

THE

AMERICAN *Socialist*

At the Crossroads:

**HELL BOMBS
or
PEACE**

UNEMPLOYMENT

**How Labor Views the Slump in Nine Key Cities
Can They Cure Depressions? • A Labor Program**



MAY 1954

25 CENTS

CLIPPINGS

THE WITCH-HUNT reached into the unions when a Federal Court in Washington convicted Ben Gold, president of the Independent Fur and Leather Workers Union. Gold was charged with making false statements in signing the anti-Communist oath of the Taft-Hartley Law. The court acquitted Gold of the charge of lying in saying that he had quit the Communist Party before signing the oath. But it convicted him for being a member of the C.P. when he signed that oath! Following a strange interpretation of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, the jury looked straight into Gold's eye and found him "insincere."

In St. Louis, Harold J. Gibbons, another union leader with no communist background, was tossed into prison for refusing to turn over the records of his union's (Teamsters' Local 688) Labor Health Institute, one of the best in the country, to a snooping anti-labor grand jury.

Behind the jurisdictional victories of the CIO International Electrical Union, there is a shadow of the corporation guillotine for militant union leaders on the wrong side of the fence. After the independent UE was defeated in NLRB elections in the East Pittsburgh Westinghouse plant, two of its former leaders who had now joined the IUE were fired as "undesirable elements." The company claimed that the two men, Thomas J. Fitzpatrick and Frank Panzino, had been "a disturbing element among our employees for many years."

Cedric Belfrage, editor of the National Guardian, threatened with deportation under the McCarran Act, won a third judicial victory against government attempts to commit him to Ellis Island pending the outcome of the proceedings. U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals refused to consider Belfrage's invoking of the Fifth Amendment before the McCarthy Committee a "criminal act" depriving him of the right of bail.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, in the person of one of its editors, was represented at a small but determined gathering of freedom fighters held on April 10 in Washington, D.C. The conference was called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, one of the few groups dedicated to protecting the rights of man which has taken both a militant and principled position on this problem.

The participants benefited from a most thorough analysis of the worst laws that have ever been placed in the legislative hopper in the capital. They start with making aliens of native-born Americans and end with making ideas treason. I. F. Stone did a masterful job in his detailed reports of the precise meaning and scope of the proposed legislation. The conference also heard reports from a number of groups around the country who have been defending victims of the witch-hunt in the schools, public employment and private industry. Harvey O'Connor, who challenged the McCarthy Committee on the ground of the First Amendment, told of the warm reception he had met in a speaking tour around the country.

THE ROME correspondent of the AFL News-Reporter says that "Italy's free labor movement is now giving full backing" to Mario Scelba, the anti-communist cop now head of the government. He doesn't say that this "free" labor movement represents less than 15 percent of the country's workers, and is dominated mostly by the Vatican. But he does admit that elections at "grass roots" levels show "the inability up to now of Italian democratic political parties to combat communism which is getting stronger and more powerful each day." This influence, he says, which has a firm hold on the "fairly well-paid workers of the North" is now spreading to "the poverty-stricken South with its incredible misery and want. . ."

"Italian police squads can handle city mobs, agitators and fomenters of disorder. What they fear more than anything else is a group of peasants marching to protest what they consider an injustice." The correspondent, needless to say, is on the side of the cops.

EUREKA! The government has it! A weapon more deadly than the atom or hydrogen bomb is now being made and stored at the Rocky Mountain arsenal. It is a chemical called GB gas which was first developed by Hitler's scientists during World War II. The Denver Post says the chemical is more effective than atomic weapons since with favorable wind and weather conditions, it "can wipe out life in a city and take it over intact—

its industries, transportation and power plants ready to be used again in a few hours, instead of being ruined and inactive." Only problem is corpse disposal. The killer gas is a thirty-second proposition.

P.S. The Russians also have it.

TYPICAL of the fantastic workings of the profit economy, which compels consumers to remain in want while industry and agriculture pile up undisposable "surpluses," is the corn situation as detailed in a special report by the magazine U.S. News.

There is a big surplus of corn in federal storage (the same is true of butter, other dairy products, wheat, cotton, etc.). At the same time there is a severe shortage of corn for animal feeding. The government already has close to a billion bushels (a full one-third of a year's crop) in storage. The expected crop this year will take a near-record demand to consume it. It is hardly expected that the surplus will be dented in the coming year. Meanwhile, in the past crop year, the amount of corn used for feeding fell off by 200 million bushels, and is expected to be almost that amount short again this year.

Consumers pay for this farce in two ways: in federal taxes which are used to keep the price of corn up, and in higher pork prices which result from the high cost of hog-feed.

The Eisenhower solution: The farmers are instructed to plant fully 17.4 percent fewer corn acres, on pain of being deprived of federal support. Thus farm income faces a further drop, and consumers a continued high price for corn and corn products like pork. And the Democrats, who started the policy, have no better answer.

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The 30-Hour Week: Answer To Layoffs

UNEMPLOYMENT is reaching the 5 million mark, but the situation is "normal," if not downright "healthy," according to Humphrey, our Secretary of the Treasury. The administration performance is so callous, mean and irresponsible that soon Herbert Hoover will appear as a far-sighted statesman and valiant battler against the menace of unemployment in comparison with the present occupant of the White House. The Wall Street bankers, left to their own devices, certainly know how to pick them—Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and now Eisenhower, a first-rate third-rate President, with his folksy double-talk and million-dollar toothpaste grin.

Theoretically the administration should not be able to continue drifting, giving big handouts to the wealthy, while doing nothing for the mass of people, because the American workers are today organized into a powerful labor movement, 16½ million strong. The administration should right now be overwhelmed with mass delegations, protest gatherings and marches, mirroring the indignation of an aroused citizenry. But unfortunately, the two major labor organizations have been long on statements but short on action. They have issued programs to solve unemployment, but have not been too energetic about devising ways and means to realize the fine sentiments contained in those programs. The impression that AFL President Meany and CIO President Reuther convey with their speeches and press statements is that they are going through the motions, making the record, but that they don't want to get too deeply involved in what may prove to be rough, turbulent waters.

IT IS SYMBOLIC of the resolve to steer clear of anything that may prove less than respectable that President Reuther coupled his recent announcement of "a ten-point program to keep America at work" with a rejection of the proposal for the 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay, the most far-reaching and most important of all present proposals to fight unemployment. Reuther in this case proved himself to be a "summer soldier," as he was making very eloquent and effective speeches for this



very same 30-hour week slogan, just a few years ago when the issue lacked immediacy. Now that the program for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay needs implementation and is taken up by the most advanced sectors of the labor movement, Reuther and other labor officials back away and try to counterpose to it vague talk about a guaranteed annual wage.

We discussed in our February issue how this demand has been emasculated until it scarcely calls for more than a ten cents an hour wage fund and, even if won, would prove of bene-

fit to those with the longest tenures of seniority; in other words, those workers least and last affected by layoffs. Even if we accept the guaranteed annual wage demand as pure gold and assume that the labor leaders really mean business in fighting for it when the next contracts become due—and their behavior has not been too reassuring on this score—that still is no justification for rejecting the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, which is the best program to battle unemployment and share the benefits of technological advancements. Reuther's criticisms that the cut in the work week would mean "sharing the scarcity" is simply a sleight-of-hand, as it ignores the demand that the cut in the work week be effected *without any reduction in pay*.

ONE MIGHT OBJECT that this is quite a package and will take quite a bit of doing to win. That is entirely correct. It is a big package and will take a whole lot of doing to attain. It will take, as a matter of fact, no less effort, work, sacrifice and struggle than it took to win the eight-hour day. This is not the kind of demand that can be won in one shop or plant. No company will be persuaded to grant it in the way it may agree to install a new blower system, or remove a number of inequities in a wage classification. The walls of Jericho will not come tumbling down after a few trumpet blasts from the labor statesmen. The 30-hour week program makes sense only if it is conceived as an all-national campaign employing a comprehensive set of tactics, broad political appeals, legislative struggles and economic actions, to achieve its aim. The ground has to be plowed up tremendously before there will be any gathering of crops.

It would be well for progressive unionists to study the history of the eight-hour day movement in the United States, and how many battles on the most variegated fronts were necessary—political action, mass demonstrations, strikes and general strikes—before eight hours finally became recognized as a day's work. There were

plenty of faint-hearts in those days who opined that a working man could not make a living at only eight hours' pay and predicted disaster in the event of a reduction of the work schedule. But events have refuted the men of little faith. The statistics show that real living standards have not gone down but have risen appreciably in the last seventy years, while at the same time hours of work have been drastically reduced.

This discussion does not imply that labor's official program to put the un-

employed back to work is anything but progressive, strictly limited though it is. The demands for tax relief for the poor, improved unemployment compensation and social security, comprehensive housing and public works program are all good proposals, so far as they go. But we are trying to point out that they don't go far and deep enough. And what is more, the program, even as it stands, has a "pie in the sky" aspect about it, because it offers good planks, but says nothing about how labor is going to win them.

ity to find a way out of the sickening mess. Remember the first reaction to Wallace in 1948, and with what enthusiasm his anti-war proposals were greeted before he finally was buried under an avalanche of mud-slinging and misrepresentation. The biggest single factor responsible for Eisenhower's passage to the White House in 1952 was his half-promise to end the Korean war. No, the American people don't want war. They simply have not yet found the means of breaking through the smokescreen of war propaganda and have their true aspirations recorded and voiced.

Peace Needs A Voice

A WAVE OF HORROR has swept around the world in the wake of the hydrogen bomb explosion. Anti-American feeling is mounting in Japan. The Indian Prime Minister demanded that hydrogen bomb tests be stopped. The British House of Commons was in an uproar. From one end of the globe to the other, the peoples are frightened and calling for a halt to the mad armaments race that can end in disaster. The one country which seems curiously unaffected by the clamor is the United States itself, the world's strongest military power, and the organizer of the new "Holy Alliance" to outlaw revolutions everywhere and prop up the decaying system of imperialism.

There is no anti-war movement in the United States today. The Democratic Party is not an anti-war opposition, but screams even more belliciously than Dulles for a bigger war budget and a more aggressive foreign policy. The labor union leaders are not battling the plutocracy but join in the ugly chorus of jingoism and hate. The pre-World War I pacifist movements, led by men like LaFollette and Bryan, have disappeared long ago, and have never been refashioned, as middle class liberalism is securely lashed to the chariots of Moloch and Mars. There is only one political force in the public market place, and that is the multi-headed political party of the plutocracy. And it talks with only one real voice, and that is the voice of war.

Yet Washington's rattling of the war sabers is growing louder and more menacing at the very time when the very purposes of the war are being called into question. Unless both major con-

testants refrain from use of atom and hydrogen bombs in a war—as the Axis and Allied powers refrained from use of poison gas in the Second World War since it would have led to mutual annihilation without either power able to gain decisive advantage—unless this fear of retaliation eliminates employment of the new weapons, there may be no victors or vanquished in a third world war. There may be only the destruction of Western civilization and the necessity of the dazed survivors to begin the long painful climb all over again. Because the hydrogen bomb, now in the arsenals of both antagonists, challenges effectively the end purpose of all war, which is to impose one's will upon the foe.

BUT THESE new dreadful facts of life have not yet penetrated into the skulls of our generals and admirals, our bankers and munition manufacturers, who give every sign of being fully capable of setting off the engines of war with all their incalculable consequences for every last member of the human race.

Can it be that these maniacs in high places actually represent the sentiments of the people of this country? Can it be that the mass of people have become so brutalized that the normal feelings of mankind no longer hold sway over them? Why, nothing of the kind. Every chance they get to break through the iron ring of calculated confusion and shrieking jingo propaganda, every opportunity they have to give vent to their inner feelings, you catch the revulsion and fright of the American masses and their anx-

What little anti-war campaigning there is originates today from the circles around the Communist Party. But because of its extreme isolation as well as its discreditment, it should be obvious to everyone, including followers of this movement, that it cannot become the rallying center of any effective anti-war movement in this country. It would be good to believe that the leaders of the powerful labor organizations would reverse their present chauvinistic course and mobilize their big memberships against the scourge of a third world war. But these officials are so tied up with the war machine that any reliance upon them in this venture would be wholly quixotic.

As the anti-war aspirations of the masses become more urgent—and this is inevitable—they will surely find organizational expression. Listen to this cry from the heart by the president of the world's largest local union, Ford Local 600: "We entered the war in Korea and under a war-time economy we had three years of artificial prosperity. The parallel is that today the Republican administration is beating the propaganda drums in an effort to condition the American people to our entrance into a shooting war in Indo-China. We have not heard from any of our labor statesmen. We in Local 600 would rather stand in the bread lines than have one American youth die in an abortive attempt to hold together the last remnants of French colonialism in Asia." (President's Column, *Ford Facts*, April 10, 1954)

When to the voice of Ford Local 600 are added the voices of many other local unions and progressive bodies, the force will be forged that can stay the hand of imperialism and war. This is the need of the hour!



The Shadow Lengthens

Here is a survey of unemployment across the nation. In these nine reports, each written by a worker-unionist close to the problem, one gets a picture of the extent of the present slump, the mood and outlook of the workers, and the policy of the unions.

“It Was the Suddenness . . .”

BUFFALO

THE BUFFALO AREA, despite its diversified industry, is probably harder hit now than at any time since the great depression of the Thirties. Workers with as high as 17 years of seniority have been cut off the payrolls.

The State Division of Employment reports that “by mid-February, 29,000—one in eighteen of the area’s labor force—were unemployed” on the Niagara Frontier. CIO leaders scoff at the 29,000 unemployment figure. They maintain that the total unemployment for the area is upward of 50,000.

“It was the suddenness that caught me,” one steel worker told a *Courier-Express* reporter. “I was working five days a week and more right up to Christmas. The next thing I knew I was working only three days and six hours. I don’t have enough money to do anything but pay the most pressing bills. We don’t eat steak any more and we seldom go out.”

He’s had his phone and gas disconnected to save money to pay for the rent. His wife cooks on an electric hot

* * *

(A Chicago article on unemployment which, due to a delay in the mails, arrived too late for publication, will appear in the June issue.)

plate. A son had to leave college because of the expense. He also stated that his fellow workers are growing bitter toward the Eisenhower administration.

Another worker, on a four-day week since last November, says that his biggest expense is meeting payments on a house he bought shortly before the axe fell.

“If worse comes to worst they can clear my house of furniture,” he said, “but I intend to keep my home.”

James Miller, president of the CIO Council, recently stated: “One of the most serious aspects of our total unemployment figure and one that seems to be forgotten and therefore unrecorded is the unestimated thousands of workers on a two, three and four day week. This figure, for some reason, has not been forthcoming from the State Division of Employment.”

If the newspapers have the figures they are keeping them to themselves. Take Bethlehem Steel for example: The newspapers report “scattered layoffs” in that mill. On questioning workers employed there, one learns that “scattered layoffs” amount to four or five thousand. And the newspapers said not a word about the fact that most of the plant is on a three and four day week!

The corner grocer and butcher can remain in business only by extending credit and hoping for the best. Furniture and appliance dealers, striving to keep their heads above water, have blossomed into “discount houses,” offering their wares for “10 percent above cost.”

THE SEGMENT of the Buffalo population that is feeling the full brunt of unemployment is the Negro worker. Aircraft, electrical and electronics, auto and auto-parts plants, grain mills, etc., employ comparatively few Negroes. It is in steel—in the hardest, the dirtiest and the hottest job—that he is concentrated. And it is steel, operating at 63.5% of capacity, that is the hardest hit of all the Buffalo area industries.

Two months ago, a friend of mine went to a large steel plant looking for work. A number of Negro and white workers were waiting to be interviewed. The employment manager called up the Negroes in rapid fire order and told them he wasn't hiring that day. After the Negro workers left, the manager leisurely proceeded to interview the white workers. Two were hired as laborers. At the same time this company was laying off workers, mostly Negroes.

The effect produced on the worker by these mass layoffs and shortened work weeks has been one of shock, bewilderment and fear. The unemployed have little hope of being recalled soon. And those employed, beginning to lose hope of going back to a full work week, are only hoping they won't be laid off entirely.

Many labor leaders, arguing that they are in a weak bargaining position and that management would welcome and use a prolonged strike in a union-busting drive of its own, are soft-pedaling wage and other demands. As one newspaper reported, "Labor Eases As Management Stiffens." As a result, several extensions of contracts have been reported without any wage gains or other benefits to the union.

F. S.

Milwaukee Industries Affected

MILWAUKEE

THE EXACT TOTAL of the unemployed in this area is obscured by the same juggling of statistics that has occurred nationally. Expert opinion is that about 24,000 workers are jobless in Milwaukee County. This is about 6 percent of the total labor force. It is estimated that there are about 80,000 workers unemployed in the state. But these figures do not include the sizable numbers working four-day weeks or short days. Even the "experts" of the State Employment Service now admit that the outlook is grave as the long-heralded "spring upturn" failed to materialize.

The slump has seriously affected all branches of industry here from the famous Milwaukee breweries to the farm equipment and construction machinery plants; from hosiery mills to auto parts. Layoffs have been the heaviest we have seen since the Thirties. The long-range picture is further darkened by a steady flight of plants to regions of "lower labor costs"—the unorganized South—and programs of decentralization by those companies which maintain Milwaukee plants. Thus both Schlitz and Pabst breweries have opened huge West Coast plants recently, and Rockwell Industries has moved its Delta power tool division out of town entirely, with a large part of the operation going to Mississippi.

The Democratic Party has gained locally, even without

putting forward any program, since the current of feeling against the Republicans is very strong. The Democrats have stepped forward to denounce the Eisenhower administration for the slump, and the slogan "Don't blame me, I voted Democratic" has become very popular in the shops.

The unions have, unfortunately, not yet done much on the unemployment issue. The CIO has restricted itself mainly to a few delegations to the mayor, the Common Council, and the governor. The AFL has done even less. One action that contrasted sharply with this lethargy was a simple act of basic unionism taken by the AFL Federal Labor Union at the International Harvester plant which was hit hard by a layoff that affected the majority of the membership. That local imposed an absolute ban on overtime until the last worker has been recalled. Milwaukee workers are convinced that this measure, limited though it is, is responsible for the fact that Harvester has since recalled workers much faster than any other Milwaukee farm equipment plant.

B. H.

Minority Groups Hardest Hit

SAN FRANCISCO

UNEMPLOYMENT in California increased to 299,000 in February according to the latest figures from the California State Department of Employment. This corresponds to slightly less than 6 percent of the state's total work force of 5,098,000 as of January 1954. This figure for unemployment of course is the official figure excluding those on strike and those "not in the labor market." The total work force figure includes, in official eyes, employers, self-employed and unpaid family workers as well as wage and salary workers. The actual percentage of unemployment is therefore higher than official admission.

Manufacturing employment was less in February 1954 than in the previous year. This is the first such drop since 1950. The maritime industry is especially depressed with thousands of seamen on the beach.

As in previous periods of unemployment, minority groups are the hardest hit. The *San Francisco Chronicle* for March 28, 1954 reports:

"Negroes in the Bay Area are being unfairly discharged from their jobs when major industries cut back their employment rolls, A. Philip Randolph, veteran Negro labor leader, charged here yesterday.

"They are being laid off out of all proportion to their numbers," Randolph said. "In spite of principles of seniority, all sorts of technicalities are being raised to make Negroes the first to be fired."

"Speaking at a press conference yesterday at the Palace Hotel, Randolph said he did not believe the job status of Negroes would be secure in California until the passage of an effective Fair Employment Practices Act."

Exception to the picture of increased unemployment is found in the Southern California aircraft industry. Here a rise in aircraft employment to 177,700 in February set a new postwar high.

While the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce reports business activity for San Francisco at an all-time high

for February, M. I. Gershenson of the Division of Labor Statistics of the State Department of Industrial Relations is "disappointed." According to the *Chronicle* of March 30, Gershenson cites the durable goods industries for the whole state—metals and metal products, machinery, electrical equipment, etc.—and remarks, "They show a lot of minuses in their reports. They're not falling away, but there's no zip to them."

The recent special session of the California State Legislature increased the weekly unemployment benefits by from \$25 to \$30. But to get these benefits, even though they may be entitled to them, the unemployed workers

At an international medical conference, some doctors are comparing recent advances in their countries.

Swedish doctor: "We took the shin bones out of a dead man and put them in a live one. He's walking the streets today!"

German doctor: "We've done a much more wonderful thing. We took the heart out of a dead man and put it in a live one. He's walking the streets today."

American doctor: "That's nothing. We took a brass hat out of the army and put him in the White House. And today we have 4 million guys walking the streets!"

D. P.



have been finding new difficulties over the past year. Previously, unemployed union members had only to report to their hiring halls as proof they were looking for work. Under a campaign against "chiseling" instigated by the employers, this system was discontinued by the state. At present the labor organizations are demanding a return to the old system. In the meantime the unemployed must make numerous weekly rounds for nonexistent jobs and be prepared to furnish proof of their search.

The labor movement proposes to meet the unemployment problem by advocating increased wages to increase purchasing power, public works, public housing, raising of unemployment benefits, increase in minimum wages, and in a few isolated cases demands a reduction of hours. These remain in the realm of demands. For their fulfillment the unions intend to rely on voting for and bringing pressure to bear on "good" Democrats and Republicans.

R. W.

Anti-Republican Feeling High

MINNEAPOLIS

AT THE END of February, there were fully 21,172 persons in Minnesota receiving maintenance relief, a big increase over January. At the end of March, total unemployment claims in Minneapolis alone were up to 11,800. These are some indications of the layoff situation here. Recently, there was a good-sized layoff at the Minneapolis Honeywell plant, and one whole shift was laid off at Twin Cities Arsenal.

Farm equipment is an important industry in this area. As indicative of the downturn, one big plant which had been producing 100 tractors daily this time last year is now turning out 50 per day. The usual spring upturn in farm equipment is here, but it is significant only for its weakness.

As elsewhere, anti-Republican feeling is high and growing. Also as elsewhere, a lot of the resentment is expressed in stories and jokes. One tale that is going the rounds is the following:

GM Town Starting to Feel Cuts

FLINT

AT THIS writing (April 4), the Flint situation is unusual compared to most of the rest of Michigan. While the Michigan unemployment total is in the neighborhood of 10 percent, this auto center has only 3.3 percent of its working force out of jobs.

This is more than likely accounted for by the strong competitive position of General Motors in the auto industry and in Washington. GM is taking a larger share of the market from Chrysler and other independents. It also has an inside track on war contracts. And Flint is mainly a GM town.

However, Flint is beginning now to feel the recession. For while our percentage of unemployment is low, it has more than doubled during the past year. The usual March seasonal upturn was missing this year. No one in town has any confidence that the employment level here will continue as high as in the past except the editor of the local GM-dominated newspaper, and he may be putting it on for all I know.

When the first layoffs hit about a month ago, a ripple of fear ran through the shops. The local UAW-CIO leadership undertook several actions to try to get the state legislature to increase unemployment benefits. The only action which materialized, so far, was a public rally at which some of the union leaders, together with Governor Williams, thumped the tub for the Democratic Party. This tie-up between the labor leadership and the Democratic Party is holding back, more than any other factor, a really effective rallying of the workers in this state.

Until the layoffs in Flint go deeper and affect more workers, the labor movement here is not apt to take the lead in the fight of the jobless in Michigan. But with the whole economy of the nation sagging, Flint cannot long hold on to its isolated good fortune. GM has a lot of power in Washington, but it doesn't have the power to sell its cars to a country that hasn't got the money to buy

Typical of the anti-Republican poetry circulating in the nation's factories is this contribution, sent from Detroit. It is patterned after the Lord's Prayer.

*Our father who art in Washington
Ike is thy name
When your term begun
Our jobs were done
At Hudson Motor and Willow Run.
Give us this day our starvation pay
And forgive us for taking it
As we forgive those who take it from us
And lead us not into democratic prosperity.
For thine is the country and General Motors'
The power and profits forever, Amen.*

them. When it hits here, the traditionally militant labor movement of the city can be expected to play an important role in the fight against depression.

C. P.

"A Terrible Insecurity . . ."

NEW YORK

NEW YORK has been hit by unemployment, but the hardest blows in this section of the country are being felt in the nearby industrial centers of Long Island and New Jersey where many thousands of New Yorkers work. The big plants and their subcontractors are losing juicy defense contracts. Most of them are now eliminating overtime, shutting down their swing and graveyard shifts and laying off thousands of workers.

The Passaic-Paterson area has been listed officially as a labor surplus location, with over six percent unemployed. Most Long Island plants are not hiring. The exceptions are the few plants that still have aircraft engine and fuselage contracts.

The Bendix Aviation Corp. of Teterboro, New Jersey, with 7,000 employees, is a fairly typical example. Since January 1, the plant has gradually laid off about 1,000 workers, begun eliminating its entire night shift and has offered no assurance to UAW Local 153 that the end is in sight.

The men and women in the Bendix machine shop and assembly departments are living in the shadow of the ax. A terrible insecurity has gripped the majority, who have less than five years seniority.

Those who have been laid off, or who will be in the coming days, are well aware of the present job scarcity. One year ago it was possible for a worker with the least of skills to walk out of the plant gate and, hardly losing a day's earnings, get another job at about the same pay. Today, the men hungrily search the help wanted columns of the *N.Y. Times*, *Journal-American* or the local Jersey press. These columns, which used to offer dozens of jobs, are today bare.

The mood of the men today expresses itself in the plant by the inscription scrawled on several walls, "So You Liked Ike."

Management in Bendix has used this period to put on the squeeze. Firings have become common for infractions that previously warranted warning slips or, at the most, a couple of days off. The speed-up has been intensified by jacking up production rates. Sentiment for strike ac-

tion has grown but it is tempered by a fear among older workers that their seniority standing will be compromised, while the workers with little seniority are already thinking of the next job. The union, terribly weakened in the last few years by the Reuther "no-struggle" five-year contract, appears paralyzed by the turn of events.

The *N.Y. Times* of March 29 published a survey of city unemployment that showed "there are twice as many factory workers without work in New York as there were a year ago and there are tens of thousands on reduced work schedules." At the end of March the survey shows 220,000 unemployed in the city, a rise of 40 to 50 percent in one year. However, since factory work accounts for only 28 percent of the city jobs, unemployment here is less than the national rate.

Unemployment insurance claims centers have opened four new offices to handle applications. To anyone over thirty, a visit to either a claims center or U.S. employment office will bring memories of the depression decade. The lines are long, the job interviews short and hopeless. The State Employment Service reports placements are running 16 percent behind last year.

The first to feel the coming of hard times are the city's Puerto Rican and Negro people. The former now comprise about 500,000 of the city population. Lacking skills and seniority because of their recent arrival and the discrimination, they are the first to be dropped from the payrolls. Most are getting less than the \$30 per week top unemployment insurance check. The Department of Welfare, which doles out help only when the last cent is gone, nervously reports that their lists have been inching up since December.

M. B.

Higher Jobless Pay Demanded

DETROIT

AFTER IGNORING all demands to improve the Unemployment Compensation Law, the Michigan legislature on March 12 suddenly came to life. On that day the UAW-CIO put a full page ad in the Detroit daily newspapers condemning the state legislature for its failure to increase unemployment compensation to the growing number of jobless. The UAW threatened to place an improved compensation law on the November ballot in the form of a referendum amendment to the state constitu-

Another sample of parody after the 23rd Psalm:
*Eisenhower is my shepherd, I am in want
He leadeth me through still factories
He restoreth my doubt in the Republican Party
He guideth me in the path of unemployment
For his party's sake.
Yea, though I walk through the valley of soup kitchens
I am hungry.
I also fear evil, for thou art against me,
Thou did prepare a reduction in my wages
In the presence of my creditors.
Thou anointed my income with taxes
So my expenses overcometh my income.
Hereby poverty will follow me all the days of the
Republican Administration
And I shall dwell in a rented house forever, Amen.*

tion. Governor Williams had made a similar threat a few days earlier if the Teahen Bill were enacted.

The Teahen Bill, in many cases, lowered the benefits below the present inadequate level. When the minor upward adjustments in it are compared to the losses resulting from the proposed changes, there would be a net decline in the aid to the unemployed.

There is also a give-away tax adjustment to aid General Motors and Ford. This same tax provision would cost the Packard Corporation, which is being pushed to the wall by GM, \$70,000 more a year.



After the UAW had merely *threatened* to put the Eisenhower-Williams compensation proposals on the ballot—these call for 50% of the average weekly earnings as compensation—the state capitol began to buzz like a busy beehive. Republican State Chairman John Feikena rushed to Lansing for conferences. Republican caucuses were held. Joint Democratic and Republican discussions took place. The mere threat of facing close to a quarter-million unemployed in the November elections scared the wits out of the GM-dominated state legislature.

A new law was drawn up within a few days. It would increase the base pay from \$27 to \$30. It would increase the maximum pay from \$35 to \$43. It would increase the length of pay from 20 weeks to 26 weeks. It would still, however, favor General Motors in the tax setup.

While the fear of the mobilized unemployed vote was still fresh, the House rushed this bill through in overwhelming numbers. But since no follow-up campaign has been conducted by the UAW, the threat has begun to appear hollow, and the legislature has acted accordingly. For the last three weeks they have been backsliding from their already weak second proposal. The final bill is far below the demands in the CIO program and must be termed inadequate.

The UAW had put the damper on the effort for mass demonstrations or protest caravans to the state capitol. Where local unions had succeeded in organizing protest meetings, these had been converted into Democratic political pep rallies. Thus when Reuther came to Lansing it was not as a crusading leader of the unemployed but as a "statesman." Instead of setting forth the program of the UAW and CIO, which calls for two-thirds average wages for 39 weeks, he was willing to accept the Eisenhower-Williams 50 percent for 26 weeks.

If the unemployed in Michigan are to get a better compensation law on the books, the labor movement has the task of getting sufficient signatures for a constitutional amendment. The UAW and the CIO could mobilize its membership in November for a law which provides for two-thirds of the average weekly pay for a 39-week period. Such a program on the ballot is guaranteed to mobilize

not only the unemployed but also the employed in their ever increasing fear of greater layoffs.

A. C.

Steel Capacity Outruns Market

YOUNGSTOWN

THE REAL EXTENT of unemployment in the steel industry was given for the first time in a statement by the International Executive Board of the steel union last week. 189,000 union members in this country and 7,700 in Canada have been laid off. 257,000 additional members are working less than 40 hours. This makes a total of close to one-half million, or almost half of the union, affected by the slump.

Here in Youngstown, steel production is about at the national average of under 70 percent. The big overproduction problem of steel in present restricted markets is clear from the fact that, even at this rate of operation, the steel industry is producing as much tonnage as in any year before 1948, although the rate then was up around 100 percent.

It is an encouraging sign of solidarity that most of the older men have agreed to work a four-day week instead of insisting on their seniority right to five days, in order to prevent layoffs from being even worse. Only in some locals where the union leaderships base themselves on the older and more conservative elements has this been an issue.

The big Ohio Works local of U.S. Steel is preparing to start holding meetings of unemployed members. In the Youngstown district especially and throughout the union as a whole, union counseling schools have been set up to train activists in the handling of relief and compensation problems. Within a couple of months, compensation benefits will start running out, and then the problem will become very acute and offer a challenge to the union.

The Ohio State CIO Council has held an unemployment conference to initiate a drive for 109,000 signatures on a petition which demands a boost in unemployment benefits to \$50 a week and removal of some disqualifying provisions in the present law. The first step is up to the state legislature, but the CIO is preparing to ask a ballot referendum if the politicians don't act.

All the workers have become very conscious that this slump is not just a passing phase. Many have begun to generalize still further, tying up the slump with the administration attempts to create a crisis in Indo-China.

V. C.

Layoff Chiseling Causes Strikes

NEWARK

UNEMPLOYMENT has hit northern New Jersey very hard. Just about all the plants, large and small, have cut down their payrolls. In many plants, workers who are still on the job are putting in short weeks. Women workers are hardest hit in the layoffs.

The companies are more arrogant than ever, and in one case this led to a strike which the union succeeded in winning. In February, the Singer Sewing Machine Company in Elizabeth laid off a large number of production workers, and then replaced some of them with

foremen who were taken off supervision and put on production. As soon as the foremen went on the floor, the men walked out, and won their demand for an end to this practice.

In another case, at the Thomas A. Edison plants in West Orange and Bloomfield-Belleville, two workers were turned out of their jobs in the course of a layoff although they had enough seniority to hold their jobs. The company criticized their "efficiency." The independent United Electrical Workers struck the plant and won the demand for reinstatement.

By and large, however, such actions don't touch the

tide of layoffs which is the pressing problem, and the unions haven't yet offered much of an answer. The local press reports, in an item which may be slanderous or which may represent a real picture of the anger and exasperation of the workers, that "embittered workers at the Lincoln-Mercury plant, Raritan Township, were charged with damaging about 100 cars in their final day of work. The company laid off 1,400 of its 2,900 employees. . . . As the cars came through the lines, paint was marred, leather upholstery cut and instrument panels, wiring and tail and head lights damaged, a company spokesman said." S. G.

The "Shame of Chicago"

CHICAGO
THE ANTI-NEGRO riots at the Trumbull Park Public Housing Project have been going on since last August. The gathering of large, stone-throwing crowds shouting anti-Negro insults, slogans and threats was occasioned by the moving of the Howard family—and subsequently several other Negro families—into what had been a lily-white project in an all-white neighborhood. The vicious and prolonged racial violence has earned the description "Shame of Chicago."

Clear links have been established between the racist mobs and both the *Daily Calumet* (the neighborhood newspaper) and the local real estate association, which have been organizing an anti-Negro campaign of intimidation, attracting people from surrounding areas as far as the Calumet district in Indiana. Joe Beauharnais, leader of the supposedly defunct, violently anti-Negro "White Circle League," has played a prominent role on the scene.

The race violence began with an error on the part of a Housing Authority clerk. Mrs. Howard, who made the rental application, is light-skinned, and was not recognized as a Negro. After the family moved in and the outbreaks began, it was revealed that it was Housing Authority policy to bar Negroes from four city projects. There was a danger that the Chicago Housing Authority would continue to uphold its discriminatory practices and evict the Howards. Picket lines, demonstrations, delegations and other pressures were organized by the NAACP, the CIO and other groups to force the Housing Authority to switch its

policy. This campaign was won and it is now the official policy of the city that there shall be no discrimination in the renting of apartments in its public housing projects.

THE PROTECTION and welfare of the Negro families who have moved into these projects is in the hands of city officials. But during these riots, they haven't done much enforcing. Large police contingents patrol the project. Three top police brass have been assigned by the mayor to settle the explosive situation. But the efforts have produced little.

The brass began by appeasing the real estate operators and hate-mongers. The rank-and-file cops have been following a more-than-soft policy with the mobs. The latter have been tough. They have pushed the police around, and even belted them with bricks. Had this been a strike picket line or a demonstration for Negro rights, there would have been a wave of mass arrests for such conduct. But only a handful have been taken in by the police, charges against most of these were dropped, and to date only one fine of \$25 was levied.

Several mass meetings and protests have taken place here but have not changed the picture. The largest, most ambitious undertaking, which could have had a serious effect on the city administration policy, was a demonstration in front of City Hall called for March 19.

The demonstration was proposed and organized by the Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce after lengthy negotiations with city officials proved barren. The idea caught on among

the Negro population, who were anxious to put up a fight. Predictions of participation in the demonstration ran as high as 30,000.

ON THE EVE of the demonstration, Mayor Kennelly issued yet another of his well known cliché statements, saying that Negroes would "be protected against any violation of their lawful rights." These mealy-mouthed, hypocritical phrases were enough to throw the organizers of the demonstration into deep consternation. According to the *Chicago Defender*, "the consensus of Negro leaders" was that this statement by the mayor and his previously announced but as yet invisible "get-tough policy" "wiped out the need for a mass demonstration outside his office."

There were no public statements challenging the mayor's false claims in light of the record. Oscar Brown, moving spirit in organizing the demonstration, helped cast a pall over it by stating to the press that there was no way to call off the protest, implying that he and the other leaders wanted to do so.

Despite these handicaps, some 500 pickets conducted a noon-hour march around City Hall on March 19. The demonstration was small in view of the seriousness of the drawn-out and bitter conflict. But it was all that could be expected in view of the weak, disoriented leadership.

We can expect the Trumbull Park riots to continue and similar events to spread to other parts of the city (as they already have in the Rosemoor area) until the NAACP and the organized labor movement bring to bear, in an aggressive manner, the mass pressure and influence they are capable of exerting to end Jim Crow violence in this city. I. B.

"Take Free Speech Seriously"

by Paul Breslow

CHICAGO
THE DILEMMA of the liberal or radical student who is disgusted by the thought-control drive and saddened by the spineless trivia-mongering of organized liberalism is exemplified by this writer's own thoughts concerning the contribution of an article to the *American Socialist*. Students like to sound off; it is pleasant to find a willing audience. But that list of the attorney-general? Will I be identified with a group that I don't agree with? A string of unpleasant associations comes to mind—Smith Act, McCarran, Joe, timid university officials, FBI and so on. But, fellow-witches, here I am. Somehow, it's difficult not to take free speech seriously.

Universities are not exactly strongholds of courageous militancy, but, as a rule, book readers don't like book burners, and getting a job a few years hence is hardly worth the price of a genuflection to Joe. It is difficult to find large groups of students willing to pay it, but those who will actively oppose McCarthyism are also not very numerous. There have been some encouraging signs in the past year, however.

Last spring, for example, the University of Chicago was invaded by heresy-hunting William E. Jenner, the affable-looking Republican from Indiana, who announced he was here to "protect academic freedom." Student Government called a protest meeting, which, despite the fact that many students had left for home, was attended by over 300. The All-Campus Civil Liberties Committee, a broad group of over 100 representatives of organizations from fraternities to dormitories, attacked the investigators. A resolution in that body calling for picketing of

Paul Breslow is an officer of the Student Representative Party at the University of Chicago.

the proceedings lost by only a few votes, but many students attended the hearings as hostile, though polite, spectators.

Academic freedom activity has increased since that time. A small but spirited intercollegiate conference was held, the Illinois National Student Association was persuaded to sponsor an Academic Freedom Week, which at this writing appears to be well under way at several Illinois universities. One of the two campus "parties" at the University of Chicago, the Student Representative Party, polled about 42 percent of the vote with a platform urging increased student participation in the fight against McCarthyism and strongly supporting the right of teachers and students alike to protection from penalties for nonconformity.

RECENTLY, an informal organization of "Robin Hood's Merrie Men" has sprung up on Midwestern campuses, deriving from the Indiana proposal to ban Robin Hood as "subversive." Members sport green feathers and pinbuttons and proclaim: "They're our books—don't burn them!" This is indicative of increasing outspokenness, and might even have some effect on

the National Student Association, largest student organization in the country. NSA, composed of over 600 schools which affiliate as units, holds an annual congress which passes mildly liberal resolutions.

NSA could be a significant articulator of liberal and radical sentiment, despite a clumsy representation system and the presence of a reactionary-clerical bloc, but has so far confined itself to polite viewing-with-alarm. There are many student-liberals within NSA, and there is a good chance that it will sponsor a national Academic Freedom Week, and perhaps even engage in a student exchange program with the Soviet Union along the lines of the recent student-editors trip.

There are McCarthyite students too. Their vocal organization is called "Students for America," which peddles right-wing propaganda, denounces NSA as an "insidious leftist pressure group," and engages in wholesale smearing of liberal—and not-so-liberal—students, faculty members and administrators. This group is small, claiming 2,500 nationally (an exaggeration), and has chapters at a few high schools and universities. Strongest in California, it achieves most of its effect through publicized use of guilt by denunciation.

Activity on the campus is a reflection—sometimes a caricature—of the national scene. Students are, I think, as poorly organized and ill-prepared for political action as their fellows in other fields, but the period of awakening does seem closer at hand on the campuses than elsewhere. Perhaps I am the perpetual optimist, but that's how it looks to me.

Socialist Club at Minnesota U. Wins Victory

MINNEAPOLIS

The Socialist Club at the University of Minnesota recently won a victory for free speech, when it succeeded in bringing to the university campus a speaker from an organization on the attorney-general's so-called "subversive" list. Mrs. Elizabeth Moos of the National Council for Soviet-American Friendship was granted permission to speak and to show a film on the Soviet Union to the club on March 30.

The university's decision to grant approval for Mrs. Moos to speak was

hailed by Socialist Club officers. David Herreshoff, secretary, said: "It is a very bright spot in what so far has been a very gloomy year for freedom of conscience. It is an indication that the university can maintain itself as a defender of the right to dissent." Howard Peterson, president of the club, added, "We are not backing everything shown or said. We are just making it possible for her to talk. . . ."

The meeting was attended by 150 students who joined in a spirited discussion after the talk. C. J.



Stumbling from one crisis to another, brandishing the fearsome atomic weapons, the administration foreign policy may explode into war unless a peace movement big enough to deter it arises in the U.S.

At the Crossroads:

Hell Bombs Or Peace

by **George Clarke**

THE DISCUSSION in this country about the Hell bomb is being carried on way up in the clouds of fate. It is presented in apocalyptic terms as though man were reduced to his primitive condition without knowledge or power to deal with forces beyond his control. Only a miracle, one would conclude, now can save mankind from the thermonuclear holocaust that can cause total destruction in an area of 50 square miles, burn to the ground everything within an area of 800 square miles, in one blow extinguish a city the size of New York. What is that miracle? Not escape, because it is impossible to evacuate in time a city the size of New York. Not dispersal because the cost of relocating the vast industrial and population centers would bankrupt even a country as wealthy as ours. It is merely the hope that man will not destroy himself.

Over that hope the *N. Y. Times* puts the mystical question mark: "Will the human genius that opened the secret of the atom be able to master it?"

This is the talk of the 20th Century witch-doctors. Its moral level is far lower than that of the primitive type who, while exploiting the ignorance of his people, himself lived in terror of unknown natural forces. The H-bomb is not God. For all its incredibly destructive power, it is a man-made weapon; it is not fate but mortal man who has the power to pull the trigger. The question the witch-doctors are trying to keep from the American people, but is already being asked from England to India to Japan, is not whether the effects of the H-bomb are beyond human control. It is whether those who now control the H-bomb are beyond the control of the people.

EVER SINCE the first A-bomb exploded in Hiroshima these men have been out of control. They have been able to direct the foreign policy of the country on its disastrous course without serious opposition from the people. Preoccupied with the problems of daily life and family security, the average person had little time for foreign policy. Whether it went well or badly, America's monopoly of the A-bomb removed all cause for serious concern. By the time the Russians had broken this monopoly, the people had been so drugged or intimidated by the anti-communist hysteria, that the bomb could be presented as a necessary evil in a justified struggle for survival.

Now a new illusion is being fostered that we can avoid war by replacing our monopoly in the dread weapon with superiority in destructive power. No one can say that this was established by the March 1 Bikini blast although its radioactive dust burned Japanese fishermen 80 miles from the scene, although its force was greater than the Eniwetok explosion of November 2, 1952 which wiped out an island one mile long and a quarter-mile wide, dug a hole into the ocean floor a mile long and 175 feet deep, created an explosive fireball 3½ miles in diameter. What has been established is the doubt whether we or anyone can survive at all—win or lose—if the so-called struggle for survival against communism is actually precipitated. Thus the Hell bomb has brought the foreign policy of the government into every home in the nation. Unless this policy is rejected from stem to stern it will return to these self-same homes in thermonuclear form to incinerate structure and occupants into radioactive dust.

Some ten days before Admiral Strauss revealed the scope of the Bikini blast, Secretary of State Dulles hurled a new threat against China, and in fact against all of Asia. He said in effect that Southeast Asia had become as much of an American sphere of influence as the hemisphere covered by the Monroe Doctrine. America intended to intervene directly on the side of French imperialism in Indo-China if China came in on the side of the Vietminh forces. We would also intervene if there were any danger of the "imposition on Southeast Asia of the political system of communist Russia and its Chinese communist ally, by whatever means. . . ." Coupled with a renewed refusal to recognize China, this statement was designed to blow sky-high the forthcoming Geneva conference and to announce America's eventual military entry into Indo-

China regardless of what the French decide to do. This comes at the very moment the world is crying out with horror at the H-bomb, pleading with us to destroy the terrible thing, at least to stop the "tests."

THEY MIGHT AS WELL be talking to a stone. For the foreign policy of the Wall Street-Pentagon gang that was out to "lead" and to "liberate"—and to dominate—the world, whether it wanted it or not, has been headed straight for crisis. The crisis is peace. Since the time Eisenhower took office his foreign policy has been running into one dilemma after another. From its first day in office it has been putting the "new look" on the Truman Doctrine which landed us in the Korean war and almost into war with China. Inside of one year we have gone—in words—from "rollback" to "massive retaliation." But while the words were getting hotter all the time, life itself was thawing out the cold war.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the outstanding foreign policy act of the Eisenhower administration has been the cease-fire in Korea. It was a bad way to launch the "crusade against communism." The European coalition which had been held together by the imminence of war got the scent of peace and began to loosen up. At this inopportune moment Stalin died. His successors seized the occasion for a diplomatic offensive to relax world tensions. Proposals, trade offers, requests for meetings and negotiations literally rained down on the West.

The Russians wanted an end to the "cold war," and since this coincided exactly with the wishes of America's West European allies, they were not to be put off by Dulles' monotonously repeated charge of "insincerity." Dulles found himself maneuvering less with the Russians than with his own allies. To scotch Winston Churchill's grand plan for a meeting of the Big Three, Dulles had to go to Berlin. His sole aim there was to parry any Russian offers for a world-wide settlement and get France to join a German-led European army. But before he could

achieve this aim, he was compelled to agree to a conference at Geneva to talk with China about Korea and Indo-China. Thus with the European army as far from realization as ever, Dulles was to find himself face to face with the recognition of China and its entry into the U.N. Once that occurred, of course, a question mark was placed over the "cold war."

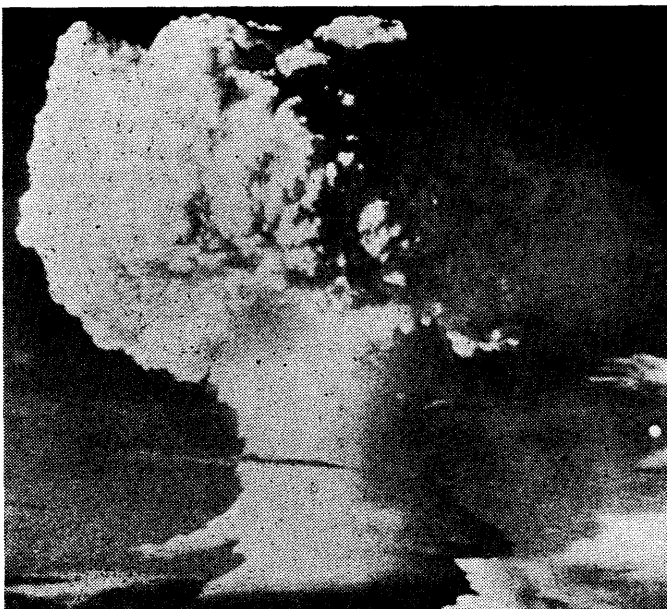
Meanwhile, back in this country, there began to emerge a trend of thought among top business circles which might be called "the return to normalcy." They were disillusioned with the results of the Korean war, and with the strategy that inspired it. Without ever coming to grips with their main enemy, Russia—nor even with China—the war was costing billions of dollars; there was a constantly mounting national debt, an ever greater burden of taxes; the high level of employment left little room for shifting the war burden to the people by attacks on labor's standard of living. Once the Korean war was stopped the Big Business administration lost no time in beginning to unravel the war economy and cutting costs. The military budget was substantially reduced; there was even talk of effecting economies by withdrawing troops from Europe. Wilson scoffed at any immediate dangers of a Soviet attack, scolded the newspapers for "atom-rattling." Eisenhower attributed the recession to conversion to a peacetime economy.

DULLES RATIONALIZED the trend by putting a "new look" on the foreign policy: We would retire behind the threat of "massive retaliation" and stop chasing revolutions and communism around the world on battlefields of their choosing. Nobody quite knew what the "new look" signified concretely, and the bumbling, self-contradictory explanations of Eisenhower, Nixon and Wilson brought a roar of laughter around the world. There were, however, certain clear implications in Dulles' pronouncement that could not be avoided.

1. Either the United States was prepared by massive atomic retaliation to turn the first new "Korea" into world war, or it was not going to fight any more such wars until it got ready for the big showdown. 2. If the United States were to shift to massive retaliation, then its major concern would be with strategic bases from which the dread weapons could be launched, and the system of alliances would lose its primary importance.

The major effect of the new State Department policy, although hardly so intended, was to give the impression that the administration had no new moves to keep the "cold war" going (beyond the endless game of hide-and-seek with reluctant allies in Europe), that it did not view world war as imminent. The unraveling process, starting at home, was feeding the tendency in the rest of the world to arrive at some sort of *modus vivendi* with the Soviet bloc. In fact, with Eden at Berlin seeking piecemeal settlements for Europe, and with Bidault looking to Geneva for a settlement in Asia, the process was well advanced. For all the demonic hydrogen explosions in the Pacific, we have been closer in the last few months to the end of the "cold war" than at any time since it began some seven years ago.

The situation was made to order for a U.S. peace party. The "anti-communist crusade" had run into a



hundred difficulties, it was vulnerable from every side; its end-result, the obliteration of civilization—including our own—was not only clearly visible but openly proclaimed as the only real means for “victory.” The peoples of the very “free world” we insist on “leading” are up in arms against the suicidal program of the Wall Street-Pentagon gang. We have to subject the French to a new Nazi-led German army, and the Asians to a revived Japanese militarism to keep the coalition from falling apart. We would have to maintain a huge fleet to enforce the blockade against East-West trade.

The time was opportune for strong voices to speak out for peace, negotiations, trade, recognition of China, for friendship to the colonial revolutions, for an end to the insanity of trying to destroy the regime that prevails in one-third the world over 800 million people without being ourselves destroyed in the process.

UNFORTUNATELY, there is as yet no such peace party; the labor movement, the liberal and opposition forces are still being led by a war party, the Democrats. We leave to the Communist Party the speculation that at some future time under some unforeseen circumstances, the Democratic Party may alter its essentially Big Business approach to foreign affairs. The facts show that the idea of an anti-communist coalition and eventually an anti-communist war took shape and developed under a Democratic administration, that the first small fires of the big conflagration were lit in Korea by Truman himself, that the Democratic Party is still firmly wedded to this program.

It is true that the Democratic war policy has assumed the form of a kind of social imperialism which distinguishes them from the Republicans—but this only makes it more pernicious. The “containment doctrine” geared in perfectly with the domestic political needs of the Democrats. Since the country had always to be prepared to stop aggression somewhere in the world, there were always billions for military expenditures to take up any lag in the peacetime economy. The Democrats had become the party of reform-and-war as distinguished from the Republican policy which is rapidly leaving behind the Taft policy of reaction-without-war and uniting under the Eisenhower-McCarthy doctrine of reaction-and-war.

The Democratic policy came a cropper during the Korean war when the people discovered they had to pay too much in lives and blood for the inflated prosperity. But the Democrats, stung into silence by accusations of failure, by the people’s “ingratitude,” didn’t change. They found their opportunity for a comeback in the conspicuous failures of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy, in its wild gyrations from one slogan to another. It was a major attack, but an attack intended to vindicate themselves from the charges of “treason” or “softness to communists,” to clear themselves of sole responsibility for the blood of Americans in Korea, to reinstate the infamous “containment doctrine.”

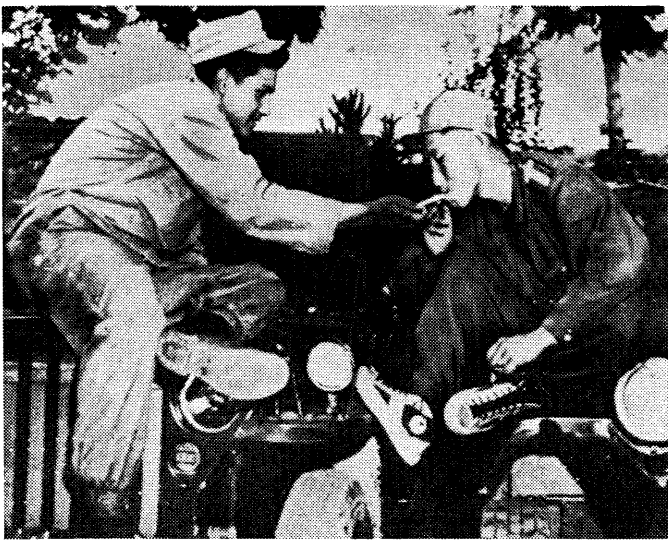
Stuart Symington, ranking Senate Democrat, charged that the “new look” was weakening America’s air power, a speech undoubtedly appreciated by the aircraft manufacturers. Stevenson followed with a major address in which he asked: “Are we leaving ourselves the choice

of inaction or thermonuclear holocaust?” They did not have long to wait for their little victory; although Dulles could not have hoped for more had he planned it that way. As we predicted in the last issue (“Will Indo-China Be a New Korea?” *American Socialist*, April 1954), Indo-China was to give him the opportunity to climb out of the hole, to satisfy the Democrats by a “conventional” Korean-type intervention today, in order to prepare tomorrow for his own breed of madness, “massive retaliation.” As we predicted too, the Democratic applause was not long delayed. Senator Douglas urged the administration “not to wait” but to be prepared to dispatch “the army to resist communism again in Asia” for which he promised the president his full support. Congressional Democratic leaders issued no statements but made it quite clear that once the administration took the plunge, they would accept their share of the responsibility; they boasted that it was only an “extension of a policy already well known to the Democrats. . . .”

THE MAGNITUDE of an American involvement in Indo-China is incalculable. There can be no Indo-Chinese war in the conventional sense of the term, with armies brought into position and decisive battles fought to victory or defeat. Against a people in arms, the foreign invader is in the position of constantly putting out the brush fires that threaten to burn down his isolated, defensive outposts. Hanson Baldwin, *N. Y. Times* military specialist, admits that the famous plan of General Navarre which, with increased American aid and armies of native Vietnamese, was to bring the war to a victorious end in 1955, has turned into another military pipe-dream. Walter Lippmann says that the best the white man can hope for is to maintain his control over the big cities and he had better be content with that. In other words, the best outlook for the imperialists is an endless continuation of the conflict.

Even this conservative outlook, however, is fast becoming as much a pipe-dream as General Navarre’s plan. The French are becoming increasingly incapable of holding the front in Indo-China as France itself is war-weary and is now united, with the exception of a small pro-American party, in its determination to put an end to the hopeless struggle. On the other side, the Vietminh rebels have established a powerful political and military position in the country. Part of this is due to aid received from China, but only monumental hypocrites like Eisenhower and Dulles, speaking for a government paying 78 percent of the cost of a colonial expedition some 8,000 miles from the United States, can become indignant at China giving assistance to the people’s side of a civil war going on across its border. Those are the facts. The question is who will now man the defenses for imperialism in Indo-China? For this Dulles has two alternate plans, both equally bad, both certain to lead to disastrous consequences.

The first has the high-sounding name of “united action.” But even Dulles knows that there is little chance after the Korean experience, which aroused a storm of opposition in the Western countries, of getting them to send token forces this time. His one source of manpower is the counter-revolutionary Chinese army of Chiang Kai-shek



TWO SOLDIERS: Waiting during truce negotiations in Korea, 1951, unidentified GI lights a cigarette for a North Korean soldier, forming symbolic tableau of the amity of peoples.

now stationed in Formosa. But even granted that he could get assent for this plan from Britain, France and other Western nations who have been eagerly seeking trade relations with the Peiping regime, such a move must inevitably precipitate China's direct entry into the Indo-China war. It would be the brazen provocation designed to furnish the pretext Dulles so fanatically desires of putting America at war with China.

The second plan, which is being juggled like a red-hot coal, is the dispatch of American troops. For all of the servility of the Democrats, no politician views this proposition with any relish. Some of them, already assenting, are nervously making conditions: no troops unless Indo-China is granted independence by the French; no American troops unless other nations also furnish manpower. But neither of these conditions will make the war any more acceptable to a people who threw Truman out of office to stop the killing of Americans in Korea. That is why such a war would have to be rapidly extended to China itself so as to present a "threat to the nation" which alone might temporarily offset the furious resentment at being bogged down and murdered to save a doomed outpost on the periphery of Asia.

ALL THE ROADS of American diplomacy lead to China; no problem can any longer be resolved without resolving the Chinese problem. Will the road enter China by the portals of peace or by the hell-gate of hydrogen bomb extermination? There is the fatal question the American people cannot much longer evade.

Without going back to a history of the imperialist rivalries over China that began with the British opium wars in the mid-19th Century, we can begin merely with the outset of World War II to trace the decisive significance China has had on America's world policy.

The chief immediate cause for our entry into World War II was Washington's refusal to accept Japanese rule over China. Pearl Harbor followed quickly after Roosevelt's ultimatum to the Mikado in 1941 to get out of China. In due course, American arms triumphed in the

Pacific. But looking back over the events, foreign policy experts now consider it all a ghastly mistake. Japan's defeat created a power vacuum not only in China but throughout Southeast Asia which America could not fill. Into that vacuum rushed a titanic revolutionary movement for liberation from all the old colonial rulers, British, French, Dutch, and spilled over to crush the feudal, landowning satraps of foreign imperialism. The source of the "mistake" that led to the Chinese revolution is not any "appeasement of Chinese Communists" in 1946, but must be traced to the defeat of Japan in war. That mistake is admitted in fact today by Washington's determination to re-arm Japan, even against the opposition of the Japanese people. It was also admitted more recently by Eisenhower himself who cried out in anguish that the loss of Indo-China would oblige Japan to turn its major commercial attentions to Communist China. What is the significance of these admissions, if not that? Thus to "save the free world" we must maintain the empires of the British and the French, and reestablish one for the Japanese and possibly the Germans later on.

THE COMING TO POWER in 1949 of the Chinese Communists left no middle ground for foreign policy—either world peace or world war. It was this dilemma that torpedoed the Truman regime, and it will blow up the Eisenhower-Dulles regime unless they blow all of us up first. Up to the Chinese Revolution, the cocky "containment" doctrine, which was based on Marshall Plan dollars, atom-bomb diplomacy and hopes that the Soviet regime would eventually crumble from within, seemed to work. But its sphere of operations was limited to a relatively small area—two-thirds of Europe. It was patently ludicrous, however, to continue speaking of "containment" after China went Red. The establishment of the Soviet bloc over the huge Eurasian land mass, governed by a similar political and economic regime, bound together by trade and treaty, was a new fact that turned the old world upside down, upset the most sacred of military and diplomatic notions about Occident and Orient, exerted an irresistible power of attraction on some parts of the world and set into motion forces of disintegration in others.

Charged with "treason," facing the collapse of plans in the West because of the new relationship of forces in the East, Truman in an impotent rage tried out his "containment" policy on Korea. Together with the messianic general, Douglas MacArthur, he quickly discovered that to win they would also have to "contain" China—and the rest of the world roared with alarm lest they make the same discovery about Russia too. The Korean war was supposed to cement the "unity of the free world" as never before. It did just the opposite. Bleeding, devastated Korea became the image of their own future, and big neutralist tides, straining the anti-communist alliance to the breaking point, have been sweeping through Western Europe ever since.

The emergence of a noncapitalist China creates in the sphere of economics what Arthur Krock called, when speaking about the H-bomb in the field of weapons, a "discontinuity of history." For the first time in centuries, China is a united nation with a common market, a stable

currency. In place of chaos, warlords, bandits, imperialist concessions, there is state aid to industry and agriculture, planning, industrialization, modern science and technology. Although progress is still slow, it has already become a shining light to all the peoples of Asia. Eventually, the economic complex of Russia, Eastern Europe and China will become an economic colossus. That is bad news for the "captains of industry" and the lords of finance. But if we may ask a blasphemous question: What of it?

America has laid down an economic blockade of China and coerced its Western allies into accepting it. But the blockade will not hold. Not only because China is too big for it to be effective, but because the world market is too small for all the competing tradesmen in the capitalist world. It is true that trade will in the end build up a fearsome socialist competitor, but the hungry businessmen of all the capitalist countries, excepting only the United States, no longer have a free choice. Moreover, the same compulsion that leads to trade with China exists with regard to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Reciprocity between the three zones makes any attempt to discriminate among them strictly foolish. The thirst for trade has become more compelling and lucrative to America's allies than military orders. Under these compulsions, the China policy, most sacred precept of the State Department, is breaking down.

THE DESTINY of the entire Asian continent is now being increasingly determined by the existence of a powerful noncapitalist China. There was plenty of hysteria in Eisenhower's appeal to the American people not to become hysterical over what he called the grave turn of events in Southeast Asia. The problem is indeed a grave one—for imperialism. South Korea cannot indefinitely be maintained against a North Korea backed by China. Japan cannot be kept from trading with its most natural trading outlet even though Eisenhower gratuitously offers the Japanese the French patrimony in Indo-China. Ceylon, finding a glut on the world raw materials markets, has

been selling its rubber to Peiping. And it is true enough that China will become an ever greater magnet for the landless peasants of the Malayan archipelago from Indonesia to the Philippines. All of this now is in the tides of history. It can be arrested only by burning the hydrogen ball of flame over the entire Pacific. But everyone now knows there is only One World united, not yet for progress, but already for disaster. When bombs fall in Asia, they will fall too in Europe—and in America.

This is the terrible warning that cries out to the imperialist adventurers of the State Department as they stand at the cross-roads today of their foreign policy. The perils are so great that French and British capitalist statesmen, goaded by a furious outcry of their peoples, have been urging restraint. All of this may well turn out to be diplomatic expedients to go through an empty performance at the Geneva conference and to gain time until the approaching monsoon season in Indo-China is over. If in the meantime American pressure on the venal French government has succeeded in prevailing upon them to "internationalize" the war, that is, to turn its direction over to the U.S., then in a matter of months we shall be face to face with the danger of the series of reckless steps that will lead to the fatal plunge. It was this fear that led the British Labor Party to voice the popular protest at America detonating the "uncontrolled" bomb without consultation, and then to demand that the top statesmen meet to search the possibilities for peace.

We would do well here to echo that protest against hydrogen bomb irresponsibility, that demand for peace. We would do well to demand that the people whose lives are at stake be permitted to vote on whether this or any government shall be permitted to employ such weapons. For we too, like our still unmanageable rulers, stand at this crossroad, and one of the signs points to an end of the cold war and then eventually to peace.

Politics, the politics of opposition to the mad war-seeking foreign policy, can alone master the secret of the deadly atom. That and nothing else.

"Joe Must Go" Movement Catches On

MILWAUKEE

A SPONTANEOUS movement to force the recall of Senator McCarthy is spreading like wildfire through the state of Wisconsin. It began with an offhand editorial suggestion by the Republican editor of a small-town weekly paper. The idea was caught up by others throughout the state and soon the "Joe Must Go" movement was a force to be reckoned with.

Despite lack of formal organization and fund shortage, about 200,000 signatures, almost half the required total, have been collected at this time (April 11). After a period of hesitation, the labor movement gave the drive its support.

The McCarthyites seem shaken by the power of the movement. They have not been able to launch a counter-offensive, and are appealing to the courts to rule the petition illegal since McCarthy holds federal office and

recall is a state constitutional provision. Even if the courts rule in McCarthy's favor, there is no doubt that the recall movement will succeed in deflating the myth that McCarthy is truly representative of the people of the state.

Further proof of McCarthy's unpopularity came in the recent judicial elections in Milwaukee County. A number of Republican ward politicians, rewarded by Governor Kohler with judgeships, had to run for election for the remainder of their terms. Traditionally, such appointees are elected without much trouble, but in this case they were defeated by decisive margins, and it is generally agreed that the fact that these three were identified with McCarthy aided in their defeat. The judge most prominent as a McCarthy supporter didn't get past the primaries.

The labor movement carried the main burden of the campaign to beat these judges, thus once more showing the potential power of the unions in politics. B. H.

Many spokesmen for capitalism admit that the system is doomed if it can't find a way to prevent depressions. Some think that British economist J. M. Keynes found the answer. But Keynesian economics deals mainly with effects rather than basic causes, and its "solutions" raise more problems than they solve.

Can They Really Cure Depression?

by Harry Braverman

THE SLUMP in the economy and the resulting unemployment have gone deep enough that most people have stopped asking "Will there be a recession?" and have begun to ask "What is to be done?"

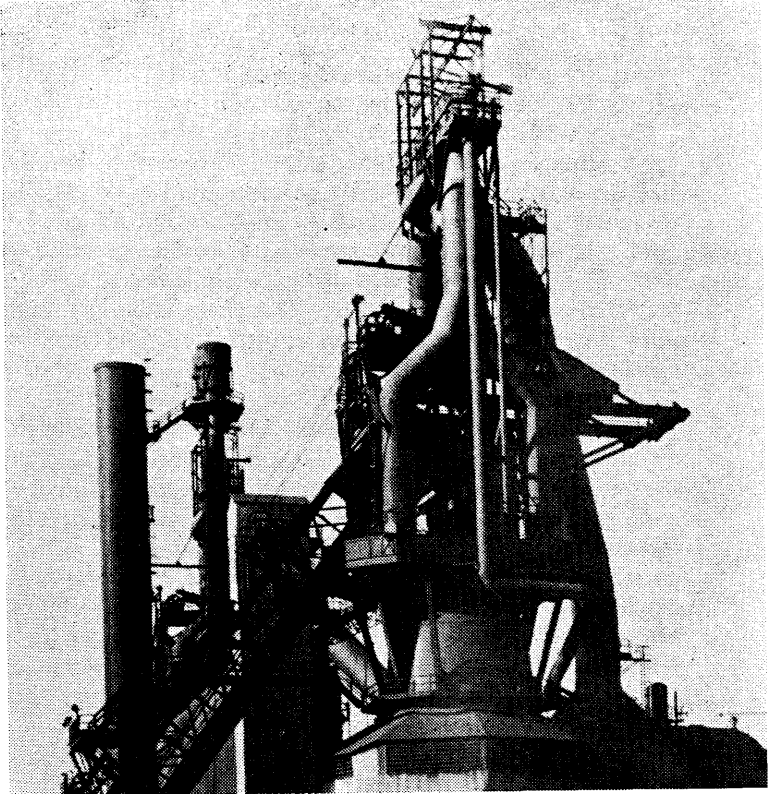
Eyes have turned toward the thrones of the high and mighty, where sit Eisenhower and his Cadillac Cabinet. In that quarter, the basic idea seems to be to keep any government action to a minimum. At least in part, this attitude seems to come from the administration view, openly advocated by some of its chief economists, that the business cycle is a necessity, and that a certain amount of slump is needed to prepare a new stabilization of business. It also comes from a more fundamental cause: a feeling of helplessness in the face of the basic trends of capitalism.

The Eisenhower-General Motors program boils down to a gesture in the direction of consumer purchasing power and a considerably larger program of aid to Big Business. It cannot be said that this program has raised any great huzzahs outside of the Republican National Committee. It doesn't even go as far as the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Development, a leading organization of top capitalists.

But while Eisenhower is not generally taken too seriously—people feel that if there is an upturn it won't come as a result of his policy—there are others that claim to know how to set things right. It is very common these days to hear or to read that "there is no longer any need to have depressions under capitalism because we've learned all about depressions and how to stop them in the last 20 years."

One of the reasons for the rapid growth of anti-Eisenhower bitterness is just this feeling. It seems criminal, if you know just what to do, to fail to act. This view was expressed, for example, by Michigan economist Kenneth Boulding:

It would be a singular irony if at the moment when the understanding of the capitalist system has advanced to the point where it could quite easily be established on a virtually permanent basis, the ignorance of its supposed friends should destroy it. (Review of Economics & Statistics, November 1953)



THE BASIC IDEAS of this school of thinking come from John Maynard Keynes, the British economist who died in 1946. He was the key figure in what came to be known as the "Keynesian revolution" in orthodox capitalist economics. Before 1936, all capitalist economics held to the theory that there could be no such thing as serious or prolonged "involuntary unemployment." Their notion was simple and simple-minded. The wage rate, they said, would always tend to adjust itself so that everybody who really wanted to work could get a job. If there were some unemployed, wages would fall and those out of work would be offered jobs at the lower rate. If some refused to take those jobs, they would be "voluntarily unemployed." But, by and large over the long run, the total manpower of the country, outside of the "lazy and shiftless," would be employed.

Before Keynes, all capitalist economists theorized that serious depressions, or large-scale "under-utilization" of the nation's resources, could not happen. Here again the reasoning was simple. Every sale of goods, they thought, implies a purchase, because it puts money into the hands of the seller which he would use at the next stage to buy something. Thus the circulation of goods, services, labor and money in the economy could never really be ruptured in a serious way.

That all of this was in complete contradiction to the facts of life didn't make any difference to the economists. If depressions came along, they were either disregarded, or explained away as a temporary dislocation. It took the giant crisis of the Thirties to bring about a break in the ranks of the capitalist economists. Keynes opened his "General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" with a rejection of these old capitalist theories, although he still held to the basic tenets of the past in all other respects. Principally, he never questioned the notion that

capitalism will continue forever as an economic system; this is the foundation stone of all capitalist economics.

Keynes advanced the view that depressions are caused by a disparity between saving and investment. Simply stated, what he said was that the community saves ("fails to spend") a certain part of its income. But all of the saving is not necessarily compensated by investment for new plant and equipment, thus leaving a shortage of "effective demand" in the market. The chain is broken, and only intervention by an outside force can prevent this break, or mend it quickly after it happens.

UNLIKE the Marxist system of economics which is scientific and objective in every respect, Keynes started with supposed traits of people instead of with the basic traits of the system. He thought he had discovered certain laws of behavior which people follow and which cause depressions. For example the first "fundamental psychological law" (his words) was the "propensity to consume." People consume a part of their incomes and save the rest. But if their incomes rise, they consume a smaller part and save a larger part. In other words, the "propensity to consume" does not rise as fast as income. This sets the stage for depression. Investment should rise at a faster rate than income to make up for the bigger percentage of savings, but it often doesn't.

Keynes then turned to investment, which is the weak link in the chain of business activity. Here too, he decided that the psychological side is the starting point. The level of investment depends, in the last analysis, upon the rate of interest, and the rate of interest "is a highly psychological phenomenon," in his words. It depends upon a complex of fears and expectations about the future.

Having said this much, however, Keynes then went off on a new tack. He found the causes of depression in results that come from "psychological laws," but—unlike other subjective economists—he didn't propose to tinker with the "psychology" of people. He assumed that the psychological "propensities" can't be changed, and turned elsewhere.

First, he proposed manipulation of the rate of interest through monetary policy. The rate of interest, said Keynes, has been too high, and thus capitalists are deterred from borrowing money for expansion. It should be lowered to raise the demand for investment funds on the part of the capitalists. They will want to borrow more money to expand their businesses because it won't cost them much to borrow and that will make the expansion worthwhile.

Keynes came to the startling conclusion that, in the long run, in order to ensure full employment, the rate of interest would very likely have to fall to zero, and the class of people that lives on the interest of lent money (the so-called "rentiers") be eliminated entirely.

HOWEVER, as a long run proposition, he did not have too much faith in manipulations of the rate of interest alone. He proceeded to add the following significant proposition: "I conceive, therefore, that a somewhat comprehensive socialization of investment will prove the only means of securing an approximation to full employment. . . ." ("General Theory," p. 378)

What this means is that, in Keynes' opinion the govern-



John Maynard Keynes, the British economist, once said: "In the long run, we will all be dead." Keynes is already safely dead, but for the living, depressions remain a major problem.

ment would have to take over the right to dispose of the profits of industry, making the choice as to how much to invest and where to invest. From this, it is clear that full Keynesian methods have never even been approached by any capitalist government, nor is there any sign of a trend in that direction.

Now if we turn from this review to consider the present situation and the programs advocated by various groups, we get a surprising result. The fact is that, although the very general term "Keynesianism" is extremely popular with many of the labor leaders, particularly in the CIO, and with liberal Democrats of the ADA type, none of them advocate his actual program.

The liberals and labor leaders have a vague notion that "Keynesianism" means that the people have too little money to buy goods, and that a redistribution of income can give the people buying power and thus prevent a depression. In reality, this high wage theory is incomplete and faulty. The main merit of high wages is that they permit the worker to exist and to maintain or raise his standard of living. For this reason, workers want, and should fight for, higher wages and a better living standard *at all times*, during prosperity or depression. If the capitalist system stands in the way of a rising standard of living, it is the system, and not the standard of living, that must suffer. That's why the fight for higher wages and a better standard of living leads directly to the fight for a new social order.

But, from a solid economic point of view, there is no reason to suppose that higher wages can avert depressions. The reason is very simple: You may possibly push back a depression by giving the consumers more purchasing power at the expense of the capitalists, but, on the other hand, while you are doing this you are at the same time lowering the capitalists' rate of profit and thus multiplying the pressures that tend to reduce investment. If you want a demonstration of that, just consider that every depression is normally preceded by a period during which wages rise. All this is no reason why workers shouldn't get higher wages, but merely a demonstration of the impossibility of curing the basic self-contradictions of capitalism within the framework of the system.

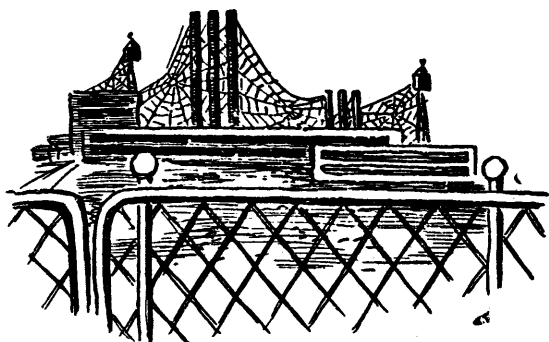
THE PRO-CAPITALISM labor leaders who think they are "Keynesians" in advocating higher wages as a cure for depressions would be amazed if they had an idea of what Keynes really said. In his theory, the first line of defense against depression should consist of public spending which has the aim of offsetting "hoarding" in the economy. That is the meaning of the proposals for

public works often made in his name. But he made it very specifically clear that, in his opinion, this public spending would fail if wages were permitted to rise in the process. Wages "should be maintained as stable as possible," he wrote.

In fact it was considered by Keynes to be an essential of his system that, even if the real wages of the workers were falling slightly, because of rising prices, they should continue to work without attempting to raise the wage level. If they refused to work because their real wages had fallen a little, then they could be considered as "voluntarily unemployed," and as such beyond the help of Keynesian economics! If there is ever a genuine attempt to put Keynesian theories into operation in this country, which is very doubtful, labor will immediately face a battle with the government over the wage issue, and will get a very rude awakening about "Keynesianism."

But more important are the basic fallacies of the Keynesian system itself. We do not have the space, in this brief article, to set forth the socialist explanation of the cause of depressions in full form. For our present purposes, let us just say this: It is true, as Keynes found, that depressions grip the capitalist nations because the rate of new investment falls below the gap left in the economy by the shortage of consumer spending. What he never understood was the forces in capitalism which produce this gap. His "psychological law" of a declining "propensity to consume," etc., is the purest superficiality. All that it says is that people act that way because they act that way. In reality, the basic cause of this gap is an inherent tendency of the capitalist system to expand the forces of production as though the sky were the limit, while expanding the consuming power of the nation in a relatively limited way.

THUS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM needs an ever-larger arena for investment, but at the same time it keeps the arena of consumption limited in such a way that every so often—and this "every so often" gets oftener and more severe—the expansion of investment collapses. On the other hand, attempts to broaden the consuming power of the people in order to keep the economy going are not feasible within the capitalist system because they bring on the collapse from the opposite side: the rate of profit, and thus the inducement to invest suffers.



THE CAPACITY TO PRODUCE DOES NOT ALONE ASSURE CONTINUOUS FULL EMPLOYMENT

Here is a little analogy. Try to imagine a machine which is peculiar in one respect: it must grow bigger as it runs. Not only must it grow, but the various parts of the machine grow at different rates. It is as though, in your electric mixer, one gear wheel were growing faster than the other with which it meshes, or the drive shaft were growing faster than the rigid frame. Such a machine would be sure to slow down, jam, break down from time to time.

That is a very rough analogy, but it serves to highlight a basic point. The capitalist system, by its very operation, produces basic disproportions within itself. Marxists call these the "contradictions" of the capitalist system.

Now if these contradictions cut deeper than the mere oversupply of investment funds, if the very operation of the capitalist system tends to produce this oversupply, then the recommendations of Keynes for a "socialization of investment" have to cut far deeper than might appear at first glance. The state would have to control the entire sum of profits over and above what the capitalists will use for their own consumption. It would have to determine how high those profits should be permitted to go. It would have to determine the rate of growth of the nation's productive system in accord with the level of profits that it is ready to reinvest. It would have to determine just what branches of the economy these new investments should go into. Thus in general it would have to determine the distribution of wealth and the distribution of surplus in the entire economy.

Some may say: "Why is all that necessary? Granted that things get lopsided and tend to collapse, why can't the state step in with just enough investment to make up the deficiency until things begin to pick up again?"

Well, that's been done. I said before that Keynesianism has never been tried, but strictly speaking that is not so. Expenditures for war can be considered a form of Keynesianism. Not one which he advocated, it is true. He really thought his proposals would weaken the drive toward war, but instead the drive toward war produced the only form of real Keynesianism that has yet been seen.

NOW OF COURSE, arms spending in the end leads to war itself. But let us leave that aside and concentrate on this issue: Can the state get by with a limited investment program? We can clearly see the answer in what is happening in the present situation in the U.S. The armament sector is really huge. It guarantees almost 20 percent of the economic structure. But we all know what happened to the other 80 percent of the economy when the arms sector stopped growing.

It is a smashing fact that the present slump started not because the arms sector was cut, but before that, when the arms sector stopped growing and was stabilized on a stationary level. The whole point here is that, even with a 20 percent Keynesianism (in war form), the rest of the economy, operating according to the laws of capitalism, begins to slide unless the war sector keeps growing. And what is true of a war sector would be just as true of a public works sector. In theory, and there is no reason to believe the theory wrong, the war or state sector of the economy would have to keep growing until it took in the major part of the whole system, if not almost all of it!

So the Keynesians find themselves, in the end, face to face with precisely the situation that I outlined, which calls for basic state domination of the main forces of the entire economy.

There is a mistaken impression that capitalism is gradually moving toward some forms of Keynesianism, toward a "welfare" state. That is not true. The height of the "welfare" activities of the state under capitalism was reached, in every country, many years ago, and since then the trend has been away from the "welfare" and toward the "warfare" state. In a previous article ("Will the Brakes Hold?" *American Socialist*, February 1954) I quoted a very significant comment from the capitalist viewpoint contained in the February 12, 1949 *Business Week* magazine. It is worth repeating:

There's a tremendous social and economic difference between welfare pump priming and military pump priming. . . . Military spending doesn't really alter the structure of the economy. It goes through the regular channels. As far as a business man is concerned, a munitions order from the government is much like an order from a private customer. But . . . welfare and public works spending . . . does alter the economy. It makes new channels of its own. It creates new institutions. It redistributes income. It shifts demand from one industry to another. It changes the whole economic pattern.

If the liberals don't understand the difference between welfare and warfare spending, and don't see why the capitalist state will undertake one but not the other, the capitalists certainly do, as this remark shows. That's why, in all the peacetime years they were in office, sixteen years out of twenty from Roosevelt to Truman, the government spent only about as much on any form of "welfare" as was spent in only the last two years on armaments.

THE MAIN MISTAKE that Keynes made when he set forth his platform is that he thought "smartness" alone is enough. He thought our troubles under capitalism came about because nobody had figured out the problem and set forth the remedy. He didn't understand that the rich and dominant capitalist class has no intention of taking his advice and getting any "smarter." They have only a single purpose: to defend their position. As things got worse under capitalism, instead of becoming more reasonable they have become more and more determined to keep society in its present form, even if they have to try to use police regimes, fascism, the H-bomb, and every other form of violence to do so. So that, as we have seen in the 18 years since Keynes wrote his book, the tendency of almost all capitalist governments has not been toward Keynes but in the other direction. Today, in the U.S., even the most liberal of politicians doesn't dare to advocate the one-fiftieth part of what Keynes said would be required. The Democrats are further from Keynesianism than they ever were, and the real Keynesian program is deadlier than the dodo.

Now let's look at the problem just one more way. Assume that Keynes is right as against Marx. Assume, for the sake of argument, that Marx was too sweeping and radical, and that all that must be done is the "socialization of investment" instead of the socialization of the economy as a whole, which Marx and the socialists advocate.

The question then remains: Can the socialization of investment be accomplished without the socialization of industry? This is not a purely economic question. There is no doubt that somebody could work out a nice blueprint for socialized investment without touching private ownership of industry. But we will never see anything of that kind. The capitalist class will never give up control over its profits and their disposal, either "gradually" or all at once, so long as it retains control over industry. The power of the capitalist class is in its stranglehold, through private ownership, over the entire means of production. Barricading itself behind that power, it will resist to the end any attempt to take away control over investment. In fact, the only way to bring about even that which Keynes advocated, socialization of investment, is by the nationalization of the nation's basic industry.

EVEN IF KEYNES had hit upon a correct working solution, it is clear that before such a solution could be put into practice, the state power would have to be wrested from the hands of the controlling capitalist class by a very determined and uncompromising movement of the people. The American capitalists, who declared virtual civil war against the CIO in the industrial unionization of the Thirties, are not going to give up control over their profits and investments without a basic struggle.

So we find that what we confront is not, as Keynes imagined, a polite discussion among "all the people" in the course of which the "right things" will be decided and done. We face instead a struggle in which the future lies with the only class that has the power to do the job, the working class. Society will be set right only through such a struggle, in which the people will take control of industry out of the hands of the capitalists and vest it in themselves. And that, in a nutshell, is the program of socialism.

Keynesian economics, by its very nature, has very little interest in the long-term problems of capitalism. "In the long run," Keynes himself once wrote, "we shall all be dead." Keynes himself is already safely dead, but for the living and for the generations of tomorrow it is another matter. A Louis XIV can talk like a negligent plumber—"After me, the deluge"—but the people must, in self-defense, take a different view.

The American workers, while they may have all the illusions about "saving capitalism," are not really Keynesians in their basic outlook, because they do not depend upon "discussions" with the capitalists. They believe in fighting for their betterment. But what we have tried to point to in this article is that the fight for our rights is not a fight without a goal. If, in the fight between labor and capital, labor finds its way to victory, as in the long run it must, that victory can be spelled in only one way: Socialism.

Unquestionably, many [Senators] are quietly "subsidized" by constituent groups in the way Senator Richard Nixon was shown, during his campaign for the Vice Presidency in 1952, to have been helped.

N. Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 10, 1954

The rise of the new unionism of the CIO gave to Negro labor a solid base in its struggle for full equality. But the traditional middle-class "moderates" are still in charge of the Negro movements. How will the Negro labor militants come to the head of their race and provide the kind of leadership needed for success?

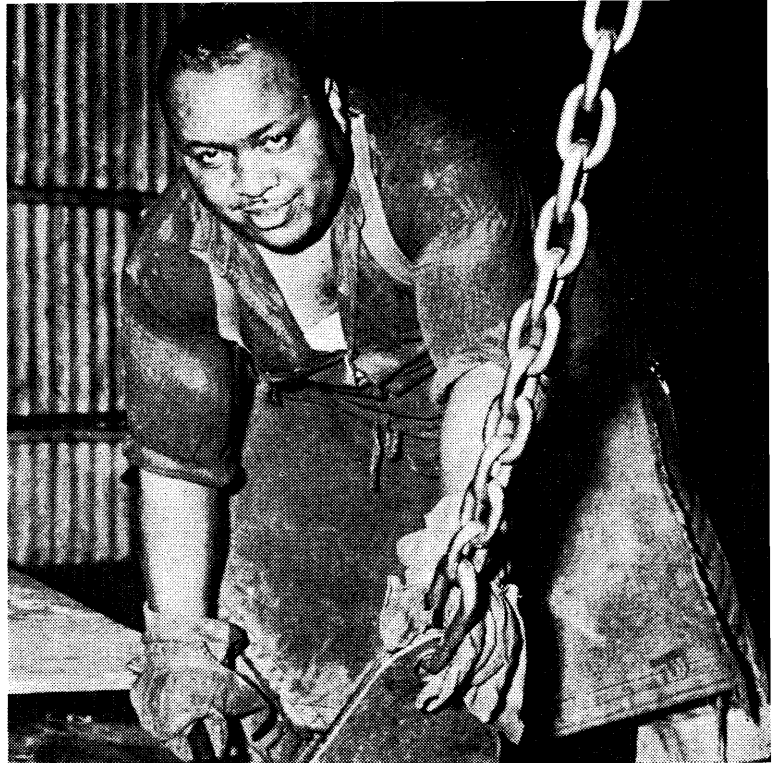
Labor and the Fight For Negro Equality

by Bert Cochran

A previous article ["Negro Labor Fights for a Square Deal," American Socialist, April 1954], described the three most important events in the advance of the struggle for full Negro equality: the rise of the CIO, the Second World War and the March-On-Washington movement of 1941.

THE VICTORY of the March-On-Washington movement, with its threat of powerful mass action, brought into being the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The CIO unions went all-out in support of the wartime FEPC, and this was undoubtedly the key factor accounting for its progress. After a certain amount of wavering and attempted buck-passing, the UAW leaders acted with courage and resolution in stamping out "hate strikes" in Detroit in 1942. After that, local and international negotiating committees fought for upgrading of Negroes and their admission into all departments, and broke down old patterns of discrimination. The aircraft industry, where in 1940 only two-tenths percent of the workers were Negroes, had 100,000 by the summer of 1944, about 6 percent of the total labor force. Even in the South some progress was made in cracking job discrimination and segregation, and most CIO locals began holding joint meetings of black and white workers. When in 1943 an epidemic of "hate strikes" hit the Timken and Hoover plants in Canton, Ohio, and the Bethlehem shipyards at Sparrows Point, Maryland, all three CIO unions involved, steel, electrical and shipbuilding, acted determinedly in enforcing a non-discrimination policy.

The activities of the CIO Packinghouse union, which is over 25 percent Negro in membership, furnish an outstanding example of how seriously many of the new unions are tackling this problem. In 1943 the union decided to conduct a self-survey with the assistance of a professional staff from Fisk University. It has attempted, in the intervening years, to cover the gap between its non-



discrimination professions and the reality. This union will not approve or service any contracts negotiated by its locals which do not contain an anti-discrimination clause. Recently, a Southern director of the union was charged with undermining the union's program by ordering Negroes in Atlanta to leave a social affair, although such affairs had previously been held there on a nonsegregated basis. The offense was deemed sufficiently serious for the top officers to press charges before the union's executive board for his removal. The union's anti-discrimination department is headed by its international vice president, who is a Negro. In this respect, Packinghouse is ahead of most other CIO unions, which have very few Negro top officers. Even in the UAW, the Reuther administration has consistently refused to make room for even one colored member on the international executive board. There are many Negro officials, however, in the local unions.

THE WHOLE CIO experience demonstrates that the membership can be educated to rid itself of old prejudices and that no insuperable barriers exist in the ranks to wiping out Jim Crow. It effectively refutes the calamity howlers, fainthearts, as well as masked white supremacists, who predicted disaster if the color bar were let down in industry. In his study, "An American Dilemma," Gunnar Myrdal wrote: "It is not even certain that the leaders of the CIO unions who are friendly to the Negroes will be able to maintain discipline respecting non-discrimination among their rank-and-file membership. . . . It is quite possible that they may have to face the alternative of

*She even thinks that up in heaven
Her class lies late and snores
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores.*

—Countee Cullen

either following the rank-and-filers' anti-Negro attitude or being exchanged for new leaders." But neither the one nor the other proved true. And very recently, in a packing plant local in the deep South, officers who carried out the nondiscrimination policy were reelected over a lily-white slate that tried to retire them from office exclusively on the race issue.

In contrast to the CIO, the record of the AFL throughout the war years was miserable. Many unions kept the color bar wherever they could, and even where they gave way, they did so grudgingly and under outside pressure. The AFL Building and Metal Trades councils utilized their closed shop agreements to exclude Negroes. During the construction of a vast ordnance plant at Milan, Tennessee, Negro carpenters, members of a colored local, were barred from employment. Negro mechanics were kept out of construction work at St. Louis, Joliet and Mobile. The Machinists union excluded Negroes in the Bethlehem shipyards at San Francisco. The AFL Metal Trades councils successfully excluded Negroes at the Todd shipyards in Richmond, California, the Tampa Shipbuilding Company in Florida, the Gulf Shipbuilding Company in Mobile. The Boilermakers, when they could not keep Negroes out, segregated them into auxiliary second class lodges.

The Machinist locals actively opposed the employment or upgrading of Negroes every place they could, and in NLRB elections often appealed to the Jim Crow prejudices of the whites. At the Boeing plant in Seattle, the local finally bent under pressure to permit Negroes in under a system of 30-day renewable work permits, with the Negroes having to pay more money into the union than the regular members, but not getting any rights in return.

The AFL appointed a representative on the FEPC, but the Negroes would have been better off without him. Frank Fenton, who was the alternate for William Green on the committee, played a wretched role throughout. At a public hearing in Chicago held by the FEPC, he expressed the view that members of minority groups should not be accepted into industrial training classes unless jobs were available for them, thus underwriting the vicious circle of discrimination that the FEPC was trying to break. In February 1944, representatives of the AFL Seafarers appeared before the Smith Committee, which was out to discredit FEPC, and lodged a complaint that a government agency was forcing white and Negro seamen to occupy quarters together aboard ship. At a Senatorial hearing for an FEPC bill, W. C. Hushing, chairman of the AFL national legislative committee, filed a statement opposing the creation of a permanent FEPC. The AFL has taken a step forward recently, and now backs the Ives-Humphrey bill for an enforceable federal law.

As of the last few years, four AFL unions continue to exclude Negroes by provisions in either their constitutions or rituals; nine others segregate Negroes; and others, like the Carpenters and Painters, who officially practice no discrimination, often force them into separate Jim Crow locals. A number, like the Electrical Workers, Plumbers, Asbestos Workers and Seafarers, usually refuse admittance to Negroes. These facts should be kept in mind whenever

anyone prattles that there are no longer any differences between the CIO and AFL.

THE "FIRST REPORT" of the Fair Employment Practices Committee recorded progress. It tabulated that in March 1942, *two years after the start of the defense program*, Negro workers constituted only 2½ to 3 percent of all workers in war production, but by November 1944, over 8 percent. Negro employment in skilled and semi-skilled jobs doubled in a four-year period. Even in the South, the color caste system was breached in places, although least impact was made there. There was also an improvement in government employment. Whereas in 1938 Negroes were 8 percent of those in the federal services in Washington, in March 1944 they constituted over 19 percent of departmental personnel.

The wartime FEPC was responsible for stimulating the big national movement to abolish work discrimination. This movement, powered by the labor unions and supported by civic rights, minority and liberal organizations, has already led to the passage of enforceable FEPC laws in eight states. It is worthy of note that FEPC has displaced the poll tax laws as *the issue* to tear down Jim Crow in the South, and has become the programmatic plank which threatens the dishonorable unity between the Dixiecrats and the Northern Democrats. Robert C. Weaver, in his book, "Negro Labor," concluded that "these changes in a period of four years represented more industrial and occupational diversification than had occurred in the seventy-five preceding years."

Although the color caste system has been breached, let no one conclude that the millennium has arrived, and that the colored people are well on the way toward emancipation. Nothing could be further from the truth. While Negro living standards rose in the past ten years, especially in the North, and the gap between white and Negro income has been narrowed, the government figures show that in 1950 Negro families still had an average income of \$1,869, *only 54 percent of the average income of white families*, despite the fact that in Negro families a larger number generally work. Furthermore, the trend is not toward continued improvement, but since 1945 to a widening of the gap again.

A special statistical study of the Southeast revealed that in 1949 all white families and individuals had an income 83 percent of the national average, but Negro families and individuals were only 36 percent of the national average. These figures are particularly damning, as from 1940 to 1950 Negro workers in this area declined by a third in agriculture, and increased by 30 percent in manufacturing, 55 percent in retail and wholesale trade, 74 percent in construction.

The over-all national employment figures show that while great numbers of Negroes are now in manufacturing, the proportion of Negroes was only 6.8 percent in 1950, which, while a clear improvement over 1940, is still a half percent under 1930. It was only cold sober fact therefore when Walter Reuther, in his president's report to the auto union convention of March 1953, declared: "By 1950, in the absence of federal FEPC and amidst increased practices of discrimination at the hiring gate, minority groups were slowly but surely being pushed back to their pre-war earnings and employment status."



NEGRO PACKINGHOUSE PICKET IN THE HANDS OF POLICE DURING 1946 STRIKE IN CHICAGO. Negro militants played a big role in the organization and building of the CIO, and especially in Packinghouse, where the union has conducted vigorous struggles against discrimination.

THE LABOR UNIONS and old-line Negro leaders are at present concentrating their efforts on the passage of a federal FEPC law. And while there is nothing wrong with that, limited though such a program is, especially if unemployment becomes widespread and the scramble for available jobs grows more frenzied, they are using the same old, ineffective methods of lobbying and petitioning, with the result that the fight for a federal FEPC has completely bogged down, and the Negro is losing ground. What are the prospects, then, of the Negro struggle for equality? And what are the next steps in that struggle to halt the present backsliding, to preserve the wartime gains and move forward again? Before we attempt to answer these questions, it is worthwhile to pause and consider the changed status of the Negro people today and the import of this changed status on the next round of struggle.

The Second World War period profoundly transformed the character of the Negro population and affected its place in American life in innumerable ways. This period witnessed a migration out of the South far more extensive than in the First World War, and this time not only to the North, but also to the West. Out of a total of almost 16 million Negroes in 1950 representing 10½ percent of the population, a third were in the North and West, concentrated in the largest cities: 400,000 in Chicago, 600,000 in New York, 300,000 in Detroit, 200,000 in Los Angeles, 150,000 in Cleveland, 120,000 in Pittsburgh. Even in the South, the Negro has been steadily driven out of agriculture, so that by 1950 only 20 percent in the nation were in farming, while 60 percent were living in cities, and another 20 percent in the rural areas were engaged in non-farm occupations. The Negro population is today largely urban and overwhelmingly proletarian.

The dominant fact of the Negro's new role is that over 1½ million are members of labor unions, with great sections concentrated in the important CIO unions: auto,

steel, packinghouse, rubber. Inside the local unions, they have their own spokesmen, and more often than not, act as an organized pressure bloc to secure recognition for their demands and grievances.

Unionized labor is the largest organized force in the Negro communities, and, one would readily imagine, would have displaced the traditional middle class spokesmen. Yet nothing of the sort has happened. By and large, the old middle class leaders retain their position. The considerable Negro press, which claims a circulation of almost two million, is without exception a middle class press, extolling middle class virtues, respectability, and the tactical approach of lawyers, doctors and preachers. During the war years, the picture magazine, *Ebony*, a Hollywoodized, night club, glamour kind of periodical, stressing Negro conformity, had the fastest growing circulation of all; currently over 425,000. The old-line organizations, primarily the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, remain the acknowledged spokesmen of the Negro and the leaders in the fight to secure first class citizenship. Although hundreds of Negroes are officers of various CIO local organizations, practically none of them have risen to a position where they are accepted by the Negro community as its leaders in the general struggle, none of them have attained the stature of an old leader like A. Philip Randolph.

THE REASONS for this rather unusual situation are not hard to find. The Negro union officials espouse the official policies of the labor leadership, and since these are much the same middle class reform propositions being pushed by the NAACP, the National Urban League and various respectable personages of the community, the Negro masses recognize no compelling necessity to shift their allegiance to a new set of leaders.

The very mechanism by which people rise in the hierarchy of the labor movement aggravates this situation. Under recent conditions in the United States, it was the trimmers and opportunists, those who could maneuver between the conflicting tendencies and groupings and adapt themselves to the lowest common denominator of the mass, who were able to retain positions of union leadership. That is why union officials are often found to be such a cautious, cagey lot, indulging in so much double-talk and windy phraseology which does not too definitely pin them down or commit them to anything specific. Negro unionists are subject to these same pressures, which in the ordinary run of circumstances are more conducive to the elevation of small time politicians, rather than tribunes of an embattled people.

The price that the Negro pays for this situation is very high. Although he holds the balance of power in about ten states, which can determine the outcome of national elections, there are only 2 Negroes in Congress. His strategic power is not employed, he cannot even secure passage of a federal FEPC law seven years after FEPC was scuttled by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Do the experiences of the past decade point to a way to remedy the present crisis of leadership facing the Negro? Black radicals have at different times concentrated their efforts on boring from within, or trying to jazz up the NAACP from within, on the theory that this organization

was, despite its faults and shortcomings, the mainstream of the Negro movement for equality and the logical place to effect any changes in leadership. There is no question that the NAACP was and remains the major spokesman of the Negro people, the watchdog over violations of civil rights, the fighter, in its own fashion, against segregation, discrimination, persecution. There is no question that the NAACP accomplishes a lot of good and deserves the full backing not only of Negroes but progressive whites as well. But no one has yet succeeded in transforming the NAACP—from what it is and what its leaders want it to be—into a militant mass action organization. The Communist Party fractions tried to push it along its lines for a while; other radicals made half-hearted attempts to turn it to the left. None of these efforts succeeded. Under the pressure of the CIO struggles, the NAACP bent a little. Under the pressure of new struggles, it will very likely give way again. But essentially, the organization remains what it was, a middle class civil rights association, and from all indications that is exactly what it will continue to be.

IN THE HEYDAY of the New Deal, a great effort was made to set up a more militant type of Negro organization. Growing out of a number of conferences at Howard University, a National Negro Congress met in Chicago in February 1936, where A. Philip Randolph was chosen president, and for a time the congress showed prospects of becoming a powerful rallying center of Negro struggle. But it could not break through the hostility of most of the old-line leaders and find the necessary mass support, and finally dwindled to a minor front of the Communist Party, without any influence over the Negro community.

The March-On-Washington movement, despite some attempts to form a permanent organization, likewise disappeared from the scene after it won the Presidential executive order.

No one can foresee the coming organizational vicissitudes of the Negro fight for liberation. It may be that in the

future, the Negro masses will strike out again to form a new militant Negro body, and that the next attempt will succeed where past efforts have failed. Or, it may be that the million and a half Negroes now assembled under the trade union banner will rise with the labor movement as a whole, and become the most decisive and resolute divisions of a new labor-led third political party. Certainly, that would be the most desirable alternative. Certainly, it would be best if the labor movement found within itself the necessary foresight and strength to provide the broad political leadership to the Negro masses for the conquest of their full liberation as part of an over-all political program of achieving security and well-being for the American people.

Whether this will be the coming organizational instrumentality of the Negro liberation struggle, no one can foretell. But it is certainly within the realm of possibility. That is why the unions are by all odds the most important vehicles at present for the Negro labor masses, and certainly for Negro left-wingers. The union FEPC committees, the unions as a whole, provide the best means for mobilizing large groups of Negroes for action to battle Jim Crow on all its various fronts, and for getting the aid and cooperation of the white workers. They are the best possible schools, as experience has demonstrated, to break down prejudice, teach the necessity for solidarity of black and white, and instill the conviction that militant techniques and mobilization of masses provide the only effective means to achieve labor ends.

This may very well become the organizational framework through which, and by which the Negro masses will create a set of militant leaders and carve out their next victories. And, even if the struggle takes a different turn, and the Negro masses have to form another fighting organization of their own, this tactical approach will still have vindicated itself by organizing and drilling the trained troops needed for any successful offensive upon the still powerful fortresses of Jim Crow.

Chrysler Inherits Briggs Local

WHEN CHRYSLER, as part of a desperate effort to save itself in the race of giant auto monopolies, bought out the auto parts plants of the Briggs Manufacturing Company, it inherited Briggs Local 212 of the UAW-CIO, with its militant membership and tradition. The local forced Chrysler to agree to its contract, which is superior to the Chrysler agreement in several ways, including bargaining structure. Even at present, with restricted production, Local 212 has more than 500 chief stewards handling grievances.

But the company carries on a speedup campaign in the plants which brings about many clashes, with the workers doggedly fighting back. Ken Morris, local president, says: "Obviously, if the company continues its present policy, the union will fight to preserve the birthright it won in '37 and '39." And the union, despite widespread layoffs, has a certain advantage in the fact that Chrysler is having a tough time trying to maintain its position in competition with GM and Ford and fears shutdowns.

Local 212 has recently succeeded in slowing down Chrysler's war against the workers. Three unionists discharged for standing up for union rights, including Clyde Grueniser, garage committeeman, have been reinstated as a result of militant resistance.

Although this has by no means stopped the struggle, the threatening showdown appears to have been postponed. The union has won the first round.

Local 212 membership has a long record of militancy. Until the present administration took office in 1948, the local had maintained an alert independence from the domination of the conservative International leadership. While today the right-wing leadership has succeeded in emasculating local democracy by violent campaigns of red-baiting, the contract won by past militant action has been kept largely intact. This contract is a source of great power to the local officers. They have taken to heart the experience of other right-wing groups, especially in the Chrysler setup, which were swept out of office for failing to make any serious effort to hold the line.

In general, the local officers have a better understanding than most other local officials, partly because of the radical background which some of them have, and partly because a number of them participated in the founding struggles of the union.

The outcome of the present Briggs battles will have a great effect upon the 1955 drive to win improvements in all major UAW agreements. Briggs workers can't feel secure in their contract advantages until these have been extended throughout all of Chrysler, and Chrysler is very unlikely to concede them unless similar provisions are won from Ford and GM. This obviously points to an industry-wide fight, but as yet the Local 212 leadership has not shown an awareness of this crucial fact.

A Remarkable Labor Film

Salt of the Earth, produced by Independent Productions Corporation and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Written by Michael Wilson, produced by Paul Jarrico, directed by Herbert J. Biberman. With a professional cast of five, headed by Mexican actress Rosaura Revueltas, and a nonprofessional cast of 19, headed by Juan Chacon, real-life president of a union local, assisted by the members of Local 890, IUMMSW, Bayard, New Mexico. Premiere engagements at New Dyckman and 86th Street Grande Theatres, New York.

COMING FROM the theatre after seeing the movie, "Salt of the Earth," one is left with a certain feeling of astonishment. Numbed by 3D, technicolor, tough guys, funny guys, it is rare to see a movie that has stirred you and that sticks with you.

This picture about the strike of a Mexican-American community in a mining town has given us a glimpse into the great things that the art of the motion picture can create. It is based on an actual 15-month strike against the Empire Zinc Company in New Mexico; most of the cast consists of members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and their families who fought and won this strike. Against the theme of the Mexican-Americans' struggle for equality with the "Anglos" in the mines, runs the counterpoint of the women's battle for an importance beyond the drudgery of housework and family.

In telling the story of the Mexican-Americans' fight against a zinc company that uses every brutal weapon from tear gas to evictions to destroy the union, this picture is partisan. It is with the miners against the owners, with the women as they gradually make their

Ford Workers' View

We in Local 600 saw the picture. We are not movie critics but are a part of that vast American public that pays to see their films and which, with the advent of television, has become ever more discriminating in its choice of pictures that we are willing to see. We think that "Salt of the Earth" is a great film. . . .

husbands see them as equals. And yet it has nothing in common with the girl-boy-tractor triangle which came to be associated with the "proletarian art" school in the Thirties.

This is so because the artistry is so great, the acting so passionate and real, that what it has to say is *strengthened* by the way it says it. You watch the delicate story of a miner's wife unfold. You see how, in the beginning, she feels resentment and suspicion of the union which helps her so little and only takes her husband away from her; how this feeling fades when the strike comes and she finds herself on a picket line. You see how she discovers within herself courage and capabilities far beyond what her husband and children



ROSAURA REVUELTAS AND JUAN CHACON

had ever needed of her. You see her agony and triumph as she tries to make her husband recognize her as this new being which she now sees herself to be.

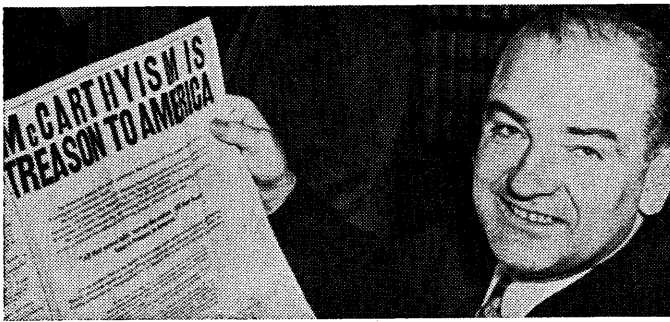
This story heightens your understanding of the terrible problems which our society inflicts on the relationship between men and women. You do not sheepishly say, "Yep, that's a problem all right," as was the effect and perhaps even the purpose of so much of "proletarian art." You are confronted with life and you react. This picture pushes you—you do not have to push it.

But, more than being confronted with life, you become involved in it. Outside of some episodes in "Ten Days That Shook the World," I cannot recall a more stirring moment in a motion picture than the wonderful scene in which the foreman pulls one provocation too many, and the men, right there on the job, decide to strike. The acting, direction, photography—somehow all the ingredients—fuse and you are there, frightened, angry, but above all, feeling your strength.

THE CREATORS of "Salt of the Earth" are to be congratulated. They have brought forth a work of art which is all the more remarkable for having been produced at a time when the yahoos are riding high and it is hard to hear the voice of rebellion. The picture was made against terrible obstacles. H. J. Biberman, the director, Michael Wilson, the writer, Paul Jarrico, the producer, and Sol Kaplan, the composer, were all witch-hunted out of Hollywood. This fact alone was enough to provoke vigilante committees to arson and violence against the movie company in Silver City, New Mexico, where the film was made. Two union halls of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union were set afire. Before the picture was completed, Rosaura Revueltas, the Mexican actress who plays the female lead with indescribable depth, subtlety and fire, was hauled up by the Immigration Department and deported to Mexico.

Upon reflection, "Salt of the Earth" has some weaknesses. Some of the complex problems it solves simply, perhaps because they are presented too simply. Yet these things pale as one recalls the over-all impression left by this fine work—the courage and capacity of working people and the great hope this offers for the world.

R. B.



The Meaning of McCarthyism

In this issue, the *American Socialist* is initiating its first discussion, open to all readers. The topic, one of surpassing importance, is "McCarthyism and the Police State." We print below our first two contributions. The first of these is by a graduate student in a Midwest university, and the second is by one of the editors of the *American Socialist*. Contributions should be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to publish excerpts where the length is excessive.

Not Organized Fascist Movement

I WANT TO DISCUSS your evaluation of McCarthyism. I am glad that you were cautious about the problem in the January issue of the magazine ["McCarthyism—The Threat and Answer," *American Socialist*, January 1954]. I recognize that such caution is just about unique in radical and liberal circles these days, but that doesn't make it wrong or embarrassing in my opinion.

It would be a mistake for us to concur with the liberals, Communist Party, SWP, etc., in their designation of McCarthyism as the American form of fascism. McCarthyism is a malignant reactionary trend, but it is not an organized fascist movement. Its wide popular following is essentially passive, not active. It is therefore not morally equipped to carry out the cardinal fascist task—union-busting. It can achieve a combat morale in a social crisis, but not before.

It is not written in the stars that McCarthy is the ordained leader of the future American fascism. Under present conditions, it would be incorrect for us to insist that only labor can halt McCarthy. It is true that fascism—once the main capitalist forces are behind it—can be stopped only by labor. But McCarthy himself, as of now, can be halted, even destroyed, by capitalist forces. To deny this is to imply that the American ruling class has decided at this stage that it has no alternative to McCarthy. And, given the fascist potentialities of McCarthyism, it is to imply that the American ruling class contemplates launching a knock-down, drag-out class war at home, prior to World War III.

Should McCarthy be eliminated as a serious contender for power, it would not signify an end to the raging witch-hunt which has, I believe, become a permanent element in the political climate of capitalist America on the road to war. I consider his elimination unlikely. But it is not improbable that, while continuing to perform the

function of Senatorial arch-witch-hunter, he will nevertheless find it impossible to create an authentic fascist movement out of his amorphous following. Why? Basically because he can encounter the same frustrating circumstance which stymied the would-be fuhrers of the Thirties. What stopped Gerald L. K. Smith and Coughlin? To assert that they were stopped by an aroused labor movement is not correct. They were defeated by the postponement of the social crisis by the war, and the concomitant drying-up of the reservoir of potential recruits.

IN ORDER for McCarthyism to become the American form of fascism, it will not only have to develop coherent organization capable of mass struggle against the unions, it will require a racist ideology. Italian fascism, it has been objected, had no racist ideology, so, therefore . . . the analogy is superficial. Italy had a homogeneous population and no racist tradition. Where such traditions exist, fascism has exploited them. The U.S. is the country of racism *par excellence*. American fascism will certainly be white-supremacist and almost certainly anti-Semitic.

Were McCarthy to come to power through the Republican Party on the basis of his present undifferentiated, unorganized support, he could achieve, at worst, a Bonapartist regime. I don't believe that the state apparatus—the army, police, FBI—is capable of establishing fascism, of atomizing the labor movement.

It might be argued that Spanish fascism achieved its aims primarily through the army and police. But control of these levers of power didn't assure victory to Franco. In the absence of a really potent storm-troop movement, his victory came only after a long civil war and as a result of the political disorientation of the Spanish labor movement. It was quite otherwise in Germany. From the moment the state apparatus was in his hands, Hitler's victory was definitive. Confronting in 1933 the combined forces of the state and the fascist movement, German labor, having permitted Hitler into power without a fight, was doomed to destruction. By contrast, Franco, with his weak native fascist movement, never succeeded in totally smashing the Spanish working-class movement. Underground activity in Spain has apparently persisted at levels never possible in fascist Italy or Germany.

In conclusion, I believe we will be able to propagate the Marxist analysis of fascism, to explain that McCarthyism is not yet fascism, and to pursue the practical struggle against the witch-hunt with the requisite energy.

D. S.

One Distinctively Fascist Trait

IF THERE IS any conception behind McCarthyism that singles it out from the rest of the reactionary morass, it is this: McCarthy holds that the traditional capitalist parties and the legitimate state machinery are shot through with "treason" and "conciliation to communism," and for this reason cannot be relied upon to stamp out the "communist menace." This McCarthyite theory is distinctively fascist.

It is important to understand exactly what fascism is. While such a discussion might seem to be "hair-splitting" or "empty theorizing" to some, the practical importance of this matter for the fight against fascism is very important, as I shall try to show.

The essential quality of a fascist movement is that it challenges the ability of the traditional capitalist state apparatus to smash the labor, liberal and radical movements, and, at least in part, by-passes the old structure. The fascists use hooligan gangs, racist ideology, and "socialist" demagogy in order, as in jujitsu, to turn the weight of their opponents against themselves. They employ the discontent of the masses to crush the masses.

But fascism is a form of rule which is dangerous to the capitalist class in many ways, and thus not fully satisfactory to that class. It is exactly like calling in gangsters for protection when the police can't serve the purpose; it costs plenty in money and in authority, and here and there individual capitalists wind up in a cement overcoat. Therefore, the capitalist class resorts to this form of rule only when there is a powerful mass radicalization, a deep social crisis and deadlock of classes, and a real paralysis of the state, in which the government is actually powerless to crush labor and the Left.

There is no such situation in the United States at present. For this reason, McCarthy has not been accepted as the fuhrer by the major sections of the ruling class. By and large, they have confidence in the two major parties and the existing governmental machinery.

The present U.S. danger is not a dramatic fascist coup, not a fascist march on Washington or even the growth of a fascist movement in the shirted-racist-demagogic form. The chief present danger is the encroaching police dictatorship which is being extended by the firmly seated governmental apparatus itself from the inside, and not by a fascist movement from the outside.

Does this mean that McCarthyism is not a danger, or is only a secondary danger? Not at all. Because McCarthy, while he is not being employed by the capitalists as a *fascist* as yet, is serving them to advance the police dictatorship. He is the goad, the whip that stings the flanks when the Cossack-horse lags. He is the spearhead of the march of dictatorship within the government even while he himself rejects the ability of that government to do the job that he and his backers want done. Therefore, defeats for the McCarthy fascist-types slow down the dictatorship-trend. This is all the more important because many who are not ready to unite against the governmental police-state drive are ready to act against the McCarthyite menace. A defeat for McCarthyism can thus set the mood and precedent for further resistance to the official dictatorship drive.

Why is it so important to understand the distinction between McCarthyism and police dictatorship? Because McCarthyism lacks the social situation on which fascism feeds, but official government dictatorship doesn't need this situation and can very well conquer in present-day America unless it is understood and resisted. And the danger is that the labor, liberal and radical movements will be so relieved by the capitalists' rejection of McCarthy as fuhrer, that they will fail to see the noose being placed around our necks, slowly but surely, by joint agreement of Republicans and Democrats along the lines of the Truman-initiated Eisenhower-sponsored witch-hunt. We have already seen signs of this relief and relaxation since the McCarthy-Army controversy.

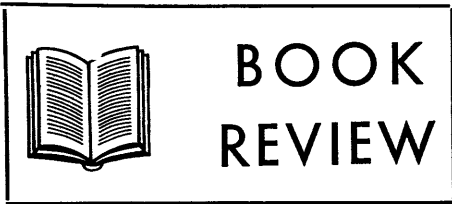
THE CONCLUSIONS FOR ACTION are no less important. Fascism can be defeated only by great class struggles which assume an advanced form. But the present situation is not one of mass radicalization, nor class-against-class deadlock, nor advanced social crisis. To wait around for such struggles, or to exhort labor to initiate such struggles, means to await and demand forms of combat which will not be forthcoming right now. The present mode of combat is more pedestrian: it is a hard battle toward labor's political consciousness, toward the rejection of the basic premises of the witch-hunt upon which Democrats and Republicans alike stand, toward the revival of the axiom "An injury to one is an injury to all," toward the defense of all victims of the witch-hunt, regardless of political affiliation, and finally, toward large-scale independent labor political action and a labor party.

One point in closing with reference to the above contribution by D. S. He is annoyed by those who warn against a "march of fascism" in the United States. But he should consider that when most of the radicals, liberals and laborites speak of "fascism," they are not trying to use scientific terminology, but are only trying to unload the most damaging imprecations on the heads of the reactionaries. Why should anyone want to restrain them? Moreover, insofar as the term "fascist" is applied to some of the most distinctive characteristics of McCarthyism, it is certainly not far wrong.

Of course there are some who assign the term "fascism" not just to McCarthy, but to the whole situation in the U.S. They have the outlandish view that the radicalization in the U.S. is so great or so imminent that the ruling class has accepted fascism, and the situation which lies immediately ahead is one of final combat between fascism and socialism. They see the primary menace not as a growing police state but in the form of a fascist shouldering-aside of the traditional capitalist state machinery. That view is dead wrong. The events of the past few months testify to the almost unanimous rejection by the capitalist rulers of McCarthy *as fascist*, although he is still almost unanimously accepted *as spearhead of the police state*.

The need for Marxists is to destroy illusions about some of McCarthy's opponents, and to show that neither McCarthy nor his police-dictatorship-sponsoring antagonists can be defeated without a rebirth of solidarity, militancy and political consciousness in the labor movement.

H. B.



Marx and Keynes

The Present As History; Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism, by Paul M. Sweezy, Monthly Review Press, New York, December 1953, \$5.

THIS IS a collection of Mr. Sweezy's shorter writings for various periodicals over a fifteen-year period.

In one of his reviews, Sweezy says of a book made up of independent essays: "A reviewer has the right to complain that it makes a coherent review of the book as a whole virtually impossible." This is the *mot juste* for the reviewer of Sweezy's current book; there is no way to deal with its several dozen topics. It is thus best to proceed at once to that portion of the book which is probably the most unified and also the most important: his essays on economic matters. Mr. Sweezy is an economist trained both in official academic theory and in Marxism. As a Marxist, he can examine the former method from the vantage point of the latter, and, as this capacity is still a rarity in the U.S., his economic essays naturally command more than usual interest.

Besides scattered economic material to be found in all sections of the book, there are two full parts made up of essays on economic theory, in which Sweezy discusses, among others, John Maynard Keynes, A. C. Pigou, Alvin H. Hansen, Joseph A. Schumpeter, F. A. Hayek, and Thorstein Veblen, and touches briefly on Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation of capital.

In discussing the recent capitalist economists, Sweezy is in reality discussing the turn in official economic theory since the impact of the European capitalist stagnation of the Twenties and the world-wide collapse of the Thirties.

CAPITALIST ECONOMICS opened its career a century and a half ago with a resounding crisis because its thinking was too clear for its own good at the outset. Unable to accept the basic groundwork of classical economics, it wandered homeless in a desert for fifty years after Adam Smith and Ricardo. In the Seventies, it finally found shelter under the patchwork pieced together by the "marginal" theoreticians: Menger, Jevons, Walras, and then later their followers.

Modern capitalist economics was thus born in the Seventies of the last century, but its essential concepts can be traced back to earlier vulgar and apologetic theorists, particularly one contemporary of the classicists, Jean Baptiste Say. Say was a French interpreter of Adam Smith who, while claiming absolute fidelity to the master, gave his writings such a twist as to vulgarize

and in the end to negate them completely. What emerged from Say's writings was the essence of later capitalist economics.

He rejected the classical labor theory of value, substituting a subjective value theory (the value of commodities comes not from labor expended in their production, but from the value attached to them by the buyer). As a first result of this, Say naturally lost track of the problem which arises for the classicists and which Marx solved so definitively: Where does the value the capitalist gets—his profit—come from? As soon as one adopts a subjective value theory, this ceases to be a problem, because the origin of surplus value can be easily found in the exchange of commodities along with commodity value in general. But if vulgar economics lost interest in the *origin* of profit, it replaced this with an intense interest in *justifying* profit. Thus arises the trinitarian formula of the "factors of production"—land, labor and capital—and the rationalizing apologetic as to why each factor "deserves" a part of the product.

After Say had delineated these apologetic evasions of the real questions of economics, he still faced the problem of the functioning of the system as a whole, the circulation of capital and commodities, the crises, etc. He solved the entire complex with a single master stroke known as Say's Law of Markets. He reasoned that there could never be a general oversupply of commodities, since every seller, by his act of selling and thus acquiring money, is a potential, and soon an actual, buyer. This superficiality—Marx called it "childish babbling"—served capitalist economics in place of a serious analysis of the capitalist process for a full century.

THESSE PORTIONS of Say's thinking proved to be the elements of later capitalist economics: subjective value theory which was refined in "marginal" terms, with curves and formulas that made the conception more impressive but no more scientific; the trinitarian formula for factors of production and the division of the product; and the Law of Markets.

Keynes made one basic change in orthodox capitalist economics. He abandoned Say's Law of Markets, declaring the possibility of a general shortage of demand or oversupply of commodities, bringing with it large-scale unemployment and the reduced functioning of the capitalist economy. Even more, Keynes felt that this is the situation toward which the capitalist system tends.

Having abandoned Say's law, Keynes had to revise traditional economics from top to bottom in harmony with his new thought. This was the Keynesian revolution.

When one considers that Keynes published his "General Theory" in 1936—right after world industrial production had fallen off by at least 40 percent, when unemployment figures for the capitalist countries totaled some 40 million, when vast quantities of commodities were unsold and unsalable, when governments were destroying commodities and limiting production—then Keynes' achievement in finally abandoning a "law" of markets which says such a situation is impossible can hardly be called monumental.

Keynes did not dispute any of the other basic conceptions of capitalist economics, including the outlook that capitalism is an eternal system. What he did do was decide that there was no natural law that made the working of the system at full capacity a sure thing, and he advocated a governmental policy which would make up for the deficiencies of the system.

The most important consequence of Keynes' revision was a change in the framework within which many of the economists worked. Instead of remaining preoccupied with the problems of the individual firm or industry, Keynes focused attention on the "aggregates"—the big totals of the economy such as national income, consumption expenditures, saving, investment—and upon their relation to one another. This revolutionized both the thinking of many economists, especially the younger ones, and also economic statistics which are now kept for the whole economy in a way that makes it possible to follow basic trends in the economy and its various sectors.

HAVING ACCOMPLISHED this much, Keynesian economics pulled up short. Sweezy writes: "But Keynes stopped here in his critique of existing society. Our troubles, he believed, are due to a failure of intelligence and not to the breakdown of a social system. 'The problem of want and poverty,' he wrote in 1931, 'is nothing but a frightful muddle, a transitory and unnecessary muddle.'"

Keynes' way out of the "muddle," Sweezy explains, is by "treating the state as a *deus ex machina* [handy god] to be invoked whenever his human actors, behaving according to the rules of the capitalist game, get themselves into a dilemma from which there is apparently no escape. Naturally, this Olympian interventionist resolves everything in a manner satisfactory to the author and presumably to the audience. The only trouble is—as every Marxist knows—that the state is not a god but one of the actors who has a part to play just like all the other actors."

As to the possibility of Keynesian state investment on a sufficiently large scale, Sweezy points out: "It may be possible to spend a few billion dollars in ways that do not threaten capitalist interests, but this is certainly not so of 25 or 30 or 40 billion—and these are the relevant orders of magnitude. That is to say it is not possible *except* on war preparations. All other forms of really large-scale government spending either involve competition with private enterprise or they confer benefits on the masses and thus indirectly undermine the authority and privileges of the capitalists and their upper-class allies and retainers.

"As to a direct assault on inequality of incomes, it is clear that this strikes at the very heart of our social-class system and will be resisted to the end by special beneficiaries of that system."

WHERE KEYNES had pointed to the trend toward less-than-capacity operation of the capitalist system, Alvin H.

Hansen, to whom Sweezy devotes two pieces in this book, attributed the sickness to the fact that capitalism has become a "mature economy," to use the phrase which has become connected with Hansen's name. To again quote Sweezy's summary, Hansen said that "there must be outlets for new capital investment adequate to absorb what the community wants to save if we are not to have a permanent depression," but that "the era of economic expansion has come to an end, a factor which enormously aggravates the difficulty of finding a sufficient volume of investment outlets."

Hansen calls this "the mature economy"; a Marxist would call it "capitalist stagnation." And between the two, there is also the more substantial difference that Marxism arrived at the theory before the event, thus demonstrating the power of science, while Hansen came to the conclusion only after actually seeing a collapse of the economy.

Sweezy says: "Hansen senses the profound bias of our present economic order: in favor of expanding capital and against expanding consumption. Moreover, he makes of this the foundation stone of his explanation of our present economic dilemma. . . ." It was this outlook that made Alvin Hansen the butt of many acidulous comments by fellow economists during the years of the war boom. But now, perhaps, events are under way which will vindicate his oft-attacked "gloom" about capitalism's future.

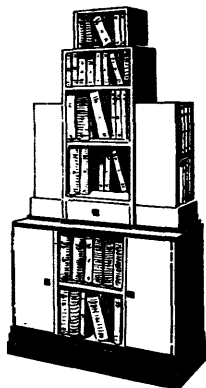
Sweezy devotes a brief section to a very interesting economist, Joseph A. Schumpeter, but unfortunately deals only with a very limited aspect of his work: the "theory of innovation." This theory is directed toward solving the central socio-economic problem: What is the moving force behind change, growth, expansion in capitalist society? Schumpeter's reply, almost precisely opposite to that given by Marx, is that the moving force behind change in the economy is "innovation," which is the function of particular individuals called "entrepreneurs," without whom we would have a stationary economy, a circular flow, or, in Marxist terms, nothing more than simple reproduction.

In reply, Sweezy sets forth the Marxist view as follows: ". . . the form of the profit-making process itself produces the pressure to accumulate, and accumulation generates innovation as a means of preserving the profit-making mechanism and the class structure on which it rests." Or, in other words, the pressure to enlarge operations (accumulate) comes not from the special psychology of any Schumpeterian "leaders," or from any psychological factor in the first instance, but from the requirements of survival within the capitalist process of production.

THERE ARE other economic matters of interest discussed in Sweezy's book, and there are many political and social essays, but it is impossible to even touch on them in this review. The chief interest of the book lies in its attempt to discuss the problems of Marxism in a manner which can interest Americans.

The single important attempt at a presentation of the theoretical groundwork of Marxism (before Sweezy's book, "Theory of Capitalist Development") was Louis Boudin's "Theoretical System of Karl Marx." That book might just as well have been penned by a European Marxist. It was written as a contribution to controversies raging among European social democrats. It did not take the thinking or disputation of any section of the American public as its starting point.

In fact, American Marxism, insofar as it has existed to any significant degree, has in the main been an extension of European Marxism, and has in general been more interested in the controversies and problems of other lands than those of this country. Of course there has been a perfectly plain cause for this. The very embryonic stage of American class and social consciousness, the weakness of American socialism which even in its boom-time had less of a Marxist and more of a populist character, the crudity and backwardness of American academic thinking—all of these factors impelled Marxists to look abroad for ideological nourishment.



But sooner or later a school of American Marxism will have to be built that uses Marxism as a method of attacking the problems which interest Americans, in a way that interests them. The American exposition of historical materialism, for example, will not emerge from discussions of Carlyle and the French Revolution, or even of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, but must in the end consist of a Marxist intervention into the controversy that has raged for four decades between the Beard-Parrington-Josephson school of historiography and its opponents. The American defense of the Marxist theory of the state will, in the long run, never be accomplished by Lenin's "State and Revolution," but only by a convincing demonstration of the role of the state power in American history and current American politics. The American Marxist economics can be born only in struggle against the predominant Anglo-Saxon economists, and not through assaults upon the economists destroyed by Marx in "Capital."

It is precisely this approach which Sweezy attempts, and that attempt, with any weak-

nesses it has, is of the highest merit because it is only along that path that a thriving American school of Marxism can, for the first time, be founded. H. B.

Socialism's Uncle Tom

The Test of Freedom, by Norman Thomas. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1954, \$3.

THROUGH no fault of its own, socialism in America has somehow become linked with the name of Norman Thomas. His fame is an accurate measure of the fact that socialism is in a low estate in our country. Even after the publication of this book, which includes not a single word on behalf of socialism, Thomas will continue to be the best-known socialist.

Nowhere else in the world could a man have achieved this reputation in the political world by dint of a mediocre talent for innocuousness. Thomas has no actual following. His prominence cannot be considered his own doing, as his book amply demonstrates. His role is that of the tolerated socialist. His function is to serve as the agency whereby Rotarians and reactionaries can show their broadmindedness. Thus, in the midst of a blood and thunder speech to send all Reds back to where they came from, the Chamber of Commerce chairman can pause and say, "Of course, there may be some good in socialism; take Norman Thomas, for instance." It is like a bigot who knows a "good Jew."

And so they publish his books. This one is a treatise on civil rights. On every major point Thomas submits to the police state drive. That the witch-hunt is not the main danger to the country is his first point. "Obviously, the chief danger to us at present is from abroad. It is communism in control of two mighty empires and their satellites which threatens the freedom and peace of mankind." U.S. imperialism's devastation of Korea in the interest of Syngman Rhee, and its support of French imperialism against the Indo-Chinese people, escape his attention. In England his attitude on this question would gain him a place not in the Labor Party, but among the right-wing Tories.

On McCarthyism, the author is not so categorical in his denunciation. He clucks disapprovingly at liberals who assume "that because the complex of ideas and actions which we sometimes call McCarthyism is bad on the whole, therefore none of its elements is necessary or even defensible." There's something good in everything—except, of course, the New China.

Thomas has attempted to popularize Sidney Hook's teachings on civil rights. Hook's slogan, "Heresy, yes—conspiracy, no" is the theme of the book. He is for free speech, even for communists, he says. But he is against free speech in secret because that is a conspiracy. He is therefore for suppressing the communists' private free speech, but for preserving their public activity. To carry out this brilliant scheme, which he states would assuredly be sup-

ported by Thomas Jefferson, "the government was and is obligated to keep it (the Communist Party) under active watchfulness of the FBI."

Thomas is well to the right of a considerable section of liberal opinion in his attitude toward the vigilante activities of the Congressional inquisition committees. "Congress has on the whole," he writes, "served the public interest well by legislative inquiry." Of course, he says, the hearings ought to be cleaned up a bit.

The government "loyalty" purge has not escaped the sharp stab of his pen. "The government holds that it must protect sources of information and therefore cannot let the accused confront certain accusers. I reluctantly grant a certain weight to the argument," states the author of "The Test of Freedom"—rising to the test by summarily brushing aside the basic principle of a fair trial and endorsing the admissibility of testimony by anonymous witnesses.

Not even reluctantly, Thomas gives the benefit of the doubt to the attorney general's subversive list, although he believes that in some instances organizations were listed somewhat arbitrarily.

Above all he advocates moderation. And like that model of moderation, the late Senator Taft, he lectures the labor movement on its "excesses" in relation to anti-labor legislation. "The labor unions greatly weakened their sound case against the Taft-Hartley Act by calling it a slave-labor bill." By contrast with Norman Thomas, Truman looks like a radical. He, too, in the "excesses" of his 1948 campaign called it a slave-labor law.

This tome begins with a frank and bold affirmation of Thomas Jefferson; it ends with a flourish, quoting Longfellow's poem, "Sail on, Sail on, O ship of State! . . . Humanity with all its fears, Is hanging breathless on thy fate!" Throughout, a dull voyage. J. G.

Admiral in Moscow

Russian Assignment, by Leslie C. Stevens, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1953, \$5.75.

THIS BOOK is a running diary of the experiences of Vice Admiral Stevens, USN (Retired), who was naval attaché at the United States embassy in Moscow from July 1947 to the end of 1949. The author gives the impression of being a congenial and observant man, and he should have been able, given his unique opportunities, to penetrate beneath the surface and present an authentic picture of Russian society. To his advantage was the further fact that he was intensely interested in Russian literature, art and the theatre, and, in contrast to most Americans, he went to great pains to learn the language, and apparently achieved a considerable mastery of it by the time he left the country. He also seems to have had a genuine liking for the Russian people.

Yet none of this sufficed to penetrate the armor of his caste training and upper-class

viewpoints and prejudices. The book contains some interesting descriptions of persons and personal situations, but where the admiral tries to deal with the broader aspects of Russian life and of the government, he never rises above the level of a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial.

Intellectual Nonsense

Democracy Challenges Totalitarianism, by Lavone Hanna and John R. Carr, Rand, McNally and Company, 1953.

WHEN a left liberal or radical teacher is worried out of his classroom, the business community celebrates "a victory for objectivity." Behind the facade of anti-communism there progresses the ever-increasing influence on education by and for Big Business.

On March 28th of this year, Rand, McNally and Company circulated to prominent businessmen free copies of their recent publication, "Democracy Challenges Totalitarianism." The accompanying form letter (signed by Andrew McNally III) read in part: "Our common interest in business, industry, government and education prompts this brief message and enclosure. In addition to our bank publications, we are also publishers of school books and maps. 'Democracy Challenges Totalitarianism' is designed for use by America's teen-agers in high schools. It occurred to me that you might be interested in what the pamphlet says about private enterprise, political parties, civil liberties, morality and religion, schools and education—in fact, the entire

concept of democracy versus dictatorship. I hope that it will add to your faith and trust in both our public schools and the educational publications that they are using."

How does the common interest of Rand, McNally and Company with Big Business express itself in school texts? Why should businessmen in particular be strengthened by the contents of a recent pamphlet published for high school use? The answer is to be found in the pamphlet itself.

The acumen of the authors is not great. In page 4 they write: "Here then are the two world camps—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with the other countries that it dominates, and the United States, with its American and Western European allies. The first camp is the stronghold of *totalitarianism*, which we shall shortly describe, and the second the fortress of democracy." Later we read: "The tide of totalitarianism in the world must be slowed down and turned aside by the only world power now capable of doing it—the United States. Marshall plans, Point Four programs, mutual-aid treaties, 'airlifts,' good-neighbor cooperation, even military support must be used to stem the tide." But toward the end of the pamphlet: "One basic strong point of democracy is that it does not seek to impose itself upon others. It cannot be sold to other countries with guns, tanks and bombs."

We can also learn of the theories of Marx from this treatise: "Marx reduced man's whole story on earth to the sordid level of one class conflict after another for money. . . . The success or failure of Communism would depend entirely upon whether the two classes of society, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, could be turned against each other in warfare violent enough to wipe out the bourgeoisie, or middle class." "Marxism is fundamentally pessimistic." "Marxism plans all hope of salvation for mankind upon another bloody class conflict between the so-called 'haves' and 'have-nots.' In short it is a rigid, narrow system of thinking which declares that nothing like the United States has any right to exist." ". . . a Marxian theory which says, simply, that man himself has the ability to set up all the standards he needs to govern his conduct. According to Marx, man need not bother about any Ten Commandments, religious teachings, laws, or other ideals. Marx called this theory of his *dialectical materialism*."

This intellectual nonsense is submitted for the approval of businessmen and written for the minds of our children. This is how it happens that free copies of school texts are offered before publication for the perusal of bankers.

A. S. Minneapolis

Representative Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, explained his vote against a proposed appropriation for mobile rural libraries by pointing out that education too widely spread has usually led to socialism.

Nation, Jan. 9, 1954

Important Pamphlets

Which you may order from
**AMERICAN SOCIALIST
PUBLICATIONS**

- **Prospects of American Radicalism by Bert Cochran** 15 cents
A speech on the U.S. socialist outlook
- **British Guiana** 10 cents
Containing articles on the suppression of the rights of the colonists by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Janet Jagan and other Guianese leaders.
- **Capitalism or Socialism—The Coming World Showdown by M. Pablo** 30 cents

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"Last Issue Best Yet"

. . . I'm sorry I don't have time now to comment in detail on the last issue of the *American Socialist*. Suffice it to say here that it was about the best yet, in my opinion. . . .

R. M. Milwaukee

. . . A recent college graduate, caught in the mire of Maine's underdeveloped economy, I am at present devoting my efforts to becoming established in . . . business.

Despite the unrealistic environment to which I have been exposed, I am a firm believer in the controlled economic process. Major reason being, of course, the welfare of the national populace as a whole.

Let me assure you of my sincerity in seeking closer affiliation with . . . the socialist movement in the United States. The *American Socialist*, I believe, will provide a step forward. I will see to it that my friends are also afforded the opportunity of becoming acquainted with your publication.

K. W. Maine

In my opinion, the April issue of *American Socialist* was of particular excellence. You guys are doing a superb job.

G. D. Flint

Want It in My Mail Box

Enjoyed your February issue of the *American Socialist* very much. Enclosed is 25c for March issue. If this magazine is to be issued regularly, I most certainly want it in my mail box monthly.

C. M. C. Cleveland

Last week, visiting some *American Socialist* subscribers, I discussed for a while with a liberal lawyer. He told me he thought it an excellent magazine and gave me \$5 with the remark that it should be used for subscriptions for those who would like to read the magazine but can't afford it. . . .

L. W. New York City

My friends and I liked the April issue very well, aside from some mixed reaction to the McCarthy material. . . . The Socialist Union of America branch here is organizing a one-month subscription campaign to add 50-100 subs to our total. . . .

D. L. Detroit

Points to Omission

Your otherwise excellent article called "Anti-Labor Thugs Still in Business" [*American Socialist*, April 1954] fails to note that Ken Morris, president of Local 212, was also a victim of one of the beatings.

Detroit Reader

"Predict too Accurately"

The *American Socialist* is a powerhouse—and so, by the way, is the war danger. The trouble with you guys is that you predict too accurately. . . . I placed four copies of the April issue in a neighborhood store. . . .

I would like to see an article on housing and housing projects in the *American Socialist*. It's still the thing that is on many people's minds.

Here in Youngstown, the City Council recently approved emergency legislation to construct a project for low-income families. Only 304 units, but it took a fight to get it. There is opposition from real estate interests, and they got homeowners in the area to back them up, so that if not for the strong stand taken by the CIO, the project would have been licked. Race prejudice (the project is to be inter-racial) has been used by the opposition.

James P. Griffin, District 26 director of the United Steelworkers, who is also head of the State CIO, led the fight for the project. "I'd be for it if it were in my back yard," was his remark. And Sam Camens, president of steelworkers' Local 1330, reminded many of the misguided homeowners that the CIO had defeated the real estate interests "who objected to the prefabricated houses many of you are now living in."

Youngstown has one of the highest percentages of individual home-ownership in the country (61.2 percent). Apparently the real estate bigwigs assumed that the union leaders would make the record and then keep mum, as was done in Akron some time ago. Akron is another city with a high percentage of homeowners, and some union leaders, feeling that they will not be backed by many of the union members who own their own homes, don't do much fighting for public housing.

Here, however, the steelworkers by and large didn't show much sympathy for the opponents of public housing, and the union, together with the NAACP and liberals, led the fight all the way.

L. B. Youngstown

COMING IN OUR NEXT ISSUES

- SOVIET ART
- EGYPT
- HEYDAY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

"That's Really Something"

The *American Socialist* continues to get better with each succeeding issue. I get the feeling that you've hit your stride in the April number. The combination of articles (all the major ones very well written) gives the clearest delineation of political physiognomy you've yet achieved.

We are generally chary of superlatives, and prefer a more modest manner of expression. But I can tell you that the readers here feel downright proud of the magazine, proud to give it to a friend or shopmate, proud to sell it in a union or political meeting. Considering the character and quality of radical publications around, that's really something.

F. F. Chicago

"Convention Pressures"

A little note in the March issue of the *United Automobile Worker* entitled "For Thinking" showed me how hollow much of Walter Reuther's talk about democracy is. The statement said:

"A meeting where the local and international leaders of the UAW can sit down with the best-informed people in the world and think out important problems together, is the way UAW President Walter Reuther described the underlying objective of the sixth UAW Education Conference at a recent preliminary planning session.

"Said Reuther, the Education Conference, coming in the years between conventions, should be a place where the responsible leaders of the union can think aloud about the problems, free from convention pressures."

This gives us a pretty good idea what his thinking must be like, since he prefers not to submit it for the approval of the members. He appears to fear the pressure of the democratic process, when the rank-and-file participate.

Auto Worker Detroit

On Veterans' Needs

I read your magazine recently and found it timely and interesting.

There is a definite need for something to replace the controlled press of today.

I am a disabled veteran who has been through the wringer of the Veterans' administration and because of the capitalist-dominated veterans' organizations I have no official voice to defend my rights.

As a working man, I am well aware of such one-sided situations. The need is urgent for some way to give voice against these inhuman practices. The result of all this should be a drastic change.

I would very much like to have the opinions of the editors about veterans' affairs and what can be done.

P. S. San Francisco

Reader Praise, Good Sales—And A Tour

New York Readers

LECTURE

The Slump In U.S. Economy

Speaker:

HARRY BRAVERMAN

How bad is the recession and what are the prospects? What causes capitalist depressions? Keynesian "solutions" analyzed from the point of view of Marxism.

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM

**UNTIL
MAY 15**



THE APRIL ISSUE of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST drew more praise from our readers than any since our first issue last January. We've tried to analyze the contents in search of the formula that elicited such gratifying commendation. But it's hard to put your finger on. For one thing, the growing support given our publication generates confidence in our style and approach, and each month the editors proceed with a surer hand. In large part, therefore, our readers share the credit.

Sales last month were good, which gives body to the enthusiastic praise. Our Chicago circulation manager reported, "The sale of the magazine this month has been excellent. We sold 30 magazines at one stand in ten days; another stand which took five the first time sold 15 of the succeeding issue in less than two weeks, plus we introduced the magazine to three new stands this month and are slowly beginning to broaden our coverage. We sold 60 copies at the UAW-CIO educational conference."

We trust you are keeping a sharp eye cocked for possible new stands on which to place the AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

BERT COCHRAN, a member of our editorial board, is planning a tour of major cities, to meet our readers in person, to speak on the problems of socialism and unionism, and to exchange opinions with our friends and critics. You may get detailed information on his meetings by writing to the Socialist Union of America at 863 Broadway, N. Y. 3. A future issue will carry more information, and all subscribers will be notified of meetings in their area.

* * *

Those who have not already taken advantage of our special six-month introductory subscription for \$1.00 should do so promptly. This offer will be discontinued after May 15th. Use the subscription blank below.

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