

THE

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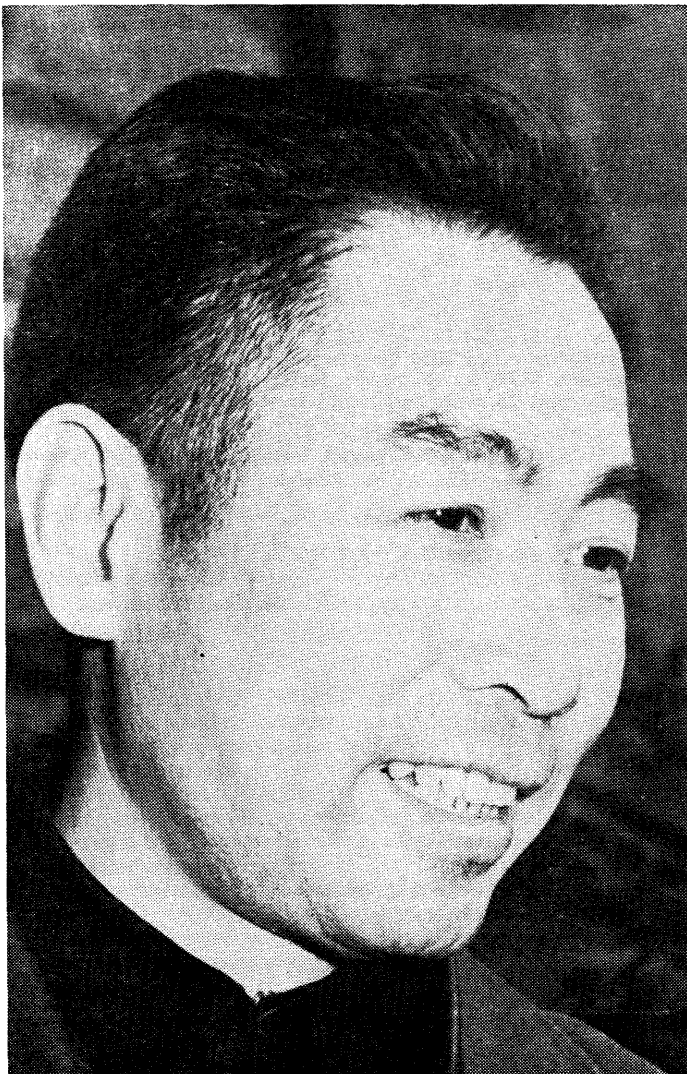
25 CENTS

**HOW  
THE TAX LOAD  
IS BEING SHIFTED**

## **War In Indo-China**

*Who Started It?*

*Is It Our Battle?*



**CHOU EN-LAI**



**DULLES**

# CLIPPINGS

This month, we devote our entire space on this page to reprinting major portions of the remarkable article by Aneurin Bevan from the British Tribune of April 16. The article by the left-wing leader was entitled "America Must Be Told: 'You Go It Alone.'"

BY ANEURIN BEVAN

**E**VER SINCE the war, British diplomacy has been influenced by one dominant consideration—fear of American isolationism. [This] lays us open to indefinite blackmail.

If the United States is led to believe that, in the last resort, we shall always bow to her wishes, then from the outset we exert no leverage on her policy.

In Washington they have become quite cynical about it. "They'll tag along in the end," they say.

We have paid a heavy price for this nightmare fear of American isolation.

We succumbed to pressure from the United States and allowed the Ruhr industries to be restored to their former owners. We did this against the facts of history and in spite of our instinctive distrust of the consequences.

The fruit of this folly is now apparent. A reactionary government has been financed into existence in Western Germany, and all the evidence available points to a revival of Nazism.

Schumacher, the leader of the German Socialists, reproached us—the British Socialists—for this policy, and the reproach was justified. . . .

Again, we permitted ourselves to be rushed into the acceptance of an inflated arms programme which was beyond our means. To this we sacrificed a part of our cherished social services, faced rising prices, and in the end it proved impossible to carry out. But it weakened the Labour movement in Britain by creating dissensions among its members.

The same panic caused the U.S.A. to believe that a German army was essential to the defence of Europe. To that we have sacrificed whatever prospects there were of working-class unity in France, and we are in danger of seeing the same lamentable result in Britain.

We were led to stigmatise Revolutionary China as an "aggressor" in Korea, and this is now held to stand in the way of her formal recognition. . . .

**T**HE THREAT now comes from Washington that the paymaster will stop payment unless we dance to tunes approved by him.

And now the squalid and pitiful story is working up to its climax. We are to be invited to scupper the Geneva Conference before it assembles.

The Conference was the only hopeful thing that emerged from the Berlin Conference. But this was scarcely ended before the United States made it clear that in no circumstances would recognition for Revolutionary China be traded for peace in Indo-China.

Why then is China invited to Geneva? Is it only to give her a venue for surrender?

Are we to have negotiation or bullying? Peacemaking or warmaking? The hand of friendship or the threat of the H-Bomb?

We want to know. And we want to know now before the Conference starts. . . .

The only card we can play at Geneva is recognition of China, in return for peace in Indo-China. And that means peace on the basis of national independence for the Indo-Chinese.

They must be independent of everybody, France as well as China, and that goes for the United States as well. The independence of Indo-China cannot be traded away.

Peace cannot be based permanently on colonial exploitation. Peace is not to be founded on the assumption that the status of the colonial peoples can be frozen where it is now.

The rule of collective peace in the world must provide for social progress and for the attainment of self-government by subject peoples. Otherwise their legitimate struggles for nationhood will endanger peace. Peace and injustice can never live long together.

**T**HERE ARE no qualifications to this. If the Indo-Chinese elect to go Communist, they should be allowed to do so.

It is here that the collision with American policy occurs. She regards every extension of Communism as an accession of strength to the Soviet Union. And so it well may be, if

the treatment accorded to China is the pattern to be followed.

. . . The demand that we should join an alliance for the containment of Communism in South East Asia is not sought as an instrument for the prevention of war, but rather as an extension, into the international field, of the defence of American social, political and economic values.

The military threat is a cover for counter-revolutionary measures. We are being asked to join, not an alliance for the preservation of peace, but a bulwark against political and social progress.

Where that progress is arrested by colonial powers or by black reaction the struggle takes on a more and more revolutionary colour. We are then asked to oppose it in the shape of resistance to Communist aggression.

It is an old story and by now we should be familiar with it.

This new move by the United States, therefore, brings us up against the old dilemma. Should we agree in the end, or should we carry our opposition to the point where it might mean a break?

The answer is quite simple that we shall never be able to make America understand our attitude and adjust herself to it until we are prepared to break with her unless she does.

The Alliance with America was forged in the hope of preventing war. It was not intended as opposition to Communism as such. If America wishes this, then the Alliance is distorted beyond its original purpose.

We should tell America so in the plainest possible terms. If after that she persists, then she must do so alone.

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## War In Indo-China

### Who Started It?

### Is It Our Battle?

**T**HE PRESS is filled with news of Indo-China. The dramatic confrontation of French imperialism by a Vietminh army, and the defeat of the French troops in this battle, is one aspect of the news. The Dulles defeat at Geneva is another.

But our wealthy and spacious American press has hardly found room for a word as to the basic facts of the war in Indo-China. Who started it? Who has the support of the people? What are the war aims of the contenders? These questions are shunned; they are un-touchable. That is because U.S. proposals to intervene with troops don't even have the excuses to back them up that were used in the case of Korea. Here are the facts:

1. *The only aggressors in Indo-China are the French. No two interpretations are possible.*

French aggression is almost 100 years old, starting with "preferential treatment" for French nationals by Indo-China's rulers in return for helping the emperor of Annam to regain his throne, and eventually winding up with turning Indo-China, against the will of the people, into a French colony.

But, more specifically, the present hostilities were initiated almost eight years ago by the French armed forces. What had happened was this: After France fell in 1940, the Vichy government authorized Japanese troops to occupy Indo-China. The Japanese, late in the war, installed puppet governments. Their chief puppet was an emperor-playboy called Bao Dai. During the war, an underground movement, nationalist and communist, arose against the Japanese.

**A**FTER Japan's defeat, the country was occupied by the British in the South and by Chiang Kai-shek in the North. But the real power in the

North, enthusiastically supported by the people, was Ho Chi Minh and his resistance movement.

Ho Chi Minh announced the establishment of the Republic of Vietnam in the North, covering the most decisive section of the country. In the South, British policy was to help restore French imperialism to power. It proved impossible for the French to unseat Ho Chi Minh and finally, in 1946, the government of France reached an agreement with him and recognized the Republic of Vietnam as a free state. Ho Chi Minh went to Paris and signed the Fontainebleau agreement.

But this proved to be nothing more than a shabby ruse on the part of French imperialism. Even while Ho Chi Minh was in Paris, Admiral d'Argenlieu, High Commissioner over Indo-China, worked out a new governmental setup, built up French military strength, and in November 1946 opened the war by shelling the city of Haiphong. That is how the war began.

2. *The overwhelming majority of the people of Indo-China support the Vietminh and oppose the French.*

There can be no doubt of this. After eight years of war, the Vietminh actually governs an area inhabited by 20 million out of the 27 million people of Indo-China. It was only in 1949, after three years of fighting, that the French tried to set up a "government" for Vietnam. They chose as their puppet the very same "emperor" who had been the Japanese Quisling during World War II: the pleasure-seeking traveler, Bao Dai.

The French are completely discredited, and the pro-independence sentiment is so overwhelming that even the puppets, Bao Dai and the "kings" of Laos and Cambodia, have been compelled to make demands upon the French for greater autonomy.

**P**EGGY DURDIN wrote in a recent profile of Ho Chi Minh in the *N.Y. Times Magazine* that his popularity is so great that even the Bao Dais and other French puppets have to be careful of what they say about "Uncle Ho." Imagine a war in which the heads of one side can't freely attack the chief of their opponents because he is too popular even on their own side of the lines! That is enough to demonstrate that there is no Indo-Chinese base for a war against Vietminh, and that American bayonets gripped by unwilling French hands alone make that war possible.

3. *The charge of Chinese "aggression" has absolutely nothing to support it.*

The war in Indo-China went on for four years before the Chinese Communists were anywhere near the Indo-China border; they were concentrated in the north of China. Moreover, even to this day, there has been no proof of charges that the Chinese have sent any troops into Indo-China. It seems reasonable to assume that there is much Chinese military aid in the form of weapons and supplies going to Indo-China, but who can blame them for that?

Right now, 75 to 80 percent of the French effort in Indo-China is paid for by U.S. dollars, and there are even U.S. military advisers, technicians and pilots in Indo-China. How can France and the U.S. carry on this way, four and five thousand miles from their own borders, and deny the Chinese the right to back a brother-movement on their own border? Especially when their southern neighbor is being invaded by governments which have openly sworn to destroy the present Chinese regime!

**T**HESE ARE the facts of the Indo-China war. Are socialists the only ones who see these facts? Not at all. I. F. Stone deserves heartiest applause for reprinting the remarkable speech of Senator Ed Johnson (Dem., Col.) in his May 3 *Weekly*. Johnson had prefaced his speech with a flat statement:

"I am against sending American GI's into the mud and muck of Indo-China on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation in Asia." In his full speech, he said among other things:

*A few hours ago the President said in Kentucky that regardless of how this war started, it was now the free world versus communism. I wish it were that simple. . . . Senator McCarthy thinks every critic is a communist. In world affairs, our diplomats seem also to be making that basic McCarthy error. . . .*

*At what point, and to what degree, has this war, which every record shows to have been a war for freedom and independence, a war against imperialism, at what point did it suddenly become a war of communist aggression?*

Johnson then proceeded to outline the big fact of the new Asia, colonial revolution:

*Asia is in revolution—revolution against colonialism. The promulgation of what we in America believe are the inalienable rights of every man, and the right to walk as equals with dignity in the world community, is sweeping Asia. . . . It was largely on the crest of this popular tide that Mao Tse-tung rode to final victory. . . . Russia was not a factor in Mao's success; in fact, it did nothing for him until after Chiang's defeat. . . .*

*They [our allies] know that the war in Indo-China is not a war of communist aggression. They know that the forces opposing France's colonial rule in Indo-China are just. They know [that American aid to the French] might well justify China in helping her southern Asiatic neighbor with . . . arms and munitions.*

*Suppose, for example, Mexico were conquered and held by an Asiatic power. Suppose the people of Mexico rose up and struck down their oppressor. Then suppose an even stronger Asiatic power intervened, to support the status quo. . . . Would we not feel obligated in the name of freedom to give our Mexican neighbor revolutionists all aid*

*and comfort? And if the other Asiatic power embarked troops in Mexico, would not we also feel justified in sending our forces to drive them out?*

Toward the end of his speech, Johnson spoke words that should penetrate the conscience of every American:

*The only way to combat an idea is with a better idea. What better idea is being advanced by our sending tanks and bombers to slaughter the people of Indo-China? . . . Have we so completely abandoned the principles of freedom? . . . What kind of people have we become?*

**“WHAT KIND** of people have we become?” This question—posed in a speech which is admirable coming from a U.S. senator no matter what his motive in making it may have been—this question is the one which Americans will sooner or later have to answer. Every American who wondered why the people of Germany did not rise up against Hitler's atrocities must now ask himself: “Why don't I protest the Indo-China policy, why don't I protest against the foreign policy which threatens the world with H-bomb war? Why am I—and after all I do not have as much to fear as did the Germans under a fascist dictatorship—why am I silent?”

## Robbery Without Risk

**T**HE CURRENT revelations about the Federal Housing Administration are very instructive, and it is worth examining the tangle of evidence and scandal to get the true picture.

The FHA was established in 1934 as part of a Roosevelt administration national housing act. From the beginning, it gave hardly any direct aid to the homeless or ill-housed. It was designed to build up the construction industry and, as a matter of fact, like the NRA industry codes of that time, it was practically written by representatives of industry. In theory, it would aid those in need of homes by encouraging construction.

The conception behind the original law was that home-building could be encouraged if the risks were taken out of the construction game. Thus the government guaranteed 90 percent of an approved mortgage. This guarantee was not extended to the home purchaser, but to the builder, the banker, the mortgage holder. In other words, instead of saying to the family that needed a home: “You go ahead and buy it, and if you run into sickness or unemployment, we'll back you up financially,” the government said to the building and real estate interests: “You go ahead and build, and if you have any trouble collecting, we'll pay you, take over the mortgage and foreclose ourselves, if necessary.”

The CIO Political Action Commit-

tee has pointed to the “demand of free enterprisers that government take the risk while they get the profits. It was in response to that demand,” PAC pointed out, “that the original provisions which permitted the present ‘scandal’ were written into the law setting up the FHA.” And, although you might think that where the risks are taken out of an enterprise the capitalist will be content with smaller profits, actually the profits became higher as the risks went down!

The essence of the present scandals is that what has been done is not illegal at all. The giveaway, the crookedness, were all written into the act, and that's why it is doubtful that any of the money will be recovered or that there will be any real punishment. How could it be otherwise with a law that was written by the building industry, and a “housing administration” which has been increasingly staffed, as the years went on and the atmosphere became more reactionary, by outright agents of the building interests?

**T**HE CROOKEDNESS works as follows: The builder goes to a bank, loan association, or other institution and gets a loan, securing this loan by an FHA guaranteed mortgage. The banker does not feel impelled to inquire too closely into the value of the security, of the property which he is mortgaging, because he has a govern-

ment guarantee of repayment, and he gets his 5 percent regardless. The builder, who has given inflated figures on the cost and value of the property, pockets the difference between his actual and declared costs. The rents or selling price are jacked up on the basis of these fictitious costs. The banker pockets his, the builder pockets his, neither has assumed any risk at all, and the entire burden is loaded on the poor guy for whom FHA was supposedly intended—the home purchaser or renter.

Are the FHA officials at fault? Not at all, in their view of the matter. They are only carrying out the provisions of a law which does not empower them to do anything else. For example, Deputy Assistant FHA Commissioner Le Grand W. Perce has testified that FHA had no power to reduce mortgages, and never did lower them if actual costs turned out to be lower than the appraisal.

How much has this steal cost the working people? Here are some indications: A housing official judged that about 70,000 tenants may be paying higher rents because of inflated FHA loans, but added that they probably would never get any money back, and would not even have their future rents lowered. Senator Capehart, conducting the probe, estimates that \$500 million of windfall profits—over and above regular profits—fell into the hands of manipulators from this source. Senator Byrd estimated the jacking-up of rents to be from 15 to 25 percent. And the story was told of a New York builder who, with a \$1,000 cash outlay, obtained a \$4.5 million FHA-insured loan and built a project costing \$4 million. He thus had a \$500,000 "windfall" which he pocketed over and above "normal" profits.

The law was revised two years ago, and some of the most flagrant features were eliminated, but many of the crooked procedures continued their legal life. At that time, representatives of the CIO and various consumer groups protested vigorously, but their cries fell on deaf ears. Yet precisely those sections of the law which they protested are now making scandal headlines.

**O**NE INDICATION of the crookedness of Big Business public relations

is the manner in which the very same interests who profited dishonestly from the FHA now use the scandal to try to discredit "public housing." In reality, this entire mess has nothing to do with public housing. It was precisely as a substitute for genuine public housing that the FHA came into being, and has profited the few at the expense of the public for twenty years. Genuine public housing has represented only a tiny fraction of new construction during all these years.

Testimony before the Senate committee was that, under the present private housing setup, "slums are being created faster than they can be eliminated." After the end of World War II, there was released a big pent-up effective demand for housing. Private contractors, rent-gougers and real estate sharks utilized this situation to squeeze the market for all it was worth. It is doubtful that the people got, in actual value terms, much over two-thirds the value they paid for. At the same time, genuine public housing was

kept down to practically nothing by the real estate lobbyists and their friends in politics.

The demand for some change in this shameful situation was so great that even arch-conservative Senator Robert Taft gave his name and support to a public housing bill which called for construction of 135,000 units a year by the government. As a measure of how low government has fallen, the Eisenhower housing proposal, as compared to that of Taft, called for only 35,000 units a year, and even that proposal now looks as though it is dead.

Like the monarchies of the past, in which the kings gave out huge land grants and trade monopolies to their favorites, the Big Business administration gives added wealth to the favored few. Unlike the monarchs of the past, present governments do not rule by a presumption of divine right, but supposedly in the interest of the people. The result has not been more honesty, but more hypocrisy.

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## Ambush on the Potomac

**W**HEN AN ARMY permits its enemy to dictate the conditions of battle, it is quickly outmaneuvered and surrounded. The army of the Potomac is in that position. Commanded by Robert Stevens, it has walked into a trap.



Fervent anti-McCarthyites like to see an "exposure" of McCarthyism in the present hearings. There is some truth in this; McCarthy and his vaudeville team have had considerable trouble, and we hope they have more. But the

prime feature of this controversy is that all of the parties have accepted—nay, proclaimed—the sanctity of the McCarthy vigilante committee and the validity of its operations. The only Army charge is the use of pressure to help Private Schine.

The McCarthy-Army controversy arose out of two events: the Major Peress case and the Fort Monmouth hearings. Even the most limited kind of an Army attack on McCarthyism would have to challenge the smear-work of McCarthy's committee in those two cases. Particularly in the Fort Monmouth case, McCarthy is vulnerable, and has been exposed by many of the nation's most conservative newspapers. But the Army has refused to attack.

Those who think that McCarthy can be halted by an exposure of his rudeness, pressure tactics and dishonesty are nourishing an illusion. He is concerned only with *power*. McCarthy has demonstrated his aggressiveness and his power over all government departments on almost every day of the hearings. Only an equal show of determination can weaken him.

Death and taxes, we have been told, are inevitable. But death, at least, is a burden which falls equitably upon poor and wealthy. Taxes are another matter.

ON May 16, 1912, at the height of the progressive and socialist movements in America, the Sixty-second Congress proposed the following amendment to the U.S. Constitution:

ARTICLE XVI

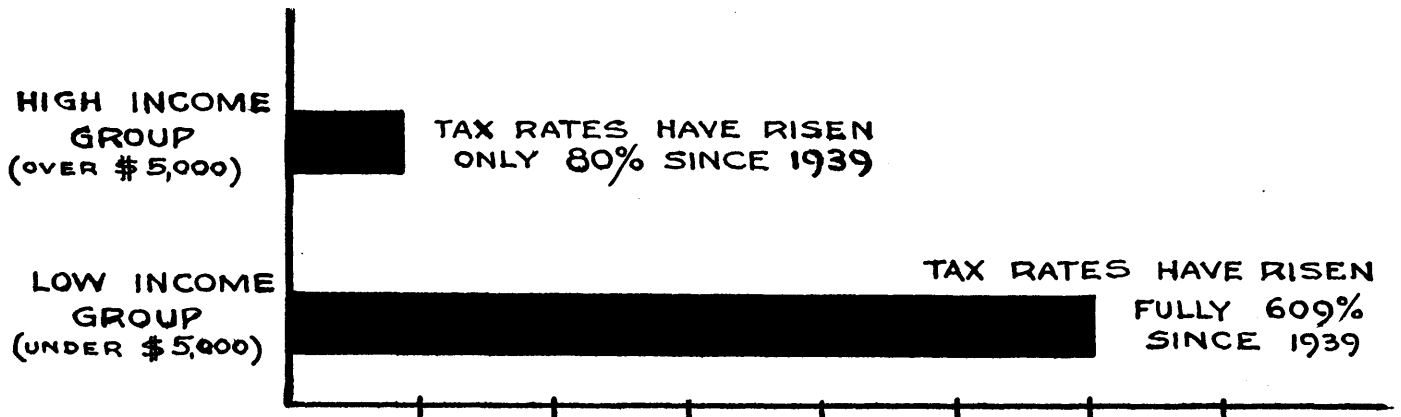
*The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.*

A year later, this amendment became law, and it represented a significant victory for the popular movement of the day. For it was designed to give to the federal government the power to reach into the vast and secret hoards of wealth being accumulated by a few plutocrats as a result of the trustification of U.S. industry then under way. And, for a number of years, the income tax amendment was used—even though feebly—for that purpose.

Since that time, however, there has been a vast increase in government spending, an increase due almost entirely to the militarization of our country and our economy (and hardly at all due, as some think, to “welfare spending” which has never risen very high as a proportion of the entire economy).

# Shifting Tax Load: Who Is Getting The Burden?

by Harry Braverman



## How Income Tax Rates Have Risen on High and Low Income Groups Between 1939 and 1953

IN 1939, federal income tax rates were still of a somewhat “progressive” character—that is, they mounted rather steeply as incomes got higher. In that year, tax rates on individuals with incomes under \$5,000 were still low, as they should be: only 1.2 percent of incomes, on the average. At the same time, tax rates on incomes above \$5,000 were about 10.5 percent. In the first stage of the war, taxes on high incomes were raised, but then, as soon as employment was at a high level and wages began to rise from depression depths, the Democrats and Republicans put through a series of tax programs which have effectively

shifted more and more of the burden over to the lower-income groups.

Tax rates on the upper incomes were lowered very sharply as the war drew to a close, but the high rates on workers that began (for the first time since the passage of the income tax amendment four decades ago) in World War II, have never been lowered at all. For a short time after the war, these rates went down just a little, but have since been boosted again to close to their wartime peak. Tax rates on the upper-income groups, by contrast, have been cut to almost half of their wartime peak.

Thus, as the above chart shows, income taxes on lower incomes are fully six times as high as they were before the war, while tax rates on the upper incomes are only 80 percent above the pre-war level. And this doesn't begin to take account of tax evasion, which is high in the upper-income level and practically nonexistent among workers who pay by employer deduction. Nor does it include other forms of taxation which are levied on all sorts of things the worker's family must buy, and which therefore, percentagewise, bear much heavier on the low-income than on the high-income family.

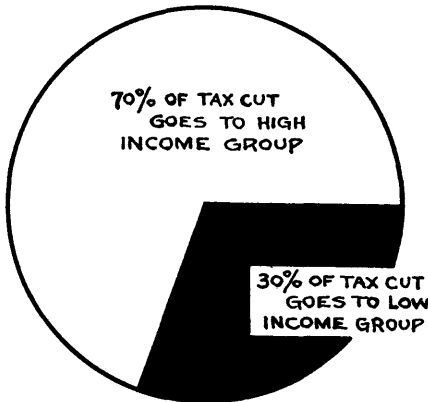
The tax structure has come to be one of the most important determinants of the distribution of income and wealth in the U.S. economy. Fully 27 cents out of every dollar of product turned out in this country in 1953 was

taken by the federal, state and local governments. Most people, thinking that we have what is called a "progressive" tax structure, which takes heavily from the rich and lightly from the poor, probably have the wrong idea about

AT THE beginning of this year there was a "tax reduction" and the administration now has another bill in the hopper lowering some taxes. These tax cuts have been incredibly unfair to the mass of the people and equally incredibly generous to the wealthy. In order to give a clear picture, we present here a series of charts, which show the way the pie is being cut.

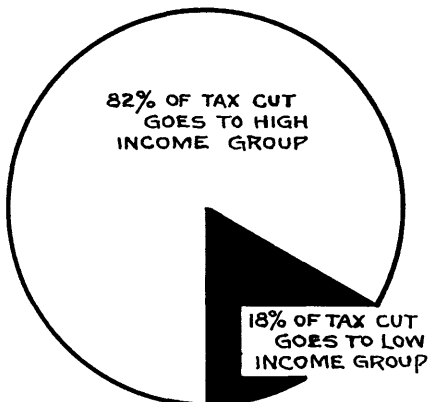
On January 1, federal income tax rates were reduced. But if you are in the lower-income brackets, chances are you won't even notice the difference. The tax reduction total comes to some \$3 billion. But the lion's share of the savings goes to those with incomes over \$5,000 a year, as shown in this chart:

INCOME TAX REDUCTION OF JANUARY 1, 1954



At the same time, the excess-profits tax expired, with a loss of income to the Treasury of about \$2 billion a year. All of that tax saving went to corporations, so that we now get a picture of the division of the total tax cut of January 1 which looks like this:

DISTRIBUTION OF \$5 BILLION TAX CUT OF JANUARY 1

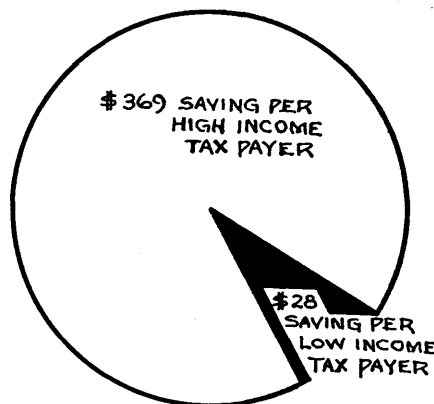


## The Pie Is Cut By the Wealthy In Their Own Interest

### THE STORY OF THE \$7,500,000,000 TAX REDUCTION

These charts have been divided along the \$5,000-a-year income line, with those above called "high-income" and those below "low-income." But the high-income group is small and the low-income group consists of the big majority. Only about one out of four taxpayers makes over \$5,000 a year. A small number of people get a big saving to divide among themselves, while the other three-fourths of the people have to share out the small cut of the pie. Thus the savings for each low-income taxpayer is very small, and vice-versa for the wealthy:

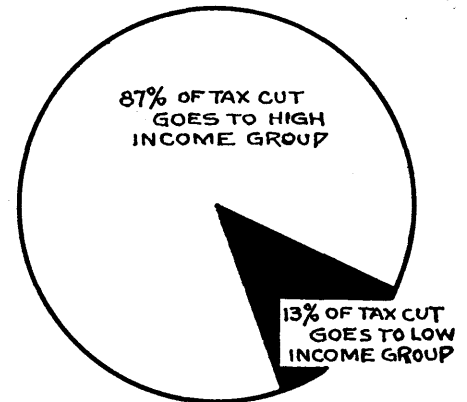
SAVINGS PER TAXPAYER (TAX CUT OF JANUARY 1)



NOW, the administration has come up with its plan to lower taxes on corporation stockholders. This would save them about \$750 million in its first year of operation, and later will net stockholders much more. Since almost all stock is owned by

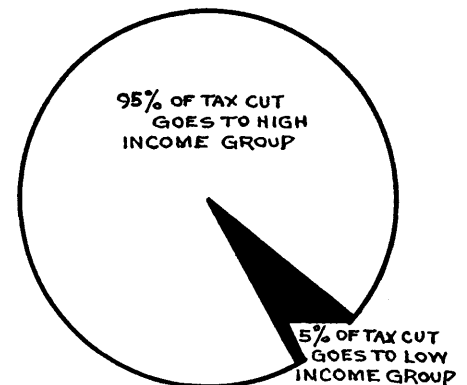
the wealthy, this tax reduction is naturally very unevenly distributed between the under- and over-\$5,000 income groups, the division of the pie looking like this:

TAX REDUCTION ON DIVIDENDS



In fact, the entire administration tax bill, H.R. 8300, gives the under-\$5,000 families only about 5 percent of the savings, the over-\$5,000 group gets 42 percent of the savings, and the corporations get 53 percent:

TAX BILL H.R. 8300 (How it is divided)



To complete the picture, you must keep in mind that 33 million taxpayers have to share that little 5 percent slice of pie, while the big hunk goes to the corporations and to the much smaller section of the population that makes more than \$5,000 a year.

Charts by Parker.



where that money comes from. Misled by deliberately planted stories about "80-90 percent" taxes on upper-income groups, many would guess that the low-income groups pay only about ten cents on the dollar, while the upper pay the lion's share. In fact, in 1948 when a study was made, it was found that all income groups below \$5,000 a year pay in the neighborhood of 20 to 25 percent of their incomes in taxes of all sorts, and that the income groups above \$5,000 averaged only about 28 percent of their incomes in taxes.

In actual fact, the tax structure of the U.S. is extremely unfair, and is getting worse all the time. The above figures for 1948 don't begin to tell the story, because in the years after that the tax structure was really loaded down with gimmicks that favor the rich. And at present, we face an Eisenhower-General Motors tax plan that is fantastically brazen in its favoritism toward upper-income groups.

**C**HANGES in the tax structure are now in progress under the heading: "tax reduction." The administration is proceeding on the theory that, so long as it is not asking to raise taxes but only to reduce them, it will be easy to get away with great injustices, since people won't get so aroused over an inequitable distribution of the lightened load as they would over unjust spreading of a new tax load. Perhaps they are right in this calculation, but the fact remains that this type of move can have just as bad an effect on the distribution of income as if new

taxes were thrown on the backs of the people in an unjust way.

The administration tax program is set against the background of the so-called "tax reduction" of January 1. This comes as a result of the expiration of the excess profits tax, which was not renewed, and of a ten percent reduction in income tax rates, which, because it reduces rates "evenly" across the board, saves a person in the over-\$5,000 income class \$7 for every \$1 it saves for a person in the under-\$5,000 class.

Now the administration is pressing a really brazen tax bill, which is frankly moved by a spirit of favoritism toward the rich. Almost all the tax reductions contained in the bill go to the wealthy, the corporations and the business men. The chief provisions are the dividend taxation relief, the fast write-off for new plants and equipment, extended carryback of losses for tax purposes, and a tax bonus for research expenditures by business. The details of how these provisions work are technical and they are unimportant. The important fact is that these tax savings will enrich the very wealthy by another few billions of dollars annually, and give practically nothing to the working people.

The Republican cabal of financiers and industrialists did not arrive at this result by accident. They have even worked out a theory that tax savings should go primarily to business, in order to stimulate greater business investment and thus avert depression. But they have thus far been unable to give any guarantee that the money placed in the hands of Big Business will in fact be turned back into the economy. In reality, that doesn't depend upon how much money the business men have, but upon a host of other factors. If the tax savings are given to the mass of the consuming population, on the other hand, one knows that almost all of that finds its way rapidly back into the economy in the form of purchases, and if that doesn't avert a slump, it at least softens its effect upon the people.

**T**HE LABOR leadership is very aroused, as it should be, over the Republican tax plan, and union publications are devoting a lot of space to exposing its inequities. Unfortunately, however, they did not in the past show similar opposition to Democratic tax plans of the previous ten years. For actually the present inequitable tax structure began to grow that way during World War II.

Up to the mid-point of that war, corporate tax payments grew at a faster rate than personal tax payments, which come mostly from the mass of the people. But in 1943 came the turning point, and after that the rates of taxes on corporate income turned down, while the rates on personal income only leveled off. Thus in the five years after the end of the war, corporate taxes went way down, and the rates are today lower than at the World War II peak. The rates of personal taxes did not go down much at any time after the war, and today are actually higher than they were at the World War II peak!

This trend was developed under Democratic administrations, and the labor leadership was very soft in its opposition, thus showing the harm that can result from tying labor to a capitalist governmental apparatus and making commitments at the expense of the rank and file.

### Unreported Income

**W**HO CAN EVADE income tax payments? It is generally known that the wealthy evade payment of large quantities of taxes by all sorts of financial jugglery, including holding large sums of money in undistributed profits, registering income as capital gains instead of in other forms, etc. But what is not so well known is that large numbers of wealthy taxpayers welsh on big portions of their taxes by the simple method of not reporting their incomes at all. For those who get income in the form of wages and salaries, this is pretty much impossible; their income is registered at the source and the tax payment is deducted in advance. But for receivers of business income, interest, rent and dividends, it is another matter.

Here are the facts as established by the National Bureau of Economic Research, most reputable organization for income research in the country, for the year 1946. The Bureau compared the amounts actually reported on income tax returns for the nation as a whole with the Department of Commerce personal income series, and came up with the following percentages of unreported (and hence untaxed) income:

Source of Income	Not Reported
Civilian Wages and Salaries	5%
Entrepreneurial (Business) Income	29%
Interest	63%
Dividends	24%
Rent	55%

Altogether, recipients of business income, interest, dividends and rent failed to report fully 30 percent of their incomes in 1946, or close to \$15 billion, and there is no reason to believe that the picture has improved since then.



Only once has there been a genuine mass socialist movement in the U.S. That was the Debs-led Socialist Party, which at its peak got a million votes. What was that movement like? Recent work by historians makes it possible to get a better picture.

## Heyday of Socialism:

# Founding of A Great Crusade

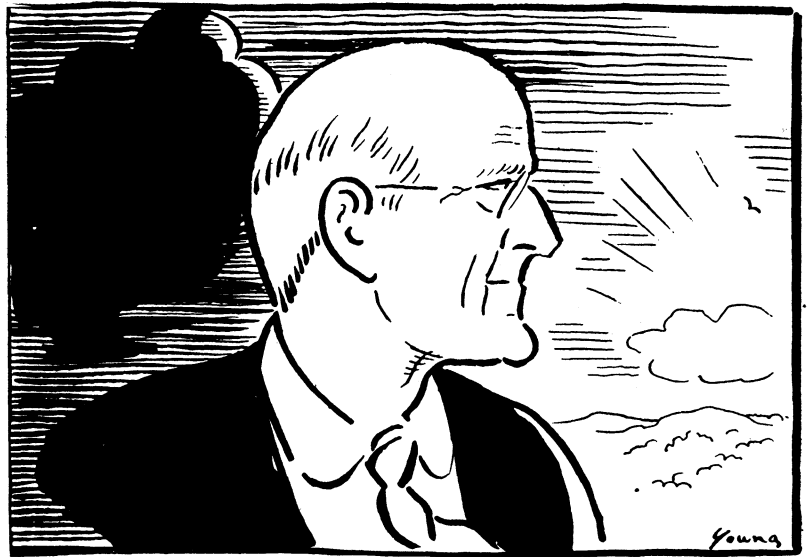
by Bert Cochran

**I**N OUR APRIL issue we reviewed Dr. Quint's book on the origin of American socialism from the post-civil war period to the formation of the Socialist Party in 1901. There exists a companion volume to this book: "The American Socialist Movement," by Ira Kipnis, published a year earlier by the Columbia University Press, a really first-rate study of the American Socialist Party in its heyday. This latter book covers ground that has never been dealt with properly before, and is outstanding in its scrupulous scholarship, its wide and careful research, and its grasp of the subject matter.

The volume takes its place with such superior social studies of recent years as "The Bending Cross" by Ray Ginger, "The Legend of Henry Ford" by Keith Sward and "John L. Lewis" by Saul Alinsky, all of which have this much in common: they reveal a greater scientific understanding of social relationships and class forces than past American literature in this field. This more mature understanding derives from the considerable experiences accumulated by the labor movement in the last decades which has seeped in among the intellectuals and presages, in our opinion, the higher consciousness that will permeate the labor and radical movements in the next phases of development.

Our story opens when 125 delegates representing 6,500 members met in Indianapolis in 1901 to found the Socialist Party of America. The contrast was startling between this gathering and the conventions of De Leon's Socialist Labor Party in this period. Delegates were in their twenties or early thirties; those past middle age were the exception. Four-fifths were American-born. Without question, this was the most representative and impressive gathering of socialists that had taken place up to this time in America.

As a result of the two years of bitter wrangling between



EUGENE V. DEBS

the two organizations that finally united to form the new party (the Debs-Berger Social Democratic Party and the split-off section of the Socialist Labor Party led by Hillquit and Job Harriman), and also as a possible reaction to De Leon's over-centralized, dictatorial regime in the SLP, the Socialist Party was organized as a loose federation with autonomous powers granted the state organizations. Many delegates were anxious to have a minimum of "outside interference" in their local affairs.

With the exception of a small right wing led by Victor Berger and the Milwaukee organization, the whole party seemed united in the first few years behind its main body of leaders who stood on a platform of a slightly watered-down socialism of the European-Second International variety. The party doctrine ran along the lines that, since the workers were engaged in a constant struggle with the employers for possession of the goods they produced, they would in time realize that their battle for higher wages and better working conditions was part of the general class struggle. This would make them class conscious, and they would thereupon join the Socialist Party.

**A**T THE 1893 congress of the Second International, Wilhelm Liebknecht had declared: "Just as tactics in themselves are neither revolutionary nor reactionary, so the state machine is not in itself reactionary. It is nothing but an instrument for exercising power." This attempt to take Marxism back to its pre-Paris Commune period formed the basis of the American Socialist Party thinking on the question of socialism's road to power. To displace capitalist power, it was only necessary to win the existing machinery of government. "When ten million American citizens will quietly drop a demand for the means of production and distribution into the ballot box, the capitalist army will have no foe but themselves, and their riot bullets will be as harmless as children's marbles." (Ernest Untermann, *Sparks of the Proletarian Revolution*) This thought was repeated by the main Socialist publicists. At the same time, the SP theoreticians insisted that the party was revolutionary, but they juggled with the explanation

of the word to such an extent as to virtually rob it of any special meaning.

Both theory and practice thus poised the party for what was considered its most important, indeed its only goal: "To organize the slaves of capital to vote their own emancipation," with the thought that socialist progress could be accurately measured by the size of the Socialist vote and the number of candidates elected to office.

**V**ICTOR BERGER, who with Morris Hillquit dominated politically the opening convention, was already a full-fledged right winger by this time. A month before the convention, his paper, *Social Democratic Herald*, described approvingly Bernstein's revisionist challenge to Marx. Berger wrote that "the tactic of the American Socialist Party, if that party is to live and succeed—can only be the much abused and much misunderstood Bernstein doctrine."

While the SP in this period was indifferent to government ownership under capitalism, regarding it as nothing but an extension of capitalism, the right wingers viewed it as a step toward socialism. Gaylord Wilshire, "the millionaire socialist," held that government ownership *was* socialism, and the 1902 Wisconsin platform called for government purchase of railroads. But even nationalization proved too radical a demand for the right wing, and they soon broke the demand down to a municipal level, calling on the Socialist Party to go into each city election with a platform advocating home rule, municipal ownership of public utilities, better schools and hospitals and civil service reform.

It was not very long before Victor Berger and his supporters were explaining that socialism was not a working-class movement at all, but a movement of all mankind. Besides, social progress was not carried by the workers, but by the intellectual "cranks" of all classes who saw clearly that they must lead. "Class consciousness is the idol of narrow-minded, dogmatic, pseudo-scientific socialists of the orthodox type." Berger warned that the Socialist Party must not follow the path of the fanatical abolitionists who rejected Henry Clay's "wise proposals" to end slavery gradually through purchase. The choice was that of evolution through right reason, or of disaster through violence. Working-class revolution would not lead to socialism, but to the dictatorship of a Caesar.

But this was the development of the next few years. At the founding convention, Victor Berger and his "Milwaukee Socialists" still appeared to be a tiny minority of conservative right wingers, out of tune with the thinking of the rest of the delegates and destined to play no special role in the party's direction and work.

**T**WO OTHER matters are worthy of mention before we leave the unity convention. Algie Simons, a member of the right, who considered himself the farm expert of the party, introduced a plank into the platform stating that the interests of farmers and workers were identical. Whereupon, several delegates advocated a series of immediate farm demands along familiar Populist lines: government grants of land, government-operated grain elevators, nationalization of railroads, telegraph and telephone. This produced a storm at the convention, as the

whole subject was vividly connected in many delegates' minds with the sellout of 1896 and the debacle of the Populist movement. Two years earlier the Berger crowd had set off a similar storm in the Social Democratic Party with its farm planks, and were answered heatedly by the left that the danger threatening socialism was that it would compromise its principles in a lot of horse trades:

*Every progressive party of the past 35 years—the Greenback Party, the Union Labor Party and the People's Party—had been disrupted by the prostitute of American politics, the Democratic Party. . . . Unless the SDP builds on sharp, clearly defined, class-conscious lines, with compact disciplined organization, the old hag will don a new dress, paint her cheeks a catchy red, and once more beguile those in a hurry to "win." . . . When development and education have reached their proper stage, winning will take care of itself. The danger is abortion. (Social Democratic Herald, June 3, 1899)*

The opposition to any trading with Populism was so vigorous at the convention that the plank was deleted. Instead, a special farm resolution was adopted telling the farmer that the development of machinery had made him little more than a wage slave and that only socialism would win him the full product of his labor. While very likely the Socialist Party could not devote much time to winning the farmers in its early days, and even the Wisconsin organization which was making the fuss didn't do anything with the farm problem beyond passing out leaflets at the State Fair, this debate illustrates both the strong and the weak sides of what was to develop shortly into the party's left wing. Its members were steadfast in their adherence to class-struggle principles, but they had great difficulty at times in applying them, and they often revealed a tendency of taking refuge in general avowals for socialism to cover the gaping holes in their ideological armor and lack of an answer to the specific problem at hand.

**T**HE ONE THING that all Socialists were completely sold on was the necessity for the organizational independence of the party. Political campaigning was considered the most vital principle of the socialist movement, and all voiced unalterable opposition to union labor parties, which were viewed simply as traps designed by the capitalists to stop the growing Socialist vote. Branches were instructed to nominate a full slate of candidates in every local and national election, and if for any reason the local or state organization could not make such nominations, it was ordered to boycott the election. No member was ever to support or vote for candidates of any other party. Socialists who violated this fundamental principle were to be suspended or expelled.

In fact, Socialists repeatedly intervened to prevent the formation of local labor parties. When a number of Chicago unions attempted to form a labor party in 1901, 200 Socialists packed the meeting, secured passage of a resolution "that the laborers of Chicago do not need the help of a gang of grafters meeting in the wine room of a saloon to organize a labor party for them," and then promptly adjourned the meeting. In St. Louis, the Socialist-controlled Central Trade and Labor Union rejected local motions for a labor party. Job Harriman was requested to go to Arizona in 1910 and help eliminate the newly formed labor party there, duplicating "the splendid work

the Los Angeles comrades have done in averting the formation of a labor party as a rival to the Socialist Party." For a brief time, after the poor showing in the 1908 elections, the right wingers toyed with the idea of a labor party, but they soon dropped it under the strong pressures in the party and the increased vote in 1910.

Although almost all radicals today advocate the formation of a labor party, this does not imply that the position of the Socialist Party was necessarily wrong, as conditions were very different at that time. In the period of its glory, the SP was the only significant labor political movement on the scene, and small labor party developments in one or another locality represented very probably divisionary movements from the main stream rather than possibilities for organizing the labor political movement on broader lines.

While in retrospect it can be seen that the Socialist Party was set up on none too firm foundations, at the time the weaknesses had not yet clearly revealed themselves. Prospects appeared boundless and hopes for the future were very high. For the first time American socialism represented a going concern, and Socialists plunged into the class struggle with unexampled vigor and optimism. They became the spark plugs of countless strikes, the moving spirits of union organizing campaigns, the political activists in the localities.

**T**HE SOCIALIST Party began to grow and prosper from the moment of its formation. Under the more energetic administration of William Mailly, the left winger who replaced Greenbaum as national secretary in 1903, 22 organizers and lecturers were sent out from the national office, 50 to 100 soap boxers were continually in the field earning what they could raise from the sale of pamphlets, books and newspaper subscriptions. State committees were encouraged to conduct their own organization and propaganda campaigns.

The bitterly fought railroad strike of 1877, during which strikers took over the administration of entire cities, was the harbinger of a period of labor radicalism in America. The socialists of that time were very influential in the unions, and in the unemployed movement during the panic of 1873. It took 25 years for the diverse socialist groups and militant unionists like Debs to gather into the Socialist Party which became a mass movement in the early years of this century. It was in battles like that portrayed in this old engraving, which shows the Maryland National Guard firing upon B & O strikers at the corner of Frederick and Baltimore Streets in Baltimore on July 20, 1877, that the workers learned the lessons that led to the first mass socialist movement in American history.



At the 1902 AFL convention in New Orleans, the Socialists introduced a resolution "to advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system," and were defeated by the narrow margin of 4,899 to 4,171. In May of the same year, Socialists became active in the great anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania. They kept four full-time organizers in the field, distributed large sums of money for strike relief, and were establishing Socialist locals at the rate of one a day, with the membership of these locals skyrocketing from about 25 to 340 each within a matter of weeks. As a result of this activity, the Socialist vote in Pennsylvania soared from 4,800 in 1900 to 22,000 in 1902.

But to illustrate the division already developing within the Socialist ranks, much of the Socialist press pointedly ignored the strike. The *Social Democratic Herald* carried only one item during the entire seven-month strike, an article by Berger recommending public ownership of the mines. And the Milwaukee party refused to distribute the strike relief subscription blanks on the ground that "the state was in the midst of an important campaign . . . and it would not have been good generalship to have distracted their attention from the battle."

Even more bitterness arose the following year in connection with the epic Cripple Creek strike in Colorado called by the Western Federation of Miners to enforce the 8-hour day which had been passed as a state law the previous year, but was ignored by the governor and the state authorities. William Haywood relates in his autobiography how Socialist members of the Western Federation of Miners charged that right-wing state leaders looked on the strike as a "border feud" of little importance, never mentioned the union conducting the struggle, and contented themselves with advising the miners to go into the AFL and to vote the Socialist ticket.

**B**Y THE FALL of 1903, the Socialist Party was so split over its programmatic positions that the National Committee voted to abandon a project for an election "campaign book" on the ground that "the campaign book would infallibly contain statements to which each of us would take exceptions."

With the 1904 convention, the party was definitely split into three loose factions: a large amorphous left wing, whose most prominent personality was Eugene Debs; the center, led by Morris Hillquit, boss of the New York organization, and the right wing, led by Victor Berger, with its seat in the Wisconsin organization. The composition of the 1904 convention showed that the trend had already set in toward converting the party into a playground of middle-class reformers and intellectuals—a trend that was to become increasingly pronounced with passing years. Of the 120 delegates, 20 were editors of Socialist newspapers, 15 lawyers, 7 professional lecturers, 5 paid party organizers. The remainder of the delegation was made up of craft workers, professionals and small business men.

Maily, in his report as national secretary, lashed out at the organizational madhouse that was the Socialist Party and warned that the organization had to be tightened up. "Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work." If the party was to take advantage of growing socialist sentiment, its organization would have to be revised and its leaders stop seeking personal prestige and begin cooperating with one another.

The right and center leaders immediately set up a howl, with Berger in the lead of the pack. They denounced Maily as a bureaucrat, a dictator, a man interested in socialism only because of his salary. Maily thereupon offered his resignation, and a wheelhorse of the right wing, J. Mahlon Barnes, was selected by the National Committee to replace Maily after the 1904 elections. The drift to the right, already unmistakable at this convention, was still held in some check by the continuation of an uneasy cooperation between the left and center.

Events in the country were at this time making it increasingly difficult for the Socialist Party to prosper on simple reform lines. There was a growing opposition on the part of the hard-pressed middle classes to the power of the corporations and trusts. In an attempt to curry favor with and head off this steadily rising opposition, reform and municipal-ownership leagues sprang up all over the country. In most important city elections, one of the two major parties made big promises in the way of reforms and elimination of graft and corruption, or new reform parties stepped into the breach to carry the banner for honest government, fair taxes and elimination of vice.

**T**HE SOCIALISTS suddenly lost their monopoly of the reform market and found themselves competing for votes in municipal and state elections with powerful respectable parties, which had platforms promising the same immediate benefits, and which had a better chance of election. The Ohio Reform Movement cut the 1905 vote of the Toledo, Cincinnati and Cleveland Socialist parties

50 to 85 percent below 1904. The two Hearst municipal-ownership campaigns of 1905 and 1906 cut the New York Socialist vote to a third of 1904. Judge Edward F. Dunne, Democratic candidate on a municipal-ownership platform in the 1907 Chicago mayoralty campaign, cut the Socialist vote in half.

This critical turn of events became the precipitant that broke up the unofficial left-center bloc and led to a rapprochement of the center and right wings. The Milwaukee "Sewer Socialists" met the new competition of middle-class reformers by promising even more reforms and emphasizing more strongly their own respectability. William A. Arnold, Socialist candidate for mayor in the 1906 municipal campaign, announced that "the business interests of Milwaukee will be safer in the hands of an administration made up of Social Democrats than they have been under the Republican and Democratic administrations." Berger personally assured the city's industrialists that a vote for the SP was a vote against strikes. "I can say from actual experience that the Social Democrats in this city have opposed almost every strike that has ever been declared here."

In the same 1906 election, the center, in its big "Hillquit for Congress" campaign in New York, gave every indication that it had become converted to the right's theories. Socialism was played down, and the business integrity and stability of an attorney already worth \$100,000 was pointed up. Victor Berger's theory of a two-armed labor movement—in which each party member devotes one arm to economic work through his union, and the other arm to political work through the Socialist Party, with neither arm "interfering" with the other—became accepted theory for the center. The Hillquit crowd also swung over to the right on the position that economic development would automatically teach people to vote Socialist and that strikes were futile.

Increasingly, the new bloc discouraged agitation for industrial unionism and independent political action inside the AFL, and began soft-pedaling criticism of the AFL leaders. Hillquit now discovered that class consciousness had nothing in common with "class hatred," and quieted any middle-class fears of revolution by explaining that there was nothing to get excited about, as the bad word simply meant a long series of reforms which in the distant future would add up to a change in the social order.

**T**HE NEW united right-wing leadership thus pitched its main appeal straight to the middle classes and adapted its labor policy to the purpose of forging an alliance with the AFL bureaucracy. The new line began paying off in middle-class support. J. G. Phelps Stokes, a reformer, who had been active in the Hearst municipal-ownership campaign in 1905, a member of one of New York's most aristocratic and wealthy families, joined the party in 1906. In Chicago, another millionaire philanthropist, William Bross Lloyd, joined up. But the biggest catch of all was millionaire Joseph Medill Patterson, later to become publisher of the New York tabloid *Daily News*.

The National Committee ordered Patterson's letter of adherence to the party printed for mass distribution, while state and local conventions vied with each other to circum-



**BIG BILL:** William D. Haywood, shown when he was Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners. Haywood went on to become a left socialist and a founder and most prominent leader of the Industrial Workers of the World.

vent constitutional restrictions so as to be able to immediately accord Patterson high rank in the party. Hillquit was probably on solid ground when he boasted before the 1907 International Socialist Congress that "in the United States, probably more than anywhere else, socialism is recruiting adherents from the better-situated classes of society."

Although the party was attracting more members of the middle classes, its rate of growth slumped badly in this period and it was having a hard time holding on to its membership. With the right wing aggressively pushing its positions and building its caucuses, the left, which had been largely quiescent up to this time, grew restive and alarmed, and internecine warfare broke out in most of the localities and state organizations. The struggle in Colorado is a good example of the civil war that was beginning to wrack the party and provides an insight into the makeup of the two major protagonists.

As Colorado had a strong left-wing base in the Western Federation of Miners, the right felt it was a tough nut to crack and sent in a whole committee, "The Social Crusade," to do a faction job. The leaders were Reverends Winfield Gaylord and Carl Thompson of Wisconsin, and J. Stett Wilson of California. The crusaders enjoyed the full cooperation of Local Denver, which had a middle-class membership and had adopted the practice of permitting entrance to paid workers of the Democratic and Republican parties. Our crusading reverends toured the state showing lantern slides of "Our Martyred President, William McKinley," and giving lectures on "The Life Message . . . Health, Happiness and a More Harmonious Life." The crusaders did not confine themselves only to the spiritual, but organized locals of four or five farmers each throughout the rural areas and thus temporarily gained control of the state committee.

**T**HE COLORADO MINERS who made up the left wing were not disposed to take kindly to the antics of the Social Crusaders, or Local Denver, neither of which gave any substantial support to their bitterly fought strikes. At one point, the Teller County-Cripple Creek locals withdrew from the state organization and called upon all locals to join them in organizing a new state setup. The Teller County Socialists charged that capitalism, in an effort to stop the socialist movement, had "fostered in her lap a great brood of conscienceless political coyotes whom she has quartered on us"; that the "cockroach element" of Local Denver wanted a loose, tapeworm form of organization and a privately owned press, so that irresponsible careerists could club the party into submission.

The faction fight, now raging throughout the party and leading to full-scale ruptures in Minnesota, Nebraska, California, Ohio and Washington, broke into the open on a national scale with the hotly contested elections for the National Executive Committee in January 1907. The complete victory of the center and right demonstrated the left's weakness and disorganization. The strength of the right wing arose from the fact that most of the prominent names were on its side, that it had the support of the biggest papers, like the *Appeal to Reason*, *Wilshire's Magazine*, *Chicago Socialist* and *New York Worker*, and possessed firm control of most of the party machinery. As the party based itself increasingly on the middle class, and recruiting became heavier among these elements, the right-wing position grew more secure. In contrast, the left forces were amorphous. Their weakness derived from a number of causes: no well-known leaders outside of Debs, no effective press, and serious errors in its program, reflecting the immaturity of the movement in those years.

Debs was the most popular leader in the party, but outside of occasional articles and the general impact of his election campaigns, he did little to weld the left wing into a cohesive and effective force. Many have remarked with regret that unfortunately Debs, while a remarkable orator and magnificent agitator, was no theoretician. Actually, this was not the seat of the trouble. Debs was as much a theoretician as most others in the pre-war Socialist Party. His political instinct and understanding of the American labor movement was superior to practically all the rest, and his tactical proposals and judgments were generally good.

However, the very peculiarities of his temperament, which made him the irresistible personality that he was, conspired to make it impossible for him to assume the burdens of a political leader. Debs couldn't stand the endless squabbling, the maneuvering, the factionalism involved in the political struggle. He steadfastly refused to run for party office and stayed away from all conventions, except to make his acceptance speeches. Under the circumstances, it was hardly surprising that the direction of party affairs fell into the hands of the right-wing party bosses. Debs, like so many other left wingers of this period, rationalized the left's weakness by convincing himself that somehow economic developments would make socialists faster than Berger and his crowd could unmake them, and that party affairs would right themselves through rank and file pressure.

*(To be continued in next issue)*

Representative Clardy, a "junior McCarthy," didn't do so well on his recent witch-hunt junket in Michigan. Unionists and liberals stood firm, and he had slim pickings.



THREE OF A KIND: Velde, Clardy and Jenner.

## Congress Inquisitors Get:

# Cold Reception In Michigan

DETROIT  
**T**HE RECENTLY concluded Detroit visit of the Clardy committee, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, showed that the witch-hunt hysteria is weakening in Michigan. In sharp contrast with the fear aroused in Detroit by the committee in 1952, Clardy and his inquisitors were confronted this time by a broad opposition.

In 1952, the Detroit hearings of the House committee produced a wave of intimidation and vigilantism in the city. Workers were run out of the plants because they were charged with subversion by Congressmen, defense lawyers were hard to find, liberals were cowed into silence. Most shameful of all, two UAW-CIO staff members testified as "cooperative" witnesses and informed on union members. Under cover of the fear produced by the hearings, state legislators enacted the Trucks police state law. And top UAW officials moved against Ford Local 600 militant leaders.

But today, there is no hysteria, and very little mass interest in the Congressional hearing. Instead of silence or cooperation, the Clardy committee was greeted with a real barrage of opposition from labor and liberal circles. The top leadership of the UAW-CIO issued an eight-page statement signed by Walter Reuther which condemned the Clardy committee and its predecessors:

*... They have denied citizens their democratic rights. They have scorned the Bill of Rights. . . . The timing of the House committee's visits to Michigan should be noted. Its first visit was in 1938 and was devoted principally to smearing Michigan's greatest and most devoted public servant, Frank Murphy, and to defeat him for re-election. The second was in 1952 and was manifestly timed to publicize the unknown and obscure Charles Potter, then a Congressman but a candidate for the U.S. Senate. This week it arrives for the convenience of Congressman Kit Clardy's campaign for re-election.*

Clardy's effectiveness was seriously punctured by this reception. Undoubtedly one reason for the stiffer opposition against Clardy's foray into Michigan was the consistent campaign of the Michigan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law. This committee organized a formidable section of the state's labor and liberal movement to fight the Michigan Trucks law, a local statute patterned on reactionary federal laws, and generated confidence among those opposed to McCarthyism.

**A**N ATTEMPT to smear the Trucks Committee was made in conjunction with the Clardy committee hearings. John Lupa, a machinist, was suspended from his job at the Detroit Arsenal and his case given wide publicity. Among the charges against him was the allegation that he associated with Ernest Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the Trucks Committee.

In a public statement, Mazey declared: "It may well be that the attempt to smear my name . . . is deliberately designed as punishment for my activities in the Radulovich case and the general work of the [Trucks] committee. I reject and resent the inference that any crime or even a misdemeanor is involved in association with me. . . . I am an independent socialist. . . . I will defend with all my energy my constitutional right and the right of any citizen to hold whatever views and associations he deems proper."

The UAW in its weekly television program featuring the union's Secretary-Treasurer, Emil Mazey, and UAW attorney Harold Cranefield, defended the use of the Fifth Amendment. Asked whether the Fifth Amendment was designed to protect the guilty against self-incrimination, Cranefield said: "Absolutely not. The history of the Fifth Amendment goes back to the 17th Century in England where it grew out of the desire of the people to protect the innocent against forced testimony and star chamber proceedings."

Emil Mazey, in a statement of considerable significance, said that the union feels people can use the Fifth Amendment in good conscience. He also said that for a person



to be forced to act as a stoolpigeon is unfair and unjust.

Weeks in advance of the hearing, President Harry Southwell of the large UAW West Side Local 174 issued a strong statement defending the right of any worker to his job regardless of his political opinions or affiliations.

Ford Local 600, a prime target of the labor-haters because of its independent militant position, conducted a steady barrage exposing the anti-labor program of the Clardy committee, and offered aid to any victim of the investigation.

Chrysler Local 742 passed a resolution stating: "We will call on our membership and on the international union's executive board to oppose the Un-American Activities Committee coming to Detroit, Flint and Lansing. . . . We will give every aid possible, including financial aid, for the legal defense of any member dragged before this committee." Dodge Local 3 also announced it would defend any of its members who were subpoenaed and sought the protection of the Fifth Amendment. Around the labor movement generally, there was the sentiment that Congress would do well to investigate unemployment, the housing rackets, opposition to FEPC, monopolies and other evils, instead of conducting the witch-hunt.

**A** COMMITTEE of 75 Michigan attorneys issued a strong statement on the practices and procedures of Congressional committees. "It is our considered opinion that the methods of the House Committee . . . and of the McCarthy and Jenner Committees, and especially their treatment of witnesses, subvert and pervert the legitimate power of investigation in aid of legislation, amount to usurpation of functions of the grand jury and the courts, and exhibit disregard for and even contempt of the civil, religious and political liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights." This group also endorsed the use of the Fifth Amendment by witnesses before Congressional committees. Signers of the statement included Cranefield, Nichols J.

### *Victims Hit Back*

The House investigating subcommittee that went to San Diego, Cal., had two excellent statements thrown in its face by people it attempted to victimize. One witness told the committee:

If you shoved your way into my polling booth to see how I voted, I'd shove you right out—it would be my constitutional right. For the same reasons you can't shove your way into my mind.

And a trade unionist spoke to the inquisitors as follows:

I'm a manual laborer and have worked all my life as such. I'm married, support six minor children, and own our own home. I've never been in jail. My political views are my own. What I've learned has been from the life of a worker in the U.S. I know this committee has violated my rights and is trying to limit my participation in affairs of my country and my community. This committee is creating hysteria in San Diego by bringing in here those who have sold their birthright for 30 pieces of silver. . . . I accuse this committee of undermining the Constitution of the U.S.; I refuse to cooperate with it.

Rothe, a CIO counsel, and Edward Turner, president of the Michigan NAACP.

So hostile was the atmosphere in labor and liberal circles in Detroit that the committee, especially sensitive to the charge that its aim was partisan political advantage, decided to forego television and radio broadcasts of the hearings. By the end of the week, on Friday, only Clardy, dubbed the Junior McCarthy of Michigan, remained; two other Congressmen, one Republican and one Democrat, absented themselves. Since the rules require a majority of the committee members to be present for interrogation of "hostile" witnesses, many subpoenaed witnesses could not be interrogated at this hearing.

This retreat of Clardy's committee was primarily due to the public campaign led by the powerful UAW-CIO. The change in labor's attitude since 1952 can be traced to the widespread Michigan hostility to the Republican administration, the spread of unemployment and hard times, the experience of unionists with rabid labor-haters using the hearings to build up their electoral campaigns, and the drive against the labor movement led by these same "red-hunters." There is a growing awareness that labor is the ultimate target of McCarthyism.

**C**LARDY himself is a wealthy anti-labor politician from East Lansing, Michigan. In private business, Clardy specializes in work for motor carriers and interstate commerce. In 1934, he was removed by Governor Comstock from his position as chairman of the Michigan Public Services Commission for loading the payroll with his friends and falsifying records. His dismissal was upheld by the Supreme Court. In Congress he pushed a bill which would empower the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate labor unions. Before he was removed as commissioner by the governor, Clardy was credited with blocking public demands for lower gas and electricity rates.

The only "friendly" witnesses called by Clardy were informers who have been used repeatedly. UAW attorney Cranefield condemned the use of such paid agents as witnesses. During the week the press carried a report that one of the most infamous of the stool-pigeons, Louis Budenz, stated he had pocketed more than \$70,000 in the last six years for "anti-communist activities." The entire Clardy committee proceedings were based on such venal witnesses.

The "hostile" witnesses displayed much personal courage, dignity and intelligence as well as bold defiance of the committee and its objective. One witness, Curtis Davis, a Dodge worker, invoked the entire Bill of Rights immediately upon taking the stand. James Z. Cichocki, president of Chrysler Local 742, refused to answer questions and invoked the Fifth Amendment. The only witness who answered questions, and then only about himself, was William Johnson, Recording Secretary of Local 600.

The committee has announced that it will continue its dirty work in Lansing and Flint, and then return to Detroit for a final hearing. But recent developments in Michigan indicate that the labor organizations and liberal institutions and individuals the committee seeks to strangle will survive the attacks. That is because the Michigan defenders of the Bill of Rights are showing considerable fight.



An AMERICAN SOCIALIST background analysis: What's behind the dramatic Egypt events, the upsets and the conflicts?

# Time Bomb In Egypt

by Lewis Scott

THE DRAMATIC EVENTS during March saw the split in the military junta which had ruled Egypt since July 1952, and the entry of the masses upon the political arena after a period of silence and repression. This marked a forward step in the efforts of this stricken nation to rise to its feet. The question of a return to "parliamentary life" (parliaments here have always been unrepresentative) was decided in the negative. But this does not signify that the dictatorship has been able to master the situation or to tighten its grip on the people. A close look reveals that Egypt remains a time bomb which can cause a chain reaction among the other Middle East states when the explosion takes place.

Today Egypt can boast 400 millionaires (there were only 50 before World War II) and more than 20 million peasants and workers who exist below what could possibly be called a "standard of living." The bulk of the people dwell in mud huts and are ravaged by the usual series of deadly diseases, plus amoebic dysentery which affects 92 percent of the peasantry. The average life span is estimated variously from 20 to 30 years, but one thing is beyond doubt: to attain old age in Egypt is something like breaking through the sound barrier.

Naturally these conditions cannot be laid directly at the door of the present regime. They were inherited from a savage past. For a century and a half this people was sucked dry by imperialism (British, French and others). Its energy and resources were exploited by foreign capital. During the years 1883-1910, foreign interests squeezed £200 million (equal then to over \$1 billion) out of the sweat and suffering of the people. During all these same years the Ministry of Health and Education had a total budget of only £7 million.

A MAJOR CRIME of British imperialism in Egypt was to force the one-sided development of the Egyptian economy to suit the needs of the textile industry in England. Egyptian long staple cotton, the finest in the world,

*Lewis Scott lived in the Middle East for four years, has traveled extensively both in that area and in the Far East, and maintains his touch with the situation through correspondence and by close attention to reports on the Middle East in the foreign press.*



is grown at the expense of famishing the nation. Only 3½ percent of the land is cultivated (6 million acres), owing to the present scarcity of water and proper irrigation. Such a limited amount of soil is certainly inadequate for the feeding of twenty million people, yet an important part of this precious soil is devoted to cotton profits, which has not benefited the peasantry. This monoculture is a positive peril to the whole economy in times of depression. Since cotton accounts for over 85 percent of Egypt's exports, any cut in the purchase of cotton abroad causes the whole economy to stagger.

By the Twenties, Egyptians began to fight back seriously, and they have made gains constantly since. In 1937 the total assets of Egypt were set at £1 billion. Half of its assets were in land, of which Egyptians owned some 90 percent. Of the other half, in banking, industry and commerce, *Egyptians owned only 25 percent!* The picture has improved somewhat since 1937, but not essentially. *Foreign capital still maintains a dominant and controlling position in the economy.*

Professional politicians in the Western sense have until very recently been unknown. The "old line" politicians of the *ancien regime* (antedating Naguib) were themselves the bankers and merchants, the junior partners of foreign capital, the front men in all corporations, the faithful servitors of imperialism. And yet they bargained constantly with the foreign owners and threatened the senior partners with the wrath of the masses when necessary, to wring some concessions for themselves.

Seventy-one of the highest old line politicians held 304 directorships in the most important capitalist enterprises. This fact should make clear why the masses have no tears to shed for the "old line" politicians and prefer to support the dictatorship rather than return to the "parliamentary" mercies of their bosses and masters of the old

regime. This sentiment enabled the junta to ban all the politicians of the old regime from political life for the next decade.

**T**HE ECLIPSE of the old regime, probably forever, was brought about by the heightening of class and national tensions to the breaking point. Both in Egypt and in the other Arab countries, 1951-52 saw a rising curve of struggles. Of course the biggest event, and the most thrilling to all Arabs, was the ejection of the British from Iran and the nationalization of its oil resources in 1950. When later Iraq settled with the foreign oil companies for 50 percent of the profits (which was far better than its previous arrangements), a general strike ensued in protest against this settlement as being too generous to the imperialists. General strikes shook Tunisia (where daily civil war was in progress), Morocco, Tangier and the Sudan.

In Egypt, the struggle with the British armed forces assumed the form of a mounting guerrilla war. One newspaper in Cairo made bold, in January 1952, to offer a £1 thousand reward for the life of the British General Erskine! The masses were determined to dislodge the British from the Suez Canal Zone. Severe retaliation by the British caused the skirmishing to mushroom into virtual rebellion on January 26, 1952, when the masses systematically burned to the ground most foreign property in Cairo.

At this point, King Farouk dismissed the Wafd government headed by Mustafa el Nahas, which had to some extent encouraged the masses but found it could no longer control them. In the following five months, five governments were propped up and each in turn fell for lack of support, after which the army command took power. Thus by 1952 the permanent state of crisis of Egyptian society had acquired an extra sharp edge. British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone certainly acted as an irritant, but the source of the crisis is to be found in the worsening economic conditions.

*Cotton exports had slumped by about 40 percent. Bankruptcies more than doubled over the previous year. Labor conflicts during the first half of 1952 rose fourfold over the year before. And the warehouses were bulging with inventories. In a socialist planned economy this cotton would be a blessing to the land; under the existing anarchy of the capitalist world market Egypt virtually chokes on its fine cotton.*

**E**GYPTIAN capitalists had failed to industrialize the country and to create an internal market despite the fact that there was no dearth of capital. Since World War II, the national income rose by at least 60 percent, yet all economic reports agree that this increased wealth was accompanied by a steady decline in the living standards of the masses. Part of this wealth was squandered shamelessly on fabulous luxuries. Then the Egyptian banks, dominated by foreign interests, engaged in the export of Egyptian capital and its investment in other areas. But mostly this wealth was sunk into crazy speculation in land. In this land-hungry country the competition for land is very keen. Land values and rents zoomed dizzily. The bubble burst toward the end of 1951, when the British cut their purchases of cotton by half. Then the corrupt

government of Mustafa el Nahas bought up \$100 million worth of unsold cotton at the market price, on which the treasury took a 50 percent loss while the cotton brokers made their usual profits. So finally land, the "bottomless sink" of investment, got stopped up and raised an awful stench.

At the time the military junta of thirteen young army officers took power, the situation was ripe for revolution. The army revolution, as it is called, was the alternative to a revolution of a different sort, led by the workers and powered by the popular masses. Events have shown that the working class had not yet produced a leadership that could carry through its own revolution.

The young officers did not possess a finished program of any sort; the program came later. They were a group of middle-class officers, in a country where the middle class was most feeble. They could have found the salvation of their tortured land by pursuing the interests of the peasants and the workers. But they proceeded on the basis that the future of Egypt lay in capitalist development. From this point of origin it followed logically that after taking over the reins of government, General Naguib, the new Premier, should say that "foreign capital investments are vital for Egypt. It is our duty to extend all possible guarantees to foreign investors. . . ." Lieut. Col. Gamel Abdel Nasser, vice-chairman of the Revolution Command Council and chief architect of the new regime, laid down the line that Egypt must have "*foreign capital at any cost.*"

Thereupon the Revolution Command Council proceeded to annul a previously adopted progressive law which limited foreign participation in Egyptian concerns to a maximum of 49 percent. The law was so altered in favor of foreign interests that even a 30 percent Egyptian participation was considered adequate. Still, capital was hardly attracted to Egypt. Going to the extreme, the RCC (Revolution Command Council) recently gave the American Coronado Petroleum Company a concession to prospect and exploit Egypt's oil resources in return for a mere pittance—15 percent royalty! What a far cry from the days when the same young officers were applauding Iran's brave nationalization of its oil resources.

**O**N THE POSITIVE SIDE, the young officers sent ex-King Farouk scurrying off in his royal yacht to pursue his pleasures at Capri. They dismissed 450 of the old officers, those trained servitors of the millionaires. Then while they had the masses laced in a strait jacket, they cut out the cancer of monarchy, and thereby weakened enormously the power of the landed aristocracy. Although the monarchy had long been a drag on the economy, the bourgeoisie didn't dare molest a hair on the head of their monarch for fear of arousing a revolutionary fever among the masses. Now with the scalpel in the hands of the army, the only role of the masses was to stand by and cheer. A safe reform, indeed.

To the workers, the new regime offered first of all a slogan: "Unity, Discipline and Labor." In addition the workers were told that they were the first soldiers of the revolution—therefore "workers must cooperate with employers. No more quarrels, no more struggles. . . ." Instead of struggles, compulsory arbitration and government control of the unions. As compensation, the regime lowered

prices of basic consumer goods and rigidly enforced price controls. For this the masses praised Naguib and joined his Liberation Rally (the new national-front party which was to supplant the illegalized parties and gain mass support for the regime). However by November 1952 we find the *N.Y. Times* correspondent cabling as follows:

*The Naguib regime is learning the law of the modern Egyptian economy, under which economic stability was rooted in the restricted diet of the masses.*

The headline was very apt: "Egypt Eats More, Periling Economy." In other words, there's enough food to go around so long as no one gets enough to eat. This absurd condition stems in part from the original sin of coveting the best lands for the profit-making cotton crop at the expense of food crops.

The regime soon reversed itself and outlined a program of austerity! Food subsidies were withdrawn and prices were allowed to rise. The government estimates that a worker requires £3½ per month (\$9.80) merely to maintain life. Still the 750,000 industrial workers receive for a month's labor less than £3.

According to government estimates, a peasant family requires five acres to maintain itself. The land reform proposes to bring the number of acres owned by small owners up to five. This is its central feature. There are two million farming adults who own less than one acre, who are indeed hungry for land. But with the meager restrictions on land ownership there remain only 650,000 acres of land to be distributed among them. This can satisfy only 7.2 percent of the owners of small plots of land. To point up the total inadequacy of this land reform it is necessary to bear in mind that fully 70 percent of the farming population are landless laborers to whom the reform promises no land whatever. So far, even this so-called reform merely remains on the books. Only 17,000 acres have been redistributed during 1953!

The average peasant income is £18 a year for a family. This same family, sitting in a foul prison, would be living on £43 a year!

**S**O LONG AS the income of the workers and peasants remains so low there can be no internal market. Yet industrial expansion requires markets. This presents a most pressing problem. The zeal and militancy with which the RCC has been combating British influence in the Sudan is fired by the dire need of the bourgeoisie for markets and spheres of exploitation. Sudan is today Egypt's biggest market for manufactured goods. The only other significant markets for her manufactured products are the other Arab states. That is one reason why Egypt is the prime mover in the Moslem League of these Arab states and has vital interests in their collaboration and eventual federation.

On the question of ousting the 80,000 British soldiers from the Suez Canal base, the crusading officers truly lost their honor. American and British imperialisms have made common cause here, as they did in Iran to cause Mossadegh's downfall. After almost two years in power, Nasser complained bitterly that the U.S. had failed to come across with any Point Four aid. Certainly Nasser had done everything possible to assure the West of his anti-communist orientation—where was the reward?



**NO WATER:** Egyptian demonstrators, assisted by an eager youngster, choke off fire hose which British are attempting to use against the people during a nationalist demonstration.

Here imperialism has overriding military considerations in keeping the billion-dollar Suez base installations securely in its own grip. First, as a link in the chain of offensive bases surrounding the Soviet bloc, and second, as a bastion from which to wage a war of counter-revolution against the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, when the latter decide to break with the camp of imperialism.

After all, the need to make Egypt safe and attractive to foreign capital has had its inevitable corollary: to subordinate Egypt's vital interests to those of imperialism. This has ruled out a genuine agrarian reform, since such a reform would jeopardize the entire social system. And this consideration has also balked the efforts of the RCC to liberate the Suez Canal Zone from the British. This remains the last point of occupation by British troops in the Middle East.

Contrary to its brave oaths, the RCC not only failed to bleed a drop of blood in this endeavor, it didn't even fire a shot. Salah Salem, the Minister for National Guidance, wailed bitterly:

*We gave Britain unconditional rights to return to the base in the event of an attack upon any member of the Arab League. . . .*

Salem even added Turkey to the list, a non-Arab League country. He even conceded that 400 British soldiers could remain as technicians for a period of seven years . . . if only they would shed their uniforms. The RCC knew it couldn't sell this deal to the masses so long as the 400 technicians wore Her Majesty's hated garments. But Britain refused the terms. It remained adamant because now the United States was not only backing her up, but calling the tune.

The British had been complaining that if the U.S. would

put the same "effort" into the Egyptian situation as it had in Iran, things would work out just fine; that is, the British might not have to leave at all. The U.S. State Department is now doing just that. And the British have grown so bold that they refuse to continue discussions with the government of Egypt, on one pretext or another. Imperialism is on the offensive now in the Middle East, emboldened by its success in Iran, the Turkey-Pakistan pact, the overthrow of the Shishekly regime in Syria (which had refused any U.S. aid, on the ground that it implied "interference") and the receding of the wave of anti-imperialist struggles in this area in the past year. But they can have no more than temporary successes in this volatile part of the world. Already Egypt has found in the Soviet bloc a customer for its cotton, and it will play this card to the limit.

**T**HE SPLIT in the military junta, which opened on February 25th with the removal and disgrace of General Naguib (the President, Premier, and Chairman of the Revolution Command Council), has now been patched up, but not at all eliminated. At the beginning of March it was the masses who, by their militant demonstrations, hoisted Naguib back into the seat of power. At the next stage the RCC legalized the old parties, released all political prisoners, including communists, and announced direct elections to a constituent assembly.

The masses soon learned to associate Naguib with the old-line politicians, and their ardor cooled considerably. They didn't trust a constituent assembly with the corrupt politicians around and saw clearly that their main enemy was the *ancien regime* and those associated with it. Thus the strike of the transport workers in Cairo at the end of March was not so much in support of the dictatorship as it was against the return of the old regime. Nasser rewarded their support by announcing the nationalization of the transport system (further details on this move are lacking).

Salah Salem proclaimed that from now on the regime would base itself on the workers and the peasants.

Considering the overwhelming reversal such an orientation would involve, one must remain skeptical. The recent arrest of Maj. Khalid Mohieddine (who announced his socialist views in an interview published in the French periodical, *L'Observateur*), together with eleven other army officers on charges of plotting May Day disorders, hardly attests to a turn toward the workers and peasants. On the other hand the Bonapartist tendency of this regime is bound to remain frustrated by the paucity of resources at its command for the solution of its most burning problems.

During the month of March, the political education of the masses progressed by giant strides. The abolition of the monarchy, the exposures of corruption, the proposals for reform, the refusal of the British to budge—all these events have taught the masses unforgettable lessons. Important too, the men in uniform have become politicalized. During the height of the tumult, the navy was sent fishing and the army was restricted to barracks, to keep the armed forces from taking sides. Slowly but surely the workers and peasants are being prepared by experience for an assault upon their unbearable misery.

The dunderhead policy of the U.S. State Department can only assist in bringing matters to a head. For two years it has withheld financial aid from Egypt as a means of forcing her into a Western military alliance and coming to terms with the British on continued occupation of the Suez Canal Zone. This policy has not attained its objectives but has succeeded in sowing seeds of bitterness. It is on a par with the less-than-astute gesture made by Secretary of State Dulles during his world tour in 1952, when he presented to General Naguib a gift from the President of the almighty H-bomb States—a revolver. But it will take a whole army to carry out the present policy of the State Department.

## *Stay in the Ghetto!*

DETROIT

**T**HERE IS a lot of talk about the U.S. being a land of freedom—but not for the Negro people.

The Michigan *Chronicle*, a Negro paper, relates what happened to one of its reporters investigating a case of discrimination.

"Randolph Via, 32, of 9385 Martindale, was cleared Friday of assault and battery charges by Recorder's Judge John A. Ricca growing out of the alleged attack two weeks ago on *Chronicle* reporter Richard B. Henry.

"Henry was attacked by patrons of Bankes Bar, 8053 Grand River, after he visited the bar in a routine follow-up of a civil rights story and was refused service.

"Three male witnesses, all of them patrons in the bar at the time of the incident, appeared on behalf of Via. Two of these witnesses testified that Via was about to walk out of the bar when Henry swung at him without provocation. The third witness testified that he saw Via raise his hands but did not see an attack.

"Henry, who had entered the bar alone, was the sole witness in his own behalf. He testified that the patrons had attempted to mob him after his conversation with Bankes about service and that Via had connected with a blow to the eye.

"In freeing Via, Judge Ricca supported his verdict by saying that the law obliged him to free the defendant

if he were not convinced of the man's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. But he went on to tell Henry:

"*You do not live in that neighborhood. You went into that bar looking for something and got more than you bargained for. I am going to leave it at that!*"

"Several court room spectators, both Negro and white, who apparently felt it illogical that a lone man would start a fight with a barroom of hostile patrons, expressed astonishment not only at the judge's verdict but at his supporting remarks."

Judge Ricca wants to keep Negroes in a ghetto—like Hitler kept the Jews!

Is it any wonder that the colored races of the world, and especially in Asia, want no part of the brand of "freedom" and "democracy" made in the U.S.A.?

D. L.

Robin Hood has been called "subversive." But how about many other classics of children's literature? Could Mark Twain or Hans Andersen pass a loyalty test?

## Heroes and Heresy

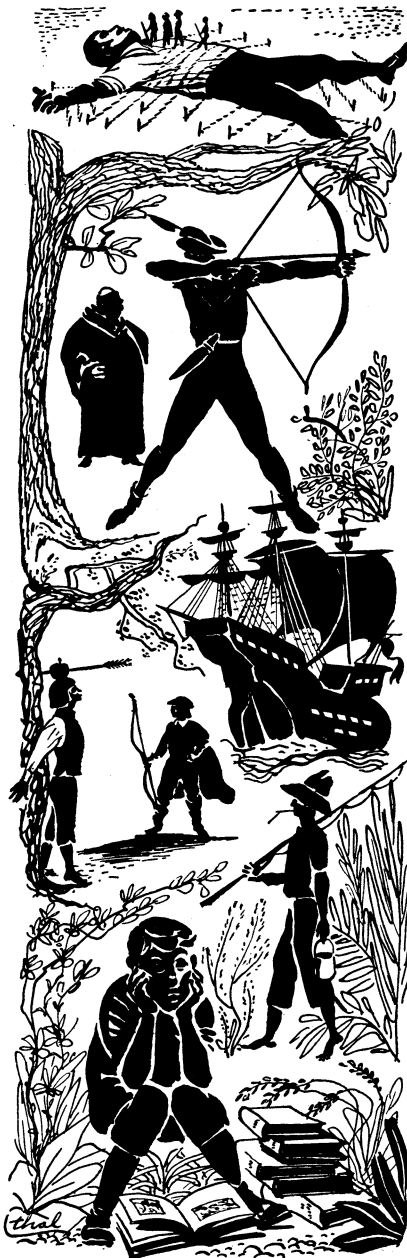
*In the little world in which children have their existence . . . there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt as injustice.*

—Charles Dickens

**WHEN** THE lady from Indiana, the member of the State Text-book Commission, proposed to ban Robin Hood as subversive, the entire press, from left to right, treated the matter as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the witch-hunt. But while the incident has its ludicrous side, it is not entirely funny. The great classics of literature commit many offenses against the defenders of the capitalist ethic, and so-called children's literature is no exception.

The library of permanent children's reading is, like all achievements of art, a re-working of the materials of real life. As such, it has always reflected social conditions, the aspirations of the people, the struggle for freedom. In some ways, as children's literature draws so heavily upon folk tales, this is even more true in this field of writing than in many others. For example, in the case of Robin Hood, the "Encyclopedia Britannica" tells us:

*What perhaps is its greatest interest is its expression of the popular mind about the close of the Middle Ages. Robin Hood was at that time the people's ideal, as [King] Arthur is that of the upper classes. He is the ideal yeoman, as Arthur is the ideal knight. He readjusts the distribution of property; he robs the rich and endows the poor. He is an earnest worshipper of the Virgin, but a vigorous hater of monks and abbots.*



It was natural for the British yeomanry of the 14th to the 18th centuries—oppressed, exploited and finally expropriated from their lands—to cherish such a hero, and it is just as natural for the Hoosier book-burners to hate him. But Robin Hood is only one of a long line of classics in the rebellious tradition. Consider, for example, the American book which is one of the finest of children's classics, and is also ranked by many as the greatest novel yet produced in this country: "Huckleberry Finn."

**WHAT** IS the plot of that remarkable book? A youngster, with the possibility of every advantage of security and polite midwestern society, runs away from his home, rebelling against parent and guardian, and in the company of an escaped Negro slave embarks upon a hair-raising Mississippi raft trip, all with the evident blessing, not to say relish, of the author. In the course of his adventures he violates innumerable laws and practically every convention. Moved by compassion, adventure and plain friendship, he harbors and assists a fugitive slave. Far worse, from the viewpoint of official American "morality," he forms a bond of friendship with Jim which is matchless in literature, comparable only to the attachment between Ishmael and the erstwhile cannibal Queequeg in Melville's "Moby Dick."

On every count, the behavior of this greatest of all child-heroes is seditious; he could never pass a loyalty test or hold a government job today. Is it not to be feared that young readers will be influenced by this example of nobility? Assuredly, children should be restricted to Booth Tarkington.

If you haven't looked into a collection of fairy tales recently, try it; you will be repaid. You will be surprised at the currents of emotion, the keenness of satire, the themes of social protest, the explicit extolling of the early bourgeois virtues of independence, probity, principle (all of which are anathema today), the compassion and the art. The next time you read Hans Christian Andersen's tale, "The Little Match Girl," to your child, listen to it yourself, for a change. From its remarkable opening—

*It was terribly cold. . . . In the cold and gloom a poor little girl, bareheaded and barefoot. . . . When she left her own house she had certainly had slippers*

on; but of what use were they? They were very big slippers, and her mother had used them till then. . . . The little maid lost them. . . . So now the little girl went with her naked feet, which were quite red and blue with the cold. In an old apron she carried a number of matches, and a bundle of them in her hand. No one had bought anything of her all day, and no one had given her a farthing. . . . Shivering with cold and hunger she crept along, a picture of misery, poor little girl! The snowflakes covered her long fair hair. . . .

—to the equally remarkable ending—

*But, in the corner, leaning against the wall, sat the poor girl with red cheeks and smiling mouth, frozen to death on the last evening of the Old Year. The New Year's sun rose upon a little corpse! The child sat there, stiff and cold, with the matches, of which one bundle was burned. "She wanted to warm herself," the people said. No one imagined what a beautiful thing she had seen, and in what glory she had gone in . . . to the New Year's Day.*

—it is a masterpiece of compassionate art. A pitiful story, unsparingly told. You will be amazed on what strong stuff your baby feeds. Can one imagine an untouched child hearing such a story for the first time and ever again being precisely the same as before?

**C**HILDREN are a whole lot wiser than we generally credit them. Do you think all of them miss the point of "The Emperor's New Clothes," the charlatanry, the satire, the lesson of forthrightness? And if a child is to be taught to see the world through a veil of prejudice, is this not too a harmful story?

Indeed, it is remarkable how many of the greatest books of satire and parable, written in many cases not for children but for adults, have been appropriated by children. "Gulliver's Travels," "Connecticut Yankee," "Robinson Crusoe," even "Don Quixote" and "Moby Dick," some of the greatest of literature has been taken over by young readers. The sages tell us that children miss the significance and read only for adventure and drama. There is much truth in this, but is that the whole story? When the Puritan masterpiece "Pilgrim's Progress" was published in 1678, children reached out for it. But when John Bunyan, emboldened by this unexpected turn, wrote "Divine Emblems," a goody-goody tale intended directly

for kids, they turned their backs on it scornfully. Nor have the contrived children's stories of the early American Puritans survived.

The fact of the matter is that adults, when in their simplicity they class children's literature as "fantasy" as distinguished from the "reality" of adult reading, miss the point entirely. Children don't turn to reading because they are bored with life as adults often do. They are bored with not-enough-life. The form taken by the things they read doesn't matter; they look for reality and the truth about things in every form. They are intensely curious about the real nature of this absorbing world into which they have been born, in contrast with many adults who are jaded and disappointed from knowing the world too well.

**C**ONSIDER that the child keeps the adult busy with a million and one questions about "things" and consider further that it is almost always the adult, hardly ever the child, that is evasive about the answers. The child doesn't want to spare himself the knowledge about the way things really are. He doesn't "know enough" for that. The adult wants to spare the

### *A History Lesson— Given by Mark Twain*

There were two "Reigns of Terror," if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred million; but our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with life-long death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heartbreak? What is swift death by lightning compared with slow death by fire at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves.

—Mark Twain, "Connecticut Yankee"

child, and invents fantasies about "unpleasant" facts like childbirth, death, poverty. Not children, but grown men and women, invented the stork, heaven and Horatio Alger.

After a certain age, children tend to lose interest in the "nice" tales about antiseptic children in suburban paradises that are today printed by the hundred in colorfully illustrated editions. I have read many newspaper columnists' protests against comic books, but in my opinion, aside from stressing the commercialism of the publishers, not one of them found the real secret of the popularity of this type of magazine. In these vicious and stupid little books, the child looks for something real and stirring: combat and gore, emotion, intrigue and deceit, courage, hate and love—the things which he senses to be the stuff of which the real world is made, and which he can't find in shiny, tailor-made, middle-class contrivances. And, since children are not little literary critics, but express their preferences like the rest of us, they just refuse the goody tales and reach for the one with the cover picture of the goggle-eyed space man.

**I** have walked with my son in the early morning in New York, and we have looked together on the shapeless derelicts sleeping ragged on the cold stone. I have seen the light of compassion born in his eyes, and I have heard his questions and tried to answer them. I have felt the pang which all parents feel as their children discover man's inhumanity to man. But, since I don't believe in propagandizing five-year-old children, since I think that such an inanity can produce either senseless wooden Indians or a revolt against the propagandist, I have not said much. Let them discover the world for themselves.

But I hope he does discover the truth about the world, and I will be happy if he becomes a rebel, because, the world being what it is, there is no calling more honorable. He will learn with his own senses, but if the great tales of protest can help him, if Robin Hood and William Tell and George Washington can help him, that is just as it should be.

That is my answer to the lady from Indiana.

H. B.





**HISTORIC SCENE:**  
The first General Motors contract is signed in 1937. This was the first big United Auto Workers victory, gained by the militant Flint sitdown strikes. Frank Murphy, then governor of Michigan, sits in the center, and behind John L. Lewis are (l. to r.) Homer Martin, Richard T. Frankenstein and Lee Pressman, all CIO leaders of that period.

## It Takes More Than Plush to Make a Cadillac

**Y**OU'VE ALL SEEN the General Motors advertisements in which the Cadillac is billed as "The Standard of the World." The high-pressure GM publicity machine is designed, by the use of every medium, to keep the eyes of the general public on the dazzling products of this monopolistic outfit. And the Cadillac, naturally, since it is the prime GM luxury product and much in demand among the well-to-do, is heavily featured in the eye-catching ads. This car has been in such demand that, at the end of 1953, it was reliably reported that there were 96,000 unfilled orders.

There is another side to the Cadillac story. The ads don't tell about the metal finisher, working long hours at a speedup pace on Cadillac bodies, who dropped dead on his way to work one morning in February 1954. He was only 38 years old. Yes, the men building this luxury car are literally worked to death.

Fleetwood Fisher Body, where the Cadillac shell is produced, has some departments that work overtime ten

months of the year. Repair men are required to work 14 hours a day, six and even seven days a week. Since the union officials (United Auto Workers, CIO) agree with the GM interpretation that the present contract gives management the sole right to set hours, Fleetwood has not been stopped from insisting on these impossible hours, and has even threatened to penalize workers who walked off the job, unable to take any more, after 14 hours!

Do workers jump at the chance to work this overtime? Well, that might be the case on some other job, but not under GM conditions. In spite of the fact that there were upwards of 150,000 auto workers unemployed in this area during March, new hires were quitting their jobs at Fleetwood almost as fast as they were being taken on, just as in the pre-union days. Recently, Fleetwood management has been sending letters to employees who quit, inquiring as to the reason. One young worker replied: "I can't keep up with the speed of the line. I am losing my home. My children may go hungry, but I refuse to kill myself working." Many

workers complain that they aren't given time for the most elementary personal needs.

**T**HE UNION, it must be said, has not made itself felt in behalf of the men. Nearly everyone who signs a grievance reports that the end result is worse treatment. Many times, when a worker calls a committeeman, the foreman eliminates the cause for the grievance before the committeeman has arrived. When the committeeman leaves, the old conditions are restored. And the worker can expect a worse job assignment, or other discriminatory treatment.

As there is no visible sign of a union to most new workers, they often make the following remark: "You don't have a union here," to which the older worker replies: "Yes, we *know* we don't have a union." Of course, the fact of the matter is that after 90 days, every new employee must join the UAW. What the men really mean is that they see no sign of the union conditions which they have known at other plants outside GM.



So universal are the complaints of GM workers and the committeemen who try to represent them, that GM locals all over town are protesting in one form or another. They list the following types of grievances: speedup, miserable working conditions, rotten grievance procedure, unwarranted reprimands, penalties and discharges.

**T**HE principal reason for the speedup and other bad working conditions in GM plants is the present UAW-GM contract. Paragraph 117, known as the Company Security Clause, makes it extremely difficult for a union com-

mitteeman to take a firm stand against the speedup. To do so is to put his own job in jeopardy. Michael Loverich, president of GM Local 735, wrote in the March issue of *Transmitter*: "It is a known fact that GM locals all over the country are clamoring for an adequate Committeeman Representation Plan, which will remove the restraints now imposed . . . by the present National Agreement, which is slowly but surely stripping the guts out of our union."

The Reuther leadership of the UAW doesn't have the desire or the stamina for the kind of showdown fight in

GM which is required. Right-wing policy is more concerned with keeping "good labor relations" under the existing contract, than struggling for good working conditions. Many local union representatives have been forced to sink to the methods and tactics of International union representatives. They put on "knee pads" when they go in to see management.

Any serious battle for better conditions in GM plants must be led by those who are willing to stand firm for drastic changes in the GM contract.

A GM Worker

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## Fear in the Plants

*This interesting report on unemployment in the Chicago area arrived too late, because of a delay in the mails, for publication in our last issue as part of the survey of unemployment.*

### CHICAGO

**T**HE FINANCIAL "experts" and economists of the Chicago press claim that this area has great advantages over other parts of the country in that it has a balanced economic structure and a great variety of industries. By contrast with the one-industry towns which collapse if the main activity hits a slump, this is Chicago's cushion.

Thus when 6,000 workers were laid off in production industries—mostly farm machinery—between July and September 1953, over-all factory employment rose anyhow because of gains in other industries. But at present there are heavy layoffs in *virtually all* of the key industries. Unemployment in the Chicago-Calumet area rose from 55,000 in mid-November to 100,000 in mid-January. And in February there were 16,000 fewer jobs. Further, the end of the school term in January threw another crop of graduates into the labor force. Steel, railroad, packinghouse, machine manufacture, department stores and mail order houses have all been affected by unemployment, short work weeks, or both.

The fear of depression has hit Chicago very hard. It's the most popular subject of discussion in the plants. Memories of the depression of the Thirties are still vivid, and there's a growing tendency to reminisce about those painful days.

The unemployment and relief figures don't tell the whole story. Below-normal work weeks are in many ways the worst feature of the present situation, because they affect many more workers than direct layoffs. The U.S. Steel Corporation plant in Chicago has laid off between 1,000 and 1,500 workers recently, but all the rest of the plant is on a four-day week. All the big steel mills here have the workers on this short schedule, which actually amounts, in terms of income loss, to a 20 percent cut in employment.

A survey published in March by the Chamber of Commerce of Gary, Ind.—this giant steel center is considered part of metropolitan Chicago—shows that the average pay check there has dropped \$28 a month since last year.

Steel workers, who have been working regularly for many years and drawing overtime, have bought homes, cars, etc., on installment payments. Now many of them are in real trouble. In one department of the U.S. Steel plant in Chicago, fully 15 percent of the workers have attachments—the men call them "bricks"—on their pay checks! And there is no reason to think that this department is exceptional.

**T**HE NEGRO, Mexican and Puerto Rican minorities have fared worst of all. Almost 45 percent of Chicago unemployed are Negroes. There are no reliable figures as to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, but there are some indications. The Chicago Commissioner of Welfare got nation-wide publicity by flying to Puerto Rico to ask the authorities to curb immigration to Chicago because there are no jobs and, according to the commissioner, the relief rolls are being flooded with Puerto Rican unemployed. This is, if true, in sharp contrast with the situation of several months ago, when hardly any Puerto Ricans were on relief. Another sign appears in the fact that the Chicago Labor Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which was able to place almost 95 percent of its job applicants in March 1953, could find jobs for only about 8 percent in January 1954.

For about six months, the union movement has been grappling with the unemployment problem. The Illinois State AFL Convention several months ago came out for a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. The big Inland Steel Local 1010 of the United Steelworkers and District 1 of the United Packinghouse Workers, both CIO, have just adopted resolutions for a shorter work week at the same pay, and for a guaranteed annual wage.

The CIO unions of greater Chicago held an unemployment conference in March. The main resolutions called for an increase in unemployment compensation rates, a moratorium on debts for the unemployed, a Fair Employment Practices bill and a "readily available" federal works program.

H. D.

Soviet policy on art has gone through many stages since the Revolution. Most recent has been the rebellion of intellectuals and artists against restrictions that were characteristic of the Stalin regime.

## Soviet Art:

# A Drama With Conflict

by Fred Gross

### *What Khachaturian Wrote*

*Here are the most important excerpts from the widely quoted article by Aram Khachaturian, noted Armenian composer, in the magazine Soviet Music.*

**I**T IS MY profound conviction that the seed of artistic progress cannot be found in works devoid of lively, inquiring thought, in works outwardly so sleek, so well-groomed, so streamlined that it is almost impossible to tell one from the other. Socialist realism in art cannot tolerate such uniformity in creative art; it presupposes freedom of development for diversified and lively creative individualities. . . . Such works often gain the approval of the Union of Composers, the Chief Administration on Art Affairs, the radio. But the listener remains indifferent. . . . I think that the time has come for a reconsideration of the established system of administrative guardianship over composers.

I will say more: It is necessary firmly to repudiate the worthless practice on the part of workers in music institutions of interfering with the creative process of the composer. Creative problems cannot be solved by means of red-tape and bureaucracy. . . . Under the existing "system of guardianship" the composer is "relieved" of responsibility. . . . He is given "guiding instructions" for re-doing his song. And, strange as it may seem, there are composers who easily agree to every revision and, having given up a song concept which they have carefully thought out, which they have experienced with all their emotions and at times even suffered through, they coif it after the fashion of a hairdresser's dummy. . . .

Let there be the sharpest, most principled, impartial criticism; let the comrade critics give counsel both to beginners

**O**NE OF the most prominent representatives of the Russian intelligentsia recently made a scathing indictment of the bureaucratic control of artistic and intellectual life in the Soviet Union. In view of the conformity and lack of artistic freedom that have long prevailed in the Soviet Union, Khachaturian's article has aroused widespread interest.

Before any conclusions can be drawn, the available information must be examined. These facts, in turn, must be viewed in their historical, social and artistic context. Khachaturian's puncturing of Stalinist policies on art with this verbal sabre dance is but the most publicized of a long series of critical pronouncements on the state of cultural affairs in the Soviet Union. The statements have become bolder and sharper since Stalin's death, but they result from developments that originated and came to ferment during Stalin's lifetime.

In the midst of the tremendous problems generated by the 1917 Revolution, the Bolshevik leaders devoted serious attention to the question of culture and art. A good deal of confusion was then current in the artistic field. There were many literary groups, each with its own theories and tendencies. It was feared by some that this might lead to their isolation from the masses whose cultural level was extremely low. Illiteracy, for instance, constituted a formidable problem. Many felt that severe pressures should be exerted on the intellectuals to make them cooperate with the Bolshevik Party in the work of popular education and in translating the aims of the revolution to the artistic

and to the most venerable of composers. But do not let any of this bear the character of issuing "directives" and let our music administrations not engage in petty guardianship over composers and let them be free of overcaution in working out creative problems. The Union of Composers should not take on itself the functions of an infallible "appraiser" for the music administrations. Discussion on one or another composition within the walls of the Union should bear the character of a free exchange of opinion, of a true creative discussion. . . . Truth is born in argument. We must be bolder and more determined in defending our own point of view—a principled one, of course.

I quite readily accept the idea that one or another composition, though negatively criticized in discussion at the Union of Composers, might be accepted to be published or performed. Life itself will correct the initial evaluation if it was wrong or one-sided and did not take into account the vital demands of music practice. . . . Our critical thought continues as of old to evade the sharpest, most vital questions of our times and concerns itself only superficially with the life of music in our land. . . .

How, in what direction, overcoming what difficulties, must our socialist art develop? These are the questions to which our theoreticians should be trying to find true, well-grounded answers. . . . In working out lofty esthetic problems the critics should not forget about the everyday musical life of our people. What are the people singing? What does the youth want to hear and dance to? What are they being offered by the organizations in charge of mass work with music? We little know how this is carried out in effect, in everyday practice. . . . Works should be beautiful in form; the spirit of a new progressive art should live in them. They should be bold, daring; in them there should be a restlessness, a ferment and not a "peace and harmony and heavenly bliss."

level. In short, the question arose: What is the proper relationship between the artist and the socialist party?

**A** COMMISSION consisting of Trotsky, Lunacharsky and Bukharin was formed to examine the party's attitude toward the artist. It arrived at the conclusion that complete freedom should be granted the artist, provided he accepted the basic aims of the revolution. In those days, Lenin wrote:

*It cannot be disputed that literary matters lend themselves least of all to the rule of the majority over a minority. It is indispensable to afford a wide range here to personal initiative, to thought and fantasy, to form and content. All this is indisputable, and only goes to prove that the literary sector of the party's concerns cannot imitate the other concerns of the party of the proletariat.*

The entire question received its most elaborate and profound treatment in Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution," written in 1923, before Lenin's death. Its main ideas are as follows:

- Artistic production is determined by the interaction between society and the artist's total personality. Thus art has its own laws. Art, as society, goes through a historical development, and the continuity of the creative tradition should be respected.

- Works of art cannot be manufactured according to party directives. The problem of artistic creation cannot be solved by bureaucratic means. The party may criticize, but it should not give orders.

- The artist must be allowed freedom of choice and expression, thus enabling him to avoid formalism, flattery and sterile conformity. Public opinion will ultimately decide a work's merit.

**T**HE EXPECTATIONS of the Bolshevik leaders were not realized. The conditions for the development of art were to be different from those they hoped for. Russia's economic backwardness, the failure of the revolution to spread to more industrialized countries, capitalist encirclement, and the unexpected strength of monopoly capital which enabled it to divide and disarm the working classes, led to the Soviet Union's isolation and to the rise of a bureaucracy which initiated a reversal of previous policies.

The rising bureaucrats soon lost any revolutionary orientation. Privileges were used to bribe a whole generation of intellectuals who might have been expected to be particularly sensitive to the backwardness and misery of the workers. They turned into sycophants, lending their talents to the creation of the myth that all was well and that serious conflicts had been eliminated in the workers' paradise. Others were paralyzed by the iron fist of the state. They protested through the pathos of silence or, like the poet Mayakovski, through suicide.

The artistic freedom inaugurated by the October Revolution continued in lessening degree until the late Thirties. The subsequent needs of the war led to a relaxation of ideological control over the intellectuals. The end of World War II, however, witnessed a sharp turn in the artistic field.

In August 1946, the bureaucracy, through the medium of Zhdanov, launched an all-pervading purge which

started with the condemnation of the literary publication *Leningrad*. Between 1946 and 1948, members of the various artistic and intellectual professions were given the new line. The Union of Soviet Writers "unanimously" voted for the new Zhdanov edicts condemning:

- 1) Nonpolitical attitudes of authors.
- 2) Any form of deference to foreign literary schools.
- 3) The predominance of foreign works in Soviet repertories.
- 4) Any belittling or criticism of the "new Soviet man and woman."

This was accompanied by an intensive campaign against "cosmopolitanism" and marked the beginning of a chauvinistic period which glorified Russian achievements—both real and imagined—as opposed to foreign decadence.

In September 1947, Malenkov made a report in which he declared:

*The party has been obliged to undertake an energetic struggle against various manifestations of servile admiration toward Western bourgeois culture, an attitude which is current in certain circles of our intellectuals and which constitutes a survival of the cursed past of the Tsarist period.*

**T**HE "certain circles," as soon became apparent, included the greatest names in Russian art. In his report on the publication *Leningrad*, Zhdanov, the grand inquisitor, revealed that the editors of two journals had been dismissed for allowing "the emotion of loneliness . . . foreign to Soviet literature" to creep into their pages.

Eisenstein and Pudovkin, the great film directors, were violently attacked for presenting aspects of past Russian history in an unfavorable light, thus undermining the national heritage.

The leading Soviet composers Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Khachaturian, Miaskovsky and Popov were accused of "formalism"; many of their works were removed from the repertoire; several were forced to go through the ignominious ritual of a recantation.

This, then, was to be the aim of the Soviet artist: to depict life in rosy colors, to abstain from touching upon any basic conflicts or describing loneliness, sadness or unhappy love—as these are presumed to be alien to Soviet life and "the new Soviet man." The artist was so to distort reality that the view would prevail that the feelings of top bureaucrats and those of the people are absolutely identical.

The attack had repercussions in other countries under Soviet influence. In Hungary, for instance, the Political Bureau of the Workers Party launched a campaign against the noted Marxist literary critic, George Lukács, with the active participation of Alexander Fadeyev of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Author of "History and Class-Consciousness," "Studies in European Realism" and "The Literary Theories of Marx and Engels," Lukács has consistently displayed a great admiration for the classics of bourgeois civilization. Fully recognizing the progressive basis of the Soviet economy, he held to the theory of uneven development in the field of culture. He wrote:

*It is not at all necessary for every economic and social ascendancy to be followed by an ascendancy in literature, art,*

*philosophy, etc., and it is not at all necessary for a society standing on a higher economic level also to possess a higher level of literature, art and philosophy, etc., than a society at a lower economic level.*

For this he was attacked by Jozsef Révai, a member of the bureau. He was accused of presenting a distorted picture, of insufficiently stressing the positive aspects of Soviet culture, and of undermining the authority of the party in the field of the arts:

*[Lukács'] literary slogans were not adapted to the increasingly sharp and strong political and economic slogans of the party.*

Révai could not, however, deny the facts: creative work was stagnating, the writers didn't respond to the official propaganda.

**N**EITHER EDICTS nor explanations could solve the situation: the various arts were marked by stagnation. Great artists became silent. As was later admitted by the bureaucracy, the people did not respond to the artistic mediocrity and stereotypes.

World War II demonstrated the vast productivity of the Soviet economy, which, in spite of military devastation, became the second most important in the world. These very productive forces gave the Soviet working class profound social cohesion and a high technological and cultural level.

Developments in Eastern Europe and China, and the social crisis of capitalist Europe, freed the country from direct and immediate hostile encirclement and created a bloc of Soviet nations in place of the single Soviet state. In this situation, the death of Stalin marked a certain change in the relation between the bureaucracy and the people. The grip of the regime was loosened, and serious concessions to the masses were forced from it.

In short, the bureaucracy, like a union bureaucracy in times of mass struggle, was buffeted by the powerful winds that were undermining the old relationships and bringing the new. And the intellectuals, as usual, act as sensitive barometers of the new reality.

The ensuing crisis was reflected in artistic circles, even in those close to the top of the regime. Many began to



"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" on the Moscow stage in 1949. The revival of such plays as this became common because of the lag in the production of fresh and original material during the period when Soviet art was bound by the decrees of the "Zhdanov line."

feel the pressure exerted by the people. And a further factor favoring this process was the fact that they were affected as artists by the critical demands of a huge public which had achieved a higher cultural level. Furthermore, certain forms of art, such as music, constitute areas in which criticism can develop without endangering the social structure. Artists are frequently sensitive to dissatisfactions and have often registered them before they erupt in social action.

**F**OR SEVERAL YEARS now a revealing discussion has been carried on in Soviet publications around the crisis of the theater and the film industry. There was widespread opposition to the "Chinovniki," bureaucratic officials who forced playwrights to compose "dramas without conflicts."

The crisis was publicly acknowledged when the 1952 Stalin prize jury admitted that it was unable to find a Soviet play that deserved first or second prize. It was a Chinese author who received the second prize of 50,000 rubles. *Pravda* sounded the alarm and, in a widely discussed article, threw a revealing light on the prevailing situation:

*The weakness of many plays results from the authors' silence on deep and vital conflicts. Judging by certain plays, everything is wonderful in our midst, everything is perfect, conflicts do not exist. To proceed in this manner is evidence of cowardice, it is a sin against truth. Everything here is not ideal, there are negative types, evil exists in our life and there is no lack of hypocrisy. . . . The plays composed according to the recipe of "drama without conflicts" lack the breath of life. Truth implies faithfully observing and describing real life, its contradictions, the struggle between the new and the old.*

In March 1952, playwright Nicolas Virta published an article that was noted for its sharpness against the officials of the theater world. He admitted that he had contributed to the creation of the theory of drama without conflict. Then comes the blast:

### *Advances In Education*

**T**HE ADVANCE of popular culture which has created the present difficulties in the way of bureaucratic sterility in the arts in the Soviet Union is shown in the following facts:

- College enrollment has increased by 67 percent since 1940.
- There are now 120 percent more people with university training than before the war.
- Production of books has doubled since 1940. It is now 800 million annually, about the same as in the U.S.
- Sound movies have increased 200 percent since 1940.
- Half of the workers in the coal industry have a secondary education or are graduates of trade schools.
- At Moscow's Stalin Auto Plant, 70 percent of the workers have completed secondary education.

*This theory was the result of our experiences with the barbed obstacles placed before our plays by the repertory committees. Whatever our plays contained of originality, freshness and lack of clichés, was leveled. Each daring word had to be defended at no small cost to our nerves. Every one of us has in the past ten years accumulated a great deal of bitterness which it was more convenient to keep unexpressed. . . . Nobody knows the suffering it has caused me to get [my play] "Our Daily Bread" performed. It is difficult to describe the brutal attacks of certain committee members when they were told of my "slanders of the kolkhozes."*

*Scandalous is the word to describe the committee sessions at which men, who an hour earlier had approved of my play, suddenly changed their opinions after facing irate superiors and began to attack the play in terms such that the author himself no longer was certain whether or not he was a slanderer. This lack of firmness, this panic of cowards before "what might happen" should the play be approved, could and did result in the loss of many plays which deserved a better fate.*

On April 26, the same publication that had printed this article noted that out of fifty playwrights who were members of the Leningrad Union of Soviet Writers, "almost half had not written a single play in the past three years."

**T**HE SAME stagnation prevailed in the film industry.

There are no movies comparable to the early classics of Eisenstein, Pudovkin and the Vasilievs. The people became disgusted with the artificial plots dealing with artificial people whose actions and words bore not the slightest resemblance to real life. Movie houses were usually half empty. To attract the public, large numbers of French, Italian and some American films were imported. The phenomenal success of "The Adventures of Tarzan in Africa" represented both a protest against, and an escape from, the dreary domestic output.

The fact is that the Soviet people no longer swallow the clichés of the old art. The enormous expansion of production has increased the cultural level of the people to the point where it finds itself in conflict with the standards of the bureaucracy.

In his report to the 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Malenkov took notice of this situation. After attacking the "mediocre and drab productions, and sometimes simply hackwork, which distort Soviet reality," he goes on to declare:

*It must be borne in mind that the ideological and cultural standards of the Soviet people have risen immensely. . . . Soviet people refuse to accept falsehood, mediocrity, art that has no message; the demands they make on our writers and artists are exacting.*

After Malenkov's report at the Congress, many delegates took the floor to criticize the situation.

**W**E HAVE SEEN how, as a result of Stalinist policies, Soviet art became characterized by drabness, uniformity, sterility and general stagnation. Many artists, such as Sholokhov, author of the remarkable novel "Quiet Flows the Don," were reduced to silence. Many were forced to do translations or compose trite works devoted to acceptable themes to make a living. Originality, and what Khachaturian calls "restlessness and ferment," so typical of the greatest Russian art, were mercilessly suppressed. As a result, the people ceased to respond to the artificial artistic productions. They got fed up with the

cantatas about "peace," "industrialization" and "reforestation," and the artificially contrived "folk music."

The theaters had to rely on the classics—Shakespeare, Molière, Shaw, Gogol, Chekhov—to draw a satisfactory attendance. Modern plays with their theme of the "Soviet man" who always triumphs after a brief struggle against the "remnants of bourgeois ideology" became objects of ridicule. Mikhail Ponomarenko, the former Minister of Culture, stated a fact when he declared that the majority of modern Soviet plays were too naive and primitive for the public. Playwright Boris Lavreniev similarly complained of the artificiality and poverty of the modern dramatic output. He cited the instance of a play in which an agricultural expert broke with his girl-friend because they disagreed on the best method of planting vegetables.

In movie production, the great talent of actors, producers and photographers is chiefly evident in excellent documentaries and some animated cartoons. Recently a new movie for children called "Chuk and Gek" was produced. In it a five-year-old boy recites a hymn to the Soviet fatherland. A storm of criticism immediately broke loose in the press.

**T**HE PEOPLE no longer respond to the old-type arts.

The artists, however, respond to the pressures of the people. The stage has been reached where the growth of the artistic strata coincides with a higher popular cultural level resulting from the growth of production and the elimination of illiteracy.

The Soviet intellectuals are squeezed between the popular demands and their own needs on the one side, and the requirements of the regime on the other. As a result, they manifest a growing uneasiness and restlessness. As the regime began to make concessions to the people, a situation evolved in which the intellectuals found it possible to express their misgivings. The ruling caste certainly has a hand in these criticisms. It must give some way, lest the intellectuals, as a group, lose their usefulness to the regime.

But the regime is confronted with the problem of where to draw the line, so that this movement is not permitted to provide an impetus to the demands of the working class and help it to articulate its most pressing demand, that of political democracy. Retreats, therefore, can be expected. The basic tendency, however, is clear: Under the impact of a rising popular political consciousness and culture, a movement toward democracy has been set in motion in the Soviet Union. The conflicts currently taking place in the cultural field are symptoms of this basic and vital struggle.

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A Cincinnati housewife complained to Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, today that the televised Army-McCarthy hearings had caused her husband to quit his job, sit all day and laugh into his television set.

She wrote to the member of the investigating subcommittee to ask:

"Just when do you think you could stop these hearings?"

"My husband has given up his job, just sits and watches those hearings all day, doesn't work any more," she wrote. "Being a Democrat, he has laughed so much that he has become ill and I don't think he'll be able to go back (to work) even if it was over."

*N. Y. Times, May 13*

## *The Odyssey of a Senatorial Thug*

**I**N CONTRAST to the three-ring army-McCarthy circus now being shown at Washington, a detailed study of McCarthy must certainly appear a very dull matter. Nevertheless, for those who desire to penetrate beyond the smoke and the screaming to the facts, we cannot think of a better compilation of source material than the special 94-page edition of the Wisconsin *Progressive* called "McCarthy—A Documented Record" (April 1954).

For those engaged in the fight, for the troubled, the curious, for students and speakers, the *Progressive* has done a service in its comprehensive exposure of the record, background, the methods of the man who looms as the greatest menace to democratic rights. Unfortunately we cannot extend the same recommendation to the editors' interpretation or conclusions on McCarthyism.

McCarthy, the record shows, began his career in Shawano, Wisconsin, a typical ward-heeling politician. It is only a quirk of fate that McCarthy is today a Republican instead of a Democrat. He started on his political travels in 1936 as the president of the Young Democratic clubs of Wisconsin's Seventh District and as an unsuccessful candidate for district attorney of Shawano County on the Democratic ticket. This was two years after "the twenty years of treason" had begun. In 1939, McCarthy changed his political shirt and won the election for circuit court judge as a Republican. Although the *Progressive* does not discuss the matter, it is quite clear that McCarthy, like so many other politicians on the make, chose or changed his party solely out of reasons of personal expediency. It was many years before "Mr. Anti-communist" was to discover his political principles.

Ambitious, unscrupulous, self-seeking, his career, studded with scandal and corruption, is almost a commonplace in American political history. If McCarthy ever becomes the Fuehrer, his followers can well boast that he did it in "the American way." He got to be judge by stepping on his law partner who gave him his start in the legal profession. He won the election by flattering farmers. He distinguished himself on the bench by favoritism to a big dairy company, which brought down upon him the condemnation of the state Supreme Court. Also by "quickie" divorces to non-residents of his judicial district, which helped build his political and personal fortunes. Between his judgeship and his election to U.S. senator in 1946 as a "fighting marine," there lies a brief but hilarious military career in World War II which fits the professional patriot like a glove. He was cited by Admiral Nimitz for "carrying on" after suffering a severe leg injury. According to a shipmate, this occurred amidst the

hi-jinx of a "shellback" ceremony while the ship was crossing the equator.

**T**HE STORY of McCarthy's morals in the U.S. Senate is better known. The big payoffs he received for voting right from the Lustron Corp. of Columbus, Ohio, from the Pepsi-Cola Co. and from others, are thoroughly documented in the magazine. What is striking to us about these episodes is how little effect these scandals have had on McCarthy's meteoric rise. If middle-class liberals could learn, they would see that big political and class questions always transcend those of public morality. The cynical McCarthyites say, in effect, that a little extra cash is a small price to pay to a man fighting for his country's "security." After all, only communists carry idealism to extremes of self-deprivation.

Another extremely useful chapter of this record is the cataloguing of McCarthy's financial backers and their political opinions. With a few exceptions, most of these are newly and fabulously rich Texas oil tycoons. They were partly attracted to McCarthy for services rendered in the disposition of the nation's lush tideland oil reserves, as well as his proper voting, for them, in exempting natural gas interests from federal regulation and in trying to save them millions in taxes each year. But they were also attracted to him because of their fascist-type mentality.

They first took notice of McCarthy in 1946 when he demanded that John L. Lewis and his staff be drafted during the miners' strike, and then court-martialed if they failed to order the miners back to work. Most of these plutocrats are aggressive racists, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro. To one extent or another they have been financing fascist rabble like Gerald L. K. Smith. They're itching for power. One of them, E. M. Biggers, is the wealthy Texas rancher who gave the McCarthys a \$6000 Cadillac for a wedding gift. Biggers isn't worried about Russia, he says. "There are too many Jews in Washington," he told the *Milwaukee Journal*, and the big danger to the country is "being swallowed up by liberalism, socialism, or whatever you want to call it."

**W**HAT the *Progressive* fails to explain satisfactorily is how McCarthy became so prominent—and so menacing—in less than four years. They point to his Hitler "Big Lie" technique, to his aggressiveness, to his constant attacks, to his quick shifts from one issue to another when caught in a jam, to his refusal to consider any government department (except the FBI) as sacrosanct and above being smeared. There is no doubt that the method is diabolic, but that doesn't explain why it has worked so

well. The failure of the editors to provide this explanation is primarily political. And, despite the excellence of their study, they are incapable of getting to the root of the question or of showing how McCarthyism can be effectively combated and defeated.

One might think from reading their account that the witch-hunt began in 1950 with McCarthy's sensational attack against the State Department. In a chapter called "Guarding America's Security," the *Progressive* approves the police state measures taken under the Truman administration as "an elaborate system to protect the government from spies and subversives." These measures, in their eyes, have the added virtue of antedating McCarthy by several years and of making his operations unnecessary.

Yet what were these measures if not the groundbreakers for McCarthy? The Smith Act established the doctrine of dangerous thoughts. McCarthy's bookburning is only the logical extension. Truman's "loyalty" and "security" program was based on guilt by association, which McCarthy has carried one step further. Wiretapping and other Gestapo operations of the FBI got their start under the Truman administration. For all their judicial trappings, the big hysteria trials of Hiss, of the Communist Party leaders, of the Rosenbergs, were no less lurid, no less vicious than McCarthy's klieg-lighted hearings. We could extend this list indefinitely but the "Big Truth" the *Progressive* seeks but cannot find is this: Not Hitler but Truman is McCarthy's god-father.

The trouble with *Progressive's* fight against McCarthy is its tendency to become a fight over tactics. They go along with him on the political premise of the primary importance of the struggle against communism in the world. McCarthy's methods help communism—this is the refrain that runs through all 94 pages of the special issue. McCarthy, of course, flings back the charge, and shouts that during the time the liberals held sway, communism extended its domination to China. In this kind of contest, the advantage is with the most aggressive and most reactionary side. That's what happened in Germany before Hitler.

The nature of the struggle determines the type of its leadership: the New Deal had its Roosevelt; the anti-communist struggle, its McCarthy. Furthermore, the very nature of the struggle against communism favors dictatorship and fascist methods. What is at stake is property, not the political forms of government. Thus even before the rise of McCarthy, the State Department found its only substantial allies in Asia in the tyrannical, corrupt dictatorships of Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai which were trying to protect landowners, usurers and warlords against a hungry, dissatisfied peasantry. The liberals groaned and moaned, but acquiesced because they were bound to the principle of fighting communism. Now they are in the thoroughly inconsistent position of reluctantly swallowing foreign dictators but gagging at a McCarthy.

**B**UT LET US leave this matter of communism aside. There is not even a



matter of principle that separates *Progressive* from McCarthy so far as methods are concerned. The editors are understandably exercised over the importance of "means and methods to people who love liberty and cherish principles of fair play." But is this an undeviating principle which tolerates no exception to the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage, which guards the state against hostile acts but never against hostile thoughts or words? Not according to the *Progressive*. They are quite prepared

to accept all sorts of infractions of this democratic principle—up to a certain point. For them that point is communists and spies; for McCarthy it is the editors of the *Progressive* and much beyond. All the trumps in such a battle are on McCarthy's side. The best the liberals can win is a compromise in which they accept more and more of McCarthy's methods and proposals, each justified by a new expediency in the fight against communism, but assign them to more "responsible" executives. In the

end, of course, the fabric of freedom can be so weakened that a McCarthyite victory becomes a pushover.

The editors of the *Progressive* might well ponder this question: How does it happen that in a world where "communist totalitarianism" is supposed to be the main danger, McCarthyism, not communism, has become the principal menace to democracy in the U.S.?

G. C.



### *The Prize Was Rotten*

*Giant Business: Threat to Democracy*, by T. K. Quinn. Exposition Press, New York, 1953, \$3.75.

**T**HE AUTHOR of this book was a vice-president of General Electric who was being groomed for the presidency by the head of the corporation, Gerard Swope, when, in November 1935, he quit the race with the golden apple almost within his grasp. His action was totally incomprehensible to his associates and superiors, whose eyes were solely fixed upon the prize of power and privilege. T. K. Quinn had, however, managed to retain a wider vision and more generous impulses that enabled him to see the draining of one's humanity in the course of the competition and the inner rottenness of the prize.

His father had been, as Quinn puts it, "a liberty-loving Irishman and a life-long fighter for the underdog" who carried on his body the bullet scars and knife gashes he acquired in labor struggles. Although a militant unionist, he did not, it is clear, come into contact with the ideas of socialism, and Quinn was brought up in an atmosphere of middle-class radicalism in which Altgeld, Ingersoll and Bryan were the heroes. Quinn was deeply influenced by this atmosphere and by his father, whom he worshiped while at the same time reacting against him for being "too much unlike the other fathers on the street" in his dedication to humanity and his self-sacrifice. His youth, he says, was "a kind of intoxication" from which, he came to realize, he never fully recovered.

In the meantime, he devoted his energy to acquiring the education his father valued. Having worked his way through night law school, he advanced in a subsidiary of General Electric from stenographer, to credit manager, sales manager and manager. From there he went on to the vice-presidency from which he resigned when he decided to get off the dizzily whirling merry-go-round that was becoming

more and more distasteful to him as he came closer to the brass ring. The story is told without complacency. Quinn is very much aware that the giant corporations smother talent rather than develop it, that his own exceptional rise was heavily favored by fortune in many ways and that many of the self-perpetuating corporation officers and directors "couldn't successfully operate a second-class grocery store."

His book, only nominally an autobiography, after a sketch of his boyhood life, becomes an exposure of the domination of Big Business and its stifling effect upon American society. Not a profound social analyst but a shrewdly knowledgeable observer who is able to marshal facts, he hammers away at a few main ideas. His short chapters lack continuity and are often repetitive, but by force of illustration and anecdote they nail down their points.

**T**HE MYTHS of the importance of small business and the efficiency and social usefulness of Big Business are firmly spiked. Small business exists largely at the sufferance and under the thumb of Big Business. Giant corporations can undersell and drive out of the market small businesses at any time they desire, by drawing on their huge capital resources or by taking a temporary loss in one line of business that is insignificant when measured against the profits from all their other lines of business. The consequence is the wide practice of "price leadership": small business follows the prices set by Big Business, knowing that it would be suicidal to attempt to expand the volume of its sales by lowering prices and inviting retaliation. Thousands of supposedly independent middlemen are at the mercy of the large manufacturers who tie them up with one-sided contracts and exert pressure on them not to sell products that might compete with any of theirs.

A glaring example of this control is the oil industry. Standard Oil boasts in its advertisements that the independent filling-station operators who sell its products are representative of the American way of life. This is true indeed, for their independence is only superficial. They not only have to buy their gasoline and oil from one place, but tires, batteries and a long list of accessories. The result is that the "independent" dealers are completely dependent on their oil companies and that small tire manufacturers, for instance, have lost their sales outlets, so that instead of the 120 tire manufacturers there once were, there are

now 20, of whom four make 92 percent of the country's tires. Thus too, while trade associations such as the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers may have thousands of members, the fact that a small number of Big Business concerns are direct or indirect customers of practically all of the other members gives them an effective control.

Big Business is not only dominant, it is expanding. Small business does not have access to the capital necessary for the development of new industries. It becomes ever more dependent on the industrial giants or is relegated to such activities as running hot-dog stands, and it continues to be swallowed up by Big Business. During 1940 to 1946 over 1800 substantial concerns were absorbed by mergers, more than 70 percent of them being acquired by corporations with minimum assets of \$5 million. So unfavorable is the economic climate for small businesses that even during the artificial boom years 1944 to 1948 they had an average net mortality of 56.7 percent.

Competition between the giants is not the same as competition under the old market conditions. The few big companies can have tacit agreements on prices. Thus the big cigarette manufacturers spend great sums of money on advertisements making nonsensical claims designed to teach consumers to become habituated to their particular brands of tobacco, *but they do not compete in prices.*

**N**OR IS Big Business, heavily bureaucratized and stifling initiative all along the line, a highly efficient productive mechanism. It triumphs over small business not because of superior efficiency, as is shown by the frequency with which the products of small manufacturers are rated above those of the large ones by consumers' research organizations; it triumphs because of its capital strength and expensive advertising.

The dominance of giant corporations means the crushing of the individual, who becomes one of myriad counters manipulated by men with little understanding of the vast, complex organizations they command. The worker can win dignity as a human being only through his unions; and the managers, supervisors and other bureaucrats in the corporate hierarchy are supine dependents, often frustrated in their inability to gain recognition from those at the heights. As for those on top, dizzy with



their eminence, they look down upon those below as so many ants. Quinn does not name names, asserting that he is attacking a system and not individuals and apologizing for his former associates as victims of their environment, but he testifies to his personal knowledge of the unscrupulous ruthlessness and the "superman complexes" of many who are "publicly held up as paragons of ability and accomplishment."

In the light of his own description of the power and the ruthlessness of these men, Quinn's program of reform, beginning with the federal incorporation of corporations asked for by President Taft in 1911, is like a proposal to pull the teeth of a ferocious tiger with your fingers, to use his favorite epithet for Big Business. He proudly proclaims himself as in the tradition of those who have fought against the concentration of economic power, but he does not stop to think why after a century of this struggle concentration of economic power has reached an undreamed-of point. The law of the concentration and centralization of capital which Marx formulated, he has apparently never heard of, although his every page is a vindication of it.

Socialism is for him any form of governmental intervention in economic life, generally deplorable but often necessary ("everyone is in some degree a socialist"), with "extreme socialism" having the evils of bigness characteristic of Big Business. He has no conception of socialism as the planned production the monopolists are never capable of achieving no matter how much they dominate small business—planned production operating through democratic control and management much more initiative-releasing than small business ever was.

If Quinn has, however, little realization of historical trends, he does have the practical man-of-affairs' knowledge of what's what—and for that his book has value.

T. M.

## Siberian Adventure

*Archangel 1918-1919, by Field Marshal Lord Ironside. Constable, London, 1953, \$3.75.*

AS THIS REVIEW is being written, Vice-President Nixon has just announced that United States troops may enter the Indo-China war if the French decide to withdraw. In making this decision, Mr. Nixon and his associates should bear in mind the advice of British Field Marshal Ironside that "Once a military force is involved on land it is almost impossible to limit the magnitude of its commitments. Military expeditions cannot extricate themselves from a country they have invaded as a ship leaves a port it has visited."

His book is the story of the Allied invasion of North Russia in 1918 and of the difficulty which the Allies found in extricating their forces from that area when they finally decided to do so. Field Marshal

(then General) Ironside was for most of this time acting commander of the Allied forces at Archangel, and his book is devoted mainly to an account of military operations there.

The first Allied landings in North Russia were designed to decrease German pressure in France. In March of 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been signed between the new Bolshevik government and the Germans, a treaty which made it possible for Germany to shift troops from the Russian front to France.

The Allies at the end of July attacked Archangel with a naval force carrying troops, and engineered a concomitant anti-Bolshevik uprising in the city, and sent land forces from Murmansk to cut off the Bolshevik retreat. Although the Red forces escaped, Archangel and the surrounding territory was occupied by the military forces of Britain, France and the United States.

By September of 1918, German weakness in France was becoming obvious, and the Allied Supreme Council met to consider whether to continue fighting against the Bolsheviks. "Some of the more pacific-minded had favoured the setting-up of a *cordon sanitaire* against them, so as to isolate the political struggle in Russia from the rest of Europe; but it was thought that this idea had been abandoned as impracticable." It was decided to carry on a winter campaign in North Russia against the Bolsheviks whether or not the German forces in France were defeated. At this time the Allied offensive in North Russia was justified solely by the desire to forcibly overthrow the government of Lenin. In the words of Field Marshal Ironside: "I was never asked to consider the question of evacuation after the Armistice. To have abandoned Archangel would have been a deadly blow to the White armies fighting elsewhere, and I knew that to do so was against the general Allied strategy in the Russian civil war."

THE STRATEGY of the Allies has since become orthodox in military attempts to prop up or restore unpopular regimes, as now in Indo-China. They first set up a Provisional White Russian Government, and then helped this Provisional Government to conscript all able-bodied men of the area. These conscripts were integrated into the Allied forces which subsequently carried out a winter offensive against the Bolsheviks. It was planned to equip, supply and train White Russian forces to the point where, by the summer of 1919, they could carry out their own successful operations. In addition, the Allies hoped to establish contact with the Czech troops and the forces of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia in order to lay the foundations for a joint military offensive.

Allied hopes were quickly frustrated. No peasant support for them was forthcoming. Mutiny after mutiny broke out among the White Russian troops (even one British detachment rebelled). The White Russian ministers of the Provisional Government were demoralized. There was among them "... a growing anxiety ... as to whether the Allies intended to go on supporting the White cause. They had no confidence in

themselves, and there was not one of them who showed any white-hot patriotism to win through, such as the Bolshevik leaders seemed to possess in so large a measure. Not one of them had been out in the country making touch with the peasants."

The Allies managed to extricate their forces in September 1919. Just three months later the new White Russian army of more than 20,000 men, trained by the Allies and provisioned mainly from the United States, was entirely destroyed.

How could such an open invasion, opposed by most Russians, be sold to the Allied peoples and troops? In many respects the method was similar to the way in which a United States invasion of Indo-China is being sold to the American people and troops. For example, General Ironside noticed that the severity of fighting had been much exaggerated in British papers. He writes: "At first I was annoyed at this exaggeration until I woke up to the fact that the War Office was pressing for a relief force to be sent out to us in the spring and that their task in getting authority to sanction this move was being considerably lightened by reports of heavy fighting." The general himself kept close censorship on all news from Europe so that the morale of his soldiers would not collapse at the reception of bad news concerning the White forces in Siberia. At his request even the British press was kept from receiving an accurate account of the situation. "... as there was no censorship in England, I asked that no bad news should be given to the press concerning the Siberians. I did not want the morale of the Archangel Russians to be lowered by bad news from other White fronts."

LORD IRONSIDE gives his opinion of how it came about that the White Russians were defeated in spite of extensive Allied help on several fronts. "The Civil War ... started with both sides without organized military forces. But politically they were very differently situated. The Reds had a strong fanatical Government, holding a central position in the country with the mass of the people behind them. They had the power to talk to the people everywhere. Within a few months they discovered that Trotsky was a genius as a War Minister. The Whites had no Government to direct either political or military operations. They had to make their attacks from the edges of Russia's vast expanse, and the commanders had no means of communicating with each other. The result was a series of unconnected offensives, each of which failed to preserve its impetus and faded away before the succeeding one could help it on."

The Allied invasion of North Russia was the first of many engagements, each fought against a people in order to "defend the world from Bolshevism." It is remarkable that the "anti-Bolsheviks" are still using a strategy very similar to that of 1918-19. And in this instance, just as happened in North Russia, the hostility of the people of an invaded country to foreign troops can very well be the decisive factor in the war.

A. S. Minneapolis

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## All Were Enthusiastic

Re your request for comments on the magazine: Personally I think it's the finest thing now passing through the second class mails of the post office. Have talked to others who have subscribed to radical papers for 20 years or more, all were enthusiastic; and one of them, after reading only a single issue of the *American Socialist*, was prepared to cancel his other subscriptions and send in for yours.

R. M. Minneapolis

I can see a great improvement in the right direction of your publication from the old dogmatists. . . . Any group or individual that's working for the broadest freedom can rely on me to be a fellow traveler, riding or walking. More power to you. Please find check for \$2 Sub.

E. H. Flint

## The Right to Stand Up . . .

Writing to you about McCarthy. . . . The keystone of America is freedom. The foundation of America is the right of every man to stand up and speak his piece. This means that a Communist has the right to stand up and talk as long and as loud as any Democrat or Republican. It also means that anyone with a new idea, bright or dull, has the right to stand up and try to sell it to the public alongside the Communist. The free play of ideas in the public arena is the basis of America, and anyone who would destroy this would destroy America.

. . . McCarthy is reeling at the present moment. The lesson taught by McCarthy is this: an American cannot attack freedom without destroying himself. . . . Whoever may lead Americans . . . must respect and promote freedom. Americans will guard it forever.

V. W. North Carolina

I would like to take advantage of your introductory \$1 offer. . . . Though I must confess I am not much in favor of some of the more extreme aspects of socialism, I still would be interested in getting your viewpoint. I hope this offer will enable me to get that clearer look at the socialist program.

It is extremely generous of you to make this offer and I thank you.

G. C. South Dakota

My check for \$2 is enclosed, for another year of your excellent magazine. I feel sure it will help the American people to replace a policy of "peace through strength" with one of "peace through sense." Ike and Dulles may think I should be old enough to know better (now past 79) but I still

think an economy of production for use is more sane than the current economy of production for profit.

M. W. Iowa

You state that the April issue drew more praise than any since your first. . . . But you don't understand why. I think the answer is that the articles in that issue created an interest (Indo-China, Puerto Rico, McCarthyism, and the economic articles) in readers' minds. . . . In other words, the impact of the world events for that month plus the timeliness of the articles is your answer.

C. A. Buffalo

## Eviction of Eighty-Year-Old

Just received my first copy of the *American Socialist*, the only class of publication that seems to be informative.

I am sending you a photograph of one of our eviction scenes. The big brass are carrying out one of the Ziegenhardt brothers from his life-long home. The two brothers are nearly eighty years old. Their crime dates 'way back in the Twenties when a number of "prosperous farmers" were inveigled into purchasing stock in a farmers cyclone and fire insurance company.

. . . During the past twenty years the professional politicians, lawyers and bankers have been trying to blackmail the aging farmers for huge fees for professional services, after which they would declare bankruptcy and pocket the money. Now these aged farmers are being evicted after their farms were sold at bankrupt prices, one widow being found dead a few days after her eviction. Their aging friends are being convicted one by one, and given prison terms of 3-5 years for advising their neighbors not to move out.

The local anti-labor and anti-farmer press makes a mockery of the unfortunate victims of this real conspiracy by politicians, attorneys and courts.

W. D. Flint

Thank you so much for sending us the copy of the *American Socialist* containing the review of "Salt of the Earth." We are grateful also for the review which speaks so understandingly of the picture.

Independent Productions Corporation  
New York

## Doing a Far Better Job . . .

I will try to satisfy your postscript on the special renewal subscription letter. To begin with, and by way of gross generalization, I believe you are doing a far better job for the socialist cause than any other socialist publication that I have read. I have always been disgusted with the dreamy utopian

authors who seem to have a monopoly of space in the run-of-the-mill socialist publications.

I am certain that you will agree that this is a very real world where we live, and that our problems can only be solved by today's very real thought and debate. Perhaps the goals of the dreamy authors and mine are quite similar, but I am well aware of the rocky road with many side-roads which leads to this goal. If we are to reach the goal, we must go ahead with caution and determination. . . .

The *American Socialist* has started with a down-to-earth approach to the future. As your circulation increases, your temptation to change may grow stronger. I hope that this will not affect the *American Socialist*. If, in the future, I notice a change for the worse, I will be quick to let you know.

H.M.P. Minneapolis

## Vociferous War-Shouter

The labor movement here in Illinois is backing Democratic Senator Paul Douglas for re-election, and labor, in my opinion, is sure to lose political capital by this action. Douglas' record in the Senate rates him as one of the most vociferous war-shouters.

During the Korean war, Douglas thought it would help to drop an A-Bomb or two. In regard to Indo-China, Douglas calls for military, naval and air intervention.

The Republicans are running a small edition of McCarthy: a professional lobbyist by the name of Meek. It is significant that Meek has taken a strong stand against foreign adventures like Indo-China, and opposes Douglas as a "war-monger." This can become a McCarthyite demagogic line, and many will support such demagogues to protest the drive toward war.

It would be good if I could report that the Progressive Party, which is small here but not without influence, had seized the opportunity to run a vigorous anti-war campaign. But as yet there is no indication that it is planning such a course. And the Communist Party is asking its followers to join the Douglas banner, although it voices much criticism of Douglas.

F. F. Chicago

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THIS IS the sixth issue of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, and since many subscribers made our acquaintance through the six-month introductory offer, it is now renewal time. Please send in your renewals promptly, so that you don't miss an issue.

All indications are that the bulk of our subscribers are anxious to continue to receive the magazine. One renewal letter calls the AMERICAN SOCIALIST the "finest thing now passing through the second class mails of the post office," and tells of one long-time subscriber to radical publications who, "after reading only a single issue of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, was prepared to cancel his other subscriptions and send in for yours."

We would hardly advise that, although we are gratified at the enthusiasm. But we do think that no radical, liberal or progressive, no thinking worker, should do without the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. And we find more and more people agreeing with us each month.

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