

THE AMERICAN
Socialist

What About Democracy?:

**Russia
and
Socialism**

Editorial

After Geneva

Kohler Strike

Twenty-Year Battle

Middle-East Report

**Trouble Ahead
For Israel**

Book Review

**Origins of the
British Labor Party**



MALENKOV

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25 CENTS

CLIPPINGS

THE WEEK of August 15 was a dark one for the American people. In the rush before adjournment, Congress slashed away like a pack of infuriated madmen at the Bill of Rights. They left gaping holes in the Constitution, and today all of us are measurably less free. Most of the Brownell package was jammed through, including the immunity bill which strips witnesses of the right not to testify against themselves granted by the Fifth Amendment; a bill making it mandatory for all organizations declared "subversive" to register their printing equipment with the government; an amendment knocking out so-called "communist-infiltrated" unions, and other savage legislation. Then, in the final days, the Senate "liberals" earned eternal contumely by pushing through Martin Dies' bill to outlaw the Communist Party.

On another front, the government is trying to deport Cedric Belfrage, editor of National Guardian, who is a British subject. The Guardian is asking for financial help to back his fight. . . . The Superior Court of New Hampshire found Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of Monthly Review, in contempt of court and sentenced him to jail until he purge himself. Sweezy, declaring that he was a Marxist and socialist and had never been a member of the Communist Party, refused to answer all questions concerning his political beliefs as an invasion of freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment. The case is being appealed to the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and Monthly Review is asking for financial contributions to help defray the legal costs.

JOHAN L. LEWIS' United Mine Workers Journal declared on August 1 that there is in Washington "a so-called 'defensive war' party that constitutes a grave peril to world peace and the safety of our country. Those in this group argue with oversimplification that since we are going to have to fight the communists some day, why not now? The answer is simple: We might not survive such a war." The Journal calls for support of colonial independence movements and concludes "that other countries should be allowed to work out their own destinies without dollar imperialism on our part or military aggression by the communists."

EVEN the hopped-up U.S. Congress was stunned when Syngman Rhee laid his policy on the line. "Our ally" wanted the U.S. to give him air and naval support for an attack on China. "Would not the Soviet government, therefore, launch its own ground forces into the battle for China and its air forces as well? Perhaps. But that would be excellent for the free world, since it would justify the destruction of the Soviet centers of production by the American air force before the Soviet hydrogen bomb had been produced in quantity." James Reston, the N.Y. Times political writer, commented: "The silence which followed the delineation of this excellent prospect for the free world was positively deafening."

NOTICES inform us of the good news that "organized labor is now impressing upon the working man's wife that her place is in politics." To carry out this project, the CIO brought Mrs. Esther Murray from California to Washington two years ago to set up a special political program for women, and the AFL enlisted Mrs. Margaret Thornburgh for the same purpose. What dampens enthusiasm somewhat for these fine efforts is Mrs. Thornburgh's explanation of the kind of education she is dishing out. She explains: "Three issues I find are closest to our women: war and the danger of war, taxes and inflation. War is more important than anything else. I am strictly against using war as a political issue. It should not enter a campaign. . . . Candidates who put any such propositions simply toy with a mother's heartstrings. . . . No one can promise an end to the danger of war. No one can look to the future and know what is in the minds of the communists."

PROGRESSIVE America suffered a loss when Vito Marcantonio, former Congressman from New York, died of a heart attack on August 9 while on his way to his law office near City Hall. The great personal following he had built up by his tireless work over the years on behalf of his constituents and the reverence with which he has been honored by masses from different walks of life was clear as thousands upon thousands came to the funeral parlor to pay their last respects.

Marcantonio was a very unusual, a unique

figure in American politics. Associated with former Mayor La Guardia, he managed the latter's 1924 campaign while still a law student at New York University. In 1934, when La Guardia was elected mayor, Marcantonio replaced him in Congress, elected with Republican and City Fusion support. From 1938 on, after he had perfected his political organization in the 18th Congressional district, he was returned term after term to Congress, regardless of what ticket he ran on, until the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties ganged up on him in 1950: He was running for Congress again in the current elections, and was given a good chance of winning.

In his twelve years in Washington, Marcantonio earned a reputation as a brilliant politician and as a man of principle. The respect he earned was all the more noteworthy as he was a minority of one in the House of Representatives on some of the most controversial questions of our lifetime.

Unlike practically all allies of the Communists of the New Deal period, especially those who had a reputation and an established career, Marcantonio stayed true to his principles as he saw them, and burned his political bridges to respectability when he stood up in the House to denounce Truman's "police action" in Korea before a body bristling with hostility. Interestingly enough, when he severed his alliance with the Communist Party, it was from a progressive position of independent labor politics. For the last few years he was in a severe fight with the CP supporters over their policy of backing Democrats, and finally in disgust he publicly denounced the CP and resigned his chairmanship of the American Labor Party a year before his death. He will long be remembered as an honest and progressive fighter.

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After Geneva

THE INDOCHINESE settlement signed at the Geneva conference was a big victory for the colonial independence movement and a shattering defeat for French imperialism. It demonstrated the irresistible nature of the present revolutionary sweep, and how the movement manages to survive under the most adverse circumstances, and advance to victory despite the overwhelmingly superior armaments of its foes.

In its immediate effect, the Geneva agreement was a setback to war, as it temporarily isolated Dulles and threw the plans of Washington's war party into disarray. How imperialism's power has waned in Asia is writ plain in Washington's inability to enlist any Asian nations, outside of Pakistan and Thailand, for its SEATO conference. Even the reactionaries of Ceylon do not dare to attend in the face of the hostility of India and Indonesia. The Western powers are close to being pushed right off the Asian continent. They retain toeholds only on the perimeter—Malaya, Hong Kong, Southern Korea, Thailand, Formosa, the Philippines—and their domination in many of these places rests on quicksand.

The difficulties in getting "Asians to fight Asians" was not the only thing upsetting the Dulles-Eisenhower strategy. Washington's isolation from its imperialist allies, especially Britain, was a dangerous proposition, producing a host of consequences, not the least of which was the throwing of a world spotlight on the war provocations of the Washington-Wall Street cliques. In the circumstances, the administration had no alternative except to go along with the Geneva agreement, although—as a sop to the anti-communist hysteria at home—they did it grudgingly and churlishly, in a unilateral declaration written in tones of arrogance

and with overtones of threat. The result is the United States was a full participant in the defeat, but excluded itself from the moral benefits of "saving the peace," which were squeezed for all they were worth by the fast-stepping boys of England and France, Eden and Mendès-France.

THE GENEVA PACT was a God-sent psychological opportunity for an insurgent movement to raise its head in the U.S., challenge the strategy of the cold war, and propose a settlement with the Soviet bloc. It is entirely possible that such a movement could have gotten support not too inferior to the response enjoyed by Bevan and his associates in England. What a commentary on the labor leaders and the liberal leaders that they did not utter even a pip-squeak throughout all the agonizing weeks when the fate of the world hung by a hair! What a sad commentary that Meany, President of the AFL, was at this time delivering bellicose speeches against "appeasement," and that the liberals in the Senate, who had just participated in a courageous fight against the atomic power give-away, would associate themselves with the war party when the administration staged a new provocation and shot down two Chinese planes off Hainan.

But though the labor and liberal leaders flunked badly in this crisis, the reality of Washington's isolation is having effects. Many of the policy-makers in the counting houses of Wall Street and the attorneys' suites of New York and Washington are beginning an "agonizing reappraisal" and wondering if a tactical retreat is not called for on America's part. It is dawning on many of the brighter ones that the peoples of the world are not too anxious to get blown into atomic dust, that a

lot of resentment and hatred has been built up against the self-appointed saviors of the "free world," and that it well may be the greater part of wisdom to slow things down. They haven't changed their objectives. But they may alter the pace.

It is in this light that the discussions of the American Assembly (a group founded by Eisenhower in 1950 when he was president of Columbia University) have to be viewed. That is undoubtedly the meaning of its declaration signed by sixty prominent educators, business men, preachers, diplomats, and one or two labor leaders, deploring the "tendency in the United States to adopt a rigid policy of permanent opposition under all circumstances to the seating of this regime [admission of China into the UN]."

That this was not a fortuitous statement but a careful attempt to prepare public opinion for a shift was given weight when Eisenhower, a week later, declared emphatically that U.S. interests would not be served by breaking diplomatic relations with Russia, rejected out of hand all suggestions of a preventive war, and affirmed his belief in the need of a world forum like the UN.

AS THE CONFLICT between the U.S. and Russian social systems will probably continue for many years (Eisenhower in one news conference talked about thinking in terms of a 30-year struggle,) and as the question of co-existence will come up again and again in our time, it is pretty important to have a thorough understanding of the matter involved.

Socialists are opponents of capitalism and imperialism, and supporters of the socialist-type state of Russia (although not supporters of political dictatorship arising there out of the backward heritage of Czarism on the foundation of which the Russian Revolution of 1917 had to build). But that does not mean socialists are for a big-power war to settle the social question, because such a war may only settle the fate of civilization. Time favors socialists and the socialist cause. We therefore favor—as anyone in his right mind must support—the working out of practical arrangements between these two world power blocs. Opposition to such agreements can only mean that one insists on fighting it out, in other

words, the third world war. Given the present realities, that is a program of sheer madness and despair.

The fact that the American people have gone along with the cold war, but have turned against people like MacArthur and Radford and the war-narrow crowd, who with perfectly good logic argue that the cold war must turn into a shooting war, means that the American people have been woefully confused and miseducated on this score. It is the duty of all progressives not to join with the jingoos in a tirade against "appeasement"—because that is talk for war while hiding behind a catch-phrase—but to re-educate the people into the realities of the present world conflict. But, some laborites and ADA'ers excitedly argue, it is the communist leaders in Russia who stand for "co-existence," and don't we all know that these same leaders maintain slave labor camps and have organized frame-up trials?

As the late Vito Marcantonio once remarked, just because communists wear clothing is no reason for the rest of us to start nudist colonies. Let us take what is right and reject what is wrong.

THE HYSTERIA over "appeasement," and the mistaken identification of the American people's interests with the cold war policies of the government spokesmen, have obscured the fact that the Viet Minh gave up more in Geneva than was warranted by the military line-up in Indochina. If the war there had continued for any length of time, it is likely that the French forces would have been swept into the sea, and the Viet Minh taken possession of the whole country, with the backing, let it be noted, of the big majority of the population. All this was practically admitted by Mendès-France in his post-Geneva speech at the French parliament. At the beginning of the negotiations, the Viet Minh wanted the dividing line at the 13th parallel. They settled at the 17th parallel. They wanted elections in six months. They settled for elections in two years.

Why did they make these extraordinary concessions? Undoubtedly, it was the pressure of Russia and China, who were fearful of American war plans, and sought desperately to prevent a breakdown of the conference.



CHOU EN-LAI

Part of the living body of the Vietnamese nation was thus thrown to the wolves as a sacrificial offering to prevent the possibility of spreading war. Accounts from Geneva have related that there was a lot of grumbling in the Viet Minh delegation about the final terms. They had good reason to be angry, as part of their hard-won victory was signed away.

It is nothing new for independence and revolutionary battles to face the threat of foreign intervention, but neither the French in 1793 nor the Russians in 1917 retreated before such threats, unless absolutely constrained to do so. In our opinion, it is not at all established that that was the situation in this case. We say this, even though we hail all efforts that disrupt and delay the plans of the war-mongers and allay the danger of war.

SOcialists in America, as throughout the world, should identify themselves with the fight for peace, and against war. Where we have to

differ sharply from the Communist parties is: 1) To keep this fight independent of the twists of Soviet diplomacy and never agree to American labor being used as a pawn. Every labor movement has the duty of working out a program suited to its needs and the advancement of its progress. A labor movement that agrees to class peace agrees to triumphant reaction. 2) The fight for peace in America will prosper to the extent that the ranks of labor, the minority groups and the liberal allies become the foundation of a mass anti-war crusade. The effort will come to nought if it banks on national fronts consisting of alliances with groups of capitalists, who at one or another moment may favor an agreement with Russia, as some of the German capitalists apparently do today.

Such a policy may appear to some as stemming from stereotype thinking—in a country where labor leader George Meany wants to go on with the cold war and industrialist Charles E. Wilson occasionally talks of recognizing reality. We are aware that the labor leadership is caught up in the toils of the cold-war hysteria, and that the ranks have been badly infected with the virus of chauvinism. But what is the alternative to re-educating the ranks of labor? There is no other social force that can reverse reaction and lead to a better future. Let us remember that the British labor movement was also backing the cold war several years ago. Finally, it shook off the hypnosis and is today striking some effective blows against imperialism and war. Let us labor in the vineyard with patience and confidence and we will see a similar transformation in the United States quicker than many today believe possible.

The Hard Facts

THE ORGANIZED labor movement has seen the political climate turning against it since 1940, when the New Deal was discarded for war preparations, and a reactionary coalition took control of Congress. The steady drift to the right was capped by the Republican victory in 1952, when for the first time in 20 years, labor found itself isolated not only from the middle

class, but from the white collar people as well.

Labor's isolation and defeat has proven more costly in the two intervening years than even the most pessimistic predicted. "Right to work" anti-labor laws have been clamped around its neck throughout the states. The National Labor Relations Board has been staffed with reactionary em-

ployer representatives who are belaboring the unions with one provocative ruling after another. The hard-won rights recognized by the Wagner law are being chiseled away until labor stands in a legally more exposed position than it was in the Twenties. Now, the administration is pouring on the heat to shove through new savage laws, which, in effect, would set up a system of government licensing of unions.

Considering the size and fundamental strength of the unions, it cannot be denied that the labor movement is not utilizing its power to best advantage. There is something radically wrong when a movement 16½ million strong cannot get its message across to the nation better than has been the case, and when it can be ignored and pushed around with such impunity by elected representatives of government.

There has been plenty of indignation in labor circles and numerous official protests against the depredations of the Cadillac Cabinet and the Big Business Congress, but labor has drawn no fundamental lessons, as yet, from the catastrophe of the past two years. The labor statesmen are still wedded to the idea that they can support the imperialist crowd in its cold war, that they can join with the State Department and United Fruit Company in backing counter-revolution in Guatemala, while successfully bringing back a New Deal type of welfare state to the United States. Though no basic programmatic lesson has been learned from the 1952 debacle, labor is now only too well aware of the importance of politics and political action, and that it must rouse itself to extraordinary efforts to get a friendly administration in Washington.

THE MOOD of isolation has lessened labor's self-confidence so that the defeat has not goaded it to greater militancy in policy matters and the wider horizons of a third party movement, but has imparted renewed persuasiveness to the conservative strategy of tying labor to the Democratic Party and electing so-called Democratic liberals in 1954. But there is nothing half-hearted about the determination to carry through this strategy. The CIO and AFL leaders are putting their shoulders to the wheel, resolved to leave no stone unturned to reverse the Republican trend of

two years ago. And from the indications of the primary contests, they have every chance of electing a Democratic Congress, or at least, House of Representatives, and improving the position of the liberals inside the Democratic Party.

We do not deny that labor can be the beneficiary of some fringe gains in the event of such a victory. But one need only recall the lessons of Truman's administration to see that the advances will be very slight and ephemeral, that labor's basic position in the nation will remain largely unchanged, and that after the first flush of victory, labor will again be face to face with the problem of McCarthyism-Brownellism.

The U.S. is the only advanced capitalist country in the world in the grip of advancing reaction today. The U.S. is also the only advanced capitalist country in the world where the labor movement lacks its own political party and is attached to one of the capitalist parties. These two events are not unrelated. The major unresolved task of American labor to get back on the high road of progress is to assert its organizational independence on the political field, as it already has on the economic one.

Many left wingers have told us that while all this is undeniably true, the fact remains that labor—not only in its leadership, but in the ranks—is right now tied to the Democrats and believes in the Democrats. Workers, we are told, are mistaken in that position, but you cannot get away from the fact that that is their position. They go on to ask: Isn't it sectarian for left wingers to remain apart from this development? How are you going to influence labor towards an independent policy if you separate yourself away from it? Where are the forces for a labor party going to come from if not from the labor movement which at present works within the Democratic Party?

THESE ARE GOOD talking points, and convinced, for one, the American Communist Party, which in a frantic maneuver to overcome its isolation, declared recently for working within the Democratic Party. Are not the arguments strong nevertheless for such a policy?

It is not that simple. The course of

history will undoubtedly produce in time a split on the part of labor from the Democrats even if every socialist were to quit politics tomorrow morning. But it is insufficient for left wingers, if they wish to act as catalysts in the labor movement, that is, to influence and hasten developments, to simply go along with the mistaken majority. It is necessary to ask: Do we make it easier to influence labor ranks along our way of thinking if we would join with the rest in plumping for the Democrats?

Here we come up against the hard fact that the Democratic Party is organized on a typically ward-heeler basis, that labor and progressive ranks do not participate to any degree in the party's inner activities and decisions, and that the small and scattered groups of radicals would simply be swallowed up in this structure if they entered it and would lose their identity and role. The Communist Party has not mitigated by a hair's breadth its isolation by its pro-Democratic stand. All it has accomplished is to further underline in the public mind its reputation for devious tactics and Machiavellianism, both of which traits must be shunned by honest socialists if they are to gain the confidence of labor ranks in the future. One might argue that if the radicals were stronger than they are, then such a tactic would be worth while and could bring results. But, if the radical movement were stronger, it would signify that labor consciousness was more advanced. In that case, we would not even have to consider a tactic of that kind. The socialists could challenge the Democrats in head-on political battle, as Debs did in his day.

The next big political development on the American scene will occur along the lines of a cleavage inside the Democratic Party, with the most advanced labor and liberal elements demanding to break away and form a new party, as the futility is driven home of trying to make the Democratic Party the vehicle for progress. Left wingers can play a great role in this historic change if they build the cadre now to help carry through this new advance when the time comes. They will accomplish nothing by trying to throw more weight around than their present strength permits, except to further muddle an already muddled situation.



What About Democracy?:

Russian progress has been gigantic, but, because of the unfavorable situation in which the new economy was shaped, the regime exhibits many features that clash with the socialist ideal. What attitude should U.S. socialists take to Russia?

Russia and Socialism

by Harry Braverman

WHEN LINCOLN STEFFENS returned from his trip to the Soviet Union in the early Twenties, he said "I have seen the future and it works." This enthusiasm, even if it too hastily glossed over the tremendous difficulties to come, was in any case preferable to the hard-boiled atrocity-mongering of the present generation of liberals, who have lost all capacity to think critically or independently about the greatest social developments of our century.

Hardly anyone, even an American in the present fever-atmosphere, can fail to recognize that the process set in motion by the Russian Revolution of 1917 is the most potent fact of all modern history. Yet it is amazing how unanimously all shades of accepted opinion in this country think they can describe this complex social process by the horror-stereotypes of atrocity propaganda.

Cutting across all debate about Russia is the enormous fact of a country which lifted itself, seemingly by its bootstraps, from the darkness of a semi-feudal Asian stultification to its present position as the second industrial power of the world, mastering the most advanced intricacies of scientific technique and industrial application. Hasty critics try to dismiss this with the comment that the advances came from the labor of a hard-driven people. They neglect to note that the peoples of the rest of Asia, of Africa and South America, driven just as hard for the last four decades, even for the last four centuries, have failed to accomplish what has been accomplished in Russia. The difference, of course, is plain for all who care to see: Russian national-

ization of industry, planning of production, and the wiping out of foreign exploitation.

When the anti-Russian propagandists turn to certain other features of the Russian regime, such as the absence of political democracy, the heavily and often ridiculously enforced thought-conformity, the trials and purges with their monotonous confessions all cut to the same pattern, they are, of course, on solid ground. Not that they understand these features of Russian society, or try to deal with them at all objectively, but the facts themselves are certainly, in their broad outline, undeniable, however much we may reject the grosser exaggerations and inventions of the daily press.

FOR SOCIALISTS, this is a matter of the gravest import. A person in this country who begins to lean towards socialism cannot, even with the best will in the world, avoid the questions which this 30-year Russian reality poses. He wants to know: What has caused this turn of development in Russia, and if we get socialism here, will we have the same thing?

Marxist socialism, in its pre-1917 days, never expected and certainly never proposed such deformities as we have seen in Russian development. The expectation was a society which would be able, from the very first, to take a higher ground, material, cultural and political, than every peak previously achieved under capitalism. The early Marxist expectation was that socialism would come first to the more advanced countries. Marx and Engels could

hardly entertain the idea that a more backward country of the East might leap across the intervening stages of development and emerge directly with a socialist-type economy. They shaped their entire perspective on what they considered the likely course: the backward countries being helped to socialism by the more advanced.

Certain scholars try to pretend that they see in the different course taken by things a refutation of Marxism. The Russian Revolution, by coming to a backward country instead of to Germany, was a "blow" at Marxism. The Chinese Revolution, we have been told more recently, was another such "blow." But we have a right to ask these scholars: "How many more such blows against Marxism will the capitalist system be able to survive?"

Marxism is not a dogma nor a schema, and cannot pretend to give ironclad detailed predictions of the future. While a certain perspective of early Marxism has been proved faulty, the essence of the Marxist idea has been confirmed in a different form.

Yet, while the enormous strides of the revolution in the less-developed East can in no sense be regarded as refutations of Marxism, still this unexpected situation gave rise to special conditions of development that cannot be ignored. Specifically, it ensured that the people of the advanced capitalist countries would be given their first glimpse of an economy founded on socialist pillars in the most unfavorable light, and this has given rise to questioning among them, a questioning which must be replied to honestly and straightforwardly.

SOcialism is not a miracle; it is a product of social evolution. The countries of the East, the weakest links in the capitalist chain, proved to be the first in which the nation could destroy the anarchic conditions of capitalist, feudal and colonial production and organize their economies on a state-owned-and-operated basis. This was, for these nations, a great stride forward, as they have already proven. But it could not supply for them the missing elements of technology and culture which had taken centuries to develop in the capitalist West.

Collectivized industry is a social form, it is not in itself factories and workshops, which exist also under capitalism, but a social mode of the organization and operation of these means of production. The revolution in Russia did not automatically provide the nation with the accumulations of industrial complexes which had been built in Western Europe and America. Between the Russia of the Czars and the Russia of full socialism, there lay, and still lies, a period of transition, during which the accomplishments of capitalism over centuries must be reproduced in Russia in decades as a precondition for socialism. That was the necessity for Russia, a necessity which no theory could bridge.

But the impoverishment of the economy and the impoverishment of the people had their necessary effects in the spheres of social relations, of political democracy. Two years before the "Communist Manifesto," Marx wrote: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of Communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." When there is not enough to go around, a policeman must decide the distribution;

hence the revival of dictatorial political forms in the Soviet Union after the first flush of workers' democracy during the earliest days.

In truth, the peculiarity of Russian development, and now of East European and Chinese, is that, for the entire period since the revolution it represents the application of socialist methods for the solution of still-unfulfilled capitalist tasks. Not until the per-capita level of productivity in Russia exceeds or at least equals the present highest rate of capitalist labor productivity (it has risen greatly, but is still probably considerably less than half of U.S. labor productivity), will the Russians be able to say that they stand on the threshold of the socialist era, in the fullest sense of the word.

ONE MUST REALLY marvel at the extent of Russian progress, especially in the last decade, and socialists can honestly find undebatable verification of the superiority of nationalized economy over capitalist forms in the record of growth.

Soviet economy today can boast an industrial production at least 12 times as great as that of 1928 at the start of the first five-year plan. In the same period U.S. economy has only little more than doubled.

The details of this general ascent are even more striking than the generality. In this period, the U.S. was not handicapped by a destructive war fought on its own soil. In fact, the war served as a great boon to U.S. economy, which was stagnating in a depression up to 1940. But Russian economy achieved its gigantic growth despite a war which reduced industrial capacity to only about 60 percent of its 1940 level.

Or consider the experience of the past year. A short time ago, when Malenkov released the detailed figures of the advance of Soviet industry which so alarmed the moguls of the capitalist world, the journalists and economists were writing fearful predictions of the rapidity with which Soviet economy would overtake that of capitalist America. Yet it has turned out far worse than they thought, because, even while speaking respectfully of Russian growth, they failed to take account of the possibility of a capitalist stagnation.

Where, in 1952, the experts compared Russian steel production of 35 million metric tons with a U.S. production of close to 100 million, they could express alarm at the trend but still feel secure in a large lead. But now, only two years later, the concern is mounting. Soviet steel production has risen this year to an expected 41½ million tons, while U.S. production threatens to fall below 80 million.

In coal production two years ago, the U.S. had a comfortable lead of 5 to 3, but, partly because of Soviet steady growth and mainly because of the U.S. recession, coal production in the U.S. and Soviet Union will be about the same this year. In pig iron, where the lead was 64 to 25 (millions of metric tons), the U.S. this year can expect no better than a 55 to 29 lead.

ALL OF THESE FACTS, better and better known to the world as the gap in the race narrows, prove the incontestable superiority of the nationalized economic form, all the more so in that the undeveloped countries with which the Soviet Union should really be compared,

such as pre-communist China or others which started out in a similar state to Russia's of 1917, made next to no industrial progress on a capitalist basis.

But the cost of the progress is plain. The forced collectivization which took millions of lives in famine, the Draconian dictatorship, the perversion of the ideals of socialism, the McCarthyite standards of conformity, the continued low standard of living; all of these are incontestable facts. One must only understand them, not as necessary concomitants of socialism, but as aberrations of a forced march under abnormal conditions. In the West, the transition to socialism will be nothing like that, not because we are smarter, but because we are more fortunate.

Correctly understood and interpreted, Russian development is anything but an embarrassment to the socialist movements of the advanced capitalist countries, but a convincing demonstration of the successes of a transition economy under the worst possible conditions, and a guarantee that they can do better in proportion as they are provided with better basic facilities and heritage by the previous development of capitalism.

BUT TO EXPLAIN is not to excuse. Unfortunately there have been and are many in the socialist movement who believe that, having understood the special peculiarities of Soviet development, they are obligated to abandon all criticism of the Soviet regime, and to accept everything, without question, as the price of the transition period. Such an approach is wrong.

Socialists are representatives of the future of mankind, not its past. The socialists of the West are under an obligation to create movements of a type which accord with our possibilities for progress, not to lower the standards and aspirations to the level which, because of unavoidable circumstances, the movements of the less-developed countries have been driven.

Many have already noted the inability of the Communist parties of England and the U.S. to make any substantial political impress upon the labor movement of those countries. It can hardly be stressed too strongly that this is, in good part, due to the inability of those parties to give honest answers about the repellent features of Soviet reality to the workers in these two countries where, because of advanced living standards, culture and democratic tradition, they most want the answers.

How is it possible to build an American socialist movement by telling the American people that they must fight for a system which will duplicate that of Russia? Assuredly, that is impossible, and in fact it would be wrong, as the socialist conquests in this country can and will be from the first of a higher type in every field.

But how can socialists make this all-essential fact clear if they are not ready to admit the basic facts of Russian difficulties and backwardnesses, to explain them, and in explaining them give a demonstration that the U.S. need not pass through the same troubles? And how can they present themselves before the population as the most ardent champions of democracy, civil liberties, opponents of frame-up, etc., if they are not ready to differentiate themselves from the deformities of the Russian regime by opposing them? To explain that a movement has fallen backward in some important respects because of the hard

times it has passed through is no reason why we should artificially graft those same deformations upon our own socialist movement, all the less so because we live in the very country which will least tend toward deformity in its own transition to socialism.

MOREOVER, in giving up our right to criticize, differ with, oppose, the Soviet rulers who have in so many ways distorted the idea and social system which they have the honor to represent before the world, we would be surrendering our faith in the democratic future of Russian socialism—surrendering it to the heritage of the past. How can we point to the possibilities of democratic regeneration in the Soviet bloc, which surely exist no matter in what form they come to pass, if we pretend that all is as it should be, and that no change is needed?

I shall give a pointed example. Shortly before Stalin died, he set into motion his last purge—the doctors, who were accused of plotting the poisoning of leaders of the regime. At that time some socialists here and in other Western countries—not all Communist Party supporters by any means, but some more enlightened socialists—made elaborate excuses and equivocations about the matter. The confessions, we were told by them, were the proof of guilt. All right.

But shortly afterward Stalin died, and the regime proceeded to disencumber itself of one or two of the more irksome heritages from their leader. The doctors' "conspiracy" was buried in Stalin's grave.

What then of those who had made excuses, had regarded "confessions" unsupported by evidence as proof of guilt? Were they not, who regarded themselves as more advanced than the uncritical Stalinists, were they not left in the most embarrassing position before the public opinion of labor and the Left? Even more than that, had they not damaged their own case for socialism by, in the first instance, giving the American people the impression that such trials and purges as go on in Russia are part of the necessary paraphernalia of socialism, and, in the second instance, after Stalin's death, by being exposed as rather too naive? Certainly, in the interests of American socialist progress, to say nothing of Russian, a more critical and independent attitude is demanded.

OF COURSE, socialists who want to criticize the Soviet Union's present regime must earn that right by being the first to defend those things which it has accomplished. Failing that, they would fail to be serious socialists, having shown themselves unable to defend in reality what they want to defend in theory. Nor is it a question here of an insistent and arrogant campaign of attacks against the present Soviet regime of the kind which some "socialists" carry on in order to ingratiate themselves with capitalist public opinion, or out of doctrinaire considerations. One can have nothing but contempt for such as those.

It is a matter of truthful and scientific Marxism, of the will to answer responsibly and without evasion those questions which Americans pose to socialists about Russia. And it is the obligation to create a finer movement, more in accord with our possibilities. No slick formula can be devised to circumvent those responsibilities, and it would be wrong to try.

Crisis In Auto

by H. Butler



Auto has long been the most typically American industry. It produces the product which crowds American highways in numbers to be seen nowhere else in the world. Its mass-production methods exhibit U.S. industry at its best and its worst, its most productive and its most killing for the worker. Its union has been, from the start of the CIO, the spearhead of the U.S. labor movement. And today, the budding crisis of the auto industry concentrates, in essential and explosive form, the potential crisis of

U.S. capitalism.

With this article, we initiate an attempt to bring our readers a complete coverage of the situation in auto, from unemployment through contract demands, from mergers to monopoly. These articles will be written, as is this first one, by auto workers. We shall appreciate comments, added information, or ideas on this general topic from our readers, especially from the many auto unionists who are among our subscribers, and will print them if we can.

DETROIT

THE AUTO INDUSTRY has been among the first to feel the effects of the growing economic downturn. Contracting markets, mergers and reorganizations, vanishing dealer's profits and rising unemployment are the somber signs of still greater trouble on the way.

Figures for the first half-year, as contrasted with the same 1953 period, show car production down 10 percent. Truck production has fallen by 13 percent. Even more significant is the uneven way the industry has been hit by the decline. The total share of the independent producers in the industry's sales has gone down from 11 percent to 4.27 percent. Chrysler Corporation, one of the "big three" producers, has suffered a staggering decline from 21.46 percent to 12.8 percent. General Motors, the giant of the industry, advanced from 47.34 percent to 51.65 percent, although the physical volume of its production declined slightly. Most interesting of all was the advance scored by the Ford Motor Company, the only producer with a greater physical volume of production in the first half of 1954 than the same six-month period in 1953. Ford went from 20.21 percent of total production to 31.28 percent.

FORD, a family-owned corporation, has carefully doctored the financial reports it has had to submit to public view. Its real financial status is a tightly kept secret. For this reason, its meteoric rise in the recent period comes as a surprise to many. However, the December 20,

1952 issue of *Business Week* reported an important milestone of Ford growth:

Last week the Wall Street Journal printed estimates on Ford Motor Co. earnings. It was the first time anyone had published the biggest business secret of modern times.

The article put Ford's 1951 sales near \$3 billion, with profits after taxes of \$87 million—making Ford, not Chrysler, the second largest U.S. automotive enterprise.

R. E. Roberts, Ford executive, told some more of the story in the May 1954 issue of *Advanced Management* magazine:

The early part of 1946 is recognized as a turning point in the history of the Ford Motor Co. We had entered a lush postwar seller's market with an industrial organization that was about as modern and competitive as the Model T. The company which at one time had taken 50 percent or more of the automobile market in its stride, was now selling less than 20 percent of the industry total, and was sliding downward.

The corporation was completely reorganized, with emphasis on decentralization, with the following results: "By the end of the 1951 model year, manufacturing costs had been cut by some 330 million dollars annually compared

to the level at which they were running in the second half of 1948. Our 1953 performance was the best in our history of cost control."

Only the Ford workers can fully realize where this 330 million saving came from. Ford speedup is exceeded nowhere else in the industry.

Roberts listed the enormous expansion of Ford facilities:

Ford has added 14 manufacturing plants of various kinds; has built six new assembly plants; and has established 19 new parts depots at key locations across the country. The company is building three new assembly plants, a new stamping plant, a new engine plant, and plans several other large scale additions to existing manufacturing facilities. In addition, we have more than doubled our steel production capacity, added a third new ore carrier to our marine fleet, and modernized many of our older facilities.

Engineering, research and styling have kept pace. Well over a billion dollars has been invested in new plant and equipment in this period. Last, but not least, Ford has pioneered the use of "automation" machinery, a word which the company also claims to have originated.

CHRYSLER'S present position, in stark contrast, resembles Ford's 1946 "Model T" setup. But the corporation has already begun to step up its lagging pace. For some time now, Chrysler has been pushing speeded-up work standards in its various plants. The corporation has been carrying out successful guerrilla operations against its production and skilled workers, despite much resistance and wildcat strike actions. Chrysler workers are being stepped up to the G.M. and Ford pace, instead of the other way around. For the auto union, this is progress in reverse.

Chrysler, an industrial giant worth nearly a billion dollars in its own right, and backed by strong groups of Eastern investment bankers, is far from having given up the ghost. In order to streamline production methods, the corporation recently borrowed \$250 million from Prudential Life Insurance Co. In addition, the corporation bought out Briggs' body-making facilities for \$35 million, in order

to bring these operations under direct control. The Briggs workers are presently feeling the effects of this transaction in new company demands for heavier work loads.

The outlook is more grim for the independent car makers. Growing competition has already forced three mergers among them. In contrast to the "big three," now sometimes referred to as "the big two and a half," the independents are all operating in the red. Indeed, the advantage of size in the thoroughly monopolized auto industry was once again demonstrated when General Motors reported another resounding profit for its second quarter operations, a profit fattened by the "tax relief" of the Eisenhower Administration. The "free enterprise" auto industry requires an investment in the neighborhood of a billion dollars nowadays in order to participate in its profitable fruits. But, alas, the independents only count their assets in the hundreds of millions!

Large scale research, engineering and designing costs, plus prohibitive tooling costs for new engine and body styles must be distributed over high volume production, in order to be competitive. In addition, high sales are required to maintain a broad dealer retailing organization throughout the country. The massive introduction of "automation" in auto production involves more enormous expense. Thus, the independents cannot hope to remain competitive alongside the big three, who already have 95 percent of the market. It is generally felt that the independents must join forces in a super merger in order to continue to exist. The big question is whether or not they will be able to accomplish this in time.

"Automation" means the application of the latest scientific and engineering technique to auto production. It is a technique which connects hundreds of machining operations automatically, eliminating production workers on a revolutionary scale. This new development, which all companies are rapidly adopting, is being applied to all phases of auto building from motor block machining and stamping of body parts, to foundry operations. The modern auto plant is being converted into masses of machinery and electric buttons, manipulated by fewer and fewer men.

Automation is not merely a productive technique, it is a social and political fact of the first magnitude. An idea of its significance is given in the August 1954 issue of

A Seat for Every Passenger

The following letter appeared in *Ford Facts*, publication of UAW Local 600, on July 24:

Dear Brother Stellato:

I READ THE LETTER to you complaining bitterly that workers over 65 do not quit their jobs so younger persons can work. For more than 60 years, I have heard that older men keep jobs away from youth; single men keep jobs away from married men; married women keep jobs away from single girls; Negroes keep jobs away from white

people; foreigners keep jobs away from citizens; Southerners keep jobs away from Northerners; people from another county or township keep jobs away from taxpayers.

Altogether, this amounts to workers assuming the responsibility for failures of management, and fighting among themselves as to who shall be the victim of such management failures. . . .

There are four things necessary for the production of wealth: raw material, working capital, competent labor and efficient management. Given these four, the only limit on the work that can be done is the physical endurance of the workers. The resources of America, adequate to provide for at least three times our population, have been turned over

to private management on the theory that they will be more capably managed that way. If management is so incompetent that it cannot operate when it has all the factors necessary for operation, then let that management be declared incompetent and a guardian be appointed. . . .

Since 1912 when the *Titanic* went down, the law has required that all ships have a lifeboat seat for every passenger, so there will be no argument about who should be left to sink if a ship goes down.

"Jobs for all, or turn resources over to those who can provide them"—that is better than arguing about who should starve in the midst of plenty.

Frank B. Tuttle

Fortune magazine: "At Ford's 'old fashioned' River Rouge plant, it takes an engine block nine hours to pass from its rough cast to its completely assembled form; in the new Cleveland engine plant, the same process takes 14.6 minutes."

THE UNEMPLOYMENT in the auto industry today is not simply due to the 10 percent decline in production. The August 1 *N.Y. Times* points out that "nationwide employment in the industry is down from a peak of 815,800 in April 1953, to a low point of 604,700 in May 1954. Average hours worked a week fell from 41.9 a year ago last April to 40.5 in May, 1954." Thus a 10 percent decline in production has produced a decline of 25 percent in the total work force!

By drastically changing the proportion of the industry's capital invested in machinery, on the one hand, and in manpower, on the other, automation forces the industry to produce at a greater percent of capacity in order to "break even." Machinery represents a capital investment and maintenance expense whether in operation or not. This fact alone must drive the giant corporations to attempt to get greater percentage shares of the shrinking market.

The present rate of auto sales is being maintained by extensive advertising campaigns and enormous discounts. The factories, true to the cannibalistic tradition of the industry, have been unloading cars on the dealers without the slightest regard for the capacity of the market to absorb them. The result has been a drastic lowering of dealers' profit margins and a rising level of dealer bankruptcies.

The greatest single factor contributing to the growing anarchy in the industry has been the breakneck competition between Ford and Chevrolet over which make of car should have the "honor" of saying it is number one in industry sales. The wholesale dumping of these two makes of cars on a saturated auto market, has already driven many dealers out of business. Both cars together have already hogged 51 percent of the total market.

The practice of "bootlegging" of new cars by used car dealers has contributed heavily to the serious plight of the dealers. "Bootleggers" buy new cars in the Detroit area from overstocked dealers at cost, truck the cars to the South, Far West, and other outlying areas at small expense, and are able to sell them for much less than the established dealers in these areas. These established dealers are handicapped by their higher overhead costs of operation, as well as area freight rate differentials, which are calculated from Detroit.

During the latter part of July, hearings were held in Washington on the problems of the new car dealers, at which representatives of the National Automobile Dealers Association appeared. Charles C. Freed, NADA President, testified to the critical condition of the automobile dealerships: "In a study covering the first 9 months of 1953 the Accounting Corporation of America found that new car dealers were 39th in 41 classifications of retail businesses in their ratio of net profits to sales."

He then cited profit figures compiled by NADA showing how average net profit for dealers was 2.2 percent

for all of 1953, and then plummeted to 0.8 percent of sales in the first quarter of 1954. He reported the following typical comments from dealers:

"Selling 100 cars a month and in the red."

"If I could bail out I would."

"Worse than depression."

Perhaps the direst prediction was made by R. D. McKay, former NADA President: "Having gone through the short panic of late 1920 and 1921, and the depression of the early 1930's, as well as other business crises of our national economy throughout the years, I still say never has there been a time when dealers are faced with the very substantial prospect of failure as now or in the immediate future."

The so-called "prophets of gloom and doom" in the labor movement have said no worse.

BUT THE CRISIS of the auto industry is, above all, becoming a crisis of the security of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. The merger of Kaiser and Willys threw thousands of workers from their jobs at Willow Run. The Nash-Hudson merger, with the transfer of Hudson operations to Wisconsin, is causing over 4,000 Hudson layoffs in Detroit. Packard recently leased the newly acquired Briggs Conner plant from Chrysler, and announced it would operate the plant with its own workers. Over 4,000 Briggs workers were affected. The Dodge Main plant in Detroit, which only a short while ago employed 33,000, has a present work force of 10,000. Murray Corp., a Detroit auto body and parts firm, is ready to go out of business, and lay off the remainder of the 8,000 workers it once employed.

Throughout the year, Chrysler and the independents have been on sporadic work schedules. And now, for the first time since the pre-war period, the industry is once again going in for long change-over periods. Chrysler will be down for two months in August and September for model change-over. The model change-over used to be purely a production problem of retooling for the new car. Now, the long period of change-over reflects the sales problem of getting rid of the high inventories of 1954-make cars. No doubt, Ford and GM, so far immune from the general decline, will soon be contributing their share of unemployment.

Thus, thousands of workers with seniority of long standing have already been thrown on the street to shift for themselves. And unless something is done to cope with the problem, thousands more will soon follow. In the massive reorganization taking place in the giant corporations, the lives of many workers and of whole communities are also being "reorganized."

With the five-year contract due to expire, 1955 is bound to be a year of decision for the auto workers and their union. To the thousands of workers in their forties and fifties who have already been cast out, seniority agreements have become mere scraps of paper. Clearly the auto union must seek bold and new solutions to the problem. The demands put forward by the union in the 1955 negotiations will be crucial indeed. On these demands, and the success in winning them, depends the future welfare of the hundreds of thousands of auto unionists and their families.

The Geneva Conference has slowed up the war trend, but many signs show that the people of the world will continue to press for the changes and improvements they need.

New Winds Over Europe

by Our European Correspondent

PARIS, August 11

THE GUNS ARE SILENCED in Indochina but their echoes, like sound reverberating against a mountain canyon, are still rebounding from one end of the world to the other. Still too close to distinguish all the political syllables that went forth from Geneva in the early morning hours of June 21, it is impossible not to hear their real meaning. From all the events that have been ricocheting in the past few weeks from Asia to Europe to Africa and back again to Europe, it is clear that the Geneva conference was a turning point in the cold war. The peoples of the world breathed easier to see that a barrier, even a fragile one, had been thrown up to avert the atomic abyss that has loomed so menacingly in the last few years.

Peace was not achieved at Geneva, but the pace to war has been slowed down; it will take a new set of gears to put the military machine in working order again. The colonial world won a partial victory over a crippled but still surviving imperialist world. Yet what emerged was not a new *status quo* with the globe divided into neat parcels where change is halted and the existing regimes and social systems are frozen for an indefinite period ahead. Far from it. There is nothing fixed and immobile about the post-Geneva world as can be seen from the political chronicle of the past three weeks:

1. Important concessions by the French in Tunisia.
2. Turbulent revolutionary outbreaks in Morocco.
3. The agreement by the British to withdraw from Suez.
4. A weakening of the Adenauer regime accompanied by the first major strike wave in Western Germany since the end of the war.
5. The combined opposition of all French trade unions to Mendès-France's plans for the French economy.
6. The threatened collapse of the big American scheme for the organization of a counter-revolutionary "Little Europe."

The danger of war receding, pent-up struggles are beginning to burst forth in the various nations. There are many signs that the political parties and regimes which made up the imperialist coalition will face a defeat at home similar to the one they have met in their world policy. A turn to the left is discernible in Western Europe. It is in its first stages in France, it is germinating in England, it is starting in Germany, and in Italy, once let loose, the eruption will be volcanic.



MENDES-FRANCE WITH DULLES

THE SEVEN-YEAR WAR for national liberation of Indochina was won by the Vietminh armies not by a K.O. of the French expeditionary forces but by a decision on points. The Vietminh came out of its jungle hideouts to establish the seat of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at Hanoi, capital of the most populous province (over 12 million), richest in agricultural production, mineral resources, the center of Indochinese industry, and including Haiphong, the most important seaport. In return, Vietminh agreed to permit a partition of the country at the 17th parallel, to withdraw from the area south of this line where it commanded important guerrilla concentrations and considerable support among the people; it agreed further to postpone for two years nation-wide elections in which it could have won an easy victory, and to permit a dubious neutralization of Laos and Cambodia, which could be transformed into bases for a new imperialist attack.

At first sight the agreement resembles that of Korea where the country was also partitioned, the northern area protected by China and the southern by the U.S. But there are many essential differences that should be noted. The North Korean army was stopped at the 38th parallel, the point at which the war had begun. The Vietminh armies led by General Giap, however, were not stopped. Flushed with their resounding victory at Dienbienphu, it would have been a matter of weeks before they conquered all of Tonkin province. The native Vietnamese army was

in a state of complete disintegration. The French Expeditionary Forces, decimated at Dienbienphu, were recoiling in defeat. With defeatism rife in their ranks, it is doubtful they could have been regrouped in time to give effective battle. Mendès-France's 30-day deadline and his demand for conscript reinforcements if negotiations failed were moves made on the brink of disaster. A high British diplomat is reported (*The Express*, a Paris weekly) to have remarked to a French colleague at Geneva: "According to our information, and that of the Americans, if there is no armistice, Ho Chi Minh's army will be in Saigon in less than six months." (Saigon is at the southern tip of Indo-China.)

Why, it may be asked, with total victory within their grasp at the end of seven years of the most brutal hardship and sacrifice did the Vietminh accept the compromise at Geneva? Part of the answer is the common secret of the Vietminh, the Chinese and the Russians of their mutual relations and negotiations. No journalist has yet penetrated that secret, and no Western diplomat, for all the high expectations, succeeded in driving even the slightest wedge into their common front—although a gaping hole was driven into the coalition on the other side. Nevertheless certain conclusions are deducible from the facts.

There is the big obvious fact that Vietminh's attempt to conquer all of Indo-China could have precipitated an "internationalization" of the conflict and an eventual war with China. Mendès-France would have fallen, the war party would have returned to power in France, and the lifting of the overseas ban on conscripts would have provided the pretext for American intervention. Even if these moves had been delayed long enough for General Giap to invest the whole country, the Vietminh government—and China—could have found itself in a state of war with the Western powers. Naturally this is a risk in all civil wars, and in the past the Kremlin has successfully evoked this fear of general war to restrain revolutionary struggles. But the differences between Indochina and the Greek civil war, where the partisans posted their arms only to be slaughtered by a fortified reactionary regime, are only too striking.

BIDAULT'S bitter sally against Mendès-France in the French National Assembly was a recognition of this difference. The former Foreign Minister charged that while the Korean armistice had established a counter-revolutionary bastion in South Korea, the agreement at Geneva was only the first stage in the total rout of the French in Indo-China. There was more than vindictive spleen in this polemic. On paper, the truce provided for a regroupment of the opposing armies on both sides of the parallel, but in life the triumphant forces of General Giap were investing the Tonkin delta while the French were desperately trying to put together the pieces of a shattering defeat.

On the night of July 29th, 48 hours after the cease-fire, went into effect in the North, the Vietminh came out of the brush and took power simultaneously in 7,000 villages on the delta. On the following morning the red flag with its gold star was flying over haystacks, stores and cafes which had become the improvised city halls of the new revolutionary administration. This news is reported from

Hanoi by Max Clos, *Le Monde* correspondent, in a dispatch held up for one week by the French censorship. He goes on to describe the successful campaign by Vietminh to prevent the evacuation of Vietnamese troops to the south. They were showered with leaflets declaring:

The French want to ship you not to Saigon but to North Africa where you will be forced to fight against the Arabs . . . If you go to the Southern zone you are an enemy of the unity of Vietnam and a bad patriot. And we will be in Saigon in less than six months and we will settle our scores there . . . The government will treat you with consideration, exactly like the citizens of the resistance zone. You may enter our army at your present rank if you desire.

The peasants were taking direct action. Hundreds of women and children surrounded the military outposts in demonstrations from morning to night, shouting, pleading, threatening. They lay down on the roads to stop the military transports and in some cases where Vietnamese soldiers refused to get down, they dragged them from the trucks, ripping their uniforms from their backs. In other cases, disregarding fixed bayonets of French legionnaires, women stormed the prison camps in attempts to rip down the doors. In Hanoi, where the transition has been more peaceful, the Bao Dai administration has been melting like snow in a summer sun. The French troops were obliged to occupy all police stations to prevent a mass desertion of the native police. The Vietnamese army is in full decomposition; the high echelon of officers, without leaving orders or replacements, are fleeing for their lives while the ranks desert in droves to return to their native villages and rice-patches.

The French plans to evacuate to the South an intact native army, as well as a million refugees and "leave a desert behind them" have ended in fiasco. This "new lost battle," as *Le Monde* calls it, seals the doom of French hopes to create a Syngman Rhee-type army which would buttress their control of southern Indochina.

MEANWHILE a similar process is in motion south of the 17th parallel, according to a later dispatch from Saigon by the same correspondent. There have been big demonstrations of Vietminh sympathizers in most of the important cities, in Saigon, Hue, Dong-hoi, Tourane. As in the North, 48 hours after the cease-fire, dual governments parallel to the Bao Dai administrations have sprung up and in many places Vietminh tribunals are meting out justice. Vietminh propagandists are conducting a referendum asking the people to choose between a photograph of Ho Chi Minh and Bao Dai. As in the North, there are mass desertions in the native army, and the Bao Dai government headed by Ngo Dinh-Diem, always corrupt and incompetent, is paralyzed and rapidly crumbling. Fascist elements are demanding a coup d'état to install a dictator like Syngman Rhee who could consolidate his power only if the French broke off all relations with the Vietminh. Otherwise, one of these gangsters told *Le Monde's* reporter, "There is nothing to stop the Vietminh push in the South and all will be lost if we do not react

immediately. The national army does not exist as a fighting force. All the sectors assigned to it in Cochinchina are as rotted as they were in the Tonkin delta. To fight the Vietminh, counter-revolutionary action is needed . . . But this requires total support from the French . . .”

This is the pattern of 1946, when the French, after drowning in blood the popular movement in the South returned by trickery and force to crush the Ho Chi Minh government in the North. Today, however, the Vietminh is no longer isolated; its powerful Chinese neighbor to the north is a friendly ally, not the hostile government of Chiang Kai-shek. The French cannot hope to conquer the North now except in a war against China, but they stand to lose much by antagonizing the Vietminh regime. Some 500 French companies have an investment of some \$600 million in the Tonkin area from which they do an annual business of roughly \$80 million. This covers anthracite, tin, wolfram, zinc, manganese, phosphates, a textile industry, cement works and electric power. The Vietminh government has offered to let the French capitalists remain, on favorable terms, and undoubtedly this is a great temptation for them. But the unspoken condition is that Cochinchina, Laos and Cambodia remain genuinely neutralized. That of course would mean their eventual unification under the aegis of Vietminh which, barring the creation of aggressive counter-revolutionary regimes buttressed by imperialist military bases, would be the one strong pole of attraction in the country.

THERE IS considerable pressure on the French by the State Department to take the bloody road demanded by the Indochinese fascists, or to get out and let the U.S. do it for them. This is the aim of Dulles' pet project, the South East Asia Treaty Organization. But SEATO promises to be anemic from birth. India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, representing 472 million of the 600 million peoples of South East Asia will not attend. This leaves only poverty-stricken Pakistan and Thailand to set up the bastion of the "free world" in this part of the globe. The balance of power has shifted drastically in the Orient, and there are few Asians today who want to fight other Asians. That is the real meaning of Geneva whose grim results for imperialism were best summarized by *The Tablet*, spokesman for Catholic reaction in Great Britain:

"The French defeat is a defeat for us all, heavy in territory and people, but much heavier in the loss of confidence throughout the Asian continent." The communists, *The Tablet* imagines, are interpreting Geneva as follows. "They [the Great Powers] could not hold up the triumphant expansion of Asian Communism; they could not do it in a country which the French had ruled for a hundred years; they will not be able to do it anywhere else. Asians, you can see the handwriting on the wall. Make your peace with the party that will be the master of your country tomorrow."

No wonder bloodthirsty Bullitt wants to invade China at once, with us tossing hydrogen bombs and Kai-shek's soldiers "dying for our country and their freedom."

But the diplomats are already far too preoccupied with the lethal effects of Geneva on their European coalition to pay any attention to the ravings of the Rhees and

the Bullitts. The usually unruffled London *Economist* becomes almost hysterical in writing about the new Molotov proposal for another conference on Germany. It is alarmed that people should believe after Geneva that it is possible to negotiate with the communists. "The agreements . . .," it says, "were not a victory for the West or for the spirit of reason . . . They were the acknowledgement of a defeat. . . . Geneva was about as much a victory in the diplomatic field as Dunkirk in the military. . . . The danger now is not with the sophisticates, the experts, the chancelleries who understand the facts of international life. The danger is with the simple folk who can be misled."

The real danger, however, to the interests the *Economist* defends is not that the "simple folk" can be misled by "Russian propaganda" but that they are looking for new leadership that will take the road of peace and seriously concern itself with their welfare. This movement has already begun, and is now threatening to topple the governments that have been the mainstay of the Anglo-American coalition in Europe for the past years.

IN *Great Britain* itself, where the Tories have a safe majority in parliament, the Churchill government never looked weaker. It gives the appearance of dancing to the tune of the Bevanites in foreign affairs. The open conflict between Eden and Dulles at the Geneva conference was preceded by Bevan's flaming challenge to Dulles to "Go It Alone" in Indochina. Less than a year before the Suez settlement, Bevan was writing in Egyptian newspapers that Britain ought to get out of the country. The people, so far as German rearmament is concerned, are paying less attention to the joint communiques of Churchill and Eisenhower than to the Scarborough conference next month where the issue will be decided in the Labor Party. And while Churchill gave up his proposal for the admission of China into the UN at Eisenhower's request, the Labor delegation projected by Bevan and now headed by Attlee is on its way to China to "cement better relations." En route, they are to stop off in Moscow where they—instead of Churchill—will talk to Malenkov. The young Tory bulldogs are foaming with rage, but the fact is that Labor, even out of power, is the decisive voice in the country and Churchill feels its pressure almost as much as that which comes from across the ocean.

In *France*, the pro-American party that was to have insured the establishment of the "little Catholic Europe" headed by a Nazi-officered Wehrmacht fell in the ruins of the Indochinese war. This right wing remains hostile to Mendès-France even though it continues to cling to him in the new crisis in North Africa. The concessions granted in Tunisia have taken the edge off the anti-imperialist movement there for the time being. But in Morocco, where day after day unarmed masses are braving the machine-guns of the French gendarmerie, there is no such easy solution. Having removed the Sultan because he showed too much independence, there is no native institution with which France can restore order. Unless the Sultan is returned from exile—a concession which would give great impetus and legal status to the movement for sovereignty—the French will have to drench the country in blood to remain.



WEST GERMAN METAL WORKERS. A scene from the big strike wave which breaks the nine-year "truce" that has kept German wage rates among the lowest in West Europe.

At the same time there is new pressure, now from the left, in France itself on the Mendès-France regime. All three union federations, Communist, Socialist and Christian, have united against the Premier's economic program. The CP is demanding that the money saved on the Indochina war now be spent to increase wages and build low-cost housing. The SP continues to hesitate about joining the government, although this was Mendès-France's one hope for big support from the left. With the capitalist right wing staggering from defeats of empire on two continents, the political scales in the country, no matter what the temporary majorities in the National Assembly, are beginning to shift to the proletarian left from whom the next big moves in France can be expected.

IT IS IN *Germany* that the biggest—most unexpected—shock to the war coalition is being felt. Last September, Adenauer and his Christian Democratic Party were returned to power with a whacking majority in the Bundestag elections. The American papers went wild. *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek* devoted special editions to him. Here was the man of the hour, the creator of the German "industrial miracle," the coming savior of Europe from communism.

But in the last couple of months, things have begun to go wrong with Washington's favorite European politician. Tired of waiting for Adenauer to deliver them Europe on an EDC platter, a section of the Ruhr industrialists have begun to grow restive. They think too many eggs are being put into one basket, they are worried that Germany could be the battleground for the next war, they want to trade with Eastern Europe and China as another outlet for their overflowing factories. Heinrich Bruening, a pre-Hitler German chancellor, started the sock-Adenauer campaign. Then it was picked up by Dr. Pfeiderer, head of the Free Democratic Party, which wants some kind of *modus vivendi* with Russia, where a partially neutralized West Germany would exist side by side with East Germany. The top committee of the FDP, which is

part of Adenauer's governing coalition, endorses this idea. In the midst of this dispute, Bonn was rocked by the world scandal of Otto John's flight to East Berlin. John was one of the top men in Bonn's intelligence services, which include a network of agents in the Eastern Zone and in the Soviet bloc. Never suspected of communist leanings, he went over to their side in protest against the infiltration of the Bonn government by former Nazis.

Then came the congress of the German Social Democratic Party, bolder and more aggressive in tone than it has been for years. Basing himself directly on the Geneva conference, Ollenhauer, the party chairman, demanded that all talk of rearmament be stopped and that there be a resumption of negotiations with Moscow with the aim of reunifying Germany. The right wing, which had been going strong in its crusade for the party to drop "Marxism" and dilute its working class character, suffered a big setback. Ollenhauer's motion on foreign policy carried by 360 votes against 20.

The real significance of this congress however lies more in the sphere of domestic politics. The Adenauer spell over Western Germany is broken. The political air is crackling with differences and conflict. Above all the working class has finally emerged from its long slumber. All along the Rhine, from the seaport of Hamburg and down into Bavaria, steel workers, machinists, auto workers, miners have downed tools or are marshalling their forces for strike action. 100,000 are out, many more are preparing to join them. In addition, a half-million government employes are demanding wage increases. It is a big push from below. The workers are asking for their share of the pie of the "industrial miracle" which was achieved largely at their expense. The General Federation of German Unions says that "the post-war honeymoon with the employers is now definitely over. Eighty percent of the German workers are earning less than 350 marks monthly [roughly \$86] while a dozen eggs cost 60 cents, good quality beef 90 cents a pound, a good pair of shoes \$10, and an unfurnished 3-room apartment \$30 a month." It is no wonder that union leaders admit that "the desire to strike is so strong that it would be difficult to restrain the workers even if we wanted to."

A French journalist visiting Washington recently was informed that James Conant, American High Commissioner at Bonn, has been burning the wires with daily cables to the President. He has been urging speedy action of some kind of German "sovereignty" to bolster Adenauer's falling prestige. It is doubtful that such expedients will work now. There is a new wind blowing after Geneva. In Germany, as in France, as in England, the lowering of the war tensions, caused primarily by the big wallops imperialism has been getting in Asia and Africa, is beginning to shake things up, and new forces are being set into motion. The working class of western Europe is beginning to make itself heard. Bad news for the H-Bomb boys, good news for the peace of the world and the struggle for a better future.

Kohler strike, almost five months old, is a bitter no-holds-barred fight, similar to union struggles of the early Thirties.

Twenty-Year Battle

by Robert Henderson

MILWAUKEE

FOR 19 WEEKS, 3,300 members of Local 833 UAW-CIO have been walking the picket lines in front of the plumbing-fixture manufacturing plant in the village of Kohler, Sheboygan County, Wisconsin. While a strike of 19 weeks duration would be worthy of note in itself, in the minds of the strikers and all Wisconsin labor this is but the most recent chapter in a 20-year struggle with the Kohler Company. During this entire period the company has fought every effort of its workers to organize and improve their conditions.

The views of the management of the Kohler Company are similar to those of George Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, who wrote during a mine strike in 1902, "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators but by the Christian gentlemen to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country. . . ."

In 1898 the company bought some land four miles southwest of Sheboygan and built a new plant in the midst of what later became the village of Kohler. The Kohlers in 1912 planned the village to be a garden industrial city modeled on European garden cities of that period. In the Twenties this model village was often cited as an example of enlightened labor relations. The reality was less rosy. Only a minority of the shop workers ever lived in the village. From the beginning, most of the villagers have been supervisory or office employees. Indeed there is testimony that the company had to apply pressure to induce workers to move into the village. The story is that the company used to promise promotions to get men to live there. The men's reluctance to move into these "model" homes was undoubtedly due to the paternalistic supervision they encountered there. For example, the company used to provide free paint for the village homes, but the workers had to accept the company's color scheme!

When layoffs came during the depression, men with homes in the village were kept at work while men who had more seniority but lived elsewhere were turned into the street. Of course the villager had to agree to permit the Kohler Building and Loan Association to deduct his home payments from his check. Because of short work weeks some paychecks for a *two week period* after deductions were as low as 85 cents. Some men had nothing coming at all.

UNDERSTANDABLY, after the passage of the NRA law in 1933, the Kohler workers began to organize. The company countered with a layoff that affected mostly active union men, and with the organization of an "in-

dependent" union. Repeated attempts by AFL Federal Labor Union 18545 to negotiate met with failure. The union finally called a strike on July 16, 1934.

The strike was broken violently. All the foremen and scabs were made special deputies, given badges, and armed. Ten days after the beginning of the strike, these special deputies numbered in the hundreds. Many had never had guns before in their lives. The company imported four armored trucks which it loaded with armed deputies. These trucks cruised up and down the picket lines and were used to keep the plant gates open.

Finally on the evening of July 27, 1934, the company's special deputies ambushed a crowd of strikers and sympathizers including many women and children. After panicking the crowd with tear gas the deputies opened fire with shotguns and rifles. Two strikers, Lee Wakefield, age 25, and Henry Engleman, age 26, died a couple of hours later in a Sheboygan hospital; a total of 47 others, including five women, were wounded. Both the dead and many of the wounded had been shot in the back.

The massacre was followed by the arrival of the National Guard and a stepped-up press campaign against the union. Stories in papers throughout the state and nation termed the massacre a "riot" "stirred up" by the union. Efforts were made to redbait the union. This press attack reached a climax in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* October 27, 1934. At the same time a "Law and Order League" was organized in Sheboygan.

On September 27, 1934, a bargaining election was held. The men who had been laid off because of union activity were not allowed to vote, while about 150 foremen, and personal servants of the Kohlers and the like, did. The company union won the "election" by a narrow vote. The AFL continued to picket the plant for years, but the strike was broken.

IN THE intervening period there were sporadic unsuccessful attempts to organize the plant by both AFL and CIO. It was not until a revolt occurred in the company union, led by some of its officers, that the UAW-CIO won recognition in 1952. Only after seven months of hard bargaining in which they had to threaten a strike did the UAW get a contract. While it marked a tremendous advance over anything Kohler workers had known before, it still was far from being as strong as most agreements in the area.

In negotiations for a new contract this year, the union's demands included a 20-cent across-the-board wage increase



with an additional ten cents for skilled workers, automatic pay progression, improved seniority system, a better pension plan (today a Kohler worker retiring after 25 years may receive a pension as low as \$5.00 a month), a union shop and improved grievance procedure. The company offered to renew the old contract with no pay increase, but later offered a three-cent general wage increase if the union would agree to "simplify" some of the language in the contract. The simplifications turned out to be a gutting of the contract, knocking out the seniority system and eliminating the arbitration clause "because we don't want outsiders running our plant." Of course the company said no to the pension, insurance and union shop demands. When the company refused to budge, the union struck the plant on April 5.

It soon became evident that the company had provoked the strike in order to try to break the union. The company announced that it would continue to operate, despite the strike. Since its "loyal workers" were afraid to cross the picket lines, the company appealed to the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board which operates under a state law giving it the power to stop mass picketing. Simultaneously the company announced that it would refuse to negotiate as long as scabs were denied access to the plant.

At the W.E.R.B. hearing, Herbert V. Kohler, president of the company, under cross examination by CIO attorney Max Raskin admitted that the company had hundreds of clubs stored in the plant and "plenty" of guns. In response to a question about tear gas bombs, he said "I wouldn't be surprised, but I do not know" and "I got a suspicion . . . if they had tear gas, I wouldn't object." Since private possession of tear gas is a violation of state law, Sheboygan County sheriff Ted Mosch raided the plant and seized 375 rounds of tear gas. Herbert Kohler always carries a souvenir club of the '34 strike when he crosses the picket line.

SUBSEQUENTLY negotiations were resumed and seemed to be making a little progress late in May. The company and union neared agreement on the seniority clause and the company offered some improvement in the hospitalization insurance. But the company refused to budge on the arbitration clause or any other issues in dispute, and stuck by its postage-stamp wage offer. The company has never claimed that it can not afford to pay the amount demanded by the union.

In June the company again broke off negotiations. Efforts to break the strike mounted. Letters were sent to strikers telling them higher wages were in effect, that production was increasing, and that they would be treated fairly if they returned to work. At the same time the company began to hire scabs off the street. Scabs were sent to visit friends to get them to scab.

Late in July, the company tipped its hand in a complaint to the NLRB, asking it to dismiss the unfair labor practices charges brought by the union (these now totaled 37) and to decertify the union on the grounds that Robert Burkhart, UAW International Representative, had not filed a non-Communist affidavit. The union replied that Burkhart, an appointed officer, was not required to file an affidavit, and that the company's demand made it

clear that it wished to be free of any obligation to deal with the union.

This intransigent stand by the company caused the Republican Party of Wisconsin much embarrassment. The Kohler family has long been prominent in Wisconsin Republican Party politics. Walter Kohler Sr., the head of the company during the 1934 strike, and brother of Herbert V. Kohler, served one term as governor of Wisconsin. His son, Walter Kohler Jr., is now running for re-election to a third term as governor. The governor, who served as a special deputy during the 1934 strike, now claims he has no connection with the company and that he owns no stock in it. With a strong Democratic trend already evident in the state, the governor felt it necessary to disassociate himself from the Kohler Company stand. He urged that all pending issues be submitted to arbitration. The union promptly accepted, but Herbert Kohler turned his nephew down.

It is probable that some pressure from the Republican Party induced the company to reverse itself and resume negotiations on August 4. In the days that followed, the union made another big effort toward reaching an agreement. The union cut its wage demands in half and asked for maintenance of membership instead of the union shop.

ON AUGUST 13, the company made its reply to the union's new offer in a five-page letter signed by Herbert Kohler that boiled down to the word *NO*. Kohler again offered three cents and stated flatly "The company does not agree to any form of compulsory union membership." After making it clear that the company's offer was final, Lyman C. Conger, chief negotiator for the company, walked out. Allan J. Groskamp, Local 833 president, termed the company position "a call for unconditional surrender."

So the battle goes on. The union lines seem to be holding well. On Sunday, August 1, a huge outdoor mass meeting was held in Sheboygan by the "Win the Strike Committee," an organization representing 10,000 Sheboygan County workers in AFL, CIO, and independent unions. The newspapers estimated the attendance at five to seven thousand.

While Victor Reuther was the major speaker, the emotional peak of the meeting was the short talk by Charles Heymanns. Heymanns, today an AFL regional director, was a member of the bargaining committee in 1934. He reminded the gathering that the meeting occurred only a few days after the 20th anniversary of the 1934 massacre. He told them he felt sure the martyred Engleman and Wakefield would be proud to see such a meeting. "There was never a year that passed without a memorial meeting for Engleman and Wakefield," he said. Heymanns went on to tell of the fight at Kohler that had never ended. "We never surrendered, we never considered the battle over." Though the struggle was now in the hands of the CIO, he promised the full support of the AFL.

As the Kohler strike goes into its 20th week the end is not in sight. It is evident that the Kohler Company will never listen to reason alone. But one aid to the strikers is the determination of many workers throughout the country who say they'll let themselves "get as dirty as Kohler's conscience" before they'll buy a Kohler bathtub.

Trouble Ahead For Israel

by Lewis Scott

HENRY A. BYROADE Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, made a speech at Dayton, Ohio recently which spread panic among the Zionist partisans of Israel. Mr. Byroade declared that in view of "Russian intentions" in the Middle East, Israel and the Arab states had to compose their differences and draw closer together before the "Russian menace." In practice, this means that Israel must allay Arab fears of future Israeli expansion by abandoning its Zionist goal of unlimited immigration into Israel. "Because," according to Mr. Byroade, "it seemed to be increasingly affecting the security of the Middle East—and hence, that of the United States."

Having failed by other means to propitiate the angry gods of the Middle East, Washington now raises the question of whether it will offer up Israel as the sacrificial lamb. Lest anyone brush aside his remarks as merely the personal opinion of the Assistant Secretary, the State Department announced on May 5 that Mr. Byroade's speech represented official policy.

This underlining of the new turn in U.S. policy strikes at the heart of Zionist aspirations. From the point of view of Zionism, Israel is only an embryonic state. Its main reason for existence is to collect millions of Jews from other lands. This function is considered a rescue mission, since, according to them, anti-Semitic catastrophes are bound, sooner or later, to overtake all Jews, wherever they may be.

The state of Israel, with its militant Zionist aspirations, must be viewed within the framework of a coming of age of the Arab nationalist movement. The Middle East countries are in a state of permanent social crisis and ferment, and are moving ineluctably in the direction of social revolution. These nationalist movements normally follow an anti-imperialist pattern, because the economic exploitation of this area is chiefly the function of the foreign capitalist powers. But it is entirely conceivable that an attempt will



Caught between Arab hostility on the one side and imperialist intrigue on the other, Israel faces an uncertain and troubled future. An analysis of this cockpit of the Middle East.

be made by imperialism to derail the progressive struggles into a "second round" of wars against Israel.

The British Foreign Office, despite its sagacity and vast experience in foreign affairs, is forced to give way constantly before the nationalist onslaughts of former colonial subjects. In their retreat, as in the years of their domination, the British leave a wide trail behind them of the time-dishonored policy of "divide and rule" (India-Pakistan, Gold Coast, etc.). Is the U.S. State Department following this same vicious pattern in relation to Israel and the Arab states?

THE ANTI-ZIONIST turn of the State Department resulted, above all, from the frustrations which balk the imperialist powers even in the nooks and crannies of the world, in their drive to align the "free world" for the big push. None of the State Department's numerous plans for a Middle East "defensive" alliance have materialized. Dulles' support comes mainly from peripheral areas, such as Greece, Turkey and Pakistan. And Pakistan itself is bitterly torn over this question.

No policy is too effective nowadays for imperialism, whether under Dulles or Acheson. What was the result of United States' support of and assistance to Israel, in the wake of the Arab-Jewish war, if not a bountiful harvest of "hate America" thistles throughout the Middle East? During 1951 and 1952, the Arab countries were rife with anti-American demonstrations, directed primarily at the U.S. Information Service. Arab nationalism, which is stoked by the poverty and indignation of the masses, has made the United States its chief target. The Arab ruling circles, who are forever bargaining with the big powers for a division of the profits, throw in nationalism as their ace card. Then again, xenophobia is a diversion of the masses

from the direct causes of their misery: the domestic culprits can always point to rich and powerful America as the source of all evil.

Naturally, Soviet Russia and the local Communist parties stand to gain from the imperialist losses in this area. To improve its position vis-a-vis the Arab nationalists, Moscow reversed its previously pro-Israel position, thereby exposing the Western powers as the only defenders of Israel, and throwing them into an embarrassing dilemma. It soon became clear to Washington that the price of Arab friendship, if not support, would be nothing less than an anti-Israel policy on its part.

The State Department's first significant move in this direction was to allot a quantity of arms to Iraq, Israel's volatile neighbor and enemy. There were no strings attached here; only the commitment not to use these arms except in self-defense. History shows that arms were never otherwise employed—from the point of view of the user. The other Middle East countries might well favor such an arrangement, whereby they too might receive arms shipments from the West without compromising themselves before their own peoples by any formal alliance with imperialism. This is purely "profit without illusions," as the Arabic saying goes.

Israel's partisans viewed this accommodation to Arab nationalism with the greatest alarm. In this writer's view, this turn by the State Department derives strictly from

desperation. In view of the political fragility which is common to almost all of the Middle East countries, such a step is indeed a gamble. It indicates with what haste the State Department feels impelled to act in this "soft underbelly" of the Soviet Union.

THE NEXT overt step taken by the State Department was Assistant Secretary Byroade's speech, which cut like a two-edged blade both at Israel's Zionist policy and at the host of Zionists among the five million U.S. Jews. This was an unmistakable warning to American Jews that Zionism must at the very least restrain its ambitions. His speech was delivered from the platform of the American Council for Judaism, an anti-Zionist organization which views Jews as being not an ethnic entity, as the Zionists believe, but merely American followers of the Mosaic faith. Now, between the overreaching claims made by the Zionists on the loyalty of American Jews to Israel, which they equate with loyalty to the Jewish people itself, and the policy of the State Department which aims to weaken the hold of Zionism among Americans, the Zionist movement is headed for stormy weather in the U.S.

True enough, the state of Israel was fostered by the United Nations, which acted the part of the benevolent umpire during the Arab-Jewish war, making certain that neither side won an overwhelming victory. It is an undeniable fact that the U.S. hastened to recognize the new-

The Status of Immigration Into Israel

NEITHER the Arab states nor the U.S. State Department need have any serious apprehensions about the expansion of Israel. Zionist expectations were not, and cannot be, fulfilled. Golda Myerson, Israeli Minister of Labor, stated in reply to Mr. Byroade's attack, that Israel is today lacking from one to three million additional Jews. She did not indicate, however, from where these several millions could be enticed to Israel's shores—and once there, just how they would manage to exist.

J. Bacht, correspondent of the *Jewish Newsletter*, writes that "according to conservative estimates, Israel has received approximately \$2 billion from abroad during the six years of its existence. After six years, Israel covers only 15½ percent of its own consumption." The bulk of these funds were made up of Zionist contributions, \$209 million grants-in-aid from the United States, \$135 million loan from the Export-Import Bank, several hundred million dollars' worth of Israel government bonds sold in the United States, \$100 million in German reparations, and the remainder in private investments.

The total number of immigrants for the same period is about 750,000. Thus for each immigrant there was roughly \$2,600 provided, or enough to support an average Israeli family for more than two years. The number of Arab emigrants (refugees) from the same area

amounts to about 850,000.

In addition then to the huge inflow of funds, Israel acquired gratis the lands and properties in the villages and towns from which the Arabs had fled. There are still 150,000 new immigrants living miserably in camps because they find it impossible to make a living on their own. Since the establishment of the new state, the cost of living has risen steadily until now it has reached crisis proportions, and the standard of living of the bulk of the population has steadily deteriorated. Most Israelis are definitely undernourished.

Immigration figures over a period of the last six years reveal that the bulk of the new immigrants came from Arab countries. Only 1,809 came from the United States.

SEVERAL hundred Indian Jews who managed to return to India complained most bitterly that they were treated in Israel like second-class citizens. The Oriental or dark-skinned Jews, together with the 180,000 Arabs, now number better than half the total population.

There is no denying that a caste division exists between the dark-skinned and the light-skinned Israelis. David Ben Gurion, former Prime Minister, wrote in his foreword to the recent government year book: "A supposedly 'superior' race has begun to stand out. There

is an Ashkenazi (Caucasian) race, which, in practice, leads the nation, and an Oriental race of inferior status." The dark-skinned Jews have become the "porters of Israel." This state of affairs is bound to discourage even the Oriental Jews from further immigration.

The plaint of a redcap at the Lydda airport near Tel Aviv comes very clearly to mind: "In Casablanca I was a mechanic—and here I can find nothing else but this to do. I would go back, but where am I to get the money; even with this work we do not have enough to eat." I asked him why he had come to Israel in the first place. "It was the propaganda," he said, "it sounded like a dream."

S. Z. Shragai, who is in charge of Immigration Affairs, complains about the "rescue immigration" of 750,000 since the inception of the new state in 1948, that "there is no pioneering spirit among all those people." Mr. Shragai should know that the early waves of brave settlers were permeated with the pioneering spirit—inspired by the revolution in Russia. These people were socialists and revolutionists, according to their lights. Since the rise of Hitler, the bulk of the immigrants primarily sought a refuge from European anti-Semitism. The last wave, since 1948, of which Mr. Shragai speaks, came to Israel seeking material benefits they could not attain had they remained behind.

born state, happy to find a new avenue into the Middle East. In addition, of all U.S. financial assistance to the Arab countries and Israel, the latter received fully 60 percent. But this phase of U.S.-Israel relations has come to an end.

Today, the Middle East has become an increasingly vital area of world conflict owing to its strategic location, its vast oil resources, the prevailing economic distress and consequent political unrest, and not least of all, because it is Moslem. The Moslem religion, to which 350 million persons adhere throughout Africa and Asia, has a strong grip on its followers. The developments in the Arab countries have definite global reverberations.

In these circumstances, Israel can easily find itself frozen out and abandoned both by the West and the East. A diplomatic race can be won by the power which offers most arms and promises a "second round" against Israel. The Arab ruling classes are surely interested in a "second round," not merely to salvage their honor which was badly dented in the "first round," but because another war against Israel would postpone a settling of accounts between the masses and their exploiters at home. What with Soviet Russia's anti-Zionist line, it is questionable whether the left wing in the Arab countries will have the independence and strength to withstand the *Jihad* (holy war) furies.

ZIONIST policy continues to lead Israel into a bleak and perilous adventure. Those who tried to destroy the ghettos by the creation of a purely Jewish state find, in reality, that the state of Israel itself looks very much like a ghetto today. The barriers between the two peoples were erected by the Zionist leadership as far back as 1935. Then it was: "Jew—Buy Jewish" or "Jew—Employ Jews." Very soon the Arabs retaliated with their own slogans: "Arabs—Don't Buy Jewish," and so on. Today the Arab

states still maintain an absolute economic boycott of Israel, to the detriment of the economic development not only of Israel, but the Arab countries as well.

To secure themselves a lifeline to the future, the Israelis will have to accomplish the difficult feat of breaking down the barriers between themselves and the Arab peoples, and become integrated into the economic and social fabric of the Middle East. Their own best defense lies in becoming identified with the nationalist, anti-imperialist aspirations of the Arab masses, and assisting the struggles of the Arab peasants and workers.

The immediate, most pressing need is to settle amicably the burning problem of the 850,000 Arab refugees. This will make possible a cessation of the ruinous and bloody conflict, which can easily get out of hand and which represents a dead-end to both sides. In this manner, too, Israel can foil the plans of the U.S. State Department, which now seeks "to cement Arab-Israel relations"—with gunpowder.

Max Awner, editor of the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, which won first prize among local labor papers in the annual competition run by the International Labor Press of America, recently had this to say about the U.S. labor press:

"Few indeed are the labor papers that will take an independent, thoroughly thought-out stand on important national—or for that matter, local—issues. . . .

"Since the American labor movement in general finds itself aligned somewhat to the left of center on most political issues, it cannot be said that the labor press is reactionary or even conservative. But its whole tone sounds too much like a mere parroting of pronouncements and policy laid down by the top brass.

"There is just not enough real thinking done and communicated by labor editors. How could it be otherwise? The labor press is the official spokesman—the less charitable would call it mouthpiece—of the union hierarchy. The hierarchy calls the tune, the labor press follows. It is not built to lead."

"The Revolution We Are Living Through"

We are all aware that we are living through a great revolution, and the more closely we look at it, the greater it proves to be. . . . We are seeing all races, peoples, classes and individuals demanding a share in the power and wealth that, till now, have been a monopoly of the few. . . . It will be an epoch-making revolution, even if it falls short of completely attaining its very radical objectives, and it is bound to be an upsetting experience for us Westerners—particularly for those of us who are of the middle class. The present upheaval is a double revolt—against the West's ascendancy over the rest of the world and against the Western middle class ascendancy over the Western industrial workers. . . .

The nationalism and the communism that are challenging the West's ascendancy today are ideological exports of Western origin. Communism has been hatched out of an egg that was laid in the Rhineland and was incubated in the reading room of the British museum; and not only Marx, but Ghandi, Ataturk, and Sun Yat-sen have been inspired by echoes of "the shot heard round the world" that was fired at Concord, Mass., in 1775.

Arnold J. Toynbee, famous British historian, "The Revolution We Are Living Through," *N.Y. Times*, July 25, 1954.

Two weeks later, the *Times* published the following significant and pointed comment on Mr. Toynbee's article:

Arnold Toynbee's "The Revolution We Are Living Through" faced only half the problem he presented. Summed up, his thesis is that "the present upheaval is a double revolt—against the West's ascendancy over the rest of the world and against Western middle class ascendancy over the Western industrial workers."

The answer he gives to the first half seems to be another appeal to "face the facts" and "beat communism to the draw" by supporting rather than repressing Asian and African nationalism and granting these Eastern peoples their demand for "liberty, equality and fraternity."

What, then, is the answer to the revolution against Western middle class ascendancy over the Western industrial workers? Mr. Toynbee says: ". . . we are seeing all races, peoples, classes and individuals demanding a share in the power and the wealth that, till now, have been a monopoly of the few." If the answer to the second part of the problem is the same as that to the first, the implications become tremendous.

Letter to the *N.Y. Times* August 6, 1954

Round Table on American Socialism

During July, a very successful conference of 100 American Socialist supporters was held in Detroit. For two full days, discussion took place around a number of problems of U.S. socialism. Foremost in the concern of the conference was the work of distributing and broadening the circulation of the American Socialist, and of continu-

ing its financing, which has been quite successful up to now.

But much of the time was utilized in listening to and discussing a number of political talks. In the space which follows, we present excerpts from speeches and discussion on three topics: Negro problem, what is going on in the unions, and the general political picture.

ON MAY 17, the group of nine old men turned overnight into sympathetic nursemaids for Negro children. Then, with their eyes wet and with trembling voices, they came before the nation and stated that to separate Negro children—and I quote —“from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.” Greater sympathy hath no man.

Now I am not attempting to deride the court for its decision or language. I am simply saying, like Red Buttons, that “strange things are happening.” These nine old men stirred up a veritable hornet’s nest when they handed down that type of decision, and we know that the men who make up America’s Supreme Court are undoubtedly literate and intelligent. They must have known the reaction that would follow. Nevertheless, they handed it down, and my question now is: Why did they do it?

We hit a pretty warm lead when we listen to Vice-President Nixon making his report to the nation after returning from his Asian tour: “America must wipe out racial discrimination and make the democratic message clearer to win the support of Asia. Racial discrimination and prejudice hurt America as much as an espionage agent who turns over a weapon to a foreign country.”

Now Richard is a young man. And it’s only to be expected that he could make some mistakes. So, that statement may have been accidental. But we find a similar vein worked by Reverend Archibald J. Carey, alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. He said recently in Philadelphia: “The United States is

A Victory for Negro America

Speaker: Ernest Drake

I WANT TO start off by saying that I am perfectly furious with Harry Braverman, and I’d like to know if the chairman can do something about it. Let me state my reason.

In preparing this talk, I wasn’t informed of Harry’s activities in New York, so I burrowed and burrowed, I read and made notes, and I put together all this stuff that I felt sure would knock you over. Then—lo and behold!—out comes the July issue of the *American Socialist*. There he had all of the stuff in his article on the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. I only hope here that you have not read it. [Laughter.] But it does indicate that great minds run along similar paths. [Prolonged laughter. Harry Braverman shakes the speaker’s hand and thanks him.]

But not so great a mind that something else cannot be said on the subject. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Now, more seriously. I would be flattered indeed and I would be embarrassed by the flattery if any of you here held the opinion that I could give here tonight a worked-out program on the Negro problem. I may be close to

the problem because of racial background, but I still don’t feel prepared to give any complete answers. However, I do feel that we should deal with the most important event that has taken place in this period in the field of Negro rights. And that is the recent Supreme Court decision dealing with segregation. We have, I believe, witnessed in our time what can easily become one of the greatest single attacks against Jim Crow since the 14th Amendment.

The same court told colored America in 1857 that it had no rights that a white man was bound to respect. And, while saying this in answer to Dred Scott, the court toppled the Missouri Compromise and laid the whole country open to slavery. One great man of that day said that decision made freedom in America the exception rather than the rule.

This doctrine, that Negroes have no rights that whites are bound to respect, has been carried out to the very last, as Negroes who have lived in the South and many who have lived this side of the Ohio know from real-life experience.



waging a daily battle to win over the people of the world, three-fourths of whom are colored. Our most deadly enemy is discrimination and segregation in our own country. We must prove that individual character and achievement is the only criterion for full citizenship if we are to gain the backing of the colored nations."

I think what those two fellows said should arouse sufficient curiosity for us to take a look at the international scene. And when we do that, we see almost the whole world as a kind of angry, snarling human volcano—people restless and chafing beneath the rule of imperialism. And the actors in this historic drama are the yellow, the brown and the black races that constitute the world's majority. After we look around the world and see this rebellion and uprising, then if we place this churning human mass in the context of the cold war between Russia and the United States, the true meaning and high significance of the statements of Nixon and Archibald Carey become clear. It is plain beyond doubt then, that Russia has maneuvered America into, as Frederick Douglass put it, "Compelling the Devil to wear his own garments." The U.S. has been exposed to the colored people of the world in its naked role of anti-Negroism in this country.

AS LONG AS the war remains cold, the play for the mind is an important element, and right now it's sufficiently cold to give high priority to that phase of the struggle. Max Yergan was interviewed by Schuyler of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and Schuyler asked him how the colored papers in Africa react to America. Yergan explained that all of the atrocities committed against Negroes in this country are headlined in Asia and Africa almost the same day.

This Negro who was found burned to death, chained to a stump in the swamps of Arkansas—there is no doubt that in Asia they know of it, and many of us here, I'll bet, didn't know that that atrocity had taken place. There were some Negro youths electrocuted in Georgia, since the Supreme Court decision, for alleged and unproven rape. The rebellious people in the rice fields of Indochina, no doubt, know about that, but I'm sure there are

people here who do not yet know about it. Yergan explained that they know of the Detroit riots, of Chicago's Trumbull Park, of the bombings in Birmingham and about Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore.

These are familiar stories to the Africans and Asians, because they carry on their bodies the bruises and the scars of 200 years of white man rule. And they can only see in America a more efficient rule than they had under European imperialism. So then, can't you see, American capitalism believes that one way to get across this hurdle is to make the Asians and Africans and South Americans believe she's trying to make amends on this grotesque problem.

WE SHOULD now discuss the meaning and possibilities of this decision for the Negroes today. How can this decision be wielded on behalf of America's millions of second-class citizens? In my opinion, there are great possibilities. For the same reason that the decision was handed down, America cannot now stand a scandal around the decision. They would appear more of a scoundrel, it would appear to me, than if it had never been handed down.

Within the context of the cold war, the international factors serve as a check. That may allow a little time, elbow room, moral assistance, so that Negroes and progressive whites may make hay while the sun shines. The very sweeping nature and phrasing of the decision also acts to bring all forms of segregation and discrimination under attack.

Authorities on public speaking tell us that if you want to hold your audience, don't pull a strip tease, but do something else shocking. Make some type of shocking statement. Now I have often used the remark, in speaking to Negroes, that it is my opinion that in this country, given the population rundown, Negroes could not win their freedom gun in hand. That is shocking to many Negroes because many of them believe that the solution must come through direct and violent action on the color line.

And when I make that type of statement, right away it arouses their interest, maybe their hostility. But the point I'm trying to stress is that it is

absolutely necessary that white workers be recruited into this great struggle of colored America. And from this point of view too, the court's decision has a contribution to make. It clothes the struggle for Negro equality in the raiments of greater respectability. It blesses it with the sanction of law. The decision creates a more attractive climate in which whites can be recruited into the struggle of the Negroes.

NOW, I could be accused at this point, I know, of talking out of both sides of my mouth. I called the decision a kind of political trickery due to the international situation primarily. And here I am talking about the great merits of this historic decision. Well, that's because the motive is one thing, and the significance and effects another.

On the one side, we must explain the motives clearly, so that people don't begin to think the leopard has changed its spots. If we don't explain this, we would not be answering the arguments of the gradualists. If I were a gradualist, I would camp on this decision as proof of the merits of my philosophy, and I could only be shaken from it by understanding that the decision stemmed more from the international revolutionary wave than from any gradualist successes here.

On the other hand, when I talk about the merits of the decision, I'm doing what Douglass once did in connection with the American Constitution. Do you recall in the 1850's there was a great debate, and we could probably say split, in the Abolitionist movement. Douglass did not believe with Garrison that the Constitution was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell. He said that since there was a great respect among the people for the Constitution, we shouldn't press it into support for slavery except as the language was irresistibly clear. And, since the Constitution allowed for a more liberal reading, they had every right to place that interpretation upon it and thereby rally the loyalty of the American people to the Constitution in the fight against slavery. And the same thing applies now.

When we are educating people, we tell them about the capitalists' motive in granting this decision, but when we are pointing towards action to imple-

ment the decision and to press for further gains, we can utilize the decision very fruitfully.

This brings us to the always difficult and challenging question of HOW—how to exploit the merits of this decision? I think we need a reappraisal of the NAACP. Chicagoans may raise their brows at this because of the conduct of the NAACP around the Trumbull housing project, but I think we should take a new look at it. Not because they have changed today, but because there are still plenty of fights ahead that will have an effect.

I BELIEVE the South means it when they talk about holding the line against the Supreme Court decision. But on the other hand, I believe too

that there are Negroes who will accept this decision as it is written, and who will apply for enrollment the first of September. Unless I am 'way off, this will cause a warm situation which may have a strong effect upon the NAACP.

Now this whole situation presents us with a challenge and an opportunity. It's a challenge to the *American Socialist* to interpret these world-wide color problems in such a way that the man on the street can understand them. And it's an opportunity, for by becoming the standard bearer of the demand for immediate implementation of the Supreme Court decision, the *American Socialist* can gain many friends for socialism among the Negro people.

The Political Outlook

Speaker: Harry Braverman

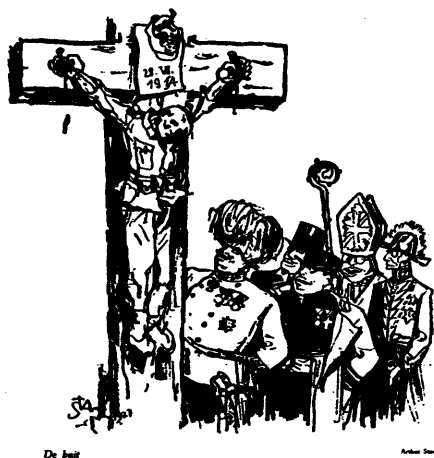
WILL A WAR come soon, or is it delayed? Predictions on this subject must necessarily be highly conditional, since we all realize that a single act of mania can blow the world sky-high today. But within that limitation, certain basic facts are clear. The present prospect is undoubtedly for a postponement of a general war for a period of time.

The American economy has been buoyed up by the most extensive and expensive program of peacetime war spending in capitalist history. More than that, it has been the vastest program of war expenditures in the history of any capitalist nation, including wartime, with the exception of U.S. spending at the peak of World War II. This war economy has maintained near-full employment.

The present slump in the economy, painful as it is to many workers and farmers and their families, has not yet altered that situation. We must never forget that this is a *capitalist* economy; and that its satisfaction is synonymous with the satisfaction of the capitalist class, not the workers. For that class, a depression is not really a depression until it darkens the profit picture, brings a halt to expansion and capital accumulation, closes off investment possibilities, and in these ways creates an economic crisis for the capitalist class,

which under modern conditions can be expected to lead to a social and political crisis. But that hasn't happened, as the economy has, for the present, leveled off on a lower plateau.

How long can this continue? Certainly not indefinitely, or even for too long a period of time, but, within reasonable limits, if the war sector continues to grow, the economy can be maintained and kept out of a 1929-type collapse for a number of years. Of course, such an economy will increasingly shift burdens to the workers' backs, and tend to produce a decline in the standard of living. For this reason, and because such an economy increasingly transforms the nation into a militaristic armed camp, this too is



the road to war. But that process requires a duration of time to work itself out.

IN THIS KIND of an economic situation, American capitalism is still in the position of a patient with a dull ache but without a sharp, localized pain. The system is sick, but the sickness manifests itself in general ways, such as can be postponed for a time, alleviated, and partially disregarded. This means that, so far as war is concerned, the goad of desperation that would be needed to drive U.S. capitalism into such an adventure is still lacking.

In truth, U.S. capitalism must still undergo more of the process of hardening, traditions and set modes of operation must be surmounted, more democratic camouflages stripped away, more desperation born in the ranks of the rulers, more conformity at home, less regard for alliances that prove too flimsy, more coercion by the fist. The capitalist class must *Hitlerize* itself to a greater degree before it is fully prepared.

WE HAVE NOTED that McCarthyism is the product of the defeats which U.S. imperialism has been meeting in its cold war. McCarthyism is the expression of the hysteria arising from frustration among sections of the capitalist class, which want to solve all problems by cutting the Gordian knot. They are tired of being "responsible," of being lectured on their duties by the Princeton pedants, of being harassed and restricted by any shred of respect for the opinions of allies or of the colonial people. McCarthyism is that trend of opinion in the capitalist class which wants to lash out indiscriminately, to destroy the traditional rules and procedures, upsetting the carefully constructed structure of two-party rule which Wall Street has so painstakingly perfected over the years.

Is McCarthyism the same as fascism? If genuine social movements were the product of individual manias alone, it could well be that. But a social aberration like fascism requires that two things, the mania and the social situation, merge. This has not happened yet, although McCarthyism, and the mood and following now being built around it, will certainly be in the very

best position to fill that role should the political and class circumstances develop in that direction. McCarthy has definitively taken the methods and philosophy of extreme reaction out of the realm of lunatic fringism and put them in the big time.

But even failing a direct fascist role, which it cannot aspire to at the moment, McCarthyism still plays the role of the whiplash of the developing police state. Like the flywheel on a machine, it keeps the flagging or uneven speed constant whenever there is any sign of lassitude in the government's drive to a police state. It deepens the witch-hunt by terrorizing the officialdom.

There is, in my opinion, a distinct connection between McCarthyism and the tempo of the war drive, although it hasn't yet been clearly and publicly revealed. If there is any cleverness about McCarthy's scheme, it is the extreme caution with which he sticks to non-controversial issues—to "hunting communists," an objective on which there is not supposed to be any disagreement in this country. "I just want to catch communists," he shouts. "Why do people try to stop me from catching communists?"

MCCARTHY is sticking to this phase of his *Kampf*, deliberately prolonging and sucking every morsel of advantage out of it. It is likely, as can be expected from his apparent shrewdness as a strategist, that McCarthy realizes that social conditions of the U.S. at present are not such as would sustain any ventures in fascist demagoguery much beyond that.

And so, on foreign policy, he has offered only a few tentative gambits. He has made a statement or two, but not a fully different foreign policy.

Nevertheless, the go-it-aloners, the isolationists - become - confusionists, the preventive-war maniacs, the opponents of fancy-dan maneuvering with allies and pacts, the action-now brigades all cluster around him. Is this the result of secret plotting and undercover McCarthy commitments? Not necessarily. The reason is that the mood he expresses on domestic policy faithfully duplicates their mood on foreign policy. In his "anti-responsibility" attitude on the home front, they see the counterpart of the let's-go-to-hell-in-a-hurry attitude of the strike-now forces, of the

foreign policy theorists who shout that "Nehru is a communist and Churchill is a fellow-traveler."

He is doing and saying in this country just what they would like to see said and done in the world.

Without mincing words, we can put it this way: McCarthyism can become the war party, and the war perspective can be utilized for its drive toward power. He hasn't tried it yet. He saw his predecessor in the leadership of his wing of the Republican Party, Robert A. Taft, take a shellacking too many times for fooling with foreign policy, and he doesn't want to fool with it too much yet. But the time may come when McCarthy emerges as the leader of a war-now party, and I believe he will if circumstances cause larger sections of the capitalist class to go war-mad, and if the present ruling groups don't satisfy them quickly.

AT THIS POINT, there is hardly any opposition to the basic foreign policy of U.S. capitalism. In the process of the further transformation of the U.S., at one point or another an opposition will develop. It is important to try to get some visualization of what that opposition will look like.

Movements, as all social processes, develop by stages. They do not spring into being full-blown, in their final form, but pass through a process on their way to maturity. True, the stages are not necessarily uniform, the movement may skip over some phases, but before we may speak of skipping over stages, we must conceive of the full process, and then see in what ways it may be expected to abbreviate itself.

The class consciousness of the American workers is still meagerly developed. And the start of serious moods of opposition will come from changes in the labor standard of living. That will be the starting point for renewed political awareness within the union movement and in other sections of the population, and for the growth of left tendencies.

We must be clear that we cannot require workers to turn idealistic supermen without material impulsion, simply in order to conform to our schema, and they won't do it no matter how often we ask them to. The tasks of the working class are posed schematically by history, but the slogans, the strategy, the approach of the socialist movement, within that general framework,

are posed by the level of class consciousness of the working class more than by any other factor. And the level of proletarian class-consciousness is determined by a complex of subjective and objective facts, the most important of which is the material position of that class and changes in its material position.

What will the first stages of opposition look like? The American workers of 1954 are not the Russian workers of 1917, who spearheaded a revolutionary society practically all sectors of which desired the overthrow of Czarism. The American workers have a certain past heritage, which they have not broken with and which will shape the first stages of opposition. That past is the New Deal period, the heritage of social reform.

THERE IS much reason to believe that the first stages of U.S. opposition will be in many ways comparable to the British opposition. The American workers want a return to the program of social reform. That will cut across the war program. And so the opposition to the imperialist foreign policy is likely to take a Bevanite turn, with overtones of the old mid-Western isolationism. "Leave the rest of the world alone. They have a right to do what they want. If they want communism, why should we interfere with them, and get destroyed in the process?"

Thus in the first stage, which will be eminently progressive in itself even though it won't be anywhere near the end of the process, the American workers won't be socialists, and not even necessarily sympathetic to socialism, although some sympathy is bound to grow. They will react against the consequences of the war program, and in the effort to save their standard of living they will find themselves opposing U.S. interference with the rest of the world. Here is where the capitalist class will get in their way, and the first clashes over foreign policy occur.

An approach on the part of socialists which calls on the U.S. to stop trying to dictate to the world, cease the cold war and leave the Soviet bloc alone is thus eminently suited to the coming situation.

Here we must pause for a moment to try to deepen our understanding of the probable first phases of the op-

Labor's New Problems

Speaker: Douglas Brown

position. The labor movement is a massive and well-integrated body, which holds to the lowest common denominator of thinking in its leadership and ranks. Pioneers don't rapidly succeed in swinging this massive body. To do so, to shake the entire movement and get it on a new track, to break it from its present right-wing course, will require big events and pressures.

IN THE MEANTIME, pioneer left currents will arise, as in every such case. Unable to swing the massive labor movement in the first stage, they will have to find other ways to express themselves, outside the broad labor movement. Such, in a certain sense, was the Wallace movement.

Many advance guard movements will develop before the labor movement can be swayed, and before a left wing too strong to be crushed can be esconced within it. These advance movements will have diversified characteristics: leadership by cranks and crackpots, by middle-class radicals, and other inadequate types. Most, if not all, of them will be doomed to failure in the sense that they will not possess the durable labor backing, nor the Marxist program, that would enable them to lead. Some, or the leaders of some, will capitulate when the pressure is on, as Wallace did.

Shall socialists stand aside from such movements and smugly predict failure or betrayal? That might be a safe enough prediction in many cases, but it would be a sectarian attitude which could only succeed in isolating socialism from the healthy currents which will flow through the nation.

The fact that the quality of such movements, or their leadership and programs, or their connections with the labor movement, will be inadequate, is no excuse for turning one's back on them. Improving quality happens to be the business of Marxists, and if we could expect opposition movements to come along already perfect in quality, then there would be no need for Marxists. And Marxist groups themselves would be worthless, no matter how good their theories, if they merely revolve around themselves instead of connecting themselves with the actual movements which are the precondition for the success of any theory or program.

WE HAVE ALL noted how the long period of full employment has resulted in a quiescence in the ranks of organized labor. Now, some unemployment has begun, and this raises the question whether the economic slump has affected the political thinking of the working class.

In the auto industry, for example, because of declining market, speed-up, and shifts in production to a more monopolistic concentration, there is very sharp unemployment. The Michigan unemployment total is, I believe, around the 200,000 mark, most of it in the auto industry, and the estimate actually is that there will be somewhere around 300,000 unemployed in Michigan by October.

Now, what has the reaction been to this unemployment, which in some cases is of a year's standing? By simple logic, you would say that since the ten years of full employment decreased labor militancy, unemployment ought to increase it. It's not that direct, however, even in the Michigan area where unemployment has been of longer duration and worse than in most other places. A series of complicated changes are taking place in industry which are altering the base of the established unions and forcing labor to meet new problems.



When the independents began collapsing under the production war in auto, Kaiser and Willys worked out a consolidation to keep themselves afloat. But they couldn't keep afloat, and they told the workers and union leaders they had to get more competitive, and that meant wage cuts and increased production quotas. The union accepted, and I am informed that the cut amounts to some eight dollars a week, plus a considerable increase in production with the union steward often acting as the man who finds the "weak spots" in output.

Here, recently, at a little plant in Marysville, employing about a thousand people, the management simply announced that they'd told their Board of Directors they're going to dissolve the corporation and give the stockholders whatever that brings, unless the union scrapped its contract, accepted wage cuts, and put them in a "competitive position." The union leadership's reaction there was to virtually accept the company demand. The union agreed to withdraw strike action voted last June 19, to "settle"—that is, abandon—80 percent of its pending grievances, and the company then proposed to submit to the union bargaining committee a complete contract of a type which the firm feels necessary for profitable operation.

I picked a clipping out of the paper the other day that shows that this is not only true of auto. It's an AP dispatch: "Hard coal miners in the anthracite-rich Panther Creek Valley Sunday urged Lehigh Navigation Coal Company to cancel plans to close down operations, and offered to give up 20 days' pay to defray any losses."

NOW WHAT you have here in some respects is a competition being set up for workers to do more work at less pay to get their jobs back. The competition of industry, the monopoly drive, is being shifted into a competition of worker against worker.

The whole development has not yet hit the major sectors of the big unions, and as it does that, there will probably

be many changes, but I want to indicate that the first reaction has not been big strike actions. And even where the workers did react in the recent period with strike action, the strikes have been of long duration and have very often yielded poor settlements. The North American strike, which lasted a considerable period, was finally settled, roughly speaking, on the company's original terms. The Kohler strike in Wisconsin is an indication of what it means to battle the corporations in this period.

Does all of this indicate, then, that there has been no positive reaction by the workers in defense of their living standards? I think it would be wrong to say that. I'll give a few examples. The Dodge local is probably the hardest hit single local in the country by unemployment. Its employment went from 33,000 when it was the second-largest local union in the UAW, down to 11,000. Two-thirds of the workers unemployed, and that's been going on for a half-year or longer.

In this local union, the unemployment problem brought to life a lot of discussion and some action. The demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay was not so popular in Dodge a year ago, when the Ford local was already accepting this proposal. Today, this demand has become an integral part of the thinking of a large grouping of the Dodge workers. But more than that, they've caught on to the idea that the unemployed problem requires some mass action. They have an unemployment committee which has organized various demonstrations at the State Legislature, City Hall, etc.

Recently, there have been several caucus meetings in the Detroit area of opposition elements in preparation for the State CIO Convention. For the first time, the 30-hour week demand began to receive serious consideration from local unions other than Ford. And these caucuses reflected greater cohesion precisely because of this unemployment problem.

To summarize: I think we have to say that there hasn't been any appreciable rise in militancy. If anything, there has been a stepping-back and worrying about the job by employed workers. But there has been a stimulus to long-range thinking, and to some unemployed militancy.

BUT IN THE political field there is a different reaction. I think we can say that at least in this area there has been an increase in attention and activity.

We have seen in the Michigan area the greatest interest in political activity that I can recall. In most plants the dollar collections for PAC are greater now than I have ever seen. In the plant I work in, I'd say 80 percent of the workers have freely given a dollar.

Now, what kind of political action do the workers have faith in right now? We recently had a meeting of PAC in Detroit, of all officers, PAC members, stewards, committeemen, etc., addressed by Reuther. The union officialdom, of course, favors the election of Democrats. As the meeting progressed, it became crystal clear that the sentiment of the rank-and-file, rep-



resented through their secondary leaders, was for the same proposition.

The reaction has been: We've got a new Hooverism in office; you've got to throw the Wall Street Republicans out and put the Democrats back in to get more jobs. That's reducing it to its essence. Actually, it was impossible in the atmosphere created at that meeting, to seriously introduce a labor party discussion. In the left-wing caucuses held in recent periods, there has been no serious discussion of the labor party, and it never arose either at the State Convention or at private caucus meetings. So we can see that there has been an increase in political action sentiment by labor, but it has for the moment turned pretty solidly in favor of the Democrats, and not yet

in the direction of independent political action.

I THINK I have summarized the state of thinking, economically and politically, of the working class after the first year of economic tremors. Now what can we do as socialists?

There are certain natural answers in the trade union field at the moment. First, there is the 30-hour pay demand as the best answer to unemployment, coupled with the need of mass action to get results. And then there is the need to closely follow the Democratic Party trends, and to introduce at each juncture the element of independent political action.

This approach must be very concretely presented in the *American Socialist* from month to month, especially by correspondents from inside the unions. If the magazine doesn't have that feel and touch, the workers to whom we are selling the magazine will find it of little or no aid. We have to provide that connection, we cannot tolerate an elimination of that connection, even if we ourselves are removed, as we are in many cases now, from leadership of the struggles themselves.

The *American Socialist* has to reflect the needs of the advanced unionists, their problems, and, in making an analysis of them, offer a solution. It has done this to an extent. In Detroit, we are now planning a full study of the problems of the auto union from every angle. This should be done in other industries, too. If we have that type of material, the *American Socialist* will hold the interest of the many unionists who now read it, and can broaden its circulation and influence among labor ranks.

MacDonald's "Friendship Policy"

Speaker: A Steel Unionist

THE STEEL INDUSTRY is now working at approximately 60 percent of capacity, which has affected one out of every four steelworkers in the country, so that 200,000 of them are either laid off or working less than a 40-hour week. The employment situation in steel is probably a little different from that described for auto in that by and large the cut-back is

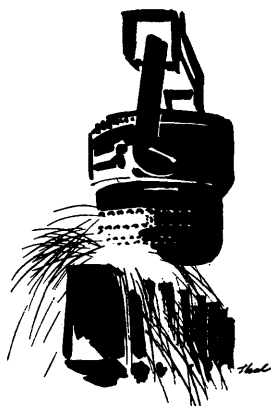
even throughout the industry.

In most plants, the average work week is pretty close to 32 hours, or a four-day week. The contract permits the company to cut back to a 32-hour week without actual negotiations with the union, and in practice this has been accepted and even requested by just about every local union, on the share-the-work theory. The workers don't too much mind going down to 32 hours to save some jobs, although they refuse to cut below that, preferring unemployment insurance payments.

The steel negotiations which just ended were greatly affected by these cutbacks, causing considerable conservatism and timidity among many workers. President MacDonald took advantage of this conservatism to continue fostering a lot of friendship with the steel officials. But, strangely, this had a reverse twist to it, because after a month of this, with no settlement in sight, the secondary leadership in the union, or a good part of it, exploded in MacDonald's face, and he was even asked if he was sleeping in bed with Fairless yet. The way it turned out, this raised the ante on what MacDonald could settle for.

We wound up near the end of negotiations, after all of MacDonald's "friendship" policy, with no offer. The union was forced to mobilize for strike action, and every plant was alerted for strike—there's no question about it. Finally, in the last hours, the agreement was reached which provides for about a 12 cent an hour package in U.S. Steel.

From everything I could gather, the Eisenhower administration had something to do with the final settlement. You've got to understand that one of the rifts between MacDonald and Reuther is over their approach to the administration. Reuther proposes a head-on antagonism, and a pro-Democratic policy, while MacDonald says: "We know it's not a pro-labor administration like Truman's was, but we don't want to make enemies where we don't have to." The administration didn't want a strike because of the economic and international situations, and it may have also wanted to woo the steel union a little bit. It seems that there were some pressures put on the steel industry by the administration to give a trifle and avert a strike.



ONE IMPORTANT point emerges as a result of the steel settlement. There has been a change in MacDonald's position in the union. Murray had the complete confidence of the secondary leadership in the union. MacDonald has not had it until now. The steelworkers applauded the agreement, and the secondary leadership was taken off the spot. This puts MacDonald, for the first time since Murray's death, in the position of having control over the union beyond his paid machine.

MacDonald is pushing his fight with Reuther, criticizing PAC, etc., and playing with Beck and Lewis. I feel that at the coming steel union convention in September, MacDonald, with his new strength, may be in a position to take the United Steelworkers of America out of the CIO, and may do it. I think there is something going on behind the scenes.

Lull, Not Conservatism

Speaker: An Auto Unionist

THE NORTH AMERICAN strike has been mentioned here. What is not generally known is that, in that strike of some 30,000 workers, more than half of them were walking through the picket lines on the eve of union acceptance of the company's original offer, made prior to the strike.

One of the top officers of the UAW informed me recently that in the last 12 months, more strikes have been lost by the UAW than in the entire preceding period of the Reuther administration. So you get a picture of what's been happening in the auto union. Now, this has reflected itself in the


thinking of the top leadership as the important 1955 negotiations draw near. They're still putting out their fanfare, their fancy pamphlets, about the guaranteed annual wage, but privately, they're saying: "What the hell are we going to do in 1955? We've got a backlog of three months auto production on hand. Cars can't be sold as fast as they're produced. It'll mean we'll have to strike one of the Big Three for 90 days even before we begin to hit them where it hurts." That's the thinking of the leaders, and I believe they're badly frightened.

There is, in truth, a sharp turn in the auto industry. The economic basis of full employment, which has prevailed for so long and which permitted the consolidation of the Reuther leadership both in the auto union and in the CIO, is now being undermined.

Now it's true there's a period of lull here, but I think it would be wrong to characterize that as "conservatism." I think rather it's an expression of uncertainty, the wariness of the workers, a reflection of recent bitter experiences they've had with long strikes and a growing lack of confidence in the leadership.

IN MY OPINION, this thing will begin to break a little after the November elections, when the general proposition that we can solve our problems by making a few changes in Congress will be tested. As soon as that hypnosis begins to wear off, and the problem of dealing with the 1955 negotiations poses the matter of union strategy more sharply, some changes will take place.

The lack of any really constructive leadership in resisting management's wage- and manpower-cutting drives has resulted in a sort of atomization of the workers in the industry, a sort of guerrilla-warfare approach. The basic unity of the union is threatened by this feeling on the part of individuals and groups that they may be able to salvage a little corner for themselves at the expense of other portions of the industry. I do feel, without expecting sharp changes, that there will be a ferment produced by these things, and if we socialists attune our educational approach properly, we'll get some better response from militant unionists in the period ahead.



BOOK REVIEW

Let's Look at Britain

The Origins of the Labor Party, 1880-1900,
by Henry Pelling. St. Martin's Press,
New York, 1954, \$4.

THIS BOOK should be of considerable interest to advanced members of American labor and to the radical movement here, because it details the process whereby the British Labor Party came into being.

After the collapse of the Chartist movement in 1848, British labor ceased to play a significant political role for the next several decades, so that in 1881, Engels wrote that the working class had become a "tail to the 'Great Liberal Party.'" The British workers then, as the American workers today, divided their support between the Liberal and Conservative parties, with the bulk supporting the Liberals.

The harbinger of the Labor Party was the socialist revival of the Eighties. In 1880, a Radical by the name of H. M. Hyndman read Marx's "Capital" on a trip to America, and his conversion to Marxist socialism followed. Hyndman was president of the Democratic Federation, which, by 1884, was transformed into the Social Democratic Federation, with a program very similar to that which the German Social Democrats had adopted at Gotha in 1875.

The new organization embraced within its leading councils such individuals as William Morris, the poet and artist who wrote the imaginative Utopian romance "News From Nowhere," Marx's daughter Eleanor and her husband Edward Aveling, Belfort Bax, the journalist and philosopher who was Engels' friend, and other intellectuals as well as some unionists. However, a rebellion against Hyndman's tendency towards political adventurism soon caused a split, and a new organization, the Socialist League, resulted.

Other groupings of socialism outside both of these organizations began to form, including the Fabian Society, which was founded in London in 1884. Starting as a little group which hoped to found a socialist colony in America, but soon converted to politics, the Fabians included many of the leading lights of British left-wing letters, such as George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Hubert and Edith Bland and Mrs. Annie Besant.

Most of the groupings concentrated on various types of socialist propaganda, but they also turned their attention to the question of a perspective, an outlook which would guide their work and indicate along which path they could hope for success.

AS EARLY as 1881, Engels had written in the *Labour Standard*, newspaper of the London Trades Council, an eloquent

and persuasive argument for an independent party of labor. This, of course, turned out to be the most fruitful course of action for British socialists in the long run, but in the early years, very few socialists pushed the idea. The Social Democratic Federation, although small and isolated with about 1,000 members, was attempting to run candidates of its own, and had only succeeded in getting itself into a whopping scandal by accepting money from a Conservative Party agent—the famous "Tory Gold"—who hoped to split the Liberal vote. The Socialist League had been captured by the anarchists, who rejected all forms of political action, and the Marxist contingent, which worked with Engels, had withdrawn and was powerless. The Fabian Society—and here Mr. Pelling performs a real service in exploding the myth that the early Fabians had a great deal to do with the formation of the Labor Party—had absolutely no confidence in the possibility of a new party, and clung to the "permeation" of the Liberal Party.

In this situation, the early work for an independent workingmen's party, fell, peculiarly enough, to an associate of Hyndman's in the Social Democratic Federation who had been most instrumental in getting the SDF involved in the "Tory Gold" scandal. This was H. H. Champion, whose very leanings to Toryism rendered him impregnable to the virus of Liberalism which infected the labor movement so seriously, and in that way made of him an instrument, for a while, of the labor party idea.

CHAMPION broke with Hyndman in 1887, and entered upon a program of work for a party of labor. Significantly, one of his innovations was to pursue a more friendly policy towards the trade unions, which both the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League had, with very revolutionary language, read out of the working class struggle. Champion turned his attention to the Labor Electoral Committee, which had been founded in 1886 by the Trade Union Congress. This committee had been viewed by most of the union leaders who founded it as an appendage of the Liberal Party, supporting Liberals for election or securing major-party endorsement for labor candidates. Champion's aim was to prevent this, and to shape the Committee in the direction of a labor party, which was in his opinion the next big step towards socialism.

The Committee soon changed its name to Labor Electoral Association, and Champion secured a leading position within it. Working with several young unionists, among them Tom Mann and John Burns, both engineers who were to play an important role in the union movement, and with the members of the Socialist League minority who had opposed the anarchists within that organization, Champion inaugurated a new policy. The candidates at Parliamentary by-elections were questioned by the Association as to their views on labor problems. If the replies were satisfactory, the candidate was supported, but if neither candidate satisfied the Association, it would undertake to run a labor candidate.

Concomitantly, Champion broadened the appeal of socialism by taking up the demand for the eight-hour day in his new paper, the *Labor Elector*. The keynote of his agitation, in distinction from the sects of the past, instead of being an attempt to make the workers swallow a whole new political economy at a gulp, was to get the workers to recognize their solidarity as a class, and to act together on certain pressing demands; to take the first step towards socialism by forming their own political party. In time, this policy proved to be the one with the greatest appeal to the British workers, and the one most productive of large-scale results.

But Champion proved only to be the forerunner; soon Keir Hardie came on the scene, announcing his entrance militantly at the 1887 Trade Union Congress with a bitter attack on the leading labor official and Liberal Party M. P. Henry Broadhurst, for supporting at a by-election a Liberal candidate who was reputed to be an employer of sweated labor. Hardie had visited the socialists in London and met Engels there, and without joining any of the existing organizations, regarded himself as a convert to socialism. In March, 1888, he stood as the miners' candidate for Parliament from Mid-Lanark, in a contest which at once attracted national attention. He failed in this contest, in which Champion and many other socialists participated, but as a result of the campaign, a conflict took place within the Labor Electoral Association, between the advocates of independence and those who advised that the Liberal Party still served the interests of the working man. A split took place in which Hardie, with his Lanarkshire miners base, and the Champion group together left the Association. Hardie proceeded to form the Scottish Labor Party, while Champion, somewhat pretentiously, advertised himself as the head of the "National Labor Party."

IN A HURRIED summary, it is hardly possible to convey the details of the travail, hesitations, innumerable false steps involved in the long struggle towards the labor party. Hardie, for example, in the beginning had very few differences with the Liberal program, and for a number of years after he formed the Scottish Labor Party, still had not given up the idea that it was possible to reform the Liberal Party. Champion, the most enthusiastic advocate of labor independence in politics, was still greeted everywhere with shouts about "Tory Gold." And the Fabians, although not the most numerous of the socialist groups still the most influential propagandistically, publishing some of the best factual studies of the day, remained as firmly convinced as ever that "permeation" of the Liberal Party was the correct course, and that all other endeavors were quixotic. This continued to be their view for many years, even after labor political activity was well under way on an independent basis and had scored numerous successes.

But the decisive factor that brought success to the labor party advocates was the rise of the New Unionism. As in the U.S. before the rise of the CIO, unionism in

the early Eighties was restricted to the rather select circles of craft and skill. But in the later years of the decade, a fresh growth of unionism among the unskilled took place, aided and guided as often as not by the socialists. Mrs. Annie Besant, whom Champion had sent into the match factories to observe conditions and write, proved so successful in her articles that the match girls were inspired to strike and won a resounding victory. The movement communicated itself to the London gasworkers and dockers, among whom Mann and Burns played a big part, and a series of successful strikes followed. The General Railway Workers Union was soon organized, and the movement spread to many occupations previously unorganized. The London Trades Council increased its affiliated membership threefold, and the socialists were the most important leaders in these new unions.

THE NEXT STEP was the formation of the Independent Labor Party, which emerged out of the labor agitation in the north of England, where the movement for a labor party was strongest. Hardie and Burns had already secured election to Parliament on independent tickets, and while Burns proved to be of little aid, Hardie made good use of his seat to popularize the cause. After some preliminary meetings, a national conference was held in January, 1893, at which the North England labor militants led by Hardie and others predominated. The Fabians were present, but still doubted the wisdom of the move; Hyndman's SDF was there, but struck an equally pessimistic note, announcing that because the new party was not emphasizing the socialist objective, it was doomed to lose its independence: "We recognize, and recognize heartily, the perfectly honest and disinterested attempt on the part of many of the promoters of the ILP to help forward the emancipation of the workers. But we know the attempt will fail. . . ."

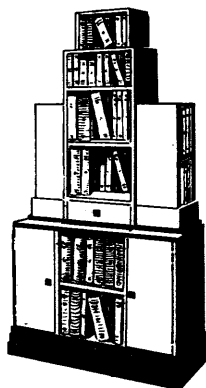
In its first electoral campaign in 1895, the ILP secured a good poll: 44,000 votes for 32 candidates. But it failed to elect a single candidate, and Hardie himself was defeated. However it was soon electing many municipal candidates.

The ILP itself, an organization consisting in the main of convinced socialists attempting to consolidate a labor party, was not fated to be that party in its own right. The full foundation of an independent party of labor awaited the conversion of the unions.

At this time, the unions were dogged by a feeling of uncertainty which stemmed from the increasing attempts of the industrialists to smash them. Various drives, through scab-herding and legislation on the American model, were being launched against the unions, and they felt a more urgent need for political action to fight back. In this same period, Hardie and his associates conducted a powerful campaign to win the unions to independent political action. In 1899 at the Trade Union Congress, aided by the desire of the unions to find some effective way of showing their opposition to the Boer War, the ILP won

its campaign by a vote of 546,000 to 434,000.

Soon, a scheme was worked out with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress whereby "candidates be run by Trade Union, Socialist and other labour bodies and have no connection with either Liberal or Tory Parties," and the essential framework of the British Labor Party was shaped, although it was not so called until a few years later. From then on the new party increased its strength from year to year, and from 1900 to 1954 has polled a higher vote in every election than in the previous election except on only two occasions.



AMONG the more interesting facets of the early development of the British Labor Party for American radicals is the failure of the major organized socialist groupings to play their rightful part. This was undoubtedly due to the confining sectarianism in which they encased themselves, and for which Engels, who possessed the best understanding of all the major Marxist leaders of the labor movement in England and America, continually excoriated them. Of the Socialist League he wrote that it "looks down on everything which is not directly revolutionary," and he noted that the leaders of the Social Democratic Federation "still behave as if everyone except themselves were asses and bunglers." The sectarianism manifested itself, in Engels' view, by "reducing the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to work their way up to by their own class feeling, but to swallow instantly without development, as an article of faith."

In 1889, when the revival of socialism and the growth of the New Unionism were under way, Engels greeted the developments with enthusiasm, but was careful to note that "those English who have understood our theory best remain outside it." Needless to say, Engels did not interpret this as a correct application of the Marxist theory, but as a rigid and dogmatic self-abandon.

The chief characteristic of the British sectarian groups was that they falsely used Marxist theory to erect barriers between themselves and the actual movements, finding those movements "inadequate," "too

class collaborationist," etc. But history proved in Britain, and has proved repeatedly elsewhere, that every actual working class movement is more significant than a thousand purely ideological critiques, and that an "ideology" which keeps Marxists separated from such an actual movement is worthless in practice.

H. B.

Dolorous Path

Where We Came Out, by Granville Hicks.
The Viking Press, New York, 1954, \$3.50.

VIKING PRESS has issued a new addition to the already voluminous and constantly growing library of books by ex-communists. It is a depressing experience to read any of them, and Hicks' book is no exception to this rule. Some of the ex-communists have gone over to Catholicism, some to rock-ribbed conservatism, a few have become professional informers, Hicks attempts a return to a smug and bloodless New Dealism. But in all cases, it is like reading the story of a person whose stuffings have been knocked out of him, a walking cadaver.

In a certain sense, Hicks' book is even more depressing than some of those that have come before, because of his attempts to cling to some shreds of the liberalism of his youth, and because he is probably more typical of the present generation of ex-communist intellectuals than Budenz or Whittaker Chambers. The emptiness and smugness become all the more appalling.

What an unfortunate and dolorous path was trod by the American intellectuals who so bravely joined the band of radical dissenters after the first World War! And what a sorry end they have come to!

They turned against a system that could produce a world war, and breed poverty in the face of potential plenty. They began to understand the social facts of life. They had hope and courage for the future. As Lewis Gannett wrote: "There was exhilaration in fighting the whole wicked world."

The most noteworthy of the many struggles of the Twenties in which the intelligentsia played an important role was the Sacco-Vanzetti case. They threw themselves into the fight to free the two with a demonic will and devotion, and their final defeat became an unforgettable experience of their lives. John Dos Passos wrote:

they have clubbed us off the streets
they are stronger they are rich they hire
and fire the politicians the newspaper
editors the old judges the small men
with reputations the collegepresidents
the wardheelers (listen businessmen collegepresidents juges America will not
forget her betrayers) they hire the men
with guns the uniforms the policecars
the patrolwagons

all right you have won you will kill
the brave men our friends tonight
there is nothing left to do we are
beaten

America our nation has been beaten
by strangers who have turned our language
inside out who have taken the

clean words our fathers spoke and made them slimy and foul
all right we are two nations

BUT THE radical intellectuals were still a small minority. As Hicks states: "Whatever might be said against our business civilization, it was delivering the goods; the country was prospering. What would happen if prosperity closed, if millions of people were jobless and hungry?"

The system did collapse in 1929, and great numbers of the radical intelligentsia either associated themselves with or joined the Communist Party. Lincoln Steffens spoke for all of them when he wrote in his autobiography in 1931 that "Nobody in the world proposes anything basic and real except the communists." By the autumn of 1932, 52 well known writers and artists signed a manifesto declaring for Foster and Ford, the CP candidates, in the national election. "The Communist Party proposes as the real solution of the present crisis the overthrow of the system which is responsible for all crises." Hicks himself joined several CP-sponsored organizations, and in 1934 became an editor of *New Masses*. After the Communist Party turned to Peoples Frontism the following year, Hicks joined the party and became one of its most active intellectual spokesmen.

The heyday of the Peoples Front period from 1935 to the beginning of the second World War in 1939 was the glory day of the American Communist Party and the period when its influence rose to its highest. Hicks says that from a membership of 12,000 in 1929 it grew to approximately 100,000 toward the end of the Thirties. (According to Foster, the 1938 convention reported 75,000 members.) In these five years, the party established itself as an influence in the world of arts and letters. Nothing like the extreme claims of the lurid exposes about the Red Decade, but still they had a voice in the cultural field. It was also at this time that they became a power in many CIO organizations.

THIS PERIOD of influence and growth came to an abrupt end in 1939 with the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Hicks is right when he says: "The Popular Front had been built on the foundation of anti-fascism, and that foundation had been pulverized by the pact." The result was disintegration of the Stalinist intellectual front, with thousands of members and fellow travellers dropping out or being expelled. The first fissures also appeared in the unions, and they were to become chasms several years later with the cold war, climaxed with the expulsion of the CP-led unions from the CIO.

Hicks, who confines his analysis to the cultural field, concludes that "The prestige communism had briefly enjoyed among the intellectuals was dead. Declining even before the pact, it had been struck a mortal blow on the day Von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow." The picture is not overdrawn. The pact proved an unmitigated catastrophe for the American Communist Party. So much of its membership had been recruited

in this period on the simple basis of anti-fascism and leftist New Dealism, that the switch of Soviet diplomacy left the local Stalinist leaders high and dry. Moreover, they could not change the line in quiet obscurity as in the past, because the capitalist press subjected them and their moves to the murderous glare of publicity. They could not dissimulate their subservience to the twists and turns of the Moscow hierarchy.

But Hicks, as most of the radical intellectuals, did not cut loose from the American Communist Party to become an independent Marxist, but fell increasingly under the sway of American capitalism, of its values, its philosophy, its program, its outlook. Finally, he is caught in the spider's web of anti-communism as helplessly as a fly. It is positively painful to watch his contortions and thrashing about as he tries to salvage some little bit of old-time liberalism out of the wreckage of his generation's struggles, hopes and ideals.

AS WITH so many ex-communists, not to mention ex-liberals, the reports of the Canadian Royal Commission in the Gouzenko case and the Alger Hiss trial in the United States made an overpowering impression on him, and convinced him that the Communist Party is a conspiracy that must be outlawed and jailed, and that all the old rules of liberalism concerning civil liberties, the right to dissent, freedom of speech and press etc. no longer apply. Like Sidney Hook, Hicks blackens page after page trying to argue the case. But the more he talks and argues the more he reveals that he has got caught up in the anti-red hysteria and has caved in before the powers-that-be.

The facts are not complicated or obscure as some people make them out to be. All governments, including Russia and the U.S., maintain espionage systems. As a matter of fact, the various accredited military attaches connected to the ambassadorial establishments, are nothing but glorified spies for the countries they represent. With the international civil war conditions that prevail in the world today, espionage agencies have grown enormously. It is probably true that the Communist Party leaders played into the hands of reaction when they permitted the line between their party and Soviet espionage to become blurred, and permitted party members here and there to be recruited into the Soviet espionage systems. But it is well to observe that when Whittaker Chambers was recruited as a spy, he dropped out of the Communist Party and had no further relations with it.

All the informers, and frightened ex-communists and ex-liberals to the contrary, the CP and Soviet espionage are not one and the same thing. The CP, whatever one's opinion of its policies and role, is a working class political party. As such, it is entitled to the same democratic rights as any other political organization on the scene. Everyone who has given a finger to the devil on this question, has ended by getting sucked up into the witch-hunt.

IT IS unnecessary to dwell at any length on Hicks' apologia for capitalism. It is no keener than the thousand and one professional rationalizations that have preceded it, and more superficial than many. It is worth mentioning, though, the concluding thought of the book. Hicks knows there is a "modern revolution" going on in the world. But, he says, why let Russia lead it? Humanity will be better off if we lead it.

There is something to the idea. This reviewer is ready to subscribe to it, on one proviso, that we get a government that is ready and willing to give leadership to the "modern revolution." It is absolutely true that the United States, with its great wealth, its skilled population, its unrivaled technology, its democratic past, could lead and aid the "modern revolution" far more successfully than countries which are trying to lift themselves by the bootstraps from a heritage of feudalism, poverty and backwardness. But isn't it nonsense, or intellectualistic rationalization on behalf of reaction, to talk about the architects of the cold war and the witch-hunt leading revolutions, modern or otherwise? The Bible says: "A corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." The only kind of "revolutions" we can expect from Dulles and his crowd are the kind they put over in Guatemala.

B. C.

Synthesis of Six

Six Upon The World By Paul F. Douglass,
Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1954,
\$4.95.

THE AUTHOR of this book is a member of the Vermont bar. He served two years as a Congressman and eleven years as president of the American University in Washington, D.C.

The book's jacket informs us that the purpose of the work is to explore "the problems related to the growth of an American culture adequate to meet the responsibilities of a heavily industrialized society in an age of advanced technology." The purpose is an admirable one, but the final results are discouraging. The book consists of six undistinguished "school text" biographies of Paul G. Hoffman, the head of the Studebaker Corporation, Wm. Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, Alfred P. Sloan, Board Chairman of General Motors, Walter Reuther, CIO President, Cardinal Spellman, and James B. Conant, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany and former president of Harvard University.

In the concluding chapter entitled, "Toward An American Culture for An Industrial Age," the author attempts the impossible task of working out a synthesis of six diverse sets of views. The ensuing muddle, and substitution of platitude for argument, have the opposite effect from the intended one. Those that manage to read through the book and discover that its author was a president of a university will probably get skeptical about the kind of culture being dispensed at the universities.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Idea Worthy of a Try

While not a subscriber to the *American Socialist*, I buy one to three extra copies on my weekly trip to my favorite news-dealer.

Other publications seem to degenerate into a wall of words, as if the problems of the times could be solved by just the right combination of words, and lots of them.

Be that as it may, I should hope that the time has come for a promotion fund to popularize OUR magazine in the large industrial centers. (It is my own thought that progressive unionism must be the central force in the movement of the future.) Perhaps other readers will join me in contributing three percent of paychecks to such a fund. If this idea is deemed worthy of a try, my own contribution, since I don't have a large family, will be five percent for at least the first six months. Brotherly yours,

T. M. M. Chicago

Socialism and Freedom

Enjoyed your article on atomic energy ["The Biggest Pork Barrel in History," August 1954] very much, as the give-away outlined by Eisenhower approximately fifteen months ago has been a pet gripe of mine since last summer. I clipped an article at that time from the *Flint Journal*, showing proposed give-away of tidelands oil, inland waterways, TVA and atomic resources, synthetic rubber and national forest grazing lands. . . .

So you see I was very happy to read your article, and especially pleased with the neat manner in which you pointed out that TVA might awaken people to the realization of the benefits that could accrue to the consumers and the public if some basic resources were nationalized. I think it should be hammered home to as many as possible that it was public funds which footed the bills for scientific experiments, and now private pockets are reaping the profits. This might serve to make others realize, as I did a year or so ago, that if society is to foot the bills, society should benefit.

I think articles of this type might open more people's minds to the need for a change in our economic system. Although still opposed to the socialist economic system because of a deeply imbedded fear that loss of individual freedom would automatically accompany it, they might follow the line of reasoning which asks: "Why couldn't a socialist economy be combined with individual freedom? How could it be organized so that a counterweight balance ensuring democracy would provide a safeguard for individual rights?" This is the line of reasoning that the give-away started

in my mind. Maybe it could start the same process in others.

Albert Einstein's article reprinted from the *Monthly Review* and read by me at that time gave me the vocabulary to voice that question of democracy and to analyze and make concrete in my own mind what had been vague fears and objections before.

The August issue of the *American Socialist* seems to have matured and hit full stride into a powerfully written magazine. It seems more sure and the writing style more polished.

J. C. Flint

A Few Political Heretics

A copy of your *American Socialist* was handed to me. The articles by George Holcomb and Harry Braverman are particularly interesting. . . .

As I see the situation right now, the only possible solution is that of increased consumer purchasing power.

Both old line parties are living within a proscribed circle of political casuistry. To step over such circle means political ex-communication. What the country needs right now is a few first class political heretics. . . .

H. C. B. Detroit

I am very greatly impressed with the August issue of your magazine (my subscription just started). I am worried that I have missed a great deal in not reading the first seven issues of the *American Socialist*. Enclosed is \$1 for copies of back issues that I have missed. I also enclose payment for the pamphlet "Prospects of American Radicalism" by Bert Cochran.

L. H. Ripon, Wis.

A Most Useful Tool

I herein enclose advance payment for renewal of my subscription to the *American Socialist*. I must admit that I entered my trial subscription request with a severe amount of skepticism for what a "new" leftist publication could offer in the field of socialist information and news coverage.

I am, however, more than satisfied with the outcome of your initial efforts, which have produced a stimulating and commendable periodical.

In the interest of the working-class rise to its rightful status and power, you have indeed contributed a most useful tool.

As a college student beset by so much anti-liberal, anti-radical propaganda at all sides, I find the *American Socialist* a most informative and revealing release from the dogmatism of the contemporary press.

With best wishes for your continued success and for an increasing scope of influence.

G. V. C. Pawtucket, R. I.

Very Greatest of All

I am sending \$2 for a one-year renewal. . . .

I am 81 years old. I first heard the word "socialist" about 1904, although I was a socialist long before. From 1908 to 1954 I lived in Kokomo, Indiana, (40 years in one house) and I heard many socialist speakers there. Rose Pastor Stokes, Florence Wattles Bowers, and others. I heard Eugene V. Debs three times in Kokomo—the very greatest of all.

In my time, I have taken about all the socialist and radical papers in the U.S. The easiest, plainest and best socialist paper ever put out was the *Appeal to Reason*, published at Girard, Kansas. The *Monthly Review* is a very good socialist monthly. Your magazine is the best in the field.

C. M. E. Mulberry, Arkansas

River Still Running

In Mr. Raleigh's article, "The Biggest Pork Barrel in History" [August 1954], some very pertinent facts concerning the Hell's Canyon Snake River Dam project were neglected. Principal among them was the fact that the land did not belong to the government, but by treaty, to the Sioux Indians, whose homes were there.

The Sioux Indians, through their chiefs, pleaded with the "frightened rabbit" people of the United States, via television, radio and meetings, to relinquish to them what is rightfully theirs. The treaty which had given this barren land to the Indians read that it might be theirs "so long as the river shall run." To my knowledge, that river is still running. Chalk up one more travesty for democratic rights.

Your magazine is still the high spot of my month, although I contend that your theoretical approach to certain basic problems seems to escape me. Stumbling along in my very un-scientific approach to these problems, I seem to end up with much the same answers.

In my opinion, Mr. Editor, theory is the foundation upon which practice is built. A fine theory does not amount to a great deal if it cannot be put to practical use. May I suggest you take note of the letter of H. W. of Boston. He offers a very practical suggestion as to the need for practical action.

L. J. G. Flint

I like the *American Socialist* very much. It is of the highest calibre journalistically and politically.

J. G. Brooklyn

If You Have Not Read—

PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN RADICALISM

by BERT COCHRAN

Be Sure To Send 10 Cents
For Your Copy Now.

We Don't Need Contributions To Keep Going—

A Message to Our Readers:

THE FINANCING of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST has been uniformly successful. We do not need any contributions, besides those which are at present coming in from the original supporters who helped launch this magazine last January, to keep going. We have had no financial crises, and we do not expect any. That may sound unusual to those who are acquainted with the customary great difficulties in financing radical publications, and it is unusual.

Nevertheless, we have decided to launch a fund appeal among our readers, because, on the present basis, our circulation will not expand as rapidly as we would like. We want to increase the circulation as much as possible, and for that purpose, we need additional funds.

Many of our readers have now been following this magazine for a sufficient period of time so that they know whether they want to help it grow in influence. These are the readers we are counting on for expansion funds, and the first letter published in our correspondence column this month encourages us to think we will get that help. This reader proposes to make a good-sized and continuing donation over a period of six months. The more readers

follow his example, the larger our expansion fund will be. But every sum, no matter how small, will help.

WE PROPOSE to broaden our efforts along the following lines: A stepped-up campaign of advertising in popular periodicals, more distribution of sample copies around union halls and other places where thinking workers may be reached, larger sample-copy mailings, a big library mailing which will be quite expensive, etc. All of these things cost money, and sample-copy mailings are very costly particularly when you consider that each copy of the magazine, at our present press run, costs at least 35 cents to produce.

All of our experience shows that when we once get the AMERICAN SOCIALIST into the hands of new people, we make many new subscribers and friends.

We therefore appeal to all of our readers to make this expansion fund a big success. Our circulation will expand in proportion as we get resources and help from you. Please send all contributions to The American Socialist, 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Make all checks and money orders payable to The American Socialist.

The Editors

—But We Do Need Them To Keep Growing!

New York Readers:

Geneva: Gateway to Co-existence?

A Lecture by
HARRY BRAVERMAN

ADELPHI HALL
74 Fifth Ave., Near 14th St.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 24

8 p.m.

Contribution: 75 Cents

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