

Doug Tenness

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Alienation

Has Marxism Been Dehumanized?

The Class War And American Labor

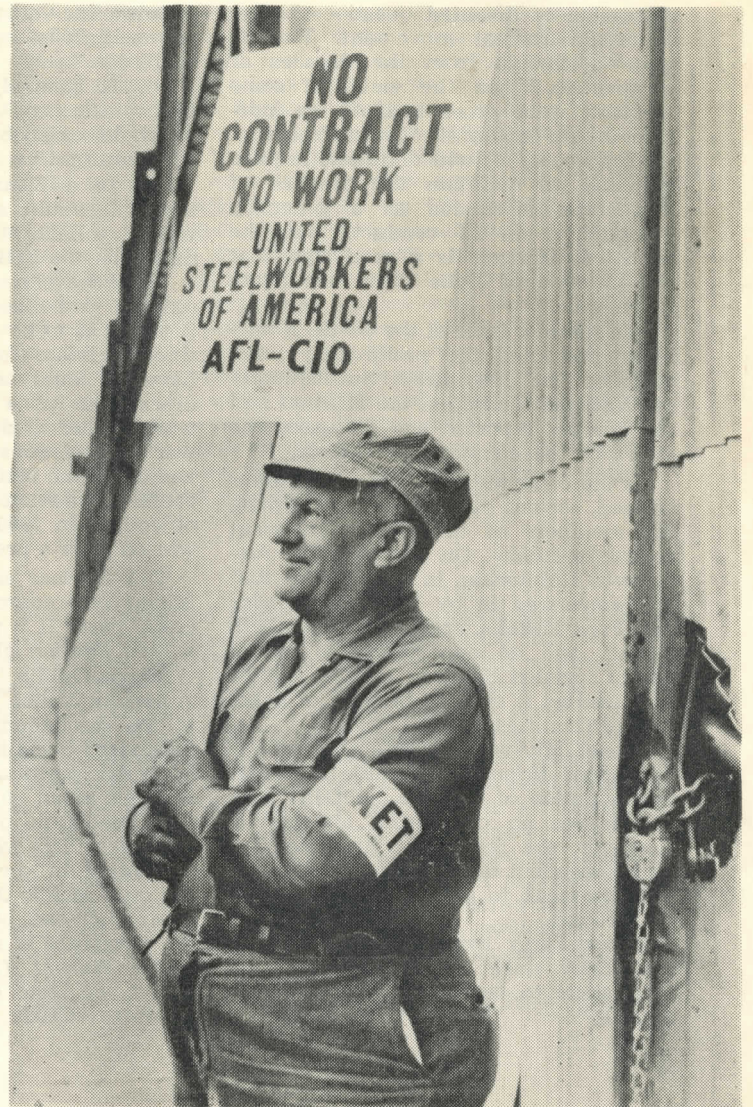
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What Policy for 1960?

We go to press on the eve of a New York conference initiated by the United Independent-Socialist Committee to consider policy in the 1960 elections. The conference promises to be of lively interest to the radical movement nationally, although, unlike the conference of June 1958, it is not seeking to reach agreement on a united course. The sponsors realize that the limited unity attained in 1958 is not feasible at this time and accordingly are only attempting to clarify differences.

It is noteworthy that the committee agreed unanimously on an open conference. The radical parties have been invited to send representatives and every tendency wishing to take the floor has been assured a welcome. While it is doubtful that the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation or the Socialist Labor party will accept the invitation, it appears that both the Communist party and the Socialist Workers party will be represented.

The conference is another welcome indication of the revival of the democratic tradition of honest debate and full discussion of disputed questions in the American radical movement. This is quite a change from the decades of atomization when the views of some socialists were proscribed. As we indicate in our editorial, "Three Years of Regroupment," it will doubtless require vigilance to maintain the practice of democratic discussion as a generally accepted mode of conduct. But the UI-SC Conference is a good sign that the practice of Debs' time has again taken root.

The summer issue of the UI-SC *Newsletter* presented the preliminary positions on the 1960 issue. Subsequently the *National Guardian*, the *Militant* and the *Worker* reported and discussed the views of the committee members.

As the contributions to the *Newsletter* showed, serious differences exist among the members of the UI-SC on what course to follow. On one side Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, in a statement that was concurred in by William A. Price and Fred Mazelis, argues that it is both a duty and an opportunity to run a united socialist ticket in 1960 no matter how limited it may be because of practical difficulties.

Muriel McAvoy believes that an independent ticket is desirable and that the evolution of the two capitalist parties leaves no other real alternative. However, she fears that supporters of an independent ticket will prove too few and too weak to get the movement off the ground.

Elinor Ferry likewise favors an independent ticket and expresses unwillingness to depend on the "H-Bomb liberals."

Tom Kerry and Murry Weiss, who are members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party as well as the UI-SC, favor an independent socialist campaign and oppose "all forms of coalition politics involving collaboration with or support of candidates of the two capitalist parties."

A different view is taken by John T. McManus, candidate for governor of New York in 1958 on the Independent-Socialist ticket. Although he favors efforts to place independent candidates on the ballot, he thinks that the "advantages" of such candidacies "must inevitably be weighed against the necessities, under some circumstances, of independent-radical collaboration with labor and liberal forces on certain immediate objectives which may arise in 1960."

He sees the following possible instances of such "necessities";

(a) If Nixon were the Republican nominee: "I would propose foregoing an independent presidential campaign for the purpose of joining with the broad forces of all description throughout the country, including the labor movement, who will insist on Nixon's political annihilation."

(b) If Kennedy or Johnson are the Democratic candidates opposing Nixon: No choice exists but to seek a third electoral alternative.

(c) In a Kennedy-Rockefeller contest: "I would advocate independent-radical collaboration to place an alternative on the ballot wherever possible."

(d) If Stevenson were Democratic candidate: "I believe Stevenson has matured so as to be a potentially constructive candidate for 1960. Indeed I believe he could not get the nomination other than as a candidate advocating world understanding, an end to nuclear war preparations; and racial, political and economic security at home. Radicals could best advance their own immediate objectives in 1960 in helping Stevenson win on such a program."

This is clear enough notice that McManus is prepared to back the Democratic party if it nominates a liberal on a New Dealish platform.

Morris Goldin, a former leader of the American Labor party and an initiator of the discussions that led to the Independent-Socialist ticket in 1958, holds a similar position although he is more cautious about supporting candidates of the Democratic party. Goldin also said that "socialists whose pet project is intervention in the Democratic party as the only means through which political expression can be made, will not win the allegiance of many socialists . . ."

The *Worker* (Sept. 20) printed an article on the discussion under the heading, "Crisis in the UI-SC." The

author, William Albertson, Executive Secretary, New York State Communist Party, depicts the differences in the UI-SC as "a struggle on policy between, on the one hand, the Trotskyites, and, on the other hand, a number of other UI-SC leaders such as John T. McManus of the *National Guardian*, and Morris Goldin, former ALP leader, who are endeavoring to develop a policy which will result in establishing some contact with the mass movement."

Albertson views the discussion as a "struggle to defeat the Trotskyite sectarian policies . . . a welcome development." Unfortunately for those who confine their reading to the *Worker*, Albertson's report suffers from lack of accuracy. He fails to show the real division in the committee which is far from confined to "Trotskyites" versus "non-Trotskyites." Certainly the position of Dr. Rubinstein, Muriel McAvoy, William A. Price, Elinor Ferry and Fred Mazelis is not the same as that of the Socialist Workers party. None of them share the SWP view that it is impermissible in principle for a socialist to support a capitalist party candidate.

Dr. Rubinstein and the others strongly favor a united independent socialist ticket in 1960. They do so, however, simply on the practical basis that they see no other way of advancing the program of independent political action except by running socialist candidates against the two capitalist parties. This was the position they took in 1958 together with McManus and Goldin. As a matter of fact McManus and Goldin may well reach this conclusion again in the 1960 elections.

Dr. Rubinstein, it appears to us, is correct in seeking independent political action in 1960. Our difference is that we would not limit this course to a specific date. We think it should be held as a rule — and no exceptions. Making it a principle in this way, as Marxist theory and experience teach, helps exclude the ruinous alternative of postponing independent political action to the distant future while backing this or that promising capitalist demagogue right now.

Albertson ignores the position of independents like Dr. Rubinstein. As noted, according to him, the "Trotskyites" favor an independent-socialist ticket and the "non-Trotskyites" oppose it. The fact that an important group of independents also favor a socialist ticket in 1960 from a standpoint of their own disturbs this picture (and Albertson's need for a "Trotskyite" bogey) and is therefore not mentioned.

In the inimitable style favored by the *Worker* in handling the "great conspiracy" theme, Albertson cites the SWP's position on regroupment, "proving" that the Trotskyists, in seeking to help unite socialists in a common party, favored united socialist electoral campaigns. Ordinary radicals may wonder

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Editorial

Three Years of Regroupment

TWO different types of reaction could be observed among socialist-minded individuals when the American Communist party and its supporters were shaken up by Khrushchev's exposures of Stalin's crimes followed by the Polish-Hungarian events in 1956.

Many members and followers of the Communist party were so shocked by the deceit and treachery of the Moscow rulers and so disheartened by the incapacity of the Communist party to mend its ways that they abandoned politics, and especially socialist politics, altogether. They joined the lost legions of the "burned-out generation" which had been radicalized during the 1930's, but had since lost faith in the prospects for socialism in the United States.

There were others with more fortitude who, after detaching themselves from Stalinism, looked for a new political road. They saw in the passing of the CP's domination over the radical movement and the breakup of long-standing prejudices the preconditions for a more honest and effective organization of revolutionary socialist forces in America. Although they may have been uncertain about the character of the realignment, they were willing to consider and discuss how the different socialist elements could be reconstituted.

Today this ferment in radical circles has largely subsided. The crisis generated within the Communist party has about run its course; the CP has been reduced to a diminishing crew of blind apologists for the Khrushchev bureaucracy.

It is time to draw up a balance sheet of the regroupment process. What have been the net results, positive and negative, of all the developments which have agitated radical opinion over the past three years? Where do we stand now?

* * *

The first effect of the crumbling of the barriers that had walled off one group from another was to open up a process of mutual acquaintance and exchange of ideas in an objective manner. Symposiums, debates and forums were arranged in the larger centers from the East coast to the West. This unprecedented fraternization was capped by the launching of the non-partisan American Forum—for Socialist Education.

Many ex-CP'ers and independents hoped that some wholly new party would crystallize from all this. They were not sure what this might be — except that it ought to be different from the existing organizations. They held that not only the CP but all the old radical parties were bankrupt; their ideas and activities had failed to attract large bodies of adherents; their organizational set-ups were unsuited to the special conditions of American life.

One genuinely different political formation did come into being. It was not, however, a new party. It was an electoral bloc which drew into common action socialist tendencies and individual independents on a minimum socialist program

against the big business parties. This coalition of ex-CP'ers, former Progressive party and American Labor party supporters grouped around the *National Guardian*, the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, elements from other organizations and unaffiliated radicals reached its maximum strength and influence in the 1958 state elections in New York.

This welcome new departure proved that sufficient forces could be brought together to run a statewide ticket on an unambiguous socialist platform. It offered an alternative to all those opponents of capitalist politics who could not stomach the course of the labor officials, the Communist party and the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation in holding tightly to the tail of the Democratic donkey.

These electoral activities also showed that socialists of varying origins and views could work not only with one another but with the Socialist Workers party, those "terrible Trotskyists" whom many had been taught to regard as taboo or as hopelessly "sectarian" and "disruptive." Whoever wanted to engage in serious socialist campaigning in 1958 had no other choice, since both the CP and the SP-SDF refused to participate. Not a few found their unexpected collaboration with the SWP instructive and gratifying.

Unfortunately this coalition was limited to New York and a couple of other states and has not been duplicated anywhere in the 1959 elections. Moreover, some of the elements that participated in the 1958 bloc have reversed their previous movement toward class-struggle politics and appear to be heading back to the burial ground of American radicalism—the liberal wing of the Democratic party. It remains up to those who agree on the need for class-struggle opposition to the capitalist parties to muster maximum support for a 1960 socialist presidential ticket.

* * *

Many unattached radicals who have been looking for a new political home are doubtless disappointed that no completely new party has been born out of the regroupment process. They tend to underestimate, we believe, the weight of some fundamental and, during the past period, insurmountable factors holding back the political progress of the labor movement and its socialist sector in this country.

However much radical circles were in ferment over the past three years, their activity took place in an extremely narrow, and steadily contracting, living space. The prolonged prosperity and political reaction throttled criticism and deterred the mass of Americans from moving to the left. The precipitous fall of the CP occurred amidst this continued immobilization. Consequently, radicalism as a whole kept on declining until today it has touched its lowest ebb in thirty years.

Under these conditions it is obligatory to stick firmly to

the Marxist program and perspectives and conduct activities on a modest and realistic basis without becoming disoriented by illusory expectations or big and quick results.

The thousands who preceded or followed *Daily Worker* editor John Gates out of the CP had neither the understanding nor the determination to launch any organization. Most of them lapsed into inactivity, nursing their wounds and cultivating their neglected personal lives, or submerged themselves still deeper into the "community." Gates' slogan: "Rejoin the American people," meant conformity to the standards and illusions of middle-class life, symbolized by work in the Democratic party, Parent-Teachers Associations, pacifist-religious groups and the YWCA. Of the hosts who quit the CP only the ultra-Stalinist *Vanguard* group could put out a paper and maintain, for a time, the nucleus of an organization.

The construction of a new socialist party would have required a worked-out program; united and devoted cadres; a clear conception of the kind of party that the American workers need and of the objectives it would serve. The ex-Stalinist leaders had none of these. Instead of a program, they had doubts about Marxism, Leninism, the role of the working class, and still more about the prospects of socialist revolution in the United States. At the same time they showed a marked disposition to discover the "virtues" of American capitalist democracy and to find hope for the future in the "progressive" wing of the imperialist-minded labor bureaucracy.

Instead of tested troops, these ex-CP functionaries could turn only to disillusioned and aging people who were looking for a rest-home rather than a Leninist-type combat

party. Finally, they had the vaguest and most varying notions of the kind of movement they wanted.

Whatever miracles they expected—or others expected of them—did not materialize. And neither has any new party formation.

* * *

The Socialist Workers party had the distinct merit of knowing what it hoped to achieve in the regroupment. Its position was presented for public consideration at the outset of the shake-up in a statement of the SWP National Committee published in a pamphlet, "Regroupment: A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity."

The statement contained three main points. (1) It emphasized the SWP's willingness to engage in full and frank discussion on any questions of concern to the socialist movement with anyone interested in reorganizing the revolutionary socialist forces. (2) It set forth a twelve-point program as its contribution to this discussion. (3) It proposed that where agreement on specific issues could be reached, common actions should be taken as indispensable preparation for any more advanced organizational conclusions to the regroupment process.

The SWP viewed the regroupment developments as a hopeful new stage in the difficult task of constructing a party in the United States capable of guiding the struggle for socialism to success. In this arena three conflicting tendencies—Stalinism, Trotskyism and Social Democracy—were contending for influence and supremacy. The novel feature in the situation was the discredit and enfeeblement of Stalinism. This had opened the eyes and minds of many radicals and young people. It permitted for the first time in thirty years the open confrontation and free circulation of other ideas and arguments, notably the ideas of Trotskyism championed by the SWP.

The SWP, we believe, worked persistently and cooperated loyally along these lines. While the results may not have been so spectacular as some anticipated, they were substantial.

The exchange of views in an atmosphere of uncensored discussion, previously prohibited by the Stalinists, reestablished democratic practices within the radical movement. The united election campaigns and joint defense work in the civil-liberties field helped strengthen independent socialist political action and revive the traditions of solidarity against capitalist reaction.

A significant number of former members and sympathizers of the CP joined the SWP. The SWP itself has become more of an initiating center within socialist circles. It is of considerable symptomatic importance, for example, that the regroupment policy of the SWP played an important role in encouraging the formation of a national revolutionary socialist youth cadre for the first time in a generation.

Thus in the overall change in the relationship of forces within the radical movement over the past three years, the SWP emerges as the only political tendency that has gained new ground and strengthened its relative position. This fact, in our opinion, strengthens the prospect that the SWP will be in a strong position to gain broad support for a Marxist program in the next upsurge of American labor militancy.

* * *

All eyes are now being focused on the 1960 presidential elections. What are the prospects at this point for socialist political action?

If enough forces can be brought together to make a united socialist ticket feasible and agreement on program achieved, the SWP would favor it, according to its recent convention decision. But realistically appraised, this is a highly uncertain possibility.

The SWP has announced therefore that it is going ahead with all the preparations necessary for a 1960 campaign so that in any event the message of socialism can be brought to the American people. It has already started petition work in Michigan.

Meanwhile unattached radicals have five choices avail-

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able. One is the unalluring prospect of returning to a CP which is committed to Khrushchev as blindly as it was to Stalin. Another is to follow the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League into the decrepit SP-SDF which creeps toward the Democratic party and offers "socialist" amendments and advice to the State Department's diplomacy.

A third alternative is to give up independent socialist politics altogether and become a liberal-labor Democrat without disguises or reservations. A fourth is to sit the period out, as the *American Socialist* and similar rationalizers for inertia and disorganization recommend.

Fortunately, radicals have a more effective and satisfying alternative. That is to work with or join the Socialist Workers party. The SWP has shown in action over the past three

years its willingness to collaborate in any progressive cause. It has done this without hiding or yielding its own ideas. Many people who had been misled by the lies of the Stalinist slander machine now at least know and respect these positions, even if they do not yet agree with them.

Immediately, the SWP offers the best way to popularize socialist issues in the 1960 campaign, to propagandize for a labor party, and to promote independent socialist politics against Social-Democratic kowtowing to Washington's foreign policy on the one hand and against Stalinist double-dealing on the other. For those militants who are not content to remain outside the organized movement for socialist objectives, it offers a principled vehicle for participating in the working class struggle for a socialist America.

Report on Indonesia

On July 5, 1959, President Soekarno of Indonesia proclaimed a return to the 1945 constitution which makes him absolute ruler of Indonesia. At the same time he dissolved the democratically elected Constituent Assembly and proclaimed the formation of an appointed Consultative Congress.

At the last general elections held in 1955 Soekarno's own party the PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia), a bourgeois nationalist party, polled 8 million votes — about 25 percent of the total. The other three major parties were the PKI (Communist) 6 million; the N.U. (Nahadatul Ulama), a Moslem peasant party, 7 million; and the extremely reactionary Masjumi, a Moslem feudalist party, 7 million.

On February 21, 1957, Soekarno proclaimed his attachment to a system of "guided" democracy or government by a National Council composed of representatives of all parties plus persons appointed by the President. The Stalinist PKI leadership fell over itself with eagerness to accept the proposition. The opposition of the feudal reactionaries who did not want to be dominated by the bourgeoisie prevented complete adoption of the scheme.

Finally, in July 1957, Soekarno established a "Cabinet of Experts" to run the government and appointed a National Council with limited powers. As might be expected Soekarno "dumped" the PKI and did not include any representative of the PKI in the Cabinet. This fact did not prevent the PKI from continuing to support Soekarno.

To divert the attention of the masses from their economic problems all Indonesian parties have waged a fervent nationalist campaign for the incorporation of Dutch occupied Irian or West New Guinea in Indonesia. In the course of the campaign in December 1957, in a series of largely spontaneous actions led principally by rank and file PKI members, the workers of Indonesia occupied and took control of all Dutch enterprises in Indonesia. The PKI leadership

quickly intervened to hand the factories and plantations over to the army as nationalized State property. At the same time they took steps to ensure that the movement did not spread to the expropriation of any other capitalist property.

In February 1958, a part of the Army, representing principally the feudal landlords, and with some United States backing, attempted to launch a coup d'etat against the government. Under pressure from the PKI leadership, who threatened to withdraw support from the government, Soekarno ordered the small 300,000 strong army to crush the revolt. Lacking mass support, the revolt was easily crushed.

Local elections in 1958 showed an increase in the PKI vote to a total of 8½ millions. Principally this was due to the deteriorating economic situation — unemployment is estimated at figures ranging from 10 to 25 percent of the population.

In September 1958, Indonesian Premier Djuanda launched a five-year plan — which at date of writing (August 1959), has been a complete failure. The PKI leadership gave their support to the plan. D. N. Aidit, the general secretary of the PKI "would try still harder to enable the peasants to retain a minimum sixty percent and the landlords a maximum forty percent of the crops."

Despite its meek policy the election successes of the PKI caused concern amongst large sections of the bourgeoisie. Speaking for these sections General Nasution, the army chief of staff, and other prominent army officers began to call in 1959 for a return to the 1945 constitution, which provided for Presidential rule by decree. Instead of organizing the mass following of the PKI against this threat to its own existence, the PKI leadership stated that they would accept the 1945 constitution provided they could participate in the government.

Of course Soekarno and Nasution have not included the PKI in their Bonaparte-type government — the key positions now being

filled by representatives of the army. The net result of the return to the 1945 constitution is that the workers and peasants of Indonesia have suffered an overwhelming defeat and the bourgeoisie in spite of their weakness, have gained absolute power.

It might be noted that Ibnu Parma, the leader of the small Trotskyist Partai Acoma, which was urging the PKI to struggle for power, was arrested in February 1959, despite his parliamentary immunity, for publishing a pamphlet denouncing the dictatorship of General Nasution.

In 1949 the Chinese Stalinists were forced to take power, against the express orders of Stalin, because the alternative to this action was their actual physical extermination. Many revolutionaries then thought that the 1926-27 betrayals in China, the 1932 betrayal in Germany and similar sell-outs in Spain in 1936 and in France and Italy in 1945-46 would never again be repeated. The recent experience of Indonesia shows how wrong such ideas are. The need of the day, in Indonesia as elsewhere, is to build a Marxist party which will give leadership to the workers in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist governments.

Difficult days lie ahead for the workers and peasants of Indonesia. Fortunately Soekarno is not Hitler (although not for want of trying) and Indonesia is not Germany. Mass struggles will arise against the Bonapartist dictatorship and it is apparent that the American, British, Dutch and Australian imperialists will once more attempt to take advantage of any crisis.

Indonesian workers and peasants remember with gratitude the magnificent stand of working class internationalism taken by Australian workers when they banned Dutch ships in 1945-46. Thanks to the latest treachery of the Indonesian Stalinists this help may again be a vital necessity in the near future. —Reprinted from the August 1959 issue of *The Socialist*, a monthly paper of Australian Marxists, under byline of "Indonesian Student."

Class Struggle and American Labor

The anti-union offensive puts labor's officialdom on the griddle. What happened to the theory that no conflict of interests divides bosses and workers?

by Tom Kerry

THE leaders of American labor are in a blue funk. Something has gone awry. The time is out of joint. For years now they have preached and practiced the virtues of labor-management cooperation; they extolled the partnership of labor and capital which, they affirmed, was the capstone of the American way-of-life.

A few years ago, David J. McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers, literally transported by the vision of capital and labor marching arm-in-arm ever onward and upward scaling new heights of prosperity and well-being, entered into a pact of "mutual trusteeship" with Benjamin Fairless, former head of United States Steel Corporation.

It was arm-around-the-shoulder "Dave" and "Ben" in those days. To the steel workers, the mutual trusteeship pact became known as the "hearts and flowers" clause. "Dave" and "Ben" toured the steel plants breaking bread with humble stewards, committeemen, plant foremen, superintendents and local union officials, spreading the message of sweetness and light. What nostalgia those halcyon days must evoke in McDonald today with its nightmare reality of class war!

That class war is the reality today is admitted by the most ardent exponents of labor-management cooperation. But it is a most peculiar kind of war. The employers and their government have launched a savage assault on the unions. Monopoly capital has mobilized all the class forces at its command to beat the labor movement into submission. Yet the union leaders cling tenaciously to the doctrine of class collaboration.

According to the view expounded by the "labor statesmen" the United States occupies a unique position in world society. While class divisions, class antagonisms and class struggle may be the reality in other lands and among other peoples, this country is presumed to be immune to such affliction.

How then explain the class war against labor? Is it some temporary aberration that has driven the capitalist class into committing so blatant an act of folly? It would seem so judging by the explanation given by Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and vice-president of the AFL-CIO, in a recent speech:

"The National Association of Manufacturers and big business," Reuther contends, "are waging a class struggle in America, precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged. They are working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right."

And, Reuther added, if the American labor movement permitted itself to be sucked into responding in kind, "then we are going to do really serious damage to America and the cause of freedom in the whole world." Under conditions of class war, right here in the U.S., labor confronts the ineluctable alternatives: either fight or retreat and capitulate. Which alternative does Reuther offer?

The "cause of human freedom in the whole world" is a noble and worthy goal. But what of the cause of human

freedom in these United States now being threatened with crucifixion by the war of capital against labor? Karl Marx and all the great revolutionary leaders who followed him taught the workers a simple truth: the main enemy is the capitalist class in your own country! There is much validity to what Reuther says — the American capitalist class is certainly "working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right."

Words can scarcely be found to describe the dismay of the labor bureaucrats at this turn of events. Grown fat and soft while basking in the sunshine of "labor-management cooperation," these summer soldiers have no stomach for a fight. Confronted by the reality of class war they flounder about in hopeless confusion. Appalled at the bankruptcy of a policy which has led the labor movement into a dead end, fearful of engaging the enemy in open struggle, they can only offer — more of the same.

Yet, exercising the prerogatives of "leadership," and enjoying the privileges and perquisites of office, they are obliged to explain to their bewildered followers where and why they went wrong. If Marx was wrong and Reuther and Meany right, how explain the fact of class war in a country presumably free of class distinctions and immune to class struggle? The "labor statesmen" are hard put to find a plausible explanation, but they do try.

THE August 29 *AFL-CIO News* devotes a long article to the problem, printed under a five column banner head reading: "Class War Being Forced on U.S. Workers."

"If," the article begins, "there is one word which characterizes the plight of the American worker during the 12-month span from Labor Day 1958 to Labor Day 1959, it is 'uncertainty.'"

"Labor-management tensions, which have always varied in their intensity, now seem to be reaching a critical point where the American worker is being pushed into a class war not of his making, not of his choice.

"Determined and powerful forces have singled out the working man and his trade union as a class. If they are successful, the hard-won security which the workingman hoped was in his grasp, the ability to provide his family with a few of the better things of life, may be at an end.

"The knowing American worker sees his security threatened on the economic front, the legislative front, the political front and at the bargaining table."

Who are these "determined and powerful forces" threatening the American worker on every front? The article explains: "One year ago these forces were noisy but their influence was limited. Today, almost as if puppets on string from an invisible hand, men of power and wealth have joined this band of extremists to demand that labor be weakened, its effectiveness undermined."

There you have it! The source of the trouble is a "band of extremists" who are manipulating "men of power and

wealth" like puppets on a string. The summer issue of the AFL-CIO *Industrial Union Department Digest* is more explicit. An article entitled: "The Anti-Labor War," affirms that, "Today's resurgent right-wing intellectuals have declared a kind of class war." It is these right-wing intellectuals who "have declared the class war and laid down its theoretical framework," and "our business leaders have not lagged in putting the theories to the test."

How can anyone make head or tail out of this nonsense? If it means anything at all it suggests that the real rulers of this country, the men of wealth and power, are being deceived into putting to the test the patently un-American class-war theories of a bunch of extremist crackpots instead of hewing to the genuine American class collaboration theories of our "labor statesmen."

Does Eisenhower take to the air to demand that Congress adopt the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin "killer" bill? Obviously he was being misled — as we are assured by no less an authority than Louis Hollander, a high ranking official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union.

The August 15 issue of the ACW newspaper, *The Advance*, publishes a speech by Hollander made to some "12,000 joint board delegates and local union officers on August 11 shortly after he returned from Washington where he conferred with AFL-CIO leaders on labor legislation."

"It is," opined Hollander, "a cause for sorrow that a national war hero of our country, twice elected President, should have been so deliberately misled by evil men as to accept at face value their false and misleading statements and then carry this message to the people, all the time believing and trusting sincerely in those double-dealers he has been persuaded to take into his confidence as advisors."

The question that literally leaps to the fore is: Who is misleading whom? Eisenhower, the National Association of Manufacturers, the men of wealth and power, the big business interests and their flunkies in government remain true to their class. When their class interests are served thereby, they have no compunction about embracing the so-called "theories" of the labor bureaucrats and utilizing their services to bamboozle the workers. If the union leaders had one-hundredth the class integrity, class solidarity, class loyalty, of the exploiting class, labor would not now be buffeted from pillar to post in demoralized confusion before the blows of capitalist reaction.

HISTORY subjects all social theories to the acid test of events. Judging by this test, what has been the result of the theory of class collaboration as applied in practice by the labor leaders? The above cited article from the *AFL-CIO News* reviews the events of the past year.

"Do you recall last Labor Day?" the writer nostalgically asks his readers. "The critical 1958 congressional elections were only two months away. In six states the so-called 'right-to-work' law was on the ballot.

"Organized labor carried its message to the people. The people responded. Not only did they elect a Congress overwhelmingly committed to the cause of trade unionism but they crushed the 'work' law in five out of six states."

The 1958 election result was touted as a resounding victory for labor; an irrefutable confirmation of the theory of class collaboration! The new Congress had the largest Democratic majority since 1938. The union leaders boasted that 221 incorruptible "friends of labor" had been elected to the House of Representatives alone. There was great rejoicing and no little self-congratulation in the ranks of the "labor statesmen." That was less than one short year ago.

"Unionists had every right," says the *AFL-CIO News* article, "to expect that this victory at the polls would be translated into a legislative victory. It was one of the greatest disillusionments of modern history." (Our emphasis)

And what is the lesson to be drawn from this experience? "If the critical period from Labor Day 1958 to Labor Day 1959 has taught trade unionists anything," the article concludes, "it is that their unions will remain strong and free as long as they fight for them." But fight how? With what

weapons? Against whom? Of this there is no hint. On the contrary, the labor leaders have made it abundantly clear that they have no intention of altering the course which has led, irrevocably, to "the greatest disillusionment of modern history."

Incorrigibly committed to the preservation of the "free enterprise" system, the union leaders refuse to believe that the responsible "men of wealth and power" with whom they had so blissfully cohabited have turned against them. The elaborate structure of labor-management cooperation, so painfully constructed over the years, was erected on the cornerstone of their most cherished conviction: the identity of interest between capital and labor.

This doctrine was primary and fundamental to their entire view of the world they lived in. True, there were recognized differences, friction often developed, occasional spats, and more than one sham battle. But these were considered in the nature of family quarrels, subordinate to the cementing principle which bound them together.

The outlook of the present union officialdom has been conditioned by some 20 years of mutually beneficial relations with the captains of American industry. These were years of unprecedented prosperity and expansion for American monopoly capitalism. Forgotten were the savage union repressions of the twenties and the fierce class battles of the early thirties which gave rise to the modern labor movement. The men of wealth and power had presumably meli-
lowed. The unions became an accepted institution of American life.

True, there always remained some recalcitrant employers who never became reconciled to the new state of affairs and the benighted Dixiecrat South. But these were looked upon as the lunatic fringe of the capitalist class. It is apparently this "band of extremists" to whom the labor leaders now refer as the ringleaders of the class war.

THE ninth annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association, held in Cleveland, Dec. 28-29, 1956, dealt with the changes that had occurred in the American labor movement over the past 20 years. George W. Brooks of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers union, submitted a paper to the meeting entitled: "Observations on the Changing Nature of American Unions." It begins:

"The most important factor affecting labor unions is the attitude of the employer. This is particularly true in the United States, where workingmen depend exclusively upon the union (among forms of labor organization) for the articulation and achievement of their aspirations. Here, to a far greater degree than elsewhere, the employer is the source of all good things.

"This sound working rule has acquired during the past 20 years a firm ideological base, a virtually complete acceptance of that set of beliefs which may be roughly described as 'capitalism.' This ideological structure is buttressed by a specific faith in the capacities of American management, shared alike by trade union members and trade union leaders.

"It must not be supposed," adds Brooks, "that the trade union leader has always led his members into these beliefs, although this has no doubt happened in some cases."

This change in the attitude of the employers, according to Brooks, was reciprocated by a corresponding change in the attitude of the union leaders.

"Some observers," he remarks, "have professed inability to understand why, in the light of the attitudes of unions a quarter of a century ago, the union representative was so ready to walk through the open door. The question reflects a misunderstanding of what was happening a quarter of a century ago, and not of what is happening now. Before the passage of the Wagner Act, unions were traditionally anti-employer. But the earlier ideologies were not theirs by choice. They were forced upon the unions by systematic employer antiunionism . . .

"When antiunionism was abandoned in the forties and

fifties by significant segments of American industry, a new world was created for the unions. For it now turned out that the imperative requirements of the union — the regular flow of new members and dues — could be underwritten by the employer with considerably more reliability than was possible under earlier arrangements. Unions were in many cases relieved, almost suddenly, of work that used to occupy 90 percent of their energies. Even the task of organizing was simplified. For in our expanding economy, most of the expansion is in the form of new plants by established firms.

"The outstanding changes for the union, in its own mind," remarks Brooks in summarizing this section of his paper, "is its success. This colors every action and attitude of the leadership. Labor leaders see their achievements mirrored in the new attitudes of management. They have every reason to believe that the trends of the last 20 years are all to the good, and that their systematic encouragement will lead to more good."

Needless to say, the labor leaders have done everything they could to further the "systematic encouragement" of the partnership between the union bureaucrats and corporate management. In an article published in the June issue of Harpers magazine, Bernard D. Nossiter, labor writer for the Washington Post and Times Herald, describes how the partnership has functioned.

The partnership pattern, says Nossiter, "varies greatly from one industry to another. Even where it is the most advanced, the liaison between the supposedly rival institutions is far from solid. It is more often a furtive and uneasy alliance between the top bureaucrats of the unions and the corporations — an arrangement that neither party can publicly admit and that most of the participants insist is just gossip."

From the body of evidence recently assembled, Nossiter maintains that: "The tacit collaboration between management and union officers has been thriving all through the period of postwar prosperity."

"Like any couple," he points out, "the corporate and union partners have their spats. Moreover, the need to conceal their illicit if pleasurable goings-on requires them periodically to denounce each other. And, as in the most harmonious affairs, there is a master and his mate. The company executives get the most money, as shown by a glance at the relative incomes and capital gains of such pairs as Roger Blough, chairman of United States Steel and David McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers; or Jack L. Smead, president of Consolidated Freightways, and James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union."

Because of past experience, Nossiter expressed his skepticism about the current steel industry dispute. In his article, written before the union was forced to strike, he says:

"The current goings-on in the steel industry would seem to belie this analysis. The union and the companies have been verbally belting each other with apparent enthusiasm as their wage contract runs to an end on June 30. But appearances can be deceiving. Economists can recall that the industry forced a strike in 1946 to pry loose a price increase from OPA. Many suspect that the periodic outbursts of industrial warfare are a cover under which the companies only appear to resist wage increases. Then, after a comparatively brief strike to work down the inventories steel customers have built up in fear of a stoppage, the companies reluctantly settle for a substantial increase in wages and fringe benefits. Finally, as John Kenneth Galbraith, of Harvard, has pointed out, the companies use this settlement as an excuse to boost prices enough to cover the wage increase several times."

This technique, he adds, "has become so well publicized in Washington this year, however, that a new script may have been written for the 1959 bargaining."

The current dispute is being conducted along the lines of a "new script" all right. But this time it is written in Wall Street and Washington without the collaboration of McDonald.

In a chapter entitled: "How the Partnership Works," Nossiter explains how the "union captains perform different services for their corporate colonels, depending on the degree of concentration in the industry. However," he affirms, "they all work with each other, regardless of whether the industry is concentrated or competitive. The trucking industry has rushed to defend both Beck and Hoffa. In coal, the incorruptible Lewis will be memorialized by both miners and operators. New York's garment manufacturers have learned to love David Dubinsky, president of the Ladies Garment Workers Union; on the Pacific Coast, Harry Bridges has no bigger booster than the Pacific Maritime Association unless it is the ILWU stevedores;" etc., etc.

"Some observers," concludes Nossiter, "see in this harmony a new age of enlightenment. The reality is a little less appealing. These union leaders, in varying degrees, perform important services for their industry's employers. They discipline dissidents and prevent wildcat strikes. In expanding industries, they fight for wage gains which enable the industry to obtain a more than off-setting increase in prices. In competitive industries like trucking and ladies garments, they make it harder for new firms to start up and compete with established companies. In big industries, the rising wage-price structure makes the capital requirements for potential new firms almost prohibitive. In many industries, union leaders argue vigorously for technological change, persuading the membership to accept the machines that will put their less fortunate colleagues out of work."

NOSSITER'S thesis is that "Big Business" and "Big Labor" have entered into collusion to mulct the public by restricting production and raising prices. In exchange the union leaders are given concessions with which to placate their membership and buy their acquiescence. For these concessions the union bureaucrats perform many useful services for the corporations. His remedy is to call upon the government to protect the public from this "unholy alliance" by exercising some form of control over wages and prices in what is delicately referred to as "concentrated industries," and by extension to economic planning.

From his study of the tendency in American capitalism toward increased monopolization, Nossiter concludes that "the march toward rationalization — an industrial structure with fewer corporations and considerable private planning — appears unlikely to be halted. All over the globe," he observes, "men are planning their material arrangements to overcome the obsolete problem of material want." In economically backward countries, in the more advanced capitalist countries of Europe, in what he calls the "Communist nations," men "have turned from reliance on impersonal market forces to some conscious and public planning of investment, prices and wages."

As for this country: "More of this goes on in the United States than is generally understood. Tax laws play a potent part in investment decisions. The planning of a General Motors, United States Steel, or a Standard Oil (New Jersey) plays a decisive part in the Nation's economy. The question now posed is whether these private corporations will be allowed to continue making decisions of vast public consequence without some kind of informed public surveillance."

Nossiter is not too optimistic about the ability of government to regulate and control the monopolies in the interest of "the public." All past attempts to do so have failed. "The critics," he remarks, "point to the long history of Federal regulation. They note that in time, the 'independent' commissions become willing vassals of the industry they are regulating."

Although the lessons of history and experience speak against it, Nossiter suggests that a new beginning be made in the form of "noncoercive" restraint through public pressure. One of the foremost proponents of this type of intervention, the liberal bourgeois economist John Kenneth Galbraith, lays down "three principles" for this type of intervention:

"(1) Limited: It should apply only to firms and unions

in concentrated industries which have a decisive share of the market power.

"(2) Simple: Perhaps a government panel should require these corporations and unions to justify in advance each proposed price and wage increase. The panel would then make specific recommendations in the light of agreed-upon national goals.

"(3) Conciliatory factfinding: At least at first we might rely on panel findings to mobilize public opinion to serve as a restraint on union and corporate managers. If this did not work, then sanctions or penalties would be in order."

Several liberal Democrats in Congress have already introduced bills embodying Galbraith's "three principles." Senator Estes Kefauver, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, has introduced a bill to establish a Department of Consumers. These steps are supported by a small group of liberal Congressional Democrats and Republicans, some of whom have been demanding that Eisenhower set up a "fact finding committee" to settle the steel strike. "Some of these legislators," remarks Nossiter, "may be longer on intelligence than influence." It is to this coterie of bourgeois liberals that Nossiter attributes a "quiet revolution in economic thought," which has "three leading ideas" as follows:

"(1) Oligopoly, not competition, has become the dominant mode of American economic life. In their search for profits, oligopolists tend to restrain production and employment and raise prices.

"(2) The traditional antagonism between unions and management in oligopolistic or concentrated industries is disappearing. Conscious and unconscious collusion takes its place, lifting wages for some and prices (including stock prices) for others.

"(3) The public interest in economic affairs has long been established in theory and practice. Business enjoys outright subsidies like tariffs and tax gimmicks, and makes large sales to government. Unions are also supported by government through complex codes guaranteeing organizing and bargaining rights. Therefore it is no real departure to insist on a public interest in the key wage and price decisions."

THERE is merit in the considerable factual evidence adduced by Nossiter to support the charge of collusion between the union bureaucrats and corporate management. But his conclusions are totally false and the proposed remedy completely ineffectual. The basic fallacy of the liberals of all persuasions is their view that government is an impartial, independent and benign arbiter of the social conflicts that arise in class society; that government stands aloof, or should so stand, from the clash of economic interest between the contending class forces unless and until the "public interest" is involved. Government must then intervene, paternalistically at first, as advisor and mediator, but with all of the coercion of state power if need be to uphold the interest of the "public"; i.e. the whole people.

It is this view that afflicts the liberals with a peculiar form of social and political astigmatism which enables them to assign equal responsibility to capital and labor for the present state of affairs. How can anyone, for example, familiar with the events of the past decade, justify government intervention in the unions on the basis of the argument that: "Unions are also supported by government through complex codes guaranteeing organizing and bargaining rights."

This statement may have had the appearance of validity under the Wagner Act in the days of the "New Deal." Closer examination, however, discloses that the labor codes of that era performed the function of (a) "guaranteeing" only those rights labor had won through its own independent struggles, and (b) permitting the government to gain a grip on the unions and open the process of destroying their independence. But the result of government intervention since Taft-Hartley has left no room whatever for any illusions. Government intervention plainly revealed its true purpose — to virtually arrest the organization expansion of the unions and to straitjacket their bargaining rights. The re-

cently enacted Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy so-called "labor reform" law extends the punitive provisions of Taft-Hartley.

Thus, government intervention in union affairs, at least since 1946, no longer even gives the appearance of being either impartial or benign. While it is true that government regulation of industry has been a farce, government intervention in the unions has served to shackle labor, to undermine its independence, to weaken its capacity to defend the workers standard of living, to circumscribe its ability to expand, to strengthen the stranglehold of the monopolists on the economic life of the country.

Far from acting as an impartial arbiter between capital and labor, government has acted as a tool of big business, a creature of the monopolists. How could it be otherwise? Those who exercise economic control, those whose planning "plays a decisive part in the Nation's economy," wield the nation's political power. Sometimes they do it directly, as through Eisenhower's millionaire cabinets; sometimes indirectly through some form of coalition between the labor lieutenants of capitalism together with assorted varieties of liberals.

Where labor has its own political organizations, as in Europe, it enters into coalition arrangements with the capitalists, often through direct participation in the cabinets. In this country, the partnership takes the form of a coalition within the framework of the Democratic party. In periods of social crisis the labor "statesmen" are directly drawn into the government apparatus as in the period of the economic collapse under the New Deal and in the tri-partite boards under the War Deal. These periods terminated with the end of the war and the great class battles of 1945-46.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 signified the beginning of the close of an era. Government "paternalism" toward labor gave way to punitive restrictions and onerous regulations. The postwar period of expansion and prosperity made it profitable for the monopolists to continue the policy of labor-management cooperation, the results of which have been amply described above. But the process of increasing prices three-fold on the basis of granting a wage increase cannot continue indefinitely.

The privileged position occupied by American capitalism in the postwar world market is drawing to a close. American capitalism faces a shrinking world market, a world in which the colonial peoples are in open rebellion against imperialist domination, a world in which the tremendous technological advances in the Soviet Union and growing strength of the Soviet bloc together with the increased competition from rehabilitated Germany and Japan has further narrowed the field for American capitalist exploitation. The ominous future has been further adumbrated by the recurrent pattern of recessions each one going deeper than before.

There is no stability for American capitalism upon which rests the entire structure of the world capitalist order. Under the circumstances, monopoly capitalism seeks to assure class stability at home by depriving the unions, the only mass organization of the American workers, of the possibility of independent action.

IN a series of notes on trade union problems, written by Leon Trotsky before his assassination, the tendency of monopoly capitalism to fuse with the state power and the conditions under which the reformist labor bureaucracy was permitted to retain its privileges, were brilliantly analyzed. "The intensification of class contradictions within each country," wrote Trotsky, "the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder in its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena. Social reformism must become transformed into social-imperialism in order to prolong its existence, but only prolong it and nothing more. Because along this road there is no way out in general."

There has been no more ardent supporter of State De-

partment foreign policy than the American labor bureaucracy. This has not spared it the blows of reaction at home, for, as Trotsky points out: "Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of the trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy who pick the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not achieved, the labor bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists. Incidentally, all of the efforts of the labor aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction."

The current antics of the American union bureaucrats indicate that they have no intention of abandoning their policy of class collaboration despite the savage employer-government anti-labor offensive. They propose to adapt themselves to the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy measure just as they adapted themselves to Taft-Hartley. They hope to ride out the storm and resume where they left off with business as usual.

However, the union bureaucrats confront a serious dilemma. The stability of the bureaucracy rests on its ability to extract some concessions for services rendered. Failure to do so threatens disaffection in the ranks and engenders op-

position moods and movements. Therefore, they must make a show of resistance.

A show of resistance by the union tops threatens to unleash a stormy movement from below. A case in point is the militant challenge to the leadership of Teamster Local 85 in San Francisco recently. Because Hoffa has been made the target of reaction he has been compelled to seek rank and file support by advocating militant union action and loosening the bureaucratic grip over the drivers. Taking advantage of the situation the drivers in Local 85 took command of a strike struggle and in the face of the hostility of the leadership, the press and the employers, won a significant victory. This is of enormous symptomatic significance. Other examples can be cited, such as the independent labor mobilization to defeat the Ohio Right-to-Work bill last year, etc.

Whether through capitulation or resistance, cracks and crevices will be opened up in the bureaucratic crust for trade union militants to begin the organization of a left wing opposition. A genuine left wing formation will emblazon on its banner the Marxist sign of the class struggle. For only by transforming the unions into revolutionary instruments in the struggle for state power will American labor be able to avoid the holocaust of imperialist war, depression and fascist barbarism.

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Alienation

Has Marxism been dehumanized? Socialist Humanists in search of "Moral Rearmament" say, yes, and contend that the early writings of Marx offer the needed antidote

by William F. Warde

THE international socialist movement is witnessing a crusade in its own ranks nowadays for Moral Rearmament. To support their conclusions the intellectual apostles of this new tendency lean heavily upon the alienations suffered by man in modern society. Mixing socialist doctrines with psychoanalytical theory, they approach the problem of alienation as though it were pivotal in modern life and treat it as though it were the very center of Marxist thought.

Their preoccupation with the question has been stimulated by numerous commentaries on recent translations of such early writings of Marx and Engels as *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology* in which the concept of alienation plays a large part.

The intensified interest in this subject is not a mere crotchet of the radical intellectuals. It stems from the very real alienations experienced in present-day society and from the growing antagonism between the rulers and the ruled in both the capitalist and post-capitalist sectors of the world.

The People and Their Rulers

The contradictions of life under contemporary capitalism engender deep-going feelings of frustration. The wealth pouring from the factories and the farms during the prolonged postwar boom has not strengthened assurance about the future. Instead, it has become another source of anxiety, for it is widely felt that a new depression will follow. Similarly, the enhanced control over industrial processes made possible by automation confronts the workers, not with welcome release from burdensome toil, but with the specter of chronic unemployment. The command over nature involved in the tapping of nuclear energy holds over humanity's head the threat of total annihilation rather than the promise of peace and plenty. An uncontrolled inner circle of capitalist politicians and military leaders decide matters of life and death. No wonder that people feel the economic and political forces governing their fate as alien powers.

Although the social soil is different, similar sentiments are widely spread in the anti-capitalist countries dominated by the bureaucratic caste. Despite the great advances in science, technology, industry, public health and other fields made possible by their revolutions, workers and peasants, students and intellectuals keenly resent their lack of control over the government and the administration of the economy. Freedom of thought, expression and organization are denied them. Despite the official propaganda that they have at least become masters of their own destinies, the people know that the powers of decision in the most vital affairs are exercised, not by them, but by bureaucratic

caliphs. The cardinal duty of the masses in the Communist party, the unions, the factories and collective farms, the educational institutions and publishing houses is still to obey the dictates from above.

That now discarded handbook of falsifications of history and Marxism edited by Stalin, *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, closes with the admonition that the "Bolsheviks" will be strong and invincible only so long as "they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them." Khrushchev has told how Stalin in his later years never visited the factories or farms and was totally insulated from the lives of ordinary folk. But Stalin's successor has lifted only a corner of the veil hiding the profound estrangement of the Soviet masses from the "boss men," as they are called.

Many thoughtful members of the Communist party have been impelled by the revelations at the Twentieth Congress and by the Polish and Hungarian events of 1956 to reconsider their former views. Some of them seek an explanation for the crimes of the Soviet leaders and the Stalinist perversions of socialism in the Marxist outlook itself.

This search has led them back to the young Marx. They believe that they have found in the early works, which mark his transition from Hegelianism through Humanism to dialectical materialism, the clue to the falsifications of Marxism and the distortions of socialism which have run rampant in the Soviet Union and the Communist parties. In these observations of Marx on the alienation of mankind under class society, in particular, they see the basis for a salutary regeneration of the tarnished socialist ideal.

The New Socialist Humanists

These intellectuals have raised the banner of a neo-Socialist Humanism against "mechanical materialism" and "economic automatism." The seeds of the evil that bore such bitter fruits under Stalin, they claim, were planted by the "mechanical" Marxists and cultivated by the crudely materialistic Leninists. They call for a renovated morality and a more sensitive concern for the "concrete, whole, living man." Monstrous forms of totalitarianism are produced by subservience to such "abstractions" as the Forces of Production, the Economic Foundations and the Cultural Superstructure, they say. Such an immoral and inhuman materialism leads to the reappearance, behind socialist phrases, of the rule of things over men imposed by capitalism.

The same message was proclaimed over a decade ago in the United States by Dwight MacDonald, then editor of *Politics*, and by the Johnson-Forest sect. It is a favorite

theme of the Social-Democratic and ex-Trotskyist writers of the magazine *Dissent*. It is now becoming the creed of some former Communist party intellectuals grouped around *The New Reasoner* in England.

E. P. Thompson, one of the two editors of *The New Reasoner*, wrote in a programmatic pronouncement in the first issue (summer, 1957): "The ideologies of capitalism and Stalinism are both forms of 'self-alienation'; men stumble in their minds and lose themselves in abstractions; capitalism sees human labor as a commodity and the satisfaction of his 'needs' as the production and distribution of commodities; Stalinism sees labor as an economic-physical act in satisfying economic-physical needs. Socialist humanism declares: liberate men from slavery to things, to the pursuit of profit or servitude to 'economic necessity.' Liberate man, as a creative being — and he will create, not only new values, but things in scope and abundance."

Despite their up-to-date reasoning, the "new thoughts" brought forward by such Socialist Humanists against dialectical materialism are hardly original. The essence of their viewpoint is to be found in the schools of petty-bourgeois socialism which flourished in Germany before the Revolution of 1848. Scientific socialism was created in struggle against these doctrines, as anyone familiar with the ideological birth process of Marxism knows.

The "True Socialism" of Moses Hess and Karl Grün sought to base the socialist movement, not upon the necessary historical development of economic conditions and the struggles of class forces, but upon abstract principles and ethical precepts regarding the need for mankind, divided against itself, to recover its wholeness and universality. In the section on "True Socialism" in *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels ridiculed these phrasemongers who talked about the "alienation of the essence of mankind" instead of undertaking a scientific investigation of money and its functions.

In their justified revulsion from Stalinism, the new "humane" socialists have not gone forward to genuine Marxism, as they mistakenly believe; they have landed behind it. They have unwittingly relapsed into a stage of theoretical development that socialism and its materialist philosophy surmounted over a century ago. What is worse, in taking this backward leap to a prescientific socialism of the most mawkish variety, they discard both the materialist principles and the dialectical method which constitute the heart of Marxism.

The attempts of these disoriented intellectuals to insert abstract moralistic foundations under Marxism are retrogressive. Yet it must be admitted that the theory of alienation is by no means foreign to Marxism. It did play an influential part in the genesis and formative period of scientific socialism. Indeed, in the history of the concept we find a striking example of how the founders of Marxism divested Hegel's central conceptions of their "idealist trappings" and placed them on solid materialist supports, transforming both their form and substance in the process. It is worthwhile to ascertain what the Marxist attitude toward alienation really is. This will be the best corrective to the wanderings of those upset socialists who are fumbling for a new equilibrium.

Hegel's Contribution

Marx took the concept of alienation from Hegel. In this instance, as in so many others, Hegelianism was the ideological source and starting point of Marxian thought.

Alienation (*Entäusserung*) and estrangement (*Entfremdung*) are key categories in Hegel's idealist philosophy. These are the most extreme expressions of difference or "otherness." In the process of change everything necessarily has a divided and antithetical nature, for it is both itself and, at the same time, becoming something else, its "other."

But viewed as a whole, the "other" is simply a development of the "itself"; the implicit becomes explicit; the possible, actual. This process is a dual one. It involves *estrangement*

from the original form and the *realization* of the essence in a higher form of existence.

In his system Hegel applied this dialectical logic to the evolution of the "Absolute," his synonym for the whole of reality. The Absolute first exists as mere Logical Idea, self-enclosed like a bud. It breaks out of itself by way of an inner revolution (just how and why is not clear) to a completely alienated condition — Nature. Hegel saw Nature as a lifeless dispersed mode of existence in contradiction to the lively perpetual movement and universal interconnection inherent in the Absolute.

This contradiction drives the Idea forward through a prolonged course of development until it emerges from its material casing and appears as Mind. Mind in turn passes through a series of stages from crude sensation to its highest peak in philosophy, and above all in Hegel's own idealist outlook.

Throughout this complex process alienation plays the most positive role. It is the expression of the Negative at work. The Negative, forever destroying existing forms through the conflict of opposites, spurs everything onward to a higher mode of existence. For Hegel a specific kind of alienation may be historically necessary at one stage, even though it is cancelled out at the next in the universal interplay of the dialectic.

All of this may appear to be a dull chapter in the life of the German universities of a century and a half ago. But Hegel saw the development of society as one of the outcomes of this evolution of the Idea. Moreover, he traced the course of alienation in human history. He noted such curious items as the fact that man alone of all the creatures on earth can take the objective conditions around him and transform them into a medium of his subjective development. Despite the bizarreness of considering a material process like that to be an expression of the evolution of Idea, such observations, it will be recognized, have a modern ring.

Still more, at turning points in his development, Hegel pointed out, man finds himself in deep conflict with the world around him. His own material and spiritual creations have risen up and passed beyond his control. Ironically man becomes enslaved to his own productions. All this the great philosopher saw with astounding clarity.

Hegel applied the notion of the alienation of humanity from itself to the transitional period between the fall of the Greek city-states and the coming of Christianity; and above all to the bourgeois society around him. Early in his career he described industrial society as "a vast system of mutual interdependence, a *moving life of the dead*. This system moves hither and yon in a blind elementary way, and like a wild animal calls for strong permanent control and curbing." (*Jenenser Realphilosophie*, p. 237.) He looked to the state to impose that control over capitalist competition.

Of still livelier interest to our nuclear age, he had some sharp things to say about the institution of private property which forces men to live in a world that, although their creation, is opposed to their deepest needs. This "dead" world, foreign to human nature, is governed by inexorable laws which oppress mankind and rob him of freedom.

Hegel also emphasized that the complete subordination of the individual to the division of labor in commodity-producing society cripples and represses human development. Mechanization, the very means which should liberate man from toil, makes him still more a slave.

On the political plane, especially in his earlier writings, Hegel discussed how, in the Germany of his day, the individual was estranged from the autocratic state because he could not actively participate in its affairs.

The very need for philosophy itself, according to Hegel, springs from these all-embracing contradictions in which human existence has been plunged. The conflict of society against nature, of idea against reality, of consciousness against existence, Hegel generalizes into the conflict between "subject" and "object." This opposition arises from the alienation of Mind from itself. The world of objects, originally the product of man's labor and knowledge, be-

comes independent and opposed to man. The objective world becomes dominated by uncontrollable forces and overriding laws in which man can no longer recognize or realize his true self. At the same time, and as a result of the same process, thought becomes estranged from reality. The truth becomes an impotent ideal preserved in thought alone while the actual world functions apart from its influence.

This brings about an "unhappy consciousness" in which man is doomed to frustration unless he succeeds in reuniting the severed parts of his world. Nature and society have to be brought under the sway of man's reason so that the sundered elements of his essential self can be reintegrated. How is this opposition between an irrational world and an ineffectual reason to be overcome? In other words, how can the world be made subject to reason and reason itself become effective?

Philosophy in such a period of general disintegration, Hegel declared, can discover and make known the principle and method to bring about the unity mankind needs. Reason (we almost wrote *The New Reasoner*) is the authentic form of reality in which the antagonisms of subject and object are eliminated, or rather transmuted into the genuine unity and universality of mankind.

Hegel related the opposition of subject and object to concrete social antagonisms. In his own philosophical language he was struggling to express the consequences of capitalist conditions where men are misled by a false and distorted consciousness of their real relations with one another and where they cannot make their wills effective because they are overwhelmed by the unmanageable laws of the market.

Hegel further maintained that the solution of such contradictions was a matter of practice as well as of philosophical theory. Inspired by the French Revolution, he envisaged the need for a similar "reign of reason" in his own country. But he remained a bourgeois thinker who never transcended his idealist philosophy in viewing the relations of class society. In his most progressive period Hegel did not offer any practical recommendations for overcoming existing social antagonisms that went beyond the bounds of bourgeois reform.

It was only through the subsequent work of Marx that these idealistic reflections of an irrational social reality were placed in their true light. Against Hegel's interpretation of alienation, Marx showed what the historical origins, material basis and real nature of this phenomenon were.

The Young Marx

Marx began his intellectual life as an ardent Hegelian. Between 1843 and 1848, under the influence of Feuerbach, he cleared his mind of what he later called "the old junk" and emerged together with Engels as a full-fledged materialist.

The "humane" socialists are now embarked on the quixotic venture of reversing this progressive sequence. They aim to displace the mature Marx, the thoroughgoing dialectical materialist, with the youthful Marx who had yet to pass beyond the one-sided materialism of Feuerbach.

Marx recognized that the concept of alienation reflected extremely significant aspects of social life. He also became aware that Hegel's idealism and Feuerbach's abstract Humanism obscured the real historical conditions and social contradictions that had generated the forms of alienation.

Marx did not reach his ripest conclusions on this subject all at once but only by successive approximations over decades of scientific study. Between his Hegelian starting point and his final positions there was an interim period of discovery, during which he developed his preliminary conclusions.

Marx first undertook the study of political economy, which occupied the rest of his life, in 1843. He pursued this task along with a criticism of his Hegelian heritage. The first results were set down in the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* he wrote primarily for his own clarification

House of a Stranger

We have said above that man is regressing to the cave dwelling etc. — but that he is regressing to it in an estranged, malignant form. The savage in his cave — a natural element which freely offers itself for his use and protection — feels himself no more a stranger, or rather feels himself to be just as much at home as a fish in water. But the cellar-dwelling of the poor man is a hostile dwelling, "an alien, restraining power which only gives itself up to him in so far as he gives up to it his blood and sweat" — a dwelling which he cannot look upon as his own home where he might at last exclaim, "Here I am at home," but where instead he finds himself in someone else's house, in the house of a stranger who daily lies in wait for him and throws him out if he does not pay his rent. Similarly, he is also aware of the contrast in quality between his dwelling and a human dwelling — a residence in that other world, the heaven of wealth. (From Karl Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*.)

during 1844. These were published posthumously in our own time and did not appear in their first complete English translation until this year.*

These essays were Marx's earliest attempt at analyzing capitalism. In them for the first time he applied the dialectical method learned from Hegel to the categories of political economy. In many passages his ideas are formulated so abstractly and abstrusely that it is not easy to decipher their meaning without a grasp of the terminology and mode of thought prevalent in German classical philosophy.

Whereas in his later works (*The Critique of Political Economy, Capital*) Marx takes the commodity as the cell of capitalism, he here puts forward alienated labor as the central concept. He even views private property as derived from the alienation of labor. It is both the product of estranged labor, he writes, and the means by which labor is estranged from itself. "Just as we have derived the concept of private property from the concept of estranged alienated labor by analysis, in the same way every category of political economy can be evolved with the help of these two factors; and we shall find again in each category, for example, trade, competition, capital, money, only a definite and developed expression of these first foundations," he declares.

Having established alienated labor as the basis and beginning of capitalist production, Marx then deduces the consequences. Labor becomes alienated when the producer works, not directly for himself or a collective united by common interests, but for another with interests and aims opposed to his own.

This antagonistic relation of production injures the worker in many ways. (1) He is estranged from his own body which must be maintained as a physical subject, not because it is part of himself, but so that it can function as an element of the productive process. (2) He is estranged from nature since natural objects with all their variety function, not as means for his self-satisfaction or cultural fulfillment, but merely as material means for profitable production. (3) He is estranged from his own peculiar essence as a human being because his special traits and abilities are not needed, used or developed by his economic activities which degrade him to the level of a mere physical force. (4) Finally, he is separated from his fellow human beings. "Where man is opposed to himself, he also stands opposed to other men."

Consequently the dispossessed worker benefits neither from the activity of his labor nor from its product. These do not serve as means for his enjoyment or fulfillment as an individual because both are appropriated by someone other than himself, the capitalist. "If the worker's activity

* See: *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* by Karl Marx, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3.

is torment to himself, it must be the enjoyment and satisfaction of another."

The object which labor creates, the labor product, becomes opposed to man as an alien essence, as a power independent of the producer. "Wage-labor, like private property, is only a necessary consequence of the alienation of labor." Society can be emancipated from both private property and servitude only by abolishing wage-labor.

Marx honored Hegel for seeing that man is the result of his conditions of labor. He found this primary proposition of historical materialism in Hegel, though in an idealist shape. The greatness of the *Phenomenology*, Marx observed, lies in the circumstance that "Hegel conceives the self-production of man as a process . . ."

Marx criticizes Hegel for seeing only one side of this process, the alienation of consciousness, and neglecting the most important aspect of labor in class society, the alienation of the actual man who produces commodities. Marx accepted Feuerbach's view that Hegel's philosophy was itself an abstract expression of the alienation of mankind from itself. Hegel's Absolute Idealism separated the thought process from real active and thinking persons and converted it into an independent, all-powerful subject which absorbed the world into itself. At bottom, it was a sophisticated form of religious ideology in which the Logical Idea replaced God.

In the Hegelian dialectic, Nature, the antithesis to the Idea, was nothing in and for itself; it was merely a concealed and mysterious embodiment of the Absolute Idea. However, Marx, following Feuerbach, pointed out that this Absolute Idea was itself nothing but "a thing of thought," a generalized expression for the thinking process of real individuals dependent on nature.

Marx pays tribute to Feuerbach for exposing the religious essence of Hegel's system and thereby reestablishing the materialist truth that Nature, instead of being an expression of the Idea, is the real basis for thought and the ultimate source of all ideas.

Hegel, Marx said, discovered "the abstract, logical and speculative expression for the movement of history." What Marx sought to do was to uncover the real motive forces in history (comprising both nature and society in their development, as he was to emphasize in *The German Ideology*) which preceded all theorizing and provided both the materials and the motives for the operations of thought.

Moreover, Hegel had mistakenly identified all externalization of man's vital powers in nature and society with alienation because it represented an inferior grade of the Idea's existence. Actually, the objectification of his capacities is normal and necessary to the human being and is the mainspring of all progress. It is perverted into alienation only under certain historical conditions which are not eternal.

Many brilliant thoughts are to be found in the pages of *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. For example, Marx brings out the differences between the animal and human senses in a way that counterposes his historical materialism to vulgar materialism. Sensation is the basis for human knowledge as well as for the materialist theory of knowledge. Although the human sensory equipment is animal in origin, it develops beyond that. Human senses pass through an historical, social and cultural development which endow us with far more discriminating modes of sensation than any known in the animal state. "The cultivation of the five senses is the work of the whole history of the world to date," he concludes.

Capitalism is to be condemned because it blunts sensitivity instead of sharpening it. The dealer in gems who sees only their market value, and not the beauty and unique character of minerals, "has no mineralogical sensitivity," he writes; he is little different from an animal grubbing for food. The task of civilization is to develop a specifically human sensitivity "for the whole wealth of human and natural essence."

An entire school of contemporary American sociologists, headed by David Reisman, has based its analysis of the

condition of men in "the mass society" on the fact that the average person is bored and depressed by the drudgery of his work in factory or office and finds satisfaction for his individuals needs only in leisure hours. The split between labor and leisure under capitalism was long ago noted by Marx in these manuscripts where he pointed out: "Labor is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being. Therefore he does not affirm himself in his work but denies himself. He does not feel contented but dissatisfied. He does not develop freely his physical and spiritual energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself to be himself outside his work, and in his work he feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working, he is not at home."

Development of the Concept of Labor

Marx did not leave the concept of labor as treated in these early essays. Extending the range of his criticism of bourgeois political economy and probing deeper into the secrets of capitalist production, he filled out and corrected his original presentation. He developed the features and forms of labor into a brilliant constellation of diversified determinations, reflecting the facets of the many-sided relations of production in their historical evolution.

The younger Marx, swayed by Feuerbach's Humanism, analyzed capitalist relations by counterposing what is dehumanized to what is truly human. The later Marx viewed them in terms of class oppositions.

Most important was his discovery of the twofold character of labor: the concrete labor which produces use-values and the abstract labor which produces exchange value. In abstract labor Marx found the essence of alienated labor in commodity-producing societies. His discovery, which Engels rightly lauded as Marx's chief contribution to the science of political economy, enabled him to explain the nature of commodities and the source of value as well as such mysteries as the power of money. The distinction between the two kinds of labor asserts itself at every decisive point in his analysis.

Marx took another step beyond his predecessors by distinguishing between labor as a concrete activity which creates specific use-values and labor power, the value-producing property of labor. He demonstrated how the peculiar characteristics of labor power as a commodity make capitalist exploitation possible. He also showed that the exploitation of labor in general, under all modes of class production, is based on the difference between necessary and surplus labor.

It would require a summary of the whole of *Capital* to deal with all of Marx's amplifications of the concept of labor. The pertinent point is this: the complex relations between capital and labor which were sketched in broad outline in the early essays were developed into a network of precise distinctions. The concept of alienated labor was broken down into elements integrated into a comprehensive exposition of the laws of motion of capitalism.

Primitive Source of Alienation

Before examining the specific causes of alienation under capitalism, it is necessary to note that the phenomenon is rooted in the whole previous history of humanity. The process by which man becomes oppressed by his own creations has passed through distinct stages of evolution.

The most primitive forms of alienation arise from the disparity between man's needs and wishes and his control over nature. Although they have grown strong enough to counterpose themselves as a collective laboring body against the natural environment, primitive peoples do not have enough productive forces, techniques and knowledge to assert much mastery over the world around them. Their helplessness in material production has its counterpart in the power of magic and religion in their social life and thought.

The Two Basic Classes

On the basis of political economy itself, in its own words, we have shown that the worker sinks to the level of a commodity and becomes indeed the most wretched of commodities; that the wretchedness of the worker is in inverse proportion to the power and magnitude of his production; that the necessary result of competition is the accumulation of capital in a few hands, and thus the restoration of monopoly in a more terrible form; that finally the distinction between capitalist and land-rentier, like that between the tiller of the soil and the factory-worker, disappears and that the whole of society must fall apart into the two classes — the property owners and the propertyless-workers. (From Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.)

Religion, as Feuerbach explained and Marx repeated, reverses the real relations between mankind and the world. Man created the gods in his own image. But to the superstitious mind, unaware of unconscious mental processes, it appears that the gods have created men. Deluded by such appearances — and by social manipulators from witch doctors to priests — men prostrate themselves before idols of their own manufacture. The distance between the gods and the mass of worshippers serves as a gauge for estimating the extent of man's alienation from his fellow men and his subjugation to the natural environment.

Alienation is therefore first of all a social expression of the fact that men lack adequate control over the forces of nature and have thereby not yet acquired control over sources of daily sustenance.

Dialectical Development of Alienation

Alienation has been a general feature of human history. The *alienation of labor*, however, is peculiar to civilization and is bound up with the institution of private property. In primitive society men are oppressed by nature but not by the products of their labor.

The rudimentary alienation observable in the magic and religion found in savagery and barbarism becomes overlaid and subsequently overwhelmed by another and higher type of alienation engendered by the conditions of class society. With the development of agriculture, stock breeding and craftsmanship, the most advanced sectors of mankind became less directly dependent upon raw nature for their food supplies. They increased their sources of wealth and reduced nature's oppression.

But civilized man's growing control over nature was attended by a loss of control over the basic conditions of his economic activity. So long as production remained simple but collective, as in primitive tribal life, the producers had control over their process of production and the disposition of their product. With the extension of the social division of labor, more and more goods became converted into commodities and entered exchange in the market.

The producers thereby lost control over their product as it became subject to the laws of the commodity market. In turn, these laws came to rule the producers to such an extent that in time men themselves became commodities to be bought and sold. *Slavery was the first organized system of alienated labor; wage labor will be the last.*

Wage labor is a special type of alienated labor. In this mode of production the laborer becomes the victim of the world market, a slave to the law of supply and demand, to such a degree that he can stand idle and his dependents starve when there is no demand for his labor power as a commodity.

The historical groundwork for the alienation suffered by the working class is private property in the means of production. This enables the owners to appropriate the surplus product of the laborers. There is nothing mysterious about the material origin of alienation in class society. It comes

about as a consequence of the separation of the producers from the conditions of production and thereby from what they produce. When the laborers lose control of the material means of production, they forfeit control over their lives, their liberties and their means of development.

Hegel pointed this out when he wrote in the *Philosophy of Right*: "By alienating the whole of my time, as crystallized in my work, and everything I produced, I would be making another's property the substance of my being, my universal activity and actuality, my personality."

This second kind of alienation reaches its apex under capitalism, where every individual involved in the network of production and exchange is ruled by the laws of the world market. These function as coercive external powers over which even the masters of capital have no control, as the fluctuations of the business cycle demonstrate.

The influence of the earlier type of alienation, on the other hand, based upon lack of command over the forces of nature, lessens as technology and science expand with the growth of the productive forces from one stage of civilization to the next. As Marx wrote: "The miracles of God become superfluous because of the miracles of industry." Today, when man's conquest of nature is conclusive, though far from completed, the influence of unconquered nature as a factor in producing alienation is small compared to its economic causes.

Alienation of Labor Under Capitalism

The alienations imposed by capital upon labor reinforce and intensify those forms of alienation carried over from the barbarous past by adding to them estrangements bred by capitalism's own peculiar type of exploitation. It is necessary to analyze the economic foundations of capitalist society in order to bring out its characteristic processes of alienation.

(1) Capitalism emerges as a distinct and separate economic formation by wrenching away working people from precapitalist conditions of production. Before capitalism could be established, the mass of direct producers had to be separated from the material means of production and transformed into propertyless proletarians. The processes of expropriation whereby the peasants were uprooted from the land and the social elements fashioned for the wage labor required for capitalist exploitation in Western Europe were summarized by Marx in Chapter XIX of *Capital*.

(2) However, the alienation of the producers only begins with the primary accumulation of capital; it is continually reproduced on an ever-extended scale once capital takes over industry. Even before he physically engages in the productive process, the wage-worker finds his labor taken away from him by the stipulations of the labor contract. The worker agrees to hand over his labor to the capitalist in return for the payment of the prevailing wage. The employer is then free to use and exploit this labor as he pleases.

(3) During the productive process, by virtue of the peculiar divisions of labor in capitalist enterprise, all the knowledge, will and direction is concentrated in the capitalist and his superintendents. The worker is converted into a mere physical accessory factor of production. "The capitalist represents the unity and will of the social working body" while the workers who make up that body are "dehumanized" and degraded to the status of things. The plan, the process, and the aim of capitalist production all confront the workers as alien, hostile, dominating powers. The auto workers on the assembly line can testify to the truth of this fact.

(4) At the end of the industrial process the product which is its result does not belong to the workers who made it but to the capitalist who owns it. In this way the product of labor is torn from the workers and goes into the market to be sold.

(5) The capitalist market, which is the totality of commodities and money in their circulation, likewise confronts

the working class — whether as sellers of their labor power or as buyers of commodities — as an alien power. Its laws of operation dictate how much they shall get for their labor power, whether it is saleable at all, what their living standards shall be.

The world market is the ultimate arbiter of capitalist society. It not only rules over the wage-slaves; it is greater than the most powerful group of capitalists. The overriding laws of the market dominate all classes like uncontrollable forces of nature which bring weal or woe regardless of anyone's plans or intentions.

(6) In addition to the fundamental antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited, the competition characteristic of capitalism's economic activities pits the members of both classes against one another. The capitalists strive to get the better of their rivals so that the bigger and more efficient devour the smaller and less productive.

The workers who go into the labor market to sell their labor power are compelled to buck one another for available jobs. In the shop and factory they are often obliged to compete against one another under the goad of piece-work.

Both capitalists and workers try to mitigate the consequences of their competition by combination. The capitalists set up trusts and monopolies; the workers organize into trade unions. But however much these opposing forms of class organization modify and restrict competition, they cannot abolish it. The competitiveness eliminated from a monopolized industry springs up more violently in the struggles between one aggregation of capital and another. The workers in one craft, category or country are pitted, contrary to their will, against the workers of another.

These economic circumstances generate unbridled individualism, egotism, and self-seeking throughout bourgeois society. The members of this society, whatever their status, have to live in an atmosphere of mutual hostility rather than of solidarity.

Thus the real basis of the forms of alienation within capitalist society is found in the contradictory relations of its mode of production and in the class antagonisms arising from them.

The Great Fetishes of Capitalism

Alienation, like all relations, is a two-sided affair and its operation has contradictory consequences. What is taken from the dispossessed is vested in the dispossessors. In religion the feebleness of men on earth is complemented by the omnipotence of the deity who is endowed with all the capacities real people lack. His representatives in society, from the shamans to the clergy, exploit this situation to their advantage.

In economics, the servitude of the laborer is the basis of the freedom of the master; the poverty of the many makes the wealth of the few. In politics, the absence of popular self-rule is made manifest in the despotism of the state.

In *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* Marx came to grips for the first time with the mysteries of money. In capitalist society, he remarks, money has displaced religion as the major source of alienation, just as it has displaced the deity as the major object of adoration and attraction. The money form of wealth stands like a whimsical tyrant between the needs of men and their fulfillment. The possessor of money can satisfy the most exorbitant desires while the penniless individual cannot take care of the most elementary needs of food, clothing and shelter.

Money has the magical power of turning things into their opposites. "Gold! Yellow, glittering, precious gold," can, as Shakespeare said, "make black, white; foul, fair; wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant." The person without artistic taste can buy and hang pictures in his mansion, or put them in a safety vault, while the creator and the genuine appreciator cannot view or enjoy them. The meanest scoundrel can purchase admiration from sy-

chophants while worthy individuals go scorned and unnoticed.

Under capitalism, where everything enters the field of exchange and becomes the object of buying and selling, a man's worth comes to be estimated, not by his really praiseworthy abilities or actions, but by his bank account. A man is "worth" what he owns and a millionaire is "worth" incomparably more than a pauper. A Rothschild is esteemed where a Marx is hated. In this cesspool of universal venality all genuine human values and standards are distorted and desecrated.

Later, in the first chapter of *Capital*, Marx unveiled the secrets of these magical powers of money by tracing them to the forms of value acquired by the commodity in the course of its evolution. The fetishistic character of money is derived from the fetishistic character of the commodity form of value which expresses the relations between independent producers through the medium of things. The fetish of capital which commands men's lives and labor is the ultimate expression of this fetishism of commodities.

If money in the form of capital is the supreme fetish of bourgeois society, the state which enforces the economic conditions of capitalist exploitation comes a close second. State compulsion is most harshly manifested in its penal powers, its tax powers, and in its power to conscript for military service. The identity of the ordinary citizen has to be validated by documents stamped by government officials. He needs a certificate to vouch for his birth and to prove that he graduated from school; that he is married or divorced; that he may travel to other countries.

The tyranny of money and the state over the lives of people is reducible in the last analysis to the relative poverty of the social order.

Alienation Between the State and Society

The alienations embedded in the economic foundations of capitalism manifest themselves in a myriad ways in other parts of the social structure. They are crystallized in the opposition between the state and the members of society. The unity of U.S. capitalism, for example, is embodied in a state organization which is dominated and directed by representatives of the ruling monopolists.

The alienation of this government from the people in our dollar democracy is the main theme of a study of the rulers and the ruled in the United States recently made by Professor C. Wright Mills in *The Power Elite*. Its opening paragraph reads: "The powers of ordinary men are circumscribed by the everyday worlds in which they live, yet even in these rounds of job, family and neighborhood, they often seem driven by forces they can neither understand nor govern. 'Great changes' are beyond their control, but affect their conduct and outlook none the less. The very framework of modern society confines them to projects not their own, but from every side, such changes now press upon the men and women of the mass society, who accordingly feel that they are without purpose in an epoch in which they are without power."

Mills sums up the extreme polarization of power in our society by declaring that the big business men, statesmen and brass hats composing the power elite appear to the impotent mass as "all that we are not." To be sure, even under the current conformity, the population is not so stultified and inert as Mills and his fellow academic sociologists make out. The Negro struggle for equality and the periodic strikes among the industrial workers indicate that much is stirring below the surface.

But it cannot be denied that the power of labor is largely untapped, unorganized, and so misdirected that its potential remains hidden even from its possessors. The policies of the union leaders help the spokesmen for "the power elite" to keep the people from envisioning the immense political strength they could wield for their own cause. They thereby keep the working class alienated from its rightful place in American political life as leader and organizer of the

Memo to Madison Avenue

The need for money is therefore the true need produced by the modern economic system, and it is the only need which the latter produces. The quantity of money becomes to an ever greater degree its sole effective attribute: just as it reduces everything to its own abstract form, so it reduces itself in the course of its own movement to something merely quantitative. Excess and intemperance come to its true norm. Subjectively, this is even partly manifested in that the extension of products and needs falls into contriving and ever-calculating subservience to inhuman, refined, unnatural and imaginary appetites. Private property does not know how to change crude need into human need. Its idealism is fantasy, caprice and whim; and no eunuch flatters his despot more basely or uses more despicable means to stimulate his dulled capacity for pleasure in order to sneak a favor for himself than does the industrial eunuch — the producer — in order to sneak for himself a few pennies — in order to charm the golden birds out of the pockets of his Christianly beloved neighbors. He puts himself at the service of the other's most depraved fancies, plays the pimp between him and his need, excites in him morbid appetites, lies in wait for each of his weaknesses — all so that he can then demand the cash for this service of love. (Every product is a bait with which to seduce away the other's very being, his money; every real and possible need is a weakness which will lead the fly to the gluepot. General exploitation of communal human nature, just as every imperfection in man, is a bond with heaven — an avenue giving the priest access to his heart; every need is an opportunity to approach one's neighbor under the guise of the utmost amiability and to say to him: Dear friend, I give you what you need, but you know the *conditio sine qua non*; you know the ink in which you sign yourself over to me; in providing for your pleasure, I fleece you.) (From Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.)

whole nation. This role is handed over by default to the capitalist parties.

However, the dispossession of the working class from its historical functions will not be maintained forever. Sooner or later, the labor movement will be obliged to tear loose from its subordination to alien class political organizations and form its independent political party. This will be the beginning of a process of political self-realization, an ascent to the position of supremacy now held by the capitalist minority. If today the plutocracy is, to the masses, "all that we are not," the struggle for socialism can bring about the Great Reversal when "we who have been naught, shall be all."

Alienation of Science from Society

The basic class antagonisms in economics and politics distort the relations of people in all other domains of life under capitalism from their emotional responses to one another up to their most general ideas. This has been felt and expressed in much of the art and literature of the bourgeois epoch. The estrangement of the creative artist from the bourgeois environment, which buffets him between crass commercialism and cruel indifference, has been a perennial scandal. The cries of protest in the works of such contemporary American writers as Henry Miller and Norman Mailer testify that this remains a running sore.

Something new has been added to this schism between the intellectuals and the ruling class in our own day. This is the breach that suddenly opened up between the scientists and the monopolists with the advent of the atomic bomb.

Capitalist society in its progressive period was the foster father of modern natural science and for several centuries the two pulled forward together. Most scientists in the English-speaking world took the preestablished harmony of the two so much for granted that they went about their work without concern over its social applications and ulti-

mate consequences. The chain reaction issuing from the release of nuclear energy blasted them out of this blind comfort.

From 1942 on, nuclear physicists have found themselves in the most excruciating dilemma. They were dedicated to the discovery and dissemination of the truth for the good of all mankind. Yet the militarists turned their labor and its results against everything which they, as scientists and scholars, most cherished. "Freedom of science" became a mockery when the results of their research were made top secret and atomic scientists were forcibly isolated "for reasons of state" from their fellows.

The scientists became vassalized to a military machine serving predatory imperialist purposes, just as the industrial workers form part of the profit-making apparatus. Instead of helping to create a better life, their achievements dealt quicker death. Their greater command over matter and energy was cancelled by a total lack of control over its social uses.

What could be more inhuman than for the scientist to become the unwilling agent of the destruction of his own kind and the poisoner of the unborn? No wonder the most sensitive and social-minded have cried out against this violation of their vocation, this impermissible injury to their inner selves. Some have refused as "conscientious objectors" to participate in war-work; others suffered nervous breakdowns; a few even committed suicide.

Those clustered around *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* have been searching — without success — for an effective political solution. Some speak of "their collective guilt," although they are the victims and not the guilty ones. The responsibility for their intolerable predicament rests entirely upon the ruling imperialists who have thrust them into this alienated condition.

This diagnosis indicates the only way in which they can overcome that alienation. That is to join with those social forces which are opposed to the imperialists and obliged to fight them.

The Humanism of Erich Fromm

While the physical health of the populations in the Western World has been improving, their mental and emotional condition has been deteriorating. This is the thesis of the recent book *The Sane Society* in which Erich Fromm undertakes a study of the psychopathology of modern life. His work is particularly pertinent because the Socialist Humanism he advocates is a psychological counterpart of the more literary type of Humanism found in *Dissent* and *The New Reasoner*. Fromm correctly takes issue with those analysts who proceed from the premise that capitalism is rational and the task of the individual is to "adjust," that is, conform to its special requirements. On the contrary, he asserts, the system is inherently irrational, as its effects demonstrate. If men are to live productively and at peace with themselves and one another, capitalism has to go.

Fromm borrows the concept of alienation from Marx's early writings as the central tool in his analysis of what is wrong with the sterile and standardized acquisitive society of the twentieth century and the main characteristics it produces in people. He makes many astute observations on the ways in which capitalism mangles human personalities.

He professes to criticize capitalism from a socialist standpoint and as an admirer of Marx. But he turns Marx upside down by declaring that Marx had a concept of man "which was essentially a religious and moral one." And Fromm himself tries to replace materialism with moralizing as the theoretical basis for socialism.

This former psychoanalyst denies that the basic cause of the sickness of modern society is rooted in the relations of production, as Marxism teaches. They are just as much due to spiritual and psychological causes, he writes. Socialism has to be infused with the wisdom of the great religious leaders who taught that the inner nature of man has to be transformed as much as his external circumstances. He

agrees with the Gospels that "the kingdom of Heaven is within you." "Socialism, and especially Marxism, has stressed the necessity of the inner changes in human beings, without which economic change can never lead to the 'good society.'"

Nothing less will do the job than "simultaneous changes in the spheres of industrial and political organization, of spiritual and psychological orientation, of character structure and of cultural activities." His practical program for curing the ills of modern society rejects the conquest of power by the workers and the nationalization of industry and planned economy. That is the way to totalitarian regimentation, in his opinion.

He proposes the establishment of small agricultural and industrial "Communities of Work" as hothouses in which the laboratory conditions will be created for the cultivation of the good life. Capitalist society is to be reconstructed and humanity regenerated through utopian colonies like those advocated by Owen, Fourier, Proudhon and Kropotkin, which were tried and found wanting over a century ago in the United States.

Thus the "Communitarian Socialism" of this Humanist turns out to be a faded copy of the utopian fantasies of the last century. It is a form of flight from the real facts of modern technology which demand large-scale production on a universal scale to sustain and elevate the expanding population of the globe. It is also an evasion of the pressing tasks involved in eliminating the evils of capitalist reaction and Stalinism, because it alienates itself in theory and in practice from revolutionary Marxism. This is the only social movement, class power and political program that can effectively abolish the rule of monopoly capitalism, uproot Stalinism, and create the material setting for a free and equal social system.

Is Alienation Everlasting?

Are the alienations from which man suffers incurable? This is the contention of the Catholic Church, pessimistic Protestant theologians like Reinhold Niebuhr, Existentialist followers of Kierkegaard, and some interpreters of Freud. They picture man as eternally torn and tormented by irreconcilable aims and impulses, doomed to despair and disappointment in the unending war between his deepest spiritual aspirations and his insuperable limitations as an earth-bound mortal.

The historical materialists squarely oppose all such preachers of original sin. Mankind does not have eternal insurmountable failings which have to be compensated for by the fictitious consolations of the church, the mystical intuitions of idealist philosophers, or the infinitely repeated but ever defeated efforts at self-transcendence of the Existentialists. The real alienations which cripple and warp humanity have ascertainable historical roots and material causes. Far from being eternal, they have, as has been indicated, already shifted their axis in the course of social development from the contest between society and nature to the conflicts within the social structure.

These internal social antagonisms are not everlasting. They do not spring from any intrinsic and inescapable evil in the nature of mankind as a species. They were generated by specific historico-social conditions which have been uncovered and can be explained.

Now that mankind has acquired superiority over nature through triumphs of technology and science, the next great step is to gain collective control over the blind forces of society. There is only one conscious agency in present-day life strong enough and strategically placed to shoulder and carry through this imperative task, says Marxism. That is the force of alienated labor incorporated in the industrial working class.

The material means for liberating mankind can be brought into existence only through the world socialist revolution which will concentrate political and economic power in the hands of the working people. Planned economy of a social-

ist type on an international scale will not only enable mankind to regain mastery over the means of life; it will immeasurably enhance that collective control. The reconstruction of social relations will complete the mastery of nature for social purposes initiated under class society, and thereby abolish the conditions which in the past permitted, and even necessitated, the subjugation of man to man, the rule of the many by the few.

Once everyone's primary needs are capable of satisfaction, abundance reigns, and the labor time required to produce the necessities of life is reduced to the minimum, then the stage will be set for the abolition of all forms of alienation and for the rounded development of all persons, not at the expense of one another, but in fraternal relation.

The abolition of private property must be followed by the wiping out of national barriers. The resultant increase in the productive capacities of society will prepare the way for the elimination of the traditional antagonisms between physical and intellectual workers, between the inhabitants of the city and the country, between the advanced and the undeveloped nations.

These are the indispensable prerequisites for building a harmonious, integrated, inwardly stable and constantly developing system of social relations. When all compulsory inequalities in social status, in conditions of life and labor, and in access to the means of self-development are done away with, then the manifestations of these material inequalities in the alienation of one section of society from another will wither away. This in turn will foster the conditions for the formation of harmonious individuals no longer at war with each other — or within themselves.

Such are the radiant prospects held out by the socialist revolution and its reorganization of society as projected by the masters of Marxism.

Prime Cause of Alienation In Deformed Workers States

This, too, was the goal toward which the Soviet Union, the product of the first successful workers revolution, was heading under the Stalinist regime, honest Communists believed. Had they not been assured by Stalin that socialism had already been realized in the Soviet Union and it was on the way to the higher stage of communism?

Khrushchev has parroted these claims. But his own disclosures at the Twentieth Congress and the outbursts of opposition in the Soviet zone since then have ripped through the delusion that a socialist society has already been consummated there. The false ideological structure fabricated by the Communist party machine lies shattered. How are the pieces to be put together again, and in what pattern?

The first thing that has to be done is to go back and check what actually exists in the Soviet Union at its present point of development with the fundamentals of Marxist theory. In their own way some of the "humane" socialists try to do this. "It was assumed," Thompson, editor of the *New Reasoner*, writes, "that all forms of human oppression were rooted, ultimately, in the economic oppression arising from the private ownership of the means of production; and that once these were socialized, the ending of the other oppressions would *rapidly* ensue." (My italics.)

This proposition of historical materialism retains its full validity, even though the Humanist critics question it. What, then, went wrong? Taken by itself, this historical generalization is an abstract standard which has to be wedded to existing facts and their state of development in order to become concrete and fruitful. *The essence of the matter lies in the verbal modifier, "rapidly."* Between the ending of capitalist private ownership and the elevation of the nationalized means of production to the level of socialist abundance there has to be a transition period in which features carried over from the old bourgeois order are intermingled with the fundamental institutions of the new society in the making.

In the case of the Soviet Union this intermediate period

was neither so short nor so favorable in its setting as the forecasts of Marx and Lenin anticipated. This historical stage has stretched out over four agonizingly difficult decades and is still far from concluded. The obligation of a scientific socialist is to study the real conditions of the economic and social development of the first workers state over these forty years in the light of all the guiding generalizations of his method. He must inquire to what extent the material circumstances have approached the theoretical norm; wherein they fell short and why; and then determine the ways and means required to bridge the gap between the existing state of affairs and the ideal standard.

Thompson and his fellow Humanists, however, dismayed by the ugly features of Stalinism suddenly bared to their vision, proceed quite differently. They carelessly toss out the historical generalizations, which condense within themselves an immense wealth of experience and analysis of social development, along with their disfigured expressions in real life. This is not the first time that well-intentioned radicals, thrown off balance by the contradiction between the standards of what a workers state should be and its political degeneration under the Stalinist regime, have rejected both the theoretical norm and the existing reality. After having been cradled so long in illusions, they cannot face the objective historical facts of the Soviet structure.

Marxist sociology, however, demands that the facts as they are be taken as the starting point for theory and action. What are these facts?

In June 1957 Khrushchev swore over TV that there are no contradictions in Soviet society. This was no more credible than his assertion that all was well with the new "collective leadership" — shortly before Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovitch and other dignitaries were cashiered. The more prudent Mao Tse-tung admitted that certain types of contradiction can exist between the government and the people in the workers states but that those in China, and by inference the Soviet Union, are exclusively of the non-antagonistic, non-violent kind.

The divergences between the bureaucrats and the masses in the Soviet Union which have produced the all-powerful states give the lie to these theoretical pretensions of the leaders in Moscow and Peking. How is this estrangement between the rulers and the ruled to be explained?

The taking of power by the workers and public ownership of the means of production, especially in backward countries, cannot in and of itself and all at once usher in socialism. These achievements simply lay down the political and legal conditions for the construction of the new society. In order to arrive at socialism, the productive forces have to be promoted to the point where consumer goods are cheaper and more plentiful than under the most beneficent capitalism.

This cannot be attained within the confines of a single country, as the orthodox Stalinists claim, or by adding up separated national units, each following "its own road to socialism," as the dissident Stalinists maintain. The poverty in consumer goods arising from the inferior productivity of the economy divorced from world resources is the material source for the growth and maintenance of malignant bureaucratic tumors within the most "liberal" of the workers states.

In principle, in essence, the prime causes of the alienation of labor *under capitalism* — private property in the means of production and the anarchy of the profit system — have been eradicated in the Soviet countries. Thanks to nationalization of basic industry, control of foreign trade and planned economy, the working people there are no longer separated from the material means of production but are reunited with them in a new and higher form.

However, these anti-capitalist measures and methods do not dispose of the problems of Soviet economy. Far from it. To uproot the social alienations inherited from the barbarous past, the workers states require not only a powerful heavy industry but also a well-proportioned economy that

Workers Social Life

When communist workmen associate with one another, theory, propaganda, etc., is their first end. But at the same time, as a result of this association, they acquire a new need — the need for society — and what appears as a means becomes an end. You can observe this practical process in its most splendid results whenever you see French socialist workers together. Such things as smoking, drinking, eating, etc., are no longer means of contact or means that bring together. Company, association, and conversation, which again has society as its end, are enough for them; the brotherhood of man is no mere phrase with them, but a fact of life, and the nobility of man shines upon us from their work-hardened bodies. (From Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.)

can provide the necessities and comforts of life in increasing volume to all sections of the people.

Not one of the existing post-capitalist states has raised its economy anywhere near that point. These states have not yet even approached the productivity in the sphere of subsistence and the means of culture attained by the most advanced capitalist countries. The prevailing scarcities have resulted in tense struggles among the various sectors of their population over the division of the restricted national income. In these struggles the bureaucratic caste which has cornered all the instruments of political power plays the commanding role. The rulers decide who gets what and how much. They never forget to place themselves at the head of the table.

There is no exploitation of labor as in capitalist society. But there are sharp distinctions between the haves, who make up a small minority, and the have-nots, the majority of the working population. The manifest inequalities in the distribution of available goods and amenities erode the ties of solidarity between various parts of the population and dig deep-going differences in their living standards, even where these are somewhat improved. In this sense, the product of their labor still escapes the control of the producers themselves. When it enters the domain of distribution, their production passes under the control of the uncontrolled bureaucracy. In this way their own production, concentrated in the hands of omnipotent administrators, once again confronts the masses as an alien and opposing force.

Herein is the principal source, the material basis, of the alienation of rulers and ruled in the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet zone. Their antagonisms express the growth of two opposing tendencies in the economic structure: one carried over from the bourgeois past, the other preparing the socialist future. The socialist foundations of nationalized industry and planned economy in the field of production are yoked to bureaucratically administered bourgeois standards which determine the maldistribution of the inadequate supplies of consumer goods.

The development of these two contradictory tendencies is responsible for the friction which threatens to flare up into explosive conflicts.

The Ultra-Bureaucratic State and the Workers

Why don't the workers have control over the distribution of their product? Because they have either lost direct democratic control over the state apparatus, as in the Soviet Union, or have yet to acquire it, as in the Eastern European satellites and China. Just as the workers should enjoy higher living standards under socialism than under capitalism, so in a normal workers state they should participate far more fully in the administration of public functions, enjoy more freedom and have more rights than under the most democratic of the bourgeois regimes.

There was a foretaste, and a solemn pledge, that such would be the case in the seething democracy that characterized the first years of the Soviet Republic. The subse-

quent political victory of the bureaucratic upstarts reduced to zero the democratic functioning of the Communist party, the trade unions, the Soviets, the youth and cultural organizations, the army and other institutions. The powers and rights supposedly guaranteed to the people by the Soviet Constitution were in practice nullified by the centralized caste governing through Stalin's one-man dictatorship.

This autocratic system of political repression fortified the economic suppression. Through the spy system and the secret police, the jails and concentration camps, the penal powers of the state were directed far less against the forces of the overturned order than against the workers who were the bearers of the new order.

Instead of being an agency for carrying out the decisions of the people, the ultra-bureaucratized state confronted the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and youth, as well as the subject nationalities, as a parasitic, oppressive and hostile force which they yearn to throw off their backs.

Organization of Industry

Lenin envisaged, and the program of the Bolsheviks stated, that the workers would control and manage industry through their elected representatives. Instead, the division of economic functions which excludes the workers under capitalism from exercising their initiative, intelligence and will has been recreated in new forms under the bureaucratic maladministration of the Soviet economy.

"The universal brain" which supervises production is no longer the capitalists — but it is also not yet the workers as it should be under a genuine Soviet democracy. The hierarchy of bureaucrats arrogated all major powers of decision to themselves under the successive five-year plans. Orders were issued from the single centralized command post in Moscow, even on matters of detail. All science and judgment were vested in appointed officials. Khrushchev's recent decentralization of industrial management has modified but not essentially changed this setup.

The workers neither propose nor dispose freely of their energies in the labor process. They do not initiate the plan, participate in its formulation, decide its allotments, apply, oversee, and check up on its operation and results. They are relegated to the role of passive objects, subjected to unremitting exhortations and harsh forms of pressure to perform their tasks better.

The workers on the job are speeded up by means of piece-work and arbitrary setting of work norms. Until the recent reforms they were chained to their jobs in the factories by workbooks and internal passports and liable to severe penalties for infractions of the rules and for being minutes late to work. They have no right to strike against intolerable conditions.

Meanwhile they see the multiplication of parasites in directing positions and gross mismanagement of the nation's resources. Reports by Soviet officials themselves have cited many instances of such industrial waste and disorganization.

Thus the plan of production which should be collectively adopted and carried through by the producing masses appears as an alien pattern imposed upon them by heartless functionaries in disregard of their wishes and welfare.

Dictatorship of the Lie

The Soviet bureaucracy is itself the living embodiment of a gigantic fraud. This privileged, anti-socialist force is obliged to parade as the representative and continuator of the greatest movement for equality and justice in history while riding roughshod over the most elementary needs and feelings of the working people. This immense disparity between its progressive pretensions and its reactionary course is at the bottom of the hypocrisy and deceit that mark Stalinized regimes.

Their dictatorship of the lie permeated every department of Soviet life. From the top to the lower depths the Soviet people were forced to lead double lives: one for public show conforming to the official line of the moment; the

other, of suppressed resentment and frustration at their inability to express their real thoughts and emotions lest they be handed over to the Inquisition.

They became alienated from the regime which alienated them from their deepest thoughts and feelings and from one another. "The worst in our system was not the poverty, the lack of the most essential necessities, but the fact that this system made life one great big lie, having to listen to lies, to read lies every hour of the day, all day long, and being forced to lie oneself in turn," a nameless Budapest intellectual complained to a German reporter.

The revulsion against such spiritual degradation was one of the main causes behind the uprising of Hungarian and Polish intellectuals and youth. It is also one of the main themes of the newly awakened, critical-minded generation of Soviet writers. They are articulating as best they can the rankling protest against regimentation of cultural, scientific and artistic activities; against the suffocating atmosphere of double-talking and double-dealing; against official impostures that not only stifle creative work but make even normalized existence difficult.

In the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe, in the Baltic countries, the Ukraine and other oppressed nations within the Soviet Union itself there is another source of resentment: the grievance against a Great Russian regime which governs heedless of the special demands, traditions, autonomy and interests of the oppressed nationality.

Cult of the Individual

Religion is primarily the product of mankind's lack of control over the forces of nature and society. The socialist movement has as one of its objectives the abolition of the material conditions which permit such degrading fictions to stunt men's outlooks and cramp their lives.

The influence of orthodox religion has been considerably curtailed by atheist education in the Soviet Union since the Revolution. But in its stead there arose that secular "cult of the individual," the deification of Stalin. This revival of idolatry is all the more startling and paradoxical because it emerged, not from the most unenlightened strata of the population, but on the very heights of the ruling Communist party which was avowedly guided by the materialist philosophy of Marxism. The working class anthem, the *Internationale*, says: "We need no god-given saviors." Yet the Soviet peoples and the Communist parties were indoctrinated with the myth of the infallibility of the all-wise "savior" in the Kremlin.

How did the practices of the Roman and Byzantine empires, which deified its emperors, become duplicated in the first workers state?

The answer is not to be found in the exceptional virtues or vices of Stalin but rather in the role he performed for the privileged bureaucratic caste. Having elevated itself as the sole ruling power, it could no more practice democracy within its own circle than it could permit democracy in the country as a whole. It was necessary to find other means of solving the internal problems and conflicts. The means had to be in consonance with the methods of rule: autocratic, violent and deceitful.

Stalin took supreme command, and held it unchallenged, for so long, because he best fulfilled the assigned function of the ruthless, all-powerful, omniscient arbiter. Just as the bureaucracy settled everything in the country, "the man of steel" decided everything within the bureaucracy and for it.

The power of the gods, indeed, their very existence, was at bottom derived from the powerlessness of the people in the face of society and nature. So the almighty power of the idolized Stalin was based upon the total usurpation of power from the people. The cult of the individual, so persistently inculcated for decades, was its end-product. The raising of Stalin to superhuman heights was the other side of the political degradation of the Soviet workers.

The breakup of the cult of the individual has been brought about by the reverse process: the growing strength of the Soviet working class and the weakening of the positions of

the bureaucracy as a result of the postwar developments. Stalin's heirs are trying — without much success — to substitute the more impersonal cult of the bureaucracy under the title of "the collective leadership" for the downgraded cult of the individual.

When the people get off their knees, the high and mighty rulers no longer loom so large. As the workers regain their self-confidence and feel their collective strength, their former prostration before fabricated idols vanishes. The outraged revolutionists of Budapest who pulled down the statue of Stalin on the first day of their uprising showed by that symbolic act the fate in store for all the bureaucratic overlords.

The Cure For Bureaucratism

The experience of the post-capitalist regimes over the past forty years has shown that the danger of bureaucratic distortion and degeneration of the workers states in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism is genuine.

This danger does not flow from any innate evil in a human nature which has an unslakable thirst for power, as the moralizers insist. It arises from the surrounding material conditions, from the inadequacy of the powers of production to satisfy the wants of the people, even under the most progressive social forms. This economic situation enables the specialists in administration to mount once more upon the backs of the masses and erect their regime, for a time, into an instrument of oppression. The more impoverished and undeveloped the country is, the more menacing this danger becomes. While overproduction is the curse of capitalist economy, underproduction is the curse of the socialized economies.

The causes and character of the malady which has infected the first workers states indicate the measures that must be taken to counteract it, so far as that is possible under the given circumstances. *The prescription for the cure is nothing less than democratic control of both the government and the economy by the masses of working people.*

The real power must be exercised through councils freely elected by the manual and intellectual workers of city and country. Their democratic rights should include freedom of organization and propaganda by all parties which recognize and abide by the gains of the revolution; freedom of the press; all public functionaries to be under the control of the electorate with the right of recall of representatives on all levels.

There must be such political reforms as the restoration of democracy within the workers' parties with control of the leadership and policies by their members; the restriction of the income of officials to that of the most skilled workers; the drawing of the people into the administration of public functions; the abolition of the secret police, internal passports, labor camps for political dissenters and other abominations.

In the economic domain the workers must have control over national planning and its execution on all levels and at all stages so that timely reviews can be made of results in the light of actual experience. Wage standards and other means of distribution must be revised so that inequalities can be reduced to the minimum. The trade unions should have the right to strike in order to safeguard the workers against mistakes and abuses of their government.

All nationalities should have the right to be independent or to federate, if desired, in a fraternal and equal association of states.

Such measures would add up to a revolutionary change in the structure and operation of the existing workers states, a salutary change from bureaucratic autocracy to workers democracy.

How is such a transformation to be accomplished? Not by concessions doled out from above by "enlightened absolutism" or a frightened officialdom but through direct action by the working people themselves. They will have to take by revolutionary means the rights of rulership which belong to them, which were promised by the Marxist pro-

The Power of Money

That which is for me through the medium of money — that for which I can pay (i.e., which money can buy) — that am I, the possessor of the money. The extent of the power of money is the extent of my power. Money's properties are my properties and essential powers — the properties and powers of its possessor. Thus, what I am and am capable of is by no means determined by my individuality. I am ugly, but I can buy for myself the most beautiful of women. Therefore I am not ugly, for the effect of ugliness — its deterrent power — is nullified by money. I, in my character as an individual, am lame, but money furnishes me with twenty-four feet. Therefore I am not lame. I am bad, dishonest, unscrupulous, stupid; but money is honored, and therefore so is its possessor. Money is the supreme good, therefore its possessor is good. Money, besides, saves me the trouble of being dishonest: I am therefore presumed honest. I am stupid, but money is the real mind of all things and how then should its possessor be stupid? Besides, he can buy talented people for himself, and is he who has the power over the talented not more talented than the talented? Do not I, who thanks to money am capable of all that the human heart longs for, possess all human capacities? Does not my money therefore transform all my incapacities into their contrary? (From Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.)

gram, and which were denied them by the bureaucratic usurpers.

Stalinism and Capitalism

The "humane" Socialists bracket Stalinism with capitalism because both, they say, subjugate men to things and sacrifice the creative capacities of mankind to the Moloch of "economic necessity." Let us agree that, despite their opposing economic foundations, the Stalinist regimes do exhibit many similarities with the states of the capitalist world. But these points of identity do not arise from their common exaltation of things above men. They have a different origin.

Under the guise of defending the free personality against the coercion of things, the neo-Humanists are really rebelling against the facts of life formulated in the theory of historical materialism. All societies have been subject to severe economic constraint and must remain so up to the advent of future communism. The less productive a society is and the poorer in the means of subsistence and culture, the harsher these forms of constraint must be. The mass of mankind must labor under this lash until they raise the powers of production to the point where everyone's needs can be taken care of in a work week of ten hours or less.

This reduction of necessary labor will free people from the traditional social load that has weighed them down and enable them to devote most of their time to general social welfare activity and personal pursuits and pastimes. Recent developments in science, technology and industry from nuclear energy to automation place such a goal within sight. But our society is still quite a distance from this promised land.

The means for such freedom cannot be provided under capitalism. They have not yet been created in the transitional societies that have passed beyond capitalism. So long as the workers have to toil long hours daily to acquire the bare necessities of existence and compete with one another for them, they cannot administer the general affairs of society or properly develop their creative capacities as free human beings. Such social functions as government, the management of industry, the practice of science and the arts will continue to be vested in specialists. Taking advantage of their posts of command, these specialists have raised themselves above the masses and come to dominate them.

It is out of these economic and social conditions that the ultra-bureaucratic police regimes of the workers states have arisen. There, as under capitalism, though in different forms,

the privileged minority prospers at the expense of the labors of the majority.

The evils of Stalinism do not come from recognizing the material limitations of production or acting in accord with them. Even the healthiest workers regime would have to take these into account. The crimes of Stalinism consist in placing the interests and demands of favored functionaries before the welfare of the people and above the needs of development towards socialism; in fostering inequalities instead of consciously and consistently diminishing them; in concealing both the privileges of aristocrats and the deprivations of plebeians; in stripping the workers of their democratic rights — and trying to pass off these abominations as “socialism.”

The task of eradicating the scourge of bureaucratism in the anti-capitalist states is inseparable from the task of abolishing bourgeois rule in capitalist countries. The role of the Kremlin hierarchy has been no less pernicious in foreign affairs than at home. If the menace of imperialist intervention has helped the bureaucracy to maintain its power, its international policies in turn have been a prime political factor in saving capitalist rule from being overthrown by the workers.

By imposing policies of class collaboration upon the Communist parties, Stalin rescued tottering capitalist regimes in Western Europe at the end of the Second World War. At the same Congress where he made his secret report on Stalin's crimes (omitting this one, among others!) Khrushchev made a declaration of policy on “new roads to socialism” which was essentially Stalin's old course rendered more explicit. He stated that Lenin's analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism and the revolutionary struggle of the workers against it was outmoded by new world-historical conditions. According to Khrushchev, not only are there no conflicts within Soviet society but even the contradictions between monopolist reaction and the workers which provoked revolutionary actions in the past have become softened. The existing capitalist regimes may now, under certain conditions, be magically transformed into People's Democracies by reformist methods and through purely parliamentary channels.

The Stalinist bureaucracy and the parties it controls do not propose to follow the path of leading the revolutionary activities of the masses to the conquest of power. They rather seek a general agreement with Western capitalists to freeze the present map of the world and its relationship of class forces.

This reciprocal reliance of capitalist rulership upon Stalinist opportunism, and Stalinist opportunism upon “peace loving” capitalists, whereby one sustains the other at the expense of the world working class, can be broken up only by an international movement of the masses which is both consistently anti-imperialist and anti-Stalinist.

Toward the Abolition of Alienation

The question of alienation ultimately merges with the long-standing problem of the relation between human freedom and social necessity. Socialism promised freedom, cry the new Humanists, but see what terrible despotism it has begotten under Stalinism. “Are men doomed to become the slaves of the times in which they live, even when, after irrepressible and tireless effort, they have climbed so high as to become the masters of the time?” asks the imprisoned ex-Communist leader and newly converted Social Democrat Milovan Djilas in the autobiography of his youth, *Land Without Justice*.

How does historical materialism answer this question? The extent of man's freedom in the past was rigidly circumscribed by the degree of effective control society exercised over the material conditions of life. The savage who had to spend most of his waking hours every day of the year chasing after food had little freedom to do anything else. This same restriction upon the scope of human action and cultural development has persisted through civilization for

the bulk of mankind — and for the same economic reasons.

If people suffer today from the tyranny of money or from the tyranny of the state, it is because their productive systems, regardless of its property forms, cannot at their present state of development take care of all their physical and cultural needs. In order to throw off these forms of social coercion, it is necessary to raise the powers of social production — and, in order to raise these powers, it is necessary to get rid of the reactionary social forces which hold them back.

Scientific socialists can agree with the new Humanists that it is necessary to live up to the highest moral standards. They recognize that the desires for justice, tolerance, equality and self-respect have become as much a part of civilized life as the needs for food, clothing and shelter. Marxism would not be fit to serve as the philosophical guide of the most enlightened people of our time if it failed to take these demands into account.

But that is only one side of the problem. Until their basic material requirements are actually assured for everyone, the higher activities are stunted and social relations must remain un-humanized. The forces of reaction, whose codes and conduct are governed by the will to defend their power, property and privileges at any price, determine the moral climate far more than their opponents who have more elevated aims and ideals.

It would be more “humane” for the Western imperialists to withdraw quietly from their colonial domains, instead of fighting to hold them. But the actions of the French in Algeria again prove that ruthless terror, not peaceful reason, is more likely to prevail.

From the economic, cultural and ethical standpoints, it would be preferable if the monied magnates would recognize that their usefulness is finished and consent to yield their possessions and power to the socialist workers movement by mutual agreement between the contending classes. So far history has not provided any such sensible and straight-forward solution to the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The principal task before the Soviet people is to get rid of the archaic monstrosity of their totalitarian political structure. It would be best if the Stalinist leaders would give up their functions as an oppressive ruling caste, grant independence to their satellites, and return complete power to their own people. But the case of Hungary indicates that they are unlikely to cede their commanding positions gracefully, gradually or easily.

“Humane” and “reasonable” solutions to the fundamental social problems of our time are blocked by these bulwarks of reaction. That is why the anti-capitalist revolutions in the advanced countries, the anti-imperialist movements in the colonies, and the anti-bureaucratic struggles in the Soviet zone will have to be brought to successful conclusions before the causes of the antagonisms which plague mankind can be eliminated.

Over a century ago Marx emphasized that men cannot behave according to truly human standards until they live under truly human conditions. Only when the material conditions of their existence are radically transformed, when all their time becomes available for freely chosen pursuits, can they throw off the contradictory relations which have tormented mankind with separatism and conflict.

The aim of socialism is to introduce the rule of reason into all human activities. The alienations from which men suffer have been produced and perpetuated by the unconscious operation of uncontrollable natural and social forces. Socialism will eradicate the sources of alienation by bringing under conscious control all those hitherto unmanageable forces which have crippled mankind, frustrated its deepest aspirations, and thwarted its full and free development in any desired direction.

This process will start by eliminating the irrationality, anarchy and inadequacy of the economic foundations through planned production of the necessities of life and the means of cultural development. In this age of nuclear energy,

electronics and automation the linking up of the workers republics in the industrialized countries with those in less developed lands, can, within a measurable period, bring the productive powers of society to the point where there can be abundance for all, for the economically retarded as well as for the most advanced peoples.

As this economic goal is approached, the conditions will be prepared for the reduction of all governmental compulsions over the associations and actions of men, culminating in the abolition of man's power over man. The universal elevation of living and educational standards will break down the opposition between workers and intellectuals so that all intelligence can be put to work and all work be performed with the utmost intelligence. In this new form of social production labor can become a joyous and significant enterprise instead of an ordeal.

The progress of science will be planned to create the most worthy conditions for the all-sided improvement of humanity. The supreme aim of socialism is humanistic in the highest and deepest sense. It is nothing less than the re-making of the human race in a thoroughly conscious and scientifically planned manner.

The scientists of socialism will not only penetrate into galactic space. They will invade the remotest hiding places of matter, and especially living matter. They will systematically seek out and subdue the obscure forces at work in their own bodies and psyches, the legacy of blind animal evolution.

With knowledge and power thus acquired, humanity will become the freely creative species it has the potential of becoming. Men will re-create their natural environment, their organisms and their mutual relations as they wish them to be. To human beings of that happier time the welfare of their fellows will be the first law of their own existence.

Labor Time and Free Time

All economy is economy of labor time and man's freedom comes down in the last analysis to freedom from compulsory labor. The expenditure of time and energy in procuring the material means of existence is an inheritance from the animal state which prevents men from leading a completely human life. Mankind will suffer from this alienation so long as it must engage in socially necessary labor.

The Bible says: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." This has been the lot of mankind throughout the ages. The members of primitive communities are the slaves of labor time as well as the members of class society. Savages, however, work only for themselves and not to enrich others.

The laboring force in class society has to produce extra wealth for the owners of the means of production in addition to their own upkeep. They are doubly enslaved by surplus labor time piled upon necessary labor time. The wage workers who are obliged to create an ever-expanding surplus of value for the masters of capital are more intensively sweated than any other class.

It is not the socialist but the capitalist who looks upon labor as the essence of humanity and its eternal fate. Under capitalism the wage worker is treated, not as a fellow human being, but as a mechanism useful for the production of surplus value. He is a prisoner with a lifetime sentence to hard labor.

Marxism assigns the highest importance to labor activity, recognizing that production of wealth beyond the mere means of subsistence has been the material basis for all advancement in civilization. But Marxism does not make an idol of labor. For all its mighty accomplishments, to work for a living is not the height of human evolution or the ultimate career of mankind. Quite the contrary. Compulsory labor is the mark of social poverty and oppression. *Free time for all is the characteristic of a truly human existence.*

The necessity for labor remains, and may even for a time become more imperious, after capitalist relations are abol-

ished. Although people no longer work for exploiting classes but for a collective economy, they do not yet produce enough to escape the tyranny of labor time. Under such conditions labor time remains the measure of wealth and the regulator of its distribution.

But, contrary to the situation under capitalism, the greater their powers of production grow, the closer the workers come to the hour of their release from servitude to labor. When the production of all the material necessities of life and means of culture will be taken over by automatic methods and mechanisms, requiring the minimum of superintendence, humanity will be freed to develop its distinctively human capacities and relations to the full.

The prehistory of humanity will end and its development on a truly human basis begin, when wealth of all kinds flows as freely as water and is as abundant as air and compulsory labor is supplanted by free time. Then free time enjoyed by all will be the measure of wealth, the guarantee of equality and harmony, the source of unrestricted progress and the annihilator of alienation. This is the goal of socialism, the promise of communism.

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Browder 'Refutes' Karl Marx



by Tom Kemp

MARX AND AMERICA. A Study of the Doctrine of Impoverishment, by Earl Browder. Duel, Sloan and Pearce, New York. 1958. 146 pp. \$3.

This work evidently impressed the university audience to whom it was first presented in lecture form as well as publishers on both sides of the Atlantic. The thesis of the book — Marxism has been refuted by the unique development of American capitalism — is hardly a novelty. Nor does Browder bring to light any fresh evidence or arguments in support of it. Apparently what this book proposes to add to the great mass of anti-Marxist literature is the author's reputation.

Browder was Secretary of the Communist party of the U.S. from 1930 to 1945. He was therefore at the head of the party during the period of the wartime alliance of the U.S. and the Soviet Union when CP policy veered to the extreme right. After the war he became the scapegoat for this policy which was dubbed "Browderism" although it was imposed by the Kremlin on every Communist party in the world. Cut off from the Stalinist apparatus Browder, like so many before him and since, failed to retrace his steps to Marxism. Instead he took the road from Stalinism to Social Democracy. In this sense claims of cold-war propagandists that America's former Number One Marxist has himself disclosed Marx's errors have no validity. Browder, as Secretary of the Communist party, was no more a Marxist than he is today.

Browder's book, however, is worth some detailed examination because it offers Marxists an opportunity to deal with some of the characteristic arguments of the anti-Marxist crusaders. Despite his elaim to "fifty years of study" Browder obviously never understood the methodology of Marx's political economy. He assumes that because Marx took England as his main source

of data, as capitalism developed in other countries it would follow a "pre-determined pattern." Marx's pregnant sentence, which he quotes, "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed, the image of its future," has been fully confirmed in the sense in which Marx intended it. Basic uniformities in economic and social structures are bound to arise as industrialization develops. But Marx protested strongly in his own time against those who tried to change his sketch of the "origin of capitalism in Western Europe into an historical-philosophical theory of Universal Progress, fatally imposed on all peoples, regardless of historical circumstances in which they find themselves" and warned against the belief in an "open sesame of an historico-philosophical theory of which the supreme virtue consists in its being supra-historical [i.e. beyond the pale of history]."¹

Again, Marx speaks of the "specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers (which) determines the relation of rulers and ruled" and forms the economic base "showing infinite variations and gradations in its appearance, even though its principal conditions are everywhere the same. "This is due," Marx points out, "to innumerable outside historical influences and so forth, all of which must be ascertained by careful analysis" (my emphasis — T.K.)²

All this could hardly be clearer. There is not even any need to paraphrase Marx's words: they so obviously mean what they say. When the question arose of applicability of his analysis to Russia, Marx did not say to his Russian disciples: here's the blueprint, it will all happen just so in Russia as in England.

1. Marx, Karl: *Letter on the Economic Development of Russia (1877)* in *The Russian Menace to Europe*, ed. Blackstock, P.W. and Hoselitz, B.F., London, 1953.

2. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 919.

He learned the Russian language and steeped himself in economic and historical literature so that he might form an impression of the peculiarities of Russian development. He undoubtedly would have set about a study of America in just such a way.

Browder does not argue that all the laws of capitalism have been inoperative in the U.S.A. He just makes the assumption. Or rather he does try to prove that Marx was wrong about wages and about impoverishment. He also throws in a critique of Lenin's theory of imperialism for good measure. At present we shall only be concerned with the question of wages and, to a lesser extent with the theory of impoverishment.

Browder takes the wage theory put forward by Marx in *Wage-Labor and Capital*, composed in 1847, and compares it with that of *Value, Price and Profit* which dates from 1865. Both of these works were designed for audiences of working men; they were simplified expositions, not scientific treatises. It would certainly be a mistake to look for Marx's fullest and deepest thinking in either of them on that account. Moreover the first was prepared at a very early stage in Marx's investigation of capitalist economy. Neither was published during his lifetime. Lucid and valuable as they are for the student, they need to be used with a certain reserve and related to Marx's fuller treatment in *Capital*.

The result of Browder's comparison is that he finds that whereas in 1847 Marx adhered to a "subsistence" theory of wages, in 1865 he made a decisive break with it and accepted that wages were a variable quantity, containing, as Browder puts it, "a social increment above subsistence." In America the subsistence element has become a quite minor part of the total wage compared with the "social wage" (Browder's term). This has meant, too, that the idea attributed to Marx that the workers were going to

become poorer and poorer under capitalism has been proved ridiculous. Marx consequently becomes an eccentric old gentleman, comparable with Newton, but responsible only for ideas which have provoked others to find out the real truth about capitalism.

That Marx's thought should have evolved between 1847 and 1865 can surprise only Browder. That he can have been unconscious of the changes he was making, if he did make any, seems far-fetched; so does Browder's claim to have made the discovery that Marx had two, irreconcilable wage theories.

In the first place, *Wage-Labor and Capital* shows that Marx already was aware that wages could move upward as capitalism developed. He wrote: "If capital grows, the mass of wage labor grows, the number of wage workers grows; in a word, the domination of capital extends over a greater number of individuals. And if we assume the most favorable case: if productive capital grows, the demand for labor grows. Consequently the price of labor, wages, goes up."³

Marx makes it clear that wages will be determined by supply and demand and the "price of the necessary means of subsistence," which would be the axis around which the average wage level for "simple labor power" would turn. While some workers might fall below this level, where the demand for labor power was high, wages would rise above it, and they would be higher for labor which was trained and skilled. The "necessary means of subsistence" will have to be adequate to keep the worker an efficient source of labor power, and will vary with the skill and effort, physical or nervous, which he furnishes — unless the labor market is overstocked.

Already in *Wage-Labor and Capital* Marx speaks of "our needs and enjoyments" as having a "social nature" and therefore changing with time and place. This is surely the "historical and social element" which was later made more explicit and figures in all Marx's subsequent discussions of wages.

In the first volume of *Capital* it is stated that "The value of labor-power is determined by the value of the necessities of life habitually required by the average laborer. The quantity of these necessities is known at any given epoch of a given society, and can therefore be treated as a constant magnitude" — that is for the succeeding analysis.⁴ Here, too, the assumption is made that "the price of labor-power rises occasionally above its value, but never sinks below it," not, as Browder states, "that the wages of labor are constantly at their lowest level."⁵

3. Marx, Karl: *Wage-Labor and Capital*, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 268.

4. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. I, Moore, Aveling ed., p. 527-8.

5. Quoted by Browder from a letter of Marx to Engels. In any case this is a legitimate assumption for analytical purposes, and clearly does not imply that all wages, in practice, will be at that level. The trouble is that it is necessary to be aware of the kind of assumptions

In fact *Capital* improves considerably upon the discussion in *Value, Price and Profit*. For example, Browder makes a point of emphasizing that Marx there stated that "although we can fix the minimum of wages, we cannot fix their maximum." If that means that the upper limit cannot be deduced by analysis in terms of money units, that there is a range of indeterminacy, so well and good. But *Capital* sets limits to this maximum in the statement that "the rise of wages . . . is confined within limits that not only leave intact the foundations of the capitalistic system, but also secure its reproduction on a progressive scale." Marx goes on to say "that the very nature of accumulation excludes every diminution in the degree of exploitation of labor, and every rise in the price of labor, which could seriously imperil the continued reproduction, on an ever enlarging scale, of the capitalist relation."⁶ That remains a fact of life in the United States, as well as in every other capitalist country.

When Marx reverts to wage questions in *Capital*, Vol. III, there is certainly none of the "slurring over" of the social element which Browder claims. It is asserted by Marx that the minimum level of wages is determined "by the physical minimum required by the laborer for the conservation of his labor power and its reproduction." "The actual value of his (the laborer's) labor-power differs from the physical minimum; it differs according to climate and condition of social development; it depends not merely upon the historically developed social needs which become second nature. But in every country and at any given period this regulating average wage is a given magnitude."⁷ Marx then goes on to reiterate a more fundamental point, that the absolute level of surplus value is determined by the excess of the unpaid portion of the working day over its paid portion. Here, and not in the actual level of real wages, is the nub of the Marxist critique of capitalism.

Historically considered, the possibilities which the American environment have provided for "the ruthless development in geometrical progression of the productivity of human labor"⁸ — the historical mission of capitalism — have resulted not only in a higher real wage, but also in the creation and appropriation of surplus value on a scale without parallel elsewhere. That surely is the basic fact about American capitalism. The basis for its explanation is fully present in Marx's writings: they need,

which Marx is making at any particular stage in his analysis. For example, in working out the relationship between wages and profits — say, what will happen to profits if wages fall — certain features of the prevailing situation have to be held constant, especially the length of the working day and the price of the means of subsistence, but a whole series of other assumptions are implied. For the painstaking manner in which Marx tackles such problems reference should be made, for example, to *Capital*, Vol. III.

6. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 634.

7. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 1000.

8. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 308.

of course, to be understood and applied with a full realization of the dialectical complexities of the interacting components of the capitalist mechanism. But there is no special manna which falls from on high upon American workers in the shape of Browder's "social wage." Nor has the despotism of capital been loosened simply because American workers in the main do not resemble the "starvelings" or "criminals of want" of the song. But, if this is no longer physically the case, exploitation and alienation are just as characteristic of their position as it is of the underpaid worker of Asia or Africa.

Nor does "impoverishment" begin below the subsistence line of mere physical existence. It can begin anywhere. The American worker deprived of his car or his fruit juice by unemployment or a falling real wage is just as much impoverished. And where his forefathers fought for bread he fights to meet the payments on the home or the refrigerator.

Certainly there is plenty to suggest that under capitalism productivity would rise, and that the results of that would become built into customary living levels. At the same time, employers would try to beat down wages and the inability of capitalism to attain stability would result in the existence of a reserve army of labor at or below subsistence level for the time and place. On the other hand, in periods of prosperity Marx was equally definite that real wages would go up and that workers would live better. He was also definite that while the law of supply and demand "completes the despotism of capital," when the workers become conscious of this fact they would, by trade unions and other means "try to organize a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class."⁹

There is no fatalism here. And when a few pages further on Marx expounds the "absolute general law of capitalist accumulation" — concerned with the "industrial reserve army," he adds, "Like all other laws, it is modified in its working by many circumstances, the analysis of which does not concern us here." On the following page he adds, "in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse." There seems no point in adducing further quotations or seeking for metaphysical meanings. A number of recent discussions may, however, be referred to by the reader wanting to look at the state of the controversy.¹⁰ At least it can be said that those who like Browder take it for granted that Marx had a dogma of im-

9. Marx, Karl: *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 655.

10. Strachey, J., *Contemporary Capitalism*; Gillman, J. M., *The Declining Rate of Profit*; Germain, E., *Y a-t-il une théorie de Marx sur la "paupérisation du prolétariat"?* in *Quatrième Internationale*, Vol. 15, No. 4-6; Meek, R. L., *Mr. Strachey's Economics in The New Reasoner*, Spring, 1959.

poverishment, in terms of a declining real wage, always and everywhere, can only be considered to argue in bad faith.

In any case it is unsafe to draw general conclusions from an altogether exceptional phase of prosperity. Nor can the net effects of capitalism for the working class, even in America, be as-

essed according to consumption levels. The intensity of work, the degree of exploitation, the dehumanization of the worker on the job, the degradations of a commercialized society — these have to be put on the other side of the scales. So do the effects of the wars of the twentieth century.

"The Socialists and the Communists write articles against the two-year term, and for the sake of greater impressiveness trot out their largest type. Deep in their hearts the 'leaders' hope things will work out somehow. Here also everything is in order.

"And yet this order has hopelessly undermined itself. It will collapse with a stench . . ."

Or his comments on Marx and Engels: "When you have had enough of the prose of the Blums, the Cachins, and the Thorezes, when you have swallowed your fill of the microbes of pettiness and insolence, obsequiousness and ignorance, there is no better way of clearing your lungs than by reading the correspondence of Marx and Engels, both to each other and to other people. In their epigrammatic allusions and characterizations, sometimes paradoxical, but always well thought out and to the point, there is so much instruction, so much mental freshness and mountain air! They always lived on the heights."

Such quotations could be endlessly multiplied. But there is also a recurring theme running through the diary which makes it a document of excruciating poignancy.

In his autobiography Trotsky wrote one of the most moving accounts of a man's childhood which has ever been written. Here, in the diary, he has painted an incomparable picture of his wife, Natasha.

The hunt of Trotsky's children and his friends by Stalin is surely one of the most appalling stories of sustained barbaric revenge of which history has any record. The full brunt of the horror fell on the heart of the dignified and dauntless Natasha.

Quotation would mar this immortal tribute of a man to his wife. Read it for yourself.

Trotsky's Diary -- A Poignant Document

by Michael Foot

TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE: 1935, Translated from the Russian by Elena Zardnaya. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1958. 218 pp. \$4.

"Only a participant can be a profound spectator," wrote Leon Trotsky.

He was contrasting the novels of Jules Romains with those of Emile Zola. Romains himself had referred to his distance from the scenes he described, and Trotsky points out that this distance was not only optical but also moral. Zola, the participant, was "deeper, warmer, and more human" and, therefore, the greater writer.

Trotsky himself, of course, is the foremost example of his own aphorism. He is, probably in all history, the greatest man of action who was also a very great literary genius.

Everything he wrote bears the individual stamp of the man; it has a pulse and urgency which is absent from the writings of those political writers, even the most perceptive, who were only spectators.

This applies to the latest Trotsky "discovery," the fragments of a diary he wrote during his exile in France and Norway in 1935, even though he obviously found the diary form awkward and distasteful.

By comparison with his finest writings, *Trotsky's Diary in Exile* is slight and rambling. But it still wins a considerable place in socialist literature.

At first, its chief interest is contained in the numerous side-glancing insights into casual occurrences. For example:

Trotsky and his wife go to Lourdes: "What crudeness, insolence, nastiness! A shop for miracles, a business office for trafficking in Grace. The Grotto itself makes a miserable impression. That, of course, is a psychological calculation of the clerics; not to frighten the little people away by the grandeur of their commercial enterprise; little people are afraid of shop windows that are too resplendent. At the same time they are the most faithful and profitable customers. But best of all is the papal blessing

broadcast to Lourdes by — radio. The paltry miracles of the Gospels side by side with the radio-telephone! And what could be more absurd and disgusting than the union of proud technology with the sorcery of the Roman chief druid. Indeed the thinking of mankind is bogged down in its own excrement."

Or his recalled conversation with Kamenev about Stalin:

"Do you think that Stalin is now considering how to reply to your arguments?" This was approximately what Kamenev said, in reference to my criticism of the Stalin-Bukharin-Molotov policies in China, England, etc. 'You are mistaken. He is thinking of how to destroy you.'

Or his foresight about the fall of France:

"March 21. It's spring, the sun is hot, the violets have been in bloom for about ten days, the peasants are puttering around in the vineyards. Last night we listened to *Die Walkure* from Bourdeaux until midnight. Military service extended to two years. Rearmament of Germany. Preparations for a new 'final' war. The peasants peacefully prune their vines and fertilize the furrows between them. Everything is in order.

Class Reality in America

by Farrell Dobbs

THE STATUS SEEKERS, by Vance Packard. David McKay Company, Inc., New York. 376 pp. \$4.50.

"A number of influential voices have been advising us that whatever social classes we ever had are now indeed withering away. We are being told that the people of our country have achieved unparalleled equality . . . Such a notion unfortunately rests upon a notable lack of perception of the true situation that is developing. Class lines in several areas of our national life appear to be hardening. And status straining has intensified."

With this opening theme Vance Packard undertakes in *The Status Seekers*

to probe class reality in American society. Although lacking in class-struggle perceptions, the book is nevertheless valuable for its factual analysis of present-day class relations and class trends. On the whole it packs a wallop similar to *The Hidden Persuaders* in which the same author examined devious advertising techniques used to manipulate public opinion to ruling-class advantage.

Among various economic changes affecting the class structure of society, three factors examined by Packard are particularly revealing. "A trend toward large, bureaucratic organizations," i.e., the growth of monopoly capitalism. Shrinkage in the scope of small business, in the number of self-employed.

This review first appeared in the British left-wing Laborite weekly, Tribune, June 17 issue. Michael Foot is editor of the Tribune.

And throughout industry the breaking down of jobs into narrow, simple specialties at lower-skilled wage rates.

With his productive role fragmented and impersonalized a worker tends to become bored on the job, losing any basis for pride of initiative or creativity. In this situation he also has little aspiration. "And it is not because he is lazy. He is just realistic." The only visible way left for him to advance in the world is "by acquiring material possessions."

But a worker does not move up into another social class just by being able to buy a limousine, either by cash or installment. "In terms of his productive role in society — in contrast to his consuming role — class lines in America are becoming more rigid, rather than withering away."

Among middle-class people, divided by the author into a "semi-upper" class and a "limited-success" class, social climbing runs rampant. Several chapters are devoted to forms of status seeking in general practice. Snob appeal prevails in planning the home, impels the shopper toward prestige stores and brings submission to oppressive social manipulation of community life.

Concern with status prerogatives on the job is illustrated by the case of a Ford executive: "As his position improved, his office grew larger, his name went on the door, he received a rug for the floor and a spot in the indoor garage. Then came keys to the executive washrooms . . ."

Status striving exerts a price in human happiness going beyond the worry of trying to live above one's income. Friends are sought or discarded according to their usefulness in gaining higher status rather than for the warmth they may bring into one's life. Acceptance or exclusion hinges even more brutally on questions of "differentness" in color, national origin, or religion.

"Members of minority groups who have managed to succeed financially . . . seek to move out from the blighted, over-crowded central areas where their people have been confined." However their new neighbors "make no distinction between these successful, well-educated people, who by all socio-economic standards are their own kind of people, and the masses who have the same foreign-sounding names or dark skins . . ."

To give another example: "In the past, the Jews have survived by being able, in many cases, to prosper in their own enterprises. This assured them they would not be at the mercy of a prejudiced Gentile employer . . . Now, however, many Jews face the economic necessity of working within the hierarchy of the large corporations . . . And it is the rare large corporation that considers Jews on their qualifications alone in filling all its ranks. Some corporations shun Jews almost entirely."

Prejudice and social snobbery have given impetus to the exclusive private

school as an educational medium. It is coming to loom "larger than the family coat of arms" in determining whether a young person is acceptable in upper circles. The private school, of course, remains democratic: "You can't tell a millionaire's son from a billionaire's."

In a chapter on religion Packard puts church membership at more than 104 million. He examines the reasons why about two-thirds of the nation's Catholics are in the lower class and touches briefly on the special attention paid to organized labor by the church hierarchy. A contrast is drawn between the tendency of upper-class churches to generate a feeling the social system is pretty fine just as it is, and the policy of lower-class religions to offer consolation for failure.

Modern Sociology and Marxism

by Daniel Freeman

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION, by C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press, New York. 1959. 234 pp. \$6.

In his latest book, Professor C. Wright Mills, author of *The Power Elite*, aims "to define the meaning of the social sciences for the cultural tasks of our time." Mills, an independent radical, is one of the most advanced sociologists in American academic life today. It is therefore no surprise that in this book he is very much concerned with the implications of social science, or as he calls it "the sociological imagination," for political tasks. By this he means the attempt to analyze the "problems of biography, of history, and of their interactions within social structures" and thereby to generate increased social awareness as a precondition for political and cultural change.

The political task of social scientists, says Mills, is "continually to translate personal troubles into public issues, and public issues into the terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals." Equipped with "sociological imagination" socially informed publics, parties and movements may perhaps produce enough of the power of reason in society (and Mills is quite pessimistic on this score) so that someday we may achieve the goal of "the avoidance of war and the re-arrangement of human affairs in accordance with the ideals of human reason and freedom."

Mills develops his concept of "sociological imagination" through a critique of the two currently dominant schools of academic sociology described as "Grand Theory" (represented by Talcott Parsons) and "Abstracted Empiricism" (represented by Lazarsfeld, Stouffer and others). Mills says that these schools negate what he regards as the promise of nineteenth century sociology

Inability of the latter preachment to allay social unrest is suggested by the remark: "As you get near the bottom of the social scale, there is an abrupt rise in a disorder called *anomie* — feeling isolated, loosely attached to the world, and convinced that things are tough all over."

Politically, a similar state of mind finds its reflection in the "frustration-boredom" factor conditioning voting trends. Analysis of election returns indicates a significant yearning for a political housecleaning and new faces. A tendency is growing "to vote against the party that has been in control of the Administration, faces being equal. And the longer the party has been in power, the more compelling this urge becomes."

— the establishment of the forces of reason and freedom in society. Rather than serving such ends, he argues, they produce works either directly or indirectly in the interests of the "power elite" of military, governmental and corporate institutions.

He summarizes the function of prevailing social science as follows: "In bureaucratic social science of which abstracted empiricism is the most suitable tool and grand theory the accompanying lack of theory — the whole social science endeavor has been pinned down to the service of the prevailing authorities." In effect this is social science in uniform.

In this book, as in his previous writings, Mills is at his best in the role of radical social critic with a clear insight into the true nature of American capitalist society and the function of its official ideological hacks. Unfortunately his ability to replace the pseudo-theory of sociology in the service of the ruling class with a superior method and theoretical structure is sadly limited by his idealist and rationalist approach.

While Mills admires many of Marx's ideas, he reveals a meager understanding of their basic materialist-dialectic and class-struggle revolutionary content. And for a conscientious scholar of Mills' standing, the lumping together of Marxism with its Stalinist perversion is little short of shocking.

Mills declares that events in the modern world show "why Marxism has so often become a dreary rhetoric of bureaucratic defense and abuse." He says, "John Stuart Mill never examined the kinds of political economy now arising in the capitalist world. Karl Marx never analyzed the kinds of society now arising in the Communist bloc. And neither of them ever thought through the problems of the so-called underde-

veloped countries in which seven out of ten men are trying to exist today. Now we confront new kinds of social structure which, in terms of 'modern ideals,' resist analysis in the liberal and socialist terms we have inherited."

Leaving aside John Stuart Mill and the inheritance of modern liberalism, is it really possible to dismiss the work of modern Marxism on precisely the questions named by Mills? Take, for example, the monumental work of Lenin and Trotsky in applying and elaborating Marx's theory of permanent revolution in relation to economically backward countries oppressed by capitalist imperialism. This work of analysis and prognosis was brilliantly confirmed in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and more recently in the Chinese Revolu-

tion. It remains the key to an understanding of the vast transformations taking place over our entire planet.

As to the question of an analysis of Soviet society, it is true that Marx in his time never envisaged such a phenomenon. But this can hardly dispose of the validity of the modern Marxist analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union expounded over a whole historical period by Leon Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement.

It is indispensable to carefully study the living Marxist doctrine as it was applied and tested in the events of the world we live in. This can scarcely be expected from the sociologists in the service of the "power elite." The work of a radical critic of Mills' caliber, however, demands such a study.

China's Modern Military History

by Paul Williams

A MILITARY HISTORY OF MODERN CHINA: 1924-1949, by F. F. Liu. Princeton University Press. 1956. 312 pp. \$6.

Although he was a former officer in Chiang Kai-shek's forces, was wounded twice in action and was decorated by the dictator himself for "conspicuous gallantry in action," the author is no partisan of the Nationalist regime on Taiwan.

His objective in this book is to present to the military profession a carefully documented and factually accurate account of three periods in the military history of modern China:

(1) China under the impact of the Russian Revolution. This includes building a new Chinese army through Soviet help, development of the Chinese Communist party, and the crushing of the working-class Revolution of 1925-27.

(2) The attempts of Chiang and his Kuomintang party to build a strong Nationalist army, utilizing help from the German General Staff; the Japanese invasion; upsurge of the peasantry and the surrender of the Japanese in 1945.

(3) The postwar peasant uprisings, growth of the Communist military force, armed conflicts between Nationalist and Communist armies, Chiang's loss of power and retreat to Formosa.

Although the book is dry and unimpeachable of the popular reader, it is loaded with facts of value to anyone interested in the Chinese revolution.

For example, according to official Nationalist figures cited by Liu, in 1945 Chiang's forces consisted of 3,700,000 men in arms, equipped with 1,600,000 rifles, 6,000 artillery, American-made planes, and a few divisions of U.S. Marines. Fresh equipment was pouring in from America's arsenals and American transport was used as an auxiliary force.

Contrasted to that, the Communist forces consisted of 320,000 ragged, poorly equipped peasants. Within three years, the relationship of forces had shifted to such degree that Chiang went down in military defeat.

A big factor in this revolutionary overturn, and Liu documents it well, was the propaganda of the Chinese Communist party calling for land to the peasants. It was not just propaganda either. As the peasants won, land was distributed to them.

In contrast, Chiang's generals, a corrupt, reactionary crew, decimated the countryside; and, wherever possible, supported the landlords in their fight against the rising peasantry.

Liu cites an instance in which one of Chiang's generals, growing desperate, had a leaflet distributed by airplane, stating that he might be in favor of reducing the landlord's profit twenty-five per cent if the peasants would support him.

The Chinese Communist armies won many battles before they even began. Entire Nationalist armies came over, bringing with them their American-made guns and supplies. Mao put this in slogan form: "Our source of supplies is the front."

Liu occasionally draws from the works of Trotsky, but reveals a remarkable lack of insight into the political reasons for the defeat of the Revolution of 1925-27. He attributes many of Stalin's "mistakes" to the fact that "Stalin has had that disadvantage to which even the most powerful men are prey . . . incompetent assistants" who provided false and misleading information. Liu does not consider how Trotsky got correct information.

Here, Liu reveals a pedantic military approach to events, limited in understanding of the economic, social and political forces involved in China's revolutions.

Periodicals in Review

by Tim Wohlforth

MILLS-HOWE CONTROVERSY

The publication *Dissent*, which specializes in doing as little as possible of what its title suggests, has had its pages enlivened recently by a revealing controversy.

The controversy began with a review of C. Wright Mills' *Causes of World War Three* by *Dissent* editor Irving Howe (Spring 1959). Howe found the book "unacceptable for the democratic left" not because of Mills' rejection of a Marxist theoretical approach or because of the concomitant strain of idealism in his thinking. What Howe objects to is Mills' opposition to the cold-war ideologists and his recognition of the real state of affairs in the world. He accuses Mills of systematically understating "the significance of political ideas and ideologies as motifs affecting the behavior of and helping to explain the differences between nations — and a failing most inevitably a consequence of his hard-boiled stress upon 'power' as a dominant factor in world politics." Mills does not see the cold war as a struggle between the "democracy" of the "free world" and the authoritarianism of the USSR. He underrates the "role of democratic sentiments in the West."

In others words, Mills is guilty in Howe's eyes of not swallowing the cold-war myth that the United States is struggling to preserve democracy in the world. He is further guilty of suggesting such "highly problematic notions" that the U.S. should "abandon all military bases and installations outside the continental domain of the United States."

* * *

In the Summer 1959 *Dissent* Mills answers Howe. "No doubt there are others but I have seen only three 'negative' U.S. reviews of my essay, the *Causes of World War Three*. In the *Wall Street Journal*, William H. Chamberlain wrote — as expected; in the *N.Y. Post*, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote — as expected; and in *Dissent*, you wrote — unexpectedly. I had thought you had abandoned the foot-dragging mood of the Cold War and were trying to make a new beginning. I had thought that an editor of *Dissent* would have taken due note of differences, and then gone on to build a new left, taking into account the changed state of the world and the sorry

condition of U.S. foreign policy. But no. Why waste time with lib-lab apologists and fanatical anti-Communists? But you are supposed to be in some way or another 'left.' So I feel the need to make a few points and to ask you a few questions . . . Just how does your basic view of the world confrontation today differ from the line expressed by the work of Dulles-Adenauer?"

Mills says further: "You write like the cold warriors. To dissent is lovely. But, Irving, as regards foreign policy, from what, tell me, do you dissent? . . . What have you recently read — apart from rumors filed from Hong Kong — about China?" He concludes: "I'll stick to the assessments and proposals I've outlined in my essay and continue to elaborate them with the help of those who have not yet joined The Old Futillitarians of the dead American left."

AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

In the summer of 1958, the *American Socialist* published, jointly with the *Monthly Review*, a special issue containing nine articles on the subjects, "American Labor Today." This attempt to sum up the state of the American labor movement contained much of value, but neglected entirely the crucial problem of the labor bureaucracy.

In Bert Cochran's comprehensive introductory piece, there were a few general references to "ranks" and "leadership" but no mention of the existence of a privileged caste or social strata of union officials with needs and aspirations that are not merely different from, but antagonistic to, those of the ranks.

In Cochran's article it is the abstraction — "labor" or "the American labor movement" — which is following reactionary policies or making mistakes, or neglecting opportunities, or dissipating strength. The impression is given that the labor movement constituted, if not one big happy family, at least a unit headed in one direction. Cochran and the other authors point out in some detail how the American labor movement has not been getting very far along socialist lines. There is no intimation, however, that one of the prime causes for this has been the formation of the modern labor bureaucracy which is imbued with capitalist ideology, tied in with the capitalist parties and government and organically hostile to class-struggle militancy and socialist impulses from below.

The nine articles have now appeared as a book and the September 1959 issue of *American Socialist* prints a review by Mulford Q. Sibley who points out an inconsistency in Cochran's contribution: How, questions Sibley, can Cochran retain his faith in the revolutionary future of the labor movement in the face of his "recital of details, which from a socialist point of view, tend to make one despair?"

Cochran must have anticipated this

question. In the July-August issue of his magazine, in an article, "Choices Before America," he observes that the working class of Western capitalist countries have not made successful socialist revolutions and asks:

"Was Marx — we can broaden it and ask, was modern socialism — totally wrong in viewing the working class as the inheritor of the mantle of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, destined to inherit power in order to reorganize society on new socialist lines? Or, was the error of the kind that frequently occurs between the theoretical exposition of an idea and its worldly realization, and which with suitable modifications can still retain some historical validity?"

Cochran answers his question thus: "Today, the balance sheet reads that despite two world wars the system remains firmly in the saddle and the Western trade unions and labor parties are rightfully considered as a prime element of the social stability. The Western working classes, at least judging by the past century, seem to lack the will to power that gripped the merchants and entrepreneurs during the twilight of feudalism."

* * *

"In the thirties," says Cochran, "Trotsky and others tried to explain the non-revolutionism of the labor organizations and their folding up in times of crisis in terms of a betrayal on the part of their leaders. But he failed to grapple with the root problem why leaders who allegedly betrayed the wishes of their ranks continued to enjoy their support and were re-elected time and again after committing their so-called betrayals."

Cochran ignores the fact that Trotsky "grappled" at length with precisely this question. For example: after Franco's victory in Spain a French periodical, *Que Faire*, wrote that the defeat of the Spanish revolution under leaders who betrayed it was due to the lack of will of the Spanish workers to follow any other leaders. Trotsky answered in an article entitled "The Class, The Party and The Leadership," published in the United States in the December, 1940 issue of the *Fourth International* (now the *International Socialist Review*).

"Our author," wrote Trotsky, "depicts the matter as if the proletariat were in a well stocked shoe store, selecting a new pair of boots . . . As regards new leadership, the choice is very limited. Only gradually, only on the basis of their own experience through several stages can the broad layers of the masses become convinced that a new leadership is firmer, more reliable, more loyal than the old. To be sure, during a revolution, i.e., when events move swiftly, a weak party can quickly grow into a mighty one provided it lucidly understands the course of the revolution and possesses staunch cadres that do not become intoxicated with phrases and are

not terrorized by persecution. But such a party must be available prior to the revolution inasmuch as the process of educating the cadres requires a considerable period of time and the revolution does not afford this time . . . History is not an automatic process. Otherwise, why leaders? why parties? why programs? why theoretical struggles?"

MARKETABLE EX-RADICALISM

While the radical movement is at its lowest ebb numerically in this country the ex-radicals seem legion. Sidney Lens in the Sept. 5 *Nation* documents the prominence of former radicals in the trade union bureaucracies, the leading magazines, and in the employment of the U.S. State Department itself.

Lens feels that ex-radicalism has become "a marketable commodity" in contemporary America. The United States entered a post-war world in which its main protagonist called itself Marxist and in which the new nationalist leaders in the Asian and African countries likewise were influenced by radical ideas. Washington needed people who could handle radical ideas to serve its own international interests. The ex-radical filled the bill.

"In many ways," Lens concludes, "the professional ex is the most powerful influence in today's tendency to conform. Because of his past, he is even more fearful of 'sticking his neck out' than the arch-conservative."

* * *

Another function of the "ex" is to carry on polemics against Marxism for the American rulers. One former radical who has made this his profession is Bertram D. Wolfe. Wolfe was an editor of the Lovestoneite *Revolutionary Age* which ceased publication in 1940 when the Lovestoneite group formally dissolved. He is known for his book *Three Who Made a Revolution*. The Spring, 1959 issue of *Antioch Review* contains an article by Wolfe, "Marxism Today." It has become fashionable among American intellectuals to announce regularly that this or that prediction of Marx has been proven wrong by history. Wolfe now carries this campaign to its logical extreme and blandly states, "No other serious thinker of the nineteenth century was so frequently, egregiously, and totally wrong in his predictions."

Wolfe does not bother, of course, to prove his claim that Marx was "totally wrong." He hopes that the audience he is writing for will largely accept the assertion uncritically. The cold-war ideological reaction and the fearful conformity produced by the witch hunt has encouraged the Wolfes to believe they can get away with the most absurd nonsense. Unchallenged by a vigorous and expanding Marxist movement, the ex-radical becomes intellectually lazy in the performance of his anti-Marxist chores. He relies on assertion and labeling rather than argumentation and

proof. Wolfe even claims that "unlike the deceased intellectuals who offered them leadership the workers themselves have never been attracted to this 'mission' [that of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a classless society — T.W.] Just exactly how Wolfe squares this astonishing statement with the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the heroic revolutionary attempts of the German, Austrian and Spanish workers, and the mass socialist and communist workers' movements in Western Europe, etc., one does not know."

We do not hold that Marx and his followers were infallible in their predictions. It is clear now that Marx and Engels tended to err in estimating the tempo of the world revolution. They underestimated the ability of decaying capitalism to preserve its tottering rule (at the great cost to humanity of catastrophic depressions, two world wars and the hell of fascism, to be sure). And they didn't foresee the full scope of the task of creating working-class leadership capable of leading victorious struggles against capitalism. But can anyone deny that the basic outline of Marx's predictions are being realized in our time? Marx's concept of a planned economy, which many of his contemporaries simply dismissed as a theoretical and practical impossibility, has now been achieved despite all imperfections in one-third of the world. Another one-third of the world, the colonial areas, is now in a profound struggle against imperialism so that the remaining advanced capitalist countries find themselves living in a hostile world.

STUDENTS AND YOUTH

The Spring 1959 issue of *Polemic*, a journal of contemporary ideas published by students at Western Reserve University, was largely devoted to a symposium on "The Condition of the American Left" with contributions from spokesmen of most of the radical organizations and groups in the U.S. including Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party and Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party. Comments on these contributions by Western Reserve students and faculty members followed.

The idea of such exchanges of views between American radicals and the university public is excellent and let us hope other universities attempt it. *Polemic* is technically very impressive. It beautifully combines graphic arts, different textured papers and modern well-designed typography. The general opulent effect created, however, seems somewhat out of keeping with the subject matter — the American radical movement. There isn't a single socialist organization that could afford such a luxurious format.

* * *

Challenge, the monthly paper of the Young People's Socialist League, has ceased publication. This was occasioned

both by a financial crisis in the organization and by general dissatisfaction with the publication among YPSL members. The YPSL was evidently attempting to publish a paper which they assumed students would like, even though they themselves thought it to be on too low a level. As a result the members did not like it enough to bother to sell it and when they attempted to sell it they discovered that the students agreed with their own evaluation of it.

The abandonment of *Challenge* is part of a trend — the shrinking number of publications in the Social Democratic sphere of radical politics. With the merger of the Shachtmanites and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation the weekly *Labor Action* and the quarterly *New International* were given up. All that is left is the monthly *Socialist Call*, the semi-socialist *Dissent* and the irregular annual student magazine *Anvil*.

Now the only socialist youth newspaper in the country is the *Young Socialist*. The YS is marking the end of its second full year of publication. This summer it published a special eight-page issue which dealt with the question of peace.

A new student radical journal, *Studies on the Left*, is to be launched this fall by a group of graduate students at the University of Wisconsin. These students, who have been active in the large Wisconsin Socialist Club, say that the journal "is connected with no specific theoretical position or political organization. The journal aims at significant, scholarly, readable articles, of whatever radical or socialist position." Its address is P.O. Box 2121, Madison 5, Wis.

Those interested in the socialist youth movement in the U.S. should read the article "On Party Youth Work" by Hyman Lumar appearing in the June, 1959, issue of *Political Affairs*, the monthly magazine of the Communist Party. Lumar notes: "The dissolution of the Labor Youth League and the subsequent abandonment of attention to youth work were among the worst consequences of the crisis through which the Party has just passed. For a considerable period of time, there has been virtually a complete void in this field of activity."

After outlining the continued basic differences of opinion within the CP on how to organize its youth and the divergent forms of present youth activity Lumar concludes: "There appears to be no sufficient base for the immediate formation of a national youth organization . . ."

POPULAR FRONT REAPPRAISED

The *Monthly Review*, which has long been an uncritical supporter of the European Communist parties' policy of popular front, printed an article in its December 1958 issue which basically challenged this policy. The article, "The Politics of Contemporary Capitalism" by

Ralph Miliband, was reprinted from the British *New Reasoner*.

Miliband said, "The most important fact about the Left in Western Europe since the end of the war is that it has come nowhere near to presenting a really serious threat to the established order." He blames this state of affairs on the policy of the European Communist parties, especially in France and Italy, of participating in the post-war bourgeois coalition governments.

This policy, he pointed out, "seemed to represent a major Communist advance. In fact, the gain was almost wholly on the other side. For it immediately neutralized the Communists as a source of discord at a critical time by trapping them into the constricting net of constitutional respectability. It compelled them to play second-fiddle in non-Communist orchestras, and to play from a score to the composition of which they had made no more than a marginal contribution."

"So long as they were badly needed to provide the disciplined cooperation of the working classes in the task of reconstruction," he concluded, "they were tolerated if not actually welcomed. But once they could be dispensed with, they were dismissed and thrown back into habitual, and largely ineffective opposition."

Miliband does not conclude from this searching reappraisal of post-war Stalinist policies, as we do, that the Communist parties should have openly struggled for workers' power and the socialist reconstruction of their countries. He feels that America and Great Britain would have crushed any such attempt as it did in Greece.

What Miliband fails to see is that the ability of the West to crush the Greek revolution was due precisely to the capitulation of the CP's of France and Italy to the bourgeois governments of their countries, thus leaving the Greek people to stand up against the imperialists by themselves. Further, Stalin at the Yalta Conference had agreed with Churchill that Greece as well as France and Italy were to remain under capitalist domination. This, far more than the direct onslaught of the Western imperialists, caused the defeat in Greece.

* * *

The *National Guardian*, which during the crisis following the Khrushchev revelations made significant advances towards an independent and critical position on the crimes against socialist democracy in the USSR, has been showing signs of a swing back to unthinking adulation of the regimes in the Soviet lands. A recent example of this was the publication of an article in the Sept. 7, 1959 issue, by W. E. B. DuBois on "Forty-two Years of the USSR." DuBois says, "The Soviet Union is achieving a democracy which Britain, France and the United States are losing. Nowhere in the Western world are political policies so discussed and listened to as in Russia."

That is the reason they reach a unanimity which is normal since, under natural law, there are no two sides to every question but one Truth which must be found and followed — or disaster follows."

DuBois' testimony that democracy is being achieved in the Soviet Union is not too convincing when it comes from someone who told us that it was already achieved and in splendid working order under Stalin's regime of mass murder.

Besides, following DuBois' logic we would be compelled to say that the "unanimity" which followed the rise of McCarthyism was a sign of growing democracy in the United States. We are firmly convinced, however, that in this respect DuBois is absolutely right — the

Western countries are indeed losing democracy.

For our part we are confident that there are significant advances towards democracy in the Soviet orbit. This democracy is being won in struggle by workers and intellectuals against the bureaucratic usurpers and against the bureaucratic myth of "unanimity." The workers in Soviet countries don't make the slightest concession to the cold-war when they fight for socialist democracy. And socialists in capitalist countries ought to wake up to the tragic fallacy of trying to win friends for socialism by covering up the truth about the bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

Let socialists tell the real score about

the Soviet Union; about the tremendous economic and social achievements resulting from the system of planned economy; about the socialist revolution that made this possible; about the imperialist blockade and threats of intervention which more than anything else nourished the growth of the Soviet bureaucracy; and, about the socialist struggles of the working class in the Soviet lands for democracy. Thinking American workers and students who are getting fed up with the cold-war lies about the Soviet Union will welcome such straightforward explanations from socialists. Double talk and cover-ups will only leave them bewildered and incredulous.

...What Policy for 1960?

(Continued from Page 98)

why such "proof" is needed. If socialists could unite on a common program in elections, wouldn't that help pave the way for a new, unified party of socialism?

But it would also help break the CP's monopoly on radicalism. The extremes to which the Communist party went in supporting the red-baiting, cold-war Democrat Harriman against the Independent-Socialist candidate McManus shows how nervous the CP leadership was in 1958 about the possibility of a new socialist organization emerging from the regroupment process.

For its part the SWP worked for regroupment by pressing for discussion of basic principles. Its view was that the foundation of a viable party is commonly held principles that meet the test of reality. The SWP also proposed common action on given issues where agreement could be reached. After thorough exploration of the possibilities during the past three years, the SWP leadership acknowledged at its recent convention that organizational fusion was not in prospect and that for the moment the relation of forces among the basic tendencies in the radical movement appears to be relatively fixed.

In line with this estimate, the convention reiterated its long-held view that the Communist party, because of its subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy, is incapable of developing a revolutionary working-class leadership in America. The convention said again that the Soviet bureaucracy's greatest crime against the world socialist movement is its continued imposition of opportunist policies. "Until the Kremlin bureaucracy is overthrown by a workers' political revolution establishing socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc, the American CP will remain a rival against which the SWP must wage unremitting combat . . ."

This passage is quoted by Albertson.

He asks rhetorically: "Can true friends of peace, security and socialism unite with the Trotskyites whose basic aim is such 'unremitting combat'? Shall socialists unite with Trotskyites to help bring about counter-revolution in the socialist lands?"

The distortions involved in these "questions" are in the tradition of the crudest Stalinism. First, the "basic aim" of the SWP is to help mobilize workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. The need for unremitting combat against the CP arises from the fact that, along with the labor bureaucracy, the CP leadership has repeatedly derailed this struggle, taking those sections of the working class most ready for independent political action and revolutionary socialist struggle back to support of capitalist candidates and capitalist political machines.

Secondly, advocacy of a "workers' political revolution establishing socialist

democracy in the Soviet bloc" is not the same as advocacy of "counter-revolution." One can disagree with the SWP view on this question, but to substitute "counter-revolution" for "workers' political revolution" is not in the tradition of reasoned argument; it is in the tradition of the infamous school that perpetrated the Moscow frame-up trials.

Finally, the issue at the conference and for the coming year is not whether all socialists should unite with the SWP or even agree with its views on the Communist party and the Soviet bureaucracy. The issue is: what should socialists do in the 1960 elections?

The SWP proposes to fight the capitalist parties and their bipartisan cold-war program. The SWP proposes to urge the Negro people and the labor movement to break from the Democratic party and organize a labor party. The SWP proposes an end to the demoralizing, self-defeating policy of "working within the Democratic party."

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