wave which the French labor movement had seen in 30 years; and there is no doubt that the assumption of power by "their" government was one of the most encouraging factors in these mass actions, outside of the fact that the social conditions in France, were more backward than in any of the industrially high developed European countries and that the economic upswing had here also already begun.

Statistics of the strikes for 1936 show the character of the sudden swelling of the strike wave better than any words.

Statistics of the Strikes in 1936		
Months :	Number of Strikes :	Number of Strikers
Jan. :	51 :	8,731
Feb. :	41 :	9,142
March :	39 :	12,127
Apr. :	32 :	12,784
May :	65 :	13,727
June :	12,142 (8,941) #) :	1,830,938
July :	1,751 (839) :	181,471
Aug. :	542 (199) :	58,861
Sept. :	699 (310) :	123,592
Oct. :	540 (54) :	21,767
Nov. :	347 (54) :	10,603
Dec. :	239 (85) :	24,868

#) In ( ) the number of Strikes with occupation of the factory as fighting form.

The leaders of the P.F. parties were bewildered by this effect of their "appeal to the masses". "The movement sprang up and developed without our exact knowledge of how or wherefrom" said Jouhaux in his speech to the National Confederal Committee on 6/16/1936. But at that time he and his colleagues, the ministers of the People's Front, again had the reign in their hands. At that time the agreement at Matignon was already signed. In face of an uncontrolled mass movement and of form of mass action until then unknown in France, the leaders of the workers' parties and of the unions together with the leaders of the General Employers Organization recognized their common interest in view of a common danger. As result of their cooperative intensive thinking -and they are accusto-



med to logical thinking in such situations- they subscribed to the Matignon agreement on June 7, 1936. This agreement is a blanket code, the rules of which the employers obligate themselves to make a part of the singular collective contracts. They promised to grant some concessions to French labor, most of which had already been obtained in the more developed industrial countries. After they saw that the German bourgeoisie could manage quite well with paid vacations, that the 40 hour week did not dispossess American capital, why not deliver these concessions to the French workers through the intermediaries of their union bosses whom they could trust to switch the locomotive of mass activity off the rails of social revolution. And the trust honored them.

With the prelude "the dignity of the worker is now recognized" Jouhaux explained the "glorious social victory" of the agreement to the masses, and he succeeded with the help of the legislative machine of his P.F. colleagues, to return the workers to their jobs!

Besides some gains in the field of social security (new regulations of apprenticeship, advancing the age for compulsory education, lowering the age for pensions of the state employees, and so forth) the social achievements of this legislation can be divided in two parts: the 40 hour week law without lessening of wages and the paid vacations, which were actual advantages for the workers. (The will, however, only be put into practice in the big industries, and only for a relatively small part of French labor, as, for instance, the strike of the Hotel Employees in this summer has shown). But the decisive part of the social legislation is not to be found here, it must be looked for in the obligatory arbitration and such measures as the creation of the Wheat Board.

Obligatory arbitration was contrary to all traditions of French trade unionism. But with the argument that the capitalist employers were opposed to it Jouhaux and Blum made it palatable for the workers. It is clear that the growth of state power which limits the autonomy of the individual capitalist will be fought by him, but that does not mean that the power of the working class increases thereby. On the contrary, the state machine becomes only more effective fulfilling the superpersonal interests of the dominating class. After protracted discussion it is now evident that the Temps, this newspaper become bourgeois, as Jaures called it, wrote quite correctly: "The -strike right suspended or not? The reading of the law concerning arbitration and its procedure does not leave any doubt. From now on, every strike is illegal."

And the P.F. government does not conceal the function of the obligatory arbitration as an instrument for "class peace" and "economic democracy". In one of the debates in the chamber Blum characteristically declared: "Yes, the workers' organizations today feel strong enough to realize their duties and responsibilities toward the national life. Nothing could prove this better than their acceptance of such a text!" And in the Senate even more frankly as he retraced the situation at the Matignon Hotel Blum said: "To actualize the economic revival and to ensure the social peace, we have the good fortune to be backed by the unions, who for so many years repulsed the idea of arbitration and its procedure. Let us profit from this situation. If we should not clasp the hand extended to us by the union organizations to assure the social peace and class collaboration we would commit a mistake fatal to our French republic." And as Jouhaux repeated several times: "There can be no question here of one sided sanctions."

The unions are also ready to back the sanctions against those who refuse to submit to arbitration. This is manifest in the discussions of the question, recently again debated in the meeting of the National Confederation Committee of the CGT.

Of particular significance is further the role of the factory delegates. Article 5 of the Matignon agreement states that in all enterprises which employ more than six wage earners, one or more delegates shall be elected by the workers. In his speech of 6/16/36, Jouhaux made it clear that in his opinion shop delegates were to be "under union control". And when it was interposed that there could be a strong influence of non-union workers in these delegations, he shouted to the applause of his audience: "For us, we consider them as nothing and non-existent. The delegates must in no case come from outside the unions. For us, nothing relating to working conditions, exists outside the union organizations. Only the union has the right of intervention!" In that sense, later legislation designated the functioning of the unions and their factory delegates - the transformation of the unions from an instrument of class struggle to a wheel in the modern capitalist state machine - is now substantially completed. So it occurs that in spite of the cancelling of the increase of wages through devaluation, in spite of the worsening of the situation of large sections of the workers, especially in the white collar group, in spite of the fact that at the moment the power of the unions is greater than ever before, there has been in the last month the smallest amount of labor struggle in years. As we tried to show, there is



only a seeming contradiction in that fact. There is no impotence of the working class in spite of but because of their mass organizations. And when we hear the P.F. parties and especially the C.P. melody of the primate of the national production, these tunes seem to come from the other side of the Rhine. Imagine Blum, the leader of a socialist party, going to the workers slaving at the Paris exhibition and asking them to make sacrifices, to work Saturdays and Sundays - "how could you not be touched by the symbolic power of this coincidence... We want to be ready on the first of May, which for 50 years has been Labor's Day. For 50 years workers celebrated under conditions I will not describe here;.. it is a sad and heroic, sometimes even bloody history. This time our May Day must become a triumph!"

We discussed here only two sides of the P.F. policy. We did not touch upon the reorganization of the war industry, achieved under cover of "Nationalization". We did not speak of the fact that the Blum government through a series of finance decrees since March of this year did fully reestablish the power of the "200 families". We did not mention the reactionary policy of this "socialistically" oriented government in Spain and its open imperialistic colonial policy. (One must always bear in mind that France is the second largest colonial power and that it exploits 60,000,000 colonial slaves.) These facts are only the other side of the same matter which we treated here from the perspective nearest to the working class.

#### NEWS NOTES ON THE C.I.O.

##### A Definition

"Unionization, as opposed to communism, presupposes the relation of employment; it is based upon the wage system and it recognizes fully and unreservedly the institution of private property and the right to investment profit." --John L. Lewis in his radio speech; Sept. 3, 1937.

##### Miners "Hang" Leaders

Coaldale, Pa., Oct. 8 --Defying the wishes of John L. Lewis and other leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, nearly 7,000 hard coal miners threw down their tools today and walked out of five collieries of the Lehigh Navigation Coal Co. This spontaneous action of the union rank-and filers, which halted all operations in Panther Creek Valley, was an expression of sympathy for 39 "stay-down" strikers who were in the fourth day of self-imposed imprisonment 1,300 feet underground. Three union leaders and a labor mediator were hung in effigy from football goal posts. New York Times.

#### C.I.O. Union Curbs Locals

To prevent the possibility of "wildcat" strikes called by locals without the international board's consent, the final authority to call a strike was placed in the hands of the general executive board by the Industrial Union of Marine and Ship-building Workers of America at its convention on Sept. 25. New York Times.

#### Responsibility vs. Irresponsibility

"The United Automobile Workers desires to function as a responsible labor union. The refusal of President Martin to be bludgeoned by irresponsible actions is the best assurance that the U.A.W. is able to assume responsibility and live up to it." --Richard Frankenstein, vice-president of the U.A.W. issued this statement after Homer Martin had pulled a gun on a rank-and-file union delegation seeking to protest against Martin's discharge of "communistic and irresponsible organizers".

Martin admitted pulling a gun, saying: "I have a lot of enemies and I didn't know who was at the door." At a meeting of Canadian automobile workers later in the day, Martin denied that he had pulled a gun. --The Daily Worker printed this story on Oct. 2, 1937, having deliberately delayed its publication by 24 hours according to its own admission.--

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The Group of Council Communists (New York) announces:  
STUDY CLASS IN MARXISM  
Beginning Tuesday, October 19, 1937 at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street (Room 39).

##### PROCEDURE

- 1) Popular Introduction and Interpretation of Marxian Theories.
  - 2) Scientific Analysis, based on Capital, Vol. I. 12 evenings
  - 3) The Communist Society (2 evenings)
- SESSION: Every Tuesday, 8-10 p.m. Dues: Arbitrarily. For further information write W.P. Berck, c/o Labor Temple.

The Group of Council Communists (Chicago) meets every Monday, 8 p.m., at Idrott's Cafe; 2nd floor. Lectures, classes, discussions. Admittance free. 3206 Wilton Ave. Near Belmont Ave. For information write to: P.O. Box 5343, Chicago, Ill.