

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 51.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1935.

Five Cents

Right Wing Socialism and War

By Bertram D. Wolfe

## KAUTSKY ENLISTS FOR DEFENSE OF CAPITALISM

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

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

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

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

So? This is the man who once studied Marx, interpreted and defended his views. This is the man whose war posi-

tion the New Leader (issues of Nov. 9 and 16, 1935) reprints and hails as the war position of Socialism. Imperialist England, imperialist America, imperialist France, who stride iron-heeled and spurred over prostrate peoples in Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America, are given a clean bill of health after the First World War and in advance of the Second!

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

"A peaceful democratic state," he continues, "coming into collision with a warlike, despotic state is placed before the alternative of yielding to the extortion of the despot. . . . But it is an old rule that concessions never

satisfy an extortionist but serve only to increase his avarice, so that violent collision of the two states proves inevitable."

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

You may think, reader, that I am unfair to Kautsky. Perhaps he is not talking of France, England and the United States, not of the looters of India, Morocco and the Philippines, but of some future Socialist democracies? Alas, no, dear reader. He makes himself painfully clear. The "democracies" he means,

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

cumstances, still mobilize the power to make war."

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

### NEW EVILS OF "LESSER EVIL" THEORY

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

NEW YORK CITY—Several hundred members of the Communist Opposition responded enthusiastically to a report of the conference of the International Communist Opposition, delivered by Jay Lovestone last Sunday.

Lovestone, who was the American delegate to the conference, dealt with a letter from the I.C.O. which was dispatched to the Comintern; the present opportunist line as it expresses itself

in France, Germany and Czechoslovakia; condition of the I.C.O. and its sections; and the problem of communist unity. He ended his report by a call to the membership for an intensified struggle against the present ultra-right line of the Comintern.

In line with this perspective Lovestone reported plans for the extension of the work here as well as in Europe. Full time organizers are to be placed in the

field here and in the middle west, Workers Age is to be enlarged and increased financial support to the I.C.O. is planned. To carry out this program the National Bureau needs \$5,000 and proposes to raise this sum by the end of February.

The attitude of the membership was expressed in the response to the appeal to make a beginning on this \$5,000 drive. A sum of \$2,825 in cash and pledges was raised on the spot.

## REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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

### WAGNER BILL VOIDING IS PART OF BOSS DRIVE

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

That this was a bombshell in the camp of labor goes without saying. William Green had mobilized the whole trade union movement behind the Wagner Bill. In the passage of this bill organized labor saw a great victory in that its right to organize without interference from company stools, agents and organizations, was recognized and written into the law of the land. In the voiding of this bill labor will therefore be quick to see a direct blow by the open shop forces thru-out the land who have been sounding the tocsin of war against labor these many months.

We were not of those who read into the law all that the Greens and the Wolls would have us see in it. Nor did we glibly swallow Green's cry of "Magna Charta of Labor" in describing the now famous Section 7a of the National Recovery Act which preceded the Wagner Bill. Life itself has proven that Section 7a, which superficially promised so much, actually gave very little to labor. The greatest advances in the trade union movement were made by those unions which kept their powder dry even "while trusting in NRA." A recent survey of the Department of Labor (April 1935) covering 15,000 establishments and 2,000,000 workers proves conclusively that it was the radical critics who were correct in their characterizations of NRA. The survey showed that despite all talk of abolition of company unionism in the flush days of NRA 63.5% of all company unions covered by the survey were organized between 1933 and 1935—during the lifetime of the NRA.

The official labor movement was ultimately forced to recognize this fact and to begin a movement for a new law to "curb company unionism." The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill was the re-

sult. Weak as this bill was in its initial appearance, it was weakened, amended and explained away in and out of Committee, to a point where hardly more than the name remained unchanged. This was done to meet the widespread offensive against this bill by manufacturing interests. No one knew better than Green that the bill as finally formulated was of doubtful value for labor to say the least, but he had committed and aroused the labor movement in its support and had not the courage to back out at that point. Behind it all lurks the belief and the conviction on the part of the Greens that it is possible, thru friendly Senators and thru "pull" in the government, to secure thru legislation that which labor is not able to win thru its own economic strength. The fallacy of this belief is being illustrated from day to day as the offensive of the bosses begins to unfold itself.

It is our belief that there is more to this decision than meets the eye. It is not only a case where the manufacturing interests attempt to destroy even such equivocal and doubtful laws because they feel that economic revival has reached a point where they no longer need submit to governmental regulation. Nor is it merely a case of the Tories in the Republican Party and the Liberty League aiming a blow at the reelection aspirations of the President. The arrow strikes even deeper.

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

It is from this standpoint that the

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

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

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

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

Republican nomination, undoubtedly is being subjected to pressure from these elements, since he would serve as a half-way liberal front for the G.O.P. In this sense, he represents a great danger to the workers and farmers, who might be persuaded to express their discontent with monopoly-capital thru this "trust-buster." (Although the Herald Tribune is careful to point out that he never joined Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party.) The Republican Party doesn't merely represent another boss party, and therefore an unfit instrument for the expression of working-class politics. It represents now the concentrating point of the employers who are against social legislation in principle. To this attitude of the Republican Party and to the company-union spawning Democratic Party, the answer of the workers is—a Labor Party.

### BRITAIN BURNS FINGERS EDEN SEEN AS A SALVE

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

### INCOMES SHOW THAT RICH REMAIN RICH

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

a half billions in 1934. However, since comparisons from Washington are all with an eye on the statistics for 1929 we glance at them and discover that this high water mark in income for 1934 is less than half the income during 1929 (30 billion dollars).

The press makes very much ado about the increase in payments from the "little fellows" that is from those whose income is under \$5,000. The implication apparently is that wealth is being somewhat more evenly distributed. We have not the time for extensive interpretation of the statistics submitted but one fact does stare one in the face: Returns on incomes of \$5,000 and over constituted 10.5% of the total filed and 40.7% of the total income received by the government. In other words about 10% of those paying the tax have corralled a little less than half of all taxable income.

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

The Old Guard seems to be thinning out.

### ON THE LABOR FRONT

#### DRESS BOSSES SAY THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE

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

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

#### BRITISH MINERS BEING FORCED INTO STRIKE

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

(Continued on Page 4)

Build the Weekly "Workers Age"

JAY  
LOVESTONE

Just Returned from Europe, Speaks on

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 8 P. M.

Irving Plaza Hall  
15th St. and Irving Place

EUROPE IN  
FERMENT



# Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

**CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE**, by Karl Marx. International Publishers. 159pp. \$1.00.

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

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

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

Timely Lessons

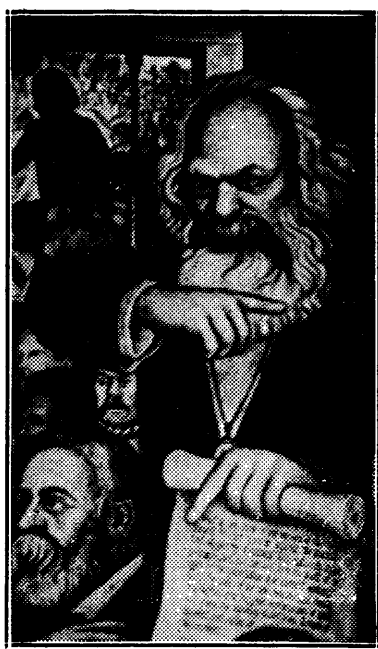
But the work of Marx is far more important than the much discussed introduction by Engels. Like the "Eighteenth Brumaire" and the "Civil War in France" it is a brilliant example of Marx's ability to use his own historical method to catch history on the wing, to interpret current events while they are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

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

petty bourgeois socialism, democratic and constitutional illusions; interesting sidelights on Bonapartism, (a phenomenon bearing certain resemblances to modern fascism).

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

In this little work Communists will also find much needed discussion on the "Peoples' Front." Here Marx urges again and again the necessity, so recently rediscovered by the Comintern as it shakes off its sectarian stupor, of alliances between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. And here also the party member will find much needed warnings (as yet not rediscovered by the Comintern) against accepting the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie in those alliances,



or accepting their constitutional illusions, or basing its fight on the defense of the constitution and democratic forms against the attacks of the reaction and Bonapartism (read, fascism). Here one will find many a Daladier and Herriot in the tragicomedy of the "defense of democracy" by the pitiful "mountain" of the France of 1848 to '50. And, if we may descend from tragic-comedy to burlesque, many analogs of the Leibowitzes and Marcantonios on whom the American Communist Party is encouraging the proletariat to lean today.

This little classic should be in the pos-

session of every socialist and communist workingman and its lessons from the past should be made part of the living equipment of revolutionary socialism, as it faces the problems of today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIVE BEST BOOKS OF 1935	
— Novels —	
Europa,	by Robert Briffault. Scribners.
Of Time and the River,	by Thomas Wolfe. Scribners.
— Non Fiction —	
Karl Marx,	by Franz Mehring. Covici-Friede.
Crisis of the Middle Class,	by Louis Corey. Covici-Friede.
Marxism and Modern Thought.	Harcourt Brace.

## LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . by James Sand

### A Pre-Marxian in America: Wilhelm Weitling

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

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

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

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

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

within five years he had outgrown Weitling's pulpit-communism to such an extent that he and Engels could write the *Communist Manifesto*. They also became impatient with the Federation of the Just, and Engels has recorded their criticism of it in his *History of the Communist League*. He says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of war he said:

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

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

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

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

In The Next Issue

THE FATHER OF AMERICAN MARXISM: F. A. SORGE

### Review of Week

(Continued from Page 1)

with the mine owners having tailed before, they are to be resumed on January 26 and if unsuccessful a general strike may result on January 27.

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

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

**THREE KENTUCKY MINERS** have been released as a result of the amnesty by Christmas drive of the Joint Committee for the release of the Kentucky miners. The three of the seven miners serving life sentence for the shootings at Everts on May 5, 1931, are Bill Hightower, William Hudson and Elzie Phillips.

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

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

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

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

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

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