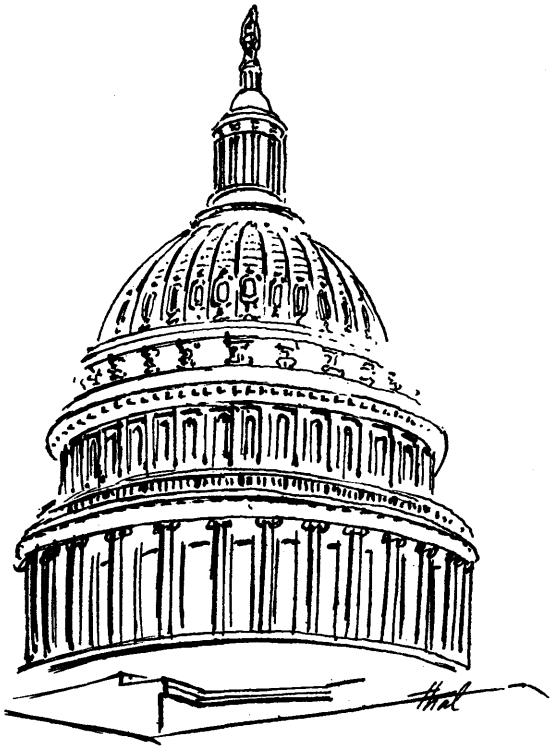
THE AMERICAN Socialist

Hunting Witches In the Church

by Rev. Hugh Weston



1954 Elections:

A Time of Indecision

McCarthy and The Senate

DECEMBER 1954 **25 CENTS**

CLIPPINGS

IN AN incredibly open display of the nature of present-day counter-revolutionary regimes, President Castillo Armas of Guatemala has called upon the propertied classes and U.S.-owned trusts to contribute towards paying for his "revolution" of last June.

Castillo Armas tried immediately after the made-in-USA coup to raise a fund among the wealthy on the ground that the expulsion of the legitimate and broadly supported Arbenz regime saved the "skins and property" of the Guatemalan fat cats. He also indicated to the United Fruit Company, International Railways of Central America, and other imperialist enterprises on whose behalf the coup was largely executed, the hope that "foreign companies will make a contribution of their own accord."

Failure of the fund to come in has led sources close to Castillo to denounce some of the wealthy as "tightwads," and "ungrateful." To raise the money, a special tax has now been levied.

AN IMPORTANT, although small-scale, victory for public housing was recorded in the recent election in the steel city of Youngstown, Ohio, where an inter-racial federal housing project was approved by voters, 27,241 to 19,079.

During the campaign, the real estate interests hammered away at reactionary themes used more successfully elsewhere. Appeals to racial prejudice, home-owner snobbery, etc., were either openly or covertly employed.

Only an aggressive counter-campaign by the CIO United Steelworkers of America, and in the final weeks by an all-inclusive Citizens' Committee for Public Housing, brought victory in an uphill fight. The value of the proposed project for slum clearance and for alleviating unemployment was heavily stressed by the pro-housing campaigners. "A vital part of the Committee's mobilization was the role of the labor movement, acting through unusually effective labor leaders," said the Youngstown Vindicator the day after the victory.

In nearby Akron, a bitterly contested fight over a similar project in 1952 was lost 2 to 1, when local labor leaders remained largely silent, on the theory that to speak out for public inter-racial housing would mean to antagonize home-owners in the union ranks.

A NOTABLE step in defense of civil liberties was taken early in November by Corliss Lamont, educator and writer on social and philosophical questions, when he established a Bill of Rights Fund with an initial donation of $50,000. This is intended to be the first step in a campaign to raise $1,000,000 for the defense of the Bill of Rights.

The fund will provide aid to both organizations and individuals who are engaged in battles in defense of civil and constitutional rights. An executive committee of three to administer the fund consists, besides Lamont, of Augustus M. Kelley, publisher, and Edna Johnson.

Mr. Lamont, son of a partner in the J. P. Morgan interests, is himself at present under indictment for contempt of Congress. He refused to answer McCarthy's questions about his political beliefs, invoking his freedom of opinion under the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The new Bill of Rights Fund invites "public-spirited citizens interested in the preservation of civil liberties" to send contributions to Dr. Corliss Lamont, 450 Riverside Drive, New York 27.

STRIKING contrast between nothern sector, ruled by Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh, and southern sector, ruled by French puppets, is apparent in the news from Indochina. Time magazine, so sharp is the contrast, headlined the tale "Triumph & Decay."

In the North the Viet Minh, exhibiting a broadly based and popular regime, entered Hanoi in triumph, greeted, according to all reports by Western correspondents on the spot, with sincere acclaim by the overwhelming majority of the people.

In the South, the story was "dismally different" (Time). Senator Mansfield of Montana, returning from a two-month survey of Indochina, reported the outlook as "grim and discouraging." Mansfield had this to say:

"There is still the same shortsighted struggle for immediate gain among the various political groups, sects, factions. Each of these elements possesses some aspects of power in its organizations, armaments or heritage of authority. None, however, is broadly based on the people."

Mansfield reports that the prime minister of the Southern regime controls neither the Army, the Sureté nor the police in the Saigon area. The latter two are controlled by an underworld gambling syndicate by special arrangement with the Emperor, who lives abroad.

U.S. ATTORNEY Leo Rover, in a patent attempt to use the power of the witch-hunt to intimidate a federal judge who had ruled against the wolf-pack in the Lattimore case, filed an affidavit demanding that Judge Youngdahl disqualify himself. Youngdahl himself, in refusing to bow, said in his opinion:

"At bottom, the affidavit is based upon the virulent notion that a United States judge who honors and adheres to the sacred Constitutional presumption that a man is innocent until his guilt is established by due process of law has 'a bent of mind' that disables him from conducting a fair and impartial trial. . . . The affidavit is therefore so patently and grossly insufficient that I cannot escape from the conclusion that the purpose of the affidavit is to discredit, in the public mind, the final action of our courts, or else to intimidate the courts themselves. It follows that those who made or authorized the certificate that the affidavit was made in good faith acted irresponsibly and recklessly. . . .

"Under my oath to preserve sacred Constitutional principles, I can properly do no less than to strike the affidavit as scandalous.

"It is so ordered."

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McCarthy and the Senate

THE SENATE has McCarthy on the carpet, and at this writing it still looks as though censure will finally carry in one form or another. The major factions and the powers behind them had made their decision before the session reconvened. But surely no deliberative body—as the Senate has been called both in earnest and in jest—has ever proceeded to enact its predetermined will in a more pusillanimous, whining and shameful fashion. We have never expressed agreement with McCarthy before, but it must be confessed that when he calls his opponents "cowards" he is not hitting far from the mark.

The galleries are filled, but the Senate has trouble keeping a quorum on the floor. In the cloakrooms, the Henry Clays are circulating with compromise plans that would put the Great Compromiser himself to shame. One member of the special censure committee

McCARTHY

has already collapsed and appears to be getting ready to propose a medal for McCarthy. The rest of the committee is busy defending itself against McCarthy's charges, and, to cap it all, the whole country is beginning to get the definite impression that McCarthy is more anxious to be censured than his august peers are to censure him. Since the last Senator to be censured (in 1929) eventually became head of Truman's loyalty review board, McCarthy may figure a censure to be his ticket to the *fuehrer*ship itself.

BUT BEHIND the comic opera quarreling and the pathetic incompetence and weakness, there are important forces at work. A year ago, Senator McCarthy was a fearful power in Washington. He had the Army on the ropes, was the single most potent factor in all personnel decisions in the State Department, and many of the most important federal departments, agencies and bureaus had to clear everything with him or his arrogant messenger boys. As has recently been revealed by a most illuminating article in the *Reporter* magazine, McCarthy, Cohn, Schine, Don Surine, *et al* had fully succeeded in taking virtual command of the U. S. Information Service. To this day, the entire story of the McCarthyite octopus has not been disclosed.

What then happened was that the giant oligarchy of wealth and power, the industrialists and financiers and their committees, agencies, consulting politicians and assorted "statesmen" became alarmed, and began to fear that the McCarthyite gang of irresponsible freebooters were getting into the position where they could take over the whole show. Not that they are opposed to the extreme Right—not by a long shot; they will use it if they have to. But they do not feel there is the kind of crisis in America, or the kind of unrest among the people, that would make a risky fascist adventure necessary. They have a place for McCarthy, and they are ready and glad to make use of him in his place—as a whip-wielding Congressional inquisitor—and they may even want to use him at some more critical time in the future, but they don't want him taking over now.

The word went out from the centers of power, from the Paul Hoffmans and the Charles E. Wilsons and the *N.Y. Times* and the Luce journalistic empire. The Cadillac Cabinet consulted with its confreres in the banking houses and industrial front offices. The word was spread throughout all the major avenues of propaganda.

Ed Murrow did a devastating job on McCarthy on his "See it Now" program, and contrary to predictions, neither CBS nor his sponsoring Aluminum Corporation of America pulled him back. Some of the most reactionary segments of the press, like the Scripps-Howard chain, turned their hounds loose on McCarthy.

IT WAS evident that in top political circles, the high-level pow-wows which were reported taking place at the start of the Army-McCarthy hearings had produced a put-McCarthy-back-in-his-place policy, and things have been proceeding—weakly and erratically—along that line since then. Flanders, reportedly after conferences with Paul Hoffman, of Studebaker and Ford Foundation, and with other ruling-class bigwigs, undertook the censure motion, and the influential Senators chosen for the special committee were put to work with the understanding that they would propose to clip McCarthy's wings.

This was the plan, and if a script which called for sober drama has been turned to farce and melodrama, perhaps that should be blamed on bad casting. It is hard to expect ultra-reactionary Senators, who have viewed the raging witch-hunt with expressions ranging from indulgent acquiescence to ferocious partisanship, to now assume the mien of outraged libertarians.

Aside from the fact that the Senate accepts every premise of McCarthyism except the ultimate one—that the reactionary machine must be under his personal direction and control—there is another excellent reason why the censure proceedings are going so badly. The Senate and its ultimate directors don't want to destroy or even cripple McCarthy and McCarthyism. They want to reduce it to an approved auxiliary position in the constellation of reactionary forces, and hold it in reserve against future developments.

But McCarthy is a reckless and uninhibited fighter, who goes to the extreme against all critics. A limited fight against an opponent who is waging all-out war rapidly degenerates into a rout, which is what the Senate debate has become.

A CENSURE such as appears to be awaiting McCarthy would probably be the finish of an ordinary politician, but McCarthy is not ordinary. He is playing the Senate debate for all it is worth outside the routine parliamentary arena, and trying to build a movement by forced marches. Precisely what that movement will aim to do and how it will aim to do it is not clear yet, and probably not clear in his own mind. But he counts on the deep social divisions and crises which the future will bring.

The important conclusion is that the extreme Right is being taken out of the area of lunatic-fringism and put into the big time in American politics. If the hold of Big Capital through its present forms weakens, it will be ready to try McCarthyite forms. This is true regardless of the personal fate of McCarthy, and it means that in a future social crisis, not only radicalism but fascism and semi-fascist movements will be on the scene too. That fearful threat must be understood and combatted at the threshold, starting right now.

Arms and the Germans

THE newspapers and magazines have in recent weeks been full of the London agreement and the subsequent treaties signed in Paris approving German re-armament. The accounts were a good example how the public is systematically bamboozled and cheated by our "free press." Obviously, things haven't improved any since Upton Sinclair wrote "The Brass Check." Here was as brazen an attempt as has yet been made to draw the war net tighter around us, and not one major newspaper, not one leading commentator had the courage to issue a word of warning, to cry out to the American people: "Watch Out! Danger Ahead!"

They talk about the regimented press behind the iron curtain. The American system is more dangerous because it accomplishes its purposes ever so much more cleverly, with ever so much superior dexterity and crushing effectiveness, as its victims don't know they've been chloroformed.

From the newspaper pundits and airwave commentators we learned that the German people were impatiently champing at the bit to get on with their re-armament, felt they had earned the right by their hard work and good behavior over these ten years. But while they had been well-behaved up to this point, they were disappointed and hurt over the long delays, and if we kept them waiting any more, they would probably start losing faith in us, their allies, and maybe turn elsewhere, and find other means to arm. We could thus see the picture, plain as the nose on a man's face, of a lot of clean-cut youth panting with eagerness to get into uniforms and march up and down in front of a lot of stinking barracks to the barking orders of their old Nazi officers.

But this wasn't all. The recreation of a German army was a must for the "free world." It could not wait any longer. Delay was dangerous, maybe fatal. Why? Where was the danger? Well, it was in the East. The only guarantee to keep the Russian bear caged up behind the iron curtain was to add twelve German divisions to the NATO forces in Europe. Of course, there were those who wanted to negotiate with Russia for a settlement. Well, the re-armament proposition was good for them, too. We have to negotiate from strength, don't we? Everybody knows that's the only thing the Russians respect. So, first we have got to raise up a German army and reconstitute a German general staff. Then we can start negotiating with the Russians. Right now, they would walk all over us, seeing the United States only has a 50 billion dollar annual military budget, the most powerful air and naval fleets, the largest complex of war bases around the world, the biggest stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

MENDES-FRANCE

THAT'S the story that was dinned into the ears of the American people, day in, day out, until every schoolboy could rattle off the catechism of "The Case for German Re-armament." Unfortunately for the American public, this is a thoroughly distorted picture of the reality. The overwhelming mood in Germany is against re-armament, military conscription and the elevation to power of an autocratic officer caste. The Social Democratic Party, the second largest in the country, is daily becoming more vehement in its opposition. In the most recent elections, the voting went in favor of the Socialists, who campaigned on just this issue. In other words, the move to re-arm Germany is unpopular with the majority of the German people, and is being carried through against their wishes.

Next, nobody in Europe, outside of small groups of professional anti-communists, believes that Russia is preparing to attack the West, and that it is necessary to raise a huge military establishment against this danger. Not only does European labor scoff at this interpretation, but the capitalists and their spokesmen place no credence in it. Mendès-France, in a recent interview, voiced a commonly held opinion that the real danger from Russia (for European capitalism) is on the economic side, and that unless France takes effective steps to improve its economy, the Russians' continuing advances could in time win the hearts of the Western people. Hence, he argued, France should not be forced to spend a disproportionate amount of its national income on military affairs, or

the result will be economic stagnation which could lead to prostration.

All these arguments fell on deaf ears. Dulles and his crowd were not interested. They were determined to revive a strong military force in the heart of Europe. Not because they believe the twaddle they offer for public consumption, but as the only way they can devise to create a strong authoritarian power in the center of Europe against the rising labor movements, and as the surest scheme to bind Germany to Washington's war alliance.

France resisted as long as she could, and finally gave way before the pressure of her allies only after she forced through an additional number of concessions to herself. As the treaties finally read, Germany gets its sovereignty, but—French, British and U.S. troops will remain on its territories for another fifty years! They will not only be quartered on German soil, but have the right to intervene against "subversion," and to reinforce the armaments clauses of the agreements.

Secondly, Germany had to sign away the Saar to France under the formula of Europeanizing this German area as an autonomous territory under the Western European Union. The people of the Saar apparently have nothing to say about where they should go. What about the right to self-determination, proclaimed as a holy democratic principle by Woodrow Wilson fully thirty-five years ago? Well, democracy took a beating in the transaction. The Saarlanders will have the right to vote on the proposition all right, but only in a Hitler-like for-or-against plebiscite, run by the present French-dominated Saar officials; and once the proposition is accepted, it will be illegal to carry on any political activity against it.

AS FOR England, her statesmen made the supremely generous concession of agreeing to maintain in Europe four army divisions with tactical air support, in order to make the treaties possible, and to remove France's fears of being swamped by a stronger Germany. Apparently, a German army is being created to protect France from Russia, and an English army is to remain in Europe to protect France against its new protector.

Anthony Eden has been the beneficiary of encomiums from all sides for this act of noble unselfishness. But as

ADENAUER

Sulzberger of the *N.Y. Times* belatedly admits, it was an "inexpensive coup." For England, on behalf of its own interests, has stationed military forces on the continent since the end of the second World War. And, far from its being a dramatic renunciation of its centuries-old policy of insularity, the French journalists cynically pointed out that it was an effort on England's part to remain the arbiter on the continent between France and Germany, and there was nothing very novel about that. That was Britain's policy between the two wars, and for many years before that.

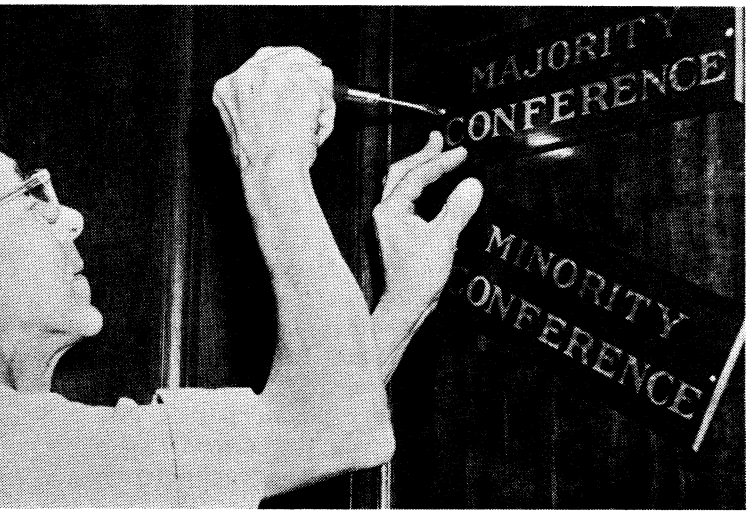
Anthony Eden's slick diplomatic footwork may have been admired in some quarters, but it was greeted with no peans of praise by the majority of the English people. Here there was only dismay, especially since it involved peacetime military conscription at home. This unsavory treaty can only be finessed through by a combination of demagogic double-talk and oily hypocrisy, plus the treacherous backing of the British Labor Party right wing.

Thus, in the very act of signing the treaties, and under the facade of West European solidarity and single-minded devotion to a common cause, the deep currents of suspicion and conflict between the powers were revealed. The jockeying for position and intrigues against each other stemmed from their inability to solve the basic causes of Europe's decay. The circumlocution and lack of honesty of the statesmen derived from the lack of popular support for their designs. In Germany, the treaty produced an immediate crisis, where the prevailing mood is for negotiating with Russia in an effort to secure German unification. The Social Democratic Party announced it would vote against ratification, and some of the capitalist parties joined in opposition, as the surrender of the Saar has outraged nationalist feelings.

AT THIS critical juncture, Russia proposed again a meeting of the Big Four to discuss the question of German unification, while at the same time its representatives in the UN offered a new disarmament plan. This diplomatic counter-stroke has exerted further pressure on the Western leaders to talk to Russia and try to arrive at a working arrangement.

The feeling in Europe is overwhelming in favor of a *modus vivendi* between the two blocs. The European politicians cannot ignore it. Mendès-France is now saying that talks with Russia can proceed parallel to German rearmament. Adenauer, in his speech before the National Press Club in Washington, tried to suggest that a non-aggression pact be concluded between the Western and Eastern blocs. But even these types of proposals, often largely verbal, are anathema to the State Department. Dulles refuses to consider any recognition of the changeover in Eastern Europe or China. His policy is not non-aggression, but "liberation." And even if he cannot now go to war to achieve his "liberation," he insists on keeping the cold war going until such time as he hopes to realize these objectives, through one means or another.

One can sum up the situation by saying that the treaties to re-arm Germany have not resolved any of the deep-seated conflicts tearing at the vitals of the Western alliance, or materially strengthened, as yet, the Western coalition. They have thus far simply encased the conflict in a different framework. If the treaty is finally ratified, Washington can be said to have won a round, but many struggles lie ahead before a militarized Germany under the command of a *Junker* staff is a reality.



Behind the confusion of the 1954 elections lies the fact that U.S. politics is now passing through one of its characteristic phases of confusion, with the issues of politics not yet polarized.

A Time of Indecision

by Harry Braverman

WE ARE living through one of those interludes in American politics when the important issues confronting the nation fail to find clear expression through the major parties, the parties tend to grow together, confusion is rampant and politics as it is practiced by the dominant forces becomes an ever less significant hodgepodge of personalities and meaningless recriminations. Both the election campaign and the election results tend to reinforce this picture.

Prior to the voting, *Fortune,* polling its capitalist clientele, found that 70 percent didn't think the elections would have any effect one way or the other. "Political changes are having less and less effect," said one businessman. Some Democrats ran on a platform that they were better supporters of Eisenhower than the Republicans; Douglas in Illinois repeatedly claimed just that. Some Republicans were busier running against other Republicans than against their Democratic opponents: Case in New Jersey, for example.

With the election over, commentators are busy trying to figure out what it means. *Textile Labor* has already thrown up its hands in an editorial called "Who Won?": "Certainly neither party can claim victory. . . . All in all, it was confusing. . . ." *Justice* reassures Eisenhower, saying that his "fears of a Democratic Congress are not well founded. He and his program suffered more from extremists in his own party. . . ." Willard Shelton, who writes the editorials for *Labor's Daily,* calls the election "one of the most puzzling in our history."

Time finds the election epitomized in Colorado, where voters picked a Republican U.S. Senator to replace a Democrat, a Democratic governor to replace a Republican, a Democratic lieutenant-governor, a Republican attorney-general, and then re-elected two Republicans and two Democrats to the House of Representatives. The lesson: "Voters tended to elect Republicans who resemble Democrats and Democrats who resemble Republicans."

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, assessing the results of the election, finds it has emerged victorious into a self-inflicted defeat. The *AFL News Reporter,* after hailing labor's "key victories" on pages one, two and three, makes a fresh and more sober start on page four, saying:

> *There is little likelihood on paper that the 84th Congress, which meets in January, will be much more progressive regarding labor, social welfare and economic matters than was the 83rd. Democratic gains in the House and Senate, although resulting in victories for a number of liberals—and others who might best be labeled as nonreactionaries—will serve to strengthen the power of Southerners, most of whom have conservative records.*
>
> *No less than 14 major committee chairmanships in the two houses are due to go to right-wing Southern Democrats. They include the House Education and Labor Committee, which will be headed by Graham Barden (N.C.) who has a 100 percent voting record against the interests of trade unionists.*

Dumfounded by this unexpected turn, whereby a campaign to elect liberals with "100 percent right" voting records has only succeeded in placing into power the "100 percent wrong" reactionaries, the *News-Reporter* tries to find solace in the hope that "many Senators and Representatives who squeaked through by narrow margins may tend to become more liberal."

The paradox of a liberal-labor campaign to place reactionaries in power only highlights the long-standing division in the Democratic Party between a Northern vote-getting machine and a Southern power-wielding machine. While one can be confident that nobody designed it this way, it has acted in that fashion for many years, and has really come into its own in the past decade as the two major parties have merged into one virtually indistinguishable mass.

If the Democrats seem intent on proving Dooley's old saw that "Th' dimmycratic party ain't on speakin' terms with itself," the Republicans also add to the confusion by exhibiting deep splits in their ranks. With more wings than a cafeteria turkey in both parties, and with Wall Street policies basically dominating the scene in each party, American big-party politics has pretty completely sunk back to the morass of the Twenties, when you could take your pick of Babbitts under any label, but all you got was Babbitts.

BUT THERE is one big difference in American politics today—a difference that showed up strongly in the elections—and that is the fuller emergence of a powerful labor movement as a factor in politics. In this, one can see both the distinction from the Twenties, and the

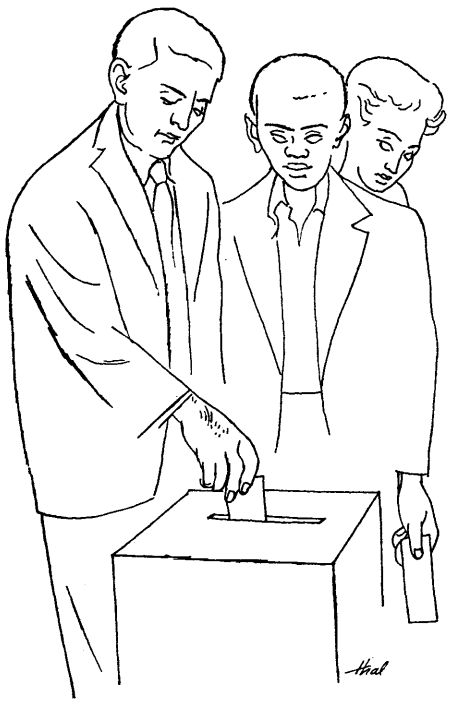
element from which the basic changes in American politics will emerge.

Labor was a powerful force in this election irrespective of what evaluations one may make of its policies. While the fact may tend to be obscured in the muddled results of a chaotic race, it is a fact nonetheless. The union movement, struggling in a sticky morass of confused issues, carrying on its back some of the most uninspiring candidates in the often uninspired annals of American politics, still managed to deliver the big-city and industrial vote in fairly solid array.

The decisive industrial states, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, went Democratic, breaking out of long tenure, in most cases, in the Republican column. The key McCarthy supporters, Busbey in Illinois, Kersten in Wisconsin, Clardy in Michigan, Meek in Illinois, were defeated, in most cases mainly by the labor drive. Long-shot Senatorial candidates like McNamara in Michigan and gubernatorial dark horses like Leader in Pennsylvania made the grade, again mainly because of labor efforts.

In Michigan, there is a solid working-class community called Hamtramck, inhabited mainly by Negro and Polish auto workers. Such communities showed the distilled essence of labor power. Look at the Hamtramck vote:

Governor		
Williams	(D)	13,565
Leonard	(R)	1,338
Lt. Governor		
Hart	(D)	12,959
Reid	(R)	1,224
Secy. of State		
Hare	(D)	12,558
Cleary	(R)	1,403
Att'y-Genl.		
Kavanagh	(D)	12,558
Millard	(R)	1,283



Far more important in this instance than what this vote was cast for, or even than what the voters thought they were voting for, is its solidity and force. It is the biggest portent for the future that it is there, and that it was not permanently cracked by Eisenhower in 1952, only dented.

The strength of the labor vote did give some significance to an otherwise confused election. It reflected the considerable labor disgust with two years of rule by the official and direct party of Big Business, it reflected a healthy labor anger at the giveaways, at the callousness toward the problem of unemployment, at the open dedication to plutocratic interests. With no other place to go, the labor and protest vote naturally showed up in the Democratic column, put there in part by the organized effort of the labor movement, and in part by the usual tendency of that vote to gravitate to the opposition party in a time of dissatisfaction with the incumbents.

WITH SO powerful a labor vote, how then explain the fact that the Democratic gains were so meagre, relative to what had been expected and measured against all the factors aiding a Democratic victory? In reply to this, one should not underestimate the depth of the reactionary wave which continues to flood the country.

The Democrats pioneered in the business of throwing the mantle of reaction over the nation, and they concur in it now, with only the most minor dissents. But they have created a situation which works to the advantage of the Republican Party. The Republicans cry: "If you want reactionary politics, accept no substitutes," and to the average middle-class voter who is given no choice of any but reactionary politics, that makes a certain amount of sense. So long as the present period of reaction endures, the Republicans, as the pedigreed party of reaction, will have an edge.

With nothing substantial to show from their election efforts on behalf of the Democrats, the unions will sooner or later begin to find the enthusiasm and backing of the ranks waning. Moreover, the non-union voters, the unorganized workers and the white-collar and middle-class mass, owing no special organizational allegiance to the union bodies, cannot be drawn behind the labor electoral campaigns until they are offered something more dynamic in the way of a political course than labor offers.

MANY HAVE pointed to the confusion and inconclusiveness of the 1954 elections, but few have paused to assay the underlying cause. We are, as I mentioned previously, in that type of interlude which descends upon American politics when the social forces which stand for opposite programs have not yet gained sufficient thrust and momentum to become predominant.

That is not to say that there were no issues in the air during the elections. They were present in plenty—real issues. War or peace, civil liberties or police-state, people's welfare or Big Business greed, civil rights or minority discrimination—all of these issues were and still are current, much talked about, much used by the candidates. But the issues haven't yet been assembled into cohesive programs, haven't polarized in recognizable form around antagonistic parties. They are in the people's mind, and on the politicians' lips, but they are not decided in the campaign

because the existing political forces cannot decide the issues.

A comparison can well be made between an earlier and similar interlude in American politics and the present one. After the Jefferson-Hamilton contest died down in the early 1800s, fifty years had to elapse before American politics could once again finally re-orient itself around the basic issue which had to be settled in American life: slave economy *vs.* capitalism. For fifty years, that central issue and all of its offshooting corollaries—free land *vs.* land sale, state *vs.* federal banking, high *vs.* low tariffs, internal improvements *vs.* a do-nothing federal administration, freedom *vs.* slavery in the territories—were in the air. But for these fifty years, national politics was an indescribable hodge-podge of confusion. The forces were not yet strong enough to polarize the issues.

The general feeling of the day was that the Whigs vaguely stood for pro-capitalist policies against the Democrats, as today the Democrats are vaguely believed to be more in line with something called "social welfare" than the Republicans. And yet many of the major die-hard slaveowners were Whigs. The Democratic Party and the Whig Party were split on almost every single issue, and neither party was able, during most of that period, to give clear voice to either side of a single issue. At the same time, both parties tended to acquiesce in and help the slaveowner domination of the national government. Overturns from one party to the other brought hardly any serious changes in basic policy.

Then, as now, elections tended to be lowered to mud-slinging sprees, and the voters tried to pick their way through the jungle of personal and power-machine campaigns without a glimmer of illumination to light their way, and then, as now, the voters had very little success. It wasn't until the emergence of a new party, the Republican, that the issues which had for so long been floating in the limbo of demagogic and obfuscatory orations began to cluster around parties and the scene was laid for their settlement.

IN SUCH a period as this, those who represent a genuinely progressive program, who are the advance surrogates of the future of American politics, are pulled at from every side by lesser-evil argumentation. And it is not surprising that, the situation being as mixed and confused as it is, a case can be made out for practically any wing of either party as representing a "lesser evil" to the rest.

Negro papers which supported Eisenhower pointed to the fact that a Democratic Congress means a Congress in which Southern Bourbonry holds the whip hand. I. F. Stone in his *Weekly* carefully weighed the miniscule distinctions between Republican and Democratic foreign policies, and came up with the dubious conclusion that under the Republicans a sudden preventive-war adventure may be less likely than under the Democrats. The Communist Party looked the field over and came to the conclusion that the Democrats offer a vehicle for fighting McCarthyism; others, impressed by the Watkins Committee and depressed by the Humphrey-Morse spectacle at the close of the Senate session, are placing their bets on the Republicans against McCarthy. The labor movement has got itself convinced that the Democrats can alter the economic trends of the nation, and avoids the clear fact that the Democratic Party's main offering in this field is a boost in the war budget.

Others, disgusted with the general picture of Republican-Democratic politics, are nevertheless able to pick out here and there an exception or two: Representatives Klein, Multer or Burdick, Senator Neuberger, etc.

The trouble with all of these improvisations by labor and the Left is that they seize upon a single facet of the picture and, by weak or specious argumentation, try to read into it far more than is warranted. But it is impossible, by mere dint of forced logic or selected facts to impress upon the American political scene a contest over real issues which is not actually there. Nor can we parlay a subordinate and oft-times demagogic dispute over some particular point into a basic fight between the parties upon the outcome of which hinges a real decision in American political and social life. The truth which none can evade is that shifts in power between the two parties as they are constituted do not make for any change in the course of the nation. The issues are here, but the existing political forces cannot decide them, and the nation continues to await new alignments, which in turn wait upon the thrust of class interests and social forces.

HOW WILL the new alignment come into existence? The pre-Civil War interlude of confusions and indecision was brought to an end by the rise of a new party. Both existing parties proved incapable of producing from their midst the program, the new course, the decisive actions to draw the lines and prepare the showdown. The new Republican Party drew some forces from both old parties, but it drew its major cadre from fresh battalions which formed on the broad prairies of the West, and joined them to those who made a clean break with the old. After that, although many confusions and half-hearted stands and moves continued, American politics was on a new plane, and could effect a progressive settlement. The opponents of slavery had not miscalculated, and the fight which they had initiated became the fight of a nation.

Today, the forces of the new course, the new party, are already in existence in far stronger form than at any time during the pre-Civil War interlude. Labor is a power in politics. Without it the Northern Democratic Party would be a hollow shell. An independent move by American labor would immediately put it in a balance-of-power position and would precipitate a deep-going crisis in American politics that would force a complete realignment. And, sooner or later, that is what is in the cards.

There are some consolations about the election; it will be over Tuesday; and it will settle, not the fate of the Republic, as the candidates say, but merely the fate of a few remarkably undistinguished and easily expendable politicians.

There is much less to this election than meets the ear. Despite all the noise on both sides, neither the economy nor the foreign policy nor the efficient conduct of the government is likely to be changed a great deal. Fortunately, the candidates don't believe their own charges; don't have faith in their predictions; don't have the courage of their prejudices; and will probably be saved from the consequences of their duplicity by their lack of sincerity.

James Reston, *N.Y. Times,* Oct. 30

The witch-hunt, aiming at every unorthodox social, political and economic opinion, has attacked the churches, and some of the clergy are fighting back admirably.

Hunting Witches in the Church

by Rev. Hugh Weston

A FEROCIOUS government-inspired witch-hunt—the first of such dimensions in American history—has been launched against the freedom of American churches and synagogues. In California, churches must sign a loyalty oath or pay huge taxes, despite the fact that charitable, educational and religious organizations have historically been tax-exempt. In Boston, a liberal church, the Charles Street Universalist Meeting House, has had a set of tax laws applied to it that have not been applied to any of the more conservative churches of Massachusetts. In Miami, Rev. Joseph Barth, minister of the First Unitarian Church, has been cited for contempt of court because he protested alleged judicial pre-judgments in the cases of two members of his church ordered to appear before a Grand Jury for not answering a witch-hunting inquisitor. Dr. Willard Uphaus is under threat of contempt proceeding for refusing to turn over the names of members of the World Fellowship of Faiths to the Attorney General of New Hampshire.

Dr. J. B. Matthews, former Dies Committee investigator, was one of the principle witnesses in wild Congressional attacks on the clergy during 1953.

The record could go on and on.

Not only is the government taking an active role, but, lashed by the fury of government, press and radio, high church officials in some instances are bringing men up on "heresy trials," although it should be added that their record remains remarkably good considering the pressure brought to bear. One bishop, in silencing a liberal pastor, expressed regret and said it was only until the storm blew over. In various similar ways, other higher church officials are caving in under the pressure.

So serious has the condition grown that ministers and laymen all over the country have organized a Religious Freedom Committee, to try to protect their freedom against the onslaught.

Why is it that American churches have been the objects of such a widespread attack? Was Marx wrong, and are the churches, as investigator J. B. Matthews would have people believe, a hotbed of Russian Bolshevism? Perhaps an inkling of the answer can be gotten from Congressman Velde's remarks about Bishop Oxnam. Said Velde (himself a Methodist layman): "Bishop Oxnam's concept of government, I feel, is not based on religion, as should be expected from a Methodist bishop, but rather on economic and political viewpoints." What "economic and political viewpoints" does Velde want to ferret out? Any unorthodox opinions about American economics and politics. I. F. Stone has put the matter well:

> *The hunt for radicals in the church is logical if one keeps in mind the basic purpose of the witch-hunt. It is no accident that Bishop Oxnam's grilling touched on his past criticism of the free enterprise system. The witch-hunt is more concerned with doctrinal fidelity to Mammon than to God. America is to be made unsafe for social criticism and non-conformity. The Chamber of Commerce crowd still remembers what the churches and indeed Dr. Harry Ward himself did to the 12-hour day in steel after the 1919 steel strike seemed to have been safely smashed. Nor has that crowd forgotten what part such groups as the Methodist Federation played in helping the New Deal during the Thirties.*

Reverend Weston is minister of the First Parish Universalist Church, Saugus, Massachusetts.

McCarthy himself gave the story away in his speech of Nov. 25, 1953, when he said that it was not just the Communists that were the danger to America, but "the phoney, deluded, fuzzy-minded, and egg-headed 'liberals,' in whose book it is a mortal sin ever to expose or criticize a Communist." McCarthy and his associates have broadened the umbrella to cover all critics and humanitarians, including those in the church.

THE TRADITION of social liberalism which characterizes a section of American religion, and which the investigators are out to destroy, goes back a long way. The early religious refugees who began arriving on American shores in the 1600's were escaping from the terror turned against the left wing of the Protestant Reformation. They had been reared in a Europe which had seen John Lilburne's Levellers raise the demand for the equal distribution of goods and property, a Europe where Thomas Münzer's Anabaptists had staged armed revolt and set up communist societies in which all goods were held in common. Both Martin Luther and the Catholic Church were one in their joint efforts to suppress the leftists.

Although the fact has been well hidden from American schoolboys, the Mayflower pilgrims were utopian communists. Governor William Bradford carefully described their "Christian communism" in his "Of Plymouth Plantation." These utopian experiments, coming so long before their time, were doomed to failure. The Pilgrims, within a few decades, turned to "free enterprise" and their leaders were severe against social forces that in any way threatened private property. But, despite this, certain traditions of thought have remained.

The development of religion in America was further conditioned by two important factors:

The first was the principle of the legal separation of church and state, developed by Madison and Jefferson and embodied in the Constitution's First Amendment. By removing the church from state control, this principle made it possible for the church to criticize the state with considerable freedom. America has until recent times been the only country to have this fairly complete separation of the church from state authority.

The second was the democratic or popular control over a large proportion of the Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues. In no other country in the world has organized religion ever embodied, to any extent, democratic control of the churches.

These two factors, plus the traditions of the left wing of the Protestant Reformation and the tradition of prophetic Judaism, permitted the growth in America of what came to be known as the "social gospel." Free lay people, electing their own leaders democratically and free of government control, were bound to elect in many instances preachers who would fight for their economic and social needs.

PREACHING of the social gospel reached its zenith in the depression days of the Thirties. The major Protestant churches organized official or unofficial social-action organizations to carry out their aims. All of these action organizations fighting for social justice were united in one "clearing-house" body, the United Christian Council for Democracy. The accomplishments were considerable.

As early as 1946, just after the second World War, earnest attacks against UCCD began. Significantly, the first persons to raise the cry of "communist domination" were ministers like Rev. Donald Harrington of the Community Church of New York, who had long been associated with the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. A particularly strong attack was made against Rev. Jack McMichael, who was executive secretary of one of UCCD's affiliates, the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Much later, it was Rev. McMichael who was accused, before the Velde Committee, of being a secret member of the Communist Party. McMichael waived his rights under the Fifth Amendment and called his accusers liars. He has not yet been called to trial for perjury. Knowing him very well personally, and having knowledge of his social philosophy, I can bear out that his thinking is independent and critical, although it has of course coincided with Communist Party thinking on certain points, as has the thinking of almost everybody to the left of Herbert Hoover.

The social gospel movement was and remains a movement independent of domination by any political party. If there were any political controls at any time, they have been primarily influences of the unions, and of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Republican Party has actually played a less conservative role than the Democratic Party at many times and in many areas.

However, to a certain extent, the social gospel movement was sometimes affected by the thinking, on individual current issues, of the Communist Party. At least it was true that, during the New Deal days, both Communists and social gospel ministers and laymen worked within such larger organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy, the American Youth Congress, etc.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL headed towards such movements and expressed itself within them because it had very few other places to turn. A good many of the ministers and lay religious people found the Socialist Party the left-sectarian groups were so fascinated by Marx' the left-sectarian groups were so fascinated by Marx's aphorism that "Religion is the opium of the people," and were so preoccupied in studying and re-studying the Russian Revolution of 1917, that they never got around to studying social conditions in the United States, and the relation of organized religion thereto. Hence these left-sectarians made all ministers and religious-minded people doubly unwelcome. By failing to study American social conditions in concrete terms, they had translated a Marxist generalization, however valid in the abstract, into a totally erroneous and rabid religio-phobia. Even where this was not true, no consistent approach was made by the extreme Left groups to involve church people in the fight for social justice.

The Communist Party did not make this error. Whatever costly errors it has made, this was not one of them. Communist Party organizers and leaders sought out ministers and church people and made every effort to involve them in the movements which they were organizing dur-the Thirties.

The net picture was this: Whatever radicalism has existed in the social gospel movement has been almost en-

Reverend Jack McMichael, shown as he was being removed from Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing room by Capitol policemen. The incident occurred at the start of World War II, during hearings on the Aid to Britain bill. Rev. McMichael, then chairman of the American Youth Congress, had shouted: "Senator George, the youth of America want to be heard on this bill!" Unlike some who opposed World War II only until Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, McMichael is shown by newspaper reports of the time to have continued his opposition afterwards.

tirely independent radicalism. Social gospel clergy have, however, cooperated with Communists on specific issues and occasionally still do. The influence, thus far, of the Socialist Party or the more Left socialist groups has been almost nil. And it seems to me that one of the most important tasks of militant independent socialists must be to establish links of cooperation with militant church people.

By 1952, the press, radio and government attacks on the militants within organized religion had become so strident that the General Conference of the Methodist Church decided to revise its Social Creed to please the *Reader's Digest* and the Velde Committee. The Social Creed had said that the church favored "the acquisition of property by Christian processes." This was changed to read "the acquisition of property by Christian processes, and the right of private ownership thereof." The new Social Creed struck out such suspect phrases as that favoring "the subordination of the profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit," and inserted a belief in the "free democratic way of life," and a reminder that the church espouses no particular economic system (that is, so long as private property is safe!).

Under the smart of Stanley High's attacks in the *Reader's Digest,* the General Conference went further and demanded that the Methodist Federation for Social Action change its name by dropping the word "Methodist" from the title. And also, would it please move itself out of Methodist headquarters in New York? The Methodist Federation was forced to move, but refused to change its name. It also refused to alter its basic belief in the substitution of a cooperative, planned economy for one based on the profit motive.

MEANWHILE, professional informer (more accurately, mis-informer) Herbert Philbrick got busy in Boston and told the Committee on Un-American Activities that there were six, seven or eight Communist clergymen in the Boston area, the figure varying with his enthusiasms. Not only that, but the Communist Party had recruited them before they were even sent to theological school! After making these charges, in "secret" testimony which was headline news in the next day's papers, Philbrick went on to point out that he had no "legal evidence," a point which the papers didn't find much use for. He passed out such names as Rev. Joseph Fletcher of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Rev. Kenneth DePew Hughes of St. Bartholomew's Church, and Rev. Donald Lothrop of the Community Church of Boston.

It is scarcely necessary to refute such canards, except to point out that the reliability of Mr. Philbrick can be ascertained from this incident among others: Philbrick, to bolster his reputation as a big wheel, said that he had spoken at the Community Church of Rev. Lothrop. When Lothrop could not find any record of this in the carefully kept archives of his church, he asked Philbrick in a letter whether he had perhaps spoken there under a different name. Philbrick never answered.

In New York, the Episcopal Bishop stepped in to remove Dr. John Howard Melish and his son, Rev. William

Howard Melish, from Holy Trinity Church, despite the almost unanimous support of the congregation. This congregation of working people had grown to love the Melishes for their brave leadership on every issue of labor's rights and civil liberties.

Rev. Stephen Fritchman, ousted by the Unitarian Church as editor of the *Christan Register* on charges of footsying with the Communists, managed by a close vote of the congregation (he won by six votes over another very liberal minister) to be called to the ministry of the large First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. This church is made up primarily of labor-union members, and of representatives from the Jewish, Mexican and Chinese minorities of the sprawling Los Angeles area. Like Holy Trinity of New York, First Unitarian of Los Angeles is democratically controlled by the congregation, and there is no bishop to remove ministers and no court to sustain such action. In this type of church, only the members can remove their minister, and Rev. Fritchman has the solid backing of his people.

There being no way to remove Rev. Fritchman, the matter was taken up by the California State Legislature. In the summer of 1953, the legislature passed Assembly Bill 923, which requires all churches, educational and charitable organizations to sign a loyalty oath as a condition for further tax-exemption. Once a year they must swear that they "do not advocate the overthrow of the government of the State of California, or of the United States by force or violence *or other unlawful means. . . .*" (Italics added.) Obviously, such a loyalty oath could prevent any criticism of the American government and of any unjust war into which the United States might enter. The law is being fought in the courts.

The effect of this law is to place a $6,000-a-year tax burden on the First Unitarian Church, which refused, of course, to sign the loyalty oath on principle. But First Unitarian was not the only church to refuse to sign away its freedom. Altogether, ten churches and religious organizations of the Methodist, Christian, Unitarian, Universalist and Quaker denominations refused to sign the oath. Several other churches signed only under protest.

STILL the resistance carries on. The recent meeting of the Rabbinical Assembly of the conservative wing of Judaism scored the "climate of fear" and the concept of "guilty until proven innocent." Despite retreats, the Methodist Church still calls for the outlawing of atomic weapons and for peaceful co-existence with the Soviet world. Nearly every Protestant denomination has gone on record against McCarthyism and in favor of peaceful co-existence. The record is still there, and stands as a challenge to the reactionaries. It is based on the overwhelmingly strong peace sentiment to be found among the common people in every part of the country. Even in the hierarchically governed Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Sheil denounces McCarthyism. (After which he mysteriously resigns as head of the Catholic Youth Organization.)

The investigators are out after much bigger game than they have hunted down thus far. Columnist Thomas L. Stokes wrote recently: "They are obviously inching up gradually to an investigation of the Protestant churches represented in the National Council of Churches of Christ, a majority of the Protestant churches." Later, he might have added, liberal Catholics and Jews will come under the ban.

The investigators must do this, because there can be no war abroad until free religion in America is placed under the government thumb. In this day of organized American labor and of world-wide labor power, the relationship of social forces does not permit a large-scale war without dictatorship at home. The alternative to war and fascism is a new upsurge of progressive thinking, which the witch-hunters most desperately fear.

What shall we do?

First of all, there must be a solidarity of every progressive force in the nation against witch-hunts and their program of repression and war. No difference of religious ideology, or the lack of it, must divide men on that score. Second, there must be no retreat, no appeasement of the witch-hunting aggressors. Rev. Stephen Fritchman put it quite eloquently in a recent sermon:

> *In the face of these investigations of the church and its servants, what are we to do? This is my own answer. I propose it for your consideration. We are to stand united, priest and people, rabbi and congregation, minister and members, in a common and unbreakable phalanx against the impertinence and immorality of a Congressional investigation of churches, church organizations and individual clergymen performing their duties as they see them, in pulpits or on street corners, in cathedrals or in Pershing Square. This campaign of slander and abuse will not be dismissed by laughing off the criticism as some suggest. It will not be ended by leaving the defense to other people—somewhere else. . . .*
>
> *Let there be no ambiguity in either our words or our deeds. If we in the churches, all of them, act by principle and serve our vision of an unbroken brotherhood girdling the earth, no assault of any dimension can possibly destroy us. And as Americans let us remember that from the day the Bill of Rights was adopted until this very hour, for William Ellery Channing and Theodore Parker, for Bishop McConnell and Father O'Dwyer, for Rabbi Stephen Wise and John Haynes Holmes, for the humanist John Dietrich and the devout theist Harry Emerson Fosdick, the First Amendment on freedom of religion has been a symbol and a tool of free men. There are still millions of Americans who despise expediency and cherish principle, who propose to keep it that way, that our country may indeed be the land of the free and the home of the brave.*

These are typical of the fighting words that are being voiced today by Dr. John Mackay, moderator of the Presbyterian Church, by Guy Emery Shipler of the Episcopal magazine *The Churchman,* by the Rev. Jack McMichael of the Methodist Federation, by Dean James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York.

But, what is more important, these words are backed by thousands of lay people who want peace, freedom, full employment, a better future and a more secure one. And, though some may falter, in their overwhelming majority they do not intend to retreat.

High coffee prices have a cause which, though it may not appease the outraged feelings of coffee drinkers, can teach them plenty about how a modern monopoly works. A special analysis.

Coffee Syndicate At Work

A Study in Manipulation

by An Economist

IT'S HARD to believe, but in 1945 coffee retailed for an average of 30 cents a pound. The three big price jumps since then have boosted coffee prices so high that cartoonists long ago chose the flying cup and saucer as the favorite symbol of the high cost of living.

Coffee prices are worth looking into, not only because they have risen almost 300 percent during a period when the general rise in the cost of living was about 50 percent; not only because we all drink coffee (four-fifths of Americans over 16); not only because it is the United States' largest single import. Even more important than all of these reasons is this: The coffee trade offers a remarkable example of syndicate control and price manipulation which every American can and should learn from.

The glossy magazine ads and bus cards have become so numerous, the Chamber of Commerce speechifiers so insistent and plausible, that it is hard even for skeptics to resist the persistent and insidious propaganda: "The jungle practices of early capitalism are gone," "Ours is the true welfare society," "Consumer choice governs industry democratically," etc., etc.

There's a big story in coffee, a story of how a semi-monopoly operates under current conditions, and conceals its operations from the public. It's a story of how ineffectual the government "investigations" and "warnings" are against such a gang of profiteers. Obscurely hidden in the thick "Economic Report of the Investigation of Coffee Prices" issued by the Federal Trade Commission in July 1954 and just made available to the public, most of this story is to be found. During the Thirties, such a government report was at once seized upon by many radicals and liberals, and all of the essential facts quickly made public. But today, there are, for the moment, far fewer radicals, and the liberals are more interested in government reports about . . . Rumania or Poland.

IT IS NOT easy for any speculative rings, syndicates, or would-be monopolists to control the price of a commodity like coffee consistently. Like most other agricultural products, it is produced in many corners of the globe, by all sorts of planters, from the small family-size to the giant plantation. An attempted speculative price-boosting soon calls forth such an increase in supply that the monopolist tends to be overwhelmed.

Those who have read Frank Norris' famous documentary novel, "The Pit," will recall the portrayal of the flood of wheat that innundated the speculator who attempted a corner. Something similar happened in coffee years ago. Prior to 1882, a New York syndicate of important coffee firms controlled the coffee market and coffee prices. In that year, a tidal wave of coffee from all parts of the world overwhelmed the speculators, made it impossible to maintain prices, and caused the collapse of the syndicate. And it was in that same year that the New York Coffee and Sugar exchange was organized to fill the void left by the destruction of the syndicate.

On the Exchange, trade in coffee is apparently free and unfettered, with prices finding the level set for them by the relations between supply and demand, or between prospects for future supply and future demand. Thus when coffee recently went through the series of miraculous price leaps which have placed it on its present high shelf, the over-simplified supply-and-demand explanations were immediately forthcoming from the industry, and were widely spread by the press. These plausible explanations actually concealed the complex operations of a new coffee ring,

operating with new methods but achieving substantially the same ends as the old syndicates.

Between December 1953 and June 1954, the average retail price of coffee per pound rose from $.91 to $1.21. The cause, we were told, was a frost in the Parana coffee-producing region of Brazil, which sharply reduced crop prospects for 1954. But in actuality, there has been no coffee shortage.

The frost reduced the expectation of coffee crops by about eight percent in Brazil. But Brazil produces less than half of the world's coffee; thus reduction in world supply would only be about four percent. A reduction of four percent, according to past experience, would only tend to raise green coffee prices about 15 percent in a really free market. Yet prices of green coffee went up fully 60 percent!

But that is not all. World production outside of Brazil not only held its own, but has increased sufficiently to more than offset the decline in Brazil. Further, at the same time that there was a price spiral, coffee imports were unseasonally high, and stocks in the hands of roasters and jobbers also unusually large. Thus there was and is no evidence that the jump in coffee prices was justified either by the conditions of supply at the time or by the prospective conditions.

TO UNDERSTAND how this is accomplished we must examine some of the practices of the Exchange more closely. The New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, which is limited to 350 members, now consists of 344 memberships owned by 316 individual members. The present members control all possibilities of new memberships on the Exchange.

The Exchange is presided over by a board of managers, which exercises effective control in the major matters of policy. In the ten years since 1945, when the Exchange was reopened for trading following a wartime shutdown, only 39 individuals have served on that board. But of those 39, 20 persons held a majority of voting membership for the entire period, and this group of 20 was in turn drawn from a group of only 14 of the largest brokerage, green coffee and raw and refined sugar companies. This group of 14 companies, despite any changes in the board's composition, always had effective majority control.

The top coffee companies are intricately connected with each other through a complex web of personal, financial and corporate ties. They are also closely connected with a section of the Brazilian exporting trade and act in close concert with it. Many of the leading Exchange firms, listed as importers in New York, also act as exporters in Brazil or as representatives of Brazilian exporters and speculators. Several of the leading coffee brokers and roasters maintain large establishments in Brazil. This is the group that plays with the price of coffee.

There are many mechanisms for this game, but the central one is this: The coffee firms have for many years limited trading on the Exchange to a small segment of the coffee imported and sold in the U.S. The trade in this small quantity of coffee sets a futures price; this price is closely followed by the trade and in fact determines the spot price for all coffee, the spot price is loaded on the consumer in price-raising drives paced by the two price leaders of the industry, General Foods and A & P.

The Exchange carries on its trading in certain standard contracts, which specify the kind, quality and place of origin of the coffee which may be delivered to satisfy the contract. All the present trading on the exchange is being done under what is called the "S" contract, which specifies a certain ("strictly soft") grade of coffee shipped from the Brazilian port of Santos to be delivered under that contract. Coffee shipped from three other Brazilian ports may also be shipped under the contract, but in practice this is not done, as coffees other than Santos are subjected to penalties which makes delivery uneconomical and uncompetitive.

Santos strictly soft coffee, however, amounts to about 20 percent of the coffee produced in Brazil, and is a good deal less than ten percent of the coffee shipped into the U.S. and consumed here. Thus the Exchange trading in this tiny percentage of the coffee we consume determines the price of *all* of it, by tacit agreement on the Exchange and throughout the industry.

THE ADVANTAGES of this deliberately thin and narrow market for the speculators are obvious. Where they cannot possibly control or rig prices in a market flooded by coffee from every point of the compass, subjected to the immensity of variable factors inherent in an industry teeming with competing producers, they can do so with far greater success in a market which involves only one specified region.

Through the years, they have built up their connections with the Brazilian and American firms that dominate production in that region, and function together with those firms as a harmonious interest-grouping. The Federal Trade Commission report says:

> *Various members of the coffee committee are active traders in Exchange contracts with Brazilian brokerage houses, exporters and coffee growers. All that is possible to know about Brazilian regulations and other factors affecting the coffee that may be traded on the exchange is known to them practically upon happening. A wider contract with coffee deliverable from countries in addition to Brazil would lessen their individual ability to foresee market movements.*

Sao Paulo coffee production is decreasing, and world coffee production is rising. It is mainly Sao Paulo coffee which is shipped through Santos; thus trade limited to Santos contract effectively commits the coffee market to a rising price level, at a time when it should have begun to fall.

The two most recent manipulations of the coffee market which led to huge price increases, in 1949-50 and in 1953-54, have given rise to five separate investigations of the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange. Every one of these investigations has recognized the restricted narrowness of coffee trading, and has recommended that the market be broadened to include other grades and sources of coffee. But the moguls of the coffee trade—including among them some of the giants of retail and wholesale marketing whose names are household words, like A & P, General Foods, Standard Brands, Hills Bros.—have clung to the restrictive trading contract with a firm and guileful grip.

GUATEMALA COFFEE

SEVERAL TIMES, the Exchange has been forced to adopt broader contracts, and submitted them to its members for trading alongside the Santos contract. Trading in the new contracts was negligible, or even non-existent. Lest any think this was through some special fault in the new contracts, the Federal Trade Commission has uncovered, in subpoenaing the records of the coffee firms during its latest investigation, clear evidence of a concerted boycott by Exchange members of the new contract.

When one new contract was available for trading, Volhart Bros. Co., one of the dominant importers, received a letter from a Brazilian connecting firm:

> *On one point the champions of the proposed change have not counted: It is the positive influence we have with our customers, and this will be used to the fullest advantage since practically nobody will switch over to May* 1953 *[contract] if we discourage them.*

A member of the Volkhart firm wrote in reply:

> *As far as the May* 1953 *contract is concerned, if the new contract goes through we really think that the best way to have the Exchange change it again would be for Brazil to boycott that contract, and if you work in that direction, you might accomplish something.*

That they could "accomplish something" was made clear every time a broader-based contract was thrown into the Exchange to satisfy a federal investigation. In 1951 when the U (universal) contract was available, 99.9 percent of the trading was still done under the Santos contract. And in 1952 when slightly broader possibilities were made available to traders in the form of the May 1953 contract, East Asiatic Co. Inc., New York, could write to its namesake in Brazil, Este Asiatico, Santos, "Up to this writing there have been only nine transactions in the May 1953 position, a fact which speaks for itself."

NOR HAS the rest of the coffee trade, including the distributors, found any cause to compain and to fight the manipulations of the inner ring. Coffee prices to the retailer and to the consumer are set on the basis of a gross percentage markup on costs. This means that the retailing and wholesaling of coffee becomes more profitable as the price goes up, as long as price is not jacked so high that the added profits are cut away by the decline in coffee consumption. They profit as much as the manipulators of the Exchange.

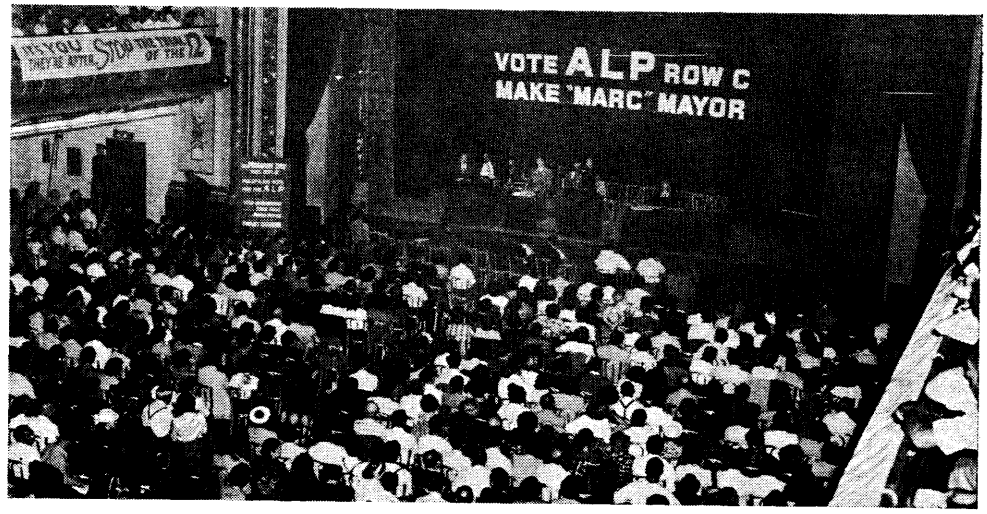
The coffee interests thus need push the price of coffee only so high as it does not cause too substantial a drop in buying, and when they do that, they are taking "what the traffic will bear." At present prices, Americans are consuming a *per capita* average of 22 pounds of coffee per year. At the prices one year ago, we were each consuming 24 pounds of coffee. So that coffee consumption has gone down two pounds a year, on the average. However, we pay about $2.50 a year more for the smaller amount of coffee today than we paid for the larger amount of coffee a year ago. This is at the same time that general economic conditions have been in a slump, and the overall cost of living has not risen very much.

The above facts seem to illumine the shopping-day curse of present coffee prices, and make clear their cause. But they also illumine something else, far more significant: Syndicate price-control is not dead, but only more subtle than it used to be. This case history of coffee can be duplicated in many other industries. And it shows the persistent and cunning work of capitalists in league against the people, today as before.

New York's American Labor Party has gone through a hard lesson in the fallacy of "lesser-evil" politics. It may pay with its life unless it makes a decisive turn.

What Price 'Lesser Evil'?

by Irving Beinin



American Labor Party rally at Manhattan Center during the 1949 election campaign.

THE LOW vote cast for the American Labor Party in the New York election marks the latest stage in a process of attrition. From a mass party in 1948 able to garner half a million votes for Wallace, the ALP has become one of the small radical groups—though by far the largest and most influential of these.

Futhermore, since John McManus, its candidate for governor, at this writing has failed to get 50,000 votes, for the first time since its formation in 1936 the ALP is no longer an accredited ballot party. Thus future independent political work will be more difficult and cumbersome and the party will face greater obstacles in winning supporters.

Some on the Left think the prescription needed now is a good slug of frothy optimism, presumably designed to prevent loss of time and spirit fretting over the past. In reality, this pollyanna stuff does a serious disservice to the ALP. The facts are too plain to be hidden. There has been a great decline. And unless clear-cut remedial steps are taken, the party's future becomes problematical.

The *National Guardian* has been helpful in calling editorially for a wide discussion of the ALP in the election. This can provide what is now needed most of all: a free, thoroughgoing, critically honest probing of the causes and circumstances of the ALP decline. Such a discussion can reveal fundamental errors of policy and performance, make it possible to arrest the decline and win back some losses. Without it, there is no way to stop the attrition process. We agree too with the *National Guardian* that this discussion ought to be carried on in the spirit "of maintaining and nourishing an absolutely essential, non-confused, independent, progressive political movement." This, in a nutshell, has been the issue in the ALP for some time.

To begin with it must be recognized that there was no way to avert some of the losses. Much of the huge ALP following of 1948 has been swallowed by the witch-hunt political climate of our day. But there remains in New York a sufficient reservoir of present and potential ALP support to guarantee a very significant and fruitful political and educational activity. One needs to adduce no more proof than the recent campaign to demonstrate this.

THE CAMPAIGN was blighted from the outset by confusion and vacillation of the leadership. The main candidates weren't chosen till the last moment. The ticket ran only a handful of local candidates whose campaigns were limited and lackadaisical. Many ALP clubs were permeated with the notion that the "defeat of Deweyism" was paramount. Communist Party supporters—who have decisive influence in the ALP—were following the line of the *Daily Worker,* which virtually supported the Democratic campaign at the expense of the ALP. But the clearest picture of what was wrong with the campaign can be gained by examining the report by Paul Ross, ALP public affairs committee chairman, made to the opening rally last May.

In his flight of double talk, Ross first urged on the ALP the value of coalition with the Democratic and Liberal parties. But then he pointed out that this was not really possible since these parties were guilty of war-mongering and witch-hunting; the ALP would have to run its own candidates after all. "But," he says, "the situation is not static," and alluding to "large movements favoring the Democrats," maintained the course for the ALP was "to influence the choice of candidates by the Democratic and Liberal Parties." This was to be accomplished by the ALP running a "vigorous, fighting campaign."

One might be inclined to accuse Ross of being just an old-fashioned mugwump, sitting on the fence with his mug on one side of the issue of independence and his wump on the other. But his emphasis and the subsequent activity of the ALP leadership make it clear that the main line was to support the Democratic Party as the "lesser evil" while making a concession to the considerable forces in the ALP who want an independent party by waging its own campaign.

The net result of the Ross policy, with its accompanying doubts and confusion, was to weaken the ALP, dull the impact of its political line, and dissipate a good part of the support it might have won. It was clear to anyone who thought about it that if the "defeat of Deweyism" was the main aim, then the thing to do was to vote for the Democrats. If despite all this the ALP was still able to get 45,000 votes, we can appreciate that the potential was far more.

A SITUATION of this kind is not new for the ALP. The same thing happened in its 1953 campaign for Mayor, when Clifford McAvoy was its candidate, and the late Vito Marcantonio predicted it would happen in 1954. Here's how Marcantonio described it:

> *The fact that McAvoy received only* 54,372 *votes and not* 100,000 *is due exclusively to the continued debate from which ensued confusion and paralysis in the campaign. . . . What counts is how many votes for McAvoy. . . . To have toyed with this by advising some to vote for McAvoy and at the same time to have welcomed the so-called labor support for Wagner and Halley is to have imperiled the very life of the sole political party that is on the people's side in this campaign. If that life is snuffed out it will be the responsibility of those who have been playing this political Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde game.*

The ALP has run aground on the shoals of lesser-evil politics, of coalitionism. It has not stood, without equivocation or apologetics, for independence against the two parties of whom Marcantonio said "they stand together. They are owned and motivated by the same masters." It has paid a heavy price for these errors even though many ALP'ers—probably a majority—are opposed to lesser-evil policies. There is now the greatest urgency that a turn be made, that all doubt and confusion about the nature and policy of the ALP be ended, that it unmistakably assert its political independence and radical program.

The radical movement needs a rallying ground the more adequately to fight the bi-partisan reactionary course of American government, to stave off the ravages of the witch-hunt, and to be an attractive center for the many voices of opposition. Can the ALP serve this end? With a program calling for peace, for civil liberties, for rising living standards, for an end to Jim Crow, and for political independence against the Republican and Democratic parties, it might. This would not be a labor party based on the trade unions. But it would lay some foundation for the gathering together of the forces of labor to the end of building such a party. And it would be a strong instrument for the present Left.

ALP'ERS who want their party to follow an independent course need to band together in a conscious way, if they are to accomplish this purpose. When Marcantonio broke with the ALP, he said that it had been "a house divided against itself between us who believed in the ALP as an effective political party . . . and those . . . attempting to force on us the role of a pressure group." He was referring to the forces of the Communist Party active in the ALP. Those who advocate independence will have to undertake a struggle against these forces, which cannot be expected to give up their point of view easily. What is involved is a principled struggle for political views, in which the CP holds a right-wing position.

After the 1952 election, the Communist Party adopted a resolution which included the view that the Progressive Party had proven a failure and ought to be given up, its forces to enter the Democratic Party. Since then, the CP supporters in the ALP have attempted by both direct and devious means to put this line across in the ALP; that is to *scuttle* the ALP in favor of entering the Democratic Party.

W. E. B. Dubois, speaking at the 1953 annual ALP dinner, hit the nail on the head when he said of the lesser-evil policy: "You cannot get what you want, therefore take the best offered. This dilemma is the standard method of *getting rid of third parties.*" (Emphasis added.)

The very existence of the ALP is involved in the present critical juncture. To stand aside and permit the CP policy to carry unchallenged is political suicide. This is the time for all those in the ALP who believe in independent politics to band their forces together to defend their position. The Communist Party must be told: If you want to go into the Democratic Party, go there alone. Leave us to our work of building an independent rallying center of the broad Left.

Eugene V. Debs on the Campaign of 1900

THE CAMPAIGN this year will be unusually spectacular. The Republican Party "points with pride" to the "prosperity" of the country, the beneficent results of the "gold standard" and the "war record" of the administration. The Democratic Party declares that "imperialism" is the main issue, and that the country is certain to go to the "demnition bowwows" if Democratic officeholders are not elected instead of the Republicans. . . .

Both these capitalist parties are fiercely opposed to trusts, though what they propose to do with them is not of sufficient importance to require even a hint in their platforms.

Needless is it for me to say to the thinking workingman that he has no choice between these two capitalist parties, that they are both pledged to the same system and that whether the one or the other succeeds, he will still remain the wage-working slave he is today. . . .

We hear it frequently urged that the Democratic Party is the "poor man's party," "the friend of labor." . . . If the Democratic Party is the "friend of labor" any more than the Republican Party, why is its platform dumb in the presence of Coeur D'Alene? It knows the truth about these shocking outrages—crimes against workingmen, their wives and children, which would blacken the pages of Siberia—why does it not speak out?

What has the Democratic Party to say about the property and educational qualifications in North Carolina and Louisiana, and the proposed general disfranchisement of the Negro race in the Southern states?

The differences between the Republican and Democratic parties involve no issue, no principle in which the working class has any interest, and whether the spoils be distributed by Hanna and Platt, or by Croker and Tammany Hall is all the same to it.

Eugene V. Debs, *International Socialist Review,* September 1900

The Alternatives For Asia

A Speech by Bert Cochran

The following presentation was made by Bert Cochran in a Chicago debate with author and union official Sid Lens on Friday, November 12. Cochran defended the affirmative of the question: "Is Mao's China the Road to Freedom in Asia?" The debate was chaired by Prof. Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago.

YOU DON'T have to be a socialist to know that this is a revolutionary age. It's a widely accepted fact. Just a short time ago, the renowned British historian Arnold J. Toynbee, who is not a Marxist or near-Marxist but a mystic, published an article in the *N.Y. Times,* where he wrote, "We are all aware that we are living through a great revolution, and the more closely we look at it, the greater it proves to be." He went on to say:

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

Now, since 1945, it has been the colonial passion for independence which has been the driving force of the world change-over, destroying empires and reshaping the destiny of peoples. Two world wars, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the emergence of that country in a quarter of a century from one of the most backward into one of the most advanced industrial powers, the growth of the colonial middle classes and labor movements—all these have been responsible for spreading the revolutionary conflagration in the colonies. Their peoples, who for centuries have been living outside of history, are demanding a share of the good things of life which hitherto have been the monopoly of the favored few.

The Irish revolutionists used to have a saying, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." That was the watchword of these colonial independence movements in the second World War. They wouldn't let themselves get bought off with a lot of democratic slogans. These come very cheap. They wanted the real thing, and so they utilized the troubles of the imperialist powers to strengthen their own position. The Chinese blocked with the United States to drive out the Japanese invader. The nationalist leaders in Indonesia and Burma received arms from the Japanese, and cooperated with them to rid themselves of the Dutch and British. The India Congress Party flatly refused to join in Britain's war effort, and announced it was sitting on its hands until it won independence.

THESE independence struggles paid off. At the end of the war, the British Lion was so weakened that he had to abandon India and Burma. The Dutch imperialists read the handwriting on the wall and had to get out of Indonesia. This vast area of peoples shook off the imperialist overlords and won political independence under a leadership of native businessmen, civil servants, professionals and intellectuals, with the new governments having a marked socialist tinge in Indonesia, and especially in Burma.

Having achieved this much, these leaders abruptly stopped the revolution short. They had led a united nation against the hated foreign invader and exploiter. But once the foreigner was driven out, they wanted to freeze the social structure and permit everything to go along the old accustomed lines.

But national independence didn't mean and doesn't mean the millenium so far as the masses are concerned. It is simply the starting point for progress. Don't forget, these countries are incredibly backward and poverty-stricken. The overwhelming mass of people live on the edge of starvation. They are disease-ridden and illiterate, the prey of ancient superstitions and discriminations, the victims of age-long tyranny and exploitation.

What is the answer to this intolerable privation? Well, the beginning of the answer is the application of science to production, the building of modern industry, the introduction of hygiene and medicine, the development of scientific and mechanized farming. Doesn't this sound like the Asian peoples' problems could be solved merely by American engineering know-how and American capital? This is a mistaken over-simplification of the problem, common to many liberals who think an enlarged Point Four program is all that is necessary to cure the manifold ills of Asia.

Industrialization is not simply an engineering feat. It is a product of a certain class structure and mode of production. It developed out of the triumph and progress of capitalism. Before the modern production system could be introduced into England, a king had to be beheaded, the old feudal crowd had to be toppled from the seats of power, and a new capitalist class

had to take over the reins. Before modern civilization could take hold in France, the Bourbon dynasty had to be deposed and the power of the landowning nobility crushed.

IN ASIA TODAY, the archaic social system, a survival of the dark past, blocks the path to progress. It has to be replaced. But the weak capitalist groups of these countries are allied with the feudalistic landowning classes, and both have a vested interest in the preservation of the *status quo*. Their biggest fear is that any social changes may lead to a revolutionary avalanche. That is why they are not a force for progress, but for conservatism. They are not the pioneers of growth, but carriers of decay. Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese landowners and capitalists, held governmental power for over two decades, and illustrated this fact beyond a peradventure of a doubt. It could not clear the country of foreign marauders. It could not create a unified state. It could not develop the economy. It could only lord it over the people with terror and brutality, and drive China deeper into the mire of disintegration and despair.

The middle-class and landlord governments of India, Indonesia and Burma are repeating the sorry record of the Chinese Kuomintang in social essentials. They are demonstrating their incapacity to eliminate the economic power of foreign exploiting interests, to break the grip of the feudal classes, and to build a modern society. Their progressive role ended when they won national independence.

I read in an article by my opponent here, Mr. Lens, that India's Five Year Plan is so pitifully inadequate that at the rate of growth projected, there will be six million more unemployed in India at the end of the plan than there were at the start. That tells the story in a nutshell why all these countries are in a state of acute instability and social crisis. The revolution was squelched before it accomplished its social purposes. It will flare up again, as the plebeian masses insist that their national freedom be translated into terms of a better life. For that, the upper- and middle-class nationalist leaders are no good. For that, new leaders, new parties, new programs are needed.

THIS IS THE sequence of history that took place in China after twenty-five years of Kuomintang misrule. A new revolutionary force triumphed after Chiang Kai-shek had brought the country to a dead end.

It is not my purpose here to attempt a detailed description of the Chinese revolution. But unlike the Indian, Indonesian, or Burmese middle-class leaders, the Chinese Communists did not try to freeze the situation once they had driven the imperialist out. They

did not figure the revolution had accomplished its purpose now that it had placed them in power. They proceeded to merge the national and social aspirations of the peoples.

Jack Belden, in his notable book "China Shakes The World," relates how a sweeping agrarian revolt broke the power of the feudal landowners, and distributed the land to the working peasantry, how it shifted class power in tens of thousands of villages, how it released women from their long bondage, how it brought into the dark rural enclaves, for the first time in Chinese history, the piercing light of education and political participation. In the space of a few short years, foreign exploitation has been stopped; the war lords, who for ages kept the country divided and terrorized, have been destroyed; immemorial cankers like grafting and corruption have been burned out. For the first time in centuries, the country is unified, and in full possession of national sovereignty.

Since 1950, there has been a prodigy of progress in the building of industry, the introduction of hygiene, the beginning of a planned socialized economy. According to the UN *World Economic Report* of 1951-52, the index of industrial production increased at an average rate of 30 percent annually from 1950 to 1952, with production already considerably higher than the highest pre-revolutionary peak. According to the State Statistical Bureau in Peiping, industrial output increased by another 33 percent last year. This is a faster rate of growth than Russia attained in its first decade of planned industrialization. Agriculture is also expanding. According to the same UN source, the index showed an annual increase of about 15 percent from 1950 to 1952; and was in the latter year 13 percent higher than any previously recorded peak in China's history. The UN analysis reports:

> *Revenue rose by about* 170 *percent and expenditure by about* 140 *percent. The rise in revenue was due to the expansion of industrial production and the inclusion in the budget of the profits of government enterprises that were being nationalized. Rural taxes having been reduced in the meantime, the share of their yield in total revenue fell drastically. . . . Recovery in industry and agriculture brought about a large increase in the supplies of consumer goods and thereby permitted an increase in personal consumption. . . . The increase in the supply of consumer goods was the basis for the increase in the real wage bill and in the real income of peasants. The redistribution of income resulting from nationalization of industry and land reform was a contributing factor. . . . The rise in real incomes of peasants reflected the gradual completion of the agrarian reform, which abolished rents formerly paid to landlords, as well as the reductions in rural taxes.*

Now, this doesn't come from the *Daily Worker*. It is from a UN report, and the last I have heard, this organ-

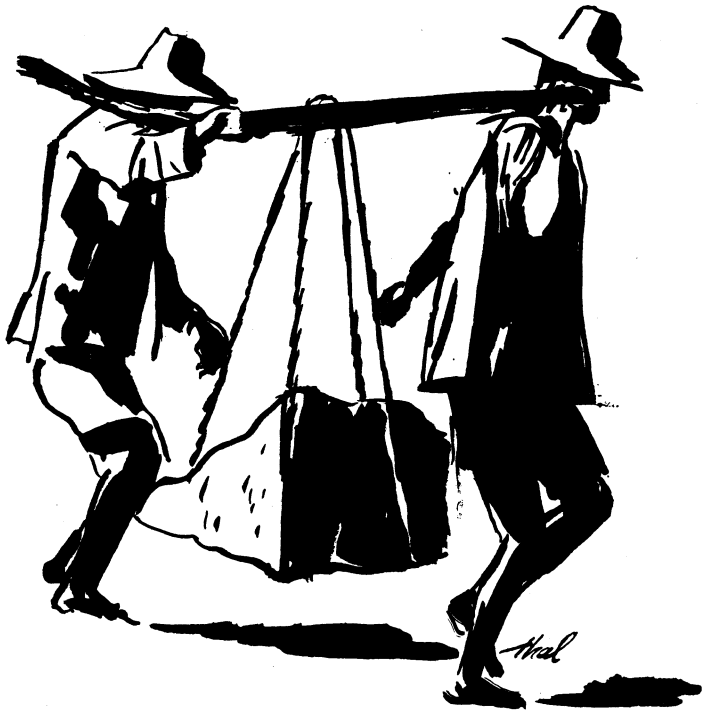
ization is not under the domination of communists, semi-communists, crypto-communists, fellow travellers, dupes, or Stalinoids.

THERE IS no question the Chinese have introduced a tremendous, awe-inspiring program. It has already opened up the floodgates of the people's capacities and captured their enthusiasm, especially of the youth. Nehru, returning from his recent visit to China, said at a mass meeting in Calcutta: "China's strength lies in the unity of her people. China does not suffer from the evils of provincialism, sectarianism and caste-ism, as is the case in India."

I am not trying to suggest that a workers' paradise is about to be created. China's living standards were abysmally low, and industrial production accounted for no more than 10 percent of the national income. But the trend is impressive. It means that the thousand-year stagnation is over and that a period of stormy growth has been opened up.

And when you consider that this country had been devastated by invasion and war for a decade and a half; when you consider that it was immediately thereafter debauched by another three years of civil war; when you consider that since 1950 it has been in battle with the United States and has had to maintain a huge military establishment—then the achievement is nothing short of phenomenal. It means that in twenty-five or thirty years, China will emerge as one of the most powerful countries in the world, with an up-to-date economy. It means that its leaders are on the right road towards lifting China out of its past degradation. It means that the revolution is going ahead with its social conquests. It means that in the course of time China will be able to provide well-being for its peoples.

I have been told: "Look at the price they're paying for this industrialization. They have a dictatorship over there, one-party rule, regimentation. They have simply exchanged one tyranny for another." Well, let's see. It is true, in my opinion, that the New China is a dictatorship, a regimented one-party government. It is also true that not only are counter-revolutionary oppositions prohibited, as they have to be and should be, but proscribed also are any labor oppositions that may support the Chinese revolution and the New China, but may differ with the present rulers as to methods or tactics. From what information we have, it appears that labor unions are tied to the state and industrial planning suffers from bureaucracy. At that, there is more democracy today than there was under the police-ridden dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.



I am not for double-talking about the unpleasant facts, or glossing over them. I am a socialist, and therefore an opponent of undemocratic rule or procedures, whether it be in China, or South Korea, or the United States, or in a trade union body. I have never made peace with bureaucratic injustice. I always fought against undemocratic practices. I always shall. I am therefore not an uncritical admirer of the Chinese revolution. I am not a supporter of the methods of the Communist parties. But when a great peoples' revolution takes place, I am for it, even though it is led by Stalinists, and even though I am critical of some of its aspects.

I HAVE further come to the conclusion that democracy will not flower in Asia until those countries have wiped out the heritage of backwardness, and have built up a society of material progress, without which there is no stable democracy. Why, even in Nehru's India, despite all the high-flown rhetoric and big pretensions, I read that strikes are savagely broken, that strike leaders are jailed, that troops fire into the crowds, and that communist and other oppositions are ferociously suppressed. Sounds just like China in the early Twenties. As a matter of fact, either India will find a new leadership and program to carry on its necessary social revolution, or the Congress party leadership is bound to degenerate as did the Kuomintang in China. That is the real alternative.

Mind you, I do not say this in order to kid anybody that the New China is a political democracy. No one-party regime can be. But what I maintain is that only China's social program can create and is creating the pre-conditions which will, in due time, bring political democracy and glorious liberty to the colonial world. Failing that, these other countries will develop police dictatorships, as Pakistan already has.

Does this mean that the building of a new socialist-type society is necessarily accompanied by dictatorship at least in its first phases? No, there will be many variations, there will be more democratic expressions and forms. But I will say that I don't think that Asia, trying to lift itself up by the bootstraps from centuries of backwardness and decay, will be the trail-blazer of democracy in the present-day revolution. I

think that will have to come from the West, with its advanced economies, its trained labor movements, its democratic background. I think we of the Western world will be able to carry through the social advance in better

fashion, more democratically, less painfully. At least, we should be able to. We have a higher foundation on which to build.

BUT DESPITE the flaws, defects, and shortcomings of the Chinese revolution, it is the biggest thing that has happened in Asia for a thousand years, and one of the major blows for world progress of the Twentieth Century. And just as all advanced mankind rallied to the support of the Russian Revolution of 1917, so every true progressive, every real friend of colonial freedom, every partisan of the progress of humanity will proudly stand up and be counted as a supporter and friend of this massive effort of a half-billion people to throw off the age-old shackles of bondage and move to the front columns of the battle line for humanity's liberation.

I have been asked, if that is so, why some socialists in Asia, or at least people who call themselves socialists, are not supporting the Chinese revolution, why they are talking about organizing a Third Force in Asia. Mr. Lens's articles read as if he has embraced this gospel. Let's listen to their explanation. These people have a trick line. They tell us, "Oh yes, oh yes, we are all for the colonial revolution. We are all for social emancipation. We just happen to be against the biggest actual revolution that has come down the pike in the past forty years. And until one comes along that's flawlessly democratic in every respect, and meets our rigid blueprint specifications in every regard, we will have none of it, and will damn with equal fervor and fine impartiality both the Chinese revolution and those who would destroy it." (Although to be entirely accurate about it, most of their curses seem to be reserved for the Chinese Communists.)

AND WHO are these paragons of virtue who will settle for nothing less than the perfectly flawless revolution? Are they revolutionary purists or doctrinaires? Are they Don Quixotes? Hardly. They're just opportunists masquerading as friends of the colonial revolution. They number among them the synthetic socialists of Indonesia who have been in the government of that big, important and potentially rich country for a number of years. And what have they done to lift their peoples out of the morass? Not much. They haven't solved one important social problem, or even taken the first steps towards its solution, in all that time; and Indonesia is stagnating and in the throes of crisis.

Then, we have the so-called socialists of India, and in a country groaning under the weight of feudal landlordism and oppression, the best they can offer in the way of a program to solve the land hunger of the masses is to beg the landlords to voluntarily donate some of their land to the peasants. And as India has little capital or industry, they have decided that that rules out the building of a modern economy, and India had better rely on handicraft and small production. Some alternative program! Some Third Force! If these are the people we have to rely on to take Asia out of the wilderness, we might just as well close up shop. The situation would be hopeless. Judging by their pronouncements and actions, these so-called Third-Forcists, to put the best construction on it, are just windy word-peddlers, entitled to no confidence or support.

The first duty of genuine lovers of freedom, especially those who want to adopt a critical attitude towards a revolution—and I am not arguing against that, or opposed to that; I favor that—the first duty is to support a great peoples' revolution like that of China. Those who take a contrary stand—whatever their rationalizations, or alibis—have lined up with reaction on one of the most important events of our lifetime.

WE HAVE an especially big responsibility in this country. We're not confronted with a government that's trying to make the revolution more democratically in Asia. We're confronted with rulers who are propping up Chiang Kai-shek, and Syngman Rhee, and the despots of Thailand. Our policy is set by men who have sent the Seventh Fleet into Chinese waters, who have embargoed her ports, and who refuse to permit her a rightful seat in the UN. And it may be the easy and popular thing at this dark moment to add our little mite, which immediately gets caught up and gets lost in the howling chorus of the cold war advocates and the preventive-war madmen. But history will honor only those who have the courage to stand up

against the counsels of jingoism, who support the efforts of a revolutionary people to strike off the chains of a wicked and barbarous past, and who protest against those policies and measures that threaten to involve our people in an Armageddon of death and destruction.

One More Shackle:

Attack on the Right to Travel

Since Magna Charta in the Thirteenth Century, the principle of the right of citizens to leave or enter their own country and to travel abroad at will has been firmly established in Anglo-American law. Only during the last ten to fifteen years (with the exception of a brief period during the first World War) has there been any interference with this right on the part of U.S. authorities.

In the recent period, hundreds of Americans — distinguished scientists, authors, religious leaders, etc. — have been refused passports by Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, director of the State Department's passport office in Washington. For example, Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, who won the 1954 Nobel Prize for Chemistry, was refused a passport to attend a technical congress in London in 1952.

This denial of basic constitutional liberties is being challenged by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Leonard Boudin is serving as attorney in a number of cases, including that of former New Deal economist Otto Nathan, who was denied a passport after an 18-month delay.

The article which follows is reprinted with permission from the September issue of Rights, *distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Written from Paris, it is an interesting account of the pall of fear that hangs over Americans in Europe.*

AMERICANS who live abroad scan their mail each day with fear. What they fear is a letter on the stationery of the Foreign Service of the United States, especially if it is from the closest consulate to their chosen residence. The dreaded letter, when it comes, simply states that Mr. U.S. Citizen is requested at his earliest convenience to present himself at the consulate "with your passport, for administrative reasons."

A good deal of the conversation of our fellow countrymen meeting in cafes or restaurants is about these letters and how to avoid them. Whom is it safe to know? Who gave $25.00 to Spanish Republican War Veterans, or who gave a watch to Russian Red Cross in 1944, or who signed a petition for Sacco-Vanzetti in 1928, or who was too anti-Hitler before Pearl Harbor, or who helped a German refugee in 1934? These are important facts to know, because they are important people to avoid if the American resident abroad is to keep his passport. This is unfortunately no exaggeration.

The other topic of conversation between us foreign residents is who are the "denouncers," the gossip relayers, the informers for the FBI agents who roam about Europe gathering information for Mr. McCarthy's Mr. McLeod's Mrs. Shipley. A good many friendships have been broken on the suspicion of such gossip-mongering. And mind you, an unproven allegation given to one of these informants and passed on second or third hand to the FBI local young man is enough to lose a passport; especially if it is backed up by an Intourist trip to Russia in 1928, a 1925 subscription to the *Nation,* or a belief in 1937 that the Spanish Republic was not wholly communist, nor Franco wholly good.

WHEN THE dreaded letter comes, you go in fear and trembling to the consulate. You are usually asked for the letter and it is never returned. Then you are asked for your passport and told:

"For administrative reasons, your passport is being taken up on orders of the State Department."

You protest, "How can I travel or live without it?"

"We are authorized to give you a temporary document to travel back to the United States. You can probably straighten it out back there."

But what if you have a job in Europe? Have bought a house? Have a child in school? Or suppose you cannot afford the $1,000 for a round trip and the $1,000 or $2,000 needed to get a lawyer to fight your case in the State Department? How can you possibly disprove a statement so vague as "it is not to the interests of the United States that Mr. U.S. Citizen live abroad."? How do you know what venom is behind the anonymous allegations in FBI and State Department files about you? You and your lawyer are not allowed to know, often, what they are; nor, indeed, who denounced you. They are kept secret "for security reasons."

So if you are a small fry, you buckle under; you accept the temporary document; you pull up your roots and those of your family; you sacrifice your job, your way of life, your chosen residence, and you return.

Please do not think this happens only to people who are employees of the United States Government. It happens to John Jones who imports ball-pointed pens into Lichtenstein, or Bill Brown who teaches English and mathematics to youngsters in a Swiss private school, or Percival de Puyster who owns a big factory in Lyons, two houses, three cars, or even to Eustes Richguy whose yacht is usually parked in front of his villa at Cap d'Antibes. No one is immune who in any way indulged in the

"twenty years of treason," or is an American in the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson. All it takes is a spiteful ex-friend to whisper in the proper ear.

Some few foreign residents with a lot of money to spend on lawyers beat the rap. They are not many.

A WORD about the quality of the sleuths sent out by Hoover-McLeod-Shipley. They begin with the belief that there is something subversive in anyone who chooses to lead a considerable part of his life abroad; they only make exceptions for the regular rotating employees of the big American corporations who protest loudly that they hate the frogs or the wops and wish they could return to God's country. They have been drilled to consider the words *liberal, progressive, leftist, New Dealer,* even *reformist* as synonyms for *Communist.* All Democrats from North of the Mason-Dixon Line are also suspect. Reading the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Daily Herald* or the *New Statesman* is definitely suspect for Americans in England. *Le Monde, Combat* are the same in France, *Der Spiegel* in Germany, and *Il Mondo* in Italy.

It is dangerous to speak well of Mendès-France in France; of anybody but the Christian Democrats or the neo-Fascists in Italy; or to criticize Dr. Adenauer in Germany. No foreign resident in his right senses would criticize General Franco in the hearing of a suspected informer for, or a member of, the U.S. government security forces. It has come to that.

A Frenchman, a friend of 20 years, said to me in a Marseilles cafe a couple of weeks ago, "I hear Freddie has lost his passport. It is sad for a Frenchman to see you Americans who live here, on the tenth anniversary of your liberation of France, in just the position that our German friends were in 1934." It is impossible, it is impossible . . . but it is true.

Auto Union Conference Sets 1955 Objectives

Detroit

THE November 12-13 conference of the CIO auto union, called to review the proposals of the union for the 1955 negotiations, was restricted to staff members and limited delegations from locals allotted on a far narrower basis than in any previous conference of the UAW.

The delegates were presented with more than 40 printed pages of material outlining the major proposals of the International Executive Board. At the top of the list was the guaranteed annual wage, followed by a wage increase, revision of the pension plan to provide higher payments and vested rights in the pension, an extension and improvement of the present hospital, medical and health services, revision of overtime provisions and preferential hiring for union members in all plants under contract with the UAW.

The leadership had also taken notice of the great dissatisfaction with the present five-year contract policy. Its new proposal stated: "Contracts not to exceed two years if they include escalator and improvement-factor provisions and not to exceed one year if they do not include both such provisions."

Also presented to the conference was a special report on automation, and the problems it creates for the union, the substance of which was a proposal that a fight for the shorter work-week with no cut in pay be placed on the top of the union's bargaining agenda *after* achievement of the guaranteed annual wage.

These demands, in their totality, reflect a considerable shift on the part of the leadership since the last convention. The widespread unemployment and the general crisis in auto has had its impact. In contrast to the last convention, the demand for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay was treated as a legitimate proposition. Arguments from the platform against fighting for it in the current negotiations took the tack that "We have first got to nail down the guaranteed annual wage. It is not realistic to include so much at one time."

Considerable attention was focused on the report on automation and the shorter work-week. It was apparent that this recommendation was designed to take the wind out of the sails of the section of the union led by Ford Local 600, which has been stressing the 30-hour week.

IF THE object of the leadership report was to squelch the call for immediate action on the shorter work-week, it failed to achieve its purpose. Carl Stellato, president of Local 600, Paul Silver, president of Detroit Steel Products Local 351, Walter Quillico and Alex Semion, chairmen of Ford units, all took the floor to press for its inclusion as an immediate bargaining demand. They pointed out that even the best guaranteed annual wage plan would not provide a job for a single unemployed worker. They hailed the preliminary report on automation as an important step, but strongly urged that no final decision be made at the conference; that the matter be laid over, pending further study, to the March convention.

Reuther brushed aside Stellato's motion, which embodied these ideas, on the ground that the union convention would, in any case, take final action. The leadership apparently is still intent on sidetracking the mounting sentiment in the ranks for the shorter work-week.

Undoubtedly, the extent of support for this demand at the UAW convention will be influenced by the job prospects in the industry. For the moment, the assembly lines have started up again at top speed, and even in many cases with overtime. But what is already apparent is that peak auto production will not re-employ many thousands of auto workers. The present all-out production race can only mean mass layoffs later in the year, at the very time the negotiations take place.

The union's secondary leadership is concerned with the problem of contract provisions and job conditions now as never before, and will insist that this time these considerations not be brushed aside for a few cents in money concessions as has happened so often in the past. This same sentiment constitutes a formidable barrier to any attempt to sell the members another five-year contract in some form of guaranteed annual wage package.

The conference met with the union in a state of confusion and retreat. The Kohler strike, now in its eighth month, with over a thousand scabs walking past the pickets daily, stands as an ever-present reminder of the nature of labor struggles today. The conference proposal for a strike fund of several million dollars sharply underlines what may be the final tactic that the union will be forced to employ in its negotiations with the auto barons.

A Review-Article

The Historians and Co-Existence

by Wm. Raleigh

IT IS not only the physicists who are gearing their work to war-needs. Many of the historians, affected by the reactionary atmosphere and more intent upon fashioning apologetics than upon their oft-boasted "objective" history, are doing the same.

The harnessing of the historians to the war machinery has been less spectacular than the enforced enlistment of the physical scientists; there have been no dramatic purges or highly publicized Oppenheimer cases involving historians. The new schools of writers on American history are composed of volunteers, eager to justify the cold-war policy by the light of the past. But, unlike the physical scientists who despite thought-control have managed some considerable new discoveries in their fields, the historians have produced little that is new. They are busy re-hashing, twisting and distorting the knowledge contributed by past historians, concocting a poor case for the State Department program.

The cold-war historians, like almost every school of American history, are pre-occupied with the American Civil War. So much has been written about the conflict of Blues and Grays in recent years that it is helpful to have available a good new work of historiography, which categorizes the various schools of thought.*

The present division of the world into two antagonistic social camps strikes the historians as strongly analogous to the cleavage of the mid-Nineteenth Century in the U.S. between the antipathetic social systems of North and South which resulted in the Civil War. As one historian put it:

> *. . . the question of the causes of the Civil War is only a particular case in the perplexing problem of human conflict. Men have wrestled in every age with the question of whether there are . . . fundamental and irreconcilable differences in life, or whether through analysis and education man may learn to control conflicts so as to avoid the material waste and human suffering of war. We, in our own time, face a situation in the world which is not too different from that which Americans faced in the* 1850's. (Edwin C. Rozwenc, introduction to "Slavery as a Cause of the Civil War.")

Although there are many important differences between the two periods, the basic analogy is a good one. In the 1850's, as today, a rising social order confronted the last-ditch opposition of a reactionary class based on an outlived economic and social system. But the new school of historians has attempted to identify the reactionary armies of imperialism with the progressive armies of the Union, and to equate the revolutionary masses of Asia and Europe with the slavery-defending Confederate followers of General Lee. In the pursuit of this untenable interpretation, the professors do violence to both the past and present.

ARTHUR M. Schlesinger Jr., the Sidney Hook of the historical field, related the cold war to the Civil War in an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (October 18, 1947):

> *A future historian might say . . . that the primary task of statesmanship in the* 1930's *was to furnish a workable adjustment between the USA and Germany. . . . In essence this is Mr. [Henry] Wallace's current thesis about the Russians. Comparisons with the Civil War may perhaps be extreme; yet one must face the hard fact that closed and authoritarian social systems tend to create a compulsive intransigence in their own ruling groups—and that these groups may respond more to firmness which wakens them to some sense of actuality than to a forebearance which is never great enough and always to be discounted.*

Schlesinger finds that the Civil War was a great "moral crusade"; this crusade against "slavery" is still going on today against the "totalitarian countries"—China and Russia. Any slackening in this crusade, which Schlesinger hints must culminate in war, is "appeasement." Since it is a moral struggle, both the crusade and the war which will emerge from it are necessary and justifiable, in his view.

Samuel Eliot Morison, president of the American Historical Association, extends this view more clearly, asserting that "war does accomplish something, war is better than servitude, war has been an inescapable aspect of human history."

LIKE ALL schools of American history, the cold-war historians are

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**AMERICANS INTERPRET THEIR CIVIL WAR, by Thomas J. Pressly. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey,* 1954, $5.00.

This book is a history of the historians of the Civil War. Mr. Pressly has provided a short and interesting review of the schools of interpretation of the Civil War from the partisan writers of the 1860's to the present.

More an analysis than a report on the historical schools, this work lays heavy stress on the social and political conditions which shaped the thinking of the historians of each period. Although this analysis is not original with Mr. Pressly, he sketches the pressures which produced the various interpretations of the Civil War in succinct style.

His analysis of Marx' and Engels' views on the Civil War is highly incomplete. According to him "Marx and Engels placed the blame" for the war on the South, and held views similar to the Abolitionists. This is true as far as it goes, but fails to distinguish their particular approach. The sympathies of both were of course with the Abolitionists and against the South. But their position on the Civil War was based on a thoroughgoing analysis of the economic and social pressures at the root of the conflict which was not to be found elsewhere.

For a beginner in a study of the period, this book can be of use in providing a sampling of historical views prior to a more thorough study of the sources.

W. R.

molded by major contemporary pressures. In the immediate post-Civil War period, the Northern historians developed what is known as the "Nationalist" tradition, justifying the North and establishing the progressive historical meaning of the war. Theirs was the voice of the vigorous and victorious capitalism. To them the Civil War was necessary and good, and although they did not delineate its basic causes, they felt the Northern aim to be that of historical progress. Their emphasis was on "moral righteousness," and Schlesinger's present view is a delayed parody on this Nationalist interpretation.

The second school, arising in the early part of the century, justified the Civil War on a different basis. Charles and Mary Beard, influenced by the progressivism of the period, put their analysis of the conflict on the plane of economic needs and compulsions, interpreting the Civil War as a social upheaval rather than as a moral conflict. Beard recognized the Civil War as the "second American Revolution" launching capitalism on its road to supremacy. Beard saw the conflict as an inevitable clash between contradictory economic systems. This was a big advance in historical interpretation.

Against this view the cold-war historians are harshly antagonistic, and attempt to prove the Beardian outlook was "superficial"; the Civil War, they claim, was impelled by "moral disgust" over slavery rather than by economic forces.

As Beard himself, and many other historians, demonstrated very clearly, it is true that the Northern capitalist class did not distinguish itself by "moral" opposition to slavery. Moral anger was the distinguishing feature of the Abolitionist movement, but this movement was excoriated in the Northern merchant press, attacked by the Northern politicians and deplored by the leaders of Northern society. The dominant spokesmen of the North prior to the Civil War were busily endeavoring to compromise the slavery issue in order to prevent a break with the South, with whom they had profitable trade ties.

Representatives of the North in Congress, in one instance after another, tried to keep peace with the slavocracy by making legislative provision not only for the continuation and protection of slavery, but for its expansion. With the Dred Scott decision, the North was committed to hunt down and return slaves to their owners, and with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the rights of the slaveowners to keep slaves in territories previously closed to slavery were written into law. Lincoln himself, far from being a crusader against slavery, was a compromiser on the question, and not long before the Civil War supported the movement to ship the slaves back to Africa as a solution.

Prior to and even during the Civil War, Lincoln and a majority of his cabinet tried to prevail upon the slaveowners to compromise the issue by offering to guarantee the legal existence of slavery within the existing slave states. It was not until the Civil War was under way, and had reached a desperate crisis for the North, that the Emancipation Proclamation was produced by Lincoln as a weapon in the war.

THE FACT that the Northern capitalist class was not motivated by anti-slavery feelings does not alter the historic truth that theirs was a progressive revolutionary struggle, which inevitably was forced to eradicate slavery. But if Schlesinger and his cothinkers were to admit the fundamental importance of economic forces in that great war, they would be hard put to justify their position today against the new economic structures arising in the anti-capitalist sectors of the world, against whom their "crusade" is directed. So they must try to destroy Beard's teachings, and of course are very hostile to the more complete social-economic interpretation of the Civil War by the Marxists.

However their heaviest guns are levelled not at Beard, but at the so-called "revisionist" school of historians who long ago attacked Beard from a different viewpoint, which up to the 1950's dominated American historical thought. This was the school of James G. Randall, Avery O. Craven and their followers, who claimed the Civil War was not "irrepressible" and should and could have been compromised peaceably. It is against them that the cold-war historians level their charge of "appeasement."

In the Thirties and Forties these "revisionist" historians, expressing fear of the class struggle which had flared in the United States as an aftermath of the depression, launched an offensive against Beard's economic determinism, as well as against the Marxist interpretation. They blamed the Civil War on the leadership of "agitators" in both camps, and contended that it could have been avoided had reason supplanted passion. Their basic proposition, expressed by such writers as Randall, Craven and Woodward, was that the differences between North and South should have been compromised. This school tried to eradicate Beard's teachings, which include the idea that economic forces irrepressibly lead to class conflicts. This school sufficed, for a time, to serve the interests of the powers that be.

But now the preachment of compromise between antagonistic social forces has become unpopular. After all, if our eminent historians say that the antagonism between the Northern capitalists and the Southern slavocrats should have been compromised, could this not lead the student to conclude that the conflict between world capitalism and the Soviet bloc should also be settled peaceably—that the two camps should "peacefully coexist"?

OF COURSE there can hardly be any controversy at this late date over the irrepressible nature of the conflict which led to the Civil War, and hence in a historical sense, given both the general and concrete circumstances of the day, of the "inevitability" of that war. But it is one thing to make a sociological judgment, either current or historical. It is a far different thing to become part of the reactionary machine which serves the class that is making the war inevitable.

The truth is that the cold war historians have miscast their *dramatis personae* in their analogy between the 1950's and the 1850's. Eisenhower and Dulles belong in the Grey and not the Blue. The rising revolutionary peoples of Asia and Europe, struggling against imperialist domination and the outlived capitalist system are the real continuators of progressive fights of the past.

Our present Bourbons are rather the modern replicas of the expansionist, counter-revolutionary oligarchy of the South, who found it necessary not merely to try to "contain" the extension of Northern capitalism, but to try

to expand their slave domain over the entire continent. This expansionism was a structural necessity for the slave economy just as world domination is an organic necessity for modern imperialism. The growth of the new economic order in the North compelled the slaveowners to move aggressively a century ago; today the growing economic strength of the anti-capitalist bloc, the sweep of the Asian revolution, moves the capitalist class to wave the Hell-bomb over the earth and to prepare for a suicidal war. Modern capitalism, like the slavocracy, must expand or die.

The Southern slaveowners tried in their time to justify their reactionary cause, and many a learned work by Southern scholars was produced to show that the society of the South—modeled, they said, on the Greek classical society of slavery—was more progressive and moral than the society of the Northern merchants and manufacturers, which Southern spokesman Calhoun called "wage slavery." If one were to indulge in the historical analogy in this respect, it could be said that the Calhouns of the 1950's try to identify a system that is already an anachronism with its young and virile antecedents of the dead past.

BOOK REVIEW

A History of Socialism

MARXISM AND ANARCHISM, by G. D. H. Cole. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1954, $6.

G. D. H. COLE, Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford University, is a prolific writer on socialist and labor subjects, and one of the important figures of the British school known as "Guild Socialism." The present book, covering the period from 1850 to 1890, is the second volume of "A History of Socialist Thought." After taking us in the first volume from the French Revolution to the *Communist Manifesto,* Cole now continues the story with the development of socialism following the defeat of the European revolutions of 1848 up to the emergence of the Marxist Social Democratic parties in the leading west-European countries.

Cole is not an especially profound writer, but eminently readable, very informative, with a good grasp of the subject matter and a sense of history. The present series promises to be the best running account in the English language of the development of socialism from the French Revolution to the present.

After the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, many of the exiles, including Marx and Engels, found refuge in London where they re-constituted the Communist League. All of them believed that the defeat was a temporary matter, and that a new resurgence was in the offing. In March 1850, Marx and Engels drafted a manifesto which still started from the assumption that a fresh revolutionary wave was soon coming, and that this would sweep the middle-class democrats into power. The manifesto called upon the workers to help the democratic victory, but warned that the middle-class victors would attempt to halt the revolution at a point convenient to themselves. It would then be the duty of the proletariat to make the revolution "permanent" until power was won by the working class.

BUT Marx' and Engels' economic and political studies soon brought them to the conclusion that the revolutionary wave had spent itself, that a new period of capitalist stability and growth had set in, and that the communists had to adapt their course to the new reality. Faced with a growing opposition in the League, which was denouncing Marx and Engels as pessimists and heretics, and demanding to move towards the coming revolution full steam ahead, Marx employed the same tactic that he made use of twenty years later in the First International; he utilized his precarious majority to transfer the headquarters of the Communist League from London to Cologne, where after a short period, it ceased to operate.

This was the period when socialism went into a deep sleep on the continent as well as in England. Chartism, the English revolutionary movement of the 1840's, was dying after 1848, and the English working class turned its back for the time being on all forms of radicalism. On the continent, co-operatives were increasingly advocated as the means whereby the most thrifty and industrious workers could win an improved economic status under the existing social order. Only in Britain were trade unions growing at all in the Fifties, and even here they were limited to select groups of skilled workers. In these circumstances, there was a sharp break in socialist thought. The gap between the movements of 1848 and the revival of the 1860's, marked by the emergence of the First International, was filled with a lot of quasi-socialist speculation ranging from varieties of reformist schoolroom socialism to populism and Christian socialism. A number of Cole's chapters deal with the European schools or representatives of socialist speculation of this period of decline and political reaction: Rodbertus and Marlo in Germany, Belinsky, Herzen and Chernyshevsky in Russia, and the Belgian Utopians.

THE MOST important sections of the book are those describing the First International and the Paris Commune. Marx showed himself to be a great socialist statesman, as well as a thinker of genius, when he was able to weld an international movement of the diverse elements which made up the workers' vanguard in the different European countries of that period. As the International had to unite conservative trade unionists of England, Blanquists and Proudhonists of France, followers of Mazzini in Italy, as well as other currents, no thoroughgoing theoretical program could be adopted.

Marx wrote in a letter to Engels that "As the stage of development reached by different sections of workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies very much, the actual movement necessarily expresses itself in various theoretical forms." He believed that the experiences of the working classes would by degrees create a common theoretical program. When at the founding conferences, Mazzini's representative proposed statutes governing the Italian associations in Naples which called for a highly centralized authority, Marx saw to it that they were quietly put aside. As he explained, "Apart from all their other faults, they aim at something which is in fact utterly impossible, a sort of central government of the European working classes." Instead, Paragraph I of the rules drawn up by Marx admitted into the International every workers' association "aiming at the same end; the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes."

While the International never had the strength attributed to it by the reactionary governments of Europe, it was a powerful lever to lift the labor movement out of the doldrums, and paved the way for the growth of mass Marxist parties in the leading countries of Western Europe.

COLE'S book also contains a long chapter on Marx and Engels where he attempts at great length to refute Marxian economics. According to Cole, the historical chapters of *Capital* are great writing: "On this score alone, *Capital* must rank as one of the very great books of the Nineteenth Century." But he believes the fundamental theory is just metaphysics. Why Cole decided to include this lengthy critique in a book of this character is unclear, as he does not argue at great length against the ideas of any of the other thinkers he introduces, and especially since his objections have been voiced countless times before by capitalist economists. At any rate, it is doubtful that this thousand and first professorial refutation will affect Marx's status as an economic thinker, one way or another.

The book concludes with interesting studies of Henry George, Daniel De Leon and American socialism in this period, as well as the revival of British socialism in the Eighties.

Cole's account is by all means worth reading, although it suffers from professorial bloodlessness and traces of pedantry which at times adversely affect his judgments. In describing Bakunin's grovelling "Confession" to the Czar which he wrote in the hopes of being transferred out of the fortress in which he was imprisoned, Cole states, "Bakunin's conduct was admittedly not heroic, but I have no great liking for heroes, who are often perilously akin to fanatics." Cole, without knowing it, is describing here one of his big lacks as a socialist writer. There is far more wisdom in the remark of the great French writer, Flaubert, that nothing great is ever done without "fanaticism."

B. C.

The New China

REVOLUTION IN CHINA, by C. P. Fitzgerald. The Cresset Press, London, 1952.

IF THE China Lobby has an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* Professor Fitzgerald's book must certainly figure prominently on it. His great crime is that he accepts the Chinese Revolution as a fact. That alone marks him as a "red" sympathizer of the "Yellow Peril," to which, of course, can be added the tell-tale evidence of geographical proximity that comes from his Australian nationality. His protestations that he has attempted to interpret the Chinese Revolution "neither from the Right nor from the Left" will therefore avail him little with the Senators from Formosa.

For our part, we find Professor Fitzgerald's study a welcome relief after all the comic-strip wisdom that has filled our press and literature for so many years. It is an able and readable work, scholarly but not obscure. Without being overwhelmed with strange names and places, the reader receives a good bird's-eye view of the country whose long history and unique background is so different from that of the West. The author's aim, an entirely laudable one, is to try to view the Chinese Revolution from the "inside," from how the Chinese people "suffer or benefit from it," rather than how the revolution affects Western interests.

His viewpoint, as already stated, is not Marxist but liberal. This leads him, despite the claim of an all-sided optic usually made for liberal thought, to many simple, sweeping generalizations a Marxist would have avoided. He tends to view the revolution too much in terms of the national peculiarities of the past, which are being undermined by the new common denominators in the world today such as industrialization, planning, collectivization. He puts too much stress on the alliance, or lack of it, between peasantry and intellectuals, which he considers the key to China's past, and virtually ignores the effects which the creation of a modern working class will have on the present and future. Finally, as his analysis of the lack of democracy in China's past is inadequate from a social and economic standpoint, he cannot properly assess the factors which will determine China's further political evolution. If we only touch on these criticisms in passing, it is because we believe that the author's views on the problems of democracy and Christianity in China, and on the relations of its revolution with the Soviet Union and the U.S. are of more timely interest than a discussion of the more abstract theoretical questions.

Democracy. So much malarkey has been written about how China has been subjected to the "totalitarian" yoke of the Mao regime that one is indebted to Professor Fitzgerald for showing the wide gulf that separates the traditions of China from those of the western world. The idea of "political freedom" and "individual liberty," as understood in the west, have no roots in Chinese history. Under the dynasties which ruled the country from before Christ to the second decade of the 20th century, the emperors reigned under a "mandate from heaven," a large class of privileged civil servants supervised the collection of taxes, public works and foreign affairs, while civil law (governing property matters, marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc.) was left to the adjudication of the local clans or families. There were no lawyers, politicians, elections or constitutions. The object of the many revolts against the throne was to capture, not overthrow the Empire.

THE ANEMIC republic of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, established in 1912 after the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, didn't last long enough to hold an election. Its first president, General Yuan Shih-kai, a notorious opponent of modern reform under the Empire, soon scuttled the Republic and crowned himself emperor. His reign was not to be more lasting than that of the Republic. Between his death in 1916 and 1925, there was virtually no central government and China was plundered, taxed and oppressed by a gang of tyrannical, ignorant, corrupt warlords who, with the blessing of one or another of the imperialist powers, divided the country among themselves. The second Chinese Revolution, which began in 1925 as a movement of national and social liberation, ended in the triumph of Chiang Kai-shek who smashed the power of the local military satraps to establish himself as the supreme warlord of China. An arch-foe of communism, and an equally ardent opponent of land reform, Chiang's regime, the author demonstrates, differed from the fascist governments of Europe only in its notorious inefficiency and corruption.

Two facts clearly emerge from this history. First: the movements of modernization, reform, democracy in China were always ignored or fought by the Western powers which feared that the establishment of a strong central government, encouraging the development of a western-type capitalism in China, would interfere with their imperialist holdings and privileges. Second: the only Chinese government they ever really supported (Chiang's) was the most brutal and tyrannical in China's long history.

Professor Fitzgerald, however, strains his Oriental studies a little too much when he says that the present regime in China is a "modern version of the government under which [the Chinese people] lived for centuries." After which he proceeds to assimilate the "absolutism" of Communism to that of the empire, the hierarchy of the C.P. to that of the Confucian scholars, the doctrine of Marxism to the teachings of Confucius. This might be true if the present leaders of China were merely playing a devious game to hold power. But considering the vast transformations revolutionizing China in the last few years as compared with the immobility of the Empire for centuries, it is superficial to see the revolution as a change in the form and not the content of Chinese society.

Christianity. Amidst all the indignation about the alleged persecution of Christians by the Communist government, it is forgotten that the Christian religions were a colossal failure in China long before Mao Tse-tung gave the missionaries their walking papers. "China," says Fitzgerald, "was a free field with no favor, and it was the greatest opportunity Christianity had found since the conversion of the Roman Empire." There was no fanatically hostile faith like that of the Mohammedan world.

Nor was there as in Hindu India any all-embracing religion. Yet the church lost this enormous market in souls for the same reason capitalism never won its 400 million customers: Imperialism and Christianity were linked in China like Siamese twins; they came together, earned a universal hostility, and together they were driven out.

THE FIRST Catholic missionaries in China decided to convert the country by converting the Emperor, the same way the Christians had converted the Roman Empire. Although they made some headway in their endeavors, it was not without themselves being converted to some of the Chinese customs and Confucian ideas, and this so alarmed the Pope that he vetoed the whole project.

The Protestants came in under worse auspices in the middle of the 19th century after British guns and warships had humiliated the Chinese state. Nevertheless, they got their first and last big opportunity precisely under the circumstances which favored the rise of Protestantism in Europe: a peasant rebellion. The famous T'ai P'ing uprising was led by a Cantonese named Hung who read the Bible in translation and announced his conversion to Christianity. For obvious political reasons, Hun added a little unorthodox twist of his own to the doctrine. He declared himself, by the revelation he had received on the sickbed, to be the "Younger Brother of Jesus Christ," so that in conformity with Chinese tradition he could be, if he conquered power, the adopted son of the Supreme Deity just as the Emperor had always been the "Son of Heaven." Fitzgerald says that the Protestants were appalled by this heterodoxy, and after futile attempts to straighten Hung out and make him accept baptism from a missionary, they gave him up as a heretic. There is reason to doubt that the Protestants abjured this venture into opportunism out of devotion to principle. For the T'ai P'ing rebellion which had swept over China like a flame was not viewed with favor by the imperialists. They found the weak though pagan Manchu empire more suited to their plundering than the strong regime that would have crowned a T'ai P'ing victory. In any case, Protestantism missed its one big chance to bring the western God to the heathen.

There were other deep psychological and social reasons why Christianity fell on such barren soil. After reading Professor Fitzgerald one wonders whether the roles of converter and those subject for conversion could not have been reversed with benefit to the Christians.

The Chinese were a tolerant people (no doubt because of their "backwardness"). They did not exclude Christianity, but they couldn't stomach the idea that a person accepting Christianity had thereby to exclude all other faiths from his mind. They were not the kind of people to carry on crusades, religious wars, massacres and persecutions to compel a totalitarian acceptance of a supernatural creed.

The Chinese didn't take to the precepts of salvation and damnation. The purpose of religion was to find a better way of life in this world and not in the hereafter. They couldn't see the sense of Catholicism accepting the Empire, unreformed, so long as it became Christian. Nor could they see any improvement in the Protestant mission of saving individual souls but leaving social and economic conditions unchanged. Why, they asked, should missionaries travel thousands of miles and live among strangers merely to change their religion? Such people, they concluded, were merely the agents of foreign powers. The fact that the missionaries also enjoyed the special privileges of the imperialists, the fact that the discredited leaders of the Chiang regime embraced Christianity, reinforced this belief and ruined the prospects of Western proselytism in China.

WHILE MISSIONARIES are now officially excluded from entering China, the Bureau of Religions of the People's Republic made a mischievous proposal which we doubt was ever accepted: a pro-rata exchange — foreign missionaries could enter China in equal number to Chinese "missionaries" entering their lands.

Russia and China. Professor Fitzgerald's observations on Stalin's policy toward the Chinese Revolution do much to lay low the legend that the overthrow of the Chiang regime was part of an international conspiracy directed from the Kremlin. After their quick victory over Japan in 1945, the Russians in accordance with the Yalta and post-Yalta agreements turned over the principal Manchurian cities to Chiang Kai-shek who occupied them immediately on Russian evacuation. At the same time, they dismantled Manchurian industry and shipped the equipment back to Russia. If, on the contrary, the Russians had turned over this strategically and economically decisive area intact to the Chinese Communists, the author correctly says that Mao, who was already powerful throughout North China and on the Manchurian countryside, would have quickly triumphed. The civil war would then have been shortened by some years.

Fitzgerald also speculates that the Kremlin may have been engaged in a cunning game to place Chiang in a highly vulnerable military position with over-extended lines of supply which would make his defeat certain—and this was exactly what happened. The trouble with this perfect case of circumstantial evidence is that it does not accord with Stalin's subsequent attempt to curb the Chinese Communists when they were on the point of launching their offensive which conquered Manchuria and then swept through the country.

In this connection, the author provides some important details on the conference of the Chinese C.P. held in July 1948 at South Hopei to decide the vital qestion of strategy. Through the person of Liu Shao-ch'i, who had just returned from Moscow, the conference was advised of Stalin's views. He "urged the Chinese Communists to continue guerrilla war and refrain from pushing their victory to a decisive conclusion. He argued that the Berlin crisis, then at its height, would not in fact lead to world war, and that therefore it was important to waste America's strength by prolonging her useless aid to the Kuomintang. No real danger exists, says Liu, of American intervention by armed force, such as might be feared by world war."

THE CONTRARY position, which prevailed at the conference, was presented by Chou En-lai. This is of interest not only because of Chou's eminent position in the present Chinese government. According to the author, Chou was also the leader of the ill-fated Shanghai insurrection of February 1927 when Stalin's advisor on the scene ordered the Chinese Communists to bury their arms when Chiang's troops entered the city, despite Chiang's known counter-revolutionary intentions. Chou escaped by a miracle from the massacre of communists that followed. It is quite likely that there is a connection between this event and Chou's unwillingness to accept Stalin's 1948 advice.

America and China. At the close of the Pacific war, says Fitzgerald, "America became the heir of all the imperialists in the Far East; she took over Britain's sea power, Japan's empire and the leadership of the Western nations in China." Despite tradition, anti-colonial sentiment and democratic feeling, "the conquest of Japan imposed empire on America." To maintain this empire in an area seething with discontent, says Fitzgerald, requires that America follow the militarist and anti-democratic pre-war Japanese policy. He puts the dilemma of the State Department as follows: "The advance of Communism can only be arrested by open armed intervention [in China], and then only if the intervention is on a massive scale. The European domination of the East has all but collapsed, and it is now sustained only by clinging to America for support. Thus America has incurred all the odium attaching to these regimes, and lost all the good will which her former anti-colonial policy gained for her in Asia. America can thus neither advance nor retreat; to advance means open war with China, and therefore before long with Russia too. To retreat would mean to abandon Japan, South Korea and Indo-China to speedy Communist control or guidance."

Since this book appeared, life itself has been answering this dilemma. Several times we have been on the point of the fatal "advance" which would have led us into the atomic inferno. But each time, the indignation of the peoples of Europe and the fearless opposition of the peoples of Asia have forced the bellicose Mikados in Washington to "retreat." The question is by no means finally decided. But with each passing month, the Chinese Revolution is compelling a world recognition of itself as a massive fact which cannot be conjured away by curses and cannot be brought down except at price of universal destruction.

G. C.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Strange Sight

I and my friends have been wondering why the New York ALP didn't get enough votes to stay in the fight in the late elections. Since it got quite a few votes in '52, it's quite puzzling. We blame the tragic thing on the Communist Party, which advocated support of the Democrats. Votes that would have otherwise gone to the ALP went to the party of war and witch-hunting. A strange and saddening sight. . . .

The November issue of the *American Socialist* was the best yet! The speech "The Revolution of Our Time" was magnificent, tremendous. If only all the working people could read it. . . . I'm enclosing another subscription for a friend.

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

I enjoy your publication; my views coincide with yours. But I am an unfortunate California pensioner. A subscription to your publication (any publication) means less food, and we are half-starved as it is. The clothing we get must be begged. We live in vile shacks. What can we do on $80 per month to cover food, rent, medicines, clothing? Can't be done.

I know my mind gets hungry too. Wish I could renew my subscription, but it can't be done now.

H. E. R. *San Diego*

(We have received a number of letters like the above, from readers simply not now able to afford the cost of subscriptions. Other subscribers can keep the magazine going to these readers by sending in donations to our Expansion Fund. Two dollars covers a one-year renewal for a former reader who can't spare the money now.)

Information & Interpretation

The *American Socialist* has given me a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction as a source of information and interpretation of the major events going on in the world and in the United States. Here in Brazil, one is subject to even more selected and biased sources of news than is the case in the States, where some selectivity is possible.

The only fault I have to find is that the magazine arrives only once a month.

I am enclosing $10 to aid in your program to increase the number of subscribers, with the hope that when it gets well enough known in the U.S., more subscriptions will begin to come in from abroad, so that others can learn more than one side of the major events of the day, as seen through North American socialist eyes.

M. R. *Brazil*

Enclosed find my subscription renewal. . . . Re your asking for suggestions and criticisms, my renewal should serve as an answer. I would enjoy seeing a classified page devoted to the buying and selling of radical and left-wing magazines, books, literature, etc.

Your magazine is consistently factual, and consequently will never be accepted by the American primitives. . . .

P. G. *San Diego*

The Determining Factor

There were two factors delaying my renewal to the *American Socialist*. One was whether we all were going to get lynched as "communists," and the other was whether hatred is your inspiring motivation, and whether anything inspired by hatred is *ipso facto* bad. (Since your orientation is similar to my own, I had to reassess myself.)

However, since I enjoy, and am enlightened by, your magazine, I am decided to let that consideration be the determining factor. Therefore and to wit: Good luck and keep it up. Enclosed is my renewal.

J. R. H. *Maine*

Have been enjoying your magazine for six months now and I find that I agree with most of your opinions. The library in this city does not have your magazine, so I have been giving them the issues. Since I am leaving the country for an indefinite period I would like to subscribe for this library for the next three years. Would you let me know how much to send you for a three-year subscription.

B. E. *Massachusetts*

Protests Use of Article

I have just looked over your November 1954 copy of the *American Socialist*. On page 17 . . . you boxed in a story titled "What Means This Strike?" which originally appeared under the president's column of our local union publication, *The Voice of Local* 212.

Surely you must know that in union circles it is considered a violation of labor ethics to lift articles without permission. Yet you neither asked for nor were you given permission to use this article in your publication. . . .

Your inexcusable action in this matter is all the more glaring in light of the fact that elsewhere in your magazine you acknowledge receiving permission to reprint a political article. Apparently you strictly observe journalistic ethics in the case of political writers, but contemptuously dismiss such ethics in the case of trade union columnists.

What makes your action all the more reprehensible is that you printed my column in a way calculated to lead your readers to believe that I deliberately authorized you to print it. . . .

I have as little use for your political philosophy as I have for your labor ethics. I am opposed to [your] deplorable tactics . . . and I want emphatically to state for the record that I am repelled by your aims.

While I am at it, I also read your story titled "Defeat for the Union Busters," on page 16. As one who was close to the Square D situation, I am in a position to know that your reference to the International leadership of the UAW-CIO is grossly unjust and does not accurately reflect the facts. The fact is that prior to any action being taken by any UAW-CIO local union, a statement was issued by Emil Mazey, International Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, in which he condemned the strikebusting tactics of the Square D management and the efforts of the Detroit Police Department to break the strike of the Square D workers.

He also pledged support of the rank-and-file workers caught in the Commie-management squeeze. It was only after this statement was issued that UAW-CIO local unions began participating to aid the Square D workers.

Moreover, your concluding paragraph in this article would lead one to believe that UAW locals pressured the International Union to support the Square D workers and that such support was opposed by Walter Reuther. This is not so. To my knowledge, no UAW-CIO local pressured the International Union or its officers in this regard. The action which took place to support the Square D workers was the culmination of the sentiment evident throughout the labor movement in Detroit. Your article is as misleading as is the action you took in reprinting my article without permission.

You do have my permission to publish this.

Ken Morris, President
Local 212, UAW-CIO

(The short piece by Mr. Morris was clearly indicated to be a reprint from the *Voice of Local* 212. Mr. Morris is correct, however, in his assertion that we did not request his permission. This was a serious oversight on our part, and we intend to see there is no recurrence.

(Mr. Morris is mistaken, however, in stating that it was calculated to lead readers to assume that it was authorized. We have no agreement with many of the broad political policies of Mr. Morris and his associates, and are anxious not to be identified with him, as apparently he is not to be identified with us.

(As for the facts of the Square D strike, we are satisfied that our story was substantially correct; that it was the influence of many local officers which resulted in the all-out support of the international leaders of the UAW-CIO to the Square D strike.—*The Editors*)

BRIEF MESSAGE

From a reader in Philo, Ohio, comes a subscription renewal card for the American Socialist **with this brief message written across the back:**

"The best since the Appeal to Reason."

INDEX TO THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST FOR 1954, VOLUME 1

An Important Request

Of Our Readers

IN PAST ISSUES, we have asked our readers to send us lists of prospective readers, so that we could mail them sample copies and letters asking them to subscribe. We received many such lists.

Having just completed a tabulation of results from these sample copy mailings, we find that they have been an excellent and fruitful source of new subscriptions to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. Many of the present readers got their subscriptions after having received a sample copy, and some of these new readers, in the short time since they started reading this magazine, have begun sending in subscriptions for their friends.

We thus suggest once again that all readers who would like to see the circulation and influence of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST grow, scan their memories and address books once more for prospective subscribers, send them on to us, and we will do the rest. Of course, if you can do what more and more of our readers are beginning to do—see your friend and secure his subscription directly, thereby making yourself a sort of informal agent for the magazine —that is even better. But where this is not possible, send us the names for sample copy mailing.

If you like, you may also add to these names a letter from yourself to your friends, which we will reproduce and mail to them. We printed a sample of such a letter in our last issue. But that is not essential.

WE WHO EDIT and circulate the AMERICAN SOCIALIST have from the beginning had the firm hope, which has become a growing conviction, that it will not be just another magazine, but an important force for clarity and unity on the Left. This is a time of groping and regroupment in American radicalism. We know there are many on the Left who are in substantial agreement with us. These are the people to whom we appeal to help us expand our circulation month by month.

While we are on the subject of spreading the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to your friends, all readers should keep this magazine in mind when making up their Christmas gift lists. Our present low subscription rates, lower than any comparable publication, make it possible for you to send this magazine as an economical, attractive, and important gift. (We suggest the two-year subscription at only $4.50.) Christmas gift subscriptions should be clearly marked as such, and don't forget to include your own name so that we may notify the recipient in a letter which he will receive at Christmas-time.

Chicago Readers

A Timely Lecture:

BEVAN AND BRITISH LABOR

by

Sol Dollinger

Fine Arts Building
410 North Michigan
Room 602

Friday
December 10
8 P.M.

Attention: New York Readers

On Friday, January 28, 1955, there will be a banquet in celebration of the first year of the American Socialist at the New Starlight Restaurant, 55 Irving Place, N. Y., at 7:30 p.m.

Tickets are $2.50 per person. For reservations, call WA 9-7739, or write to 863 Broadway, N. Y. 3.

Meet the editors and contributing writers; after-dinner speeches. Be sure to keep the date open.

The American Socialist

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