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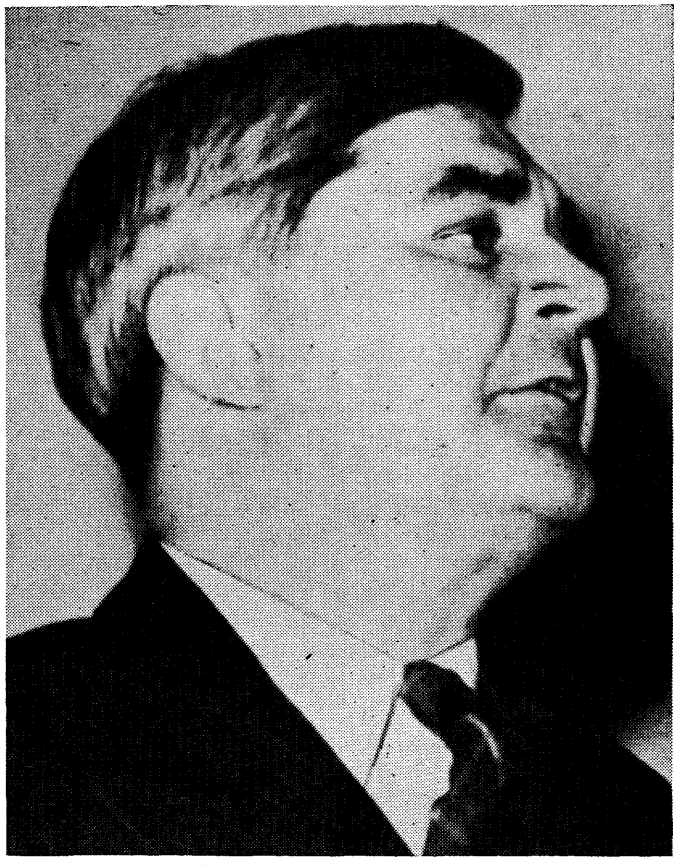
## Russia: After Lenin And After Stalin

by Isaac Deutscher



*British Labor Party:*

# Bevan Bids for Power

**Detroit Report:**

## Auto Labor Faces 1955

# CLIPPINGS

AN important legal upset for the witch-hunters may be in the making.

Government plans for outlawing the Communist Party have followed roughly the following pattern: Avoid legislation outlawing any organizations, which the courts may not uphold, but instead pass legislation requiring "registration" of all members (the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950). Then prosecute the organization and its members for "failing to register," thus achieving the same effect as outlawry without the legal risk of being ruled unconstitutional.

Attorneys for the Communist Party, including the late Vito Marcantonio, argued that the registration provision is an indirect mode of outlawry of an organization, and that the law is unconstitutional in imposing criminal sanctions for political beliefs.

The government attorneys had argued that only registration was at issue, and that this should be considered separate from the sanctions provided by the law for failure to register.

Now the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has re-opened arguments in the government's attempt to order the Communist Party to register. The Court has, in effect, upheld the contention of the defense by asking to hear new arguments on "the validity of the Internal Security Act of 1950 if it be deemed not merely a registration statute, i.e., if it be considered as an integrated whole, including the so-called sanctions provisions. . . ."

THE Guatemalan plebiscite is over, and President Castillo Armas boasts that only one person in a thousand voted against him. The mode of voting was as follows: The voter had to enter a room where an electoral board was sitting, and in a loud voice shout "Yes" or "No"—the latter being the sign for opposition to Castillo Armas, who recently conquered in an armed coup and has thrown thousands into prison for opposing his mission of making Guatemala safe for the United Fruit Company.

Under the Arbenz regime which Castillo Armas ousted with Washington's help and guidance, elections were democratically conducted, and the rightist opposition controlled most of the newspapers, which were published without hindrance. The N.Y. Times, in a revealing editorial slip, commented on the plebiscite: "It is doubtless unfair to expect anything else so soon after a revolution against a Communist-dominated regime. The pendulum naturally swung way over."

FULLY ten percent of the 3,322 captured Americans back from Korea have been accused of "wrongful conduct" during their imprisonment. Army courts-martial recently meted out a dishonorable discharge to an officer, and a sentence of life imprisonment to an enlisted man on this charge.

Most revealing aspect of the trials is that the prosecution, in order to make a case, has been compelled to reverse the usual propaganda story about "Red atrocities" and give a version of the facts which may be much closer to the truth. Prosecutors in the courts-martial, seeking to prove that the defendants were not compelled to "collaborate" by "dire and direct physical duress," maintain that prisoners were not punished for failure to accede to requests made by their Korean and Chinese Communist captors. Time magazine summarized as follows: "The overall record of American prisoners in Korea showed that resistance to Red demands was neither futile nor lethal; defiant captives usually fared as well as abject collaborators."

IN A militant sit-down strike of a type which has rarely been seen since the Thirties, workers at the Brooklyn plant of American Safety Razor Corporation slept and ate in the factory for two weeks. The strike resulted from an amazing gag-rule commitment which the company had tried to extract from the union (Local 475 of the independent United Electrical Workers).

The company, which is preparing to run away from Northern union labor to Staunton, Va., demanded that the union refrain, directly or indirectly, by leaflet, meeting, press or any other means of communication, from bringing disapproval on the company for its move to the South. The company wanted to silence the union, the members as individuals, other unions which might want to protest in behalf of ASR workers, or even Congressmen who might mention ASR in a speech if the company thought the union even indirectly responsible.

When the sit-down ended, just before a court order that might have sent police to evict the workers, there were close to 100 men and women in the plant.

THE following interesting news item is reproduced in full from the N.Y. Times of Oct. 15:

Budapest, Hungary, Oct. 14 (AP)—A high Hungarian Communist says "many comrades" have been unjustly tried and sentenced on false charges by the State Security Office (Secret Police) in recent years.

This statement was made by Istvan Kovacs, first secretary of the Budapest Communist Party, in a speech Sunday to party members, which was published in Szabad Nep, the party newspaper.

"We may frankly admit," said Mr. Kovacs, "that the leaders of the former State Security Office arrested many comrades, using criminally improper methods, and they were convicted by the court on the grounds of invented and forced charges and testimony. This was a great mistake."

Mr. Kovacs' statement revealed that hundreds of Hungarian Communists, from former Cabinet Ministers to minor figures, have reappeared and are being rehabilitated. Many were tried in the period of mass political purges between 1947 and 1951.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357


## CONTENTS

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# Labor and the Recession

EVER SINCE the beginnings of the organized American union movement, labor has faced, from time to time, the necessity to conduct a massive campaign-drive for a new objective, without which it could not expect to save its existing gains. In each of these grand campaigns, all of American society was lifted to a new plateau of social achievement.

In the decades after the Civil War, there was the drive to organize the skilled craftsmen into trade associations. While these were later to become the most conservatized section of the union movement, at the time they represented the indispensable launching platform for the whole of American unionism.

Later came the historic drive for the eight-hour day; a movement to gain for the workingman some leisure as the fruit of his productive toil; to prepare the way for the social, cultural and political advancement of the workers by gaining for them that necessary element, *time*; and to save the nation from a state of chronic depression in which some would work ten or twelve hours a day, and others not at all.

Still later, in the turbulent Thirties, came the massive drive to extend the victories of unionism to the many millions of industrial workers previously untouched. Then, after the basic prerequisites of industrial unionism had been established and spread throughout the land, the labor movement next embarked upon a campaign to raise wages, and eliminate sweatshop conditions. This was a campaign that remade the face of America.

Toward the end of the Forties, the union leadership, disturbed by the growing restiveness of the ranks who were seeking some way to increase job security, hit upon the idea of pension and social welfare plans. This was a campaign that occupied the labor movement for three or four years, and, although inadequately completed, has nevertheless set new standards for all of American society.

Each of these giant landmarks was called forth by the previous victories of the union movement, and came into being as a result of a demand made upon labor by new conditions. Had labor failed to heed the call when it came, it is doubtful that there would be a union movement in existence today. The failure to organize the industrial workers in 1935-38, as John L. Lewis and his associates understood, would have sealed the doom of such weak craft unions as then existed. The failure to win the 40-hour week would have meant that the United States would today be a land of a driven-to-the-limit working force, side by side with a large and permanent class of unemployed.

WE LIVE at another such turning point today. The vast advances in productivity, and the threatening flood of automation that today hangs over every industry and will begin to make itself more and more felt, have placed on the order of the day a new fight of giant proportions and enormous social significance for the American worker. That is the fight for the shorter work-week—the 30-hour week is the most commonly demanded—at no reduction in pay.

A brief survey of the condition of business will show that the alarm signals are loud and that the time is drawing short. The economy has sagged into a definite recession from the peak levels of 1953. And the economists have also receded—receded from their earlier brisk confidence that the recession would be quickly overcome and new peaks would be reached late this year and early next year. As things stand now, there is nothing in sight to give the economy a new upward drive, and the likelihood is that—barring another Korea, which is what pulled us out of the last economic hole—the economy can at best only sidle sideways with a crab-like motion, or can start to settle still deeper into the hole.

The extent of the decline is clearly demarcated by business and industrial statistics. In the steel industry, where the trouble is most severe and persistent, output has fallen to a September figure of 66 percent of capacity from a high of over 100. Leaders of the steel industry who try to brush this aside as misleading because "steel capacity has grown" should be reminded that, despite this growth, the drop in actual tonnage output was from a January 1953 production of 9,898,000 tons to an August 1954 output of 6,661,000 tons. This was a 29 percent decline in actual production.

Industrial output is down ten percent. The overall national product is down close to four percent, when it should have *grown* by at least that much just to maintain 1953 levels of employment. Unemployment is at least two and one-half times its level of early 1953, and the failure to respond to normal seasonal rise factors shows that unemployment probably will grow. During the past year, more than one million workers exhausted their unemployment benefits.

ONE OF the reasons for the decline is that government spending for war purposes, in the absence of a war, had to be curtailed. The stockpiles of munitions have grown vast because arms production has been at a wartime level during peace-time. Thus it is reported that the government now has on hand a stock of 105mm shells greater than the entire total fired, lost or otherwise expended by this country during all of World War II. And, with the decline in the economy, tax receipts of the Federal government have fallen far below expectations, so that government planners are calculating a still deeper cut in Federal expenditures.

But the basic cause of the trouble has been the rise of labor productivity at a much faster rate than the rise of consumption. The flood of abundance threatens to choke the American economy, not because people have too many things to eat, wear, etc., but because the structure of capitalism doesn't per-

mit their consuming power to keep up with their producing power.

This has shown itself first of all in the field of capital goods. Spending for expansion of plant and equipment thrives and grows only when spending for consumption rises at an ever-faster pace. If consumption is stagnant, as it is today (personal consumption expenditures are about the same this year as last in terms of dollars of stable purchasing power), then expenditure for new plant and equipment tends to shrink down towards the level of spending needed for replacement of existing equipment. And such spending is dropping seriously, the expectation being that it will be about ten percent lower in this fourth quarter of 1953 than it was at its peak in the third quarter of 1953.

The stagnation can be clearly seen from the McGraw Hill estimate that, while the average growth of manufacturing capacity during the years 1946-53 was about seven percent per year, the scheduled growth in 1954 is little more than half that amount. Next year it may be considerably less than that. Even the Eisenhower liberalization of tax rates to help spending on capital equipment has not had the desired and expected effect of maintaining the level. American capitalism is definitely catching up with itself.

ONE OF the first effects of the recession is that it has speeded up the process of concentration of wealth and poverty at opposite poles of American society. Total personal income has not fallen off much, but this ambiguous statistic conceals a sharp falling off of wage and salary income, and an equally sharp rise in proprietors', rental, personal interest and dividend income. Even before the recession, this shift was under way. In 1950, the top tenth of the nation's spending units was getting 29 percent of the national income, and by 1953, this had risen to 31 percent—a shift of about $6 billion! The figures for 1954, when they are available, will undoubtedly show a still further shift to the rich.

If the economy continues on the present level, which is about the best that most commentators are willing to predict for the immediate period, unemployment will rise at the rate of 1½ to 2 million a year. This would be the effect of two factors: the normal growth in the labor force, and the rise in the productivity of labor. Thus labor confronts the possibility of a 5 to 6 million unemployed army next year. This creates a situation where the conditions for labor struggle can grow worse from year to year. The unions ought therefore prepare to face this situation now, and work out a perspective and open the campaign as soon as possible.

"JUST A SMALL BITE!"

The AFL, at its last convention, registered a serious step of progress—providing it now moves to implement it—by calling for a reduction of hours to 35 per week. How does it happen that the CIO, which has been since its formation the more dynamic element of the American labor movement, has failed to take even this step?

Walter Reuther and the dominant CIO grouping surrounding him have worked up a factional animus against the shorter work-week demand because it was first raised by Reuther's opponents in the auto union. Perhaps more important than this factor, Reuther has shown a proclivity for vague and grandiose schemes which don't pin him down to a specific struggle with clearly measurable results. Reuther's Guaranteed Annual Wage proposal is definitely in that class; it sounds like a million, but in the present unemployment situation it may turn out to be a five or ten cent supplement to unemployment insurance which won't materially alter the position of labor or the prospects of the economy. Thus Reuther is holding the CIO back from a campaign which is vitally necessary, and, let it be said to his discredit, even the moss-backed AFL is ahead of him in this field.

SOME MAY object: But can such a sweeping demand be won? The answer is that it can and will be won if the entire labor movement makes it a broad objective for the period ahead, and fights militantly, on every front, in every industry, at every contract expiration, for its fulfillment. Of course the end will not be achieved in one fell swoop. We are not here suggesting that any union negotiator who fails to demand a full reduction of hours to 30 per week in every contract negotiation, or who settles for anything less, is a traitor to labor. The massive American labor campaigns always move by stages, and due allowance must be made for that. But the broad slogan, as a guide and a goal, the banner of a 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take home pay—that banner must be raised by labor and never hauled down until victory.

One final objection can be raised to the proposal. This is that the labor movement can solve its problem and meet the needs of this changing epoch by restoring a Democratic administration to office.

Even admitting the specific assumption upon which this view is based—that the Democrats will pursue a basically different course and will alter the underlying trends of the American economy—such a view would be the most foolhardy that the labor movement could entertain. In the first place, a Democratic administration cannot be restored to power for more than two years, and by that time, the labor move-

ment may be in such serious trouble that even a "friendly" administration —if the Democrats indeed prove to be that—will not be able to affect the balance in the struggle between labor and its enemies.

In the second place, the more sober supporters of the Democratic Party within the labor movement themselves admit that they count on the Democrats only to supply a more favorable atmosphere for struggle by labor, but that the labor movement itself, by its own efforts and power face-to-face with the capitalists of America, must win the fights of the coming period.

Thus aside from anything that may happen on the political field at this election and the next, labor faces a crisis which it must meet at once by exerting a powerful leverage in the field of trade union struggle, where it is still strong and can win victories.

We do not mean to imply that the 30-hour week will be a cure-all for the ills of labor and the nation. Far from it. The diseases of American capitalism run deep, and will require deep-going curative action in the long run. And that action will require that labor move into the political field—where more and more economic questions are being settled—with its own party, as British labor did. But we do state emphatically that the campaign for a 30-hour week is an immediate and indispensable all-around campaign, which labor needs to start as soon as possible, conduct with all its militant energies, and carry through to victory as the basis for further gains.

# The 1954 Elections

ELECTION DAY, 1954, presents a bleak prospect to the American voter, as will all the Election Days until an opposition to Wall Street develops. If one were to judge by the sound and fury, and by the debates over relatively minor questions of policy, the election is a hotly democratic contest. But if one judges the candidates of the two parties on the extent of their real differences over the basic questions that confront the American nation—war or peace, freedom or thought-control, capitalist interests *vs.* the people—then the picture is different.

On these issues, there is a dull grey uniformity in the two parties, a rigid reactionary orthodoxy, a strictly enforced "party line" as dogmatic and as iron-fisted as any that has ever been seen. In that sense, we in America have a one-party dictatorship operating in two-party form.

Dotting the electoral scene are the occasional candidates who have taken better stands on certain issues such as the Taft-Hartley Law, public power, offshore oil, tax reductions, etc. Certainly their criticisms are preferable to the unrestrained applause for the *plunderbund* which comes from most candidates. Yet even these, the most liberal candidates, have not uttered one single word of criticism of the oligarchy on the basic issues of our time.

More than that, the liberals, facing an unprecedented barrage of "Red" howls, have deliberately chosen to outdo the oligarchy and the reactionary politicos in witch-hunting in order to prove their own orthodoxy. This deepens the atmosphere of reaction immeasurably, and makes the realization of even the minor progressive planks of the liberal candidates virtually impossible. Thus it is hard to see how anyone can maintain that there is real liberalism or progressivism left in the two major parties.

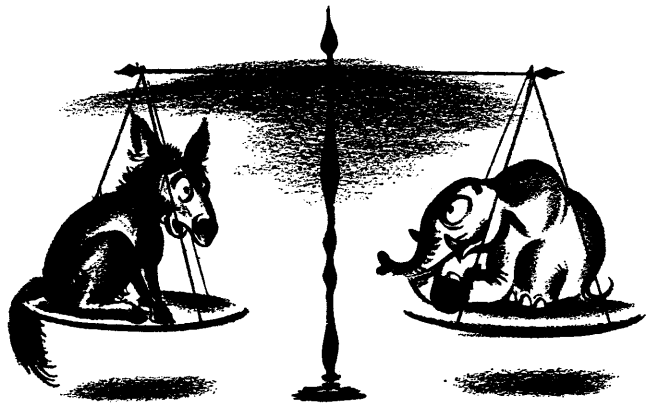
In viewing the few self-styled liberals, the progressive and radical forces in this country cannot fail to mark a certain air of unreality about them. Their minor quibbles with the oligarchy, when placed alongside their ferocious endorsement of the course of the nation towards dictatorship and H-Bomb war, give them the air of people quarreling over the relative comfort of seats in a train that is heading over a precipice.

FORTUNATELY for voters in New York State, there is one bright spot in the election line-up. The American Labor Party slate, which opposes the cold-war and police-state policies of the major parties, offers a genuine voice of opposition which is good to hear in these times.

This slate was not put into the field without difficulty. The Communist Party "support-the-Democrats" line, which has so badly crippled the Progressive Party that it has virtually no candidacies outside of New York, was tried out in New York too. It met with such opposition from militant ALP supporters, however, that a slate was put up.

Thus progressives, radicals, socialists can cast a ballot of opposition to the war drive in New York by voting for the American Labor Party, and it is all the more important that they do so because the ALP needs at least 50,000 votes to remain an accredited ballot party.

However, such movements as the ALP—good as they are, and we hope to see more of them—are clearly interim stopgaps, because they are isolated from the major forces of American labor upon which the opposition to the oligarchy will have to be founded. The serious development of an opposition will not begin until at least some of the labor battalions break with the cold-war masters, and begin to fill the gaping hole which marks off the United States from all the rest of the world, the hole caused by the absence of any real forces of popular opposition to the warlords of capitalism.



**Left wing in British Labor Party missed victory on German rearmament issue "by a woodshaving." Confronted by solid Right control in the big unions, Bevanites now plan to carry struggle to the ranks.**

# Bevan Bids for Power

**by Our European Correspondent**

LONDON

SCARBOROUGH reminded me of Atlantic City, even though it is an ancient town without the gaiety and lights of our favorite convention city. The comparison was brought to my mind by the familiar sight of working class delegates strolling along the boardwalk discussing the day's happenings. But the more dramatic parallel was with a convention that occurred back home 19 years ago.

Aneurin Bevan, silenced by machine gag-rule during the big convention debate, was speaking to a packed mass meeting on the third night of the convention. As I listened to him hurl his challenge at the "dessicated calculating machines" who control the Labor Party, I could hear John L. Lewis pouring his scorn on the AFL leaders in his "Macedonian Call" speech of 1935. As Lewis had launched the CIO which was to humble the mightiest industrial empires, so now another Welsh miner, another big man with bushy eyebrows and a sure instinct for the power of the working class, was launching a historic movement.

Like Lewis, Bevan was laying siege to the citadel of a trade union bureaucracy. This movement, however, was bolder, more revolutionary in its conceptions.

"Power," Bevan said, "lies outside the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party, among the miners, the steel workers, the railwaymen." These words created the distinct impression in most of those who heard him that Scarborough was the turning point of an epoch. There was something in the tenseness and quiet of the audience, unusual at a Bevan meeting, which confirmed that impression.

THINGS were not happening along the time-worn grooves of recommended behavior for an opposition leader. Bevan did not curtsy to the supposed "will of the majority" with the usual declaration that the struggle had been a mere "difference" which time would straighten out to the satisfaction of all. Instead, he ripped off the muzzle of official censorship to denounce the undemocratic procedure which permitted "the bureaucracy" to manipulate the votes of the rank and file. He was in dead earnest.

British labor is at the hour of its destiny, he said. It could take the road of socialism or go down forever in the ruins of war. If the Labor Party continued along present lines, it would become indistinguishable from the Tories, and he for one did not wish to belong to such a party. But he was not withdrawing. He was announcing that the party could only be transformed by carrying the fight into the unions, where the strength of his opponents is in their bureaucratic machines, not the support of the ranks. Now he was freeing his hands for this fight.

This was a sensational move for so prominent a Labor Party parliamentary figure. Its impact kept coming in waves, and is still continuing. When I got back to the "digs" (British for hotel), two miners' delegates were anxiously awaiting a first-hand report. They were angry at the scurrilous attacks their officials had made at the union banquet that night. But they were much more concerned with the import of Bevan's speech, which they knew would take them a long way. "Nye has made a big decision," one of them said reflectively.

Bevan's big decision followed the hectic debate on foreign policy in the first two days of the conference. The biased press reported the voting on German rearmament as a serious defeat for the Bevanites. Nothing could be further from the fact. "The victory," said the London *Economist* sadly, "was as thin as a wood shaving." This figure of speech refers to the switch of the votes of the delegation of the woodworkers' union, which had previously voted in convention to oppose arming the Bonn regime. The official resolution at the Labor Party conference carried by the narrow margin of 248,000 votes, and, had the woodworker delegates voted as instructed, the opposition would have carried by 10,000.

IF, in addition, you count up the votes of the textile workers' delegation, which also violated a union convention decision, and the votes of the Scotch and Welsh miners who are overwhelmingly against the official policy but whose votes were cast by their union officials for it, it is clear that the right-wing NEC in reality went down to a bad defeat. And if you put alongside the 3,022,000 votes against German rearmament the 2,570,000 votes against the Southeast Asia Pact, and the 1,822,000 votes for the removal of American bases from Britain, the real picture emerges. The organized working class of Britain is overwhelmingly and determinedly against the continuation of the cold war; it is in favor of a socialist peace policy. Even the *Economist* estimates:

> *The voting at Scarborough, following upon that of the Trades Union Congress at Brighton, purports to show that half the Labor Party, which means nearly a quarter of the politically active people of this country, are in the neutralist camp. Indeed a recent Gallup poll on this same issue of "German rearmament" suggested*

*that the fraction should be more like a third. It is not much reassurance to point out that the other two-thirds are in control; for the present government must be sensitive to the attitude of the Opposition, and the official Opposition must be sensitive to the view of so large a minority within its ranks.*

There was little doubt about this "sensitivity" of the right wing at Scarborough. Its real position was hidden under a mountain of ambiguities; what was presented was vague beyond recognition. The NEC resolution did not even mention German rearmament by name. It spoke mystically about a German "contribution to collective security" that would avoid the re-emergence of the "German military menace" while at the same time leaving the door open for the resumption of negotiations with the Soviet Union for German reunification, all of which could be done in consultation with other European socialist parties. This masterpiece of double-talk was preceded by Attlee's opening speech to the convention. Wearing the laurels of his recent trip to Russia and China—a tremendously popular venture in Britain—he spoke as the apostle of peaceful co-existence, as the bosom friend of the New China, and as the enemy of Chiang Kai-shek whom he wants dumped off Formosa as soon as possible.

Even with this mealy-mouthed approach, and with the rigged votes of the big unions, Attlee almost lost out. The *Economist* bitterly reproached him for not putting the issue bluntly, cold-bloodedly, as follows: "In the event of another war would you rather have the Germans on our side or on the other side?" But had Attlee done so, he would still be digging himself out of the avalanche of opposition. The British workers refuse to accept the inevitability of war, they want no part of Dulles' H-Bomb "crusade against communism." As I listened to the debate, heated enough at times, I marveled at the lack of jingoistic hysteria, at the absence of the war drums that Meany or Reuther would be beating wildly in a discussion of this kind back home. Only once, in the reference of Ernest Jones, head of the miners' union, to the opposition as "communists and fellow-travelers," was there any poisonous red-baiting. But the next night, 2,000 delegates, members and sympathizers of the Labor Party, roared their approval when Bevan told Jones to "Drop it! Drop it now!"—and dropped it was.

THOSE WHO HAVE seen the apathy toward political resolutions at our union conventions may wonder at

## *Reflections on Scarborough*

FOR ALL the faults and conflicts, there was a sense of dignity and power in the proceedings. The workers don't have to run around to the back door to beg or buy favors from capitalist politicians in return for votes during an election. The delegates decide their own policy, and expect the elected officials to carry it out. There is a minimum of the spread-eagle oratory and useless rhetoric that goes with a program that nobody expects to be fulfilled. Repeatedly, delegates prefaced their remarks by saying that the policy they advocated would guide the party in the next election, or to direct the next government of Britain. They took themselves seriously, and so did everybody else.

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BACK HOME, I have heard opponents of the labor party idea say that such a party would be too restrictive, covering only workers from the shops and unions. They should have been at Scarborough. Besides the miners, steel workers, bus drivers, union officials, there was a cross section of the common people of Great Britain: school teachers, professionals speaking the cultured tones of Oxford, housewives with a Yorkshire or Cockney accent, there were small business men, farmers, agricultural workers and government employees.

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THE DELEGATE said in the most matter-of-fact way that he was a socialist, he wanted a socialist policy,

BEVAN

and he was thinking ahead to what a Socialist Britain would do. And he wasn't the first; he was the thirtieth or fiftieth to say something like that. At the hotel, the miners had been socialists. In the compartment of the train riding back to London were a pro-Bevan machinist, an anti-Bevan cartoonist and a union attorney—all of them socialists. It's as commonplace to be a socialist here as to be a Democrat or Republican back home.

No wonder they didn't mind when the Tories referred to the Labor Party as "the Socialist Party." Nobody was frightened, they didn't lose any votes. Although I had known this in the past, coming from a country where socialists —a persecuted minority—are treated as "strange" or "subversive," I had to see it to believe it.

"WE," said Bevan, "are really in charge of foreign affairs, you know. It is not Eden. No British government can go to war or even look like going to war without the support of the British Labor movement. . . . What we say goes; what we say is final. It is not what Throgmorton Street, it is not what the City [London's financial district] says. It is what the miners, the steel workers, the factory workers, the agricultural workers say that decides the issues of peace and war."

At the end of his meeting, Aneurin Bevan led the audience in "three rousing cheers for international socialism." This had also been one of the main refrains of his speech. He had demanded to know how British socialists could uphold a policy that supported the reactionary Adenauer and opposed the socialist Ollenhauer. He said that by supporting the Southeast Asia Pact, British socialism was losing friends in Burma and India and undoing the good work the Labor delegation had done in China.

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BEVAN had no sympathy for the dictatorial practises of the regimes of the East, but he said that "a change is taking place inside Russia, personal dictatorship is on the way out, they are adopting a more forthcoming attitude. Given a little time, the changes might develop and Russian cooperation might be easier. Ought they not be given a chance to grow before we take an irrevocable step?"

the stir they created at Scarborough. But part of the intensity of feeling arose from the fact that the decisions of this workers' convention were affecting the course of a nation. The Labor Party represents more than 50 percent of the people of the country. Everyone expects that Labor will again be the government after the next general election. In fact, the daily press, abandoning hope in a Tory victory, has been concentrating on molding the policies of the Labor Party to ensure a government that will continue to serve the interests of British capitalism. They laud the virtues of the right wing; reserve their barbs and venom for the Bevanites.

The morning after Bevan's speech, virtually every newspaper wrote his political obituary. "The time may be nearer than seems apparent on the surface," droned the *London Times,* "when the Bevanite chapter in the story of the Labor Party may be closed." The *Manchester Guardian,* stung by Bevan's shafts against it the night before, proclaimed in a headline "Bevanite Group Disintegrating," and in its editorial said: "The Labor Party has done itself good this week. . . . Without Mr. Bevan the party can go forward with fair prospect of success in regaining public confidence; with him it could only condemn itself to barren years of internal dissension." *The Daily Mirror,* a sensational daily paper that has a six million circulation, shouted "All Out of Step Except Aneurin!" Its chief staff writer, comparing the Labor Party conference to an airliner, wrote: "Mr. Bevan's final gesture was to burst open the door and jump out. In a trice he was gone. Nobody had time to notice whether he had his parachute with him. And nobody seemed to care."

Bevan could properly reply—with Mark Twain—that the news of his death was greatly exaggerated. And the newspaper editors, after a second look at the line-up at Scarborough, would secretly have to agree with him. Their first comments were either whistling in the dark, or a bad misreading of the actual meaning of the Scarborough struggle.

A little history will make this clear. In 1951, shortly before the defeat of the Labor government at the polls, Bevan had quit the cabinet in protest over the high cost of British rearmament, which was cutting down expenditures for the social services. His action had reflected a profound current of working class opinion. This was a different working class than the one which had, in 1945, brought to power the first majority Labor government. It had gained great self-confidence from its achievements. It had learned—from its experience in nationalizing a number of key industries and of extending free medical service to the entire population—that labor could run the country without the Tory Colonel Blimps. But there was also disappointment because the job had been stopped in mid-passage, and it had been stopped not by the Tory electoral victory, but a few years earlier by the heads of the Labor government themselves.

IT WAS THE cold war, and the fact that the Labor leaders had joined Truman and Acheson in that venture, which stopped social progress in Britain. The Marshall Plan bound Britain by financial chains to Wall Street. Labor was no longer free to reorganize British economy in the interest of the people. Rearmament meant that the government had to put its social program on ice. Then came the Atlantic Pact and the Korean War, which sent Attlee racing across the ocean to stop the fatal move north of the Yalu that would have precipitated World War III. In revenge, Truman tightened the financial screws and brought down the Labor government.

From then on, one issue after another highlighted this relation between foreign and domestic policy. The economic blockade of the Soviet zone is a blow to the very heart of a popular economic policy. Labor both needs and wants the East-West trade.

In replying to a debate over the rising cost of living, where delegates had sharply criticized the lack of clear alternatives to the Tory policy, the NEC reporter blurted out: "If we did away with armaments there could be free food for everybody. But we must be realists, we must think of our international commitments, etc. etc."

And again the problem rebounded in a discussion of the colonial question. The former Labor Minister of Colonies had delivered an eloquent address in which he said it was not enough to grant sovereignty to the colonies; they had to be aided economically to overcome their backwardness. Fine words, a tool-and-die maker told me caustically, but no kick behind them. He was a delegate from the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which embraces the auto, steel and machine tool industry. Two years ago, he went on, our union submitted its "Plan for Engineering," which provided for nationalizing the entire metal-working industry. That would have raised productivity, improved our standard of living and provided some of the capital to assist the underdeveloped areas. You don't hear a word about it from Attlee or Morrison. They've been chasing after American capitalism so long, you can't tell the difference between them and the Tories.

That, I thought, hit the nail on the head in expressing the sentiments of the millions who support the left wing. Like Bevan, they too are not interested in a "socialist government that is a socialist government in name only." What has prevented these millions from changing the policy of the party to conform to the will of the majority? The same forces, it appears, that prevented the organization of the mass production workers in the U.S. until

## *Labor Would Win*

According to a recent Gallup poll, the Labor Party now holds its strongest lead in many years over the Conservatives. Replies to the question: "If there were a general election tomorrow, how would you vote?" were in the following percentages:

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor | 48 percent |
| Conservative | 43 |
| Liberal | 8 |
| Other | 1 |

At the last general election, Labor received only a slightly higher vote than the Conservatives, so that this poll (and such straw ballots generally tend to underestimate Labor's strength and overestimate that of the Tories) shows a big shift in Labor's favor.


Vicky, *London Daily Mirror*

after the Lewis revolt in 1935. Here is how Bevan summed it up:

> *The movement is in danger of falling under the control of a small handful of irresponsible bureaucrats. I mean individuals who by the accident of circumstances find themselves at the head of large institutions, and the rank and file cannot get at them. If we are going to have a Labor movement which is controlled by a handful of bureaucrats, then we might as well become totalitarian. In the course of the last* 10 *to* 15 *years, two or three unions have become so solid, with so heavy a vote, that they have bullied and dominated other unions. That state of affairs cannot continue if this movement is to be healthy.*

BEVAN was referring to unions like the Transport and General Workers, which in many ways resembles that aggressive enterprise led by Dave Beck in the U.S. These unions have ensured right-wing control of the party by casting huge bloc votes at conferences without consulting their membership. And these votes snow under the Constituency Labor Parties (the ward clubs over here) which are overwhelmingly left-wing, where decisions are democratically taken. It is this machine that Bevan is now challenging. He declined renomination for the NEC as a representative of the Constituency section of the Labor Party, where the Bevanites always sweep the poll. Instead, he chose to make a test case by running for party treasurer where a majority of all three parts of the Labor Party (Constituencies, affiliated unions, and cooperatives) is necessary for election. It was a bold, imaginative move. Knowing full well he would lose, Bevan was more concerned with firing the first shot in a battle that would smash the bureaucratic machine.

Those who were quick to predict his demise forget the outcome of two other unorthodox Bevan moves. In 1951, Bevan resigned from the Labor government in protest over the high social cost of British rearmament. That move eventually won him a majority of the Constituency parties. This year Bevan walked out of the "Shadow Cabinet" (Labor's steering committee in Parliament) in protest over German rearmament and other foreign policy positions of the right wing. That move shattered the solid bloc vote wielded by the union bureaucrats and brought Bevan within a "wood shaving" of victory on the most crucial issue at Scarborough.

Bevan is off the NEC. "I am not interested," he says, "in executive meetings merely attempting to drain away the vitality from the Labor movement." With his hands unbound, he is free to carry the campaign into the unions so that the rank and file can assert its real will, take charge of the party, and eventually inaugurate a Labor government and a policy which will bring socialism to the British Isles.

Will he succeed? The repercussions from Scarborough are already being felt in the unions. Local unions of the woodworkers are piling up protest resolutions against the high-handed turncoat action of their delegation at the conference. There are rumblings in the giant Amalgamated Engineering Union, which did vote against German rearmament, but which, contrary to the desire of its members, voted against Bevan for party treasurer.

AS I WRITE, paralysis is creeping over the London docks in a strike stemming from a rank-and-file revolt. A similar movement is developing also among London bus workers which may lead to another walkout. Both groups of workers are affiliated to the Transport and General Workers Union, the heart of right-wing strength in the Labor Party. This, I have been told by informed trade unionists, is only the beginning. Discontent with low wages and the rising cost of living is becoming more general, they say, and the clamor for action is becoming more insistent. When this economic movement joins with the movement for democratic control of the unions and for a socialist policy for the Labor Party, the power of the Bevanite left wing will become irresistible.

More and more the right wing is left with only one weapon: expulsions and split. There were some veiled threats after Bevan's speech. The only overt move, however, was the banning of a small paper called *Socialist Outlook*. By attacking this paper and by making association with it incompatible with membership in the party, the right wing was delivering an indirect blow against other opposition papers and particularly the Bevanite *Tribune*. Recognizing the dangerous precedent, alarmed at the infraction of party democracy, the Bevanites, led by Jennie Lee (Bevan's wife), rallied some 1,600,000 votes in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat the ban.

It is one thing, however, to suppress a small, uninfluential paper, and another to guillotine a movement which formally represents one-half of the party, and actually much more. There is evidently division in right-wing councils on this question. The right-wingers have, by and large, failed to reply to Bevan's speech. There have been jibes in the Tory press against Attlee for being too "soft" and "conciliatory." However that may be, a split, evoking the memory of the treachery of Ramsay MacDonald, would be terribly unpopular in the ranks of British labor; it would rebound with fearsome vengeance against its authors.

My own impression after Scarborough can be summed up in these words: The strong left-wing movement in Britain today is as irresistible as was the great CIO movement for industrial unionism after 1935 in our own country.

**Problems which have accumulated during long-term contracts face CIO United Auto Workers as nation's largest industrial union prepares for 1955 negotiations.**

# Auto Labor Faces 1955

**by John Darnell**

DETROIT

ON November 12th and 13th, a national Pre-Negotiations Conference of CIO United Auto Workers' delegates from all over the country will meet in Detroit to finalize the broad demands to be presented to the auto corporations with the expiration of the current contracts in 1955.

The Pre-Negotiations Conference is the first to be held by the UAW involving delegates from workers in all the major corporations on contract and economic demands. It is designed to gain uniformity in major demands for the various divisions of the union and to mobilize effective backing for them. Possibly most important, the conference will provide an opportunity for the secondary leadership of the union to consider what demands best answer the current needs of the auto workers and what strategy can most successfully bring the corporations to terms.

Delegates to the conference will face the most serious crisis in the industry since the founding of the union almost two decades ago. This has been reflected in mergers of the independents who have been driven to the wall in the feverish sales race of General Motors and Ford; continuing automation which has permanently displaced many thousands of auto workers; and an employer drive to destroy the wage levels and working conditions of the auto workers to create "more favorable competitive conditions." These developments have resulted in chronic unemployment in the auto industry for the past year. Unemployment has assumed mass proportions in recent months as a result of extended lay-offs for model change-over, with 300,000 unemployed in the state of Michigan alone.

CONFRONTED with this crisis of the auto industry, what are the prospects for the coming conference? The aim of the Reuther leadership is clear. Reuther conceives of the conference as a sounding board for his much-vaunted Guaranteed Annual Wage plans. Even though this proposition was first raised more than two years ago, it has yet to be presented to the membership of the union in a manner understandable to them. So far at least, talk of the Annual Wage has been so nebulous and general it has been virtually impossible for the ranks to weigh the matter seriously. However, there is already a broad suspicion that when the detailed plan is unveiled it will reveal something more like a supplement to unemployment compensation scaled to length of seniority rather than the grandiose hopes of 52 full pay-checks per year which the auto worker equates to the Guaranteed Annual Wage.

Fears have been expressed by many active leaders of the UAW local unions that any success in winning this demand or part of it for high-seniority workers would be

at the expense of the low-seniority group, as employers try to plan their production on a more stable basis.

Lately the Reuther leadership has been referring to their projected plan as a "full employment plan." This publicity- or propaganda-switch has become necessary because of the widespread unemployment of recent months. When Reuther raised the slogan of Guaranteed Annual Wage, auto workers were enjoying relatively full employment as a result of the Korean war boom. It appeared then that some modest arrangement with the corporations might be attainable without too great difficulty. Since then, the economy of the nation has suffered a serious sag. Moreover, because of the factors already referred to—automation, declining market, and intense competition—the auto industry faces an army of permanent unemployed so long as the nation remains at peace.

GIVEN the new situation in the industry, it is apparent at a glance that Reuther's proposal, even if taken in its best aspects, does not answer the problems of the auto workers. Assume for a moment that all the auto corporations would agree to provide 52 weeks full employment and pay-checks for the auto workers. Based upon the present capacity of the industry, this would mean more than 8 million cars would be produced per annum. In recent years the market has been able to absorb less than 6 million cars and the drift of the economy is downward. Confronted with these facts it is aparent Reuther's answer is no realistic answer at all.

In the *Detroit News* of September 6, 1954, Asher Lauren, labor editor, devoted a full page to the question of automation and the problems it raises for the labor movement. Lauren quoted Walter Reuther as follows: "Automation is more a social and political than a trade union problem. As long as the company keeps expanding, the immediate problems of automation will work themselves out."

This is precisely the point. Not only are the companies not expanding, with possibly rare exceptions, but the economy of the country as a whole has suffered a decline, with no serious prospects for improvement other than the path of a large-scale war.

It is clear that the situation of labor in the economy today calls for a campaign to reduce the work-week so that workers may share in the benefits of increased productivity. Yet, side by side with the ballyhooing of Reuther's Annual Wage proposal, there has been a campaign of denigration and abuse of the proponents of a shorter work-week with no cut in pay. This reached its sharpest point at the last UAW-CIO convention in 1953, when the Reuther administration sponsored a resolution coupling support of the Guaranteed Annual Wage with a denunciation of the shorter work-week in the following words:

> *That this convention rejects and repudiates the demand for a 30-hour week with 40 hours pay at this time as a politically inspired maneuver that is unsound and impractical, divisive of the union, a service to the totalitarian aggressors in the Kremlin, and an attack upon the hopes of workers' families for higher living standards.*

A delegate from Dodge Local 3 sneered at supporters of the shorter work-week with this comment: "It seems at this time it is impractical to ask for a 30-hour week when it is hard to hire labor in certain areas. In my plant, the Dodge Main Plant situated in Hamtramck, we are faced with a manpower shortage. Incidentally, some of these locals who have unemployed brothers in their locals, send them down and we can guarantee to get them a job." This typified the remarks of the Reutherites. Ironically, mass lay-offs of Dodge workers began almost immediately after the convention where the above-cited remarks were made. The overwhelming majority of Dodge workers have been laid off for the past year with the balance working short weeks. Re-employment has begun recently in preparation for the new model, but anticipated peak employment is expected to be 10,000 less than in previous years.

SINCE the last convention of the UAW, the growth of unemployment on a national scale and particularly in the auto area has done much to produce increased support for proposals for a shorter work-week with no cut in pay. Many UAW local unions, various state conventions of the CIO, and conventions of international unions of the CIO have expressed their support for this demand. Many AFL unions have taken similar action. This was climaxed recently by the action of the national convention of the AFL calling for an immediate 35-hour week, with the 30-hour week as a long-term goal.

Confronted with the growing unemployment and increased support to the short work-week with no cut in pay, Reuther was forced to retreat at the UAW-CIO Unemployment Conference in Washington last year. He then promised that the question would be discussed at the Pre-Negotiations Conference in 1954. Today, in spite of the completely changed economic situation and the problems it has produced, the Reuther leadership appears determined to continue to oppose the demand for a shorter work-week with no cut in pay as a bargaining demand at this time. But various local unions plan to press for this demand at the conference.

In the event proponents of the 30-hour week with 40 hours pay demand gain sizable support at the conference, the policy staff of the auto union can be expected to admonish them that the conference is not legislative, and that it is bound by the decision of the last convention to oppose the shorter work-week and make the Guaranteed Annual Wage its main objective.

Should things develop this way, the whole matter might well be put off for decision by the next UAW convention, which is scheduled for March 1955, well in advance of the coming negotiations. This might be better for the ranks of the union, as it has just been announced that representation at the Pre-Negotiations Conference will be very restricted.

IN ALL likelihood, considerable support will develop at the conference for industry-wide bargaining and uniform contracts for the auto industry. These demands have been given lip-service by the administration for many years. However, recent developments—the Studebaker and Kaiser-Willys pay cuts together with increasing corporation pressure for contract revisions to "improve competi-

tive positions" and the loss of all seniority and pension rights by thousands of Kaiser-Frazer, Hudson and Murray Body workers—place these demands in a different setting.

Considerable variation has existed and continues to exist in contract provisions in the auto industry. The best agreements have been won by local unions dealing with the independents and the supplier plants. With this group, negotiations have been carried on directly by local union officers more responsive to the pressures of the ranks of the union. In addition, they have been aided by the more vulnerable economic positions of the independent auto producers and the supplier corporations.

With the dog-eat-dog competitive struggles which now prevail, there is a constant drive to reduce the conditions and contract provisions to the lowest levels. There is an all-out effort to transfer the burden of the competitive struggle of the corporations to the backs of the workers. The cooperation of the UAW leadership with this program of the employers—as witness the Kaiser-Frazer, Kaiser-Willys, and Studebaker developments—has tended to promote worker allegiance to his particular employer and has seriously weakened the solidarity of the union as a whole.

These developments have created considerable resentment among the more advanced sections of the union. There is a growing concern for industry-wide agreements which will provide uniform contract and wage provisions and which will protect the seniority and pension rights of auto workers irrespective of the fate of the particular employer of the moment. Industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide contracts would effectively halt the union give-away program of recent months. Workers would have a stake in maintaining the highest possible wage and contract conditions throughout the industry and worker solidarity would be encouraged.

EVEN WITHOUT considering the recent developments in the auto industry, there has been increasing concern among auto workers over the contractual conditions which prevail. This stems from the fact that for many years the contract provisions have seen only minor changes. The leadership of the union has treated contract demands over working conditions as small change to be quickly forgotten in exchange for minor wage concessions. This was done in the most brazen form with the development of the five-year contracts which have done much to curb the militancy, initiative, and independence of the secondary leadership and the ranks of the union. Literally thousands of union representatives have been elected to office and have attempted to serve their membership bound by contract provisions which were established in years gone by and which they have never had an opportunity to change.

In truth, there has not been a serious advance in the provisions of the contracts since the initial agreements were signed in the early days of the UAW. Progress has all been in the other direction. As a matter of fact, it would appear that a "gentleman's agreement" has existed to the effect that in exchange for wage concessions, union shop and check-off agreements, the employer right to operate his plants as he sees fit would go unchallenged. This tacit understanding is made more binding by the


*Labor's Daily*

"I used to set the pace in a non-union factory until we all got laid off because of overproduction!"

umpire system which prevails in most of the industry, and the restrictions on the use of the strike weapon.

The "company security" clause with tight restrictions on the right to strike made its appearance in the General Motors contract as long ago as 1938. Since its introduction in GM, Reuther's own bailiwick, it has been extended under the impetus of the Taft-Hartley law throughout the industry. These strike restrictions together with the course of the leadership are tantamount to an iron-clad no-strike policy.

The drive of the employers to improve their respective competitive positions has not been confined to wage cuts. As a matter of fact, more often it has taken the form of drives for increased productivity, which in most cases means speed-up in one form or another. In many instances speed-up conditions are as bad as they were in pre-union days. If this condition is permitted to go unchallenged, the pension program will become a mockery indeed. Not many auto workers will live to reach 65 at the pace of production lines at the present time. These conditions dictate that what has been lost in the speed-up fight must be won back. A demand for a flat 15 or 20 percent reduction in work quotas would be an effective slogan in the fight against speed-up and it would at the same time contribute to the fight against unemployment as well.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT to the development of demands which meet the needs of the auto workers and which can win their strong support is the development of a strategy of struggle which can be most effective, given the conditions which prevail. The UAW-CIO has been wedded to a "one-at-a-time" strategy since its inception.

The theory behind this approach has been the idea that competitive pressure would force the particular target to come to terms. In practice this has resulted in drawn-out strikes, as for example the GM 1945-46 strike and the Chrysler strike of 1950, and has permitted the full forces of the employers to be massed against one section of the auto union.

In contrast to the UAW approach, the mine workers and steel workers have relied on industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strike action when strike action has become necessary to win their demands. Although not conclusive, evidence of the superiority of this approach is the fact that in no instance in the period since the birth of the CIO have either the steel workers or the miners been forced to strike for three or four months, as has been the case in auto on at least two occasions.

The pattern of strike struggles in the recent period has been one of extended walkouts with the use of all the old-fashioned strike-breaking techniques, as well as the latest improvements, against the union. The UAW, for example, was forced into an extended walkout at North American Aviation last year. After many weeks on the picket lines, the company strike-breaking campaign, aided by court injunctions, produced a back-to-work movement of many thousands. Under these circumstances the union was forced to settle the strike on the basis of the offer the company had made prior to strike action.

The UAW strike of 3,500 Kohler workers is in its seventh month. Here, too, injunction rule and a back-to-work movement of almost a third of the normal work force threatens disaster. In the heart of Detroit, the strike-breaking, scab-herding efforts of the Square D management were only repulsed by energetic intervention of the UAW, mainly through its secondary leadership. Even here, however, injunction rule and the use of the riot act made its appearance.

THESE EVENTS are an ominous warning to the auto workers. Already there has been considerable talk in auto-industry circles to the effect that early showing of 1955 models was designed to permit establishment of a large stockpile of new cars in preparation for a showdown with the union. Based upon the productive capacity of the industry and the anticipated market under present economic conditions, five months' production can meet the customer demand and develop a stockpile which can fortify management for an extended walkout. Many officers of local unions and even officials of the international union are expressing concern over the bargaining position of the union in 1955, with two or three months' production of new cars in dealers' hands.

Present thinking of the leadership on this question tends in the direction of a many-million-dollar strike fund to provide aid for workers forced into prolonged strike action. Certainly no one will quarrel with this objective. However, it appears to this writer that a fresh approach is necessary to win broad membership support and sacrifice under present conditions. One of the effects of the prolonged strikes which took place earlier was the development of a reluctance to strike and fear of strikes among the ranks, who felt that the gains achieved were not equal to the sacrifices which had been made. Management was quick to take advantage of this cooling of the pro-strike sentiment and proceeded to violate even the limited provisions of the union contracts with impunity.

What the situation calls for is a bold, radical departure from recent UAW practice. Given a proper set of demands and a militant aproach, there can be no question of the response of the union ranks. What is needed is the preparation of a model UAW contract and set of economic demands to be submitted to all employers under UAW contract. Plans should be made for industry-wide strike action at the termination dates of the current agreements, affecting all corporations who have not signed on the dotted line. Such a bold approach will join the battle on the best terms and present the issues in the clearest possible way. Every auto worker will recognize at a glance his stake in the outcome of the fight.

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# *Cedric Belfrage and Freedom of the Press*

MAY 1953 was a memorable month for British-born Cedric Belfrage, editor of the progressive weekly *National Guardian*. Within ten days, he not only appeared before two un-American committees, but was also hauled before the U.S. Immigration Service on a deportation warrant.

A rundown of the events of those days reveals a basketball-court teamwork on the part of the repressive agencies of the government. On May 5, Belfrage appeared before the Velde Committee where he refused to testify. On May 13 and 14, he appeared before the McCarthy Committee, with an Immigration official present. After Belfrage again refused to testify, citing, as was his constitutional privilege, the Fifth Amendment, the State Department was asked by McCarthy what could be done to deport Belfrage. Democratic Senator Stuart Symington joined the wolf-pack, saying, "Personally I think the sooner you leave the United States, the better for the United States."

On May 15, Immigration officers arrested him for violating the McCarran Act. Within 24 hours after the McCarthy hearing, Belfrage was on Ellis Island on a charge of having been a member of the Communist Party in 1937.

At the hearings, two informers were produced, one a police agent and the other a self-avowed ex-member of the Communist Party, now holding a good job and trying to stay on the right side of the angels. Belfrage and other defense witnesses flatly contradicted the informers' assertion that he had been a Communist Party member.

The key feature of the government case was an alleged Communist Party membership receipt signed by a "George Oakden," purported to be Belfrage's alias. The government claimed that the writing on the receipt was Belfrage's. Testifying on Belfrage's behalf, Elizabeth McCarthy, a handwriting expert of national reputation, said, upon a detailed analysis of the receipt and samples of Belfrage's writing, that "Exhibit 24 was not written" by Belfrage.

The big newspapers of the country, always ready to spring to the lists in defense of freedom of the press in Brazil or Russia, joined the government conspiracy in this case. The *N. Y. Times* carried a big story of the government's presentation, but it didn't consider Belfrage's annihilating defense the kind of news "that's fit to print."

Belfrage is one of the distinguished minority of American journalists who refuse to turncoat and grovel. With the aid of the Belfrage Fight Back Fund, he is defending his right to stay in the country in which he has lived for almost 20 years.

**Looking in on Southern region where he was raised, a visitor from the North finds changes going on in Southern thinking on politics and race questions.**

# Progress In Dixie


Georgia demonstration for Negro police appointments shows new Southern trend which is upsetting traditional frozen relations.

**by Fred Perry**

THE RECENT Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the school system has brought the attention of the world to the fact that important changes are taking place in the South. This is good news, because almost any changes in Dixie could only be for the better.

I say this as a white man born and reared in the South. And, fortunately, many, many other white Southerners are feeling the same way. On a visit this summer to my home state of South Carolina I quizzed a goodly number on several social questions. The results indicate substantial progress in the thinking of the white South.

To the question "Would you be willing to see segregation abolished?," 18 percent of the white people said yes. This is a small minority, certainly, but it represents tremendous progress when one stops to consider that twenty years ago, probably less than one percent would have acquiesced. The race question, as Southern authoress Lillian Smith pointed out in her "Killers of the Dream," has not been simply another political question in the minds of white Southerners. It had become a sexual and psychological aberration making rational thought on the matter impossible. Economic interests which profited from segregation, and their political demagogues, saw to it that to question Southern tradition was sin and treason.

Those who answered yes to the question seemed to be proud of themselves, as if a burden of guilt had been thrown aside. Those who answered no were on the defensive with the questioner and obviously torn and uncertain about whether they were right. It is the 18 percent minority which is confident, aggressive and gaining.

"This court decision had to come," a white Methodist minister told me. "We couldn't go on looking the world in the eye if we didn't begin to practice what we preach about democracy."

The survey revealed that the younger and the better educated were more willing to see segregation go. Farmers were the most backward on the question (5 percent) and middle-class intellectuals the most advanced (34 percent). Industrial workers under 27 years of age with 20 percent saying yes were ahead of the population in general while industrial workers over 27 lagged behind with 10 percent.

THIS DEVELOPMENT in the thinking of whites started as long ago as the New Deal period, which, with its liberal ramifications, produced some effect in the South. Then the second World War accelerated the process. The official government propaganda to the effect that it was a war against fascism and against Hitler's master race theory made many Southerners wonder about the validity of racism. Millions of them traveled outside the U.S. and saw with their own eyes that discrimination is not well thought of in other countries. Then too, many of them went into war industries, such as the merchant marine, auto and steel, where they had an entirely different type of contact with Negroes than they had ever experienced before. "I'll never forget the time I saw my black cabin-mate on my first trip," confided a Texas seaman. "But I got used to it and now he and I go out and have a beer together in foreign ports."

Since the partial de-segregation of the army this experience has been more common. And with the constant semi-official propaganda about "American democracy" and "equal opportunity for all," the young Southerner found himself faced with a serious contradiction. The advent of television featuring so many talented Negro athletes and entertainers heightened it. Something had to give in his mind.

And if these war and post-war conditions forced some white Southerners to think, it permitted the Negro people to protest their lot more forcibly than at any time since Reconstruction days. The thousands of courageous acts of defiance by Negroes during the war and afterward was one of the most important factors in forcing the white Southerner to the realization that changes must come. The post-war campaign of the NAACP on the school issue is known and talked about by everyone below the Mason-Dixon line. This ten-year fight by the Negro people has won more rights, and more whites, than the previous 75 years of enforced silence and servility. That lesson should be forgotten by no one.

*Fred Perry is himself an excellent illustration of his own theme—the progress in the thinking of the white Southerner. A bomber pilot during the war, he is now a Northern industrial worker, and has been a socialist for almost a decade.*

And to these factors was finally added the Cold War. Ever since it began, the powers-that-be in this country, in government and in Big Business, have been embarrassed by American Jim Crow. It got to be such a diplomatic disadvantage that something had to be done. So the Supreme Court, which, to paraphrase Mr. Dooley, apparently follows foreign as well as domestic election returns, began giving out enough anti-segregation rulings to provide the Voice of America with something to talk about.

That's the real reason for the recent court ruling. A school superintendant in a small North Carolina town told me that he realized it had come "so that we could hold up our heads in the diplomatic conferences of the world." My informal survey showed that the businessmen of the South with 33 percent yes, only one point below middle-class intellectuals, understand that the international interests of American business are forcing them to make some concessions on the race question. They are bitter and disturbed about it, more so than the rest of the population, because they realize the danger to their whole low-wage, disfranchised, segregated setup.

AMONG NEGROES questioned by me, 95 percent of those under 27 years of age were in favor of abolishing school segregation. However, among Negroes over 27, the figure dropped to 64 percent. Those who were against it seemed to be worried that colored teachers might lose their jobs or that reprisals might be taken against Negroes in some other way. As among whites, the younger and better educated were most in favor of abolishing segregation.

But whether they like the court ruling or not, the white people of the upper and middle South will accept it peacefully if their state officials and Ku Klux elements don't whip up a campaign to encourage violence. This sort of campaign would be limited, althought I cannot speak for the deep South "Black Belt" where the whole economy rests upon "keeping the Negro down." In my opinion the NAACP would be well advised to push on for immediate implementation while the South's rulers and the national government are on the defensive before the eyes of the world.

These significant changes of attitude on the race question are due indirectly and in part to the change in the South from an agricultural to an industrial society. More Southerners are now industrial workers than farmers. More live in town than in the country. The largest ten cities of the South have grown during the last decade at three times the rate of the ten largest cities in the North: 44.9 percent as against 15.8 percent. In 1930 there was only one city in the South with as much as a quarter of a million population. By 1950 there were seven cities with over a half-million and thirteen more with over a quarter-million. South Carolina has for several years led every state in rate of industrial growth, with Georgia, North Carolina and Texas right behind it.

Most of this industry has gone South looking for cheap wage rates. They still have a lower scale but nevertheless unionism has made some gains. Labor's Operation Dixie organizing drive has not been very successful. But the survey showed that unionism is now overwhelmingly accepted by southern workers. "Do you think that labor unions are a good thing?" brought 76 percent yes answers from white industrial workers and 64 percent from white collar workers. Negroes as a whole were 95 percent yes for unionism! If the South has not been organized it is not because the workers aren't ready for it.

All this industrialization, which for the first time in the history of the region has concentrated large numbers of wage workers into cities, has made possible the future entry of organized labor into politics. If the pro-union and increasingly unprejudiced white labor vote were added to the ever-increasing Negro vote, then this would become one of the most progressive electorates in America. Vast changes, not only for the South, but for the whole country, would result.

THE CURRENT recession in business activity seems to have affected the South about in proportion to the rest of the nation, according to government figures. Jobs for textile workers and for Negroes are scarce. Many blame the Republican party: "Old Hoover has come back." The middle class and the business men, most of whom voted for Eisenhower in '52, admit there is something of a recession taking place and lay the blame to the ending of the Korean war.

"Do you think that the United States should enter the Indo-China war?" brought an unmistakable no. Negroes were 92 percent against entry. White people as a whole were 67 percent against. Young white workers of military age were 80 percent no. Only among business men over military age was there any indecision. 44 percent were against intervention, 22 percent were for going into Indo-China while 34 percent were undecided. "Let's not have another Korea," was the most general reaction.

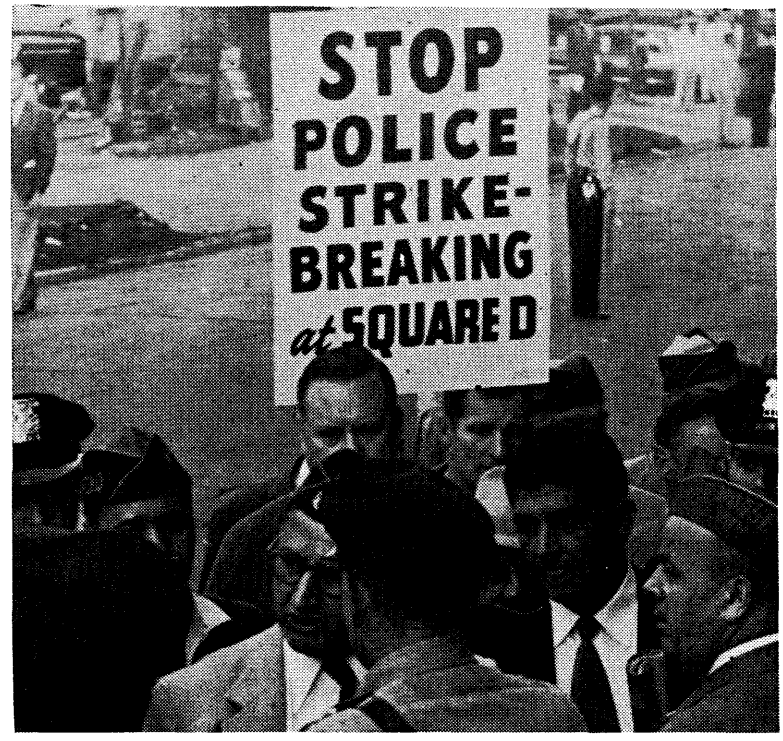
But coupled with this excellent anti-war sentiment is an ominous set of figures which show how far the witch-hunt has gone in destroying respect for the rights of a political minority. "Do you think that the Communist Party should be outlawed?" brought 82 percent yes answers among the whites and 55 percent among Negroes. The witch-hunters have sold the bill of goods to the public in the South that "communism" is a conspiracy and not a political movement. Even the question "Should its members be jailed for their beliefs?," got a 44 percent yes response from the white population. 44 percent are willing to jail other people for their beliefs! This should be a shocking reminder to all liberals, trade unionists and progressive thinkers that fighting the witch-hunt should be their number one job today.

All the giant progress in Southern thinking discussed above will come to nought if the witch-hunt continues to spread. It will be used by the reactionaries to decapitate any organized movements in the South which would grow up naturally out of the changed thinking of the people. The Bourbons would label as "red" any kind of entry of labor into politics, any militant interracial organization. It is no accident that McCarthy finds some of his strongest support in Texas.

Northern labor and liberals have a large stake in seeing to it that the South be allowed to continue the natural progress of its thinking. Reaction must not be allowed to stop this process.

**Big test strikebreaking effort by Detroit employer has been smashed by united labor. UE local did not win all demands, but union is intact.**

# Defeat for the Union-Busters




**by Dave Lands**

DETROIT

SQUARE D Local 957 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (Independent) and the entire labor movement of Detroit won an important victory here when the company was forced to sign an agreement with the union after a strike that lasted 108 days.

A historic demonstration of solidarity in action, participated in by every section of the organized labor movement, succeeded in frustrating a government-employer conspiracy to break the strike and smash the union. The decisive factor in pulling a victory out of the fire was the intervention of the CIO United Auto Workers. Without the active picketline support of the UAW, it is certain the strike would have been broken.

The aim of the redbaiters and the company was clearly revealed by the comparisons made in the daily press with the Dayton, Ohio, Univis strike of 1948. The *Detroit Free Press* of September 27 recounted as follows:

"The UE, then a member of the CIO family, drew picket line support from Dayton locals until Gov. Herbert's peace-making effort failed. *Then the 30-local Montgomery County CIO Council severed all connections with the strike.*

"The following year the CIO expelled the UE on the ground its leadership was Communist dominated.

"Univis workers rejected the UE as their bargaining agent. *There is no union at Univis today.*

*"The company reports that it has had no labor troubles since the strike six years ago."* (Emphasis added.)

This was the pattern which the Square D management hoped to duplicate. Fortunately, this aim—to isolate the UE by redbaiting, smash the strike and restore the open shop as they did at Univis—was defeated. In Detroit, the UE succeeded in overcoming its isolation in spite of an unprecedented redbaiting barrage, which lasted right through and after the strike.

The mobilization of support was so impressive that even the international officers of the UAW-CIO felt constrained to issue a statement supporting the strike, and proposing that the company and striking UE Local 957 reopen the plant on the basis of pre-strike employment status and submit all remaining issues to a three-man arbitration panel. The statement, which said "the present Square D strike has unfortunately been confused by the issue of communism," was signed by Walter Reuther and the other executive officers of the international union.

WITH ALL factions in the UAW solidly united behind the strike, with the AFL also lending support, it was inevitable that the effort to bust the union in the heart of the great Motor City would fail. Even the UE's rabidly redbaiting rival, IUE-CIO, felt constrained to support the strike. In answer to some threats of further back-to-work agitation by scabs claiming to be sympathetic to the IUE-CIO, Robert Klingensmith, international representative of the IUE-CIO, emphasized that the IUE had not approved any back-to-work movement.

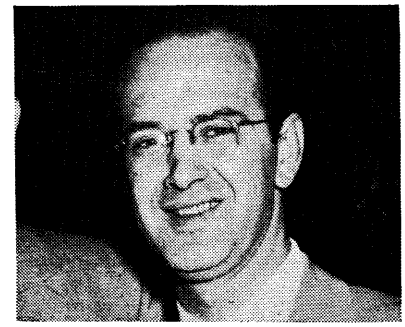
When the striking Square D workers had ratified the agreement at UAW-CIO Local 351 hall, near the strike-bound plant, they marched in a body 1,000 strong together with many UAW local leaders and members back to the plant. They marched around as the final act of the strike, taunting the scabs and imported strike-breakers, who peered fearfully out of the windows, with the fact that they were denied super-seniority with the signing of the agreement. The streets resounded to the strains of *Solidarity* and *Oh, You Can't Scare Us, We're Sticking With the Union.*

Charles Kelly, business agent of UE Local 957, marched with a police guard. He had been temporarily released from jail to attend the ratification meeting. Together with recording secretary Rudy Hoffman and chief steward Ed Perkola, he had been jailed the day before on the charge of violating an injunction against mass picketing. All three were released and all charges arising out of the injunction were dropped after the settlement.

At this writing, the text of the strike settlement is not available. Reports are that some of the main points of agreement ending the strike include: 1) submission to arbitration of the cases of 27 employees fired for strike activity: 2) a two-year contract with a one-year re-opening clause on wages; 3) an agreement that the UE shall

# What Means This Strike?

### By Ken Morris



*One of the remarkable facts about the victoriously concluded Square D strike was the rallying of various factions in the auto union behind the common banner. We reprint here in full an article by Ken Morris, president of Briggs-Chrysler Local* 212, *from the September* Voice of Local 212. *The article is noteworthy for its clarity, but even more so for the strong stand it takes on an issue which might have split Detroit labor—the issue being a strike led by a union which was expelled from the CIO on charges of "communist domination." Morris played a big role in mobilizing right-wing locals behind the strike.*

I JUST returned from the picket line at the Square D plant where over 1,000 UAW members, including Local 212's Flying Squad, joined in the battle against police-protected strikebreaking.

Forty-two UAW locals have pledged their full support to the UE strikers. Other unions are helping too. AFL Butchers are giving 150 pounds of meat to the strike kitchen every day.

On the picket line you will find AFL insurance agents. Strikers will tell you gleefully how the railroad brotherhoods have refused to haul Square D's scab products. Largest single donation to the strike fund was made by the Vickers workers, members of the CIO electrical workers union. And the AFL electrical workers in the Square D Milwaukee plant likewise sent money along with a pledge that they would not touch "hot" jobs. . . .

Organized labor is flocking to the aid of the UE strikers because union men and women instinctively realize that they have a stake in the outcome of this strike.

Clearly, this strike is an industry experiment to see how far employers can go in smashing unions, and for this reason organized labor cannot afford to stand idly by while the Detroit police herd scabs and try to break the strikers' morale.

Let's face the facts. Employers, big and small, are on the offensive. They feel arrogant and belligerent. In this cocky frame of mind, they feel that now is the time to give the unions the business. Unemployment is a weapon employers always seek to use in their struggle to cut down union standards. Over four million men and women in this country are without jobs. Many of these people are desperate, for they can't pay their bills and they can't afford three squares a day.

Among the unemployed are many young people who want jobs and can't find them. Never having held jobs before and without any union experience, they are easily persuaded to take the jobs of strikers. Among the scabs going into the Square D plant, the majority appear to be young men and women.

It's easier to break a strike if the company can get enough scabs and there are enough police on hand to protect them.

AND IF a strike can be smashed in one plant, then strikes can be smashed in other plants too. We would be naive indeed if we believed for one minute that GM and Ford and Chrysler and other manufacturers in Detroit and Michigan are indifferent to what's happening at Square D.

They know that Mayor Cobo is their man and they are depending on him not to let them down. And anyone who has watched the Mayor's police in action at the Square D plant knows he is living up to the employers' expectations.

As far as the employers in Detroit and Michigan are concerned, the strike at Square D is merely a dress rehearsal. If this strike gets crushed, the automobile corporations will be encouraged to defy the UAW when it demands the guaranteed annual wage next spring.

Detroit is a union town. Here organized labor is like a giant. But if a two-by-four outfit like Square D can take on this giant and beat down a strike, then GM and Ford will deem the giant to have feet of clay and will act accordingly next spring.

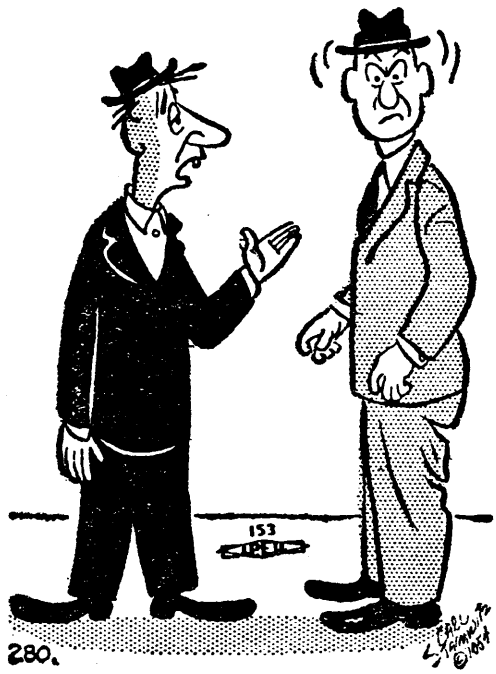
That's why organized labor in this city simply can't afford to allow the UE strike to go down in defeat.

not be liable for damages if a violation of the no-strike agreement was not authorized or supported by the union. The no-strike agreement was reported to be similar to that contained in the GM contract. The company abandoned its demand for super-seniority for strike-breakers, and agreed not to file any new legal actions or charges with the NLRB, and to return all impounded union funds. Pending legal suits by the company were dropped.

Since the text of the agreement is not available, it is not clear how working conditions in the plants will be affected by the agreement. It is not unreasonable to assume that the local was compelled to make some sacrifices. This should serve as a convincing proof that redbaiting only aids the employer. The fine spirit of the strikers, however, and the successful manner in which the strike was terminated, gives assurance that the Square D management will have a hard time in its speed-up and wage-cutting program.

REPRESENTATIVE CLARDY, labor-hating "junior McCarthy" from Michigan, has heartburn because his redbaiting harassment of the strike did not succeed in breaking the union as was done at Univis. The aggressive defense of the strike by Detroit labor, which received nation-wide publicity, also upset him. He announced plans for new harassments of pickets and strike participants. He is also persecuting a printing shop for printing strike material!

Especially aggravated by the good publicity the strikers got, he said: "Communists have used the Square D picket line riots as a sort of super-colossal Hollywood set, where mounted Cossacks ride against the defenseless victims of a capitalistic state." By "communists," of course, he was referring to the entire organized labor movement.




*Labor's Daily*

"Why should I pay union dues when I can work for nothing?"

Union labor in Detroit has been heartened by the fact that, although there were some 200,000 unemployed in the city, the Square D company was unable to hire more than a couple of dozen strike-breakers. It imported some out-of-state strike-breakers and put its supervisory personnel to work. The *Free Press* reported on September 19 that "the company conceded Saturday that only about 30 former workers are among the more than 200 who have been reporting since the company began its 'back-to-work' movement." Carl Stellato wrote in Ford Facts: "As this article goes to press . . . the company has been able to hire less than 200 scabs and indications are that many of these are from out of town. These figures are the bare arithmetic that says: 'Detroit is a Union town.'"

The Detroit Branch of the NAACP issued a statement cautioning Negroes against "allowing themselves to be used as strike-breakers at the Square D plant."

A NUMBER of things happened during the strike which will give labor food for thought. Part of the "evidence" that Judge Ferguson used to jail the strike leaders was the fact that they publicly criticized the injunction against mass picketing. In addition, he issued a riot act against any and all organizations at the scene of the strike, which was read over a public address system continuously for a number of hours by Square D management. For the first time in many years, Detroit workers had the riot act literally read to them. However, the picketing continued.

Twenty-nine pickets were seized by the police during the strike. Pickets were injured during the scab-herding operations by the police. The arrest of Paul Silver, president of UAW Local 351 and spokesman for the UAW, and Ernest Mazey, Executive Board member of Local 212, received extra-wide publicity. Charges against Mazey and a number of others arrested for "blockading entrances to the plant" in violation of Michigan's Bonine-Tripp restrictive labor law have been reduced to simple parking violations.

The police were not able to get a complainant to push charges against Silver—a special target of police hatred because of his bold defense of the rights of pickets—and were compelled to drop them. When the courts refused to grant bail to Silver, UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey issued a blast against the court for this outrageous and unconstitutional act and thereby succeeded in obtaining Silver's release.

It is generally recognized that some of the crude appearances of "communist literature" and "bombs" were police plants.

It is reported that when the UAW locals first began pressuring the international union to support the strike, such support was opposed by Walter Reuther on the grounds that Local 957 was a rival of the IEU-CIO. It appears that Emil Mazey responded more positively to the wishes of the locals, and resisted Reuther on this issue. The pressure was so great that Reuther is finally reported to have left the matter in Mazey's hands, and it was Mazey who initiated the support of the strike. Regardless of the behind-the-scenes developments, it was a great day for Detroit labor when the challenge of the anti-communist witch-hunters and labor-hating employers was met and overcome.

# OPINIONS

*In our August issue, we carried discussion articles on the American economy, its problems, and whether they can be solved within the framework of the capitalist system. A further contribution appears below. We shall publish contributions from readers on this or any other subject of interest, no matter how sharply at variance with our own opinions, providing only that the content is mature and worthy of attention. Such articles should be limited, if possible, to about* 1,000 *words.*

## U.S. Capitalism Has A Way Out

**by A Midwest Labor Editor**

I READ with considerable interest the exchange that took place between George Holcomb and Harry Braverman relative to the American economic-political system. Mr. Holcomb argues that government spending could be spending for peace just as well as spending for war. In reply Mr. Braverman correctly points out that, except for military goods, government spending has never yet reached the level sufficient to prevent depression.

But does this mean that a Republican or Democratic administration can never find a way to spend for peaceful pursuits such large annual sums ($45 billion) as are now allocated for armaments? In this connection may I suggest a likely development which seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Braverman—or at least has not been sufficiently explored by him. I refer to the export of capital.

For over fifty years, beginning with the latter half of the 19th century, European capitalism was able to expand continually because of heavy investments in colonial areas. Surplus capital and commodities accumulating in Europe were transferred to the colonies, and as a result, British, French and German industry underwent a steady rate of expansion up to the time of the first World War.

Similarly, the first World War and its aftermath enabled American private capital to find large outlets in foreign fields. To cite but one example: The revival of industrial Germany after the first World War would hardly have been possible without the capital invested in that country by private American bankers.

In the present period, it is of course inconceivable that American private capital on its own initiative can make foreign investments on a scale required to prevent industrial stagnation at home. For in this country "private enterprise" has given way to the dominance of large monopolies and a state-regulated economy. In such an economy any political administration, whether Republican or Democratic, will not hesitate to take drastic state measures to offset a major depression. Lend Lease, Marshall Plan, UNRRA, Point Four—these are indicative of the kind of large-scale action the state can take to drain off threatening surpluses of capital and goods.

By means of some such greatly expanded program, the state can ward off impending crisis by exporting huge volumes of industrial capital from where it accumulates here at home to where it is needed in undeveloped regions such as Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

In place of profit-seeking overseas investment on private account conducted by Wall Street financial houses, we will see the American government creating special foreign aid agencies to administer capital transfers in adequate volume. What individual private firms refuse to do, the State can do in the long-range interests of collective capital.

SOMEWHERE, Marx wrote to the effect that no social system ever disappears until all the possibilities for development within it have been exhausted. When *Das Kapital* was written, capitalism was no more than a European island surrounded by a world of primitive economies. To this day the greater portion of the human race lives in non-industrial regions. These regions afford a vast market for investment capital.

Instead of burning or plowing under surpluses as it did in the big depression of the Thirties, the American government can provide ways to expedite the shipment of accumulated surpluses to backward areas.

I do not hold that by this policy America can be made depression proof in perpetuity, free from sharp recessions and dislocations. Even the long highway of industrial expansion from the end of our Civil War to the first World War was interrupted by periodic crises and panics. All I am saying is that there still exist in the non-Soviet world vast fields of investment and that the American government will contrive ways to keep the home economy dynamic by maintaining a steady flow of surplus capital abroad.

Mounting deficit spending and inflation engendered by this foreign aid program will step up the tempo of state regulation and introduce many garrison-like features in our society. But production and employment can be maintained at levels high enough to provide American workers and the trade unions with a stake in the *status quo* for decades to come.

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*The following letters appeared in recent issues of* Labor's Daily:

Editor, *Labor's Daily*:

Mr. Editor, the China Lobby is yelling for "preventive war." The Russians, whether sincerely or insincerely, are yelling for co-existence. Assuming that you are not in favor of the United States and the Russians engaging in atomic warfare; assuming that you are in favor of developing a lasting peace—what alternative do you propose for co-existence?

George Carver Johnson
Mobile, Alabama

Editor, *Labor's Daily*:

. . . I view with alarm [AFL] President Meany's recent recommendation that the United States reject any idea of the possibility of peaceful co-existence with the Iron Curtain countries. It is a needlessly warlike statement instead of a sincere search for peaceful solutions to our world problems. "Appeasement" and "massive retaliation" are not the only alternatives possible in American foreign policy. Honest negotiations can spell peace and a solution to many of our domestic problems. If World War III comes, we can stop worrying about our jobs and unions—most of us won't be here to fret.

La Rue Spiker
Louisville, Kentucky

# The Revolution Of Our Time

## A Speech by Bert Cochran

*This article consists of portions of a lecture delivered by Bert Cochran at a meeting in San Francisco, October 1, 1954.*

WE ARE LIVING in the most revolutionary age of history. Revolutionary—in the crumbling and disintegration of the timbers of the old structure; revolutionary—in the sweep of the new forces and the thrust into the heights of sovereign power, in one country after another, of the despised plebeian revolutionary outcasts of yesterday.

But the old ruling classes are not leaving the historical stage gracefully and peacefully. They are fighting—fighting grimly and relentlessly, fighting to keep their power, their wealth, fighting to keep their way of life which has stood them so well in the past. And this tug-of-war, this struggle to the death, this conflict with no holds barred and no quarter given, has turned the world into a living hell.

The events of the present pale the apocalyptic visions of the biblical writers of antiquity and cast into the shade the transactions of violence and destruction that accompanied the break-up of the ancient Roman Empire. The journalists described the period of Bismarck in the 1860s as one of "blood and iron." They didn't know about the present. They should be living today; then they would really comprehend what an age of "blood and iron" looks like.

Two big historical movements have come to fruition, to a climactic head, as it were, in the post-war world, and they are stoking the inexhaustible fires of revolution, which, thus far, no expeditionary forces of imperialism have been able to quench, no reigns of terror have been able to over-awe, no threats of death and destruction have been able to extinguish.

The first is the struggle for national independence on the part of the colonial peoples. The aspiration became strong in Asia after the first World War, and like fierce gusts of wind, swept over the nations time and again. But the nationalist movement was betrayed by the Chiang Kai-sheks and the Bao Dais, it was sidetracked by programs of "non-resistance," it was smeared and befouled by capitulations to the imperialists, so that for a time, it seemed as if it was quite dead, as if it had been a passing phase in the long and never-ending agony of the Asian peoples.

But the weakening of imperialism after the second World War permitted India, Burma, Indonesia to gain their political independence under middle-class leadership. And with the victory of Mao in China, a new constellation appeared that proceeded to merge the passion for national independence with the social program of industrialization, the introduction of modern technology and hygiene; and combined the struggle against foreign imperialism and interference, with the internal one against the feudal and capitalist oppressors. The colonial world had thus found a new interpreter of its aspirations and goals, and a new leadership which provided a mighty impulse to the next round of struggles.

THE SECOND big force is labor's fight against capitalism. In Western Europe, national independence had been won and capitalism had triumphed over feudalism long ago. From the Eighties and Nineties, socialism was a mass movement in Germany, Belgium, France, Italy; and with the turn of the century, England and the Scandinavian countries. After the second World War, the movement revived under either Communist or Social Democratic leadership, varying from country to country. In England, the Labor Party took over the government immediately after the war. In Italy and France, the Communist parties grew to huge proportions. In Western Germany, the Social Democratic Party reappeared and is now coming back strong.

The working classes of the West have not yet proven themselves powerful enough to topple capitalism. But they have been strong enough to prevent the imposition of authoritarian regimes, or the construction of a bloc of anti-communist states armed to the teeth. Labor in Western Europe hasn't been able to knock over its opponent. But it's been sufficiently organized to keep him off balance.

After the bloodletting of two world wars, and with its empires breaking up, capitalism went into a historic decline in the very metropolitan centers where it originally arose. As for the colonial perimeters, revolutionary wars are still flaming across these vast territories like uncontrollable prairie fires. Peoples who have been submerged for centuries, who have continued to eke out their existences with scarcely any changes since biblical times, living virtually outside of history, have suddenly straightened their backs, got their hands on guns, and are demanding their rights as nations, and as humans.

NOW, this is the period of human history in which American capitalism has risen up as the first power.

And as the sole remaining firm bastion of the old order, has set upon its task of organizing the whole world as a satellite of Washington-Wall Street, of creating a war alliance of the secondary imperialist states to put a floor under capitalism and roll back the revolutionary tide.

The United States couldn't have picked a worse time for its American Century. *Pax Americana* was doomed to be a flop before it got started. Less than ten years after emerging as the greatest victor in the war, with power and wealth eclipsing the greatest empires of history, the American rulers are in crisis, with cavilling and recriminations disrupting their own inner councils, and at loggerheads with their allies on the outside.

This is nothing short of amazing when you consider the strength of American capitalism both at home and abroad:

1. The United States came out of the war unhurt, with its power enhanced, the aristocrat, the top dog of the world. Even today, it accounts for one-half of world industrial production; and with a population representing only six percent of the world total, enjoys about 40 percent of the world income.

2. After twenty years of reformist or semi-reformist government through the instrumentality of Roosevelt and Truman, the plunderbund, with the help of the advertising agencies, and a war hero with "glamour" plus shovelsful of demagogy, finally broke through the people's defenses and put a Republican administration in office. At long last they succeeded in cutting the ties with labor and ruling in their own name and through their picked time-servers.

3. Up until a year ago, we were still in the midst of the economic boom —the longest and biggest eruption of good times in the history of the country. And there is nothing like prosperity to put the bloom on capitalism's cheeks, and restore spring and self-confidence to its stride.

4. As a result of plenty of jobs and steady paychecks, the working class was conservative, and the plutocracy enjoyed national unity at home like no other capitalist class in the whole world.

So why are they in difficulties in Washington? The crisis of Washington didn't start because of trouble at home, but because of trouble abroad. This trouble is compounded, endemic, growing, and probably incurable.

In Eastern Europe, right up to the Elbe, capitalism has been destroyed. China, the chief prize of the war with Japan in the Pacific, was whisked from America's grasp, and if that isn't enough, became the leader of the colonial offensive against America. With these vast territories—representing with Russia one-third of the world's population—pulled out of the capitalist orbit, the competition between the remaining capitalist producers became more feverish and desperate. Every capitalist country was doomed to violent instability, and most of them to decay.

IT WAS this group of shaking, quaking, weakened European powers that Washington tried to fuse together into a new Holy Alliance to over-awe the popular oppositions at home and stem and roll back the revolutionary tide abroad. But the attempt failed. At least, the initial attempt cracked up. Dulles is still cavorting around the world, appearing one day in Manila and the next in Berlin; one day in Tokyo and the following day in London. The newspapers report that he has covered more miles than any other Secretary of State in this country's history. Maybe that's what he will be chiefly remembered for. But leaving his wonderful mileage record aside, his policy is in shambles and shreds.

EDC, the attempt to splice France with Germany and create a European military force under German leadership—against "internal subversion" and against the East—has collapsed. France is headed by a semi-neutralist government; the Social Democrats are gaining in West Germany. In England, the Labor Party's influence is on the ascendant again, and the left wing is growing at the expense of the right. What Dulles can salvage out of the wreckage of five years of American diplomacy remains to be seen.

The attempt to push back the revolution in Asia has met with even less success. The best the United States could secure in Korea was a military stalemate. Only the agreement at Geneva to neutralize Southern Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia saved some pieces for French imperialism. The Southeast Asia Treaty is a stuffed-shirted facade.

More and more, American policy has to rest on the upper-class riff-raff and scum: Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, and its Quislings in the Philippines and Thailand. It banks on resurrecting a German army under the old Nazi commanding staff, and dreams of re-creating Japanese military power in a country torn by class conflicts and the rise of socialist opposition. For the rest, Washington's policy depends on naked force and unadorned blackmail.

The sum total of the oligarchy's efforts, and of the billions of dollars poured out to prop up little fuehrers and arm their mercenary bands, has been to create a deadlock between capitalism and the opponent bloc led by Russia and China. Who is containing whom is a moot question—but the two power blocs have checkmated each other. They are standing toe to toe, with one false move on anybody's part, or one carelessly thrown match, sufficient to blow up the whole powder magazine. U.S. capitalism cannot change the relationship of forces in its favor by pressure, threats, or sabre-rattling. But the other bloc, though swift historical currents are flowing in

its favor, cannot push on without the threat that it may hurl itself and all humanity into the dread holocaust.

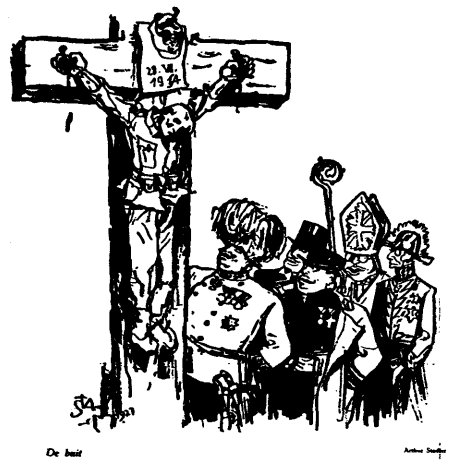
THIS IS the juncture at which we, at which all humanity stands.

In this hour of bewilderment, the Russian slogan of "co-existence" has been seized on in different quarters and is gaining in currency and favor. A whole set of nations in Asia, led by India, have declared their neutrality, refuse to join with one or the other bloc, and have enthusiastically backed the proposition. A great wave of neutralism has similarly swept over the peoples of Western Europe, who don't want any part of American anti-communist blocs and crusades.

What does "co-existence" mean? In its literal form, it means that the socialist and capitalist systems should live peacefully side by side, should not war upon each other. Its actual political meaning is that the capitalist power bloc led by the United States should come to some practical agreement (*modus vivendi*) with the power bloc led by Russia and China, as the only way to avoid the horror of a new world war. So far as the masses of people are concerned who respond to the idea, it probably represents the simple aspiration to avoid getting sucked into a new war, their resolve to have peace.

The idea for co-existence is thus powered by the deepest emotional desires and drives that animate humanity today. When you get down to the brass tacks of how it is to be instituted, you run up against the insuperable difficulties of trying to reconcile the rival claims and fears of two antagonistic and irreconcilable social systems now in a virtual state of civil war. Is co-existence to be a sanctification of the status-quo, a freezing of the existing relations and borders? But the colonial peoples who are still fighting for independence cannot, should not and will not agree to disarm and bow their necks beneath the age-old yoke.

How about the anti-capitalist struggle of the British, French, Italian, German workers? Must that be abandoned as the price of co-existence? It would be a dark day, a day of awful treachery, were anyone to agree to such a surrender—and it could not be imposed. Then we have countries like Germany and Korea, and now Indochina, whose living bodies have been



carved up by foreign invasion. Should their demands for unification be ignored, and the partitioning of their countries made the *sine qua non* of international peace? But this artificial partitioning is one of the most unsettling problems of the unsettled international pattern, one of the focal points of infection.

And if agreement is perchance reached to unite Germany, under which wing is the New Germany to nestle, the Eastern, or Western? And if it is perchance agreed to neutralize Germany, and have it eschew alliances with either bloc, what is the guarantee that such neutralization will be long honored and maintained, once the country has regained its sovereignty?

I AM NOT putting these none-too-easily answered questions as a preliminary to unloading my own favorite nostrums as to how to solve at one stroke every knotty problem that is bedeviling the international scene in our time. I am simply trying to suggest that co-existence cannot mean a freezing of the status-quo, because the status-quo is intolerable, and because, in any case, there can be no such freezing. The human mass, arising from the sleep of centuries, will not suffer being tricked or driven back to an ancient slavery, regardless of who signs what dotted lines of whatever legal parchments.

But once this is understood, we socialists are emphatic supporters of a policy of co-existence. In other words, we decidedly favor the two blocs coming to a practical agreement, because without a *modus vivendi* the tensions are bound to grow, and must sooner or later explode. And a big-power war, fought with modern weapons of destruction, may seal the doom of a large part of humanity, and all of its centers of civilization. It therefore has to be opposed with all the strength at our command. Aneurin Bevan put it very well in a recent speech he made in Japan: Socialists, he said, have to play for time. That is correct, because time is working in our favor.

Support for the idea of "co-existence" may very well become—just as in England—the starting point for a mass anti-war movement, without the American people becoming socialists all at once, but simply insisting that we stop interfering with the affairs of other peoples and let them decide their own fate, even if we are not in sympathy with their pursuits and ways of doing business.

Is there not an "irrepressible conflict" of the two systems, however, and isn't the victory of one or the other inevitable in the long run? Yes, but as the history of feudalism and capitalism has demonstrated, this is a complicated process, taking place over many years and working out its solutions in different ways. By insisting upon a *modus vivendi* and an end to capitalism's war drive today, we are helping history make the right decision, and minimizing the human sacrifices.

WHAT has been the effect of the Geneva conference and French rejection of EDC on Washington's policy-makers? Has it brought war closer, or pushed it further away? The American policy leaders are convinced that the two systems are incompatible, and that they sooner or later must go to war, that without an American victory there will be no survival for capitalism. The industrialists and bankers, the generals and admirals, seem to have further grown in the conviction in recent years that time is not with them, that possibly they have reached the apex of their strength, that as time goes on the relationship of forces may grow more unfavorable for them. Why don't they go to war right away, then? Their industrial apparatus is right now much stronger than the Russian. Their armaments are superior. They possess a vast array of bases pointing at the heart of their enemies' heartlands. Their fleet is the mightiest in the world. They still enjoy national unity

at home. The monied oligarchy may never have a better opportunity than today. Maybe they will never have one as good. Why don't they go to war, then?

Well, as you know, there is a "war-now" party in Washington, and no less a personage than Admiral Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is an enthusiastic member of it. But the preventive-war crowd is still in the minority. The revulsion, the near-panic of the British, and then the French, have further stayed the hands of the warmakers and postponed the threatened showdown.

What is it that is teaching U.S. capitalists the virtues of caution and sobriety? What is tying up a lot of trigger-happy, blood-and-guts generals?

It is the atom and hydrogen bomb! Not the horror and un-Christianity of using it on others. Not the revulsion of peoples the world over against the Pentagon mischief-makers. It is the fear of retaliation. It is the knowledge that if bombs drop on Moscow and Leningrad, the territories of the U.S.A. will not remain unscathed and its peoples go unpunished.

With Dulles' alliances in a state of sixes and sevens, and the Tory statesmen hard-pressed in Western Europe, and American capitalists still rolling in the profits at home, it looks like there will be no big-power war, for a while, at any rate.

So, let us turn our gaze closer to home affairs, and see what is transpiring in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

WE HAVE HAD two years of Republican administration and it's clear that our native Bourbons have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Of course, they have the benefit of advice of the Madison Avenue soap salesmen, and the Eisenhower personality is being gingered up by no less consummate an artist than Robert Montgomery. Under all this tutelage, Republican techniques have become more flashy than in Hoover's day, but the philosophy is the same, except grown more reckless and brutal in these cold-war times.

In the short space of two years, they have handed over billions to the oligarchy in off-shore oil reserves, and other wealth of the public domain. They have rebated additional billions in tax give-aways. They have lowered the boom on public housing and are hacking away at TVA and federal power. They have tightened the noose around labor's throat with iniquitous "right to work" laws in most of the states, and have fashioned the National Labor Relations Board into an instrument of union-baiting and union-busting. Using the McCarthyites as stalking horses, they have pushed through the Brownell package of police-state laws, which go a long way toward destroying the protective guarantees of the Bill of Rights, and the freedom of the individual to think, to talk, to write, to act.

The United States may always have been a country that chased the dollar. Money may always have been the measure of success and achievement in the dominant circles, and the commonly accepted measuring rod of worth and attainment among our people. But along with vulgar materialism, there existed a large measure of good-natured tolerance, a strong democratic tradition, especially in the big cities. And—despite the ferocity and violence of industrialists and public officials in stamping out unions and framing up labor organizers—dissenters, reformers, critics and radicals were able to find sufficient support in the conscience of America to fight back with some effectiveness, and often ameliorate by their efforts the worst features of capitalist rule.

Democracy took an awful beating at home in the first World War—that was the war to "save the world for democracy." But the totalitarian concepts and mob rule then introduced were simply a passing practice session for today's cold, crafty, deliberately fashioned and contrived, step-by-step, massive campaign to envelop the country in fanaticism and hysteria, and to set us marching with flying banners and rolling drums on to the police state. Under the McCarthys, McCarrans and Brownells, the United States has become a hateful place. There is plenty of oratory about the "free world." But freedom is disappearing from our lives. Writers in search of a comparison of the present with the past refer with increasing frequency to the Spain of Torquemada and the Inquisition, or Britain before the Star Chamber passed into oblivion.

SOME, in comparing the present scourge with the one in 1919, have said the Palmer raids were far worse than anything we have witnessed today. That would be small consolation even if true, but they are entirely mistaken. The Palmer raids may have been cruder, they may have lacked the finesse and suavity of the present purges, but they affected only a small segment of the population. The present witch-hunt is billowing out in wave upon wave until no one is escaping, or will escape its effects. The Palmer raids lasted a short time, at most two years, and were smothered with the inception of President Harding's return to "normalcy." By the time of his amnesty on Christmas of 1921, the terror was over for practical purposes. In contrast, the present witch-hunt has already lasted eight years, and it is still gaining in momentum.

There is a reason for the difference. The Palmer raids were set off by the fright in high places about the possible spread of Bolshevism. But it was soon clear that Russia was embroiled in its own civil war, and the revolution had been stopped at the gates of Warsaw. The plutocracy could thus settle back in its club-rooms with a sigh of relief that the danger had passed. The present panic arises from the actual spread of the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement in both Europe and Asia which directly constricts and perils the position of American capitalism. Moreover, the danger isn't subsiding; it is increasing. No wonder the rich are getting psychopathic on the subject, and striking out, like wounded beasts, in all directions.

The labor movement woke up to the danger from the Right very late; and then only to its McCarthyite phase; and even here, limited itself to pious resolutions deploring the excesses

and relying on the so-called Democratic liberals to step in and save the day. It is a commentary on the decline that a labor movement that produced a Haywood and a Debs in the past should be so conspicuously absent in the defense of civil liberties during the worst wave of hysteria in the history of the Republic. The labor leaders have been hooked into the anti-communist crusade as effectively as Gompers was hooked by the National Civic Federation. Their reflexes have become so deadened that even the passage in the past weeks of the law which sets up government licensing of unions hardly ruffled their equanimity. A few mild protests—and then back to business as usual.

BUT THE UNIONS are finding it tougher and tougher to conduct business as usual. The political reaction is cutting into their bread and butter. The big boys are slapping each other on the back, they are gloating that at last they have found the right combination and have the unions on the run.

The leaders of our big labor organizations—the self-admitted "labor statesmen"—are bewildered by the sequence of unfavorable events, and are reacting spasmodically without a clearly thought-out plan. In some cases, they are in unabashed retreat, accepting wage cuts and giving up gains that had been bought at great sacrifice in bitterly contested battles. In many cases, they are calling defensive strikes just to hold their own. As an overall strategy, they are banking on a Democratic comeback. They hope that the political climate will then turn in their favor again, and labor will be able to resume its interrupted march forward.

It is entirely possible that the Democrats will make big gains in November, and this may be the prelude to a full scale comeback in 1956. A Democratic victory would certainly mean that labor surged to the polls in serried ranks and consummated a *de facto* alliance again, to this limited extent, with the white collar and lower middle-class people.

Would this presage a return to the New Deal? It would be the biggest mistake to think so, and to base any strategy on that anticipation. One need only recall Truman's final term, which he owed incidentally above all to labor, to realize that a progressive-reform period cannot be reintroduced by the Democratic Party today—by the alliance of the conservative Northern political machines and Southern Dixiedom. For that task new forces, new lineups, new leaders, new programs would be required.

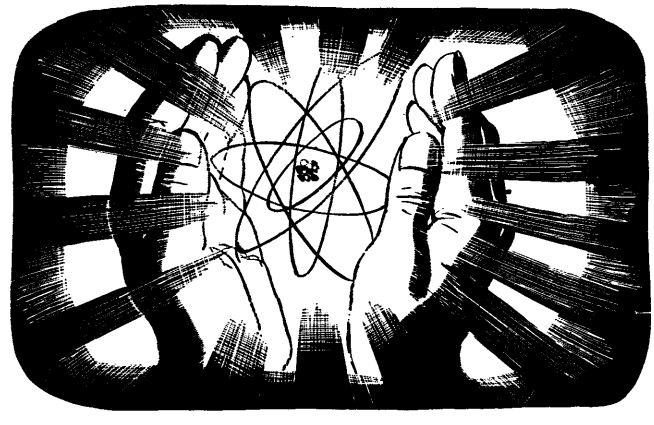
The avowed and publicly proclaimed program of this party guarantees its inability to power a new reform era in this country. The Democrats are committed to an aggressive armaments and war policy, originated as a matter of fact under Truman-Acheson. The Democrats are committed to the witch-hunt, again inaugurated under Truman, and now brought to a resounding climax by the so-called Senate liberals.

The squabble over the gubernatorial nomination in New York State these last few weeks is an illuminating proposition. The Democratic bosses in New York State, of all places, where organized labor has some 2 million members, told the labor leaders off when they turned down cold their biggest vote-getter, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., in favor of Harriman, the multi-millionaire banker. The head of Tammany Hall growled that this was a demonstration that the Democratic Party was not going to be taken over by the left wing. I mention this not with the implication that Roosevelt is a left-winger, or an adequate representative for the hosts of labor, but as indicating who runs the Democratic Party even in the most liberal state of the Union. Given this leadership, and these policies, the most labor can reasonably hope to get out of a Democratic victory is a few crumbs, some fringe benefits, and even those in diminishing doses, if the war tensions increase.

IN OTHER WORDS, labor cannot reverse the present reactionary trend, and start on the highroad of progress again, by the policies and methods of 1933. It needs a tactic and an outlook adequate for this second half of the twentieth century, with its cold-war alarums, its widening witch-hunt, its increasingly reckless capitalist class. There is no possibility of breaking out of the vicious circle of the present, there is no chance of arresting the decline and retreat, until labor fuses with its natural allies, minority groups and lower middle-class liberals, to launch a new political party on the American scene.

Will a party like the British one, or a reasonable facsimile thereof, be formed in the foreseeable future? We know that labor, both in the leadership and the ranks, is very much attached to the Democrats right now. But the attachment is based on the mistaken belief that they can get a whole lot out of the coalition. Once the idea sinks in that the alliance is a fraud and a snare, labor's political outlook can change with lightning rapidity. And when broad labor ranks feel that their trust and loyalty have been imposed upon, that they have been played for suckers, labor will not simply swing back again, like a well-oiled gate, to the Republicans, but will strike out to blaze a new trail in American politics.

I say this is bound to happen, unless we assume that all the rules and laws of history that have been operative in the older European countries have no application here. I don't know the exact form the new movement will take; and I can't pinpoint the time. But the forces are present to call the new movement into being, and historic events are pushing the labor battalions in that direction.



**A Review-Article**

# Russia: After Lenin And After Stalin

**by Isaac Deutscher**

*The Interregnum,* 1923-1924 (*A History of Soviet Russia, Volume* 4), *by Edward Hallet Carr. Macmillan, London and New York.*

MR. E. H. CARR'S *History of Soviet Russia* holds a unique position in the vast literature on Bolshevism and Soviet Russia which has appeared in recent years. No other work on this subject comparable in scope and scale exists in English or in any other language, including the Russian. Mr. Carr's study has already superseded all other histories, with the exception of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution,* a work which, curiously enough, has not received from Mr. Carr the attention it deserves. Unlike the bulk of the "Sovietological" writings of the past few years, Mr. Carr's study owes nothing to the atmosphere of the cold war, except perhaps the author's resolute detachment and determination to keep his historical perspective unblurred by the needs, demands, prejudices, and ideological fashions of the moment. Mr. Carr is in a sense the first real historian of Soviet Russia, and because of this his work outweighs in substance and importance the output of all the "research centres," institutes and colleges specializing in Russia which have proliferated in recent years, especially on the other side of the Atlantic.

The first three volumes of this *History* carried the narrative and interpretation of the Bolshevist revolution down to the end of the "Lenin era," to the year 1923, when the Bolshevist regime, recovering from civil war and intervention and having embarked upon the New Economic Policy, was struggling hard to find a new social balance at home and to regain for Russia a place in the international arena. It had been the author's intention to deal with the subsequent period, the formative years of the Stalin era, in a separate volume under the title "The Struggle for Power, 1923-1928." But after examining the historical materials he has modified his design. "The title originally suggested for this period," he says in the preface to the present volume, "seemed too trivial and inadequate to the fundamental issues involved in the struggle"; and so he has decided to devote two volumes, under the title *Socialism in One Country,* to the developments of 1924-26. The modification offers a new glimpse of the eventual outline of the *History,* and it leaves the reader wondering about the implication. When Mr. Carr confesses that the title "The Struggle for Power" now seems to him "too trivial and inadequate to the fundamental issues," does he foreshadow only a change in the layout and composition of his study or does he throw out a self-critical hint at a shift of emphasis or at a partial revision of his own view of history?

IN THE meantime Mr. Carr offers us the narrative and analysis of that interregnum which separated the Lenin era from Stalin's ascendancy, "the period of confusion and uncertainty during the months of Lenin's last illness and the first weeks after his death." This installment is in every respect up to the standard of the previous volumes, rich and solid in the fabric of historical fact, ranging widely over the economic, social, and political problems, painstaking in research, and lucid in presentation. The pace of the narrative is more rapid than before, and the pages are not clogged by an accumulation of tedious detail.

The interest of this volume to the student of Russia needs no further underlining, but much of it is of exceptional interest to the general reader as well. This description of the post-Lenin interregnum is published in the middle of the interregnum which began after Stalin's death. Mr. Carr makes no allusion to this coincidence. Moreover, this is "an interim volume," and so he refrains even from bringing together the threads of his narrative and from making generalizations which might turn the reader's mind from 1923-24 to the present time. Yet the volume may indirectly contribute to an understanding of the transition phase through which Russia is passing at present. It throws into relief those features which today's situation has in common with the post-Lenin crisis, and it illumines even more sharply the fundamental differences. The author describes the action, though not yet the interplay, of those diverse factors, economic, social, international, political and personal, which thirty years ago were impelling Bolshevism on to the road of Stalinism.

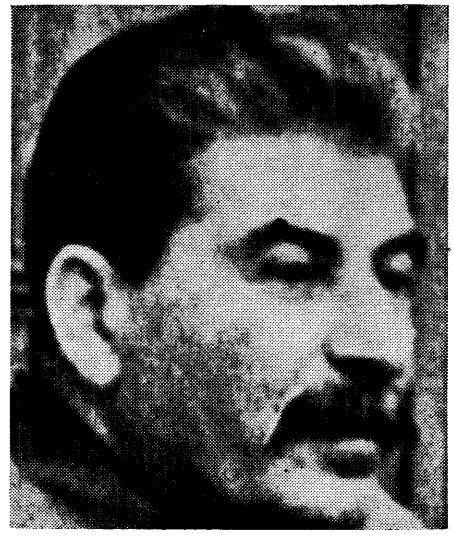
In the economic field Russia's problems were then epitomized by the so-called scissors crisis. Under the stimulus of the concessions to private property which N.E.P. had brought, Russian agriculture was rapidly recovering. The famine of 1921 was followed by two abundant harvests and consequently agricultural production was not far below the pre-revolutionary level. This rapid recovery was due largely to the extremely primitive character of Russian farming: it was a recovery up to a traditional, near-barbarian standard. No capital investment, no machinery, no complicated processes of reconstruction were needed to enable the *muzhik* to put his wooden plough to work and to reap the crops. He had only to be induced to sell his produce; and the revival of private trade had supplied the inducement.

*Mr. Deutscher is the author of biographies of Stalin and Trotsky, and of many current articles of analysis about the Soviet Union. His review-article on E. H. Carr's latest volume, republished here with the author's permission, has appeared in a British periodical.*

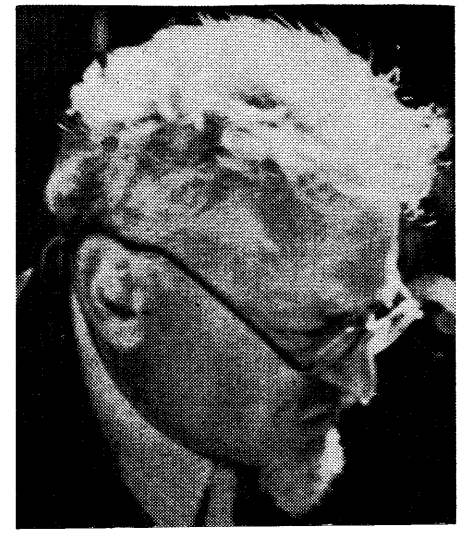
NO SUCH rapid recovery was possible in industry. Most of Russia's industrial plant had been destroyed in the civil war; the rest was rusting in idleness. During the civil war and the subsequent famines the industrial labor force had dispersed and disintegrated. The most energetic and socially conscious elements of the working class had either perished on the battlefields or had entered the ranks of the new bureaucracy. A great mass of workers had fled from the starving towns to the countryside and become reabsorbed by the peasantry from which they had emerged in comparatively recent times. In 1922-23 workers were returning to the towns, but few found employment. Industry produced only a small fraction of what it had turned out before 1914. The strong demand for consumer goods, the revival of private trade and the profit motive gave a stimulus to consumer industries, where the wheels began to turn. But heavy industry seemed still paralysed, and industrial Russia had apparently been thrown back half a century.

The disproportion between industry and farming was reflected in the "scissors" (the term was coined by Trotsky) between high industrial prices and extremely low prices for agricultural produce. Industrial commodities were beyond the peasant's reach, and in spite of the still prevailing famine of goods, could not be sold; this was the "sales crisis" of 1923. The gulf between town and country, superficially bridged by N.E.P., threatened to open again. At the labor exchanges crowds of unemployed workers fought with their fists for the few available jobs. Those who obtained employment got starvation wages and were cheated even of these, first by the "galloping" devaluation of the rouble, then by the manipulation of "socialist" managers, acting under pressure of financial stringency. All classes were engaged in a violent scramble for a share in the national loaf, while that loaf was so small that "fair shares" were an economic and physical impossibility. The Bolshevist rulers aspired to "build socialism" in a country where, for the time being, the foundations were lacking not only for socialism but even for any primitive variety of capitalism.

THESE circumstances boded ill for the egalitarian aspirations of early Bolshevism. What was now to come first—the satisfaction of the peasant's needs, as Zinoviev, Rykov and others urged, or an improvement in the condition of the workers, for which the workers themselves clamoured? Or should attention first be concentrated on increasing the national loaf, rather than on the claims for respective shares in it? And was the loaf to be increased by methods of State planning, advocated by Trotsky, or by further concessions to property and trade? These questions underlay the incipient divisions in the Party. Mr. Carr thus sums up the crisis:



STALIN



TROTSKY

> *The proletariat had seized power; the means of production belonged to it. Yet the revolution had brought it few material advantages. These had gone for the most part to the specialist and the nepman. The conditions were sufficiently similar to those prevailing in the factories in the worst days of the Czarist regime to provoke wry reflections on the fate of the workers under the "workers' state."*

Yet this was only a bitter foretaste of what was to come: During the three decades of the Stalin era the workers' State was to be little better than a myth, at least so far as the workers' condition in the State was concerned. Incapable of satisfying working-class aspirations, Stalinism pressed the proletariat as well as the other social classes into the discipine of a hierarchical, anti-egalitarian and totalitarian State; and it used that State to further Russia's industrialization and collectivization. What enabled Stalinism to impose the totalitarian discipline was initially the numerical weakness and the physical and moral exhaustion of the remnant of the old working class, and later the political illiteracy and social immaturity of a new and growing working class recruited forcibly from the peasantry. Towards the end of the Lenin era the industrial working class was a mere shadow of its pre-revolutionary self; is it surprising that the workers' State, too, had only a shadowy existence?

IN MARXIST TERMS, the revolution resulted in a temporary collapse of the structure of Soviet society. The political superstructure, the Bolshevist dictatorship, withstood the shock; but it could not be qualitatively superior to the social structure. The workers' State turned out to be a prodigy of a bureaucratic machine. The painful transition from the dream of the workers' State to the reality of bureaucratic absolutism was the most important element of the interregnum here described. Another facet of the crisis was connected with Russia's international position. Mr. Carr continues the story of the efforts made by Bolshevism to break out of its isolation. These efforts proceeded on two planes, that of conventional diplomacy, striving to re-establish contact with foreign bourgeois governments, and that of revolutionary action aiming at the overthrow of those governments. Success or

failure in either of those fields determined the degree of Bolshevist concentration on the other. Hopes for revolution abroad were at their highest when the Soviet diplomatic fortunes were at their lowest, and *vice versa.* The defeat of German Communism after the Ruhr crisis of 1923 shattered Bolshevist optimism about the spread of revolution in Europe; and the German *debacle* became one of the issues in the struggle over the succession to Lenin.

Mr. Carr describes this process in detail but he still refrains from foreshadowing the ideological impact of the German defeat on the Bolshevist mind. What the German defeat was to bring home slowly but inexorably to the Bolshevists, or rather to their ruling group, was the need to accept, at least for the foreseeable future, the fact of isolation and to shape policies within its framework. The doctrine of "Socialism in one country" was to achieve this. It was not that through it Stalinism openly broke with the revolutionary internationalism of the earlier period. That internationalism survived through the Stalin era, but it survived only in a state of hibernation from which it was to be violently awakened by the second World War, and then tinged with quasi-imperialism. The 1923 interregnum was the prelude to nearly two decades of Stalinist "isolationism." (This term, however, must be qualified; it was only as a revolutionary that the Stalin of the middle and late 1920s and of the 1930s was an "isolationist." As statesman and diplomatist he was during most of that period anything but that.)

THE RELEVANCE of Mr. Carr's study to the problems of the post-Stalin era consists in its suggestion of a profound difference between the nature of the interregnum of 1923-24 and that of 1953-54. The Russia of to-day is the second industrial power of the world. Her urban population has grown by about fifty million people in the course of the Stalin era. Soviet society to-day, with its massive, modernized and still expanding structure, can hardly be contented with the political superstructure which it has inherited from the Stalin era. Its problems and dilemmas are very different from those which preoccupied and oppressed Russia thirty years ago. The bizarre orthodoxy of Stalinism, with its compulsive uniformity and conformity, has become an anachronism; and there is no lack of recent indications of a growing, though as yet uncrystallized, desire in Russia to rid society of the constraining elements of the Stalinist heritage. Finally, the isolation of the Soviet Union is now, with China and Eastern Europe under Communist rule, a matter of the past. Nothing illustrates the contrast between the two interregna more eloquently than the fact that the Lenin cult was born only after Lenin's death, while the Stalin cult has died with Stalin.

MR. CARR correctly describes the beginnings of the Lenin cult as incidental to the struggle over the succession to Lenin. The cult was to help the triumvirs Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev to defeat Trotsky. To this struggle Mr. Carr devotes the concluding section of his book. Here he still seems to be groping towards the issues at stake, although he describes the early incidents of the struggle fully, convincingly and impartially. For the first time he now turns from the description of institutions and policies to the motives, ambitions and jealousies of personalities. He is critical of all the chief Bolshevist leaders, but there is a difference in kind between the criticisms he makes of them. In the description of Stalin's action he uses such adjectives as "hypocritical," "sly and cunning." Trotsky, on the other hand, puzzles Mr. Carr because of his tactical errors, his hesitancy and his insufficient militancy against Stalin. "The principal members of the Opposition," Mr. Carr says, "were singularly free from the gifts of demagogy." Yet, in spite of Mr. Carr's austerely reticent and deliberately unimaginative language, perhaps even against his intention, the real hero of these pages is Trotsky, already succumbing to defeat. For all his tactical ineffectualness, he emerges from this narrative as the great precursor, the originator of ideas the realization of which lay in the future, the first determined and brilliant advocate of planned economy, and the only one among the chief Bolshevist leaders to protest against the growth of bureaucratic absolutism. This, incidentally, is the author's implicit refutation of those of his critics who have seen in him only the worshipper of success and the theorist of power politics with a mind closed to history's lost causes. To the greatest and the most pathetic of the lost causes of the Russian Revolution Mr. Carr's mind seems to be wide open.

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# BOOK REVIEW

## *Poet and Martyr*

*The Man Who Never Died, by Barrie Stavis. Haven Press, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., 1954, $3.*

BARRIE STAVIS, who gained recognition as a playwright with his "Lamp at Midnight," received a Fellowship from the National Theatre Conference in 1948, when he began to work on a play about the Wobbly poet and songwriter, Joe Hill, who was framed on a murder charge in Utah and shot in 1915.

"Almost at once," he relates, "I discovered that the preliminary hearings and the bulk of the records of the trial in the district court had disappeared . . . that the federal government during its raids on the IWW headquarters seized many official records; that a fire which gutted IWW headquarters some years later had destroyed other valuable material. What remained was scattered over the United States. . . . However, the material was there; it required patience, imagination and hard work to dig it out."

Mr. Stavis spent the next five years uncovering this material and writing his book. He first wrote the play, and then extended his preface until it makes a solid 116-page work, entitled "Notes on Joe Hill and His Times." The book is thus divided into two parts, with the first containing many hitherto unpublished letters and documents dealing with Joe Hill's case. The second part is the play.

Only a movement as heroic and pure as the IWW could have produced a figure like Joe Hill. Born in Sweden as Joseph Hillstrom, he came to America in 1901 at the age of 19. He soon drifted westward as thousands of others, looking for work. He stacked wheat, laid pipe, dug copper, was a dockwalloper on the West Coast, occasionally shipped out. What was unusual about him was that unlike his fellow workers, Joe was also a songwriter. His first known effort, "Casey Jones," he wrote in 1911 while he was dock-walloping in San Pedro during the Southern Pacific strike, one year after he had joined the IWW.

The Little Red Song Book put out by the IWW soon became its most popular piece of literature and Joe Hill came to be recognized as labor's first songwriter. In an incredibly short time his songs were known and sung by hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country.

Joe Hill remained a Wobbly activist, participated in the big Free Speech fight of San Diego in 1912, and the following year was working in the copper mines at Utah, which at this time was the scene of fierce industrial warfare between the copper bosses and the IWW. After the union victory in the Tucker strike, public officials, at the instigation of the Utah Construction Company, began a reign of terror against the IWW. Ed Rowan, secretary of Local 69 at Salt Lake City, wrote in *Solidarity* on Jan. 3, 1914, calling attention to the need for legal defense.

SEVEN DAYS after his article appeared, two masked men entered the grocery store of one Morrison, an ex-policeman, and shot him and his older son. The grocer's younger son, a boy of 13, the only eyewitness to the shooting, could not identify the killer. That same night, Joe Hill went to the offices of a Dr. McHugh for treatment of a gun wound. He told the doctor that he had been shot in a quarrel over a woman, and that he would like to keep the matter quiet. Three days later, by pre-arrangement with the police, Dr. McHugh administered a sedative to Joe Hill so he would be asleep when the police arrived.

In a written statement, Joe Hill described how he was awakened by a knock at the door. Then, "four men came in with revolvers in their hands. A shot rang out and a bullet passed right over my chest, grazing my shoulder and penetrating my right hand through the knuckles, crippling me for life. . . . The only thing that saved my life at that time was the officer's inefficiency with firearms. . . ." Thus the case started with a deliberate attempt to murder Joe Hill. If the attempt had gone off according to plan, the story would probably have been released that the man charged with the slaying of Morrison and his son was killed while resisting arrest.

For the first few months after he was seized, Joe Hill refused to allow the IWW to come to his aid, mistakenly insisting that it was a strictly personal matter. Only toward the end of March did it dawn on him that a major frameup had been set in motion and that it was the concern of the whole organization. At that, it was already too late, as the newspapers had fanned the community into a frenzy of hate; and defense counsel was, at the very least, totally inadequate, if not worse.

In a dramatic moment at the trial, Joe Hill rose and addressed the court as follows: "I have three prosecutors here. I intend to get rid of two of them." With that he dismissed his two lawyers. Judge Ritchie promptly appointed the two as *"amicus curiae,"* friends of the court, bringing them right back into the case, despite Joe Hill's contrary wishes. The conduct of the trial in the lower court made for a foregone verdict.

EARLY in May 1915, Joe Hill met Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for an hour in a small alcove off the jail corridor. On May 22, *Solidarity* published the story of her visit on the front page: "Never has there been a movement that made an impress on history, sterile of song. . . . Employers who judge their workers as 'dumb, driven cattle' intuitively sense the menace of strikers who

unite, not in sullen apathy, but laughing and singing. . . . They hate it, they fear it, they would crush it! So they've put our brave Joe Hill in prison, AND HE'LL NEVER COME OUT ALIVE IF THEY CAN HELP IT! . . . I've seen men more concerned about a six-months sentence than Joe Hill apparently worries about his life. He only said: 'I'm not afraid of death, but I'd like to be in the fight a little longer.' "

The article touched off a big movement to save Joe Hill's life. But on July 14, after hearing from his new attorney, Judge Hilton, who had been associated in 1906 with Darrow in the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case, that an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court would be very expensive and would probably not avail, Joe Hill made his decision that the case should be closed forthwith: "We cannot afford to drain the resources of the whole organization and weaken its fighting strength just on account of one individual," he wrote. But Ed Rowan, Bill Haywood and others could not agree with Joe's estimate. They agreed that the main effort must be for organization, but in their opinion defense was organization.

By the middle of August, the campaign was gathering weight and momentum, and soon attained international dimensions. Thirty thousand workers assembled in Australia to demand the immediate freeing of Joe Hill and called for a boycott of American goods until he was released. Many AFL locals now took up the cudgels. Gene Debs wrote an impassioned appeal addressed to labor. Letters and telegrams began pouring into Salt Lake City calling for his pardon. *The Telegram* commented: "Considered in numbers it is doubtful if so many persons ever before expressed direct concern over the fate of a condemned man in the West."

After the Board of Pardons refused to intervene, the Joe Hill Defense Committee issued a 4-page leaflet consisting of part of an interview with Hill's lawyer, entitled, "A Travesty on Justice." It read: "I say without the slightest hesitation that the trial which resulted in Hillstrom's conviction was the most unjust, wicked and farcical travesty on justice that has ever occurred in the West. To an impartial board of pardons I can easily demonstrate such fact without any argument."

MEANWHILE, the Swedish government was feeling a vast amount of pressure to enter the case. Accordingly, its Minister wired the Swedish vice-consul in Salt Lake City and communicated with the State Department. When this was made public, Governor Spry of Utah announced that a reprieve would be granted only at the direct request of the State Department, which had just announced that it was without authority in the matter. After the State Department reversed itself and made such a request, Governor Spry answered that no new situation existed.

With October 1, the date of execution, drawing perilously close, the Swedish Minister cut through directly to Governor Spry bluntly requesting a postponement of the execution. Finally, with only approximately thirty hours remaining, the Swedish Minister took the unusual step of wiring directly President Woodrow Wilson, saying he was convinced that Hill had not had a fair trial, and that he had been instructed by his government to make representations on his behalf. President Wilson then telegraphed a request to the Governor of Utah asking if it would not be possible to postpone the execution. Upon receipt of this, the Governor granted a reprieve of sixteen days.

The Board of Pardons met again on October 16 and turned its face against any commutation or pardon. The press campaign against Joe Hill and the IWW had by now reached lynching proportions. The next day, Hilton issued the following public challenge to the Board of Pardons:

"Assuming that your reasons for denying clemency to Joseph Hillstrom are correctly set forth in the public press this morning, and for the purpose of showing that they are not founded on either the law or facts in the case, but are intended to and do delude and deceive the public, I respectfully make the offer to publicly discuss the facts at any time in any city in the United States with any member of your board, or all of them; such discussion to be before the date assigned for his execution. . . . I would be of 'meaner stuff than men are made of' if I did not, in the brief time of life now allotted him, challenge you and each of you to the proofs! . . . . If Hillstrom is judicially murdered, the people of this country—the great jury to whom we must all go at last—shall fully understand just where rests the full measure of responsibility for 'the deep damnation of his taking off.' "

EARLY in November, AFL President Gompers, on his way to the AFL national convention in San Francisco, gave an

interview to the reporter of the Salt Lake City *Telegram*, in the course of which he asked the governor to extend clemency. On November 11, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, accompanied by Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, a member of the New York Public Service Commission and a power in politics, travelled to Washington and obtained a ten-minute interview with President Wilson, after which he promised to do what he could. On November 16, the AFL convention at San Francisco called for executive pardon after listening the previous day to a presentation of the facts in the case from Tom Mooney. Thereupon, President Wilson again telegraphed Governor Spry urging reconsideration of the case. This time Governor Spry flatly refused, and in the cold early morning of November 17, 1915, they led Joe Hill out into the prison yard, five hired riflemen moved into position, and four bullets (one was a blank) tore through Joe Hill's heart.

No hall could be hired in Salt Lake City for the funeral services; all proprietors refused to rent their premises. The services therefore had to be held in the tiny chapel of the funeral parlor, seating at most two hundred. Long before the funeral parlor opened its doors, a huge line had formed, and when the parlor closed its doors at 10 P.M. for the night, the line had not diminished in length. The *Telegram* estimated that 9,000 passed before the casket that day alone. The next day on Sunday, thousands packed outside for the services. The body was then shipped to Chicago, where funeral services were held in the West Side Auditorium, seating 3,000. Again, the hall could not begin to accommodate the huge throngs. For blocks around, all traffic was at a standstill as an estimated 30,000 people converged on the area.

THE IWW had many faults and lacks, but it was a grand, beautiful movement and it produced real men and women. The lump rises in one's throat upon reading of those heroic days, and the brave, unaffected behavior of these sterling labor pioneers.

Barrie Stavis' "Notes on Joe Hill and His Times" is an admirable gathering together of the indispensable source materials of the case and its background. It is not, as Stavis himself points out, a full-scale biography. But it comprises the necessary foundation for any such work.

"The Man Who Never Died" gets its name from the well-known song, "Joe Hill," by Hayes and Robinson, which in turn is based on a speaker's remark at a protest meeting held in Salt Lake City the night before the execution: "Something is going to happen. Joe Hill will never die. You hear it, everybody? Joe Hill will never die!"

The play is direct, forceful and carries dramatic impact. Stavis hews closely to the facts, only in a few instances introducing fictional characters or conclusions, but always in the spirit of the actual life-drama. The play is so compactly drawn that various scenes can be played by themselves as units. The suggested stage sets are of extreme simplicity. It is to be hoped that many theater groups will produce it.

B. C.

## *Hearst Is the Model*

*The Fall of a Titan, by Igor Gouzenko. W. W. Norton, New York,* 1954, $4.50.

MR. GOUZENKO is the former Soviet code clerk in the Canadian embassy who flip-flopped to the West in 1945, bringing with him 109 secret documents. He has now published a bulky novel about Russia in the early Thirties.

"The Fall of a Titan" is supposed to be about a figure modeled upon the great Russian writer, Maxim Gorky. The writer in the book, Mikhail Gorin, is acting in a way not satisfactory to the regime; the GPU is set upon him and seeks to alter his path; eventually kills him, and then gives out that his death was from natural causes.

The sole factual thread which might be traced between this story and Gorky's death is the fact that, during the Moscow trials in the late Thirties, a former GPU official, taking his turn in the prisoners' dock, was charged with having arranged for the poisoning of Gorky. At the time, there was much speculation as to whether the charge might not have some basis in fact, in the sense that the Stalin regime might have ordered Gorky's removal and then used this as a charge against the GPU when they wanted to purge it.

Unlike his previous opus, Mr. Gouzenko does not here propose to present a documented and authentic factual version. He aims, presumably, at an imaginative and artistic re-creation of Russian life and politics in literary form. We must report that, however authentic his first hundred-and-nine documents may or may not have been, his hundred-and-tenth strikes one as being wooden and unsubstantial.

GOUZENKO'S book is throughout motivated by the single-minded desire to titillate the palate of the Western petty-bourgeois with atrocity tales. The story and the setting, as well as the actions of people, become only a connecting tissue for a series of grotesque episodes. None can doubt that the era of Russia's bootstrap-heaving ascent into the ranks of the great industrial powers was characterized by such episodes in plenty—especially as the groupings of bureaucrats became increasingly separated from the people under Stalin's regime. But a novel, if it is not to be a fictionalized propaganda tract, must try to give a true, living picture. It must set the episodes in some generalized background, and people them with genuine persons, or types of persons.

Gouzenko may perhaps possess a social or psychological comprehension, but if he does, his object of giving the cold-war public what it wants prevents him from exhibiting any of this. In the end, his stories of the whip and the boot themselves fail to come alive. In trying too hard to be a propagandist, he fails—even as a propagandist—and certainly as a novelist.

Mr. Gouzenko does have a certain skill with language and narrative, and an ability to make things flow smoothly from his pen. So pat is everything, in fact, that he finds a way to include in his story practically every cliche of the cold war. Nothing is omitted.

The complete moral and intellectual dishonesty of *every* communist is painstakingly and unrelievedly underlined. The higher officials are perfect mechanical monsters, lacking even a single complication. The new economic structure is not a social fact with a big place in history, but a mere extension of the personal depravity of the leaders. The Revolution and its aftermath are portrayed, instead of as a social process with roots, causes and significance, as the unalloyed work of desperate mountebanks who sought brutality for its own sake.

WE OFFER a contrasting example from history and literature. Charles Dickens, like most middle-class Englishmen of his day, was convinced that the French Revolution, in its terroristic aspects, was a heinous affair. He set out to write a novel one of the purposes of which was to display that heinousness as he saw it.

But Dickens, like all genuine artists, was constitutionally unable to write a propaganda tract which excluded the souls of people, the real moods and feelings of classes, the social climate of an era, the truth in its many aspects. "A Tale of Two Cities" thus included, besides the very real sorrows of the victims in the tumbrils, a moving picture of the poverty and oppression which drove the people to rebel, and an understanding of their passion for revenge. It pictured people on both sides of the barricades as complex and three-dimensional as they really are, and not as manufactured stereotypes.

Every writer can't be a Dickens, but even a reactionary can write more truthfully and interestingly when he takes a Dickens—instead of a William Randolph Hearst—for his model.

H. B.

## *A Class B Scenario*

*Most Likely To Succeed, by John Dos Passos. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York,* 1954, $3.50.

IT HAS often been observed that once-devout Catholics, even after they break with the church, continue to be dominated by it in their thinking, even if in a negative way. The church has been the biggest influence of their lives, and even in hostility, they continue to revolve around it as satellites around a powerful star.

So, Dos Passos, after breaking with the communist movement and moving over to the extreme right of the Republican Party, cannot get the past out of his system. He broods about it, and worries about it, and the more he thinks about it, the more hypnotized does he become with the "communist menace" which begins to assume gargantuan proportions, and weird, fantastic shapes and forms—all based on some wisps of reality, but having about the same re-

lation to it as the tales of John Buchan, or E. Phillips Oppenheim.

This is a story of Jed Morris, a bright Jewish boy voted in college "most likely to succeed." He becomes a playwright, has a Broadway hit, takes a flier as a foreign correspondent, signs a contract to write for the movies. Out in Hollywood, he gets established as an important writer, makes money, has lots of women; thus life would apparently be beautiful and complete in every respect—but for one fatal flaw. Yes, you guessed it. Jed Morris is a c-o-m-m-u-n-i-s-t! Horrible, but true. He got involved in this awful business while living in Greenwich Village. He was surrounded by party members when he was director of a little-theater project. Then, in Hollywood, he finally joined up as a full-fledged member.

WHY did he do it? Why does anybody do it? What is going on in the country that would induce people to turn against this society? We'll never know from reading this book, anymore than from any other shilling shocker. Because, just as in a mystery thriller, the mundane events of life rush by leaving hardly a trace of impact on our cast of characters, and they carry on their pursuits for reasons which are neither plausible nor clear.

For the first half of the book, while Jed is living in Greenwich Village and is a director of a little theater, the characters have some vague resemblance to persons living or dead. Once he heads for Hollywood, we have entered the portals of the Class B movie kingdom for good and all, and it becomes pointless any more to relate the situations to the world we live in. The communists are old, familiar villains: They are the "Japs" of 1942, and the "Huns" of 1917. They talk out of the sides of their mouths, they sneer, they are insulting, they are scoundrels.

Our "hero," Jed Morris, gets into the spirit of the act, and begins ranting and spouting soap-box speeches on any and every conceivable occasion, especially when he is trying to make tender love to some cute starlet. His common-law wife from Greenwich Village days leaves him because he's such an egotistic cad and because she can't take the communism any longer. He takes up with another beauty (all the young women in this book are beautiful) whom he originally met on a trans-Atlantic steamer. She is divorced from a Santa Barbara playboy who ran through several million dollars left him by his father. In the early part of the book, she showed some signs of anti-Semitism. Now, she is apparently working for the FBI and spying on her lover. This is the best our author can produce in the way of a symbol of a "loyal American."

ONE involuntarily turns back the cover to make sure that this rodomontade was actually written by the great John Dos Passos. Many important writers have produced their quota of pot-boilers, but there is more than that involved in the case of Dos Passos. He reads like a man who has lost his bearings. His old radical outlook has been shattered, and he finds nothing to substitute for it but the cliches of civics text books and the oily hypocrisy of the Chambers of Commerce. If this book is any criterion, these do not provide very good raw materials for a work of art.

John Dos Passos was an important figure in the generation of intellectuals who turned to the left in the early Twenties. In one of his first books, "Three Soldiers," he penned his bitter disillusionment with the first World War. After "Manhattan Transfer" and "The 42nd Parallel," Dos Passos achieved world-wide fame. A great writer, he was an enormous influence in the field of literature, and mirrored in superb manner the spirit of the times.

In 1932, he was one of the 52 well-known writers and artists who signed a manifesto for Foster and Ford, the Communist Party candidates in that election. Five years later, Dos Passos returned from Spain, disillusioned with Stalinism as a result of what he saw in the civil war, and recorded his experiences in "The Adventures of a Young Man." For a few years thereafter he remained a nondescript leftist, but after the war began the steady drift to the right until in 1952 he became one of the three co-chairmen of the Arts and Letters Committee for Taft. Of course, an artist should not be required to pass a political test. But when the writings of a man have hewed close to the great political passions and events of our lifetime, he cannot turn his back on the values built up in the course of several decades without doing violence to himself as a writer.

B. C.

## *Rotarian Picture*

*New Frontiers for Freedom, by Erwin D. Canham. Longmans, Green and Co., New York,* 1954, $2.25.

THE PRESENT relative stability of the United States economy in the midst of a crisis-ridden capitalist world has led to various illusions of a classless American wonderland. This book by the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* belongs to that category. Hailed as the "American answer to Marxism" by its publishers, it is a popular statement of the elaborate constructions found in the works of Professors Galbraith, Bowen and Slichter, with an added dash of pious phraseology.

As the author chooses to see it, Big Business and Labor are happily married in this land, with but a few minor shadows lurking around the cheery household of "balanced economic power." In Mr. Canham's view, "the power brought to bear by labor, by government, or by other elements, keeps the big corporations from monopolizing, cartelizing, and despotizing the American economy. Plutocracy is gone. Balanced power is here."

Mr. Canham elaborates his Rotarian picture in this fashion: Out of the conflicts of the Thirties, a new kind of sensible capitalism arose. American society is now balanced by "countervailing power," with the various competing elements complementing instead of stifling each other. The big corporations have become public institutions, and businessmen subordinate the profit motive to their social obligations. Labor has shed its immature ways, and shows its coming of age by participating in "group dynamic plans" under which labor helps to pull management out of financial holes.

Mr. Canham is among those who are deceived by surface appearance, it is clear. Monopolization of the country's productive resources is proceeding at a faster pace today than at any time in U.S. history since the buccaneering days of the last century, as any examination of the facts would show. Even as his book was being prepared, the process by which 1,500 auto producers have been reduced to only two major and one minor corporation has been coming to a close with the virtual elimination of the remaining independents as factors in the industry. The large corporations have been "co-existing" with labor unwillingly, as they now are showing by their massive anti-union drive, which is rolling into higher gear with the aid of the state and federal governments. The dependence of Mr. Canham's entire blissful situation on a huge war budget, itself contains the seed of future explosions and antagonisms.

The *Christian Science Monitor* is not the worst of the papers published these days, and almost daily contains much information upsetting to Mr. Canham's views. He should read it more often himself.

F. G.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Movement Needs Unity

I herein enclose payment for a subscription plus a contribution to help the *American Socialist* grow.

What the left-wing working-class movement needs now is unity, for therein lies its strength. The *American Socialist's* objective viewpoints and rational explanations help attain this, I think.

I notice your periodical is neither pro-Stalinist nor anti-Stalinist-phoney-socialist. This also is a great aid, for it brings together both schools of pro and con in that matter, and, as I mentioned before, what the leftist labor movement needs now is unity.

I am isolated in an atmosphere of reaction and would like to correspond with other youg radicals, being a fairly recent convert to socialism myself. Perhaps some of your younger readers would want to write me, through your office. Best wishes and continued support.

E. G. L. *Westfield, Mass.*

I am enclosing a money order for $8 as a contribution to your expansion fund. . . .

I hope to see the *American Socialist* with a circulation and influence far greater than the organizational strength of its sponsors. Certainly, the time is now ripe, and the sponsors of the magazine impress me as being wise to the dangers of tying hobbles to their feet, as so many have done in the years gone by. The reactionary forces can be depended upon for the hobbles and road-blocks.

T. M. M. *Chicago*

## A Little Off the Beam?

I am happy to renew my six-month introductory subscription, and want to try the magazine for the next year again. As I pointed out in my letter accompanying the first subscription, I think you men are a little off the beam but I still want to get your viewpoint. Many of my friends enjoy reading my copy of the *American Socialist* when it arrives.

G. D. C. *Texas*

Through the courtesy of a friend . . . I was shown the October copy of your publication and consider it of such great value that I am enclosing my check covering my own subscription, as well as payment for copies of the same issue to be sent to five friends, whose names I enclose.

It seems to me that this is the first publication that hews so closely to the socialist line that we have had for many years, and it certainly is badly needed.

That Fascism-Nazism has been imposed on this country is an outrage but I don't see that anything can be done about it. . . .

M. H. H. *Los Angeles*

## Pleased . . . And Very Good

Please find enclosed my renewal for one year. . . . I am very much pleased with your magazine, especially the last [September] number.

C. S. C. *Inglewood, Cal.*

I saw a copy of the *American Socialist* a few weeks ago and thought it very good. Will you please enter my subscription. . . .

J. B. *Detroit*

The irresponsibilty of our present-day "free enterprise" competitive system is shown by the over-production of inferior foods. . . . According to the soil scientists, over one-half of the top soil has been washed away, taxing the fertility of the farm land wastefully.

We are being told to vote for the "right man." They could just as well tell us to go to church next Sunday in grandfather's old buckboard. What is needed today is a policy whereby each nation corrects its own problems. And, after all, Man's problems are mostly economic, so let's not keep on asking, like Cain in biblical times, "Am I my brother's keeper?" but prove that we are.

How can we best start such a movement? In my opinion, it can best be done by organizing a World Federation. . . .

F. C. R. *Ephraim, Wis.*

## *Other Readers, Please Copy*

In response to our requests for names to use for sample copy mailings of the American Socialist, Rev. Hugh Weston of Boston sent us, together with more than 30 names scattered around the country, the following letter which he wished mailed to his friends along with the magazine. This is an idea which other readers might emulate.

* * *

October 8, 1945

Dear Friend,

I would like to recommend that you subscribe to a new publication, a monthly magazine initiated in January 1954, called the American Socialist.

This splendid magazine is, in my opinion, the first socialist magazine in this country to adopt the kind of program that will eventually make a mark on American life.

Why? Because it is the first magazine in this country to stand for such things as these:

- Socialism
- Co-existence and trade with the Soviet bloc of nations.
- An independent attitude of mind, free from dogmas and directives from above, and free from both rancor and idolatry in its attitude toward the Soviet Union.
- The struggle for every type of reform to defend civil liberties and better the lot of the working people.
- Cooperation with people of all political colorations in the pursuit of these objectives.

The American Socialist is offering a six-month trial subscription for $1, and I would like to recommend that you treat yourself to a sampling of the finest magazine America has produced, a magazine truly 100 percent in the heritage of the Populists, Big Bill Haywood, Eugene Debs and Vito Marcantonio. This is a fighting magazine, and yet one which can appeal to the broadest possible segments of the American public.

With cordial best wishes,
(Rev.) Hugh Weston
Universalist Church
31 Main Street
Saugus, Massachusetts

P. S. As you will see, the American Socialist also has a fine staff of socialist and labor writers. They are all schooled in their subjects, and write from fact, and not from fancy.

# Is This Your First Issue?

## Then Read This

IF THIS IS your first issue of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, we would like to emphasize several reasons why you should become a regular reader. You will get:

- Detailed and thorough analyses of the changing economic, social and political scene in the U.S.
- Informative and analytical reports on European developments direct from our correspondent.
- A carefully assembled book review section, which keeps you informed on the contents of all the most important current publications of political, social and labor interest.
- Reports on the labor movement, direct from the biggest centers of union labor, usually written by unionists.
- Objective, sound, principled analysis in articles and editorials which never bow to the fashions or hysterias of the moment.
- An editorial policy for a program and a perspective of the building a new left-wing movement in America, independent, militant and socialist.

OUR PRESENT regular readers appear to be very well satisfied, to judge by such recent letters as these: "I am 81 years old. In my time I have taken about all the socialist and radical papers in the U.S. . . . Your magazine is the best in the field." "I . . . entered my trial subscription with a severe amount of skepticism. . . . I am, however, more than satisfied . . . a stimulating and commendable periodical." ". . . of the highest caliber journalistically and politically." "Your book reviews are one of your best features. . . ." "The best thing that has appeared in this country for 30 years. . . ." "One of the two or three Left papers that's literate and has something to say. . . ." "I am delighted with your journal. It looks like the real thing, a genuinely socialist monthly." ". . . your publication one of the most important in the United States today, chiefly because you speak honestly, realistically, and without ideological jargon. . . ."

In the coming months, we hope to broaden our coverage, provide a more repreesntative selection of views (including views differing from ours), and better the magazine in every way possible to us.

The subscription blank in the adjoining column can be used for your subscription. Your copies will come wrapped. Those who desire a subscription by first class mail—which is sealed and also gets to you faster—can obtain one by paying extra. The first-class rate is also listed on the subscription blank. Don't delay. Subscribe now, and begin getting the AMERICAN SOCIALIST regularly.

## CHICAGO READERS

# DEBATE:

# "Is Mao's China The Road to Freedom In Asia?"

**YES!**
**Bert Cochran**
American Socialist Editor

**NO!**
**Sid Lens**
Author: "Left, Right, Center"

**Chairman: Kermit Eby**

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