

The American
Socialist

**SOCIALISM
AND
DEMOCRACY**

JULY 1955

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**Settlement
in
Auto**



London Report: After the British Election

CLIPPINGS

THE action of the Immigration Department in holding Cedric Belfrage, editor of the progressive news weekly National Guardian, in West Street Federal Prison has become one of the most important of current civil liberties issues. Belfrage is being held on a deportation charge stemming from alleged political affiliations of many years ago.

When Ellis Island was closed last November, some persons awaiting deportation were placed into prison cells, an action which caused widespread protest at that time. Bending to this protest, the Justice Department sent out a directive terminating this practice, and a special detention center was opened in New York to accommodate detainees. But now, without any apparent reason, seven men are being held in prison although not charged with any criminal offense, Belfrage among them.

On June 10, the N. Y. Times, having been prompted into investigating the matter by a letter from James Aronson, Guardian executive editor, printed a news story on this policy reversal, and on June 11 it printed Aronson's letter together with an editorial, saying: "As we have repeatedly pointed out, we see no excuse for the imprisonment of anyone—citizen or alien—except through conviction of a crime by due process of law in open court. Federal law gives the Immigration authorities power to 'detain' aliens under certain circumstances—but in 'appropriate places,' not jails.

The next day Rep. Emmanuel Celler (Dem., N. Y.) added his protest: "There is no authority to imprison."

Despite all legal mumbo-jumbo, Belfrage's real "crime" is his editorship of a paper which is sharply critical of Washington's cold-war and witch-hunt policies, and this persecution is a calculated attack on freedom of the press. The Guardian is now forming a committee to fight the Belfrage case, which interested persons may join by writing to 17 Murray St., New York 7.

IN an article entitled "The Great Flight from Stalinism" in the June 16 Reporter, Isaac Deutscher reports a "rehabilitation more strange and startling than that of Tito."

During the late thirties when the Polish Communist Party was underground, Stalin disbanded that party as being "riddled with spies, Pilsudskyites, Trotskyites, etc." Most of the leaders of Polish Communism, virtually the entire Central Committee, was in exile in Moscow, and during the Moscow trials, almost all of these were executed, including Rosa Luxemburg's close associate Adolph Warski, whose views were close to those of Bukharin, and many others with 30 or 40 years of militant activity behind them. Deutscher reveals:

"All these victims of the Stalinist terror, all these traitors, spies, Trotskyites, and Bukharinists, have now been suddenly rehabilitated. The act was carried out in rather odd fashion.

The party newspapers have published long historical accounts of the Polish Communist movement, extolling the 'heroic' role which the men executed in Moscow had played as 'leaders and inspirers of the Polish working class.' Trybuna Ludu, the organ of the Central Committee, has filled its columns with pictures of Stalin's victims. Not a word has been said, however, about the circumstances under which they met death."

ALL tenants in low-income Federal housing projects of Greater New York are being required to execute an oath swearing that neither they nor anyone residing with them belong to any one of 283 organizations listed by the attorney general as "subversive." The deadline is June 24, after which non-signers are to be evicted.

Similar attempts to broaden the scope of loyalty-oath swearing have been made in other states, but not always with success. Resistance and court action have brought some judicial rulings voiding oaths for tenants. Earlier this year a Newark oath requirement was ruled out when appealed by James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II who, because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, had been fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans' Administration, and then threatened with eviction from his housing-project home. And, at the beginning of June, the Wisconsin State

Supreme Court voided a similar law when a Milwaukee Negro couple, Joseph and Corrine Lawson, the latter stipulating membership in the Civil Rights Congress, appealed to it.

WHEN William Reuben, author of the recently published book, "The Atom Spy Hoax," arrived in Vancouver on April 10 to deliver a lecture on his book under the auspices of a Vancouver committee to free Morton Sobell, he was detained at the airport and deported back to Seattle by Canadian immigration authorities. Mr. Reuben replied to only a single question at the airport "hearing" which lasted five minutes: whether he was a member of the Communist Party. Reuben answered in the negative, and refused to answer a further question about his past political affiliations. His deportation was then ordered as "a member of the prohibited classes" under the Canadian Immigration Act.

Mr. Reuben, claiming that his deportation was ordered "without evidence of any kind or nature whatsoever," is appealing the action. He was formerly publicity director for the American Civil Liberties Union, and has been a free-lance writer and publisher in recent years.

Reuben was refused permission to telephone the American consulate, refused the right of legal counsel in violation of the Immigration Act, and was "interviewed" by Canadian authorities in a prison cell. He noticed a partially completed deportation order already made out prior to his having been given the five-minute hearing which was conducted in an obvious effort to comply formally with the provisions of the act, but which Reuben and his attorneys deny constituted any real hearing at all.

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They're Not in Business For Your Health

AS the single cell is the microcosm of the entire organism, just so have we seen all the vices of our business civilization compacted into a single event in recent months. The Salk vaccine was handled, from beginning to end, in a way that has been recognized as disgraceful both here and abroad. But the disgrace, stemming as it does from deeply ingrained social habits, falls upon an entire ruling class and its outlook, rather than individuals.

The two decades of research which resulted in the discovery of the anti-polio vaccine are estimated to have cost about \$14 million. At a time when that amount of money was literally nothing measured against the giant sums freely poured out for military purposes, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis had to raise this money painfully in annual appeals for dimes, not knowing from year to year whether it would have enough to adequately carry on the work. It is an almost final commentary on the capitalist system that the money spent on U.S. medical research of all kinds in an entire year would pay for only about eight hours of the last World War.

Nor was the decision to concentrate on polio part of an overall medical plan which tackles the scourges of mankind in accordance with their seriousness as plagues of humanity. If there is only a limited amount of funds available, one would expect it to be spent in accordance with such a plan. But our society glorifies its planlessness, its "individual initiative," and such a procedure would be against the rules. As a result, the choice of polio as a big concentration point was more accidental and sentimentally motivated than otherwise. There are a number of diseases that are far worse killers and cripplers of mankind and youth than polio, but special factors surrounded

the fight against infantile paralysis with unusual glamor and excitement.

THERE is also evidence to show that the upper-class and upper-middle-class elements who make the important decisions in our society were affected by another consideration. Polio, unlike many of the more widespread diseases, is not a disease of poverty, inadequate nutrition, unsanitary living conditions, density of population or skimpy medical care. It strikes in precisely those countries—U.S., Sweden, Australia, Switzerland, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway—which have the highest standards of wealth and health. The United States alone accounts for more than half the cases recorded in the world. And, within the United States, although the epidemics characteristic of the disease have jumped around seemingly erratically, they have not settled in the poverty areas such as the South, or the crowded industrial areas like New York and Pennsylvania. This very unpredictable be-



havior has left the rich and well-to-do as badly exposed as the poor, and gave rise to an extra-big press hysteria over polio that has not marked the attitude towards other diseases against which good food, careful selection of playmates, top medical care and the other privileges that money can buy afford some protection. Naturally, none of this is said to minimize the dread nature of the disease, or the importance of the scientific victory that has been made with the Salk vaccine, or to belittle the benefits that will go to all, rich and poor alike, if the vaccine succeeds in wiping out polio.

With the announcement on April 12 that the Salk vaccine had been found safe and effective, two questions naturally came to the fore: the methods of distribution and of production. The number of inoculations ready for use before this year's polio season could only run into the millions, while the immediate demand numbered in the tens of millions. Such a situation obviously called for the rationed distribution of the vaccine. Dr. Salk did his part by waiving all royalty rights and refusing to secure a patent; the vaccine had been discovered by a foundation using contributions which came, over the years, from the vast majority of the American people; no private company could lay even the remotest claim to any special rights—the way seemed clear in every way for such a distribution.

But the powerful organized and wealthy minority of the medical profession had other plans, the large drug companies had other plans, and the ruling class, anxious that rational and social methods of doing things shall not get the smallest additional toehold in America, had other plans. The administration, more sensitive than any since McKinley to the demands of vested capitalist interests, was ready to carry out any and all plans that they had.

SIX private drug manufacturers were licensed to produce the Salk vaccine, and they at once proceeded to the most important part of the entire business for them—putting a price on it. Although the actual costs of production are not publicized, the vaccine is known to be quite cheap. The polio foundation got it at \$1 for a 3 cc. vial (sufficient for a complete set of

three injections), which was probably a bit over cost. In Canada, the single laboratory producing it sells it to the government at \$1.50 and makes a profit despite the fact that the testing procedures imposed upon it by the government code are more rigorous. Yet here, the price was set at \$3.50 wholesale and \$4.20 to the patient, and on April 12, the day of the announcement of the vaccine's success, the price was lifted to \$6 to the patient. The companies' stock went up, enriching insiders who had advance tips on the coming developments, and the drug companies were said to expect a \$20 million bonanza on the vaccine this year.

Nor would the government countenance any plans to distribute the vaccine on a rationed basis according to need, that is, to the age groups most likely to be struck by polio. While some moves were made in that direction, the administration left that strictly to city and state governments, local school boards, private foundations and the like. The result was an anarchistic welter of methods and lack of method, the effects of which are bound to be felt when the time comes to make a final evaluation of the year's experience with the vaccine. In many places a black market flourished as well-connected or well-heeled adults rushed to get their shots before the kids had it.

But then, coming like a bolt out of the blue, a rash of cases of almost epidemic proportions for this time of year appeared in the wake of the injections, causing the demand for the vaccine to drop, and the focus of attention turned to methods of production and testing. For weeks, nobody could tell what the story was; whether it was safe to proceed with inoculations or not. For weeks the air was crisscrossed with conflicting decisions, until everything was an indescribable mass of confusion, and no two localities appeared to be proceeding by the same road.

The general press, from extreme right to extreme left, has laid at the administration's door a full measure of blame, and many have already pointed out that the mischief and the outright idiocies—Mrs. Hobby: "Nobody could have foreseen the public demand for the vaccine"—were the natural result of a government more concerned with holding aloft the banners of "private enterprise" than it was with medicine

or public welfare or even with decent and efficient administration. The spirit of the regime was epitomized at Eisenhower's May 11 press conference. The entire nation was in one of the most sensational uproars in years, and Eisenhower was asked by James B. Reston of the *N. Y. Times*: "Is there a government responsibility?" The first paragraph of his reply was:

Well, there is certainly a Government responsibility to take leadership in this thing and see the thing goes ahead as fast as it possibly can. Now, every conference I have had has been that the firms have co-operated perfectly. They have no—the firms making this—they have no complaint whatsoever.

His first instinct was to assure the people that "the firms" are all right, and his second to assure an anxious nation that "the firms" have no complaint "whatsoever." And what more could upstanding, free-enterprise-loving Americans want than to know that "the firms" are satisfied?

WHEN the incidence of polio started to rise in a manner directly traceable to some of the injections, there was an initial period of worry that the vaccine itself is defective. But, when balanced against the fact that the Canadian government, with direct

control over the supply and distribution of the vaccine, inoculated some 700,000 school children without a single resulting case of polio, and when balanced against other known facts, such as the successful U.S. field trials last year, the likelihood is that the trouble is elsewhere. And, as a matter of fact, the trouble is not too hard to understand, as it has been pretty well traced.

Vaccines for the prevention of virus-caused disease have been developed in two basic types: the live virus and the killed virus. In the case of a live-virus vaccine, a harmless strain is used. In the case of the killed virus, such as the Salk vaccine, a virulent strain is inactivated. In the manufacture of the Salk vaccine, one of the most virulent types of polio virus is "killed" by treatment with formaldehyde continued over a period of weeks. The danger comes in when it is not completely certain that all the virus has been inactivated. Hence the testing procedure is the most decisive part of the process for safety purposes.

Last year's experimental vaccine was tested three times: by the manufacturer, by Dr. Salk's laboratory at the University of Pittsburgh, and by the U.S. Laboratory of Biologics Control. The Canadian vaccine has been tested in two separate laboratories. But in the case of the U.S. vaccine, standards were worded vaguely enough, as production got under way, that the manufacturers were able to take short-cuts, the methods of different manufacturers varied, and their products were really tested only once—by themselves. The only control over them was that they had to submit "protocols" (reports on the tests of each batch) to the National Health Institute, and that occasional spot checks were made. With such a set up, and in view of the delirious haste to cash in, it is no wonder something went wrong.

The use of vaccine from the Cutter Laboratories, one of the six firms licensed, appeared to result in what one medical authority called a "common-source epidemic, the Cutter vaccine being the vehicle of infection." And this gave the medical profession an opportunity to show off still another of its characteristics: solidarity against a helpless public. Other drug companies wired their support to Cutter, one large drug firm offered to fly in a team of researchers and public relations men



to help Cutter weather the storm. A Los Angeles drug chain notified its doctor-customers that it would buy nothing but Cutter products in the future. At the height of the public furor, the American Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, meeting in convention in mid-June, elected as their new president Mr. Robert Cutter. Free enterprise was in action to brush off the blame.

So drew to a close a spring dedicated to the fight against socialized medicine, and only incidentally to the fight against polio. But more Americans than ever came to the conclusion, some for the first time, that American medicine, so advanced in the technical sense and so deeply sunk in quackery in the social sense, will have to be subjected to some form of social control in the near future.

A. H. Raskin, the *N.Y. Times* correspondent, wired his paper: "So tense is the feeling in the inner councils of the world labor group that the AFL representatives found themselves denounced as advocates of preventive war." To get the full flavor of this denunciation one has to transport oneself to the ICFTU assemblage and realize that this outfit was a baby of the cold war, that it originated with the split of the World Federation of Trade Unions when the Marshall Plan finalized the division of the world. This set of union leaders is firmly attached to the politicians of the "free world" and most of them are traditionally hostile to Russia. But the "Know-land line" that the American labor statesmen were pitching was a little too thick for even this hardboiled crew of right-wing unionists to swallow. The increased dues that the Americans dangled before the delegates proved too tempting for a lot of them to pass up, however, and so the German delegation was pressured to vote for the resolution on rearmament. As soon as word of this action got back to Germany, their stand was promptly repudiated—but the Americans could boast of a great "victory."

Labor Statesmen Abroad

THERE may be some in the world of "free labor" who have succumbed to the siren song of coexistence emanating from the Kremlin and other unholy places but the doughty knights of American unionism led by such intrepid heroes as George Meany and David Dubinsky of the AFL, Jacob Potofsky and James Carey of the CIO, and Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers, let it be known in no uncertain terms that they would have no truck with appeasement and would not tolerate any faintheart compromises with the principles of freedom. The scene was the Fourth World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, meeting the week of May 28, and the place was Vienna, the capital of Austria.

For the past several weeks we have been reading accounts in our leading trade union papers of the great work accomplished at this convention and the preeminent role played by the American delegation which worked together hand in glove in an admirable display of unity and labor solidarity. From the *United Mine Workers Journal* we learn that "prodded by the American delegation" the convention voted to "fight fire with fire in the vital battle with the communists to organize the unorganized workers in backward areas of the world." The *AFL News-Reporter* brings the cheering news that West German rearmament was endorsed and that "this was considered a telling blow against the 'neutralist' policy fostered by Soviet Russia." From the same source we also find out that the Miners International Federation and the Building Trades Secretariat "were strongly urged to reverse their action in taking in Yugoslav

affiliates." The mine workers *Journal* supplies the additional information that the "unified American delegation" also pressed for "a world-wide boycott of goods produced by slave labor, which means mostly goods produced by Russia and its satellites," although it seems this beneficent move was not adopted. Finally, Meany pronounced the action of the ICFTU executive board in voting to set up a Director of Organization with three assistants "as the most important accomplishment of the Fourth World Congress," and the U.S. unions are pledged to pay in about \$320,000 a year to the international body.

ALL this makes it apparent that the Americans really threw their weight around and took no guff from any of these fuzzy foreigners, some of whom have been horsing around with neutralism, and others even going so far toward sully basic principles as to flirt with the Tito communists. "*Veni, Vidi, Vici.*" (I came, I saw, I conquered.) That was the maxim of the Roman Caesars, and can also now be emblazoned on the proud banners of Meany, Potofsky and Kennedy.

What accounts for the incredible persuasiveness of the Americans, who incidentally happen to lead the politically most backward labor movement in the entire West? Was it superior ideas, or irresistible eloquence, or high-powered organizational technique? Maybe a bit of all three, although some cynical observers attribute it primarily to the aforementioned \$320,000, a point which the American team was able to bring to bear in the not always too friendly discussions.

IT is ironical that when the American plutocracy is clamping down on the unions with Taft-Hartley injunctions, hounding labor with union-busting legislation, and terrorizing the whole country with an unrestrained witch-hunt, that at this very time the major labor leaders should travel five thousand miles in order to trumpet the virtues of the "free enterprise" system and to proclaim the source of all evil to be solely behind the "iron curtain." It may strike dispassionate observers as a piece of unmitigated gall that labor leaders who for almost a decade have been notoriously unsuccessful in organizing unorganized workers in their own country should bluster and lecture their colleagues abroad about organizing new workers.

The hoopla about "a grass-roots organizing campaign throughout the free world" is of course meant primarily as a more aggressive anti-communist campaign on a trade union level in Western Europe. Arnold Beichman relates the gossip of the American delegation in his June 13 story in the *New Leader*: "If any U.S. union member asks what

good all this is doing him, the answer he'll get is, 'Brother, if we don't do this job with the ICFTU, the Com-mies will do it for us.' That's the answer he'll get. Whether the answer will satisfy him, neither Beichman nor his informants seemed concerned.

The Americans' aggressive participation in the ICFTU has nothing to do with legitimate working class internationalism. It is strictly an effort to line up unions for the cold war. The U.S. labor officials are acting here as labor salesmen for Dulles and the striped-pants boys of the State Department. The travels of the union business agents to Europe began after the war and really took on proportions with the passage of the Marshall plan. Several hundred brash young men, whose ignorance was only exceeded by their arrogance, suddenly descended upon countries cruelly devastated by war, to show the local clodhoppers how to really run unions. They were ignorant of the language and traditions of the country; but they had money, which they thought entitled them to determine policies for their beneficiaries, and they came from a country where higher living standards prevailed, which they

construed as being due to their own superior understanding and mode of operating.

THE CIO leaders, some of whom got pretty excited at first about the new intoxicating vistas opening up to labor statesmanship on a global scale, discovered after a little while that they were accomplishing little beyond getting themselves cordially disliked. Victor Reuther, who was madly careening around Europe in the first years, restrainedly indicated in a recent article he wrote for the *New Republic* (reviewing Val Lorwin's book on the French labor movement) that maybe it is the better part of wisdom to lay off. He stated:

The operation of the Marshall Plan made the French economy and French moral problems the special concern of hundreds of American specialists of all kinds. American aid . . . made it possible for Americans to give advice. . . . While I was never in France as a government representative, I was among those who did give advice. Now Val Lorwin's book on the French unions

enables me to consider the advice I gave in retrospect and against 150 years or so of French working class history. For myself, I believe that my own advice sometimes took inadequate account of the fact that French labor history is the history of a class, as compared with American labor history, which is essentially the history of a trade union development. . . .

When most U.S. help was given European unions, life was so close to subsistence that workers had nothing in energy or money or time to spare for union activities. Money from the American labor movement provided heat for union halls, typewriters and mimeograph machines for union offices, food to keep union organizers going, bicycles to get them around. When the need for this kind of first aid passed, however, it became evident to the CIO that any effort to impose 'American solutions' inside national labor movements in France and Italy, especially, was regarded by many as a kind of foreign interference, at best as a forgivable busy-bodyism that was nevertheless potentially embarrassing in political competitions with Communists. . . .

As the CIO, because of bitter experience, began to ease off on advice-giving, and to pull back a large part of its staff, the AFL, under the inspiration of its ex-communist dedicated anti-communist Jay Lovestone-Irving Brown team hurled itself into the breach. Armed with the thesis, "the cold war must go on," the AFL has been maintaining a swollen field staff of its own in Europe, much to the annoyance of the European labor officials, and has promised to integrate it into the ICFTU only if the latter sets up a satisfactory "organizing" department.

The first results of the projected AFL-CIO merger have thus not been too happy on the international political field. The AFL has embraced as its own the reactionary policy of the extreme Republican Right, and has imposed this as the program of the united labor leadership. Let us hope, now that the European junket is over, that the projected unity will find expression in a real, not a synthetic, organization campaign of the South—and we mean the South of the United States, not of Italy or Greece.

"Never at All"

For a sample of Southern Bourbon attitudes towards the Supreme Court decision on school segregation, a remarkably frank editorial in the Richmond News Leader, considered a "responsible" paper as distinguished from the "extremists," is being widely cited. That editorial, after outlining a comprehensive program of action for war against integration of white and Negro children in the schools, continued as follows:

IS all of this to advocate that Virginia attempt, by lawful means, to get around the law?

That is exactly what we advocate.

For let this be said once more, in unmistakable language: In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flouting the law, let it be said to the high court: you taught us how. From the moment that abominable decision was handed down, two broad courses only were available to the South. One was to defy the

court openly and notoriously; the other was to accept the court's decision and to combat it by legal means. To defy the court openly would be to enter upon anarchy; the logical end would be a second attempt at secession from the Union. And though the idea is not without merit, it is impossible of execution. We tried that once before.

To acknowledge the court's authority does not mean that the South is helpless. . . . Rather, it is to enter upon a long course of lawful resistance; it is to take lawful advantage of every moment of the law's delays. . . . Litigate? Let us pledge ourselves to litigate this thing for 50 years. If one remedial law is ruled invalid, then let us try another; and if the second is ruled invalid, then let us enact a third.

. . . Yesterday's opinion of the Supreme Court ended nothing. It changed nothing. And if it be said that the court's opinion was conciliatory, we would reply that the South is no more of a mind to conciliate on Wednesday than it was on Tuesday. When the court proposes that its social revolution be imposed upon the South "as soon as practicable," there are those of us who would respond that "as soon as practicable" means never at all.



The new Ford and GM contracts are being hailed as historic advances for the unions, but the rank and file does not seem very pleased by the outcome. Behind the strikes that swept auto after the settlement.

Huge meeting of Ford workers gathers outside Gate Four of the River Rouge plant to hear a report on the progress of negotiations for a new contract.

Settlement in Auto

by A Detroit Correspondent

Detroit

EXTRAORDINARY national interest has centered on the contracts signed by the auto workers' union with Ford and General Motors, as everyone is aware that these agreements set the pattern not only for the automobile industry, but to a degree for all large manufacturing concerns. When reporters asked Walter Reuther "Who won?" at the press conference on June 6 immediately after the signing of the Ford agreement, he answered: "We both won." The quip was far more than a public relations wise-crack; this ambiguity epitomizes the whole transaction.

In industrial circles there is wailing and gnashing of teeth, with the National Association of Manufacturers making threatening noises about fighting any liberalization of the state unemployment insurance laws. Among liberals, Reuther is mentioned as the "man of the hour," and the contract as a "historic milestone" of labor's progress. But the beneficiaries of all this "labor statesmanship" are remarkably indifferent and even hostile. The Detroit press, after days of issuing dire warnings for labor not to go too

far, felt constrained to take note of the fact that the auto workers were in a rebellious mood about the settlements. The *Detroit News* carried a dispatch from Flint, stating:

Wage contracts signed recently for the men and women who make automobiles have been hailed by industrial and union leaders as "historic agreements," or "the beginning of a new economic era." But what do the people who pin on badges each morning, punch a time clock and turn out the cars or parts think about their roles in "labor history"? They are not impressed.

Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, was roundly booed by 15,000 of his members when he hurried out to report to a meeting outside of the plant gates immediately after negotiations were concluded. It was days before the strike movement at the various Ford plants could be quelled, and the workers convinced to return to work. The Ford management was deeply aware of the uneasy situation. Ernest R. Breech, board chairman of the company, speaking before the 25th annual Harvard Business Conference on June 11, significantly reminded his audience, in answer to a request for greater elucidation of the contract, that although the company and the union leaders have reached agreement, "our workers have not yet voted upon the plan and conditions have not settled back to normal. It will be in the interests of all concerned to withhold such extensive comment until we have a labor contract approved and in effect." General Motors, which signed essentially the same agreement on June 13, was likewise beset with a great number of strikes in plants throughout the country, with many local unions defying the instructions of the International officers and voting to stay out until the local issues were settled.

WALTER REUTHER called the Ford contract "the largest economic package ever offered." He says it embodies concessions that are worth more than 20 cents an hour. If this is so, it is inaccurate as well as misleading to call it "the largest economic package." The union won a straight across-the-board 18½-cents hourly wage increase in early 1946, as well as the elimination of certain inequities and a number of upward adjustments in some classifications. At present prices, the straight hourly increase alone would represent well over 30 cents. It is of course true that the contract in 1946 was won only after a bitter 113-day strike.

According to the union breakdown, which adds up to 19.2 cents, the Guaranteed Annual Wage Plan, or as it is more accurately referred to in the contract, the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Plan, will cost 5 cents per hour per man. Pension improvements will cost 4½ cents. The annual improvement increase is worth 6.2 cents. Elimination of certain wage inequities is rated at 1.3 cents. Improved vacation plan is worth .2 cents. Improved hospitalization and medical insurance are worth 1.2 cents, and an additional holiday is rated at .8 cents. There is also a minor improvement of the escalator clause.

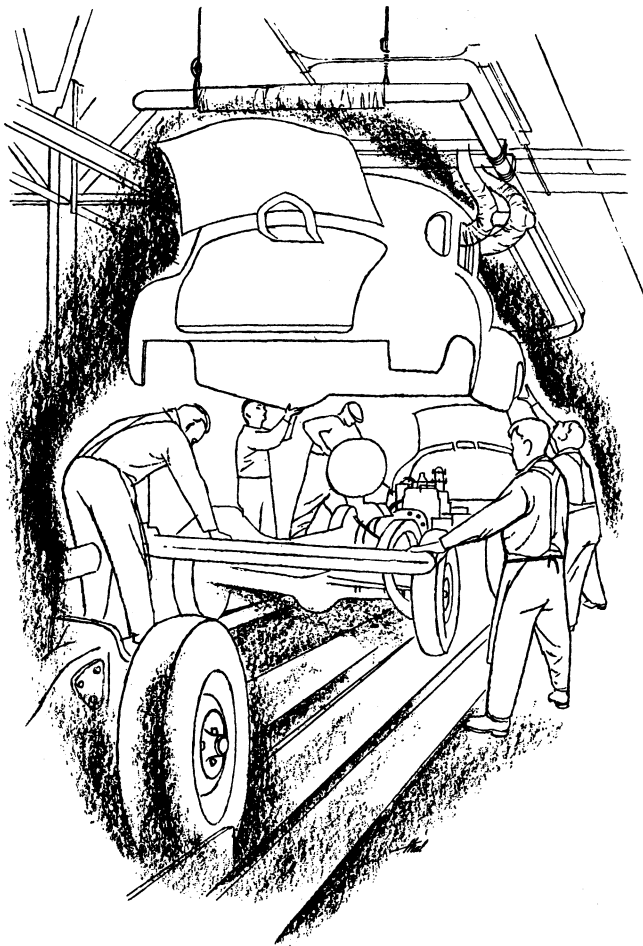
Boiling it down to essentials so far as the worker in the shop is concerned, he has gotten an unemployment supplement worth 5 cents an hour, the benefits of which he will not receive for another year, a good improvement in

the pension plan amounting to an increase from \$1.75 per month for every year of service to \$2.25 per month, as well as vested industry rights in the pension and an earlier retirement date, a 6-cents-an-hour annual wage increase for the next three years, which represents however only a one-cent improvement over the last contract, plus a couple of secondary fringe benefits. There are virtually no improvements in shop conditions and contract clauses concerning work conduct, production rates, or union representation. The skilled workers get an additional 8-cents-an-hour increase in place of the 30 cents originally demanded.

ALTHOUGH the settlement is a big come-down from the original demands, it clearly contains some definite concessions, and may very well have been the best contract obtainable without a strike. Why is there then such widespread dissatisfaction with it in the union ranks? Why did Stellato literally have to wear down the opposition to it at a ten-hour meeting of the Ford General Council, which finally approved it 62 to 11? First, the highly touted Guaranteed Annual Wage emerges as a much-reduced proposition. The company will build up over a three-year period a \$55 million fund by setting aside 5 cents for every hour worked by such employee. Out of this fund it will supplement unemployment compensation *beginning only the second week*, to equal 65 percent of his take-home pay for four weeks, and 60 percent thereafter up to a maximum of 26 weeks. Benefits will be paid out according to a complicated system based on the amount of seniority and work credits accumulated by each worker; the money will actually be kept in two funds, one for auto workers, and a separate fund for the defense workers, whose employment is considered less regular; and finally, the liabilities of the company end if the 55 million dollars are exhausted.

The inadequacies of this plan are brought into focus by comparing it with Reuther's original GAW, which was supposed to provide immediate supplementary benefits representing the worker's full wage, up to 52 weeks a year, and was also supposed to provide a guaranteed 40 hours once the worker was called in to work during the week. (This latter demand was won by the teamsters in their Midwest over-the-road 11-state agreement, but was lost in the shuffle in the final auto agreement.) Under the Ford-GM plans, \$25 is the weekly maximum that can be collected, and \$2 the minimum, but according to Reuther's own figures benefits will actually average only \$9 a week.

The so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage proposal represents a roundabout attempt to overcome labor's political weakness by its strength at the bargaining table. In recent years, the employers have not only prevented a liberalization of the unemployment compensation laws, but have successfully undermined the original purposes of the laws as well. When unemployment compensation legislation was first introduced it was supposed to provide a worker with an income of two-thirds of his wages. But with the steady company pressures on the state legislatures over the years, unemployment benefits average by now closer to one-third of a workers' income. According to the May issue of *Ammunition*, official magazine of the auto union, unemployment benefits were originally financed by a tax of



tended for another three years (in violation, incidentally, of the express instructions of the last UAW convention, which limited the maximum contract period to two years.) The rash of strikes that broke out in Ford and GM shops foreshadows the troubles that the Reuther leadership will face in the coming days long before the three years are up.

Among the skilled workers, the anger is already so great as to shake the structure of the union. The eight-cent agreement that Reuther and the other negotiators signed was completely inexcusable. It is difficult to understand how they thought they could get away with a settlement which perpetuates a fifty-cent differential that exists today between the wage of skilled workers in the job shops and in the big automobile plants. The tool-and-die unit of Ford Local 600 is up in arms and waging a campaign for everybody to repudiate the agreement in the June 20-21 voting. At a Flint mass meeting of skilled workers, more than a thousand dollars was tossed into the kitty to pay the expenses of a committee of four to go to Detroit and demand a separate charter from the UAW Executive Board for the newly formed "Genessee County Skilled Trades Committee." The old talk of seceding from the UAW and getting a charter from some AFL organization is again being revived. Reuther faces plenty of trouble from the skilled workers unless he gets busy and negotiates a supplementary wage concession on their behalf.

THE auto workers, it has been commonly accepted, have been conservatized in recent years because of steady work and improved living conditions. It has further been accepted that the long bitter strikes at GM and Chrysler in the post-war period are still vividly remembered and that the mass of workers are eager to avoid a strike at all costs. Both propositions are largely valid, but, as the rash of strikes at GM and Ford demonstrates, these evaluations should not be pressed too far. Beneath the surface of complacency, great dissatisfactions are building up, and no sooner does the union display its solidarity and potential national power, than the latent militancy of the ranks comes to the fore, the many suppressed grievances are brought to light, and satisfaction for them is demanded. It was not fortuitous that Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, loomed up as a veritable workers' hero in the first weeks of the Ford negotiations when he was putting pressure on Reuther and acting as the independent militant responding to the wishes of the ranks. But his stock went down when he decided to drop his previous manner and to do a "salesmanship job" for the new contract.

In explaining to the press the larger meaning of the Ford contract, Reuther said: "This is the principle around which future collective bargaining will be conducted. . . . This is the historic first step. We are charting new avenues here, and we are willing to sweat this period out to find out what the experience teaches us. . . ." We can take for granted that the union will press for improvements next time in the present miserly supplementary unemployment provisions. But auto union members will be well advised not to permit the pledge of the last convention to be forgotten or neglected: namely, that the next bargaining objective of the UAW is to be the 30-hour week—by all odds the most important trade union answer to the problem of automation and unemployment.

2.7 percent on company payrolls. By last year, the tax had been reduced to 1.1 percent.

The unions, having demonstrated their impotence in the state legislatures, now hope to achieve their purposes through direct labor-management bargaining. If the NAM, however, were to make good on its threats and actually block liberalization of the present state laws, most of which do not now permit payment of benefits when a worker receives other income, Reuther's contracts would go up in smoke, and the fight between the union and the automobile manufacturers would have to be renewed again.

It would be wrong to think that the auto workers' dissatisfaction stems from the clear inadequacies of the present supplementary insurance scheme. This is what is primarily involved: *After a five-year wait they simply do not think that enough has been won in the new contract.*

The auto worker was never particularly excited, or even very much interested, in the supplementary jobless-pay proposition. His main concerns were wages, pensions, working conditions. He does not see that anything very big was accomplished on the first two, and he is keenly disappointed at the lack of *any* progress on the last point. The company security clauses in the last five-year contracts were so brutal that they effectively crushed labor militancy, and brought back working conditions that often resembled pre-union days. Speedup became king again in the auto shops. With the approval of the new contracts, the unlimited corporation power over working conditions is ex-

The striped-pants victory in Britain has temporarily put a damper on the internal conflicts in the Labor Party and blocked advances on the political front for now. But labor militancy is finding an outlet in strike struggles.

After the British Election

by Our European Correspondent

London

WINSTON CHURCHILL went out of office last May in the blackout of a newspaper strike. Anthony Eden came in about a month later with transportation brought virtually to a standstill by a railroad and dockers' strike. This farewell and hail to Tory governments is the measure of their victory at the polls on May 26 and of the political climate in which it occurred.

Everything favored the Tories when they called the surprise election. The country was enjoying a mild prosperity similar to that of most capitalist nations of the Western world: full employment, favorable terms of trade, a housing boom, a certain rise in the standard of living due more to an increase in installment buying and to long working hours than to a substantial rise in real wages. At the same time, the thaw in the cold war had removed the explosive issues of foreign policy from the central position they had previously occupied. Finally, the Labor Party had just patched up a near split and crawled into the election without enthusiasm or clarity of purpose.

The results had been predicted. But the Tories, expecting a landslide that would give them an unquestioned mandate, emerged once again from the election with a minority of the popular vote and a majority of sixty-eight seats in the new House of Commons. Labor's vote dropped from 13.9 million in 1951 to 12.4 million. The million-and-a-half missing Labor voters hadn't swung to the Tories; they just stayed away from the polls. And far from picking up votes from their opponents, the Tories themselves registered a loss of about four hundred thousand votes as against 1951. Under the best possible circumstances for the Conservatives, "their performance in office," said *The Economist*, "had not brought any mass conversions." With slight changes, the country remained almost equally divided.

That isn't all. To win the election, the Tories had been obliged to sit on their reactionary wing, to hand out wage



ANTHONY EDEN

increases and tax cuts on the eve of the election, to boast about their achievements in popular-priced housing. It was a calculated propaganda effort to cut the distance in social reform that separated them from the Labor Party. Listening to the Tory speeches you would think they had inherited the "welfare state" and were administering it with more generosity and less austerity than the Labor Party. Lord Hailsham wrote in the London *Daily Mirror* (five million circulation) that his party wanted to "create abundance" and it believed "increased national wealth should be distributed in higher wages and salary checks and not in the redistribution of wealth by increased taxation."

THE bulk of working-class Britain was not convinced that the Tories believed even in that. The image of Toryism has been permanently engraved in their minds as unvarnished class rule that goes back to the child labor in the mines during the Industrial Revolution and comes up through the generations in poverty, slums, unemployment, the repression of the unions in the General Strike in 1926. The Tory, in his uniformed attire of bowler hat, morning coat and striped pants, is not merely a political opponent; he is the hereditary class adversary. Time and again I have seen workers at meetings turn aside a sophisticated Tory heckler with the simple question: "When did you ever work?" British labor believed with Bevan that whatever good had come out of three years of Conservative rule was the fruit of the six previous years of Labor rule; the rest was an economic freak.

Yet this deep, ineradicable class feeling was not enough to turn the tide. If the Democrats could not keep office in 1952 by evoking the memories of the Hoover depression, Labor in Britain had less chance of ousting a government which, benefiting from prosperous conditions, did not tamper with the major social reforms of the post-war era. The mailed fist was sagely concealed in a velvet glove. Despite the growls of the Colonel Blimps, Butler and Monckton kept to the opportunist course of adroitly avoiding any step that would stir the latent working-class anger into an active state. Even as the unofficial strikes began to crowd the election, they maintained a discreet silence, leaving the threatening and the denouncing to the right-wing trade union leaders. The drug was intended for labor consumption, and it worked like a charm on the million and a half who didn't vote and the few million other workers who couldn't be routed out of the Tory camp. They decided the outcome of this election as of the two others which preceded it.

SUCH a situation would have been a tough nut for the best socialist leadership to crack, and this Labor leadership is far from the best and certainly not hell-bent for socialism. On the very eve of the election with the party still rocking with the battle over Bevan, they patched together into a platform assorted ideas, reforms and demands. It was called "Forward with Labor" but there was little in it that sounded like a battle cry. There was a good proposal on curbing rising prices, another on protecting tenants from gouging landlords, still another on removing all charges from the health services, and finally a declaration of intention to re-nationalize steel, road transport and to nationalize certain parts of the chemical industry. But the thing didn't hang together; there was no comprehensive plan, no ringing call for the socialist reorganization of Britain. Without the acute goad of poverty or the fight against an aggressive reaction—which makes people read platforms as symbols regardless of their words—nobody got very excited. Those who cared knew the platform offered more than the Tories; the rest went about their business. On foreign policy, there was no perceptible difference from the Tories. Peace, four-power Conference, disarmament—Anthony Eden was for all that sort of thing, as everyone knew!

Labor's campaign started off at sixes and sevens—in

fact it never really got started. Gaitskell launched the first flyer, speaking of threatening difficulties facing British trade. Then Wilson, with slightly better effect, shifted the attack to prices. All declared with indignation that the accusation that Labor would bring back rationing was a contemptible Tory lie. As the Labor leadership was firmly committed to the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb and to German rearmament, it sounded a little strange when in the midst of the campaign Attlee and Morrison began to promise to cut national service to eighteen months and even to a year. To some extent, Bevan brought some coherence into the campaign by introducing a hard line of class antagonism to the Tories. The compromise before the election had apparently restrained him from dwelling on foreign policy. Nevertheless, while being kept off the official speakers' roster and off the radio and television, his own speaking tour for left-wing candidates had the effect of a fillip on the Labor campaign. It wasn't enough to win the election but it probably saved many votes and many seats in the House of Commons.

WOODROW WYATT, a defeated right-wing Laborite, had a different idea. A few days after the election he published a screaming tirade for the Rothermere press holding Bevan responsible for the defeat. The *Daily Mirror*, pro-Labor but having taken an unusually gentlemanlike attitude during the election, said that Bevan had cost Labor a million and a half votes. The right-wing leaders, who, unhampered, had determined and carried out the policy for the election, were obviously not anxious to join this kind of post-mortem—at least not yet. Yet it is true, but in a different sense, that the big Bevan controversy and its resolution—which was the post-mortem of the 1951 defeat—was perhaps the determining factor in the outcome of this year's poll. The defeat in 1951 had shaken the Labor Party out of internal stagnation. A left wing had taken shape in a criticism of the faint-heartedness and failures of the Labor Government. It gained strength from sponsoring a vast program of nationalization as the way to bring socialism into being in Britain. It became a movement by challenging the abject dependence of the party leadership on State Department policy in the cold war. And one year ago at Scarborough, it took the road of power in the party when it set its sights on the main bastion of the right wing, the trade unions.

The crisis, as is known, came to a head in the attempt to expel Bevan from the party. A mighty rebellion welled up from the ranks, resolutions of protest literally poured into Transport House from the party branches and the unions, right wingers seeking to defend their action were booed off the floor at meetings and conferences. The revolt was by no means purely defensive. In a half dozen cases local parties eliminated right wingers as their prospective candidates for parliament, among them such notables as Edith Summerskill, chairman of the party, Frank Soskice, former Labor Minister, Woodrow Wyatt and others. Were it not for Attlee's conciliatory moves, there is little doubt that in a split the majority of the party would have followed the left wing. History will tell how good was Bevan's judgment in accepting the compromise offered by Attlee—a settlement which administered a partial defeat to the right wing but left them in control of the party machinery

and placed at least a temporary moratorium on the struggle over policy.

The effect on the rank and file was one of mixed jubilation and frustration. They had defeated a right-wing conspiracy, but were obliged to go into an election with a policy dictated in its essentials by the right wing. The stalwarts among the militants accepted the challenge and made the best of difficult circumstances. In many cases, Bevanite candidates fought the campaign on their own terms, opposing German rearmament and the manufacture of the H-bomb, calling for withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance and for a policy of complete socialization. It is a remarkable fact of the election that only two of some sixty-odd Bevanite candidates, Michael Foot, editor of *Tribune*, and Jeffery Bing, were defeated. On the whole they fared no worse than the general run of party candidates, and probably did better considering that more of them had to fight in marginal constituencies.

But the other feeling, that of frustration and disappointment, was equally marked in party ranks. At the height of the Bevanite crisis, a contagion of resignations threatened the left wing. It may have been checked by the last-minute unity, but the feeling was undoubtedly carried over into the elections, where a very minimum of voluntary workers turned out for the multitude of tasks in the campaign. Party loyalty was not strong enough to overcome disgust with bi-partisan foreign policy and with mere improvements in the welfare state. This attitude was shared or communicated to large sections of the workers. A Bevanite policy might not have brought victory at the polls, although the party would have emerged with greater strength and confidence, but there can be little doubt that right-wing leadership meant certain defeat.

THE first result of the election has been to dampen the inner-party struggles. The parliamentary leadership is going through the motions of "rejuvenating" its personnel, but has carefully abstained from seeking the political causes for the party's setback. To some extent, this is inevitable in the present situation in Britain. There is no big, dramatic issue of a domestic or international character pressing for a decision. The Tories are now, on the face of it, safely in power for the next few years and this means that the conflict within the Labor Party will seek a different level. The question now is less what the party would or should do when it returns to power—an ever-present possibility in the last three years—but what it will do in a drawn-out period of opposition.

Unless it were assumed that the present *status quo* of internal prosperity and international *detente* will remain unaltered in the next five years, there is no reason to assume that political conflict will enter a long slumber in Britain. In fact, the tendency to change that *status quo* is already clearly manifest. The increased frequency of strikes, the greater restiveness within union ranks against conservative leadership, represent a tendency on the part of the workers to fight for a larger share of the national wealth. The movement is bolder in outlook and aim than in the past. It is no longer content to count its wage increases in overtime work, and is pressing for increases both in basic wage and in overtime rates. It is insisting, as in the case of railroad workers, on the establishment of dif-

ferential increases for skilled crafts. These are not revolutionary measures, but considering that in the last few months alone there have been official or unofficial strikes among railroad workers, bus drivers, electricians, miners, longshoremen and seamen, it is clear the struggles will have a continuing character and a constantly widening scope.

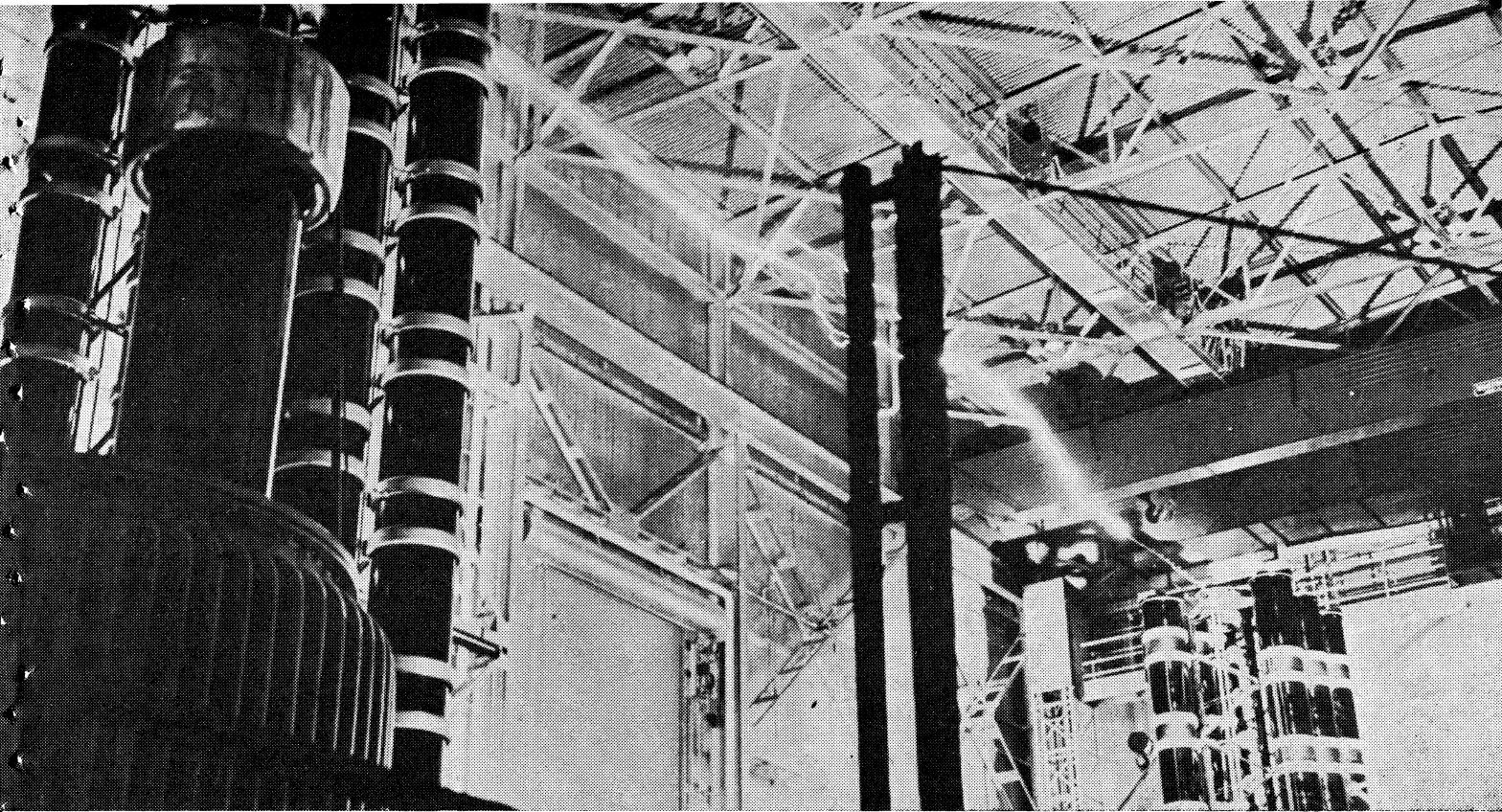
UP to now, with profits high and an election in the offing, the Tories treated the wage movement with great delicacy. There was a moment of hesitancy before the threatened railroad strike a few months ago when sections of the employers demanded a showdown; at the last moment calmer counsel prevailed and wage rises were granted to railroad, shipbuilding and engineering workers and to miners. *The Economist* warned the Tories the day after the election that "unless they face the necessity for another round of hard ploughing . . . the unresolved issues are likely to keep on exploding in their faces all through this parliament." There is a growing clamor for strong measures, for a new anti-labor law, for the use of troops in strikes. Knowing that such steps would weld the workers into a solid phalanx of rebellion, the Tories are still moving with great wariness. They are feeling the ground in the labor movement, seeking allies among the trade union and Labor Party leadership to give their repressive measures a "national" cover.

Thus far, Bevan has been alone of the top leadership to justify the strikes; the others have deplored the lack of "responsibility" on the part of the workers. One year ago, the struggle in the Labor Party had as its object the support of the unions for the embattled factions. In the time ahead, the struggle of the unions against the Tory employers may very well be the catalytic agent to again precipitate the struggle within the Labor Party, giving the left wing a deeper radicalism and making it more working class in outlook and composition.

In international affairs as well, the future is by no means a serene one. By his timely tongue-in-the-cheek consent to four-power talks, Dulles won the marginal constituency which Britain represents in world politics. He will undoubtedly now try to press his advantage by attempting to involve the Eden Government in more aggressive action in Formosa and in a tougher policy against the growing sentiment for neutral status among European nations. This would be a bad reading of the election results, for nothing so much as a new incendiary act in the cold war is more likely to re-galvanize the Labor Party.

All these developments remain in the future. For the present, however, the most important lesson for Labor was that drawn by Bevan in an address to a South Wales miners' rally of 30,000 persons at Cardiff. The best thing the Labor movement could do, he said, was to "make up its mind that it is never going to win any elections in Britain, and it will not matter if it does win them, unless the movement is going to dedicate itself to the accomplishment of a socialist society."

That sums it up. Labor lost the election because it failed to finish British capitalism when it had power. It lost its character when it permitted bipartisan cold war policy to submerge its socialist aims. It will surely get another chance, and its success depends on whether the lessons of these past ten years have been absorbed.



Like other outworn social systems of past history, capitalism is turning against its own greatest achievements of its younger—and healthier—days. Latest target of capitalist thinkers is science and reason.

The Assault on Reason

by Harry Braverman

THE Catholic Church has long hinted that the world would be better off had Rousseau and Voltaire been strangled in their cradles, and had the generations of scientists that followed Bruno and Galileo been, like those early precursors, burned at the stake or forced to recant. The rulers of modern mankind could, in this view, have avoided much trouble and insubordination had the dangerous thought that man and his Earth are the naturalistic products of cosmic, geologic and biologic evolution been suppressed at the start, and had religious absolutism maintained its sway over men's minds. It has also been slyly insinuated by these same sources that the Marxists are only completing the work of secularizing the human outlook and human institutions which the rise of science began four centuries ago, and that capitalism only made a stick to break its own back when it started this process on its potent way.

We have grown accustomed to hearing this theme from the Catholic theologians, but it is now being taken up in the most materialistic quarters. For example, *Fortune* magazine, which prides itself on being a magazine for men who not only *want* to make money, but *make* it in large

quantities, has joined the campaign with a flourish. A former managing editor of *Fortune*, the late Russell Davenport, was, when he died, writing a book (just published: "The Dignity of Man," Harper, New York) which *Fortune* brought to its readers in excerpted form in April. The theme has been taken up in other quarters, but we will begin with Mr. Davenport's careful and amazingly explicit exposition.

"Our enemy," he begins, "is not any particular nation. It is not any particular army. It is a particular Idea of Man." That idea of man he summarizes by quoting a brief passage from Marx's co-worker, Frederick Engels:

The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality. . . . Our consciousness and thinking, however suprasensuous they may seem, are the products of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not the product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter.

BUT this materialistic outlook, which Davenport further describes as dispensing with the help of any super-

natural agencies in explaining the world, was not confined to Marx and Engels alone. "It expresses a fundamental point of view," Mr. Davenport sadly notes, "with which many scientists wholly agree. . . . The idea of a Creator is not usually permitted to interfere with the story that science has to tell." Marxism thus emerged from the rise of modern science: "Karl Marx redefined and reanimated the revolution that began with Rousseau. The marriage between the aspirations of the French Revolution and the great scientific impulse of the nineteenth century, was certainly one of the most important events of human history."

The issue of this marriage, Davenport informs us, was "Dialectical Materialism," for which he has, in the course of his studies, worked up such a healthy respect that he refers to it only in capital letters. And the key characteristic of the man who believes in it is that, instead of looking to the "other realm" for happiness, he holds that his "welfare, happiness and life purpose reside in the society in which he lives." Davenport continues:

It is just this singleness of purpose that gives Dialectical Man such impetus and such power, especially when he confronts the West. For the Western optimist (the confident man of good will) does not look to any "other realm" either for man's fulfillment, does not acknowledge the need for supernatural intervention for his salvation, and does not consider evil as inherent in human existence, but considers evil as something external that can be reformed. But our analysis of Dialectical Materialism reveals an explosive fact—that of all the philosophies propounded by man, Dialectical Materialism is the most inordinately optimistic. For not only does it proclaim salvation in wholly earthly terms, it is even willing to stand on the position that the dialectical process which grinds men against each other in conflict will vanish away when that earthly goal is attained. Moreover, Dialectical Materialism has had the courage and the acumen to apply this optimism in a thorough-going way, to make it a total optimism. . . . The average American cannot outbid the absolute optimism of the Marxist.

The bothersome result of this unfair competition by Marxism is that, when modern man is called by the clarion to struggle against communism, "he is unable to do [this] in many parts of the world, for he himself is wedded to the same kind of naturalistic and materialistic assumptions as is the Marxist. He too is wedded to modern science." Hence, the only way for man to save capitalism is to divorce modern science and re-marry theology.

Davenport drops his blockbuster in the following paragraph, which we reproduce with his emphasis intact: "Generally speaking, this identity between the metascience of the free world and that of Communism is not viewed with much alarm by anti-Communist thinkers. If these materialistic or naturalistic propositions are correct—and science seems constantly to reaffirm them—they deserve recognition. But the fact the free world must face—which it by and large has not faced—is that *if the materialistic-naturalistic thesis is correct, then the philosophic case for Communism is stronger than the case for the free way of life.*"

Despite its terminological dodges—identifying capitalism as "the free way of life" to make his statement less offensive to capitalist-minded readers—this statement by Davenport is truly sensational. *Fortune's* editors hastily threw a footnote into the breach at this point telling their readers they could go on being "materialistic" without worrying too much, as this argument was addressed primarily to intellectuals! But this gratuitous insult to the mental prerogatives of *Fortune's* clientele didn't clear things up, as the subsequent letters to the editors demonstrated.

Of course there was the element that had always thought capitalism had "theological roots," and these heaven-bent readers were ready to follow Davenport. But most of the others, their ire aroused at finding themselves put in the wrong by the very materialism they had thought to be their strong suit, were dismayed. One accused Davenport of having "bought. . . many of the Marxist dogmas." Others disagreed violently with Davenport's outline of Marxism: "The Marx-Engels theory is a plaything for philosophers. It has no practical value whatever." And another, throwing up his hands in disgust at the whole complicated mess, wants no time wasted probing the "diseased minds" of Marx and Engels: "As for myself, I want no explanations of Communism; I merely wish to oppose, fight and combat everything it represents." *Fortune* will not soon be forgiven for this shock in the counting houses.

MR. DAVENPORT'S posthumous tremors may perhaps be dismissed as an individual aberration, but there is other evidence to the increasing momentum of the assault upon reason in the interest of capitalism. The theme that the original sin of modern mankind was the Enlightenment and the rise of science is to be found more and more explicitly in many non-Catholic writings, and has begun to creep into the editorial columns of otherwise unsophisticated small-city newspapers.

Walter Lippmann, in his best-selling "The Public Philosophy," has given his cautious endorsement. He is no Davenport, to sport his bleeding conservative heart on his sleeve, but, in his spare and polished prose the same essence is to be found. The West is undergoing a "steep and sudden decline" "which can be called an historic catastrophe." The source of this decay is the "Jacobin philosophy" of the French Enlightenment which spread to England and, during the Jacksonian period, to America. The American and French Revolutions laid down the "moral presumption in favor of universal suffrage," but this universal suffrage is the source of all our present troubles:

When mass opinion dominates the government, there is a morbid derangement of the true functions of power. This derangement brings about the enfeeblement, verging on paralysis, of the capacity to govern. This breakdown in the constitutional order is the cause of the precipitate and catastrophic decline of Western society. It may, if it cannot be arrested and reversed, bring about the fall of the West.

This "decline of the West under the misrule of the people" as a result of "the Jacobin conception of the emancipated and sovereign people" finds its counterpart in the rise of communism, which is merely an outgrowth of the

views of the Enlightenment; Marx and Engels were “possessed by the Jacobin dogma”; the “popular religion of the masses to power.”



WALTER LIPPMANN

But all of this is only introductory to Lippmann's more sublime theme, which duplicates, in language that is deliberately murky but says the same thing, Davenport's ill-received attack upon the materialism of *Fortune* readers. Men have lost the “mandate of heaven” in their public philosophy; they must now regain it. “The root of the error is the confusion of the two realms—that of this world where the human condition is to be born, to live, to work, to struggle and to die, and that of the transcendent world in which men's souls can be regenerate and at peace. The confusion of the two realms is an ultimate disorder.” So soon as men started to think they were gods and look to this world for the ultimate in happiness instead of to that “other realm,” they went off the track.

If Lippmann is a bit more bashful than the explicit Davenport in setting forth the disease, he is far more forward than the late *Fortune* editor in putting down the cure. Certain areas of human endeavor and striving must be returned, at least partially, to the direct jurisdiction of the church; among these are “public policy about the family, marriage, divorce, the authority of the father and of the mother, the guardianship of children, education, inheritance, the distribution of wealth, crime and punishment, standards of taste, loyalty and allegiance, righteous and unrighteous war.” Then, in case he has left anything out, he adds also all “issues of right and wrong, issues of what is the nature of man, of what is his true image, his place in the scheme of things, and his destiny.” He does not specify which of the various churches is to receive this jurisdiction. At any rate, Lippmann's advice is that only this return to a twelfth-century condition can cure our “democratic malady.”

DAVENPORT, Lippmann, and others of their persuasion do not mistake their enemy. Socialism does indeed base itself upon the materialist outlook of modern science, both in the ultimate ideological sense and in the more immediate technological sense. On that score they are right, and they are also right when they sense that socialism fights at an advantage, in that the temper of the modern world has become profoundly materialistic. The form of the materialism may vary from the gross, vulgar, personal kind of the grasping bourgeois to the disinterested philosophic materialism of natural and social science—which is, by the way, the sole meaning of the term as it is employed by Marxism. But the materialist revolution in thought has been all-pervasive in the past four centuries, and, in the past four decades, has entered the consciousness of broad masses as never before. In the advanced capitalist countries, life has become increasingly more secular, and in the backward colonial lands, *industrialization* is replacing Buddhism and Mohammedanism as the ideology of the awakened mass.

The trend goes back to the rise of modern capitalism, which was born in the Renaissance ferment of ideas after the long night of theological superstition and scholastic stultification; that Renaissance burgeoned out under the impact of capitalism into a revolutionary Enlightenment during which man pushed the frontiers of knowledge and science further in a hundred years than in the previous four thousand. Mankind brushed the cobwebs from its brain; no more could ideas and institutions continue to rule by virtue of their hoary antiquity. Everything was called to justify itself before the bar of reason. The world, as Hegel wrote, stood on its head. And, bound up with this rise of science, came the democratic upsurge, the campaign of man to make his heaven on earth instead of seeking one in the misty skies. When capitalism now begins to curse all this rational and democratic impulse, it is therefore only cursing the day it was born. Modern scientific materialism began in England; it spread to France and the continent where it took its most forthright form—in France the atheist outlook pervaded the intellectual classes associated with nascent capitalism.

HERE in America, the evolution was more shallow. The pragmatic development of the American mind, the barrenness of reflective thought, were not encouraging to general syntheses of thought, whether materialist or any other. The absence of an entrenched *ancien régime* disposed of the need for prolonged ideological struggles or deepgoing revolutions of the mind. But the old-time outlook was doomed in this country as well; by the time of the American Revolution the horrible imitations of European dogma and practice—Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather who were trying to bring the established church to our shores and the Salem witch-hunters who were trying to fix the Inquisition as a feature of American life—were outlived. American capitalism took its free course across the continent, more or less unbound from the ancient fetters.

In this process, the New England clerics modified their doctrine to allow for modern science, evolution, etc., and the country even got a taste of the Enlightenment from the

writings of Paine, Ingersoll and a somewhat hesitant Mark Twain. But there was no profound ideological revolution against fundamentalist religion—in the main it just went by the board. The country just slid over into the spirit and practice of materialism without settling the theory of the matter—a development very much in keeping with the American pragmatic character. Our practice became the same as that which Voltaire noted in his letters

on the English: Christian, Jew and Mohammedan could trade on a basis of equality in our temples of commerce, and the name "infidel" was given to none but the bankrupt.

Thus, among the rulers of the land, the intellectual sophistication of the new era made less impact than in any other country. American capitalists became not only the wealthiest in the world, but also earned the distinction of

Mysticism Serving Reaction: Moral Re-Armament Hits Chicago by Paul Breslow

THE University of Chicago campus was recently invaded by a "task force" of "140 unpaid volunteers" representing the Moral Re-Armament movement.

MRA's arrival was announced to students and faculty through a mailing of printed brochures and color posters displayed on campus bulletin boards. Additional mailings of thousands of leaflets and personal contacts by MRA's local faithful and an advance guard of organizers brought the announcement to non-University Chicagoans. The group's formal public gatherings consisted of three presentations of "The Vanishing Island," a didactic musical comedy, performances of two other plays, and a Sunday afternoon mass meeting. There was no admission charge for any of these events, which were held in Mandel Hall, the University's largest (about 1100 seats) auditorium. MRA was reported by the campus newspaper to have paid for the use of the hall—which the University only occasionally permits outside groups to use—a larger fee than the approximately \$60 per night charged student organizations. The group displayed its posters and literature in violation of the regulations generally enforced against student groups.

The movement is obviously well financed, claiming that "27 casts are giving the Moral Re-Armament plays in eight languages on every continent," but as the Chicago Daily News comments, "where exactly the money for their transportation, food and lodging is coming from, they can't say." MRA describes itself as an "ideology" based on four principles: Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness and Absolute Love. ("Absolute Nonsense," remarked one student observer.) Its role as a shield of protective coloration for business interests and the extreme Right has been often pointed out. (See, for example, "MRA: World-Arching Ideology" by Carey McWilliams, *The Nation*, July 31, 1948.)

Thousands of people visited MRA's Chicago functions, many obviously approving of what they heard and saw. The audiences were composed predominantly of middle-aged and elderly persons. All were well, often expensively, dressed. The crowd looked something like that at an Orchestra Hall matinee, with fewer women and without the lower-priced ticket

holders. A few clerical collars were apparent, but no more than at most large public gatherings.

Very few students attended; of those, the writer learned of none sympathetic to MRA, except for those connected with the "Committee for the Lighthouse at the Crossroads," a student-faculty group with about 10 members organized by Dr. Robert Moon, a physicist and apparently fanatical adherent of the movement. After seeing the presentation, several students volunteered to distribute mimeographed leaflets attacking MRA prepared by a student organization.

The faithful adherents of "Absolute Love" demonstrated their sincerity by attempting to have the distributors of the critical literature removed from the premises, even producing for the purpose an individual who misrepresented himself as a policeman. The students, whose conduct was legal under University rules, remained until their supply of leaflets was exhausted.

MRA's play, "The Vanishing Island," is a slickly produced musical satirizing American democracy and Russian communism, as represented by two hostile islands, Eiluph'mei (I Love Me) and Weheit'tiu (We Hate You). The program for the performance explained that in one dictionary I Love Me is defined as "the land of Liberty" while in another it is "the Land of License." Similarly, We Hate You is either "the State of New Democracy" or "Land of Tyranny."

The first act of the work is designed to discredit democratic institutions. The press, freedom of opinion, democratic politicians and elections are depicted as weak, absurd, incapable of arriving at decisions. Each time the balloting process is used, corruption is evident and the result is a tie; the politicians engage in ridiculous conferences and emerge with no result; newspapermen devote themselves to distorted approaches; diversity of opinion is ludicrous and confusing. Businessmen are satirized as being too preoccupied with their own affairs. No one is poor on I Love Me—the women are for the most part attired in MRA's versions of middle-class fashionableness (baggy, sexless garments mostly of solid colors), the men in business suits, except for a few in special uniforms and an Indian (apparently to demonstrate MRA's international scope). Two uniformed policemen remain in conspicuous central positions on the stage throughout the act, symbols of duty and trustworthiness.

In contrast to the weak foolishness of I Love

Me's populace two figures emerge: the diabolical, severly attired, lean ambassador from We Hate You and the wise, chubby little king of I Love Me. It is the king who, resigning his post following an indecisive election, warns of the serious threat from We Hate You and calls, in song, for a "new type of man with a passionate plan, the answer for you and me."

We Hate You, while drab and not so rich, is clearly more capable of decisive action. The inhabitants engage in precision marching across and around the stage while the orchestra plays regimental-type music and the ambassador-leader sings hatefully. All is agreement, nothing funny; We Hate You is intended to horrify the audience while impressing it with its machine-like effectiveness. The people there know what they want, even if they say nasty things. The nastiness is not uniform, however, since the leader's wife has a child and speaks kindly to it.

Tension has arisen between the two islands because We Hate You wants to grab and share the wealth of I Love Me. The libertarian buffoons can't understand or deal with this peril and the wealthy little island begins to vanish in accordance with a curse promulgated by the We Hate You leader. Citizens desert I Love Me, a witch-hunt occurs, confusion is rampant until the ex-king presents his solution to the bewildered islanders. The answer is, of course, MRA-type religion, represented by firmer, more attractive postures and more orderly stage displacement of the actors, smiles and kind words. Past sins give no more trouble as neighbors assume a radiant Norman Rockwell sort of goodness. The We Hate You invaders are won over to the new cause by the baby-kissing virtue of I Love Me. There are no further differences, everyone is happy. Conversion is short and painless. The process consists of "changing yourself" through individual realization of the Absolutes.

AFTER the play comes a series of set speeches on the wonders wrought by MRA. A local touch was added with the introduction of Dr. Moon, who gave an impassioned short address and "welcomed" the group to the University. The speeches, either before or after the pageantry, were a feature of all the presentations. On at least two occasions MRA's message was also expressed through Western-style singing, stiffly performed by young men in cowboy costumes.

A peculiar obsession with the British ran through the speeches, a combination of guilt and pride. Many in the MRA task force made a point of proclaiming their English nationality,

Paul Breslow, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, has written before for the American Socialist ("Take Free Speech Seriously," May 1954), as well as for The Nation and Monthly Review.

being the least advanced in things of the mind. In place of French *atheism* and British *agnosticism*, the American capitalist was satisfied with *Elmer Gantryism*, a peculiar mixture in which religion became a business and business a religion. In this marriage of convenience, medieval theology dissolved in the Rotarian cant of "service," Bruce Barton became the thirteenth apostle peddling Jesus as the Babbitt of antiquity, and the comforts of religion were

packaged in saccharine pills and sold on a scale that would have turned the medieval indulgence-merchants green with envy. Some pastors began to seek communicants eagerly according to their Dun and Bradstreet ratings, and businessmen chose their churches for business connections as well as spiritual guidance; their wives and daughters became active in the charity activities of the church, and the masters saw no harm in that as long as these mock-

adopting the attitude of "If we can do it, you can too." Particularly amusing was the confession of one of the authors of "The Vanishing Island," Peter Howard, who stated that after his "change" he gave up the notion he had previously held that his wife was inferior because she was not English, while he was. (Both "The Vanishing Island" and another play by Howard portray Englishmen as fools.)

"The Vanishing Island" sounds stupid, and it is. Even without the religious sloganeering it is at best small-town church amateur theater fare. But small-town church theaters have their passionate adherents, who aren't necessarily fools, and so does MRA, perhaps in both cases because of the therapeutic value of such activity.

The writer found himself in numerous conversations with MRA's proselytizers; these well-trained zealots converge upon potential converts in small groups with almost military precision. Superficially charming, in their neat, conservative clothes and salesman smiles, their conversation is exasperatingly vague. Imagine a combination of Billy Graham, Roddy McDowell and the man who sells cut-rate rotisseries on television and you have something approaching an MRA convert.

A typical conversation might run like this:
"I used to steal things before I changed—now I recognize my error."

"Yes, that's very nice, but tell me, where does the money come from?"

"From people like me—we have given all we own, all of our material possessions, to MRA." (This is said with great intensity.)

"Just how does one change?"

"Well, if you want to change, you change. Try it—you hear the voice of God, you realize what is right."

ONE female Moral Re-Armer who seemed particularly energetic in undertaking these on-the-spot conversions turned out to be the daughter of Congressman Charles B. Deane of North Carolina. At one of the rallies she declared that her father had obtained a larger majority in his re-election after conversion to Moral Re-Armament.

The amorphous character of MRA's precepts is not made any more specific in the many pamphlets and books distributed by the group. It is Christian and non-Christian; world-encompassing, non-partisan and anti-Communist; absolute and ideological; religious and not a church; open to all and without membership in the conventional sense (only leaders and followers).

Its social and political role is, however, ascertainable. The movement boasts of its accomplishment in solving labor-management problems in industry. Since sin and materialism

cause such difficulties, the problems disappear with conversion to MRA. Thus, not surprisingly, MRA has many prominent business adherents in a number of countries.

In addition, MRA has won a number of labor leaders to its cause—in some cases it seems to function as a method of attracting persons with legitimate grievances against the existing social order on the pretext of being a "revolutionary" movement which, through the realization of moral values, will either bring about desirable modifications or so change people's orientation as to eliminate the crass feelings which create

'trusted' leaders were being used by Communism until MRA brought this fact to our mind. As a Church, I admit, we do not have an answer, but thank God MRA helped us by changing some of these men, presenting to them a superior Christian ideology and they have since become true and faithful to Church and State."

MRA's idolized leader, Dr. Frank Buchman, who previous to having a vision had been a Pennsylvania Lutheran minister, has been quoted by reliable sources as having made



FRANK BUCHMAN: Moral Re-Armament Head with Mae West

such unhappiness. One MRA spokesman writes:

MRA wants to revolutionize the world, but, it is worth noting: "beginning with yourself." Be still and listen to what God wants to say to you and be guided by Him. Then live according to the four absolutes. . . . Then you will experience a small revolution in yourself—as the Negro said when he was guided to pay back a loan: "Then there came fresh air in my heart!"—and in your home, then in your nation and in the whole world. MRA likes the word ideology, which is explained over and over again as a way of thinking that leads to action, that one will throw his life into, sacrifice everything for.

In the same MRA publication a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa claims that "MRA is God's mighty weapon here in South Africa to bridge the gulf between white and black. . . ." He also notes that "In our case the Church did not even know that certain

pro-fascist statements during the 1930's. Buchman, a shrewd sloganeer, is much more likely to increase his following through continued capitalization upon the present public climate of adriftness and susceptibility to other-worldly approaches, and to emphasize anti-Communism than to reiterate such sentiments. It is interesting to note, however, that MRA's criticisms of Communism are not so much directed against its undemocratic aspects but to its "materialism" and inability to rise above human weaknesses.

The movement is authoritarian; diversity, disagreement are viewed as productive of unhappiness and weakness. It is anti-intellectual; attempts to logically examine its teachings are treated as obfuscatory—one should merely listen to God, who has a plan for everybody.

In short, MRA is the next best thing to large-scale hypnosis, without the accompanying inconvenience, and with considerably more potential for fund-raising. It is psalm-singing religion, psychotherapy, respectable intoxicant and spectacle in one big clean Technicolor package, free to anyone willing to be "sold."

humilities did not awaken the genuine humilities of the Sermon on the Mount.

IN 1889, Carnegie published in the *North American Review* his notorious article on the Gospel of Wealth, and within a short time a thousand eager preachers were sounding the new gospel according to Andrew. A Baptist minister of Philadelphia made his name on a single sermon called "Acres of Diamonds," which he is said to have repeated no fewer than 6,000 times across the nation, in which he epitomized the temper of the New Religion in the climactic words: "I say: Get rich, get rich." And the Right Reverend Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts sang his song of songs with gusto: "In the long run, it is only to the man of morality that wealth comes . . . Material prosperity is helping to make the national character sweeter, more joyous, more unselfish, more Christlike. . . Godliness is in league with riches." And, on the other side of the fence, the growing forces of unionism, progressivism, populism, socialism, as angered as they were by this obscene display, never thought to reply to the capitalists either by turning the other cheek, or by a self-abnegation in the hope of the "other realm." They fought for their place in this world.

Thus, in whatever form, the condition of man on this earth was the chief object of scrutiny and struggle, and pretensions to theological rule over American life, either in the immediate sense or in the ultimates and ideals of human existence, never very strong in America, disappeared completely. The capitalist class, "a class which," as Charles A. Beard wrote, "was in conduct and interest, whatever its professions of faith, profoundly secular," had done its work thoroughly.

In recent years there has been an increasing power of the Catholic Church in America. The schools have begun to feel a new pressure for the re-admission of religious dogma. Writers and publications like the *Nation* which have challenged that pressure suffered the heavy hand of punishment. Further, there has been a tendency on the part of many scientists (Millikan, etc.) to rediscover the supernatural in their test-tubes and telescopes; more, of course, as an adaptation to new pressures in society than because they have any special knowledge on the subject that the rest of us don't possess. In many ways we have seen the hand of the reactionary forces who have learned from the wordly wise of Europe that an attempt must be made "to keep religion alive for the people."

And of course religion is very much alive, both in the institutional sense and in the convictions of many millions of people. But what does this add up to so far as the program of the Davenports and Lippmanns is concerned? Not very much. For their purposes, the existence of private religious feelings among the millions—a situation which will endure for a long time to come as the concern and domain of the individual conscience—is not enough. What they want to change back to its medieval state is man's view of the human condition. They want to convince society of the essential evil of human existence, and of the vanity of attempting to alter that situation.

IT is doubtful that much can be accomplished along that line. Mankind has become convinced by the vast up-

thrust of scientific and industrial progress that his universe is knowable, controllable and conquerable. Religion has been pushed back from its former status as the arbiter of the human condition to a matter of private and individual conscience. It's hard to see how any reactionary assault can reverse that fact in the modern era. Even President Eisenhower, who has sanctified the pietistic tone of the White House to an extent not matched since William McKinley's famous knee drills, could not go before the people on the platform presented to him by Russell Davenport and Walter Lippmann.

In addition, there is a certain element of duplicity in the way the new theologians present the matter. They put it down as a purely ideological struggle over man's view of his make-up and destiny. But the outlook which they seek to impose was never, even in its medieval heyday, accepted on its merits alone by all society. It was backed by force of arms and weapons of torture and punishment; it needed the whip, the rack and the gibbet to maintain itself even at a time when science was in swaddling clothes. How much more would such methods be needed today! And the modern examples of obscurantism, racism and retrogressionism—such as Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain—show how true that is. A state which returned to the Middle Ages in terms of the philosophy of the mind would also have to go back to the political practices of the Middle Ages.

Socialism is riding the materialist wave of the last four centuries, and has deepened and added to man's understanding of himself both as a part of nature and as a social being by using materialist methods of analysis. But socialism has its word to say about the realm of the idea and the spirit. Under capitalism, man has come to recognize his material nature, and the material and non-miraculous nature of the world in which he lives. But capitalism has vulgarized this materialism, has made of it, as it is exhibited in the daily life of trade and production, a vile thing. The economic system, built as it is upon the precept "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost," has encouraged an ideology and practice of grossness and selfishness. This has been so true of capitalism that the very scientific term "materialism" has been given a cynical connotation in ordinary usage.

Man can and will have his ideals and his life of the spirit—he has always had them. But those ideals need not be the supernatural and the superstitious, they need not be the mythology of humanity's childhood. Once man has achieved sufficient mastery over his natural environment and his social institutions, his life in the realm of ideas can take shape as a superior cultural and artistic existence, as a thing of beauty which we today can hardly project in our minds.

Thus, while the modern obscurantists are correct in charging socialism with being the continuator of the scientific materialist tradition which capitalism initiated, and while they are ever more frank about asserting their own enmity to that tradition, they do not understand the whole story about the conflict. They do not understand that socialism, which is called upon to save modern scientific materialism, can also purge it of its dross and drabness, and open the path for new heights of human idealism in the best sense of the term.

Does socialism necessarily mean a one-party dictatorship? Or can fuller democracy and popular control than ever seen under the capitalist system be achieved? An essay on one of the most debated issues of the modern age.

Socialism and Democracy

by Bert Cochran

ONE of the most potent pitches that world reaction employs against the Soviet Union—indeed against all the countries behind the so-called “iron curtain”—is that the people have no democratic rights, that the governments are police dictatorships; and from this jump to the conclusion that socialism is synonymous with dictatorship. The guess can be hazarded that at least in Western Europe, the United States and Canada, this accusation has hurt the Soviet cause more than any other, and has struck deep chords of suspicion and doubt in the minds of many liberals and workers who otherwise might conceivably be friendly to the socialist states.

Fanatical supporters of all things Russian have taken the line of a blanket denial of the accusation—and retort with an exposé of the spurious character of much of Western democracy. They insist that a system of government which is based on a one-party monopoly, where elections consist of one-slate plebiscites, where civil liberties are non-existent—that this kind of rule is the very embodiment of socialist democracy. This position is neither helpful to the popularization of socialism in general, nor to working up of support for the Soviet states in particular. But regardless of its immediate propaganda effects, is it true that socialism stands for the one-party system, and is that what Marx had in mind when he spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

One of the most authoritative statements of the original Marxist position on this question is contained in Frederick Engels' 1895 introduction to Karl Marx's pamphlet, “The Class Struggles in France.” Engels explains that at first both he and Marx were still under the spell of the Great French Revolution and that their ideas of the path that the socialist revolution would follow were colored by this earlier model. But, he says, history showed that both he and Marx were wrong in some of their original assump-

tions. Where all previous social revolutions in history resulted in the displacement of one minority in favor of another minority, the socialist revolution involves for the first time the displacement of a minority in favor of the big majority: “The epoch . . . of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must participate, must grasp what is at stake, and why they are involved. That is what the history of the past fifty years has taught us.”

THE term “dictatorship of the proletariat” was first employed by Marx in 1875 in a private document, and then popularized in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Eugene Debs rightly thought it a very unfortunate phrase, because no matter how many lengthy explanations are given concerning its true meaning, it lends itself to the interpretation that socialists stand for dictatorship. But that is not what Marx had in mind at all. He was talking of the necessity for a victorious labor government during the transition period to resolutely destroy the old privileged positions and suppress all activities aimed at restoring the old order. In this sociological sense, he labelled the regime a “dictatorship”; not to signify minority rule in the manner of Robespierre's Jacobin dictatorship in the eighteenth century French revolution, or Cromwell's dictatorship in the seventeenth century English revolution, but only in the sense that it was still *class* rule, just as under the present system the capitalists wield a class dictatorship regardless whether it is exercised through democratic or autocratic political forms.

Here is the way Rosa Luxemburg, the leading revolutionary Marxist of the pre-war German socialist movement, defined the proletarian dictatorship in her essays on the Russian Revolution:

Socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism. It begins at the very moment of the seizure of power by the socialist party. It is the same thing as the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . This dictatorship consists in the manner of applying democracy, not in its elimination; in energetic, resolute attacks upon the well-entrenched rights and economic relationships of capitalist society, without which a socialist transformation cannot be accomplished. But this dictatorship must be the work of the class and not of a little leading minority in the name of the class—that is, it must proceed step by step out of the active participation of the masses; it must be under their direct influence, subjected to the control of complete public activity; it must arise out of the growing political training of the mass of the people.

This was no peculiar interpretation of Luxemburg's. Before the revolution, Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks

held a generally analogous position. In "State and Revolution" published in 1917, Lenin wrote: "Together with an immense expansion of democracy which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk, the dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists."

Lenin assumed power in 1917 with no preconceived notion of setting up a one-party government. On the contrary, the Soviets were freely elected in the first years, and the original government consisted of a bloc of the Bolsheviks and the Left Social Revolutionary Party. The Mensheviks (similar to Western reformist socialists) and the Right Social Revolutionists (a populist party with its chief strength in the peasantry) continued to operate legally. In his dispute with Trotsky in 1920, Lenin insisted that the trade unions must be permitted to function independently of the government apparatus and to protect the workers from its bureaucratic encroachments. In other words, the original concept on which the Russian government was founded was entirely different from that embodied in the constitutions that governed the creation of the "Peoples Democracies" and the Mao government in the present postwar epoch.

NEVERTHELESS, history has recorded that within a few years the original libertarian ideas were discarded in Russia and the dictatorship became one not of a class but of a small group, with the Communist Party remaining the only one on the scene and all other parties suppressed and destroyed, and democracy eliminated from the inner councils of this one existing party as well. The Russian communists in other words wound up not with the democratic governmental structure that they had set out to build, but one of an almost diametrically opposite variety.

In the welter of theories that have flooded the market in recent years to explain Soviet developments, the more serious-minded of the middle-class analysts have tried to account for this startling discrepancy between theory and practice on two broad grounds. One school has rested its case on Lord Acton's aphorism that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. In other words, the Russian communist leaders, whatever their previous intentions, could not resist the temptation of becoming absolute dictators once the opportunity presented itself. The other school explains the transformation on the ground that the original Marxist theory was worthless, that consequently as soon as these men were confronted with the practical problems of statecraft, they had no alternative but to discard their former utopian conceptions.

Lord Acton's *bon mot* assuredly expressed a psychological truth, but it explains nothing as to why dictatorships rise and prosper in certain periods and under certain historical conditions, and why such forms of rule become impossible in other periods. To ascertain that, one must analyze the economic and social conditions of a given period rather than explore the atavistic impulses that still find refuge in the human psyche.

The first attempts to run the Russian government as a coalition of two parties and to grant a large measure of democracy broke down under the weight of the super-

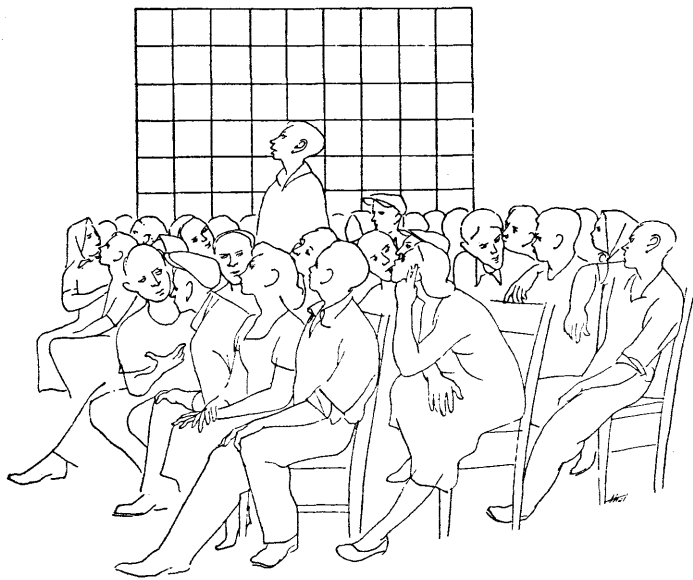
human difficulties in trying to bring order out of the chaos inherited from Czarism and the destruction of the war. Concretely, the coalition blew up in 1918 when the Social Revolutionists refused to go along on signing the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany and walked out of the government. A few months later their party was outlawed when it embarked on a program of insurrection against the government, assassinated the German ambassador, wounded two Soviet leaders, Lenin and Uritsky, and tried to organize anti-government uprisings in a number of cities. The same year the Mensheviks and Right Social Revolutionists had to be outlawed when they set up connections with the White Guards and interventionist armies of imperialism in the midst of the civil war. This process was finally capped in 1921 when the Communist Party outlawed the organization of any opposition groups or factions even within its own party. This extraordinary measure, which Lenin and his friends conceived to be a temporary expedient, taken at the time of the Kronstadt rebellion when the communist regime feared for its survival, proved instead to be a milestone on the road of dictatorial rule.

Luxemburg with great perspicacity wrote in 1918 in the aforementioned brochure:

Dealing as we are with the first experiment in proletarian dictatorship in world history (and one taking place at that under the hardest conceivable conditions, in the midst of the world-wide conflagration and chaos of the imperialist mass slaughter, caught in the coils of the most reactionary military power in Europe, and accompanied by the completest failure on the part of the international working class), it would be a crazy idea to think that every last thing done or left undone in an experiment with the proletarian dictatorship under such abnormal conditions represented the very pinnacle of perfection. On the contrary, elementary conceptions of socialist politics and an insight into their historically necessary prerequisites force us to understand that under such fatal conditions even the most gigantic idealism and the most storm-tested revolutionary energy are incapable of realizing democracy and socialism but only distorted attempts at either.

SOME, of course, have decided to make a virtue out of the grim necessity and to denominate the benevolent despotism as the unparalleled flowering of democracy, and have unabashedly propounded the theory that whereas the Communist parties represent the true interests of the working masses, they are necessarily the only representatives of the majority of the people. There is consequently neither the desire nor the need to set up any rival parties; the only people who are interested in new parties are the capitalists, the counter-revolutionists, the spokesmen for the old regime. *Ergo*, the one-party system is a true democratic expression of the laboring mass will.

No one but uncritical Soviet enthusiasts will accept this rather too-thin rationalization at face value. For it corresponds neither to present experience nor to the past history of classes and parties. In actual life, things are not that simple, individuals are not that uniform, and classes are not that homogeneous. Everyone knows that through-



out its history the capitalist class has been represented in most countries by two or more political organizations except in periods of dictatorial suppression. This is explained by the fact that the various subdivisions of the class have different and sometimes even conflicting interests that demand special political consideration and expression. In the United States, for example, some capitalist groups, in highly advanced or favored industries, are free traders. Others who fear foreign competition insist on high protective tariffs. As another example, in Roosevelt's first terms, the big department store owners and other "consumer" capitalists backed the administration, while the "heavy" industrialists were its obdurate opponents. In France, Italy and Germany, the capitalists to this very day continue to be represented by anywhere from four to six different political parties, which voice either special group or sectional interests, or different programmatic solutions to meet the needs of the class.

The working class is no less heterogeneous in its makeup. Its topmost skilled aristocratic division at times almost merges with the lower middle class. Its bottom section fringes off into a slum proletariat. In between there are innumerable gradations based upon differences in income, nationality, education and religion. In Marx's time the working class movement was represented by Marxists, Proudhonists, Bakuninists, Mazzinists, conservative laborites. Even in those countries where Marxism later became the accepted program of the working class, there was no agreement as to interpretation of its practical meaning, and, as we know, the working class continues to this day in the West to be represented by Communists and Socialists, and at times, additional numbers of radical parties. The factors which make for this political pluralism continue after a socialist government takes power, because the gradations and divisions within the class are not and cannot be eliminated for many years to come; in the first years of transition they may even be accentuated. And in any case there are always varying answers and conflicting solutions for the problems at hand. That is why under conditions of democratic free play, the working masses will inevitably create two or more parties to voice

either distinct group interests, or their special programmatic positions for the advancement of the new socialist state.

THE experience of the last three decades has been conclusive in demonstrating that all the mechanical and constitutional devices of democracy, including socialist democracy, are easily robbed of essential meaning when one party has the monopoly of political rights, keeps the rest of the population in a state of amorphousness and atomization, and uses its power to discourage and suppress any and all political opposition or competition. Democracy must mean a free press, free assembly, a legal code that guarantees inalienable rights to the individual, and sharply demarcates and limits the police powers of the state, as well as ability on the part of the majority of the people to periodically pass judgment on the performance of its government, and to turn it out of office in favor of another, if it so desires and decides.

In the last analysis, rights such as these can be guaranteed and maintained not primarily by being written down on pieces of parchment, but by the existence of competing political organizations, which are able by their presence and activity to prevent political power from being monopolized by one minority group and thus centralized in an omnipotent state. No one of course can insist that the peoples of any country must form a multiplicity of competing political organizations, whether they want to or not. What is decisive is that they have the *right* to form such organizations *if* they want to. The draconian legal codes and ruthless suppressions make it obvious that Soviet political uniformity is maintained not by electioneering but by force.

SOcialists have to insist on democracy not merely as a matter of justice and the good life, although these are by no means inconsequential considerations; because socialism after all is not a private axe that some of us have to grind, but represents the struggle for a superior social order which will provide greater well-being and happiness for the human race—and it is impossible to conceive of that without an increasing popular participation in and control over all phases of public life. But democracy also has a utilitarian aspect: people work better, are more interested in the success of a venture, and have greater kinship with it, if they feel they are actually part of it, and profit from it. Democracy is not only a more just way of running society; it is more productive in the long run. It is the only way to fully unleash the creative powers lodged in the people.

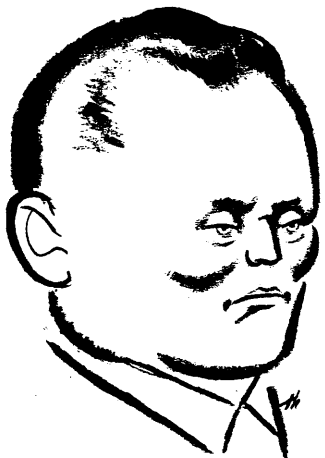
Luxemburg had a prophetic anticipation of many of the difficulties to come in later years when she wrote:

In place of the representative bodies created by general, popular elections, Lenin and Trotsky have laid down the soviets as the only true representation of the laboring masses. But with the repression of political life in the land as a whole, life in the soviets must also become more and more crippled. Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press, and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the

active element. Public life gradually falls asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Among them, in reality only a dozen outstanding heads do the leading and an elite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously. . . . Such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalization of public life.

It is irrelevant in this connection to point out, as some do, that the formal democracy under capitalism has very restricted meaning and is robbed of its essence by the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a privileged few who are able to manipulate the political mechanism in their own interests and corrupt the legislators to do their bidding. This is all very interesting and true. But socialists have traditionally insisted that the answer to the corruption and bowdlerization of democracy under capitalism is not to throw out democracy altogether and place their fate in the hands of a few saviors, but to eliminate the social parasitism of capitalism so as to be able to extend, to broaden, to ensure a genuine popular democracy, first for the working people, and eventually for all mankind.

A YEAR and a half ago, and again this last January, the question of socialist democracy received international attention when Milovan Djilas, former vice president of Yugoslavia, complained that bureaucratic forces had taken over in his country, and in his latter declaration called for the formation of a new democratic socialist party and the creation of a two-party system. Since the break with Russia in 1948, the Titoists have introduced a number of important reforms toward loosening up the top-heavy structure by decentralizing the administration of economic planning and government operation, a new election law which permitted plural candidacies, liberalization of the legal code, and institution of "workers management" committees in industry. As a result of these reforms, the Yugoslav peoples enjoy a more liberalized rule than do the Russians or the populations of the "Peoples Democracies." But while the political despotism is more benevolent, it remains a despotism nevertheless, with sole



TITO



DJILAS

political power concentrated inside the Communist party, and that party, in turn, run by a small coterie of leaders, who brook no opposition, as the Djilas episode graphically illustrated.

The Titoists used to repeat the argument that in their country there was no need for more than one party (except on the part of the counter-revolution) as there was only one program: socialism. The Djilas controversy quickly disposed of this synthetic thesis. In the course of the debates in the Yugoslav central committee a year and a half ago, Tito put his cards on the table: "I prefer," he flung out at his adversary, "being guided by gendarmes and that I should be a priest of socialism, that is, I should be an agitator of socialist ideas—I prefer this to pondering again in some capitalist jail on how to fight against the restored bourgeois dictatorship which probably would win if we were to accept the views of Comrade Djilas."

This straight-from-the-shoulder avowal brings us squarely up against the question whether the old Marxian concept is actually workable? It certainly does no good to rest our case on quotations from Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, beautiful though they may appear in print, and ignore the practice of the Russians, and now of the East Europeans and Chinese. The experience of Lenin and his friends is even more telling, as they clearly started out with libertarian ideas on this score, and quickly abandoned them as impossible to execute in the given conditions of the time. Obviously, no revolutionary government will permit political liberalization to develop when it is convinced that it will thereby open the door for the socialists to be driven from power and for the capitalist regime to be restored. No revolutionary party will consciously dig its own grave. Has life then pronounced this part of the Marxian conception as utopian?

SUCH a sweeping conclusion would ignore the fact that contrary to Marx's expectations, capitalism was first destroyed and the construction of socialism started not in the most advanced but in the most backward countries of the world. Revolutionary governments throughout history have been unstable governments. But this general instability was in these cases immeasurably aggravated because the majority of the populations consisted of backward peasant masses, because of the primitive economic heritage,

by the lack of capital resources for industrialization, by the need to make good the ravages of destructive invasions and civil wars. Socialist development thus necessarily took on lopsided forms, and the industrialization programs, which had to be financed out of the living standards of the living generations, led to the imposition of despotic forms of rule, and warped out of recognizable shape Marx's old concept of the proletarian dictatorships.

The well-known writer on Russian affairs, Isaac Deutscher, has offered the theory that Stalin's regime of tyranny and "primitive magic," as he calls it, derived from the isolation, ruin and backwardness of the Russia of the twenties, typified by the *muzhik* tilling the soil with his wooden plow; and that with the country's emergence as a great industrial power, these methods are outlived and cannot long endure. This theory is undoubtedly correct as far as it goes. Unfortunately, sociological developments have a habit of becoming devilishly complicated, and social institutions and groups do not conveniently abdicate and remove themselves from the scene when their presence no longer corresponds to objective needs.

In the course of its grim struggle to industrialize and to construct a powerful military machine, Russian society got stratified and an aristocratic caste enjoying greater privileges and higher incomes hardened on top. The harsh legal code, the absence of elementary civil liberties, originally devised to destroy counter-revolutionary foes, in time merged with the needs of the bureaucratic caste to preserve its own favored status. In the meantime, the successive five-year plans have created a new Russia with a vast urban population, a strong working class, a new intelligentsia and an educated class of collective farmers.

Flint
FOR a good number of years now, local union elections here have aroused little if any interest outside of very narrow circles. The hottest issue involved was most often which clique is going to get the lion's share of the pie of office. However, the recently completed election in Buick Local 599, the largest local in town, marked a radical departure from the pattern.

The background is as follows: A group of militant young Negro trade unionists had undertaken a series of actions designed to improve the conditions of the Negro citizens of Flint. Their most ambitious project was an election campaign for a Negro City Commissioner in the predominantly Negro Third Ward. Although their candidate wasn't elected, the campaign itself was conducted in an energetic and progressive fashion, and had far-reaching effects on the community.

But each of their progressive undertakings was soon confronted with the obstacle of a conservative labor bureaucracy with its Jim Crow PAC-Democratic Party set-up. Recognizing the nature of the obstacle in their path, these militant Negro trade-unionists hammered out an alliance with a group of progressive white unionists in the Buick local and formed an opposition caucus, the Solidarity Group.

This group first challenged the incumbents in the election for delegates to the UAW Cleveland convention and won a substantial victory by taking 24 out of 27 places. It made its mark at the March convention by running a Negro candidate, Nat Turner, for vice-president in opposition to Walter Reuther's hand-picked candidates. It then swung with determination into what was to prove a real knock-down and drag-out battle for local union posts. In this battle the Solidarity Group handled itself commendably. The issues in question were primarily of a local nature. Bureaucratic handling of grievances, the Jim Crow policies of the local Reutherite leadership, lack of democracy in the

This new Russia cries aloud for a breaking down of the old prison walls; the old despotism has become an anachronism. But no privileged group gives up its favored position unless it is forced to do so, and the elaborate hierarchical structure of despotism that has been built up over the years will crumble only as the masses regain their initiative, secure their rights to form independent organizations once again, and impose a more democratic setup in all spheres of life. That as a matter of fact appears to be the long-term trend implicit in present Russian affairs.

WHEN socialists take over in the advanced Western countries, they will be able to rest on the more consistent support of the big majority, and from the first will be able to offer notable advances over the best of capitalism. Hence, political rule will be far closer to the theoretical model: Socialism will be able to give full rein to democracy for the mass of the people, which under capitalism could never attain more than rudimentary and stunted forms.

The vicissitudes of the struggle, the practical difficulties, and the unforeseen peculiarity of socialism having begun its work on the most unfavorable foundations have wrought damage to the democratic conceptions that animated socialism's founders. With the end of the Soviet Union's isolation and the build-up of its economy, however, the tendency even here will be increasingly for a return to libertarian ideas and methods; in other words, toward a more faithful realization of these original socialist principles.

That is the programmatic model that socialists must continue to cherish.

local, questionable use of union funds, etc., were the main points in debate. On every one of these questions the Solidarity Group took a forward-looking stand. They put out a number of fine papers that examined local problems in a rounded fashion.

The incumbents sought to retain their posts by resorting to an unbelievably vulgar diatribe of race-baiting and red-baiting. The filth they put out marks a low point in conduct for ossified labor officials.

THE clean fresh air breathed into the local by the Solidarity slate had the desired result. The membership gave the new group a remarkable vote of confidence. The Solidarity Group took every post. The low man on their slate was a thousand votes over the top man among the incumbents. Almost ten thousand workers voted, making it the largest vote in a local union election ever held in the city of Flint. The outstanding feature of the vote was the so called "Negro bloc." The Solidarity Group presented three Negro candidates, the incumbents none. Indications are that 2,500 of the 3,000 Negroes employed in Buick voted, probably to the last man, for the Solidarity slate. Nat Turner was elected to a full-time administrative post, making it the first time a Negro candidate has achieved such office in the city of Flint.

While the Solidarity Group tackled all local issues courageously, at no time did it attempt to give broader answers to the problems that extend beyond the boundaries of the local union. And, while they themselves successfully withstood the ordeal of being red-baited, they maintained a loyalty oath in their own program. Until they take a firm and principled stand on this question, they leave open an incipient wound in the armor of the union movement which with a twist of events can again be brought back to life.

M. T.

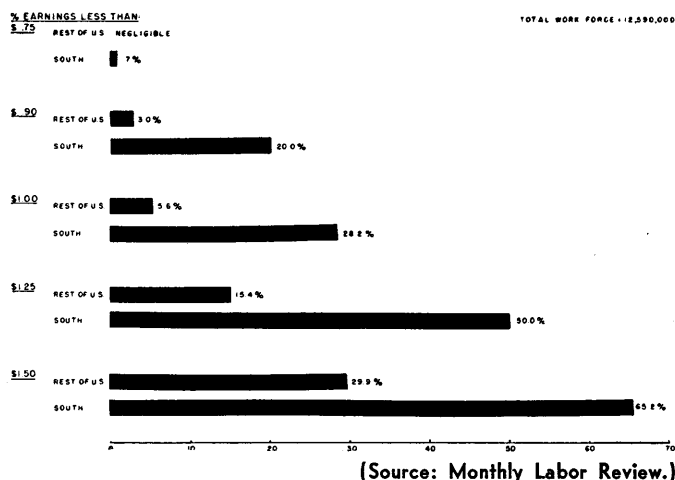
by Henry Haase

Why Runaway Shops Head South

RUNAWAY shops are, of course, drawn by the South's low-wage structure, but few realize just how low Southern wages are. While less than 6 percent of production workers outside the South make less than \$1.00 an hour, over 28 percent of the production workers in the South make less than \$1.00 an hour. Less than one-third of the production workers make less than \$1.50 an hour outside the South, but two-thirds of the production workers in the South make less than \$1.50 an hour.

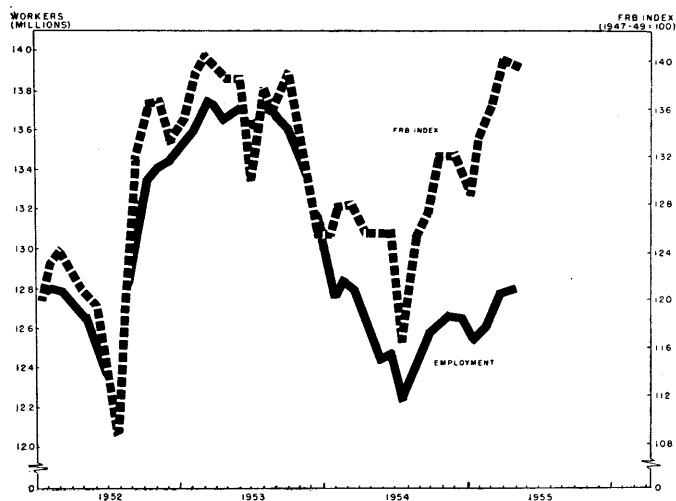
These low wages are due to two conditions: surplus agricultural labor in the South, and the lack of unionization. For all its recent industrialization, the South is still the most rural area of the economy. And the *per capita* income of the farm population is exactly one-half of the *per capita* income of the non-farm population. The South is only about 15 percent unionized while about one-half of the workers in the rest of the country are unionized.

A \$1.25 minimum wage would affect 50 percent of the production workers in the South and well over 50 percent of all other covered employees, as production workers are generally more highly paid than other workers. But a \$1.25 minimum wage would affect only some 15 percent of the production workers outside the South.



Percent of Earnings Under \$1.50 per Hour for Production Workers in Manufacturing Industries in South and Rest of U.S., April 1954

More Being Produced With Fewer Workers



(Source: Federal Reserve Board and Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

Index of Manufactures (Unadjusted) and Employment of Production Workers in Manufacturing, 1952-55

AUTOMATION and speed-up have opened up a disconcerting gap between employment and production in manufacturing. A glance at the chart, where the index of all manufacturing output is compared with employment in manufacturing, is enough to show the magnitude of the problem. Although production early this year was back to the levels of 1953, employment was one million less. In a year and a half these many workers were separated from their jobs by automation.

The 1,000,000 workers displaced from the factory are probably not all still on the jobless rolls. Some have found jobs at lower pay in the distributive, non-manufacturing sector of the economy. But in obtaining these jobs they in turn have displaced workers. These displaced workers have either been forced out of the working force or in turn entered the ranks of the permanently unemployed.

Henry Haase, an economist for a large Midwestern firm, wrote an Opinions article, "Another 1929?," for the May 1955 American Socialist and has also been represented in these pages by some brief unsigned pieces.

Thus the gap that has opened between employment and production on the chart will never be closed by employment catching up with production. Both lines are now moving apart, employment going up only so long as production goes up and then not as much, the gap be-

tween the two growing ever greater.

If this continues, the economy will be left with only one way to close the gap: by a drop in production, for no economy can long continue to turn out more and more goods while making idle more and more men and women.

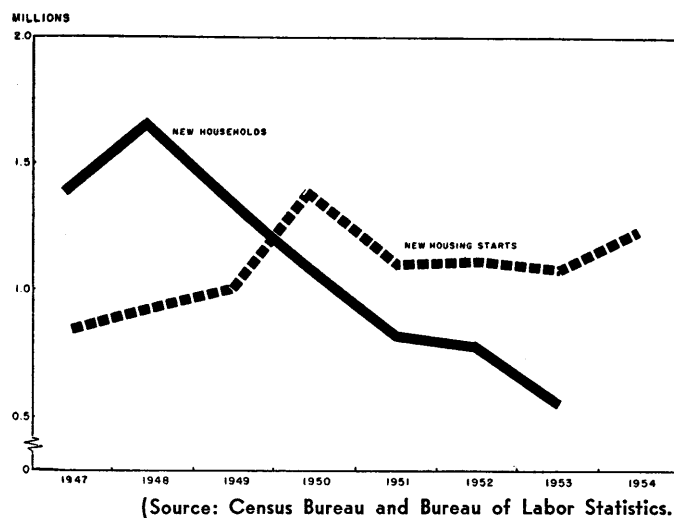
Can the Housing Boom Continue At Present Rate?

NINE million houses have been built in the last eight years. This rate of home building has been sustained by the tremendous pent-up demand accumulated during the depressed thirties and the war years of the early forties and by the rapid increase in the marriage and birth rates in the postwar United States. The rate of formation of new households reached a peak in 1948. In that year almost one and three-quarter million new households were formed by newly married couples, by the undoubling of families who had been living together, by older people on pension living apart from their children, and by younger single people leaving home.

But since 1948 each year has seen a smaller number of new households being formed, until in 1953 only slightly over a half-million were formed. The building of houses, however, did not slow down.

At the rate of building in the early part of this year, something like 1.4 million homes would be put up this year, about 900,000 more houses being made available than new households formed. But this in itself is not so startling as the fact that in *each year* since and including 1950, more houses have been built than households have been formed to fill them.

Does this mean that all these houses built in excess of household formation are standing idle? Not necessarily. Each year houses are torn down. Recently, too, slum-



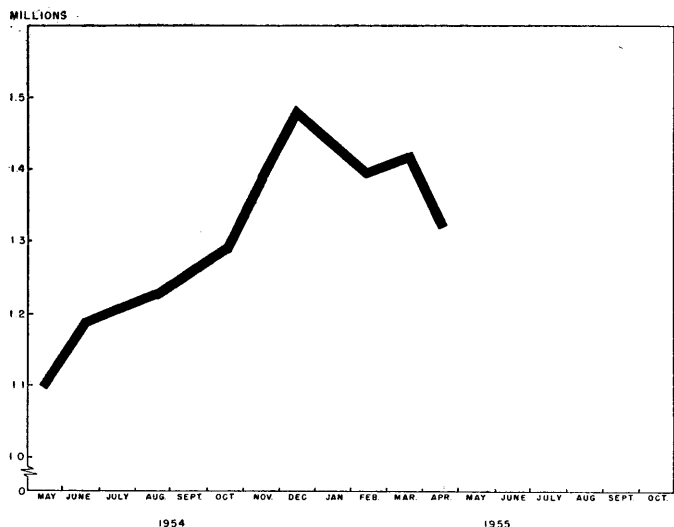
Housing Starts and Household Formation 1947-1954

clearance programs and highway construction across the hearts of our great cities have resulted in the tearing down of thousands of houses. So some of the difference between household formation and housing construction is accounted for by the replacement market for old homes torn down during the year.

The rest of the difference is accounted for by an increase in the number of vacant houses. This is the important item, for as the number of vacancies increases the pressure on rents and home prices mounts, until finally they crack and the housing boom is destroyed.

As of yet, rent prices have not shown any tendency to fall. Neither have new home prices. The number of vacancies has increased and may now number over 5 percent of the available houses. Whether prices fall or not, this means that the builders are being left with more and more vacant houses on their hands for longer periods of time. This has a tendency to put a damper on their enthusiasm for putting up new houses.

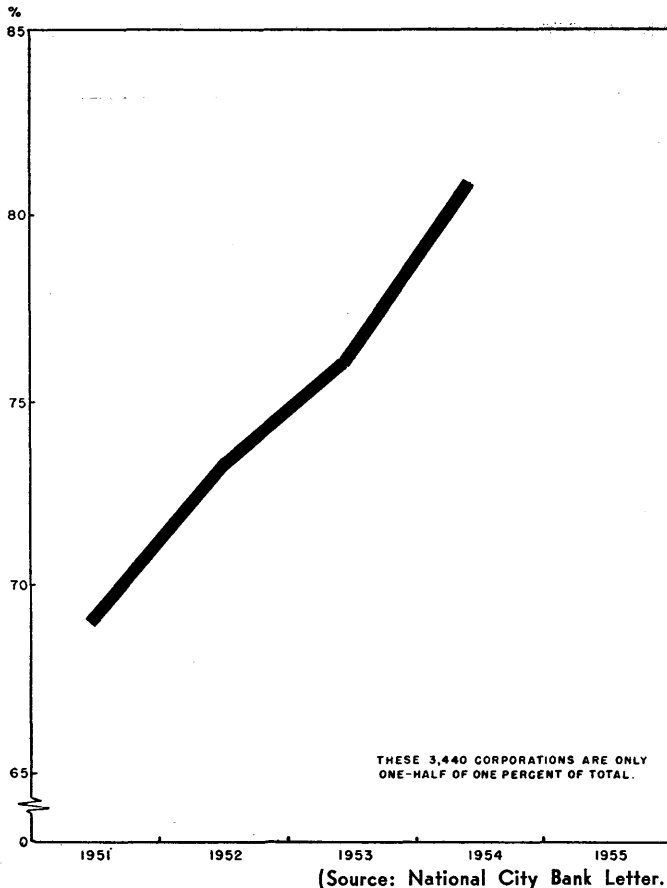
And indeed the rate of housing construction, seasonally adjusted, has been in a general downturn since December of 1954. After housing-loan terms were considerably eased in the summer of 1954, housing permits and construction zoomed up from 1.1 million yearly to a 1.5 million yearly rate. In January and February of this year the rate of construction fell off, it rose a little in March, and fell off again in April when it was at the rate of a little over 1.3 million a year.



Housing Starts, Seasonally Adjusted Annual Rates, 1954-1955

More and More of Profits Going to Top Firms

THE First National City Bank of New York each year compiles the earnings reports of some 3,440 leading corporations in the United States. The Department of Commerce publishes the total profits of all corporations. It is possible then to observe the share of profits of all



Percentage Share of Total Corporate Income (After Taxes)
Earned by 3,440 Leading Corporations 1951-1954

corporations going to a small top segment ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent) of total corporations. This share has been plotted in the chart. It will be noted that the share increased from some 69 percent in 1951 to 81 percent in 1954.

This same $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of all corporations owns about 50 percent of the assets of all corporations, so that in 1954, the profit rate for these corporations that make up big business was four times greater than the profit rate for the other 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of corporations.

As the profit rates of the big corporations go up, those of the small corporations tend to go down, forcing increasing numbers of them into bankruptcy. The number of business failures in the postwar period has been increasing year by year until the current totals are approaching those of the depression years of the thirties. This year also for the first time in the postwar period the total number of

business firms in operation failed to increase.

Nor is this tendency toward the concentration of profits into fewer and fewer hands a temporary one. It has been a feature of American industry since at least the nineties of the last century. The share going to the leading corporations fluctuates with the business cycle. It is very likely that should business turn down again, the leading firms as a group would continue to pile up profits while the other 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of corporations as a group would suffer net losses. So that the profits of the 3,440 leading corporations would be greater than the profits going to all corporations. In other words the share going to the leading corporations would go over 100 percent. This actually did happen in 1931 and 1933.

General Motors' profits after taxes in this year's first quarter were running at the highest rate in history. No other corporation has ever come close to GM's tremendous profits, which averaged a hundred million dollars each month after taxes. Last year, auto union President Walter Reuther estimates, GM made 96 cents in profits for every dollar of wages. But this year, profits per man-hour reached \$1.42 for every dollar of wages.

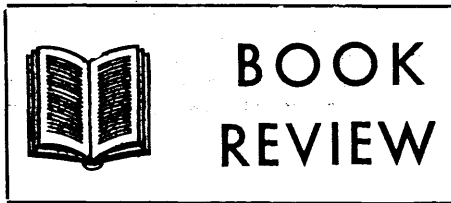
Profits of other corporations show a similar trend. In the first quarter of 1955, Chrysler Corporation made almost twice as much in profits as it made in all of 1954. RCA's first-quarter earnings set a record for that corporation, up 25 percent over last year. GM has set aside over \$36 million out of first-quarter profit for executive bonuses. Last year, GM President Harlow Curtice received, in bonus alone, \$24,250. GM's bonus money, converted into wage increases, would give every hourly rated GM worker a wage raise of almost 16 cents an hour.

Auto inventories are at the highest level in history. Dealers' inventories are about 800,000, while manufacturing inventories bring the total to somewhere over a million cars. During the summer slump in selling, these cars could easily represent a three-month supply.

Inventories as a whole were on the rise again in the first quarter of this year, increasing at an annual rate of \$1.3 billion. Department stores have been running seven percent higher than last year, but sales cannot keep up with production rates. Those sales increases being chalked up at the stores are made possible by rapidly rising installment debt—rising 50 percent faster than usual. Some finance companies are even moving to tighten credit.

Steel mill operations have been up close to capacity only because they have been turning some 25 percent of their output over to the auto companies in comparison to the normal auto share of 17 to 18 percent. Should auto industry purchases of steel average out to normal for the year, they will have to go down to about 10 percent of steel production during the second half of 1955. That would mean a drop in steel operations to below 80 percent of capacity, unless they can dig up some other business.

Disposable income per person in dollars of constant purchasing power is lower today than it was in 1944. The income available for spending after taxes for each individual was then \$1,615; it is now \$1,587, both figures at 1953 prices.



Garvey's Dream

BLACK MOSES: THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, by Edmund David Cronon. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1955, \$5.

FIFTEEN years after his death, Marcus Garvey is an almost forgotten figure in this country, even among his own people. Yet he built the most impressive true mass movement among Negroes, and while the links of evolutionary development have been effaced, this movement was undoubtedly a potent factor in energizing some of the older, more firmly established Negro organizations, and in imparting a strong sense of independence and self-confidence to the Negro rank and file.

Cronon has written a scholarly and well-documented book on this almost forgotten chapter of American Negro history. It is to be hoped that it will be widely read for the light it indirectly casts on many of today's pressing problems.

Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro printer, launched in Jamaica, at the age of 27, an international Negro organization for the purpose of drawing the peoples of the race together, and "to establish a central nation for the race." The new organization set up in business under the imposing title of the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League. In 1916 Garvey came to Harlem to enlist support for a project of Negro betterment in Jamaica. Harlem at this time was the center of the seething dissatisfaction and disillusionment of Negro masses, many of whom had recently come North in the hope, soon proved to be vain, of escaping Jim Crow. The migration brought a marked rise in conflicts between Negroes and whites, and an outburst of race riots in a number of Northern cities. Negro rebelliousness was on the increase and a new radical Negro press was springing up championed by men like A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen. Garvey decided that the United States provided a better field for his objectives than Jamaica.

After a slow beginning, the UNIA experienced a spectacular growth during 1919 and 1920, and strong branches were established in the large urban Negro communities. Garvey claimed more than two million members, and while his figures were exaggerated, it is freely admitted that the membership was very large. The UNIA's paper, *Negro World*, became the leading Negro weekly. The organization purchased a large

auditorium in Harlem which provided seating space for over 6,000 people. At the same time, an all-Negro steamship company was projected, and soon the Black Star Line was launched, financed by stock sold to Negroes throughout the country.

THE high point of organizational success was attained with the international convention attended by delegations from 25 countries "representing the entire Negro race" in New York in August 1920. Cronon relates: "Judged by any standards, the 1920 convention . . . was a magnificent affair. Even Harlem, long used to the spectacular, found it an extravaganza not soon to be forgotten. . . . Garvey became literally the man of the hour. . . . Throughout the black world Negroes were stirred to a new sense of their power and destiny by the fierce nationalism that pervaded every activity of the gathering. . . . On the night of August 2 the delegates gathered in Madison Square Garden to hear Garvey address an estimated 25,000 Negroes, one of the largest gatherings in the history of the hall."

The essential program of the UNIA is best spelled out in a speech Garvey delivered before the convention: "The Negroes of the world say, 'We are striking homewards towards Africa to make her the big black republic.' And in the making of Africa a big black republic, what is the barrier? The barrier is the white man; and we say to the white man who now dominates Africa that it is to his interest to clear out of Africa now, because we are coming not as in the time of Father Abraham, 200,000 strong, but we are coming 400,000,000 strong, and we mean to retake every square inch of the 12,000,000 square miles of African territory belonging to us by right Divine. . . . We are out to get what has belonged to us politically, socially, economically, and in every way. And what 15,000,000 of us cannot get we will call in 400,000,000 to help us get."

In spite of the early triumphs, Garvey soon ran into deep trouble. The upper-class Negro representatives frowned upon an organization that catered primarily to the uneducated black masses, and the old-line leaders were critical of Garvey's strident anti-white tone and fearful of his militant tactics. Many Negro editors began to tear holes into Garvey's Black Star Line scheme, to expose the utopianism of the "back to Africa" plan, to jeer at his one-man rule of the UNIA. Practically the whole of the "talented tenth" was soon united against Garvey and his movement. Partly because of hostile press instigation and partly due to complaints of several Black Star Line stockholders, Garvey and three of his associates were indicted in 1922 on charges of fraudulent use of the mails. A year later Garvey was sentenced to the maximum five-year jail term and fined \$1,000.

WHILE the legal case against him was weak, it was clear that the Black Star Line had been horribly mismanaged and plundered of its funds due to a combination of inexperience of its officials in maritime business affairs and the thievery of

some of Garvey's business associates. Garvey did not apparently profit personally from the company. The verdict however was only against Garvey; the other three Black Star defendants, who had more to do with selling stock than he did, were demonstratively acquitted by the jury. The Negro press exulted at Garvey's conviction almost to a man. Garvey answered: "My work is just begun, and as I lay down my life for the cause of my people, so do I feel that succeeding generations shall be inspired by the sacrifice that I made for the rehabilitation of our race."

The UNIA rallied behind their leader and held a series of imposing protest meetings on his behalf. Gradually the feeling took hold that Garvey was the victim of white persecution and his reputation rose both here and abroad.

But Garvey was not finished with his misadventures, as the African colonization project proved an even worse fiasco than the Black Star Line. The Liberian rulers, a colored aristocracy from the United States, lording it over backward native blacks, at first was divided over the question of admitting large numbers of Negro colonists under UNIA sponsorship. But they finally decided that the venture held dangers for their oligarchic rule, and came out unambiguously against the Garvey movement. In June 1924 the Liberian government warned all steamship lines that no members of the Garvey movement would be permitted to land in the country and that any shipping company that evaded this edict would be required to transport them out of the country. When UNIA technical experts arrived, they were seized and promptly deported. The Liberian government then sent a diplomatic note to the United States declaring that it was "irrevocably opposed both in principle and fact to the incendiary policy of the United Negro Improvement Association, headed by Marcus Garvey." For practical purposes, the back-to-Africa scheme was dead.

The 1924 UNIA convention had scarcely begun its deliberations when a federal grand jury returned an indictment against Garvey for perjury and income tax evasion. The timing of the move strongly suggested that the government was out to crush Garvey and his organization. Several months later, Garvey's appeal in the earlier mail fraud conviction was rejected, and he was incarcerated in Atlanta penitentiary. Again the Negro press played a sorry role in its gleeful acceptance of the black leader's disgrace. Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in late 1927, and he was thereupon deported to Jamaica. His return to his native country was a triumphal one, and for several years he ran a whirlwind campaign throughout the West Indies. He also tried to establish sections in London and Paris, but by the thirties the movement was in a bad decline.

DOES the astonishing success of the Garvey movement in the twenties suggest that great numbers of Negroes wanted to emigrate to Africa? Actually, there was no chance of any significant colonist movement, even if the Liberian government had

not proven hostile. Garvey's escapist program struck a thunderously responsive chord because of the Negro's despair of ever achieving equal status in a white man's country, and because the UNIA voiced his hopes and desires for national rights and equal status with aggressiveness, with manhood and defiance. By proclaiming his eventual triumph in Africa, the Negro was indirectly asserting his aspiration for first class citizenship in America. In one sense, Garvey's successes were a testimonial not only to his enormous talents as a mass leader, but to the fact that the old-line middle-class Negro leaders and organizations were not even adequately, much less inspiredly, voicing the aspirations of the Negro people. The old Negro leadership, by its lacks and cringing timidity, had created a vacuum, and an uneducated young Negro from Jamaica, with no connections, patrons, or financial backing, stepped in to fill the breach.

The noted Negro writer, Claude McKay, a Garvey opponent, stated: "A West Indian charlatan came to this country, full of antiquated social ideas; yet within a decade he aroused the social consciousness of the Negro masses more than any leader ever did." W. E. B. Du Bois, who was an unrelenting critic during Garvey's entire active period, wrote in 1940: "It was a grandiose and bombastic scheme, utterly impractical as a whole, but it was sincere and had some practical features; and Garvey proved not only an astonishing popular leader, but a master of propaganda. Within a few years, news of his movement, of his promises and plans, reached Europe and Asia, and penetrated every corner of Africa." Professor John Hope Franklin, in his history of American Negroes, "From Freedom to Slavery," puts his finger on one of the essentials of Garveyism: "Its significance lies in the fact that it was the first and only real mass movement among Negroes in the history of the United States and that it indicates the extent to which Negroes entertained doubts concerning the hope for first-class citizenship in the only fatherland of which they knew."

Even if he is not too well remembered in this country, the name Garvey is still magic in Jamaica, where in 1952 the Jamaican House of Representatives passed a resolution recommending that his birthday be observed as a public holiday. A year later he was lauded "for his early inspiration to the Negro race" at a West African conference presided over by the Gold Coast Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. His old opponent, the *Chicago Defender*, wrote: "Wherever in Africa the natives seek to throw off white domination, the name of Marcus Garvey is revered."



Arnold M. Rose, in a study entitled, "The Negro's Morale," points to an interesting similarity between Garvey and Theodor

Herzl, founder of Jewish Zionism. Each tried to solve the oppression and prejudices to which his people were subject by an escape into his own national state. Both adopted a chauvinistic nationalism, and both sought, as a matter of practical politics, to enlist the support of individuals and groups most hostile to their own minority; in the case of Herzl, some of the anti-Semitic potentates of Europe, in the case of Garvey, the Ku Klux Klan. Hitler's campaign of genocide against Europe's Jews supplied the power drive that actually saw the establishment of the state of Israel. Garvey's campaign broke on the rock of its impracticality.

DESPITE its passing impressiveness, Garveyism was in reality a temporary detour of American Negro nationalism. The durable trend has been not for separatism, but for integration into American society. And the modest successes thus far achieved along this path provide further impetus in this direction. This is a fortunate development for both Negroes and whites, and especially for the future socialist movement, which will be able to count on an invaluable ally in its general emancipatory struggle, instead of being confronted with a separatist national distraction on the American scene. But the Garvey movement remains as a warning that if the Negro masses cannot win their aims through the existing Negro organizations and methods, they will elbow these aside and form new militant organizations to do the job.

B. C.

The Turning Point

GROWTH AND STAGNATION IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY by Ingvor Svennilsson. *United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, published by Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, \$4.50.*

THERE may be room for differences of opinion as to the efficacy of the United Nations in accomplishing the purposes for which it was founded, but, as in the case of the old League of Nations, economists can at least be thankful for the flow of data and publications which it emits. This study of European economy after 1913 is replete with factual material bearing on the basic economic trends in Europe between the two world wars. It is not exactly light reading, but its somber statistics are, in the last analysis, more instructive and important than a thousand cliché-filled speeches by politicians.

As many have come to realize, and as Marxists were the first to maintain, 1914 is the crucial date of modern history. It is the watershed which separates an era of optimism and progress from an era of economic collapse, world wars and the resultant cynicism, bitterness and despair of modern capitalist ideology. With the first World War, capitalism passed its historic crest and began to move downwards, and while the tempo of decline has varied from country to country, has been occasionally

reversed by brief rises, and has manifested itself in different ways in different places, the overall trend is unmistakable. Depressions, warfare, fascism and racism have become the distinguishing marks of our times, to be capped now by the supreme horror, the threat of atomic extinction. This economic survey confirms in statistics of production, trade, etc., what the writers of fiction and personal memoir have asserted repeatedly in prose: The capitalist world became a different place in which to live after 1914, and, for those seeking security, peace and well-being, a worse place.

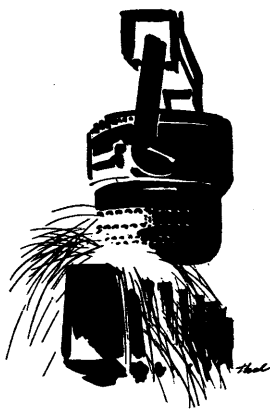
Of the three major capitalist nations of Western Europe, only Great Britain can be said to stand today on a notably higher economic level, in terms of production, trade and consumption, than it did in 1913. Germany and France have *per capita* increases in real national income that are so slight they cannot be said to show any significant upward movement over the past forty years. Aside from episodic ups and downs (and no one has yet claimed with any assurance that the present boomlets of German, French and British economies represent a decisive change in the basic trend) the overall picture is stagnation.

Moreover, there is evidence to show that most of the slight *per capita* improvements registered since 1913 have come in those fields which do not improve the living standards of the people. The biggest increases have been in fields like cement, steel, liquid fuels and motor vehicles (pretty well monopolized by the upper classes), and certain new manufacturing industries involving chemicals, synthetics, rubber, paper, etc.

FOOD consumption *per capita* is most probably down compared to forty years ago. Where, in 1913, Europe produced 117 million tons of five basic grains, in 1950 the total was down to 106. The herds of cattle and pigs in the field are about the same as they were in 1913, which means they are much lower *per capita*. Nor have food imports risen to alter the picture. In housing, it is doubtful that construction has been sufficient to even replace the bombed-out rubble of two world wars; meanwhile the rotting industrial cities have seen no such movement to suburbia as took place in the U.S., and the living conditions of industrial workers have thus sunk just as they would have in the United States had the growing working class been confined to the city limits and the old buildings. Only in clothing, where the consumption of cotton textiles and rayon has gone up considerably, has there been substantial improvement. Also on the credit side of the ledger, hours of labor have decreased in these past four decades, and a certain number of new industrial products have become available to the average consumer.

But, when weighed in the balance against the torment and slaughter of two world wars and innumerable smaller ones, against the ravages of fascism, against the insecurity and unemployment that scarred the

inter-war period, there is no question that in living conditions for the people, capitalist Europe reached its high point before the first World War and then turned downwards.



Mr. Sventnilson makes one of the most common errors of non-socialist economists when he assigns the warfare which has ravaged the world since 1914 to the realm of "non-economic" phenomena: "The war may be regarded as a heavy external shock caused by political factors. . . ." This is the easy way out for apologists for the capitalist system. In fact, the war was caused by the very expansion of foreign trade and overseas investments upon which the pre-1913 prosperity was based.

The major capitalist countries of Europe, growing rapidly into the colonial areas of the world, were able to thrive for a while, but the very process which made them thrive forced them into competition, commercial rivalry, economic conflict, political antagonism, and eventually war with each other. The same process, minus the pre-war prosperity, was repeated in an even more desperate form in 1939-45. To pretend that this had nothing to do with "economics" is to accept all the benefits of external commercial expansion for a capitalist economy, and then to push off the consequences of that expansion upon vague "political factors."

H. B.

From Marx to Hoover

REFLECTIONS ON THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM by Max Eastman. The Devin-Adair Co., New York, 1955, \$2.75.

WHEN Max Eastman turned against socialism about fifteen years ago, he concluded that capitalism is the well-spring of human freedom. After tasting the purity of the waters and sounding their depths, Eastman had the good sense to bring his findings to the attention of the *Readers Digest*, a magazine with an intense and cynical interest in the freedom of the individual, motherhood, the sanctity of property, the dignity of man, loyalty, godliness, the wages of a sinful life, and how to do it yourself. Since then he has pumped a trickle of words about freedom and capitalism into the *Readers Digest* and magazines of similar

principles like the *Freeman* and the *American Mercury*. Gathered into a book, Eastman's fifteen years' labor makes a theoretical primer for the extreme Right in American politics.

Eastman has convinced himself that socialism, the classless society, is a terror which portends the end of civilized progress. He thinks it is wrong to hope for a society of the free and equal because men can be either free or equal but not both at the same time. Capitalism, he argues, makes men free but not equal while socialism, and even contemporary liberalism, move men toward equality and away from freedom.

Eastman does not ask us to believe that the Sixty Families and their retinue are the mainstay of civil liberty in this country. He merely wants us to accept the capitalist class as one of the essential props of our freedom. Do away with the capitalists and you do away with the class struggle; do away with the class struggle and what you get is a monolithic society. Human liberty, he believes, rests on an equilibrium between the contending classes. Rheinhold Niebuhr, another conservative writer, has the same thought when he comes out for a society in which "nobody has his own way."

THE hope that a perpetual class struggle can protect liberty and save a state from degeneration into tyranny has the venerable authority of Aristotle behind it. In this country it inspired the framers of the Constitution to provide our government with the paraphernalia of checks and balances. Among the Constitution-makers, John Adams, who favored setting up a monarchy and aristocracy in America, was a particularly earnest expounder of the idea that a perpetual equilibrium of classes is the foundation of a healthy state. Adams' appetite for a poised and moderate kind of class struggle was probably sharpened by the passionate and unbalanced way in which the farmers of western Massachusetts, with Daniel Shays at their head, disturbed the peace and quiet of the proper Bostonians in the aftermath of the American Revolution.

Be that as it may, we have given the equilibrium theory—as embodied in the Constitution—a 167-year trial in the U.S. The results are that we have had short spells of class equilibrium and long stretches of time in which one of the propertied classes has concentrated the governmental power in its hands. The long American experience indicates that it is impossible to preserve an equilibrium in the class struggle through legislation. Economic development subverted the Constitutional guarantees against a single class dominating the country. For a time after the Revolution there was a balance of power between the slavocracy and the capitalists, but the growth of the productive forces gradually gave the upper hand to the capitalists. If economic development could have been halted, disruption of the balance of power might have been prevented. William H. Seward answered in 1850 the Southern demand for retention of the outgrown balance of power

between the sections: "Every political equilibrium requires a physical equilibrium to rest upon, and is valueless without it."

Since the Civil War, the capitalists have kept a firm grip on the affairs of the nation. Agrarian and other middle-class reform movements never struck at the root of capitalist political supremacy, the private ownership of the means of production, and so could never seriously threaten the sway of Big Business. Implicit in the rise of organized labor is a challenge to capitalist rule more formidable than any the capitalist class has had to meet before.

When America enters a period in which the power of labor matches the power of Big Business, the country will experience a social crisis. In one way or another the whole population will be asking, "Who's in charge here?" Next, people will begin to ask an even more critical question: "Who ought to be in charge here?" At that juncture defenders of capitalism will very likely try to persuade the labor movement that it should not aspire to the hegemony of society. It would not be surprising if the persuaders make extensive use of the argument for class equilibrium in their efforts to calm an aroused labor movement.

BUT Eastman is busy quenching the fires of revolt even before they have had a chance to kindle. One chapter of his book is a speech he gave to an AFL convention in 1948. He went to the convention to tell Green and Meany and Beck to be easy on the capitalist system. "Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs," he told them. It must have been an effective speech because none of the AFL leaders has uttered a single word of sedition since Eastman spoke to them.

The real and immediate cause of Eastman's worries is surely not to be found in America but in the revolutions abroad. It is not the Americans who are unconvinced of the merits of capitalism. The peoples who remain unconvinced—notably the Asians and Africans—do not receive Eastman's message with eagerness. Capitalism, far from distributing golden eggs among them, has for centuries laid waste their lands. The eggs have gone to West Europeans and, since the first World War, in the main to Americans, and only to select groups in these countries, at that.

Even in his rejection of socialism Eastman still retains the conviction that economics and politics are inseparably related. Socialists believe that political liberty and equality will be fictions in the long run unless everybody enjoys a high level of material well-being. They further believe that when a society allows ever-greater concentration of wealth in ever fewer hands, its government must tend to become less and less democratic. Eastman, of course, does not accept these socialist conclusions about the way in which the relation between economics and politics operates. Monopoly has grown and the capitalists' share of the national income has risen in the last quarter of a century, but Eastman believes that the power of the capitalists has waned in America since 1930. It was

Looking Backward

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, \$3.50.

Herbert Hoover, he thinks, who got the government into the habit of telling Big Business what to do. This governmental brow-beating of the capitalists riles Eastman. He will not stand idly by when free enterprise is in peril.

HASN'T he always been on the side of the underdog? He affirms that he has: "Nobody who engaged in the struggles to unionize the steel workers, or in the strike against the Rockefeller interests centering in Trinidad, Colorado, or who backed the Industrial Relations Commission of 1913-15, or the congressional investigation that called old J. P. Morgan on the carpet, need feel that his efforts were wasted. They were directed against the main enemy of freedom."

Well, Eastman explains, he has gone over to the other side because "that enemy has been defeated and the battle won." Now he is doing his bit to restore the equilibrium which presumably existed in the era of Harding and Coolidge and which was destroyed when the heavy hands of Hoover began to maltreat Big Business.

This bizarre view of American reality is not out of place in the extreme right-wing journals which have published portions of Eastman's book. It does not prevail, however, among the present spokesmen of the ruling class. Charles Wilson, that downtrodden but cheerful sufferer from foot-in-mouth disease, guides the Defense Department in the light of the principle that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. Eastman laments with Stuart Chase that Big Business has been "retired to the sidelines, and in some cases to the doghouse," but Wilson sees no capitalists in the kennels. When he thinks of kennels, Wilson thinks of unemployed workers. You could never tell from this book that men like Wilson exist and that they are in power.

Eastman tells us that it was bad news from Russia which made him decide that economic liberty—meaning capitalism—is the source of political liberty. Eastman's concern for political freedom in Russia, however, is not matched by a concern for political freedom in the U.S. His efforts to keep our country on an even keel have not led him to do anything in behalf of those Americans on the Left who are now suffering denial of their civil liberties. It is in this context that one must judge his assertion that he gave up socialism because he prizes freedom above all things. The much profaned ideal of freedom needs to be served with deeds as well as words. But not a single renegade from socialism who went over to the capitalists out of worries about freedom has yet been known to offer his services to those who are denied freedom in his own land.

D. H.

I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward in the streets.

—Eugene V. Debs
Canton speech, 1918

WALTER LIPPMANN has been commenting on American, and especially foreign, affairs for more than forty years. His views have been distinguished by their broad gauge and long-range standpoint. As against most journalists, Lippmann has a sense of the movement of history. His years of comment and criticism, as well as a stint in the State Department, have won for him high regard in capitalist and government circles. He is a leading apologist and ardent protagonist of American capitalism, especially jealous of guarding its leading role in world politics since World War II. The following quotation states the basic premise of his current thinking:

"The more I have brooded upon the events which I have lived through myself, the more astounding and significant does it seem that the decline of the power and influence and self-confidence of the Western democracies has been so steep and so sudden. We have fallen far in a short span of time. However long the underlying erosion had been going on, we were still a great and powerful and flourishing community when the first World War began. What we have seen is not only decay—but something which can be called an historic catastrophe."

Lippmann does not write these truths as a disinterested observer. The above-quoted declaration is made as preface to a desperately-phrased call to the American capitalists, especially those in leading positions in public life and in educational circles, to man the watches and batten down the hatches. Against what danger? Against popular participation in political life; in a word, against democracy. "Prevailing public opinion," he says, "has been destructively wrong at the critical junctures."

HIS message to the "men of light and leading" who have acquired "the traditions of civility," is: You are rulers. Don't let any sentimental notions about majorities and the people's wishes or what they fancy to be their needs get in the way. Have the courage to disregard public opinion. Rule as you see fit since only you are capable of ruling. The past troubles come from the fact that, in deference to majorities, you have not exercised your prerogatives.

It is not the purpose of this review to enter into the rights and wrongs of Lippmann's estimate of public opinion. Our belief is that some of the greatest and most ennobling episodes in world history came about precisely when the masses entered actively with their opinions on the stage of history, and thwarted or replaced reactionary "men of light and leading." Just recently, for example, the U. S. government hovered for weeks on the brink of suicidal war in the Formosa straits. It took nothing less than an extraordinary mass pressure emanating from different countries to move

the State Department to the point where it is ready to enter negotiations (something which Lippmann himself happens to favor). Score this as a victory for popular democracy against the authoritarian tendency Lippmann speaks for.

A more casual observer might question the need to shake the present stability and strain the relations between government and the people by adopting a more authoritarian course. But Lippmann has his eye on the chaos that America inherited as leader of the capitalist world. He appreciates the State Department's need in critical areas throughout the world to follow policies which may prove unpopular at home, especially once the American people begin to shake off war propaganda. In the long run, public endorsement is too weak and unstable a reed to support a policy of suppression of the colonial independence struggles and of intransigent hostility to the Soviet bloc.

So he urges freedom of action for the government without popular restraint. He urges changes in the educational atmosphere designed to cull out an aristocracy of public officials (his "men of light and leading"). And like all apologists for outmoded societies, he urges the strengthening of religious influence and a closer alliance—almost a partnership—between Church and State.

THIS calculated and open rejection of the traditions of American popular democracy takes on significance precisely because of Lippmann's stature. It is not that there are not others who share these and similar opinions. Virtually the entire upper strata of American society would accept Lippmann's aristocratic prejudices without a murmur. But such has been the American popular culture that everyone must appear to accept the people's right to have the last word.

Lippmann's call for a break with this tradition—for an authoritarian state—set in a background of the vast perplexities and insoluble problems, while we are still deep in a raging witch-hunt, has ominous overtones. The curtain was rung down on McCarthy because his excesses and crudities went beyond what American capitalism needs now. This leaves still unanswered the problem of how to swing the masses into line. Though nebulous in form, Lippmann's proposals, in a polished form, set forth the ideological basis for a decisive alteration of the political climate in the direction of a greater authoritarianism than we have ever seen till now.

Lippmann's proposals are "painless" and gradual, without bombast or violence. The change is to be achieved through consent, education. But the logic of the argument is that if people can't be taught what's good for them, they'll just have to be learned.

Lippmann ends his tome on a mystic note with an appeal for strengthening of the Church. But history shows that this kind of a dictatorial imposition against the traditions and wishes of a people can usually be accomplished only by force.

I. B.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Comment and Criticism

May I offer the following comment and criticism:

1. Articles, although generally well written and informative, are entirely too long. You could increase the number of articles in each issue by shortening them.

2. Some of your critical pieces dealing with the Communist Party and American socialism have been rather superficial. I should like very much to see a more basic re-examination of Marxian thought in the pages of the *American Socialist*, especially with regard to the class struggle in the West, the State as a class instrumentality, the tempo of social change (the "inevitability of gradualness" vs. the "inevitability of revolution") in the West, the relations of class to party and party to State under capitalism and socialism, and, most important of all, the applicability or inapplicability of the theory of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to American political development.

Let me say in closing that I find the *American Socialist* the most lively and stimulating left-wing publication in America today. My criticism is not to be taken as basic dissatisfaction with your aims and program. . . . I enclose my renewal to your excellent publication.

D. D. T. Los Angeles

Because America is on the threshold of epochal readjustment, your publication has the very rare opportunity for a phenomenal development and rolling up subscriptions by the hundred-thousand—if you get properly oriented and give an unconditional right-of-way to the pertinent problems of the day. However, there is no prospect for any sensational rise in your subscriptions, no matter what you may do, until the impending depression develops sufficiently to cause the deluded workers and farmers to cease worry-

ing about the "Communist Menace" and direct their apprehension to their economic insecurity. . . .

V. N. Scappoose, Oregon

They All Pass by . . .

Why did two presidents refuse to save the Rosenbergs? Let us look at the record. Some time ago a bomb was thrown in the Haymarket in Chicago. Some people were convicted, and later the governor of Illinois pardoned those who were still in prison on the ground that there was insufficient evidence against them. That governor was driven from public life.

Then there were two anarchists in Massachusetts convicted on flimsy evidence of robbery and murder. A committee of public men, including the head of Harvard University, declined to help them.

There was a bomb thrown in San Francisco and some were convicted in spite of a valid alibi. One governor after another refused to pardon them.

Then the same fate befell the Rosenbergs. It is easy to see why. It is not safe for a public man to help a leftist victim. They all pass by on the other side.

A. C. Penna.

Serving a Worthy Cause

It should be clear from the enclosed gift subscriptions [three enclosed] and renewal of my own, that I—like so many others—like your political analysis. There is a reason for this and it is not simply because I agree with your essential conclusions, although that is a factor. Rather, so long as you insist on freedom of criticism, so long as you think clearly along the lines of socialist analysis which knows no chauvinism, so long as you maintain a political integrity which does not have as its base the usual vested interest of today's acceptable social-

ists—then so long will you be serving a worthy cause. But once you step down and place country above humanity, once you start accepting lesser evils instead of greater good, then I shall cancel my subscription as well as those of my friends. Wishing you well. . . .

J. W. F. Seattle

Freshest in Years

. . . I bought a copy of the *American Socialist* after a favorable mention in *Monthly Review*. Never was I happier about a publication. Judging it by its contents, it is in my opinion the freshest, clearest wind I've breathed in years.

I like particularly George Woodward's "A Debs-Type Party" [*American Socialist*, May 1955]. It expressed the sentiments I've felt for years but have never seen in print.

Enclosed is a check for a bound volume for 1954 and for the 1955 issues I've missed. . . .

R. K. Bronx, N. Y.

We Must Go to Them

You know, as I do, that socialist periodicals reach mainly those who are already in favor or sympathetic to socialism. Here and there a few converts may be gained, but to reach the great mass we must go to them. They don't accept our invitation. . . .

I believe it can be done, provided all who are in favor of socialism get together and proceed in a practical, realistic way.

I am 80 years old, myself, and am handicapped by being obliged to keep my name from public gaze because others would suffer through "guilt by association." All I can do is to dream and plan, and contribute my mite to the socialist and liberal periodicals. So here is my five bucks with pleasure.

M. S. Connecticut

Better Days Ahead

I enclose my subscription renewal, and want to say this:

Today, we are witnessing the greatest drama in the history of the human race, in the clash of two systems—socialism and capitalism. We need a program that will enlist the best minds of our youth to train for leadership in all its phases.

Thus far, it has been the terrible destructive power of the atom bomb which has stayed the war. Scientists builded better than they realized in making the bomb so destructive. But, in the meanwhile, socialism is not only on the march to victory, but is galloping to its goal of peace and economic justice. Better days for man are ahead in the near future. Exploitation and usury are on the way out.

M. L. J. Chicago

I think the *American Socialist* is great. I like everything about it. It is the most encouraging thing that has appeared on the American Left in years. When I can afford it, I will send a contribution.

R. C. Vermont

The Case of Morton Sobell

THE campaign to secure freedom for Morton Sobell, railroaded to prison during the Rosenberg case two years ago, showed increased activity and attracted much interest as the second anniversary of the Rosenberg execution passed last month. Mrs. Morton Sobell, speaking to a meeting of 2,800 people at Carnegie Hall on June 16, made public a letter to President Eisenhower asking him to "set my husband free" because evidence reveals that Sobell is innocent and was convicted on perjured testimony.

(Morton Sobell is at present serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz. An article in the June 1955 *American Socialist*, "The Vindictive Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," erroneously gave his term of

imprisonment as 15 years.)

Messages from Sydney Silverman, Labor member of the British Parliament, and from Leopold Infeld, noted scientist and collaborator of the late Albert Einstein, now teaching in Poland, were also read. Mr. Silverman wrote:

"I studied this case with some care, professional as well as political, in connection with the campaign for clemency for the Rosenbergs. I am quite satisfied that there has been a grave miscarriage of justice not merely in the refusal of clemency but in the trial and conviction itself. I do not believe that any impartial or judicial consideration of the proceedings, uninfluenced by political considerations, could reach any other conclusion. . . ."

An Appeal to All Our Readers

Dear Friend:

YOU, as a reader of the American Socialist, have undoubtedly noticed what we in the editorial office have had impressed upon us during the past year and one-half of our publication: We are building not just a readership but a group of warm friends and supporters. The recognition has grown in many different quarters that this magazine is something genuinely new in the American Left, and fulfills a unique function.

We have attempted to restate the fundamentals of socialism in plain language that can be understood by any interested person. We have tried to keep socialism a living philosophy, to be constantly brought up to date and developed on the basis of changing conditions. We have aimed to help gather and educate new forces for the future creation of a mass socialist movement in this country. And we have been told repeatedly by the most diverse personalities, from old socialist hands to newly interested youngsters, that we have been fulfilling these obligations successfully.

THE point of this letter, however, is not to re-sell the American Socialist to you, but to ask you for help in maintaining and expanding its circulation and influence. As we have gained a reputation for stating facts without evasion, we believe that in asking your help it is best to put the following cold figures before you:

During 1954, the direct costs of producing the American Socialist (printer's bill, engraving, photo agency, mailing, etc.) averaged approximately 33½ cents per copy. Office expenses and equipment, advertising, etc., averaged about 8½ cents per copy. This adds up to about 42 cents per copy.

So far as income is concerned, although the price of the magazine is 25 cents (and we have rejected all proposals to raise that price), you must

understand that we do not see that 25 cents except in the case of those few copies which are sold directly from our office. Our return per copy on subscriptions, newsstands, bookshops, bundle orders, etc., comes to about 18½ cents.

This deficit will come as no surprise to most of our readers, who are aware that there is hardly a single commercial periodical which does not have a deficit. In the case of the left-wing press, since it does not get a subsidy from Big Business in the form of advertising, the difference is made up by contributions. And we are no exception. We would not be able to keep going, much less expand our circulation through advertising, sample-copy mailings, library mailings, etc., without generous financial help from readers and supporters. Thus, this fund appeal is an absolute necessity for us.

WE ask for your help, and we ask that it be promptly and generously given. Your contribution will mean a more influential American Socialist, and a blow struck for the eventual creation of a going socialist movement.

In return for every donation of \$10, we will extend your subscription automatically for one year when it expires; for every donation of \$15 or more, we will extend your subscription for a year and send you a bound volume of the American Socialist for 1954. For every donation of \$100 or more, the donor will become a lifetime subscriber to the American Socialist and receive each bound volume as it appears, as well as any other published material that we may issue.

But remember, every contribution counts. So don't hesitate to mail it in, regardless of how large or small it may be. Be sure to let us hear from you by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

The Editors

Name

Address

City and State Amount