

The American **Socialist**

**COMMUNIST
PARTIES IN
CRISIS**

MAY 1956

25 CENTS

The Coming Showdown For Jim Crow



Skilled Trades' Revolt in Auto
Special Report from Michigan on the Union Crisis

CLIPPINGS

NEW YORK AFL and CIO central labor bodies called on their affiliates to give generous financial backing to the Republic Aircraft strikers who have been out since February 19. The auto union recently donated \$10,000 to the strike. The picketers are receiving \$10 weekly from their organization, the International Association of Machinists. The IAM and CIO auto union are settling with most aircraft companies on an 11-cent hourly wage increase with considerable added fringe benefits. . . . "The Battle of the Beach" to organize Miami's swank hotels has entered its second year. The union has thus far signed up 9 hotels, and the local claims 5,000 members, to become the largest local union in Florida. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers are currently striking 23 hotels with "invisible picket lines"—the only kind the Florida courts are permitting them. They still have a long way to go before unionism is firmly established in the Miami hotel field.

SOUTHERN Bourbons are building up a fierce public opinion against any and all liberalism on the Negro issue. The deadliness of the atmosphere is gauged when writers like William Faulkner fold up. Now *Business Week*, which is often quite reliable on these matters, prints in its April 14 issue a long account of how Southern labor unions are succumbing to the pressure: "AFL-CIO's drive to unionize the South is virtually stalled. . . . There are widely reported calls for Southern workers to secede from AFL-CIO and form their own, all-white Southern labor federation. . . . In Southern locals that are already fully or partly integrated, relations between white and Negro workers have worsened sharply. . . . The race issue gives employers who want to fight unionism a potent weapon. . . . Generally, AFL-CIO isn't organizing now in the South, but this is as much due to jurisdictional squabbles among textile, paper, wood, and other unions as to race tension. . . ."

Vol. 1, No. 1 of *The New Southerner* has just come out. It is the new eight-page monthly tabloid newspaper issued by Don West, after the witch-hunters managed to get him fired from *The Southerner*, at Dalton, Georgia, which he edited on behalf of its sponsoring organization, Church of God of the Union Assembly. The new paper is published in Montgomery, Alabama, and its lead editorial is headed, "It All Boils Down to Civil Rights." Don West has the good wishes of many progressive people who are rooting for the success of the new publication.

THE U.S. Supreme Court made three momentous decisions this past month in the field of civil liberties; in one, it dealt a bad blow to rights under the Fifth Amendment; in the other two, it repelled the encroachments of the witch-hunt. Thus does the shuttle move to and fro. In the Ullmann case the court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act of 1954 under which a person can

be forced to give testimony in matters which are declared to concern national security in exchange for a so-called grant of immunity from criminal prosecution.

In the Nelson case the court held that national security is primarily under Federal jurisdiction, and consequently ruled a Pennsylvania sedition statute invalid because it was superseded by the Smith Act and other Federal laws. Steve Nelson, a Communist Party leader, sentenced Jan. 30, 1952 to twenty years in jail, fined \$10,000, and assessed an additional \$13,000 in costs of prosecution, is thus freed under this charge. He is not out of the woods, however, as he was later convicted in Federal court of violating the Smith Act, and sentenced to five years imprisonment. He is at present at liberty pending an appeal.

Forty-one states plus Hawaii and Alaska have sedition laws similar to Pennsylvania's on their statute books. J. M. Ferguson, Kentucky Attorney General, announced that he would continue efforts to put Carl Braden in jail. Braden has an appeal to the Kentucky Court of Appeals from his 15-year sentence and \$5,000 fine under the state's sedition law. But in Michigan, Attorney General Thomas Kavanagh ruled that the Trucks Law passed about four years ago was automatically annulled by the Supreme Court decision.

Finally, in the third decision, involving the case of Professor Slochower of Brooklyn College, who was fired because he pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a Senatorial investigating committee, the court softened the effects of its first decision a little by holding public employees have the right to "due process." Naturally, there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip in this kind of matter. Professor Slochower hasn't got his job back

yet, and how soon he will get it is a bit uncertain as Dr. Gideonse, the College president, promptly announced that he will rehire Slochower, and then promptly fire him all over again on different grounds.

EARLIER in the week, the American Association of University Professors, meeting in St. Louis, voted in a stormy session to censure five universities and a medical college for dismissing professors in violation of academic freedom. In each case the schools dismissed faculty members who had invoked the Fifth Amendment before congressional committees or refused to take loyalty oaths.

In New Hampshire the state Supreme Court ruled against Paul Sweezy in the case arising from his refusal to answer questions before a state investigating committee regarding a lecture he had delivered on socialism at the University of New Hampshire. *Monthly Review*, of which Sweezy is one of the editors, announced that the case is now being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, "and the court's decision may well have fateful consequences for academic freedom in this country."

James Kutcher, the legless veteran, won an important round in his eight-year fight to get his \$42-a-week clerk's job back at the Newark Veterans Administration. The Federal Court of Appeals ruled that his membership in the Socialist Workers Party did not constitute a valid reason for dismissal. What step the government now intends to take has still not been announced.

Support is growing in Britain for the Sobell case with the publication of two hard-hitting letters by Lord Bertrand Russell in the *Manchester Guardian*. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has just issued an excellent 44-page pamphlet, "Prisoner on Our Conscience" by Emily and David Alman, which gives a clear running account of the main facts of the case and the nature of the frameup against Sobell. The committee is also sponsoring a protest mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York on May 15.

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The Coming Showdown For Jim Crow

THE long-expected crisis of Negro and white America is here. It has been slowly building up, since the Civil War Reconstruction period was ended by a rotten deal between Northern and Southern property at the expense of the Negro people. Now it is here, and no trick or formula can stuff it back in the box.

What is the crisis? In 1905, a group of young, militant Negro intellectuals met at Niagara Falls in a gathering which foreshadowed the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a few years later. They disagreed sharply with the Uncle Tom philosophy of the foremost Negro leader Booker T. Washington, and they set their own conviction down as follows:

We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.

There is nothing more powerful, it has been said, than an idea when its time has come. This is the idea, and its time is here. Long restricted to middle-class Negro intellectuals, it has now penetrated the mass of the Negro people. True, some parts of that people are moving more rapidly and more sure-footedly than others. True, the Negroes are still weak in leadership and national coordination. But the idea of full equality as an immediate goal and object of struggle has unmistakably taken hold in the South and in the North.

There are too many positive signs for any one to make a mistake in this matter. When the long legal campaign of the NAACP on the school front

brought the Supreme Court victory in May 1954, it was still possible to dismiss that event as top legal maneuvering. Even the great outcry of the Negro people against the brutal Till murder could be discounted as an exceptional response to an extraordinary outrage. But the magnificent revolt of the Southern Negro focused in the Montgomery bus boycott, now in its fifth awe-inspiring month, is enough to dispell all remaining doubts. The American Negro has risen to his feet. The ferment will not abate; it will increase. The drama of the Negro in America which began with the corsairs who scoured the coasts of Africa for black slaves to enrich the greedy merchants and planters three centuries ago is to see its great showdown. The principal actors will be the oppressed descendants of those outraged slaves, and they are already acquitting themselves with a splendor that restores faith in the ability and dignity of the



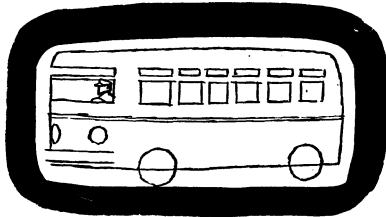
human race, even when long degraded and brutalized.

THE Supreme Court decision affirming school integration was a landmark in the process, a culmination of some years of battling aided by the embarrassment of the ruling class in a world most of which is non-white. But that decision alone does not count for too much. What does count is the growing conviction among hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of Negroes that they can no longer go on in the old way. Since World War II, virtually every major city and town in America has had its local integration battle, over housing, parks, golf links, swimming pools, restaurants, employment, etc. Hundreds of factories and mills have had determined upgrading struggles by groups of Negro militants who refuse to accept any longer for themselves and their children a future as the janitors of industrial America. In these struggles, the first crusading forces of the Negro were assembled, while a nation which depends upon a one-sided press went about its business largely unaware. With the school crisis, however, the Negro struggle became all-national.

The Montgomery bus boycott has gotten most of the publicity, but it is not the only struggle. Hundreds of others dot the national—and particularly Southern—landscape. In Memphis it is parks and golf links. In Florida, public beaches. In Richmond, Va., a successful war of nerves by Negroes against department stores where they got discourteous treatment—they thronged the stores and tried on everything, bought nothing. Even more important, national boycotts are springing up against firms that back white-supremacist organizations or are rumored to do so, and so Southern an institution as Coca-Cola was recently forced by a growing boycott to disclaim any aid to such groups.

In the southward movement of Northern runaway plants, an important reversal has taken place. Quick to see the signs, the long-range planners of these concerns understand that the era of docile Southern peonage is coming to an end; that the Negro revolt will raise the wage scale; that hard on its heels will come the unionization of the South. Fantus Factory Locating

Service, one of the biggest in the business, reports a growing reluctance to move South, and a number of cancellations of previously ordered searches for Southern sites. In the bond and stock market, new Southern issues are very soft, and Ohio banks are forbidden to hold Georgia school bonds in their portfolios. Florida has been forced to withdraw a school bond issue because of unfavorable rates offered by prospective takers. In brief,



the attractiveness of the Southern economy, based upon super-exploitation of white and Negro, is impaired (at least the first signs are appearing) as business sees the handwriting on the wall.

WHAT has caused the new Negro militancy? Why today instead of forty or fifty years ago? There are many important reasons, but probably the most important of them has been the striking change in the Negro's position in the American economy and population structure. At one of the rallies in the Montgomery bus boycott, Rev. Abernathy, one of the boycott leaders, poked a bit of fun at white massa:

We Negroes used to live out in the brier patches and we had to eat rabbit every day, and we were afraid of the white folks just like the rabbits. But now we've moved to the city and we eat steaks and chops and everything else the white folks eat. And we're not scared any more.

This was not just a bit of sly folk humor. In 1900, only 22.6 percent of the Negro population lived in cities, while the white population was coming close to being a city-dwelling people in the majority. But by 1950, fully 60.6 percent of the Negro population lived in cities—very close to the 64.1 percent of white people who were urban in that year. Prior to World War I, the Negro population in both Northern and Southern cities was very small,

and confined in the main to occupations such as servant, porter, janitor, and common laborer. But, beginning with the first World War, Negroes began to move into the cities, at first seeking the war-opened jobs, then in larger numbers as strikebreakers imported during the steel and meat-packing strikes. With the collapse of the South's cotton economy during the twenties and thirties, the movement became a tide, and Negroes began to break into the big industrial plants—at least in the hot, dirty or menial jobs. With the second World War and the winning of a Fair Employment Practices Commission, the tide was strengthened, and has been continuing ever since. The mass-production CIO unions played a big role in opening up new plants and new departments to Negroes, and local struggles by militant Negro unionists added pressure.

Today, one out of five Philadelphia residents is a Negro, one out of seven in Chicago, and one out of ten in New York. Between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population of Michigan more than doubled, while the white population increased 17 percent. California presents a similar picture. And in the South itself, the Negro has been moving into the cities, so that today even in that area the Negroes are in their clear majority urbanized.

IN 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois and the other young men of the Niagara movement were appealing to a Negro populace that was scattered and atomized in rural poverty, barely touched by the currents of thought in the cities, oppressed by a hard-riding medieval dictatorship of the kind that can only be maintained among a poor and backward peasantry. The Negro was hardly in a position to be reached with the message of hope, let alone organized for a battle. But today the Negroes are in the cities, factories, and unions, their middle class and professional group is much expanded, they have many organizations and means of maintaining solidarity, they can raise funds in sizable amounts and direct them where they are needed, they can assemble potent legal talent, and have a reservoir of friendship in the white population which is already pretty large and growing all the time.

For the country has changed also in

this half century. The ferments of two world wars, a crushing depression, a fiercely argued cold war and a world in revolution have boiled a lot of the hick quality out of American thinking, and made it more responsive to humanitarian and cosmopolitan ideas. The rise of organized labor has established a new locus of power with a progressive social outlook, and this has helped change the face of the nation. And the lonely battles waged by the radicals and militant liberals of the past half century are bearing fruit too, although none prominent today in public life, either Negro or white, has had the courage to admit this.

At the time of the Niagara movement, the Negroes were estranged from the labor movement—so much so that most Negro leaders pictured the unions as white man's devices to add to the Negro's troubles. Booker T. Washington was not the only leader who proposed that the Negro people try to ally themselves with the white employer and depend upon his philanthropy; that was the philosophy that underlay the Urban League from its formation in 1910. The white employers made cunning use of this philosophy to introduce Negroes into industry as strikebreakers, and a fixed relationship of hatred between Negro and white workers resulted. Even as late as 1941, in the Ford strike, the echoes of this persisted, but the old relationship received its *coup de grâce* in that strike and Detroit's Negro community swung decisively for unionism.



In the last two decades we have seen a revolution in attitudes. Negroes by and large understand that unionism and black-and-white solidarity are an essential part of the answer to their problems, and there is hardly a single Negro leader who preaches the old anti-union creed. On the side of the whites, the old ramparts of Jim Crow in the unions are breached and going fast.

But the size of the job ahead can be measured if we take a look at the position of the Negro in American life today. The exact status of Negro rights, opportunities, living conditions, and so forth, is not too easy to judge, as Dr. Du Bois pointed out recently, because our rulers have consistently shied away from any broad, national survey of the condition of the Negro people. But some basic facts are easily available, and these facts are a strong antidote to any illusions about the advances that have been made or what remains to be won. Much has been achieved, but the Negro people remain on the bottom rungs of the American ladder.

IN 1900, the inequality of living standards between white and Negro was shown by the fact that the death rate per 1,000 population for Negroes was 54 percent higher than for whites. A half century later, in 1949, the Negro death rate was still 50 percent higher. Medicine, nourishment, etc., had made much progress among both white and Negro, but the Negro was still just about as far behind the white in this sphere as he had been fifty years earlier. The same fact is registered by the figures for life expectancy in recent years, which give a Negro girl at birth about 8½ years less of life to look forward to than white girls, and Negro boys about 7 years less. This is a gain from the beginning of the century, but a very slight gain so far as the relative position of the Negro infant is concerned.

The mortality tables are tragic reflections of the economic statistics. In 1950, the median money income of white families was \$3,445 a year, while that of Negro families was \$1,869. This means that the Negro family income was only about half—54.3 percent—of white family income, and this in spite of the fact that more family members among the Negroes are forced to work, on the average, than among whites. Now this situation is an improvement over pre-World War II depression figures, when Negro family income was probably only about 40 percent of white. But that change is mainly due to the influx into city jobs of farm Negroes, and to the greater effect on the Negro of full employment. The high point was reached in the last years of the war, and since then it has not been getting better.

Occupations of Negro Men, 1950

(In Percentages)

	Non-White	White
Professional, technical and kindred workers	2.2%	7.9%
Farmers and farm managers	13.5	10.5
Managers, officials and proprietors (except farm)	2.0	11.6
Clerical and kindred workers	3.4	6.8
Sales workers	1.5	6.6
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	7.6	19.3
Operatives and kindred workers	20.8	20.0
Private household workers	.8	.1
Service workers	12.5	4.9
Farm laborers and foremen	11.3	4.4
Laborers (except farm and mine)	23.1	6.6
Unclassified	1.3	1.3

Every recession, even the slightest, throws Negro income back more than white, and shows that the economic position of the Negro people has not yet been fundamentally altered. In the years 1947-51 the average rate of unemployment was 50 percent higher among Negroes than whites.

NEGROES are still restricted in the main to the menial and low-paying jobs (see box). They have not been able, because of poverty and school discrimination, to get higher education in the most sought-after professions in any numbers, and have not had any incentive to try to get it because of job discrimination in those professions. Charles S. Johnson, head of Fisk University, related the following incident in *Phylon*:

Last year we had a call from a government department in Washington for four Negro geologists. (The request was for Negro geologists because in this new alignment of the world there are places where they can work with great advantage to our international relations.) I gave tentative assurance that at least two or three could be located among the fifteen million Negroes in the United States, and set about the search. To date not a single one has been located or even heard of. How and where can they be taught in this region?

Of nearly 4,000 persons holding Ph.D's in mathematics in the U.S., only fifteen are Negroes. There are fewer than a dozen Negro Ph.D's in economics. Negroes constitute ten per-

cent of the population, but only about three percent of those enrolled in institutions of higher education, and most of these are in segregated colleges. In 1950, the median number of school years completed by persons 25 years old or over was seven for Negroes and almost ten for whites.

Now that the great struggle is at last fairly under way it is time for some hard-headed thinking about the road ahead. The first thing to get straight is, as the above facts show, that contrary to the hasty banner-waving of the pollyannas, this struggle has only just begun; it is still very far from its final victories; it will be a protracted and complex fight that will face stubborn and bitter resistance every step of the way. In the first flush of illusion after the Supreme Court decision, Harry S. Ashmore wrote (in the May 29, 1954 *Nation*): "But it is clear that for the most part Southerners may be expected to undertake calmly and rationally to work out the tremendous social adjustments that ultimate integration of the public schools will require." And Arthur D. Shores added this amen: "We do not believe that there will be open defiance of the court's ruling, but we do expect legal maneuvers to sidestep it. Action will be necessary in Alabama to open the white schools to Negroes, but once open, we expect no serious incident." These judgments could hardly be sustained today, all the more by Mr. Shores, who was called upon to serve as Miss Autherine Lucy's attorney in the University of Alabama case.

The White Citizens Councils in the

South are no flash in the pan. In the brief period of their existence they have already piled up a lurid record of terrorism, arson, murder, economic punishment and intimidation by almost every known means against the Negroes. They have now assembled on a South-wide scale in the Federation for Constitutional Government, organized during Christmas week in Memphis by the assembled Bourbonry of 12 Southern states, including most of the top leaders of politics and industry. Eastland of Mississippi, at that meeting, accurately laid down the line for the old ruling class of Dixie by shouting that "defeat means death."

SOUTHERN Bourbons dispose of great power. They are closely interlocked with power and property in the North, and their viewpoint is favorably heard in the most potent quarters. They are firmly ensconced in the very party that most Negroes look toward, and exercise a monarch's veto power over important decisions of the Democrats nationally. Through their one-party dictatorship over the South they have won the tenure which has given them the chairmanship of all but three of the fourteen standing committees of the Senate, and many of the most powerful committees of the House.

There is as yet no organized force of strength in either party to stand up to the Southern rulers in national politics. The Republican moguls are playing a shady do-nothing game, hoping to profit in votes with a minimum of payment in deeds. Among the Democrats, all but a few hardiest liberals shrink in panic when the Bourbons raise their voices. The labor movement is the great potential—to some extent more than potential, already actively of the Negro people, and has wished the new movement well many times in resolutions and occasional actions. Sections of labor are already in the fray, and there can be no doubt which way the movement will go when the chips are down. But the labor leadership has not yet made up its mind just how far it wants to go on this issue in national politics, and it has not matched the Southern ruling class in aggressiveness and determination.

The sum-total truth of the matter is that national politics in America is not

aligned to settle the issue which the Negro people has thrown on the table. The Republican Party, which claims credit for the Supreme Court decision on school integration, cannot do it. It is true that the Wall Street cabal which dominates that party, as the ruling power of the country, is forced to take into consideration the national and international position of the United States, particularly in the cold war. The top Republican leadership has a broader understanding of the dimensions of the problem than local hot-heads, and it realizes that some concessions are unavoidable.

But the Republican Party and its backers are tied to the Southern ruling class with a thousand cords of economic and social interest. Not the least of these are the oil and natural gas interests, which proved so important a connection between the Republicans—the Eisenhower wing as well as the McCarthy wing—and the Southerners in 1952. Beyond these tangible threads of interest that connect them, Wall Street Republicanism and Southern Bourbonry share a common outlook of social conservatism which has enabled them to jointly control Congress in the interests of property and reaction. The Republican staff



commanders proved flexible enough to yield to necessity in the case of the school integration decision, but the two years of experience since then have shown that that is all they will do—yield to a great pressure if they must on this issue, but try to keep concessions to a minimum. The entire conduct of the Eisenhower administration, particularly Brownell's Justice Department, in the face of the recent Southern outrages proves that.

The Democratic Party, which is at present a coalition of Northern labor, liberals and Negroes with Southern Bourbons, is certainly not set up to handle this battle and fight it through. But the Democratic Party, being this kind of a coalition, is building up unbearable strains and tensions which are bound to split that party asunder into its component elements. The Negroes, driven by age-old injustices, are doing what the labor movement ought to have done years ago: They are creating, through their new movement, the conditions which will bring into existence a party of labor and the Negro people in this country.

IT is true that this development is not around the next bend in the road. Labor is still not in motion, and the economic conditions which will break the hypnotic illusions that have labor in their spell are not yet here. In the coming elections, the two parties will probably be able to smear over and muddy up the issues so that, by the time the electorate goes to the polls, nobody will have a very clear idea of which party stands for what, and the Negro people will have no clear choice. Candidate Stevenson's bid to keep the issue "out of politics," unbelievably crass though it was, will probably carry the day; in effect, if not by formal agreement, in the sense that neither party will offer much hope for firm action.

But, while the rift in the Democratic Party can be papered over by phony resolutions to which many Negro, labor and liberal leaders will unfortunately lend their names, this can work only for a limited period of time. If it be asked why this is so, considering that the current unholy coalition with white supremacists has already lasted for more than twenty years, the answer is that now the Negroes are on the move *en masse*, and this changes all the odds

and makes it a brand new ball game. The Negro movement cannot be compromised; even were the Negroes willing to stop at some halfway point, the racists are not prepared to give an inch, for they know that even a few crevices in their rotten structure would soon bring it all tumbling down.

Even before the present crisis began in the Democratic Party, the rift had become serious. In 1948, the 39 electoral votes of five Southern states were yanked out of the Democratic column by a Dixiecrat revolt and cast for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. In 1952, the tactic was changed, and Texas plus one or two other Southern states were taken out of the Democratic column by their leaders in a bolt to Eisenhower. Thus the last two elections, even before the great and swelling Negro movement of today, witnessed internal crises in the Democratic Party.

BUT those were only partial crises. In each case, the Bourbon leadership was divided, and only a minority portion of it wanted an all-out fight. The Democrats were able to weather those storms handily, even winning in '48. But now there is a high degree of unity and aggressiveness in the Dixiecrat ranks. They are evidently determined to fight. On the other side, the Negro people and their allies are alive to the issues and watching the Northern Democrats closely. Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP has blamed the failure of Congress to act in the crisis on the "peace pact" between Northern and Southern Democrats. NAACP leaders have told the Democratic Party that if Senator Eastland continues to hang around its neck like a "stinking albatross" that party can "kiss our votes goodbye." In the present situation this is more than just rhetoric, and presages a great convulsion inside the Democratic Party that will spell the end of that party as we now know it. This won't happen tomorrow or next week, but it is a process which is irreversibly under way. And every thinking American who wants to see his nation progress will shout "Good riddance!" to this reactionary roadblock when it finally comes crashing down.

Once this is understood, it can be appreciated by the historically minded that we are on the threshold of a new

era in American politics. Setbacks and delays will not alter that; the new era is as clearly foreshadowed by the movement of the Negro people as the present new epoch in Asia and Africa was foreshadowed to the observant by the early stirrings during and after the war.

What will come after when the old coalition breaks apart? The logical successor is a new party of labor, Negroes, small farmers, and the liberal elements of America. We firmly be-

lieve that this will come into being sooner even than many of its present-day supporters believe. But it will not come of itself. Labor will have to take its historic place as leader of a new coalition. But labor is still hesitant and confused, and its leaders don't show any signs of realizing that the Democratic Party crisis calls for an entirely new alignment. The sooner the labor movement gets its bearings in the new situation, the better it will be for the progress of the American people.

Communist Parties in Crisis

THE Communist parties are in the biggest moral and intellectual crisis of their lives. The revelations emanating from the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU pulled the rug from under them. And every day has brought new exposés and fresh confirmations of wrongdoings: the rehabilitation, posthumously or otherwise, of many political and military figures in Russia, the admission that the Rajk and Kostov trials were frameups and that the executions were crimes, the forced resignation of Premier Chervenkov of Bulgaria, the denunciation of Stalin's anti-Semitic pogrom against the Jewish community. Understandably, the Communist parties are in a turmoil; even credulity and fanaticism have their limits. For the first time since 1929, the floodgates have opened up, and the Communist press in the West is inundated with discussion of the momentous turn in the situation.

For immediate purposes, we will confine our attention to the reaction of the Communist leaders in the capitalist West: France, Italy, England and the United States—particularly the last, as we are able to follow the Communist press here every day and have greater access to information concerning the membership's moods.

The first thing that hit us was the obvious chagrin and resistance of these Communist Party leaders in the face of the revelations. They didn't welcome them at all. They tried to blunt the sharp edges of the charges. They tried to jolly their members along that this was a more or less normal and natural "re-evaluation." William Gal-

lacher, chairman of the British Communist Party, insisted at a public meeting in Glasgow that Stalin remains for him a hero. Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party, told a Paris audience upon his return from the Twentieth Congress that nothing too much was going to be changed except they would now employ some ritual phrases against the "cult of personality." Togliatti went through with the unpleasant chore in a similar fashion. And Foster in the United States has been doing his bit to keep the lid down. We are tempted to tell the story of the prisoners in the Bastille who refused freedom after the gates were flung open, so accustomed had they grown to confinement and darkness. But this is really not an accurate analogy. The truth is many of these CP officials were handpicked by Stalin, are beholden to him, feel smeared with his crimes, and are fearful that their reputations and careers will not survive the destruction of the Stalin legend.

SUCH an initial reflex action as that of Gallacher in England, or of James Allen in the United States—who wrote in the March 4 *Sunday Worker* that he wasn't embarrassed by anything that happened at the Twentieth Congress—could not persist for long. The American Communist Party is down to its hard core that has been able to swallow all sorts of twists and turns in policy. But there was no escape from the current dilemma: The revelations of crimes came not from opportunists, or capitalists, or foes of the Communist movement—but right from the horse's mouth. Alan Max,

the *Daily Worker* managing editor, broke the ice with his piece in the March 13 *Daily Worker*, and the letters have been pouring in like a veritable Niagara ever since. These letters sound every chord of the emotional keyboard: bewilderment, hurt pride, resentment, shame. It is hardly surprising that after so many years of regimented sloganeering, and parrot-like repetition of formulas, the members are in a bad state of confusion and shock.

We want to single out what appear to us to be the main aspects of the problem under discussion.

Foster and those associated with him are following a tack of "rolling with the punch." Their writings make it clear that they are more concerned with how to handle this unwelcome emergency rather than with what is the truth. They conduct themselves like worldly-wise bureaucrats aiming to calm down their constituents rather than idealistic revolutionists fiercely jealous of the moral integrity of the movement. To the revelation that monstrous murders of blameless comrades took place, Foster offers several arguments in reply: Let's take it easy. Let's not rush into anything. Let's wait until we get more information from the Russians, who are the only people in a position to supply it. To the accusation that Russia was in the hands of an uncontrolled and bloodthirsty tyrant, we are handed a pseudo-sociological review of Soviet achievements and difficulties over the past decades in order to arrive at a so-called balanced view of Stalin.

To say as Foster does that "We don't have all the facts yet," a contention which *Masses and Mainstream* repeats in its April issue in the polemic with William Mandel, means to approach great social events not like Marxists but frightened pedants. We evaluate social and political happenings in the United States, Britain, South Africa, Indonesia, all around the world, without benefit of perusal of secret documents, government dossiers, or special inside dope. Why doesn't the same rule apply to the Soviet Union? We don't know *all* the facts of any social situation, and we may never know *all* the facts, but sufficient facts are known to come to an objective evaluation of Soviet social developments and conflicts in the past thirty years, as well



TOP COMMUNIST LEADERS: Front row, l. to r., Eugene Dennis, William Z. Foster, Ben Davis. In the rear, l. to r. are John Williamson, Henry Winston and Jack Stachel.

as the role of its chief political actors.

The fact that the Communist Party leaders, theoreticians and publicists have not made this evaluation—and do not make it—is proof that they are part-time Marxists, or if one prefers, political schizophrenics. They can employ the Marxist method (although often badly emasculated) when dealing with events in the capitalist world. But as soon as they hit Russia, or any other country in the socialist sphere, they switch back to the good-and-bad-man theory of history, to mythology, and to paternalism (according to which you don't dare tell people unpleasant truths, as they're too feeble-minded to take them). No wonder Stalinist writing was considered as among the most unreliable in the world.

ON this count, the discussion, despite its vehemence, has thus far not advanced the members' understanding too much about Russia's recent history, except that Stalin, instead of being a deity, was a "bad man" who grabbed up all the power, under whom flourished "the cult of personality," and who made a lot of "mistakes." Now, "good men" have taken over, they are re-establishing "the Leninist concept of collective leadership," they are rectifying the "mistakes," (such as shooting innocent people and blackening their names), and everything is go-

ing to be all right again. If this is all the discussion is going to introduce, there is the danger that a new lifeless stereotype will replace the old one—but the spark of independent critical thinking will be absent, as before.

Two other related questions which literally cry out for resolution have not been adequately grappled with in the current soul-searching.

First, whatever the sociological explanation may be, the Russian revolution admittedly assumed a deformed character during one of its stages. It is therefore at least theoretically possible that other revolutions in backward countries may throw up tyrannical regimes at one or another period of their existence. Isn't it therefore obligatory for people who want to be Marxists in a capitalist country like ours to disengage themselves from responsibility for the Soviet regime—especially since it has admittedly been befouled with certain crimes in the past, and since the CP members and leaders of this country have no way of determining its policy? Why can't the Left be supporters of the socialist countries, and defend them against capitalist slanders and attacks, but keep its independence inviolate, and not permit itself to become an ideological appendage of this or that regime or government group of person-

The Left still has the job of win-

ning the American people to socialism. The struggle is difficult enough in a powerful capitalist country like this, even with a good program and an inspired leadership, but the objective difficulties are murderously, hopelessly compounded when Leftists discredit the movement and themselves by their identification with un-democratic and un-socialist behavior. The American people will never accept the Left if they think we are guilty of double-dealing.

WE have heard from some that in their opinion the discussion is hammering out an attitude of critical independence, and the *Daily Worker* editorials on Rajk of April 2 and on the outrages against the Jews on April 13 are pointed to as illustrations. That would be excellent if true. But do these editorials prove that the party has basically altered? No, not standing alone. They might prove independence under ordinary circumstances. But we are not confronted with ordinary circumstances. We are dealing with people who got themselves into such a state of disorientation that all sorts of unscrupulous practices became accepted as proper. These two editorials are good as far as they go, but we cannot ignore that they concerned crimes officially admitted by official Soviet sources.

Let us recall that Khrushchev and Bulganin had to make a dramatic demonstration with Tito to convince the Yugoslavs that a real change in attitude had taken place. Similarly, the CP leaders are in the position where they also have to do something pretty dramatic if they want to convince people that they are truthfully turning their backs on their past misdeeds. If they really want to work at achieving critical independence, and want to gain a reputation for having it, we offer two suggestions:

1) Take the voluminous record of the Dewey Commission hearings in Mexico City in 1938 on the Moscow Trials, study over the evidence, and don't wait for *Pravda*, but publish your own independent evaluation. We certainly don't believe the Left should devote itself to raking over the old Stalin-Trotsky-Bukharin quarrels, or settling the rights and wrongs of every past dispute in Russia or elsewhere of the past three decades. But the matter

of the Moscow Trials, which involves the question of socialist integrity, refuses, like Banquo's ghost, to be downed. Moreover, it can be accepted as a lead-pipe cinch that outside of the CP's own restricted circle, no one in this country will take its claim to independence seriously until they grapple with such problems as this one.

2) Start analyzing the new regime and present-day Russian happenings like Marxists, not starry-eyed idolaters. There is as much information available about what is going on in Russia as about most other parts of the world. There is a world of difference between wholeheartedly supporting Russian socialism against capitalist encroachment, and turning oneself into a propaganda agency of existing (and often highly imperfect) socialist regimes abroad. People don't take press agents seriously. Until this distinction is fully grasped, independence and so-called self-criticism will remain catch-phrases.

The other important question that we have in mind is this: What measures are required to avoid a recurrence of a one-man police dictatorship, and how is such a catastrophe to be guarded against in future socialist states? On this point the discussion has not been too fruitful. The one guarantee, it seems to us, insofar as there are any guarantees, against the rise of tyrannical dictatorships, is democratic institutions and laws backed by an alert populace trained to jealously guard its democratic rights. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

WE see in this connection that Max Weiss, the CP National Education Director, promises in the *Daily Worker* article of April 5 a plethora of democracy in a socialist America. His generosity is suspect however because of his approval of the one-party regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, and his reasons for approval are positively awful. In this country, he informs us, there is a tradition of political dissent. But over in that part of the world, there is no such tradition, and hence, presumably, the people are not interested in having such rights. We never thought we would read from the pen of a would-be Marxist the suggestion that murderous Czarism or black Balkan fascism is to comprise the political tradition which socialism will emulate.

We do not contend that unrestricted and universal democracy can always be practiced in the throes of a difficult transition from capitalism to socialism. But we never favor semantic hocus-pocus where restrictions and suppressions are palmed off as the essence of "socialist democracy." And furthermore, if Lenin could try to establish broad democratic practices and permit opposition popular parties in 1917, isn't it feasible for the new rulers to experiment with such democratic rights forty years after the revolution?

Closer to home, the only possibility, so far as we can see, that the Communist Party may evolve into a normal radical grouping, lies in frankly repudiating its dictatorial and bureaucratic methods, and returning to the traditional give-and-take which used to be customary in the radical movement in the past. Unless it leads to this, the discussion will eventually wear itself out, and the CP will, with a few added frills, return to what it was before the Twentieth Congress.

In countries like France and Italy the Communist parties are the leading organizations of the working class. The masses are not going to leave these organizations that they have built up over many years of sacrifice and struggle. Their dissatisfaction will inevitably take the form of forcing through alterations in policy and personnel, and these organizations will therefore necessarily be the main elements of a socialist regroupment in that part of Western Europe. But in the United States, as in some other countries, the Communist Party is a small, isolated propaganda organization. Considering its moral debacle before liberal public opinion and its discreditment in the labor movement, it takes a stronger imagination than we possess to envisage this party as the future mass party of American radicalism. Nevertheless, the CP has many trained, experienced, courageous and devoted people, and if they reveal sufficient inner strength to absorb the lessons of the present crisis, they can become a significant force for the regroupment of the American Left under new auspices and on a new foundation that will have to be in every respect superior to the old. Otherwise, a generation of militants may get dispersed to the four winds.

The cold war has proved a flop, as it has failed totally in its effort to bring the Soviet bloc to its knees; in fact the tide has been in the other direction. But Uncle Sam, looking more like the Knight of the Woeful Countenance with every passing day, can't seem to lay down his sword and shield.

A Decade of Cold War

by Bert Cochran

IT is exactly ten years ago that Winston Churchill traveled all the way to Fulton, Missouri, to tell an expectant world that a cold war was being declared against Soviet Russia. Churchill was the right man to make the declaration. He had wanted "to strangle Bolshevism in the cradle" back in 1919. Now, with the eager support of the frightened American capitalists, the next round of the holy crusade was to start. Thus, at the end of the second World War, the bloodiest and costliest in the whole history of violence of the human race, there was to be not peace—but a cold war.

American policy quickly took on the various features of Mars. Truman intervened in Turkey and Greece with money, munitions and military missions. Then came the Marshall Plan, to be rapidly followed by the North Atlantic military alliance and Acheson's proposal to re-arm Germany. The Russians retaliated by expelling the capitalists out of their sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, by organizing armies within those countries, and taking the road of sovietization there. Within a few short years of Churchill's speech, two camps, armed to the teeth, were grimly facing each other across the extended border of Europe, so that one careless gesture or one fortuitous misstep would be sufficient to explode the whole powder magazine.

WE are now in the year of our Lord 1956, and for the entire past decade, with but few—and very few—

This article has been condensed from a lecture delivered in Chicago on March 30 at the Midland Hotel, at a meeting on the second anniversary of the American Socialist which was also addressed by Harvey O'Connor and chaired by Rev. William T. Baird.



breathing spaces, the cold war has been waged furiously, implacably, with all the weapons of terror and compulsion at the command of great modern states. And what are the results? What conclusion can we draw from the ten-year experiment? The cold war is an unmitigated flop! The failure to achieve its stated objectives is so abysmal, the weakening of the West's power and influence in the course of the ordeal has become so palpable and plain, that even the architect of the cold war, or at least, its inspirer, Churchill himself, as an old man of 80, felt constrained to cross the ocean again to plead with his power-drunk and none-too-discreet disciples—for what?—"to make a try at peaceful co-existence with Russia!" When we have lived to see the wheel take a full turn around and Churchill come to Washington to plead with our modern Bourbons to try to live with Communist Russia—why, we have seen everything!

Is it that the old gent was getting soft and senile? And had lost his grip on the realities? No, it was because he saw the realities only too well. The Soviet bloc has not been contained, as Kennan and Acheson intended, much less rolled back, as Dulles blustered. Instead it has been world capitalism that has been flung back; and the anti-capitalist camp now encompasses a third of the human

race and over a quarter of the earth's territory. Why did the Soviets improve their position? Because the Russians are slicker, smarter, wilier, trickier, more unscrupulous than the American diplomats, soldiers and business men? The last way to get anything straight about vast social movements of peoples and to understand deep-going revolutionary upheavals is to try to appraise them in terms of Fearless Fosdick, Terry and the Pirates, Captain Midnight or Superman. Massive events of history, and not Hollywood spy chases, accounted for the bankruptcy and break-up of Western policies.

Don't let's get the idea that the capitalist statesmen are simply a bunch of ignorant and uncouth Wall Street brokers—although to give them their just due they often act that way. These people learned a lot from their experiences during the revolutionary wave after the first World War when it seemed for a while as if most of Europe was to be engulfed by the Red tide. After the second World War they conducted themselves more expertly—at least in Western Europe, where they had a free hand. They poured a lot of money and food into the starving countries, and they stationed their troops in the major cities and centers. By a combination of the carrot and the stick they managed to prop up the rickety structure of capitalism in France, Italy, West Germany. Finally, the United States herded all of its Marshall Plan beneficiaries into the NATO war alliance, and capitalism was all set to “negotiate from strength” with the Soviet chieftains. But, unexpected to all hands on deck, a revolution exploded in the globe's back yard.

THE biggest and probably the most important event since the second World War has been the Chinese upheaval. It has shifted the world relationship of forces in favor of the Soviets. The Russians didn't plan it, or organize it, or direct it. As a matter of fact, Stalin had no belief in it and advised the Chinese Communists to come to terms with Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it true that Nationalist China was sold out at the Yalta conference. On the contrary, it was specifically recognized and underwritten there by the Big Three. But “the best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley.” This rotted and corrupt regime went hurtling to the ground and all the billions of American dollars and arms could not stay the crash. A vast countryside embracing 600 million people arose and began to tear old feudal China to shreds. In record time, inspired by a new philosophy and class leadership, the country was unified for the first time in its history, and moved into place as one of the world's foremost powers.

Big events continued to power the revolutionary wave that rolled over the colonial world as an aftermath of the second World War, a wave that has already covered more ground and has greater force than the one that followed the Russian revolution of 1917—and its momentum is not yet spent. The Chinese Revolution was part of the independence struggle of the colonial world. The causes and objectives of these independence movements have been repeatedly described by travelers and correspondents, and are well known to all of us. But the Chinese liberation movement, as against many other independence struggles, went all the way and gave the leadership to the Commu-

nists, instead of the middle class. Under this leadership, the country was literally torn from the grip of imperialism, won its sovereignty for the first time since the white man's invasion, and then took the Russian path of industrialization.

This road in the 1950's was no longer the plunge into the great unknown that it had been in the past. The Soviet Union had by now been in existence some three and a half decades. It had demonstrated in life that a country could be run without capitalists and landlords. It had proven in action that nationalized ownership of wealth and planned economy was practical and superior in its growth and potential to capitalism. It had revealed for all to see that a backward country could lift itself up by its own bootstraps and in a comparatively short time emerge as the second industrial power in the world. Industrialization and planning are becoming very attractive to many peoples of Asia and Africa, whose countries are still struggling with imperialist exploitation, grinding poverty and primitive economies.

SOcialists believed in the past that the Soviet system would exert a big pull on the peoples of the world and convert millions by its shining example to the socialist faith. But for a long time it didn't work out that way. The Soviet Union remained for years a poverty-stricken country with much lower living standards than the capitalist West. And on the backs of its hard-working peoples arose a dread police state ruling with an iron hand. The capitalist propagandists had a field day jeering at the “proletarian paradise.” Even the Soviet Union's most unabashed apologists were thrown on the defensive.

But after the long agonizing night lasting over a quarter of a century, the warming sun began peering through. Russia, after untold and unprecedented sacrifices, has emerged as a thriving industrial power. Cities are shooting up over its vast areas, living standards are getting better, education is becoming well-nigh universal. If not in the West as yet, at least in Asia and Africa, masses of people see it as a beacon of hope and a promise of fulfillment for their own aspirations and ambitions. From the depths of Africa to the furthestmost tip of the Pacific these peoples are on the move, and feudal princes and sultans, middle-class nationalist leaders, and military dictators have all had to bend before the storm lest it sweep them aside.

This new surge of the independence movements poses a fearful threat to the capitalist powers. Where will it stop? If France is driven from North Africa, she will be a fourth-rate power. England had to get out of Suez; now she is being hounded in Cyprus. If what remains of the Empire goes, England will be but a small island off the coast of France. The United States has already lost China—the chief prize of the war with Japan in the Pacific. If it is driven out of the Near East, its main oil empire will be gone and its system of bases disrupted.

SOME in the capitalist world, confronted with the grim proposition that time favors its opponents, are tempted to rush to destroy them while capitalism still enjoys industrial superiority. There have been plenty of strategists, especially in the United States, who have been advocating just that. MacArthur, our home-grown Napoleon, who

was sure we would push the Chinese over real easy; Radford, who's been itching to drop the atom bomb somewhere, on somebody; and Dulles, who moves right up to the brink of war with neither qualm nor quiver. But these intrepid fighters were invariably pulled back and wiser heads prevailed. The cold war never got to be a shooting war. Why? Because Soviet Russia is not only a major industrial power, but also a major nuclear power. It broke the American monopoly in atomic and hydrogen bombs, and confronted our rulers with the unpleasant fact that while we could blow up Russia, the Russians could blow up the U.S. And that is a most difficult and highly annoying detail to get around or wave away. Like acid on metal, that idea continued to wear away at the consciousness of the American people until even our demonic militarists had to accept it as an inescapable fact of the second half of the twentieth century.

That is why after all the huffing and puffing, after all the threats and lofty pronouncements, our statesmen had to repair to Geneva and there solemnly admit that war was not a feasible instrument of policy—right now, at any rate—and they had better try to compromise their differences by negotiation. But that did not inaugurate a division of the world into two spheres, as Wallace had envisaged in 1948, with both giants imposing a Roman peace in their respective spheres. The conflict channelized and erupted in new forms that brought the chill of apprehension to capitalism's heart.

Don't imagine that it is a simple matter to arrange a compromise between the United States and Soviet Russia. You can see how hard it is to arrive at a peaceful compromise between France and Germany over a tiny piece of territory like the Saar, or between England and Greece over a little island like Cyprus. But involved here are not only conflicting interests of two immense power blocs, but also the clash of two antagonistic social systems. For the first time since its inception, the American rulers are worried about the durability of their system. They came out of the war cocky as a bantam rooster; and their arrogance was sustained and reinforced not only by their power, but their ignorance as well. They saw unfolding before them the magnificent vista of the new, shiny, chromium-plated American Century. Suddenly, they are being confronted, indeed overwhelmed, by a world that has broken loose of its moorings, that refuses to be scared into dutiful obedience to Washington's commands. Their world of imperialist domination seems to be slipping from their grasp.

FOUR major events, each acting with the force of a hammer blow, have hopelessly disrupted the old imperialist equilibrium and have thrust world capitalism into a historic crisis.

First, the attempt to line up the non-Communist world into one big war bloc under Washington's command has failed. An immense neutral group has broken loose, including India, Burma, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Egypt, etc., and refuses to line up behind either side.

Next, Russia has entered the world market as an important supplier of industrial goods, and a trader that is both willing and able to buy the agricultural products of its prospective customers. Russia is ready to trade with-



NEHRU AND MIKOYAN: The Indian Prime Minister marks the forehead of the Russian First Deputy Premier during holy festivities when Mikoyan visited India recently.

out imposing political conditions; and Russia is willing to help backward countries industrialize, as it has no interest in maintaining the classic imperialist pattern. The West's monopoly of industry, engineering know-how, war supplies, is irretrievably broken. The colonial peoples and countries have been accorded room for maneuver and to exert pressure that they never commanded in the past.

Third, the colonial and semi-colonial world is taking full advantage of its adversary's troubles. The motto of the Irish nationalists used to be: "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." That general idea never had such a workout as it's getting today. French North Africa is up in arms. The Arab Near East is flexing its muscles. Southeast Asia remains a seething cauldron and even Black Africa is astir. France and England, frightened for their remaining bastions of empire, suspicious that the stronger U. S. interests are waiting around like vultures to pick up the pieces when they are torn to shreds, are worrying more about colonial uprisings than about America's grand strategy for a new *cordon sanitaire*, especially when it is no longer too clear as to who is surrounding whom. In the process, Europe is being stripped of troops, our dear Allies of the "free world" are at each others throats, and NATO is in danger of getting reduced to a paper organization.

Fourth, the capitalist West is up against the fearful prospect that in five more years, Russia will exceed the industrial production of England, France and West Germany combined, and that in another two or three decades, the Soviet bloc will be economically stronger in every respect than the imperialist one.

SO, what to do? What is the answer? Well, they haven't got that figured out yet. We have witnessed a lot of frantic rushing to and fro. Spectacular tourism has become the substitute for policy. Eden comes to Washington to confer with Dulles. The French ambassador goes to London to talk with Eden. Then Dulles takes off on one of his bi-monthly global trips around the circuit. But nothing comes of all these travels except the issuance of some more hackneyed diplomatic communiqués that com-

municate nothing except that they are in a tight spot and a quandary. After all the cogitations they still have only one remedy, for as long as it lasts: military repression. France is busy trying to drown the Algerian independence struggle in blood, the way it tried and failed in Indochina. England is acting tough in Cyprus, but in the end will be pushed out just as she was from Egypt. At the next stage, these imperialist masters will face discontent at home from the men and women who have tired of being taxed into the poor house for imperialist adventures, and of losing their sons on far-off battle fields.

The effects of the world upheaval are crowding in on America, even though our people are still largely insulated in their thinking from the happenings abroad. We need be no seers to see that ahead lies a lot of violence, local wars, colonial clashes, and that humanity still has much agony in store for itself until these problems find resolution. But we can see more than that. If we try to project ourselves from the immediate to the future, if we turn our gaze from the momentary to the historical, we can already see beyond, the first faint outlines of a new world, a new system of government already emerging, that is to displace capitalism and imperialism—the system which brought mankind to the heights of civilization and achievement, but in its decline also hurled it into the bloodbath of two world wars, and has since taken it to the brink of the nuclear annihilation of the human race.

I have heard some say, "Well, if capitalism is really in such dire straits as you say, shouldn't we in America and throughout the 'free world,' rally 'round, one and all, to save the system?" And I ask, why should we? Why should we, the American people, identify ourselves with the system and rule of the monopolists, the bankers, the tycoons, and their servitors and time-servers, who at best represent no more, and probably a good deal less, than 10-15 percent of the people? If socialism is a superior social system, why shouldn't we be happy to see it victorious? If socialism will give people greater opportunities, greater achievements, greater leisure, why shouldn't we support it? If socialism will bring brotherhood and cooperation and do away with the soul-searing, character-destroying, dog-eat-dog ways of capitalism, why shouldn't we help it along?

I have been answered, "Good God! A combination of Aldous Huxley's 'Brave New World' and George Orwell's '1984'—what a future to look forward to! You want us to embrace a world system where armies of robots will cheerfully goose-step to the order of deified commissars! Is that your new Workers' Paradise?"

Let's look into this argument. As we all know, Karl Marx, one of the authentic major geniuses of the nineteenth century, was the founder of modern socialism. He analyzed the laws of capitalist economy and charted the next developments in history with impressive foresight. But life is more complex and multi-colored than any predictions and theories, even those spawned of genius. The socialist transformation didn't begin, as he projected, in the most advanced capitalist countries, but in the most backward. Socialism therefore in its first decades didn't show itself to the world as a system of higher cultural attainment and superior material well-being, but exhibited

instead the unpleasing visage of a semi-Asian state, whose people were subjected to back-breaking toil, to a life of degrading poverty, ruled over by an omnipresent secret police, and forced to bow down before an omnipotent despot.

NNATURALLY, its enemies didn't point out the strong sides of the Soviet Union or underline its vast potential for progress and growth. They concentrated on its worst aspects, its glaring weaknesses. And for many in the West—unfortunately, too many—socialism became synonymous with stifling police rule, Jesuitical double-talk, exploitation and denigration of the individual, and an all-powerful police state. The Russia of Stalin with its medieval nightmare of the Moscow Trials became for them the fixed and frozen picture of the Soviet system, past, present and future, for all time.

But the world moves, including the part that constitutes Soviet Russia. And contrary to its embittered foes, or its too-eager and too-glib apologists, the USSR is right now in the midst of a spectacular transformation. Stalinist dictatorship was countenanced when the ignorant *muzhik* tilling the soil with a wooden plow typified the country. But that kind of a government would not do for a country that is a great industrial power. It was one thing when the country was a beleaguered fortress surrounded by a hostile world. But with the spread of socialism to half a dozen countries to its West, and to China and beyond in the Orient, the tyranny had become not only unjust but unacceptable.

Russia still has a long way to go before it can qualify as a democratic socialist state. But the trend of present events is heartening. It is very important to all of us because it demonstrates better than any logical argumentation can that socialism is not indissolubly linked up with dictatorship at all, that only the primitive heritage of Russia imposed certain savage traits on its early phases of development, that with the advance of the country these will be sloughed off as vestigial survivals of its pioneering struggles for a new society.

BUT we will do it easier and better in the advanced capitalist countries of the West and particularly here in the United States. When these countries go socialist, they will rest on modern technology and industry, they will be fructified by the initiative of a trained working class, they will be nourished by great traditions of democratic and labor battles and attainments. Western Socialism will have no resemblance to Orwell's "1984." It will be rather man's fulfillment of the great utopias from Thomas More to Edward Bellamy.

The political climate is still stormy in our country and the horizon is still dark and menacing. I talked of the line of the future not in order to contrive an escapist diversion from a harsh and forbidding present, but because every pioneering movement must keep its vision undimmed of what it is fighting for, and must keep its faith inviolate in the reality and truthfulness of its vision. We are fortified in our work when we know that our efforts for a socialist society are not only just and humane and right, but that they are being backed by vast forces and movements operating in the present history of man.



Organization of the unorganized workers has come to almost a dead stop, according to this New England unionist's report. A lot more vigor has to be displayed if the unions are to hold their own.

What Labor Needs

by Donald Tormey

ers in New England (the number is impossible to fix without the cooperation of sweat-shop owners) also received increases as a result of the new law.

ORGANIZATION of unorganized workers, which the above figures show to be so badly needed, has come almost to a dead stop in New England. There has been plenty of fratricidal raiding between unions during the past several years, but new organization, by and large, has been neglected by the industrial unions, or where tried defeated by the employers. (An encouraging exception is a recent Labor Board election victory by the International Association of Machinists at Winchester Arms in New Haven.)

As New England's cotton textile industry migrated to the South (with wool beginning to follow), the employment vacuums were filled by scores of small and medium-sized shops manufacturing pocketbooks, clothing accessories, boxes, and all kinds of toy, plastic and electronic gadgets. Many a runaway shop, it is now disturbing to see, heads for New England instead of the deep South. And why not? *The average wage for production workers in Rhode Island, a highly industrialized state, is lower than the average production worker's wage in Louisiana, and only 5 cents higher than Alabama.* Production workers in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont average lower wages than their counterparts in Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee, and only slightly above Florida. Memphis now pays higher wages than Providence; Birmingham higher than Boston.

General Electric Corporation, the biggest and richest of the world's electrical monopolies, has eight unorganized plants in New England. Sylvania Electric Company has five unorganized plants here, all located in highly industrialized and supposedly highly organized Eastern Massachusetts. The Hytron Company, which is the manufacturing arm of CBS, has four plants in Massachusetts, all of them in the grip of an incorporated company union with the lowest rates and worst conditions in the industry. The Gillette Razor Company is only a medium-long walk from the Boston AFL and CIO headquarters, but no world series fan or fight enthusiast who listens to their radio and television commercials can buy a union-made Gillette product. These are only a few samples of the monuments to the open shop spread all over New England.

MOST workers in organized trades and industries are not aware of how badly off the workers are in those huge pockets of misery formed by the unorganized or poorly organized sections of the working class. Many will be surprised to learn that the recent amendment to the Wage and Hour Law (which covers only a little more than half of all workers) lifting the legal minimum hourly wage for plants engaged in interstate commerce to \$1 an hour affects some 2,100,000 workers, of whom 1,600,000 are employed in manufacturing. These 1,600,000 manufacturing workers, who have been getting below \$1 an hour, represent 10 percent of all manufacturing workers in the country! An even more disturbing statistic is that 1,200,000 of these workers are employed *outside* the South.

There has been no breakdown of how many of these low-paid workers outside the South are organized or unorganized, but it is surprising how many of them have been under union contract at these sweat-shop wage rates. Here in New England, thousands of organized union workers in the shoe, needle trades, plastic, and jewelry industries received wage increases by the \$1 minimum wage law which they had not been able to get through union-negotiated contracts. Many additional thousands of work-

Mr. Tormey is New England International Representative of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

To make matters worse, there are literally dozens and dozens of small low-paying shops that exist only to do "sub-contract" work for some of the bigger shops where organization has been long established and where wages are relatively high. Attempts to organize these little plants are met with discharges and other forms of intimidation, so common in these Taft-Hartley days. Intimidation could be overcome. What is not so easily overcome is the belief on the part of many of the workers in the sub-contracting shops that to raise their wages and conditions to the level of the prime contractor automatically means to organize themselves out of jobs. Why should the big company sub-contract work if there are no additional profits to be made? The dangers inherent in the growth of such practices are obvious, and the damage being done to present working conditions in organized shops is already apparent.

GENERAL Electric is a perfect example of how an anti-labor monopoly uses sub-contracting sweat-shops. The work is farmed out at a huge saving in wage cost. And the constant threat to expand sub-contracting is the means of increasing speed-up, cutting wages, down-grading jobs, and worsening conditions in the "home" plant itself. A very neat scheme, and despite efforts of the unions to solve the problem, no headway has been made. Discontent with such a state of affairs is widespread among local union leaders and the rank and file.

The discontent does not get translated into forceful action, however, because of certain restrictions in the union contracts. The basic contracts in big manufacturing industry are long-term: three years in auto, five years in electrical manufacturing. The right to exercise the unions' only potent weapon, the strike, for *any cause* during the long contract term is either forbidden or so bound up in legalistic red tape as to be meaningless. In return for the annual "improvement factor" (which averages 6 cents), the auto and electrical monopolies were given unprecedented rights to speed up work without compensatory wage increases, and to introduce automation without protection for the workers displaced. Work stoppages against speed-up, increased work loads, or incentive-wage cutting, mean for all practical purposes rebellion against the union contract itself.

Not that such stoppages don't take place. In this area, they have taken place hundreds of times in the past year. Each time they have been met with penalty furloughs without pay or other forms of company (and sometimes union) discipline, including discharge. Only once, to my knowledge, has there been any industry-wide or company-wide support for a work stoppage against the worsening of union conditions during the term of the union contract. The IUE-Westinghouse chain went down for three days in support of its Pittsburgh local in the late summer of 1955. That local had been on strike for six weeks. When the three-day sympathy walkout was over, the Pittsburgh local went back to work under protest and with its grievances unsettled. A few weeks later, the nationwide strike against Westinghouse began over issues arising out of the contract re-opening, but closely connected with the accumulation of grievances which had caused the summer walkout and sympathy strike.

The final Westinghouse strike settlement resulted in very modest improvements in base wage rates, and in pensions and insurance. The strike also prevented the company from eliminating entirely the role of the union in the long periods between contract negotiations—the company's real aim. But there was no improvement over the previous contract in relation to speed-up, down-grading, or incentive-wage cutting.

THE basic auto contracts expire in 1958. The basic electrical contracts expire in 1960, but there is a provision for contract re-opening in 1958 around job-security questions, with the right to strike at that time. Regardless of what happens in the steel negotiations this year, an unsatisfactory guerrilla warfare between workers and management, with the workers on the difficult end, will continue for at least another two years.

The greed of the American monopolies is insatiable. Unable to provoke the war they had been preparing, unwilling to open up East-West trade because of fears of helping further the industrialization of the socialist and colonial areas, capitalism is turning with ever-increasing pressure upon its own workers. And the workers know it, without as yet understanding the reasons.

The top-level merger of the AFL and CIO may defeat an anti-labor politician here and there, but unless there is a lot more vigor shown it will not organize the unorganized, even in the North. Nor will it protect the already organized workers from the rapacity of American capital without a big increase in militancy. Among many workers (old-timers) and especially among a broad section of the lower-ranking trade union leadership, there is a growing nostalgia for the militant spirit of past years. There is an increasing awareness in the shops, not very vocal as yet, that the spirit of '46, when united workers on the picket line won the largest single wage increase in history from reluctant steel, auto and electrical monopolies, is an absolute must, if the vitality and integrity of the trade union movement is to be preserved.

This calls for the participation of a hard-working and articulate left wing, whose ultimate goal is socialism. Automation and atomic power with socialism is an inspiring prospect for America. Automation and atomic power in the hands of the monopolies, with Dulles, Eastland and Company riding high, is a prospect to make even George Meany shudder.

QUESTION: *I read somewhere that you offer seven easy rules by which one can become president of the company. What are those seven easy rules?*

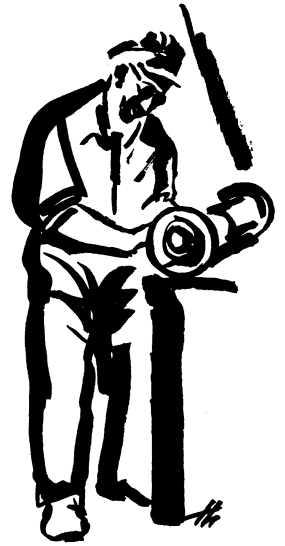
You have been misinformed. I never offered such a list. I doubt if anybody ever became president of a company through any number of easy rules. But, since you ask how to become president of the company, I'll try a list of seven rules—though they won't be easy ones. Here they are: 1) Be intent only on doing your present job well. 2) Don't think about being president, only think of being efficient. 3) Work hard. 4) Work early and late. 5) Study, study, study until you learn real know-how. 6) Work your head off. 7) Try not to have a heart attack.

—Norman Vincent Peale
Answers Your Questions,
Look, January 24, 1956

Golf, anybody?



The revolt of the skilled-trades mechanics in the UAW has grown to serious proportions. Reuther's formula of threats and bluster does not appear to be working.



Reuther on Thin Ice:

Skilled Trades' Revolt in Auto

by A Special Correspondent

THE auto union is facing the most serious threat to its unity since the Homer Martin break-away in 1938-39. The danger stems from the restlessness of the skilled trades sections of the union. The dissatisfaction of the skilled workers has been growing for the past few years, and last year it found organizational expression with the setting up of a new rival independent organization, the Society of Skilled Trades, which claims to have enrolled by now 8,000 members in Wayne County and 30,000 throughout Michigan, and is presently demanding an NLRB election for bargaining rights at the big Burroughs plant in Detroit.

The dual union movement of UAW skilled workers was precipitated by the outcry against last year's auto contract settlement. The skilled workers felt they had not received a square deal in the eight-cent additional increase negotiated on their behalf; wildcat strikes of skilled men swept through many Ford and GM plants, and the conflict has been simmering since.

The skilled-trades problem in the auto union has a history of its own. The present crisis can best be understood in the framework of the evolution of the union over the past two decades. In the earlier heroic period, major attention was focused upon shop conditions, speedup, and related problems. The ranks were actively involved in the fight to improve shop conditions and often resorted to brief sit-down and departmental strikes to get satisfaction. Grievances were considered and treated as a "sacred trust." Economic demands were made and settled on a union-wide basis with production workers and skilled workers sharing the gains more or less equally. Broad union solidarity prevailed. The UAW, like many other CIO unions, was in those days more than just a trade union. It had the character of a broad social movement of

protest which swept into its orbit many sections of the population.

ONCE the General Motors Corporation became convinced that it would have to do business with the union if it was to continue to produce automobiles, it set into motion a calculated plan to promote "responsible" unionism. To GM this meant curbing the initiative and independent activities of the workers in the plants.

The company won its first important victory when Homer Martin, then president of the union, sent a letter in 1938 authorizing the discharge of workers for participation in "unauthorized strikes." The crack-down by the top union leadership on militant actions of the membership was gradually extended to the balance of the union. Active unionists in the Briggs plants were victimized and an "administrator" was placed over Briggs Local 212 in 1941. This was followed by similar discharges at Budd, Dodge, etc.

The trend to more "responsible"—that is, more conservative—unionism was accelerated in the course of World War II. The adoption of the "no-strike pledge" and the creation of the War Labor Board helped set the stage for the introduction of "umpire" systems within the grievance procedures in most plants. Increasingly, problems affecting workers were solved, or more correctly, disposed of, not by elected representatives, but by an outside arbitrator. Supplementing the umpire system, the union set up an elaborate screening system designed to weed out "weak" grievances. As a result literally thousands of legitimate grievances were and are dropped without ever reaching the umpire.

Furthermore, after the first few years, there has been little or no progress in winning important contract improvements so far as working conditions on the job, par-

ticularly speed-up, seniority and in-plant union representation, are concerned. One would be justified in assuming—based upon the lack of progress and even backsliding in this area in recent years—that a gentlemen's agreement exists between the corporations and the union leadership: In exchange for economic concessions, union shop and dues check-off arrangements, the employers are permitted to pretty much run the plants as they see fit.

UNABLE to cope with the retreat of the leadership, and confronted by continuing high costs of living, the average worker has been compelled to seek individual solutions to his problems. Working at a supplementary job, two wage earners in the family, a complete reversal in attitudes toward overtime or foremen's jobs—these are some of the expressions of the present trend. This growing mood of individualism when combined with the economic boom of recent years revived and strengthened craft tendencies which had existed in latent form from the earliest days.

In pre-union depression days skilled workers were a dime a dozen. It was often the custom for skilled tool-makers to bid on jobs like contractors. Low-bid man got the job—almost always at a miserable hourly rate. Skilled workers made a number of attempts to organize on their own in pre-UAW days but with limited success. Effective organization came only with the great sweep of the UAW and the triumph of industrial unionism. Craft unionism stood discredited even among the skilled men.

Beginning with the tooling-up program for the war, the demand for skilled workers skyrocketed. The new situation restored the craftsman's self-confidence and revived his craft prejudices. The new mass training methods were turning out skilled workers or machine specialists by the thousands. Fear of a post-war flood of the skilled trades labor market led to expanded organization of "skilled trades councils" within the union and demands for separate charters for skilled trades workers.

The UAW leadership felt compelled to bow to many of these pressures. Agreements were made with the corporations denying seniority to production workers who had upgraded to skilled trades jobs. In the post-war period, thousands of production workers had to return to their production jobs in spite of the skills they had developed during the war. Frequently their places were taken by "journeymen" with little or no seniority and sometimes with lesser abilities.

The original organization of the skilled trades councils had a legitimate purpose. They focused attention on the serious wage inequity which existed for UAW skilled tradesmen. There was a considerable gap—and there still is—between the wages of skilled tradesmen in so called "captive shops" (tool rooms that are part of main auto plants) as contrasted with wages paid skilled tradesmen, also UAW members, in "jobbing shops" (independent tool and die suppliers). In addition, UAW skilled tradesmen in "captive" shops worked for substantially lower wages than AFL skilled tradesmen in comparable trades.

DURING World War II the first special economic adjustment for skilled workers was granted. They have been granted regularly since that time. In spite of this, the gap between UAW and AFL skilled tradesmen's wages

constantly widened, because of the limited wage increases under the UAW five-year contracts. AFL unions under one-year agreements and UAW jobbing-shop skilled tradesmen who also had short-term agreements gained greater wage concessions, thus aggravating the old wage inequity problem.

Inability to resolve this wage differential prepared the explosion which came with the recent UAW settlements. The skilled tradesmen felt the eight-cent per hour increase, instead of the 30 cents they had been led to expect, was entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The rising discontent expressed itself in strikes and in sizable votes against the settlement. Sections of the UAW skilled trades workers have also voted in National Labor Relations Board elections to leave the UAW in favor of AFL craft or independent unions. The Ford Motor Company patternmaker group has switched to the AFL Pattern Makers Union. The die-sinkers at the Oldsmobile Forge Plant in Lansing and the Chevrolet Forge Plant in Detroit voted for an independent die-sinkers union in preference to the UAW. Actual defection through the route of NLRB elections has been limited primarily by the fact that under NLRB practice such elections are barred during the life of a collective bargaining agreement. These few elections lost by the UAW had been requested prior to the expiration of the UAW five-year contracts.

But the UAW leadership is on thin ice if it persists in trying to keep the loyalty of its skilled members by relying on NLRB machinery. The precariousness of its present position is seen in the mushroom growth of the Society of Skilled Trades. The Society has a straight, narrow craft union approach. It motivates its claim for wage increases primarily on the "need to re-establish the historical relationship" with production workers. It expands the policy of the UAW skilled trades groups of erecting impassable barriers to prevent production workers from entering and "diluting" the trade. In many plants of the UAW in Detroit the Society operates openly, soliciting membership, collecting dues, distributing its publication, etc. Reports indicate that if it were possible to hold elections under NLRB procedures now, the UAW would lose its bargaining rights for skilled workers in hundreds of plants.

The only answer the UAW leadership has provided up to now has been threats of disciplinary sanctions. In a number of instances, trial-board action against active leaders of the dual movement have been initiated at the prompting of the international union. In each case charges have been dropped, as the elected trial committees have been composed almost exclusively of supporters of the new society. In spite of the growing danger, the top leadership continues with the big-stick approach. Only a few weeks ago, the Detroit and Wayne County Skilled Trades Council was ordered to desist in its demand for a ten percent wage increase for the skilled workers even though it has repudiated the dual union movement.

GIVEN the present competitive society we live in, the UAW cannot justify wage rates for its skilled workers that are lower than those received by others for comparable work. It is obvious that the union is in for serious trouble unless a positive program is developed to meet the

needs of these workers. In addition, support of the skilled workers' demands—and a breakthrough on their behalf—opens the door for further economic gains for all UAW members. In large measure, it was the pressure of the skilled trades group which compelled revision of the previous five-year contracts and the development of the concept that the contract was a "living document." The international officers understand the legitimacy of the skilled group demands, but they are afraid to reopen the three-year contracts so soon after adoption, as that would lead to a whole series of new demands by all auto workers, and make inevitable sharp struggles with the auto corporations.

But the policy of stalling is no alternative, and can seriously disrupt the solidarity of the auto union. Already the craft tendencies of the skilled workers are finding certain dangerous outlets. Unable to resolve what they feel to be an unjust wage inequity, and haunted by memories of the plight of skilled tradesmen in depression days, the craftsmen are attempting to win security for themselves by building a fence around the skilled trades. Their pressure has resulted in contracts calling for increasingly stringent requirements for breaking into the skilled trades, so that it has become almost impossible for a production worker to become a skilled trades worker. In those rare instances when a production man breaks through and enters the skilled trades, he is compelled to forfeit a considerable part of his previous seniority. Present practices in the UAW are even more severe than in many of the old-line AFL unions.

While the skilled workers get less than their AFL craft counterparts, they constitute nevertheless an elite group compared to UAW workers on the production lines. This is true because of considerably higher hourly wages and superior working conditions. Furthermore, almost without exception, skilled workers have had not only full employment but a lot of overtime employment. Annual wages of \$8,000 based on a 48-hour week are not uncommon in captive shops, and in the jobbing shops skilled tradesmen earned even more. This contrasts with the less-than-\$4,000 wage of the production worker.

THE insistence of the skilled trades department of the UAW and the newly organized Society of Skilled Trades upon a full apprenticeship program and a journeyman card for all entrants into the trades comes at a time when the skilled trades themselves are disintegrating. As has been the case with the development of the labor process generally, the skilled trades too have been broken down into specialized subdivisions. Each subdivision requires less skill and break-in time than the trade as a whole. All-around toolmakers are becoming increasingly a thing of the past. In their place we have specialists on various machines and sub-divisions in bench work.

The program of the skilled tradesmen to construct a secure job trust for themselves is thus running up against technological developments, and due to be further breached by automation. One interesting aspect of the recent contract negotiations with General Motors Corporation was the inclusion of a much improved seniority arrangement for the entrance of production workers into skilled trades. The contract also contained a detailed

schedule breakdown for the various trades indicating time on job required to achieve full rights in the classification. In every case time requirements were substantially lower than called for under the UAW apprenticeship program. This agreement is directly contrary to the policy of the Skilled Trades Department of the UAW and was obviously included at the insistence of the corporation to meet its anticipated needs for skilled workers in the period ahead. This part of the agreement has also been greeted with anger and resistance by skilled workers, so that for the present, it remains a dead letter.

The relationship of skilled trades to production workers and vice versa is an acute internal working-class problem. The unions will be able to solve the job problems arising from the spread of automation only by a policy of increasing flexibility, permitting and demanding easy movement of workers from production to skilled jobs, rather than trying to erect steel fences around skilled trades that are rapidly changing in character. The union has not been aggressive in fighting for training programs so that production workers can be properly prepared to perform the new duties born of automation. The refresher and in-job-training programs during the war demonstrated that thousands of workers can rapidly be trained for all kinds of skilled work.

The problem, as can readily be seen, is complex, many-sided and difficult of solution. It certainly cannot be solved by the present policy of the UAW leaders to threaten and attempt to intimidate the skilled workers, while catering to some of their restrictive demands. The answer must be along the lines of tying the interests of the production and skilled-trades workers together in a struggle against the employers. This means full backing of the legitimate wage demands of the skilled workers, and at the same time supporting the right of production workers to fair and unimpeded opportunities to enter the skilled trades. Journeyman cards in the auto union are an anachronism. The only card required should be a union card.

You pull the switch. You throw the clutch.
You pull the counter that says how much.
You clamp in two and take out two.
You pull the counter and boss does too.
You laugh at him. He just wants more.
You got a union. You know the score.
For here at the Ford reservation,
We got a thing called Automation.
Brother, grieve not; It's play with pay.
That's what the business scribes all say.

For we are told that Automation
Has made of work a relaxation.
We went to school; we learned a skill
Now all we do is a fixture fill.
We clamp in two. We watch the score.
Who knows, tomorrow it may be more.
For here at the Ford reservation
We got a thing called Automation.
You clamp in two and look down the line.
Where have they gone, that old gang of mine?

—Ford *Enlightener*, July 1953.

A Debate Over a Book Points up the Crisis of Western Communism

THE events which have transpired in Russia since Stalin's death have been followed with passionate interest and ever-growing excitement in France. Intellectuals who had believed the future of socialism to be shrouded by totalitarianism began to stir with hope: A self-imposed silence was broken and people were saying things they had never before expected to hear themselves say. In wide circles the big questions were again being asked. If communism, which had proved the practicality of a planned non-profit economy, could liberate itself from dogma and dictatorship what reason was there to resist its advent in France? In the very center of this bubbling ferment, the French Communist Party maintained a most lofty indifference. It neither saw nor heard nor spoke of what to it was "evil"—emanating from the Soviet Union of all places!

In the middle of January, the charmed circle was broken by the publication of Pierre Herve's book "The Revolution and Fetishes." The book, an attack on the dogmatism of French communism and on its failure to recognize the changes in the Soviet Union, became a political sensation, its repercussions still continuing. The author, after a distinguished record in the Resistance, had risen to be one of the outstanding young leaders of the French CP after the liberation, a Communist member of parliament, an associate editor of the party's daily, *l'Humanité*, and other influential positions.

SOME two weeks after publication, Herve was roundly lambasted in *l'Humanité* in true Stalinist manner by a literary hack, Guy Besse. Besse said the book takes its place "in the abundant literary production of the crudest most banal anti-communism." He did not believe "Dulles could have dreamed of a more docile commentator." A few weeks later, on February 14, the Central Committee of the CP, to everyone's astonishment, expelled Herve. His book was the expression of "vulgar opportunism," of "the most patent capitulation before the policy of imperialism." Herve had "embraced the anti-communist slanders." He had also violated party procedure by not first submitting the "libelous" book to appropriate party committees before publication. To this they added a vague personal smear concerning a "long-standing complaint" against Herve's conduct in private life.

The astonishment referred to above was genuine, therefore significant. There prevailed a kind of naive belief that the more democratic spirit in the Soviet Union would automatically be carried over into French Communism. This was mixed with an irritation against party leaders who seemed to be resisting the liberal course. In this sense Herve spoke the mind of a multitude and immediately won support. Shortly before the expulsion, the editor of *l'Hu-*

manité replied to a letter—without publishing it, of course—of a well-known Communist writer, Claude Morgan, who vigorously objected to the dishonest polemics the paper had used against Herve. The Communist Party unit to which Herve belonged refused to ask for his expulsion, the procedure usually employed in disciplinary action, but he was expelled just the same.

A few days later, the sensational news from the Russian Communist congress began to fill the press. The French Communist leaders were obviously embarrassed to hear from the rostrum of the mother party the very words they had always treated as "anti-communist slanders." But they quickly regained their composure. The bourgeois press, they declared, was deliberately emphasizing these internal matters to avoid the more important news regarding economic achievements. Some mistakes had been made which were now being rectified. Personal leadership was being replaced by collective leadership. In effect, nothing had changed for them but the catch-phrases. Appropriate quotations were culled from Khrushchev's report to refute the commentaries in the "anti-Soviet press from *Figaro* to *France-Observateur*". The very bracketing of the two papers showed how little had yet changed in what Herve had called a theological mentality.

What hurt most was the widespread comment that the Twentieth Congress had upheld Herve's stand. No! No! that was going too far! The Congress was "Leninist," Herve had broken party discipline. . . . The bourgeoisie "could make a hero of Herve" but "after all" it was a



little too much to ask the CP to reinstate him. They meant to say, undoubtedly, that those who had been rehabilitated, Antonov, Kossior, Bela Kun, the liquidated leaders of the Polish CP, were dead; Herve unfortunately was alive.

The position of the independent Left stated by Gilles Martinet, editor-in-chief of *France-Observateur*, is worth reproducing at length:

Some leaders of the French Communist Party seem frightened by the evolution of Soviet policy, not because it pushes them to a more flexible attitude toward the socialists and the "Mendèsist" bourgeoisie, but because this evolution calls into question their own principles of leadership and their own methods.

Some French Communist leaders have got the habit of repeating that people would like to see them stop being Communists (which they naturally refuse to do). This accusation doesn't apply to us. But it is true that we, like many on the Left, would like to see them become less and less Stalinist!

For years we had hoped the French Communist Party would assume the same freedom of movement as the Chinese party or the Yugoslav party and, without altering the solidarity which binds it to Soviet policy, would less frequently embrace the inevitable zig-zags of that policy. Today we would be tempted to ask it to follow them as closely as possible!

That however would not be a very serious position. Independence is not acquired on order any more than freedom is exported at the point of a bayonet. What is extremely positive in the Soviet "new course" is precisely the possibility it allows to foreign Communist parties to themselves discover an original road to socialism (and not merely to a temporary parliamentary majority). This is an encouragement to define common positions in the whole of the western socialist and communist movements and to thus prepare the reconstitution of that working-class unity without which a victory cannot be envisaged in France, in Italy and in the rest of Europe.

This unity will not be achieved by means of soothing, amiable phrases and declarations of good intentions. It will not be achieved on the basis of a rallying of Stalinism to, or of an alignment of its positions with those of, the narrow reformism of the social democracy. It will be forged through great struggles and at the price of frank and loyal debates.

That the French Communists do not yet permit genuine discussion within their own party—as the Herve case proves—is their own affair. But if they want to utilize the immense opportunities opened to them by the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, they must accept this discussion with their allies. Little matter that at the beginning the tone is rough or friendly. What counts is that an end be put to certain methods. To demand that they openly recognize who was wrong and who right in the discussion on the economic program of the CGT is not a "provocative act." To say that the recent writings of Maurice Thorez contain serious errors is not an "anti-communist calumny"!

Sooner or later it will be necessary to face this debate. Sooner or later it will be necessary to accept these democratic methods. The sooner the better.

IT can be seen from the above commentary that Herve's book called forth the most varied and opposite reactions. Marxists were happy to read the scathing attack on Stalinism for having degraded Marxism to a religion, the Communist Party to a church and its intellectuals to priests of a revealed doctrine. It didn't matter too much that Herve, to make his criticism more palatable for Stalinists, tried to keep Stalin on the side of the angels, nor that by devious philosophical discourse, as casuistical in its reasoning as that of the high priests he was condemning, he sought to justify Stalinism historically—in fact through the mouth of Lenin himself! That, and Herve himself, are less important than the action. He had dared to say what many others had been thinking and still feared to say. It was enough that he pointed to the evil and did it at a moment when the climate of opinion was favorable to heresy.

Sartre found the occasion appropriate to speak more bluntly to the CP leaders than he has in recent years: "For us [the intellectuals] Marxism is not only a philosophy: it is the climate of our ideas, the stuff on which they feed. . . . We see in it the cultural property of the Left; more: Since the death of bourgeois thought, it alone is Culture, for only it permits an understanding of men, works, events . . . the bourgeoisie is in the process of abandoning culture; its ideas wither in contact with Marxism without the Marxists raising their little finger; when these philosophers try to refute the enemy thought they find it lodged in themselves. We would like to tell the party intellectuals: This astonishing virility is that of Marx, of Lenin, of an ideology constantly strengthened by history; it is not yours, and yet, if Communist thought decided to flourish it would meet no resistance." And yet, he says "the Marxist universe is full of deserts, of unexplored lands." The self-proclaimed Marxists write nothing



of substance about political economy, capitalist or socialist, about history, philosophy, psychology, ethnology, etc. They are on the "defensive," "reaffirming principles and warding off attacks." While Sartre deliberately ignores the work of independent Marxist intellectuals, his conclusion is nevertheless a valuable one:

Between the latest hocus-pocus of a bourgeoisie which has lost its pride and the obstinate silence of the Communist intellectuals, French culture is crumbling to ruin; we intellectuals live in a rarefied atmosphere; nothing moves. Nowhere. Without oxygen, we feel ourselves suffocating. And don't say that what we are demanding . . . is an "open" Marxism. We demand nothing of Marxism except that it live, that it shake off its criminal torpor to provide to all uncompromisingly what it should provide.

HAD Herve confined himself to a critique of the dogmas of Stalinism and of the pretended infallibility of its priesthood, his book might have had a totally progressive effect. It would have placed the CP leaders in the embarrassing position of having to reconcile approval of reform in Russia with resistance to it in their own party in France. *France-Observateur* evidently had this in mind when in its pre-publication preview of Herve's book it limited its very lengthy extracts almost entirely to the above question. Unfortunately that was not all that Herve said.

Instead of re-evaluating the historical facts, as a Marxist would have done, Herve jumped over the causes to their effects and found his explanation for the degeneration of the Communist movement in ideology. In this he was following the lead from the Russian leaders who are attributing the ills of the past decades to the "leader cult" without analyzing the causes which produced that monstrosity. Herve theorized that an idea which truthfully reflects the reality of a certain epoch and is also a means of moving men to action—therefore an ideology—lingers into another epoch when the reality changes. But the ideology having become a vested material interest now distorts the new reality instead of reflecting and explaining it, and hence becomes a "fetish," an impediment to scientific thought.

Mimicking the Russian "fetishes," the Communist intellectuals had made themselves a laughing stock in France. But Herve also found that French Communism had developed its own peculiar "fetish" by hanging on to the ideology of the revolution. Hence the title of the book which is not "Stalinism and its Fetishes" but "The Revolution and Its Fetishes." The new reality, according to Herve, in which the outlived ideology lingers on is the emergence of several socialist nations on the one side and of thermonuclear weapons on the other. Since a revolution in France might precipitate a war which would necessarily involve the Soviet bloc, and therefore compromise the development to socialism, and since France is too small geographically to survive the destruction, the idea of revolution should be re-evaluated; it should be avoided even if conditions were ripe for it. Herve found the "dialectical" alternative to the "revolutionary fetish" in "different roads to socialism" than that of October 1917.

This side of the book inevitably became the center of interest and discussion. Obviously for French society, traversing a social crisis, how the French Communists think—interesting and important as that may be—is decidedly secondary to what French Communism does. The parliamentary road is more felicitous, more desirable than that of civil war, but it is still a road to revolution. Herve, however, had dissociated aim from method. His conservative publishers called attention to this fact in their announcement on the back-cover of the book where they compared the author to Luther, saying that "if communists and non-communists so desired 'Revolution and Fetishes' could become the occasion not for a showdown but for a clarification and beyond that for a rapprochement." Other bourgeois commentators believed—or at least hoped—that Herve had divined the precise, and official, meaning of Khrushchev's remarks on the plural roads to socialism.

THIS turn of the discussion let the Communist Party leaders get off the hook. Duclos, returning from Moscow, reported to a closed party meeting in Paris where he said that Herve's ideas found no warrant in the deliberations of the Twentieth Congress of the Russian CP. On the contrary, "the party was perfectly right in throwing out of its ranks a man who, basically, had no other pre-occupation than to advocate a policy of capitulation before the forces of war, to advocate the substitution of reformism for the class struggle and to attempt to establish a platform for the liquidation of the ideological and organizational bases of the party of the working class."

For Duclos, but for a few flaws in personality and for some errors in "certain theses," Stalin's role in history remains unchanged, and he concluded his address by the type of invocation—"faithful to the great ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin"—that had been so conspicuously absent at the Russian Congress. There is here a glaring difference between the comments of Polish and East German communist leaders—who would surely fit into his category of "enemies of Communism"—and those of Duclos. Obviously this is explained by the far more lengthy association of Duclos and other French CP leaders with Stalin and their more abject dependence on him than was the case with some of the parties elsewhere. One of the merits of Stalin, said Duclos significantly in this regard, was the role played by Stalin "in the formation and development of the Communist parties." Duclos' touching loyalty is understandable: He owes his position to Stalin, he is tarred by the same colossal errors and unspeakable methods.

AND I will war, at least in words (and should
My chance so happen—deeds), with all
who war
With thought;—and of thought's foes by
far most rude
Tyrants and sycophants have been and are.
I know not who may conquer: if I could
Have such a prescience, it should be no bar
To this my plain, sworn downright detestation
Of every despotism in every nation.

—Lord Bryon

Notebook of an Old-Timer

by George H. Shoaf



Fifty Years Ago and Today

ONE day in the year 1905, in his office in Girard, Kansas, J. A. Wayland, publisher of *The Appeal to Reason*, famous socialist weekly, said to the writer, "George, Socialism will not make much headway in this country until it is fought bitterly by its adversaries the publicity agents and agencies in the employ of the capitalist class." While Wayland was not an orator like Debs, he knew his economics, and above all he was intensely practical in his understanding of the temperament of the American people, and what it took to awaken them from their lethargy and arouse them to action.

Fifty years have passed since Wayland made that statement. In the light of recent developments, I have often pondered the implications of what he said. Consider the situation as it existed in the United States at that time. American capitalism apparently functioned on a basis of unassailable security. True, it had gone through cyclical periods of boom, bust, depression, and war, but each time it emerged with renewed strength and energy to repeat the process. So sure were its proponents and beneficiaries of its perpetual continuance that they regarded socialists and their agitation with ridicule and contempt. Populism, at first looked upon as a possible menace, had withered on the vine, as it were, and despite vehement oratory from platforms across the country and fiery editorials in the Populist press, the Republic of the Founding Fathers remained unshaken, and in the citadel of capitalism in Wall Street, New York, malefactors of wealth held high jinks.

Because of their faith in the Ameri-

Mr. Shoaf was an editor and the famed "war correspondent" of the *Appeal to Reason*.

can way of life, and because of their wealth, power and social prestige, gained by acting in conformity with the principles and procedure of that way of life, the bigwigs of capitalism did not interfere to anything like the present extent with the Constitutional privileges and guarantees respecting free speech, free press and free public assemblage. "Let the socialist crackpots write and speak as they please. They will never get anywhere in this country. Socialism won't work. We have nothing to fear from their agitation and propaganda."

Fifty years ago the people in this country enjoyed the semblance if not the substance of democracy. They were not taxed to the limit of endurance to supply funds to maintain a standing army, navy and air force, and to provide military equipment with which to wage an anticipated foreign war. Small business and small industry, small farm ownership and operation, still constituted an important part of the domestic economy. Individual initiative was encouraged and, if successful, was correspondingly rewarded. Western public lands were still open to settlement and development, and thousands of workers in the East and South who, for one reason or another, had lost their jobs, went West and grew up with the country.

Today, the landed areas have been taken over by private owners, largely under corporate ownership, fenced in, with the public notified to keep out. In those days a family with wagon and team could go off the road and camp free from molestation of any kind. Today, an auto with a trailer attached is forced to take refuge in a privately owned trailer camp, and pay for the privilege. Tramps, an exclusive Ameri-

can speciality, could beg from door to door, and sleep under bridges without being deprived of these rights by officers of the law. It was still an accepted theory that every American boy, if he was ambitious and diligently applied himself, could become either a millionaire or President of the United States.

WHILE life was comparatively free and easy in the early years of the present century, with country people redolent with a simplicity that provoked quips and jokes on the part of their city cousins, in the last analysis it appeared to be more real and earnest than it is today. Advocates of religion—Protestant preachers—exhorted with a sincerity and singleness of purpose visibly absent in the mouthings of modern pulpsters. Now and then an occasional politician seemed to be on the square when he addressed his constituents. Personal journalism was freely indulged to the delight, if not the edification, of magazine and newspaper readers.

However, the social process continued, as it has since men began group living. Small industries, oil companies, banks, transportation companies were swallowed up by the emerging economic giants. Today we have chain stores, chain banks, bonanza farms, great factories and plants, many of which have merged to form monopoly trusts and combines. In the presence of this concentrated wealth and power what became of the ancient freedom vouchsafed Americans by the Founding Fathers? Who now has the opportunity to disengage himself from his fellow-morons and express himself through individual initiative in achieving material success? To cap the climax of development, automation has been introduced, and threatens to step up production with a vastly decreased labor force. The menace here involved, as yet, is unappreciated by most workers, but when automation gets down to where they live, and they realize what they are up against, unquestionably they will get the shock of their lives.

With the inauguration of monopoly capitalism began the disappearance of democracy. The first sensational suppression of free speech, press and assemblage occurred in the incipient stages of the first world war when 50,000 opponents of war—Socialists and pacifists—were rounded up and jailed. Because of their loans to the British

government, Wall Street magnates could not afford to permit Britain to lose the war. So, in the name of freedom and democracy, the war to end war was fought and won, and the money of the magnates was saved. But at what a sacrifice of the principles of old-fashioned Americanism was that war fought!

IT would appear that with their possession of wealth and political power, their command of press, radio, television and other agents and agencies of communication and information, the malefactors of wealth would feel so secure they would ignore domestic radical agitation, permit socialists and communists to howl their heads off, and call off the Committees of Investigation whose activities circumvent democracy, nullify the Bill of Rights, and make Americanism a byword for terrorism and hatred among the nations of the earth. There are reasons however, for the opposite attitude on the part of Wall Street.

Fact of the matter, capitalism is collapsing, and is on its way out. This statement will appear strange to doctors, dentists, and other professionals who charge and get high fees for their services. Never having given the development of the social process a thought, limiting their intellectual activities to acquiring efficiency in their professions, these cultured men and women simply do not know what it is all about. They imagine what is should not only be as it is, but will endure forever. They ignore or forget the cyclical booms and



busts of American economy in their thinking, if they think. To the millions of workers in the factories and on the farms this statement will also appear strange. They, too, unversed in the social process, and never having "had it so good" in their previous efforts in earning a living, are obsessed by the

fiction that present prosperity will last until the end of time.

But the magnates of Wall Street are not deceived. They are aware that capitalist economy is in grave danger. They wish to preserve their wealth, their privileges and power. They are willing to adopt any course that will assure their continued rule. Their pronouncements of patriotic allegiance to the American flag and their fervent adherence to the principles promulgated by Jesus Christ are one hundred per cent bunk. The god of their idolatry is the Almighty Dollar to get and worship which they will sacrifice the institutions of democracy and reduce the common people of this country to sheer servitude.

They know, despite the asseverations of their agents of publicity, including politicians and preachers, to the contrary, that if civilization is to continue, it must function under some form of collectivism, that if collectivism displaces capitalism, they are through. Across the world they behold half of it going socialist. They have witnessed the transformation of Czarist Russia from a feudal economy into a socialist one. They are aware of the miracle that has occurred in China. They are cognizant of the fact that increasing numbers of Europeans and Asians, disillusioned, are going left instead of toward the right. To them this is a frightening phenomenon, and they are scared.

In the United States they sense that behind the strikes for higher wages and better conditions by working men and women, and more strikes to come as economic conditions worsen, lurks a growing awareness on the part of the organized workers, and a general awakening of the people, to the social and economic injustice inherent in American capitalism, and that many workers and many people are becoming resentful. Americans are tired of war, and want none of it. They are exasperated because of being taxed so severely to keep war factories and plants operating in preparation for a war they do not want to fight. But as owners of the industrial, commercial, and financial life of the nation, and rulers of the political life of the people because of their ownership, the bigwigs of capitalism, to save themselves from extinction, are determined to have their way. Hence, in recent years, the witch-

THOUGH control has become a popular fixture. Although people continue to investigate, and think, few dare to express their thoughts aloud. With the virtual extirpation of the Communist Party, with membership in that party made a punishable crime, and the apparent impossibility of resurrecting the Socialist Party, it looks as if the American electorate will be reduced to the servility of having to vote for the two parties of capitalism—the Republican and Democratic—or remain away from the polls on election day. What American could or would have contemplated such a situation in this country fifty years ago!

Workers are not so ignorant and gullible as the masters of capitalism think. They may not cry their resentment from the housetops, but get into their homes, as this writer has done, and what they say would be revealing and astonishing to the magnates who rule this country. These workers are beginning to inform themselves through the procession of events. They are reading between the lines of the capitalist press. And what they read and think bodes no good for the exploiting classes.

Today, as others have said, and well said, with Americans it is a race between education and catastrophe. The American people, giving the lie to John Foster Dulles, are in no mood to fight a war, supposedly to save democracy from dictatorship, but actually to preserve the property of plutocracy and to perpetuate a social and economic order which privileges the rich to rule and exploit the poor, especially when they know that the finish of the war will consign to extinction perhaps half the human race. In the face of the impending crisis no more hopeful word can be imparted to those resisting fascism and war than to step up their activity in the matter of carrying the message of socialism to as many people as they can personally reach.

A STATE which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for a beneficial purpose will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.

—John Stuart Mill

The Choice of Doctors

by Jay W. Friedman

The March 1956 *American Socialist*, in the Opinions pages, carried a criticism by Dr. Hans Freistadt of one aspect of an article on cooperative medicine by Dr. Jay W. Friedman in our February 1956 issue. Dealing with the matter of free choice of physicians in socialized medical setups, Dr. Freistadt said: "But Dr. Friedman apparently is *against* such free choice," and stated as his own view that "We can socialize medicine, make medical personnel salaried employees of a socialist government, de-commercialize the physician-patient relationship, encourage group practice—and still maintain and extend the principle of free choice of physician." Dr. Friedman's reply follows.

DR. Freistadt's criticism (March 1956) of my article "Pioneering in Cooperative Medicine" (February 1956) is based upon the completely erroneous assumption that I am against free choice of doctors by patients. Actually there is little difference between Dr. Freistadt's views and mine. The term "free choice," however, is unfortunate. We only get what we pay for and freedom of choice exists only for those fortunate individuals who can afford to pay for their choice. A man earning \$50 a week cannot choose a Park Avenue doctor. He is strictly limited in his choice—if he has any choice at all. The ultimate aim of socialism is simply to broaden man's economic base through the cooperative pooling of his resources so that he can truly have a choice—not "free" choice because he will be paying for it—but any choice.

There are certainly valid reasons why an individual should have the right to choose his doctor. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these reasons would be predicated on philosophic idealism regarding the rights of man. In the light of twentieth century knowledge the rationale is based on sound psychiatric principles. Conflicting personalities between doctor and patient will negate much of therapy. A happy, secure relationship must be maintained between the doctor and the patient if treatment is to be of maximum benefit. Therefore both the patient *and* the doctor must maintain their rights of choice. It is precisely these rights which will be best preserved in cooperative group health programs. A large panel of doctors assures both the patient and the doctor this "free" choice.

Dr. Freistadt objected to my statement that "A lay person . . . is hardly qualified to choose a good doctor." He misconstrued this as an argument against "free" choice—which it most certainly is not. Modern health care is based on teamwork amongst all the specialties. A lay person chooses a general practitioner because he likes him and has confidence in him. This confidence is determined in large part by the personality of the doctor, his apparent integrity and thoroughness. Yet, it is estimated that 50 percent of man's illness (exclusive of dental ills) will cure itself without treatment. The other 50 percent taxes the resources and ingenuity of modern doctors. When the

doctor says, "I want you to see a specialist," he rarely gives you a choice. He refers you to a particular doctor. He does not depend upon the lay person's judgment, which is more often than not based upon a father-figure transference. He chooses this particular specialist because he has intimate knowledge of his competence based upon his own professional judgment and experience.

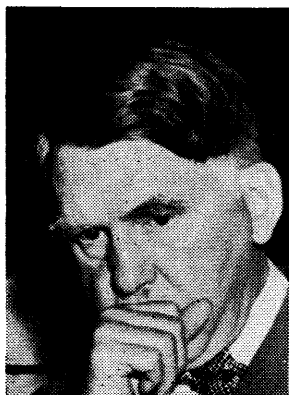
DR. Freistadt believes "that with a modicum of reading and inquiry into a physician's training, accreditation and reputation in the community an intelligent layman can find not only a good practitioner, but also the one who is best *for him*." This is true in a few instances but my general experience does not bear it out. More important, it is not true for too many individuals. How many highly intelligent people continue to smoke cigarettes? How many highly intelligent people continue to oppose fluoridation? How many highly intelligent people oppose world government and socialism? To illustrate the fallacy of Dr. Freistadt's approach I cite the commercial airplane pilot. We do not expect the traveler—well read or not—to be competent in choosing a good pilot. We invest our trust in aeronautical authorities whose responsibility it is to examine and re-examine the qualifications and capabilities of the pilots in whose hands our lives fly. These examiners are not made up of lay persons who have read a few books. We place our faith in trained authorities. By no means do I imply one should not read and ask questions and develop personal judgment, nor do I intend that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Rather I insist a few books and a little inquiry into academic background does not make of man a competent judge!



As regards "assigned physicians," nowhere in my article did I state that doctors would be assigned under socialized medicine. That fact that I do not believe lay persons are capable of choosing good doctors except as their personalities prove compatible should not and does not imply lay persons must not have a choice. Compatibility of personalities is sufficient reason to preserve the rights of choice and I certainly agree with Dr. Freistadt that "Socialism seeks to plan the economy; but the aim of the planning is greater freedom, more choice, and less regimentation at the level of everyday life."

A Page from Socialist History

by Harvey O'Connor



Harvey O'Connor

I WAS reading your review of Shannon's book on socialism (April 1956), when all of a sudden I struck a rock. The jolting sentence was:

"Further on, the Washington State left-wingers, who were extremists, and distinctive in their opposition to immediate-reform demands, are falsely portrayed as representing the thinking of the SP left wing."

As editor of the *International Weekly* and managing editor of the *Seattle Daily Call*, both official organs of the Seattle Socialist Party, I can't recall any basis for your sentence. Everything you say is I suppose somewhat true. We were "extremists" if by that you mean revolutionary Marxists who had nothing but contempt for Hillquit milk-and-water socialism. But for the life of me, this failing old memory-cage of mine can't remember any argument we ever had with the Socialist left wing, of which we were an integral part. The arguments were all with the right wing, and I for one never heard of any serious theoretical split with the rest of the left wing so far as we were concerned. Moreover there was nothing distinctive about us, except that we were thoroughly working-class, with very little middle-class membership, a powerful influence in the union movement and active as all get-out in everything that went on.

We "extremists" at the time of the split all went into the Farmer Labor Party, formed by the unions and the Grange. Only the Russian Federation went into the Communist, or Communist Labor Party, and for years the Russians were all there was to the Communist movement in Seattle. As they had always been apart from the English-speaking socialists, they had meant little to us anyway. The Socialist Party disappeared for several years, not being re-created as I remember it until about 1922 when some of the old-time reformists, who had had a small local in Seattle, as well as some locals elsewhere in the state, came together again. In my active years in the Seattle labor movement from 1920 to 1924, when I left, I had actually never seen or talked to a Communist except for the aforesaid Russians.

I have no idea on what Shannon based his report that the SP of Washington State was in general agreement with the SP left wing, but it is true. The *International Socialist Magazine* (I believe that was the name of the Chicago paper of the left wing) was our paper too.

PERHAPS there is some idea that because many of us also carried Wobbly cards that therefore we were semi-anarchist or something. The truth is that many of the Wobbly sectarians objected to having Socialists in the IWW, but in general we got along fine because we were too busy to quarrel over silly anarchist ideas. Anyway

anarchism never meant much to the Wobblies in the Pacific Northwest; they were non-political mainly by the force of circumstances, they were migratories of the logging camps and harvests and couldn't have voted even if they had wanted to. I remember being surprised when I hit the East Coast in 1916-1917 to find that many of the Wobs were anarchists. They were a different breed of cat from us.

The *Seattle Daily Call* existed in 1917-1918 and was silenced when the Chamber of Commerce got some drunken sailors (U. S. Navy) to bust up the print shop. The *International Weekly* followed in 1918-1919, and was closed by the FBI after my famous headline:

CAPITALISM TOTTERING

in boxcar type across the front page. I've been leery of predicting capitalism's immediate demise every since.

[I was referring to the earlier Washington left wing led by Dr. Herman F. Titus, editor of the *Seattle Socialist*. Dr. Titus was a remarkable man and an important figure of the national left wing of the time, but he was inclined to be an extremist on some questions. The fight between the left and right wings came to a head in Washington in 1909, three years before the national split. The left wing refused to participate in the Everett convention and set up its own organization. As the National Executive Committee recognized the other side, the left wingers found themselves outside of the Socialist Party. Some joined the IWW. Titus organized the Wage Workers Party, which only lasted about a year.—B. C.]

Racists Gaining in the North?

by Michigan Reader

WHILE the attention of the entire country is turned to the atrocities committed by the white supremacists of the South, it will be helpful for uncompromising advocates of full equality to observe and define trends in the North as well. Here conditions are far from a civil rights Garden of Eden. Racial prejudice has strong roots in the North, and has been growing and spreading—at least so it seems to us.

Confirmation of this observation was made by Representative Charles Diggs, Jr., of Michigan. The *Pittsburgh Courier* stated in its January 28 issue that "Diggs also said if the people of the United States do not deal forthrightly with bias as represented in Mississippi it will take 'hold of the whole country.'"

During the entire controversy and especially since the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation, the defiant, illegal stand of the racists in the South contrasts with the weak paper defense of the labor leaders and the liberals. The forces of bigotry have not been met with an equal and opposite force. For this reason bigotry has grown in the North.

We must consider the effect, for example, on the Northern white population when Eastland, the most rabid of the Dixiecrats, with a long record of Negro and labor hating and baiting, is made chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee by both major parties, a committee which is charged among other things with "carrying out" the Supreme Court ruling, as well as civil rights, civil liberties

and justice in general. It is like appointing a top Nazi to supervise abolition of anti-Semitism and anti-unionism. It serves to fan prejudice, because prejudice becomes official.

Nor is the house of labor doing enough to warrant praise on this score. Their formal sermons on behalf of equal rights are paid scant attention by the white population, because their deeds are far behind their words. Reuther's National Executive Board is still a lily-white board.

Until and unless the broad mass labor and liberal movements realize that the aims of the NAACP affect not only

the Negroes but the destiny of the unions and democracy in its entirety, prejudice in the North continues to grow and the whole country becomes more contaminated. America is at its point in history once more where the country can no longer be half free and half slave—half segregated and half de-segregated.

The crying need of the hour is the emergence of a modern Abolitionist-type movement to act as the conscience of the country, and spur the mass movement on to deeds on behalf of universal democracy. The liberals have clearly failed. The left-wing socialist forces must begin to fill the breach.

Much Ado About "Socialism" in the Milwaukee Elections

by Robert Henderson

ON April 3rd Milwaukeeans went to the polls and re-elected Mayor Frank P. Zeidler to a third term by a comfortable majority in a non-partisan election. Elsewhere in the country the election of a Socialist Party member might have been an upset, but in the last half-century Milwaukee's mayor has been a Socialist more often than not.

Despite the efforts of his opponents to make his SP membership a central issue, Zeidler's victory was a personal rather than a party one. There were no other SP members running for office and Zeidler's backing came largely from labor unions and the Democratic Party.

Zeidler prefers to describe himself as a "social democrat" rather than a socialist. In a speech during the campaign he defined social democracy as "people cooperating in the spirit of brotherhood to produce progress in life." He has also said, "I have never been, and am not now, a 'Marxian Socialist.' Instead I believe that the broad principles of democracy should prevail in the political, social, and industrial order. I do not subscribe to these main concepts of Marx—the Hegelian dialectic, the materialist concept of history, and the inevitability of socialism."

A British Labor Party MP after an interview with Zeidler asked, "How can that man call himself Socialist? He hasn't had a new socialist idea since 1848!"

Unlike many social democrats who go through a radical phase in their youth, Zeidler has held his views with remarkable constancy throughout his political life. His rapid rise in the party (he became Milwaukee County secretary in 1938 when only 25) resulted from his being the only active party member of his generation who shared wholeheartedly the views of Milwaukee's party mossbacks. Alone among SP leaders Zeidler opposed SP entry into the La Follette Progressive Party in the thirties, and when the SP finally cut itself adrift from the disintegrating Progressive Party in 1942 Zeidler stood almost alone in retaining SP membership. The bulk of the SP politicians left the Progressive Party for successful careers in the Democratic or Republican Parties; e.g., former Socialist Andrew Biemiller served three times as Democratic congressman while ex-Socialist John Brophy served one term as a Republican congressman.

By 1948 when Zeidler was first elected mayor the SP had collapsed around him. His personal victory failed to arrest the party's decline. In 1950 it lost its place on the ballot and in 1952 failed to get a candidate for governor on the ballot as an independent. Subsequently the SP has abandoned efforts to get on the ballot.

ZEIDLER'S eight years in office have been regarded as successful in orthodox capitalist good-government circles. The city's reputation for clean government remains unscathed.

Robert Henderson is a Milwaukee unionist who has written a number of times for the American Socialist on Midwestern labor and politics.

New public buildings are rising, the city's area has increased through a vigorous annexation program and far from least in Zeidler's eyes, Milwaukee is a leader in Civilian Defense planning.

Among his honors Zeidler is proudest of his selection in 1948 by the Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the nation's ten outstanding young men.

In view of all this it is hard to see how Zeidler's opponent Milton McGuire and Hearst's Milwaukee *Sentinel* could expect to make socialism the big issue in the campaign. The first shot in the anti-socialist drive was the appearance of a "Milwaukee for America Committee." The committee published a pamphlet "Think, Milwaukee Voters!" The pamphlet attempted to shock the citizenry with quotes from old SP platforms and speeches by Zeidler. For good measure the pamphlet quotes at length from Max Eastman's "Reflections on the Failure of Socialism."

The *Sentinel* followed this up with a series of front-page editorials headed "Which Do You Want?" The typical form of these pieces was to quote Zeidler or an old SP platform, then Karl Marx, Stalin or Khrushchev under the heading "Socialism," then a quote from Zeidler's opponent apparently written for the occasion under the heading "Americanism."

THUS in one editorial headed "Which Do You Want—Regimentation or Freedom?" under "Socialism" we find, "We aim to replace the present capitalistic system. . . . That the system will be replaced is certain. . . . The Socialist Party aims at political *power* in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life."—Wisconsin Socialist Party Platform, 1948, Frank P. Zeidler, Milwaukee, Chairman, State Central Committee; and following, "The seizure of *power* is only the beginning."—Joseph Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism." Zeidler has taken the preliminary steps prior to starting suit for libel.

The Milwaukee *Journal* answered this with a front-page editorial titled "No Socialism in the City Hall Under Zeidler Administration," saying, ". . . Milwaukee no longer need be concerned with *theories*. It has a *record* on which to judge. That record shows that whatever his philosophical ideals, Mayor Zeidler has not intruded socialism into city government."

One other aspect of the campaign deserves mention. That was a whispering campaign which charged Zeidler with being pro-Negro and with promoting southern Negro migration to Milwaukee. While McGuire repudiated the rumors some of his backers actively peddled them. In actual fact Zeidler has not distinguished himself by his defense of Negroes; in a debate before the NAACP McGuire criticized him for not having more Negroes on the police force.

Hearst's fears to the contrary, socialism didn't win the election. The old-timers will continue to gather at occasional card parties and talk of the good old days, but the rebirth of socialism in Milwaukee is yet to come.



BOOK REVIEW

When They Voted Early and Often

THE LAST HURRAH, by Edwin O'Connor. Atlantic-Little Brown, Boston, 1956, \$4.

WHILE some of the critics might have gone a bit overboard in praise for "The Last Hurrah"—particularly the one who called it *the* great novel of the Irish in America—there is no question it is a fine novel. In describing a slice of life and in delineating a sphere of the human personality Mr. O'Connor has met two of the more important tests of the good work of fiction, and his book ought to get at least double the ten-month run of "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit" on the best-seller lists if real quality counts on those lists—which is sometimes questionable.

"The Last Hurrah" is the story of a political boss patterned after Jim Curley who ruled Boston with such a store of loyalty behind him that he was retained in office even when serving a term in Federal prison. Frank Skeffington is the aging Irish politician who controls the Democratic Party of a large Northern city resembling Boston, and through that control has run the city for many years. As the story opens, Skeffington has just announced to his gleeful backers and dismayed opponents that despite his advanced age (he is almost 72) he is throwing his hat in the ring for another term as mayor.

The book is concerned with the campaign and its outcome. We see his machine at work and study its methods; we hear the colorful Skeffington on the election ramparts; the opposition is mercilessly dissected. If the book has any major fault that stares out at the reader it is that O'Connor has fallen in love with his character and, despite an evident resolution to treat him objectively, cannot help making of every person who does not respect Skeffington a mean-spirited scoundrel, while conversely, every character of any qualities of manhood or perception is, will he or nil he, a Skeffington admirer. In the end, Skeffington loses, despite a powerful campaign and a general certitude of victory. The author uses the occasion to discuss the reasons for the downfall of the old-time boss with his feudal barony and omnipotent machine.

IN the main, O'Connor seems to hit the answer squarely. The old machines were more than devices of theft; they were the link between the mass of city poor and workers—particularly immigrant workers—and our august government. Politics was a rich man's game and the government a rich

man's tool. The machines gave the poor access, it took care of their problems, it did favors and helped out some when the going was roughest, and it voiced in a twisted way the aspirations of the Irish, the Polish, the Jewish, the Germans, the Italians and others for a say in their new land which they had been told was a democracy. The government remained a rich man's government, but a few cracks were opened up for the hard-pressed of the cities.

The city bosses were neither Launcelots nor Robin Hoods, but in the main just plain and fancy thieves, and they lined their pockets with fabulous loot. Nor were they loyal to the poor they exploited, except sometimes on a purely personal man-to-man basis, but sold them out to the interests time after time. But they did give their ear, their time, often their influence, sometimes their largesse, always their purple rhetoric, to the poor. It wasn't much, but the people showed repeatedly they preferred it to the blank wall of the moralizing upper-class reformers who offered nothing but a sermon on the virtues of hard work—something they were not usually qualified to discuss—and an occasional inhospitable soup kitchen which reeked offensively of public charity.

The changing country left little room, as O'Connor points out, for the old-style boss. The immigrant groups dissolved as the younger generations got assimilated, and the old religious and national appeals were weakened. The shock of the Great Depression brought, by vast and popular demand, federal responsibility—at least in a measure—for services previously rendered by the boss. Relief, unemployment insurance, veterans benefits, social agencies and many other reforms won by a people tired of begging cut away the patronage-cash-jobs basis of bossdom in the cities.

AMONG the factors which Mr. O'Connor and other commentators on the matter scarcely mention is the rise of the mass unions. It was the unions which made over the outlook of the federal government, and, beyond that, the unions have given the worker a place to go, and a strong representative to take his part in dealings with government agencies, tax bureaus, employers, and often even personal and family problems. The number of unions that maintain a broad staff of welfare and social-service personnel is not large, but even where these do not exist every union officer has found himself doing the chores of welfare worker and Dutch uncle for members that have problems and need help, influence, or a lawyer. It is part of the changed American scene that the industrial worker is no longer the helpless and ignorant raw material for exploitation; he has organization and resources that even the old Skeffingtons can't match.

And, as the worker used to vote with Skeffington, he now votes with the union. The union doesn't wield political power directly as the ward boss used to, but the process isn't finished yet, and the ultimate successor to Frank Skeffington's crooked

machine which exploited the worker will be the labor party which puts him in power.

MR. O'Connor's novel deserves praise for one particular aspect of his approach: He understands the essence of politics which has escaped many liberals and do-good reformers. Politics is a field of combat. In every political arena, organization, contest, dispute, that is the essential element that distinguishes it from "political science" as it is taught in the colleges. You may be ever so brilliant, and have hold of the greatest nostrum for solving human ills that was ever devised, but no matter—from some quarter, moved either by antagonistic interest or what may look to you as just plain mule-headed ignorance, there is bound to come opposition and this is the difference of opinion that makes horse races and politics. Differences of opinion on the political field are settled neither by a race at Hialeah nor by sweet reasonableness, but by political power, and whosoever is not ready for a fight might just as well stay out of any kind of politics.

Mr. O'Connor, like his hero, understands this, and furthermore, like Frank Skeffington, he enjoys a good scrap and describes it with zest, and that's what gives his book a lot of appeal.

H. B.

Why Try to Kid Ourselves?

LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY, by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais. Cameron Associates, New York, 1955.

THE present American labor movement lacks a tradition and sense of continuity. Only the radicals cherish the movement's history. Opening this window upon the past—and consequently, upon the future, as well—is indeed one of the important contributions that socialists can make to the enlightenment of trade unionists. Twenty years ago books like "Men Who Lead Labor" by Bruce Minton and John Stuart, and "The Labor Spy Racket" by Leo Huberman, helped educate many a worker to class consciousness, or at least, to militant union consciousness. "Labor's Untold Story" is an even more ambitious attempt at popularization by presenting the whole sweep of American labor development from the Civil War to the present in a series of sharply etched vignettes or profiles.

The technique is probably a praiseworthy one, but the book falls far short of achieving success with it. The two authors are in the category of Communist-influenced writers; and writers of this school have this much in common with the old liberal-progressive historians: They can write much better about the past than the present. The sections dealing with the Molly Maguires, the Haymarket martyrs and the crusade for the eight-hour day, Bill Haywood and the rise of the Western Federation of Miners in the West, are quite good. While depth of analysis and light and

shade of relationships are consistently sacrificed for the easy flow of the narrative and the inspirational (often too turgid and purple) prose, the newcomer to American labor affairs cannot help but understand the historical continuity in labor's battles, the realization at a later stage of the earlier efforts of the pioneers, and the existence of a certain logic and purposeful pattern in the disconnected and often disjointed struggles. These are the achievements of the authors, even though purchased at the unnecessarily high price of over-simplification and superficiality.

BUT the virtues of the book start disappearing the closer we get to our own times, and the reason for this seems fairly obvious. Since the authors rely on Communist sources for the picture of events, and since the Communist explanation of recent events is an *apologia* for its own inconsistent line and conduct, the narrative inevitably bogs down into a wordy mass of special pleading which only coincidentally at times tallies with historical truth.

A few illustrations to show what we mean. On page 245, the authors slither into this explanation for the formation of Red trade unions in 1929: "The AFL officials, still clinging to their no-strike policies, fought the militants so remorselessly, openly sabotaging huge struggles for pay raises and shorter hours while expelling literally thousands on thousands of their own members, that the inevitable result was the founding of new independent unions in textile, coal and the needle trades." This is the writing of lawyers defending a client, not historians searching for truth. The Red trade union policy in 1929 had nothing to do with non-existent "huge struggles." It was decreed in Moscow, it was adopted by all Communist Parties from France to the South Sea Islands; and William Z. Foster, after a lifetime of struggle against precisely this concept of dual unionism, swallowed his integrity and pretended to be convinced.

IN the final section, where the authors go into the witch-hunt and the expulsion of a number of unions from the CIO, their explanation is too disingenuous and one-sided. They picture correctly how the CIO leaders became creatures of the State Department, but they assiduously ignore how so many of the left-wingers permitted themselves to become faithful weather-vanes of every wind blowing from Moscow, and how heavily that cost them with the workers. They want to reduce the whole question to its agitational form: Red-baiting is the bosses' game, it produces disunity and weakens labor, so let's all unite against the bosses. This correct but oversimplified proposition didn't prove to be an effective tactic to stem the tide during the events, and it is an even poorer history of the events.

They write: "The plot to divide the CIO was at all times a design of the CIO's cold war leadership. It never had the approval of the CIO rank-and-file." Our authors are just kidding themselves. It cer-

tainly was a plot of the CIO cold-war leadership. But unfortunately the ranks were caught up only too effectively in the hysteria. All of us on the Left—historians and non-historians alike—may just as well realize that the labor movement in this country, while not yet class-conscious, is very sophisticated. No one is going to josh it along. When workers want to know the political position of one of its leaders, they're not going to be palmed off by a recitation of the good contracts he signed the year before (especially when some of the cold-war leaders signed better contracts). The days when radicals can profitably employ subterfuge and double talk are long past. That goes for left-wingers working in the trade unions. That goes for historians writing about the trade unions.

B. C.



Decline of the IWW

THE IWW, ITS FIRST FIFTY YEARS,
by Fred Thompson. *Industrial Workers*
of the World, Chicago, 1955, \$3.

THERE is no book on the IWW that catches the spirit of this remarkable rebel formation on American soil. The two authoritative books on the subject, Brissenden's study of the IWW up to the war, and Gambs' somewhat inferior sequel on the decline of the IWW, are both informative works which provide the essential facts. But the authors are university figures who lacked direct experience with labor radicalism and their books carry the mark of the academician.

Volume IV of John R. Commons' monumental "History of Labor in the United States," written by Perlman and Taft, has several very good chapters on the IWW, and its authors have a superior historical flair compared with either Brissenden or Gambs. But their treatment is skimpy as the IWW is only incidental to the major themes they are interested in presenting. A good, all-around history is therefore to be heartily desired. Unfortunately, this is not it, or even close to it. Fred Thompson has thrown together a strictly house-organ job. The reader is drowned in newspaper-style information of a hundred and one strikes and doings, but there is no thread to the story, no understanding of the place or role of the IWW in labor history, no com-

prehension of the labor scene in the IWW's heyday, or of why it finally went into limbo. Thompson can discuss some inconsequential action of the present sect that calls itself the IWW in the same manner and tone of voice and in the same amount of space that he uses for some of the magnificent battles in the West Coast free speech fights, or the strikes at McKees Rocks or Lawrence.

IT has been stressed by many that the IWW tried to build an organization that was a cross between a political party and a union, that it tried to sell an essentially conservative working class an unworkable philosophy of anarcho-syndicalism, that the overwhelming power of the industrial giants succeeded in breaking all of its attempts to establish unions in the industrial East, and thus the Wobblies were forced to become an organization primarily of the migrant workers, whose strongest contingents were in agriculture and lumbering in the Western states.

During the First World War, the IWW tried to steer clear of the peace movements and confine itself strictly to labor organization. But its energetic organizing activities and superb militancy soon brought the wrath of the Money Lords down upon its head. The Wobblies were slandered and reviled by the press, lynch mobs were organized against them, and in 1917-18 federal agents stepped in to complete the process. Over 300 IWW members were arrested and tried in Chicago, Sacramento, and Wichita, and over 160 were sent to jail. (This does not include the many jailed under state criminal syndicalism laws.)

The labor historians have left the false impression that the IWW was smashed by the war-time persecutions and jailing of all its outstanding leaders. Thompson states with some justification: "The fact that the IWW grew from the war years to the 1924 split, and that this disaster occurred when these leaders were released, does not fit in with the conclusion of Perlman and Taft and other historians that the decline of the IWW was due to the loss of its leadership by imprisonment." Thompson then displays his sense of history and proportion by spending exactly one paragraph discussing the 1924 split that finished the IWW.

BUT Gambs described the events with precision, and they are interesting to recall. The Russian Revolution made a profound impression on the Wobblies as it did on all American radicals at the time. Haywood, Harrison George, Bill Shatoff and numerous others were overwhelmed with enthusiasm and eager to grasp the new ideas that made such an event possible. In 1919, the General Executive Board unanimously voted to recommend affiliation with the Third International. The IWW found itself embroiled in a full-scale discussion of whether or not to join with the Communists, and a host of related questions concerning "the state," "politics," etc. A number of different influences now began

to operate on the Wobblies, and finally tipped the scales against affiliation with the Communists. Haywood's jumping bail and leaving for Russia created a lot of bitterness. Then, the Communists were crude and tactless in their wooing, and soon convinced the IWW that they were out to break up its organization. As a matter of fact, a steady stream of former Wobblies were actually joining the Communist ranks. Furthermore, the old-time Wobbly found it difficult to embrace "politics," which he had scorned all his active life, and was particularly antagonized by Lenin's "Left Wing Communism," which opposed the formation of revolutionary unions and proposed that Communists work within the existing labor movement. By 1923-24, the Communist tide had definitely passed, and the IWW resolved to have nothing to do with Communism or its works.

But the decision to simply turn their backs on the Russian revolution and the new developments in the international labor movement meant that the IWW people did not understand the new world that had emerged after the war, and were determined to withdraw into their own shell. With that, the decline of the IWW into a hide-bound sect became inevitable. The "one big union" idea was now converted into a new mystical shrine, and the magical solution of all the world's ills, regardless of time, place, or circumstances. The Wobblies had always had a narrowly restricted notion of what "politics" signified. But in the process of disintegration after the war, even defense work on behalf of imprisoned IWW members began to be scorned by the Wobbly one-hundred percenters as "politics" (the Sacramento prisoners conducted a "silent defense" and sent a telegram to the national office: "No more lawyers. Don't mourn! Organize! Organize!"), and the mania for decentralization reached the point where proposals were made to abolish the national office. Gangrene had set it. The 1924 split, so confused that it still does not make sense to outsiders, simply put the period to the decomposition that had been under way.

B. C.

Poland's Progress

POLISH POSTWAR ECONOMY, by Thad Paul Alton. Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, \$5.75.

THIS scholarly book gives a fairly thorough account of post-war Polish economy from the World War II period up to 1953. Though perhaps of more interest to the specialist in economics than the general reader, the overall picture which the author presents fills in many important details in the development of the new Eastern European states.

The pattern which Poland followed since World War II is essentially similar to that of the other "Peoples Democracies." The occupation by the Red Army gave the Communist parties of these countries the leading voice in the postwar coalition governments, made possible the confiscation of the

landed estates, the distribution of land parcels to the peasantry, and the nationalization of sectors of the economy. Eventually, with the ousting of the other parties from the government, the Communists began their active socialization of all spheres of production.

Alton's conclusions for Poland are that a "mixed economy" of state and capitalist enterprises would have been more appropriate. The present type of socialist planning and centralization ("the Soviet model") has led, in his opinion, to the blind alley of a low standard of living, the "loss of personal freedom as well as a consumption of resources [by the bureaucracy] that could be used for directly productive purposes."

To make this estimation, the author has to ignore the levels inherited from Poland's semi-feudal past and the tremendous devastation wreaked in the course of the war. De Castro, in his excellent book "The Geography of Hunger," pointed out that the monopolization of agricultural resources in pre-war Poland had all but stifled the possibilities of any increases to provide for the meager consumption of the growing Polish population, let alone for any growth in urbanization and industry. While 19,000 landowners owned 43 percent of the country's total cultivated land, some four million peasants had no land at all, and 65 percent of those who did own farms had less than 30 acres, or insufficient for existence. The per capita income was \$160 per year. It is therefore little cause for wonder that the gains made by Polish economy since World War II have been slowed up by the hang-dog of a devastated and backward peasant economy. Even here, it must be noted that by 1953 collectivization into state-owned farms and producer cooperatives had already encompassed one-fifth of the total area in use, accompanied by significant increases in agricultural yields and numbers of livestock.

ALTON implies that a capitalist, free-market type of system might have had similar or better results, but the failure of capitalism to successfully develop any of the present backward countries restricts him to a rather limited area of criticism. One can agree with his contention that political democracy is not a strong forte of the Communists, and one can also add that the restriction of the trade union movement to little more than a rubber-stamp organization does not help to gain the confidence and cooperation of the working class in the difficult transitional tasks. But these points, though important, are not relevant to Alton's main line of attack, which is as the proponent of a different economic order rather than of political difference with Communist Party monolithism.

On the economic field, upon which he concentrates, he finds a number of errors due to disproportions in planning emphasis, the failure of certain spheres of production to reach planned goals, a not always realistic distribution of employment, and a general lag in agriculture due to underinvestment. Though these criticisms are perhaps valid, they pick only at the perimeter of a considerable accomplishment.

This book is a product of the Russian Institute established by Columbia University in 1946 to give the American elite a better understanding of Soviet developments. As the author is working for a limited audience, and as the work under discussion is further beholden to the Rockefeller Foundation for special financial assistance, it must be presumed that what the patrons of the project are interested in are the facts, and not the kind of propaganda that is dished out in the daily press.

But the essential meaning of the whole process both for the country and its relationship to the world is either misstated or missed entirely. It is a case where the staggering amount of factual materials obscures the overall picture, where the author cannot see the forest for the trees. This is said not because Mr. Alton is obviously not in sympathy with an anti-capitalist planned economy, but because he does not evaluate objectively and correctly the facts in his own charts.

FROM Mr. Alton's background discussion of pre-war Poland, one would never guess that we are dealing with a country ridden with fascist and police dictatorships, and oppressed with a stagnant economy that oozed from all its pores the congenital diseases of the Balkanized East European states: feudal landed estates, a surplus of population in agriculture, low industrial activity, and a grinding poverty for the mass of the people, urban and rural. Alton's conclusion that "by the eve of World War II, Poland had gone far toward achieving economic unity, assuring monetary stability, and providing for economic growth" is preposterous. His solemn discussion of the pre-war paper "plans" betrays academic obtuseness. His vague suggestion that but for the outbreak of war Poland might have flowered under an "emerging experiment of partnership of state and private enterprise" is just special pleading that flies in the face of the facts.

The deficiencies of the current industrialization program under Poland's post-war Communist government have been described *ad nauseam* by the capitalist publicists and are graphically brought out in the detailed factual material presented in this book. By concentrating the overwhelming effort toward building up its basic industries, progress is slow in agriculture, and the living standards of the people are improving extremely haltingly. The author points out that in 1953 real wages in non-agricultural employment rose imperceptibly as compared to 1949, and the plan's target of a 60 percent increase in the living scale by 1955 was hardly being met. Similarly, agricultural production is growing slowly, and the second five-year-plan targets had to be revised downward in a number of categories. But these facts—and facts they are—have to be fitted into the overall picture which shows that Poland has done a remarkable job of rebuilding its devastated cities and making good its war losses, and is powering an industrial revolution which will signify its emergence as an important economic power in a matter of less than a decade.

JAN H. Wszelaki, a diplomat of the pre-war Polish government and an opponent of the present regime, described the development with far greater understanding when he stated: "From the European point of view, the industrial revolution of Eastern Europe is an outstanding historical event, comparable in its implications to the great wars of the present century." In 1955, the end of the second plan, its national income was almost three times as great as pre-war. Khrushchev reported at the Twentieth Congress that Poland's industrial output increased four-fold since the war. By the end of the current plan in 1960, industrial output is planned to be ten times as great as in 1938, and if the target is attained, Polish per capita industrial output will surpass the present per capita production of France. In any manner of reckoning, the achievement is a sensational one.

True, the Polish masses are paying a big price for this phenomenal economic progress in economic hardships and lack of democratic rights. But for the first time since Poland's re-creation as an independent country, they are making progress toward an assurance of a brighter future instead of stagnating or going backwards. Mr. Alton's vague insinuation that Poland could do better under a "mixed economy" of capitalist and state enterprises shatters on this rock: What prevented the Polish landowners and merchants under Pilsudski and Beck from putting through Alton's beneficial projects between 1921 and 1938? Mr. Alton applies the test of deeds to the Communists. He is under obligation to apply the same test to the capitalists and landowners. M.B.

This Ought to Clear Things Up

THE NEW AMERICAN RIGHT, edited by Daniel Bell. Criterion Books, New York, 1955, \$4.

THE ultra-sophisticated university set go to work in a series of essays to interpret for us the meaning of recent events and probe, while they are at it, into the inner essence of American politics. As Daniel Bell, the book's editor, explains: "This book is concerned not with transiencies, but with the deeper-running social currents of a turbulent mid-century America." His claims are not only far-reaching, but he is guilty of no false modesty in arguing the excellence of his own and his co-workers' wares: "Conventional political analysis drawn largely from the eighteenth and nineteenth century American experience cannot fathom these new social anxieties nor explain their political consequences." Our attention is also called to the "exhaustion of liberal and left-wing political ideology." The present book fortunately comes to our rescue with "a new framework" and "represents a new and original contribution."

This Madison Avenue buildup is only a come-on for a rehash of the by now familiar line of patter of *Fortune* magazine babbitry; to wit: 1) the permanence of the

two-party system; 2) "the multiplication of interests and the fractioning of groups make it difficult to locate the sources of power in the United States"; 3) status resentments are the real force of American politics.

This "last word" in American sociology represents a bad retrogression from the older Beard-Parrington liberalism. It has confused basic concepts and bowdlerized terminology to the point where it has turned college social science into a study in obfuscation rather than clarification. Some of the ideas of modern psychology, the recent sampling poll techniques, and superior statistical data have provided modern scholars with extra-fine tools which were lacking in the past. But by counterposing the new techniques to a social science which is grounded in materialist thought and objective analysis of social phenomena, our present-day professors have reduced the value of these tools to knickknacks and gadgets. Some of the writing of the new school contains many brilliant insights, but taken as a whole it is far closer to *feuilleton* writing a la Max Lerner than to social science.

The first essay and the best in the book is on "The Pseudo-Conservatives" by Richard Hofstadter. Hofstadter always writes well and he describes the mentality of those who make up the following of a McCarthy with great penetration. He expertly delineates its psychological drives and correctly distinguishes the movement from European fascism. But by resting his whole analysis on the status-drives of the old-family Anglo-Saxon Protestants and certain late-immigrant groups, particularly the Catholic Irish and German, his presentation has the effect of trying to jam a complex reality into a lop-sided mold that is topheavy on the psychological side and perilously thin in its groundwork.

BUT Hofstadter is a scrupulous and careful scholar compared to the next duo, David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, who authored the bible of our intellectual elite, "The Lonely Crowd," and who are represented here with a study on "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes." When you start on this, hold on to your hat! The gale blows fierce and unrelenting! Imagine a total absence of discipline or unified concept, a virtuosity in verbal juggling, a breath-taking trapeze artistry in shifting viewpoints from page to page and paragraph to paragraph, and you get some vague idea of the no-man's-land that you enter when you try to follow the vaporings and meanderings of our current intellectual lights of the academic and business worlds.

Underlying this irresponsible melange is the smug assumption that this country has solved its economic problems, that the business cycle is under firm Keynesian control, and all that we have left to worry about now are psychological frustrations, status drives and individual problems. ("When voters feel insecure in the midst of prosperity, it is not an economic appeal that will really arouse them. . . . What worries them is often that they do not know what

worries them, or why, having reached the promised land, they still suffer.")

Our two experts also direct their attention to the problem of minorities and civil rights. Their explanation of the basic causes should not be missed out on. Here it is: "In their valuable book, 'The Dynamics of Prejudice,' Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz make the point that in America Jews and Negroes divide between them the hostilities which spring from internal conflict: The super-ego is involved in anti-Semitism, since the Jew is felt to represent the valued but unachieved goals of ambition, money and group loyalty ('clannishness'), whereas fear and hatred of the Negro spring from id tendencies which the individual cannot manage, his repressed desires for promiscuity, destruction of property, and general looseness of living. (In Europe, the Jews must do double duty, as the outlet for both id and super-ego dynamisms.) Today, on the one hand, the increasing sexual emancipation of Americans has made the Negro a less fearsome image in terms of sexuality (though he remains a realistic threat to neighborhood real estate and communal values) and, on the other hand, prosperity has meant that the Jew is no longer a salient emblem of enviable financial success. Thus, while the KKK declines the former 'racial' bigot finds a new threat: the older educated classes of the East, with their culture and refinement, with 'softness' and other amenities he does not yet feel able to afford.

"Furthermore, the sexual emancipation which has made the Negro less of a feared and admired symbol of potency has presented men with a much more difficult problem: the fear of homosexuality. Indeed, homosexuality becomes a much more feared enemy than the Negro" etc., etc.

WE also learn further along that the liberal intellectuals whose old battle cries have all been dissipated with the prosperity cannot even make a show in civil rights or civil liberties, either. "For Wall Street was closer to the liberal intellectuals on the two domestic issues that were still alive—civil rights and civil liberties—and on the whole range of issues related to foreign policy than were the former allies of the liberal intellectuals, the farmers and the lower classes of the city, both in their old form as factory workers and in their new form as white collar workers."

After thirty pages filled with fugitive observations of every-which-way variety our authors finally throw up their hands in despair: "What kind of life, indeed, is appropriate to a society whose lower classes are being devoured faster by prosperity than Puerto Rican immigration can replenish? We have almost no idea about the forms the answers might take, if there are answers." Let us take leave of the book on this note, which if not too enlightening, is at any rate, an honest confession of bewilderment and intellectual bankruptcy.

The volume also contains essays by Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons and Seymour Martin Lipset.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Life Added to Union

Have just received your fine socialist paper. . . . Please enter my subscription.

Have been a construction worker for 15 years. Your article "What's the Matter with the Unions?" [March 1956] was well stated—a few socialists in each local and you find membership meetings full of meaning and life. Our local has 150-200 present for meetings and our members live in an area 140 miles long by 60 wide. Some members come 110 miles to attend a meeting.

One thing to keep in mind: The human race is making the effort of growth and development; most of us do what we think to be the best. I say only a fool tries to make money "more than he can use." But those who want more have not shown much growth. Yes, some day man will produce things, goods, for use. Working for socialism is a step in building the mature man.

C. H. M. *New York State*

It seems to me that in your very good article "Is the Boom Losing its Balance?" [March 1956] you overlook one important point. This is the relative decline in the cost of capital goods.

I think most people will agree that a dollar will buy less in the way of necessities of life but will buy more of an increase in the powers of production today than it would in the 1920's.

To give a minor example: Some four years ago an aluminum cup producer in the Midwest spent about \$60,000 for a new machine which enabled him to reduce his labor force from 55 full-time employees to only 1 half-time employee while getting the same production.

Now it seems to me that this \$60,000 worth of new machinery increased our productive power many times more than would \$60,000 worth of the old-type machines which were bought back in the twenties. If this is so it is clear that our economy is more out of balance—in any comparison of consumer purchasing power and productive capacity—than your article suggests.

Apart from this detail, your article is one of the best popular expositions of Marxian economics that I have seen.

G. W. *Vermont*

Defense of W.E.B. Du Bois

It is with some regret that I read in a recent issue [April 1956] R.L.R.'s objection to what he considers a false statement on the part of Dr. Du Bois in his article in your magazine on "Negro Voters Face 1956" [February 1956]. It is not his objection that I take issue with, rather his impolite and rude manner in dealing with Dr. Du Bois. Responsible Negro people certainly consider him an authority and scholar on Negro problems.

To raise some objection on statistics seems to me a lot of unnecessary hair-splitting. The general theme of the article seemed quite clear to me: that the Negro voted, regardless of the split in the vote, for war, monopoly, and wealthy ruling classes instead of for peace and the socialist reconstruction of society.

One of the first lessons taught me long ago, a lesson borne out by historical fact, is that both parties, Republican and Democrat, serve the interests of the rich. While we may back Republicans or Democrats on certain issues—civil rights, progressive labor legislation, etc.—a vote Republican or Democratic on Presidential election day is a vote for the *status quo*.

R. L. R.'s personal baiting of Dr. Du Bois—"this ex-leader of the Negro people"—is not in line with generally accepted objective attitudes associated with writing and reporting technique. Such baiting, it seems to me, is entirely out of order in view of Dr. Du Bois' general participation, cooperation, and contributions to the socialist movement.

J. E. U. *Chicago*

Those Sacrificed Under Stalin

About your lead article in the April issue called "The Russians Revolt Against Stalin" . . . Why does your author rave about those sacrificed, maybe unjustly, under Stalin? Doesn't he know that men by the millions "die for us" on crosses of one kind or another under capitalism? Is American youth not taught to kill his fellow men and be killed for the profit system? To say nothing of the American oligarchy allowing millions of tons of consumable food to be stored, even wasted in this country while as De Castro of the UN states one-third of the world is in permanent state of actual starvation. But in the USSR under Stalin was this the case?

Why not throw away the mud-slinging and ask: "Could I have done so well, yes, even as Stalin, who had most of the world against him and a lot of less capable people within and without his own country hungry for prestige, power and privilege?"

R. G. *Boston*

The April issue of *American Socialist* which I've just finished reading from cover to cover is one of the best yet. The editorial on Stalin was the most comprehensive job I've seen. "Which Way to a New American Radicalism?" was very enlightening to me. As a matter of fact every article was well worth reading. I wish your illustrations were signed. The one on Hugh Weston's article was hilarious.

I promise to step up my efforts in selling subscriptions and renewals.

A. R. K. *Baltimore*

[The drawings used to illustrate the *American Socialist*, about which we have

had many inquiries and generous praise, are contributed by "Thal," a talented young artist engaged in free-lance art work.—THE EDITORS]

Union Prospects Poor

Never having been a member of a labor union, I am bored by your continual discussions of ways of getting the unions to favor socialism. While a majority of the unionists are Roman Catholics, the prospects are poor. If I were primarily interested in collective bargaining, I would steer clear of socialism. Better bargains can be made with capitalists by those who favor capitalism.

My own interest is in showing that Jesus was opposed to riches, and that it is the duty of all Christians to follow his lead and make a real attack on the power of Mammon. In the past, Christian teaching has been the main incentive to rebellion against aristocracy. Why not now and here?

A. C. *Pennsylvania*

Surprised at Thomas

That was a fine speech of Dr. Du Bois printed in your January issue ["If Eugene Debs Returned," speech at New York Debs Centennial, Nov. 28, 1955]. I too have been surprised that Norman Thomas could have been a socialist candidate so many times and yet turn against Russian socialism. I must confess I thought there was something wrong with the Socialist Party to choose him as their head. Mr. Du Bois makes me feel that they are not all like that.

We are in serious times today. . . . Our government has gone military mad. It does seem that monopoly is willing to fight to the last man and the last dollar to perpetuate its racket. How foolish, when abundant living for all is just around the corner.

Mrs. A. B. *Wellesley, Mass.*

As to the letter of S. D. in your December 1955 issue: I won't go into all the gory details here, but sentimentalism neither made nor broke the old *Appeal to Reason*. As a simple matter of fact the *Appeal* was always more populist than socialist and so was the entire movement throughout the plains states from Texas to the Dakotas. Debs was the cement that held the party together and when he went the party simply fell apart.

E. M. G. *Arkansas*

Your paper does present a rather interesting viewpoint. My differences are with your one-sided presentation of things. Your preoccupation in many cases is not with a search for a valid analysis for economic situations, but a search for means to demonstrate your point. Your practice of slanting statistics and facts to favor the socialist viewpoint is as bad as the same practice on the part of the capitalist press.

C. G. *Baltimore*

Good luck to the *American Socialist!* May it grow like the *Appeal to Reason*.

N. S. H. *Miami*

Keep the Wheel Turning — — Faster

IN the two and one-half years of our existence, we have established a sort of cycle—beneficent, not vicious—with our readers. Certain subscribers and newsstand purchasers read a few issues of the *AMERICAN SOCIALIST* and become quite enthused about the possibilities for a publication of this sort in the United States. They then—either in response to our appeals in this space or on their own—send in a list of their friends who might also like us. We mail sample copies of this magazine to these lists, together with subscription cards, and we get a percentage return of new subscribers which is quite good. These new subscribers read the *AMERICAN SOCIALIST* for a while, and then some among them do the same—send us a list which we circularize. This has proven one of the most important means whereby we have maintained and increased our circulation.

Like all beneficent cycles, this one would be even better if it were speeded up. And since we live under an incentive system, we propose to fall into step with the general Madison Avenue air of the times (on this one matter only) and make the following premium offer: Every reader who sends us the names and addresses of fifty (50) prospects for circularization with sample copies will receive in return a one-year subscription to this magazine. If you are already on our subscription files, your sub will automatically be extended for a year when it expires.

SIT right down and do it now. If it takes you a while to pile up such a list, start it today and send in what you can. We'll keep this offer going for a while so that you'll have time to assemble fifty names and get your year's free sub.

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