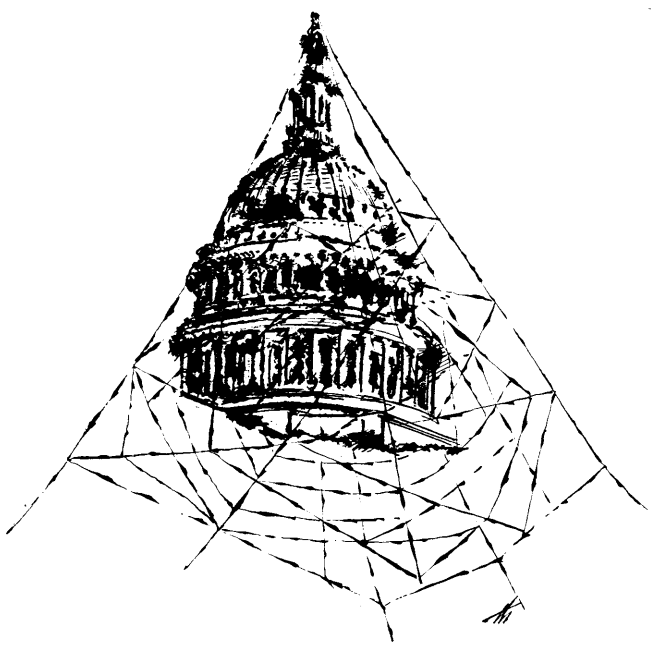
The American Socialist

SEPTEMBER 1955 25 CENTS

After Geneva:

Return From The Summit



REFLECTIONS ON THE 84th CONGRESS

First-Hand Report from South

The "New Capitalism"

A Free Press?

CLIPPINGS

SUPREME Court Justice Harlan struck a final blow at Cedric Belfrage, editor of the National Guardian, when he denied him bail. Belfrage has spent over four months in West Street prison in New York because he has been ordered deported under the Walter McCarran Act for alleged membership in the Communist Party eighteen years ago. The prosecution was undertaken at McCarthy's order last May 1953. As Belfrage's only recourse was to seek a Supreme Court review of the deportation order, and as this amounted in practice to an indeterminate prison sentence, in the absence of bail, he has elected to leave the country and is scheduled to sail for England on August 15. The American Civil Liberties Union recently protested against this vindictive persecution. Belfrage, the Guardian announced, will continue as editor—an editor-in-exile.

AS a result of the important June 23 decision of the federal Court of Appeals in the case of Shachtman v. Dulles, Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, was finally granted a passport. Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, wrote in the July 30 Nation: "Shachtman took the position of the American Civil Liberties Union, and argued that the Secretary of State did have discretion to deny passports, but said that the Secretary had abused it by accepting as conclusive the Attorney General's listing of the League as 'subversive.' In this case the Court of Appeals gave the plaintiff more than he sought. It not only held that the Attorney General's list was not conclusive; it held that the right to travel 'is a natural right.' "

An even more important consequence of the court's decision was the Justice Department's granting of a hearing to Shachtman's organization on its being placed on the subversive list, after it had vainly tried to get such a hearing for the past eight years. This is the first hearing ever granted any organization that has been so blacklisted.

The hearing held in Washington was temporarily adjourned after two days when the ISL attorney, Joseph Rauh, asked Brownell to replace the hearing examiner because of bias. In the meantime, the Workers Defense League has announced the formation of a special committee in connection with its support of the ISL's case against being placed on the subversive list. The committee includes Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, Waldo Frank, Kermit Eby, Nancy MacDonald, Meyer Schapiro, Irving Howe and Lewis Coser.

ANOTHER notable court decision this last month occurred when Federal Judge Weinfeld in New York dismissed on a technicality the indictment of Corliss Lamont, Abraham Unger and Albert Shadowitz for contempt of Congress when they refused to answer questions of the McCarthy committee on grounds that these violated their rights under the first "free speech" amendment. At the same time, the Florida Supreme Court ruled that a lawyer could not be disbarred just because he pleaded the fifth amendment before a Congressional committee.

NORMAN THOMAS and Rowland Watts, representing the Workers Defense League, and Kenneth M. Birkhead, of the American Veterans Committee, presented a two-volume study of 110 draftee security cases to the Secretary of the Army, criticizing the application of the federal employee security system to army draftees. Mr. Watts asserted that the army had assumed the role of censor over the nation's young men, and that this censorship was also exerted for six additional years by holding the threat of an unfavorable discharge over a draftee after he has completed his active service and was in the reserve. Watts further charged that the army had denied hearings to draftees and had imprisoned a number without trial.

The long arm of the witch-hunt has now reached out against the powerful and respectable CIO auto union. After a long grand jury investigation and FBI harassment, Brownell has had the UAW indicted charging that the union had violated the Corrupt Practices Act which prohibits unions from making political contributions and expenditures in federal elections. Secretary-Treasurer Mazey declared: "We welcome the chance to test the right of working people to express their free political views through their union." A statement released by the union's executive board read: "To permit this assault upon the basic freedom of working people and their union, would ultimately represent a threat to everyone's freedom as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Freedom, as the UAW-CIO understands it, is an indivisible value and no one's freedom is secure so long as anyone's freedom is in jeopardy."

These are fine sentiments, and it is to be hoped that the auto union officials will now act upon them in all cases.

THE independent United Electrical Workers won an important victory when local 207 signed a contract with the Landers Corporation at New Britain, Conn., after a bitterly fought 128-day strike. The two-year contract provides for a five percent wage increase starting January 1, 1956 and additional fringe benefits. The settlement was made possible because of the splendid solidarity afforded the strike by the local AFL and CIO organizations.

In the midst of strikes against the major copper corporations, Attorney General Brownell moved to cite the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union as a "communist-infiltrated" organization, under the terms of the Butler-Brownell Communist Control Law of 1954. Should the Subversive Activities Control Board decide against the union, it will be barred from the facilities of the NLRB and 20 percent of the members can petition for an election to replace their allegedly communist officers. If the labor movement permits this union-busting to go unopposed, CIO and AFL unions can expect to feel the axe at the later stage.

The American Socialist

September 1955 Vol. 2, No. 9

Published monthly by American Socialist Publications, 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: WAtkins 9-7739. Subscription rates: $2.50 for one year; $4.50 for two years. By first class mail: $3.75 for one year; $7 for two years. Foreign rates: $3 for one year; $5.50 for two years. Single copy: 25 cents. Second class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bert Cochran, George Clarke, Harry Braverman
BUSINESS MANAGER: Wm. Raleigh 357

CONTENTS

The American Socialist
September 1955 Vol. 2, No. 9

Reflections on the 84th Congress

TO THE liquid strains of "Let The Rest Of The World Go By," rendered by a Congressman from Tennessee, and with clever imitations of bird noises by another people's representative from Maryland, the first session of the 84th Congress closed up shop. So partial an organization as the ADA, which by and large goes along with the Democrats and the bi-partisan foreign policy, could not conceal its disgust at the works of our Solons. Joseph Rauh Jr., ADA chairman, summed up the session as putting this Congress "well on its way to matching the record of the do-nothing 80th Congress."

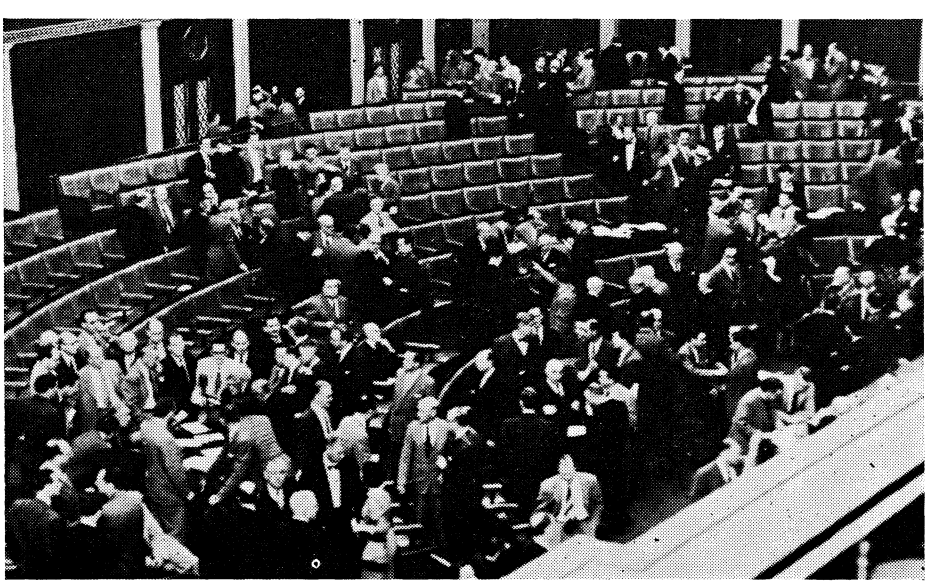
The session began by voting Eisenhower a blank check to wage nuclear war against China and ended with the passage of a watered-down version of universal training to militarize our youth. Its record on civil rights legislation was zero, in the unanimous opinion of the Negro press. Its so-called housing bill all but buried public housing. It did nothing for school construction and education, or easing the tax-load on low and middle-income families. It did not even go through the pretense of seeking to strike the punitive sections of the Taft-Hartley law. The lone accomplishment in the field of social legislation was passage of the $1 minimum wage law, which is pretty piddling stuff, with the cost of living being what it is. The psychology of retreat is so all-pervasive, however, that we have become thankful for small favors, and are gratified not for what this Congress did, but for what it fortunately did not do. It did not pass a number of the proposed bills out of Brownell's filthy stable—the wiretapping bill, the new perjury bill, or the proposal to set up security screening throughout industry.

But this Congress, let us remind ourselves, is in the hands of good Democrats, not wicked Republicans. How come liberalism is taking such a beating? The explanation, dear reader, is that the two-party system, as it is practiced in the United States today, is a fraud perpetrated on a gullible public. It is an old shell game that has been exposed long ago, but it still works. The Democratic Party is dominated by stiff-necked reactionaries and racists, who ally themselves with the Republicans on most matters that count. They keep up the pretense of a contest, but in practice are in a joint conspiracy to fleece the American people, and to bind them hand-and-foot from protesting or organizing to throw the high-binders and rascals from their seats of power.

Nevertheless, as many observers have noted, significant changes for the better have occurred on the American political scene in the past year, and at that, on the two most important issues facing the people today—peace and freedom.

First, Senator McCarthy, who loomed up as possibly the most influential public figure a year ago, and a menace of incalculable measure, has been cut down to the size of a provincial senator with scarcely any following in Congress. The Republican party, which had been badly divided, has since consolidated itself around the Eisenhower wing. It would be gratifying if we could report that an aroused labor and liberal movement had taken matters in hand and driven the demagogue from the public scene. But it didn't happen that way. It happened because the same plutocracy that dictated the nomination of Willkie, and then of Dewey, and finally of Eisenhower, saw no need at this juncture for a fascist movement, and did not even want a free-wheeling demagogue in a top position of national leadership who threatened to become unmanageable and to disrupt the existing political machinery which was serving the economic masters with complete satisfaction.

IN common with the rest of the Left, the *American Socialist* understood the menace that McCarthy—as the ruthless spearhead of the witch-hunt—represented; and how the logic of his position would drive him to assume leadership of the war party. But we never believed through all those bitter months when McCarthy was riding high, that a fascist mass movement could be organized or that the American rulers would decide for the fascist solution when the country was enjoying prosperity and full employment, when there was no internal crisis, and when



organized labor was tame and presented no social threat. The decisiveness with which the curtain was drawn on McCarthy and his entourage demonstrates that we were right in our estimation; that the Eastern industrial and banking behemoths are still very much the power, and that they became convinced that the witch-hunt threatened to get out of hand—and out of their control. They are at present content to attain their objectives through the existing political agencies and their traditional spokesmen and servitors.

This proposition of keeping the witch-hunt within strictly demarcated limits, and not permitting the politicians to envelop and ruin too many sectors and groupings in American life, is now being further reinforced through the instrumentality of the courts. A number of the recent decisions have tried to lay down a firm set of instructions to the legislators and the bureaucracy: You can continue with the witch-hunt, the courts are saying in effect, and we will not assail any of its underlying assumptions and purposes, but don't get too wild, keep it within well-defined limits, observe some minimum rules, and don't involve too many groups in its toils.

Concomitant with this modest letup in the witch-hunt at home has been an easing of the cold war atmosphere in the international sphere. Where a year ago we were on the verge of war in Indo-China, and again poised for the plunge at the beginning of the year in the Formosa crisis, the groundwork now appears to be prepared for a relaxation of tension. This change is all the more remarkable as no agreements have been reached on the major points in conflict—Germany, Formosa, American overseas bases, etc.—and there is no likelihood that agreement will be reached on these matters for years to come. Here again it cannot be said that an embattled public has forced Dulles and Eisenhower to reverse their course. The *detente* has simply been imposed on the American rulers as both Russia and the United States have the weapons to annihilate each other, and the rest of the world's peoples into the bargain. The stalemate in the international tug-of-war produced by the common possession of nuclear weapons and the bankruptcy of the diplomacy of bluff and threat may very well lead in the next period to the conclusion of agreements on a number of collateral issues. Thus, we are afforded another breathing spell, and with it the great good fortune of precious time in which to educate people and to help give organizational expression to their aspiration for a world free of the perils of war, or want, or dictatorship.

IT SHOULD not be inferred that because no organized resistance movement against war and police-statism has yet emerged in this country that the considerable efforts of leftists and liberals against these twin scourges has not done much to arouse the public conscience, and that the widespread mass sentiments and moods did not exert important pressure upon the people in high places. The very holding of the Geneva conference testifies to the need of all the powers to propitiate their peoples and assure them that they are working for peace. These initial and tentative successes should bolster the self-confidence of all of us on the Left, and serve as the starting point for renewed efforts to reverse the present period of reaction.

A Free Press?

ANYONE who gives five minutes worth of thought to the matter knows that democracy in political life and affairs involves far more than citizens marking up ballots every two or four years and duly appointed clerks tallying up the totals to determine the sovereign will of the people. Beyond the mechanics of popular rule there must exist the actual opportunity to exercise a free choice, to pick alternative paths of action; and for that, as liberal thinkers have been saying from Thomas Jefferson to Justice Holmes, an educated and enlightened citizenry is quintessential. It has repeatedly been dinned into our ears in school that the vitality of democratic institutions is dependent on a free competition of ideas in the intellectual market place.

But in our centralized and complex industrial society the dissemination of news and information and the education of the public on the issues of the day has become Big Business, monopolized by several select groups of multi-millionaires. Freedom of the press, which is supposed to be one of the major vaunted freedoms by which we distinguish our "free society" from that of the wicked totalitarians, is becoming increasingly a theoretical right, enthusiastically accepted on principle in order to be denied in practice. Of course, a few small liberal and left-wing journals and papers continue to publish with the aid of private contributions; and on suitable occasions this fact is pointed to with pride by official spokesmen as proof of the enduring devotion of the American business community to the principles of the Founding Fathers.

We are the last to sneer at even this limited right, and are doing our best to exercise it and vitalize it, but it would be sheer folly or blindness not to recognize its extremely circumscribed and restricted character. Left wing or liberal publications are no more in a position in this money economy to compete with the Big Business

BUT hoary-headed selfishness has felt
Its death-blow, and is tottering to the grave:
A brighter morn awaits the human day,
When every transfer of earth's natural gifts
Shall be a commerce of good words and works;
When poverty and wealth, the thirst of fame,
The fear of infamy, disease and woe,
War with its million horrors, and fierce hell
Shall live but in the memory of time,
Who, like a penitent libertine shall start,
Look back, and shudder at his younger years.

Percy Bysshe Shelley

press than, as Debs used to say, you are competing with the Santa Fe when you own a wheelbarrow and run it from St. Paul to Kansas City.

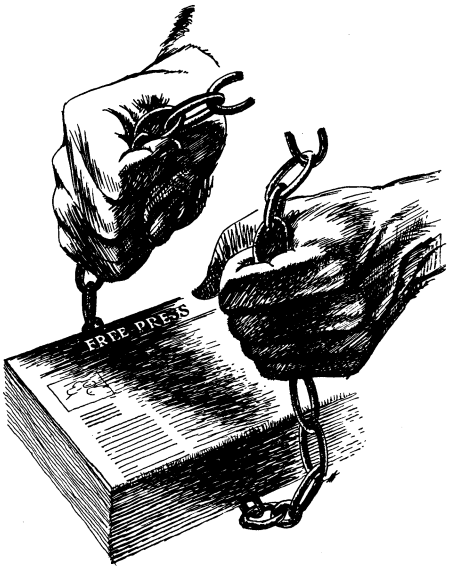
YES, the press in this country is definitely Big Business, and as in all other important sectors of the economy, monopoly is growing apace, and the small and even the middle-sized entrepeneurs are being squeezed out. In the last quarter century a total of 800 newspapers have gone under. The number of daily English-speaking papers has decreased from 2,042 in 1920, to 1,933 in 1930, to 1,765 in 1955, and as the recent demise of the Los Angeles *Daily News* shows, the slaughter still goes on. 94 percent of American cities and 18 American states are now without competing newspapers. In the 1952 election over two-thirds of the daily papers with 80 percent of the circulation supported Eisenhower.

In other words, the debate in the market place has turned into a soliloquy. Instead of confrontation of opposing ideas and solutions, we have a Big Business "party line" consistently sold the public by paid propagandists. Of course, they are generally a little cleverer at their trade than the Communist Party hack writers, and often achieve their surest effects by indirection and innuendo. They have taken a leaf from old Dr. Johnson who used to "reconstruct" the Parliamentary debates for the *Gentlemen's Magazine.* When he was later praised for the way he dealt out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both political parties, he remarked, "I saved appearances tolerably well; but I took care that the *Whig dogs* should not have the best of it."

We are thus up against a situation where the well-springs of our democracy are poisoned at the source, and the people are being systematically drugged with slanted propaganda designed to extoll the plutocracy and all its works, and to drown out all criticism with a continual hosannah to the *status quo.*

NATURALLY, most of our liberals are too busy sanctimoniously denouncing the totalitarian press behind the "Iron Curtain" to pay much attention to the threat to democratic processes in our own backyard, but every now and then—let us thank the gods —an independent voice of honesty and courage is heard. In this latter category belongs the memorable speech of Dr. Robert M. Hutchins delivered this past April when he appeared before the convention in Washington of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and like a John the Baptist, cried out to the assembled editors, "Repent Ye!"

Dr. Hutchins wasted no time on vapid homilies or psalm-singing. He let the editors have it straight from the shoulder. "Of course we have a one-party press in this country," he exclaimed, "and we shall have one as long as the press is Big Business, and as long as people with money continue to feel safer on the Republican side."



Then he laid it on the line for them:

The great issues of our time are peace and freedom. . . . We know that the peoples of the earth are now equipped to turn one another into radioactive cinders. Can you say that you have given Americans the material they need to reach a conclusion on the course they should follow, on the choice between coexistence and no existence. . . . And what of freedom in the garrison state? Since most of you take the official line, that the only important fact of life is our imminent danger from the international conspiracy, most of you have watched the erosion of freedom without a twinge. When the official line permitted, you have sallied forth, as when you gallantly led the troops from the rear in a belated attack on Senator McCarthy. You have filled the air with warnings of the sinister figures on the Left, but have printed almost nothing about the fat cats on the Right. You have allowed things to get to such a pass that some government departments now have guidance clinics in which the employee is taught how not to look like a security risk. Look at the Passport Division, interfering with the travel of Americans on their lawful occasions; at the Attorney General's list, ruining the lives of thousands on the basis of hearsay; at the Post Office Department, saving us from Pravda and Aristophanes; at the State Department, adding the name of Corsi to those of Davies and Service and countless others. See the blacklist spreading in industry, merging with proposals that American Communists should be starved to death. Listen to the wire-tapping, to the cry of Fifth Amendment Communists, to the kept witnesses roaming the land. The most distresing part of it is not that these things happen, but that the free press of this country appears to regard them as matters of routine.

DR. HUTCHINS' address has a history behind it. In 1947 a distinguished group of American educational leaders headed by Hutchins and Zechariah Chaffee Jr. formed a commission subsidized by Time Inc. to report on the state of the American press. After lengthy discussions, the commission rejected all solutions of government regulation of the press as leading to totalitarianism and proposed instead the establishment of an agency, independent of both the government and the press, to be subsidized by private gifts, and which would have the responsibility "of comparing the accomplishments of the press with the aspirations which the people have for it." Dr. Hutchins was now asking the newspaper editors to reconsider their past opposition to this recommendation.

The proposition, however, leaves one with a totally unsatisfactory feeling. The trenchancy of Dr. Hutchins' criticism and the acuteness of his understanding of the causes for the present state of affairs contrasts unfavorably with the innocuousness of his purported remedy. The reason for this lapse is because he, like so many other

liberals, tries to find the solution to a social problem outside the sphere of the social forces operating in the United States today. But outside of the activities of these social classes, there is no answer to the growth of a one-party monopoly press, any more than to the other baleful effects of monopoly capitalism. That is why the best of middle class criticism seems to get reduced nowadays to either hand-wringing or denunciations, without a clear-cut alternative to the evil at hand.

BUT the social power exists right now in this country that can effectively challenge the capitalist monopoly of the press—it is the organized labor movement. Labor has the social influence, the mass following, the ability to raise the necessary finances. If the main labor officials but willed it, they could organize right now big, modern daily newspapers in three or four of the biggest cities like New York, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, and get the money by setting up co-operatives and having their members and all other sympathetic-minded individuals purchase shares in the enterprises. If the pre-World War I Socialist movement, with not a fraction of the membership or financial resources of the modern unions, could successfully establish a number of daily newspapers, the present labor movement, with its huge following, could with far greater ease overcome all problems connected with such a venture. What is lacking is the imagination, the boldness, the will.

It might be objected that the labor movement does have its own press right now, and that this press has not been noticeably successful in competing with the big capitalist dailies. But we are not talking of that kind of press. The present trade union periodicals are strictly house organs, and not of a very superior variety, at that. It is no great surprise that most union members don't bother to read these papers, and that they exercise very little influence in the ranks. If the Russian party press is as dull and mediocre as its detractors say it is, it still cannot be any inferior to the pompous and vainglorious union press of this country, which seems to be dedicated in large part to extolling the alleged virtue and wisdom of its offical leadership.

WHAT we are proposing is the founding of several large, modern daily newspapers, which will inaugurate a social struggle on all fronts to win the allegiance of the whole progressive-minded section of the communities in which they are published. Once one or two of these dailies are successful, the idea will spread like wildfire throughout the country, and the era of the capitalist press monopoly will have come to a close.

Some of the younger and more intellectual labor leaders have got sold in recent years on Professor Galbraith's theory of the countervailing forces inherent in present-day American capitalism. They should act on their theory and work to organize the countervailing force to the present capitalist monopoly of the press.

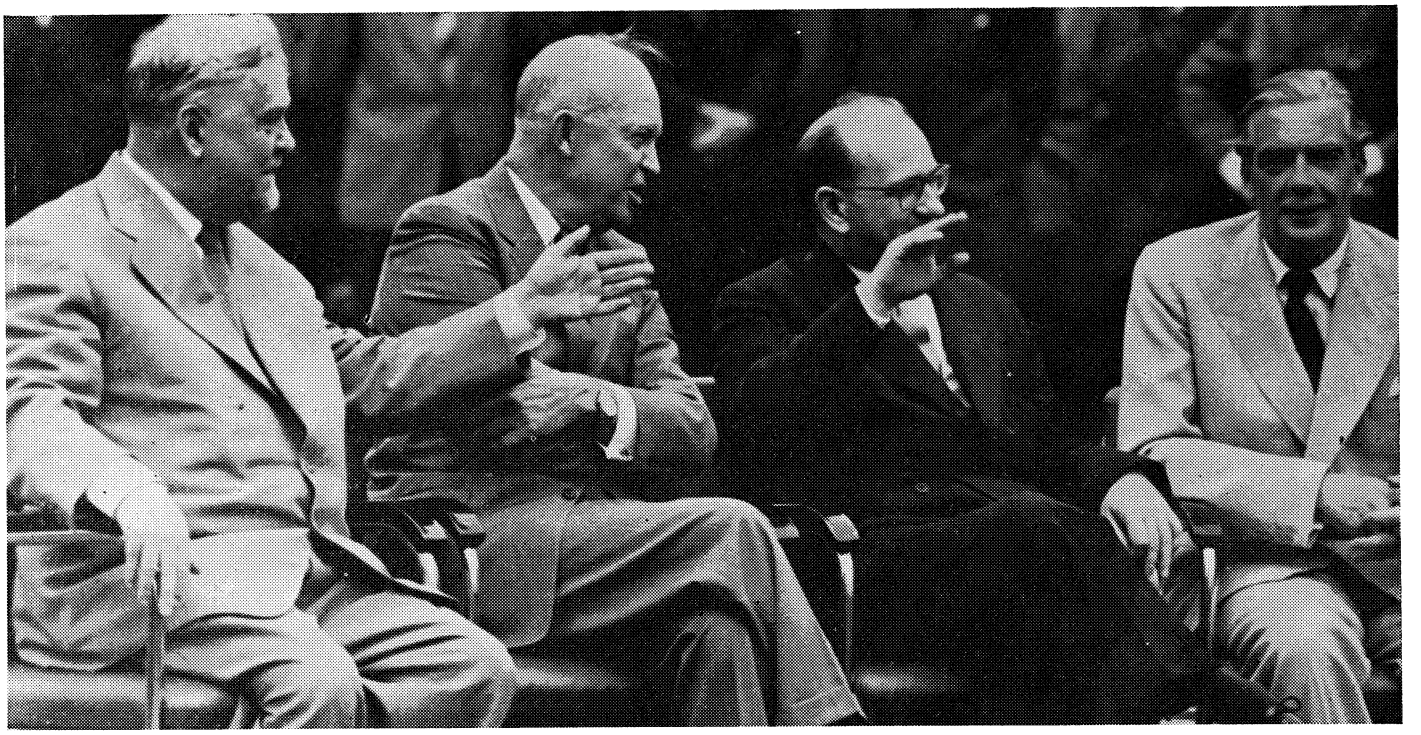
Now Brownell Moves To Smear "The Nation"

THE latest attempt of Brownell's Justice Department to plug the holes in its leaking informer system and to punish all those responsible for exposing that system is the move to smear the liberal weekly publication, the *Nation*. This started with the indictment of R. Lawrence Siegel, general counsel for the magazine, Hadassah Shapiro, an attorney in Siegel's office, and Martin Solow, *Nation* assistant to the publisher.

Mr. Siegel and Miss Shapiro are charged with conspiracy, obstructing justice and perjury in connection with the government's investigation of Harvey Matusow. While the press stories artfully connected these two with the *Nation,* the alleged acts on which the indictment was returned involved an entirely different client of Mr. Siegel's.

Reporting on the case, the *Nation* also points out that Mr. Solow is charged with obstructing the administration of justice, "because he destroyed four items of correspondence which he had conducted in his individual capacity and in no way in behalf of the *Nation*. How much his action was an 'obstruction,' can be discerned from the fact that the grand jury's knowledge of his action comes apparently from his testimony given to the grand jury freely and voluntarily. . . . Mr. Solow's conduct amounts to an 'obstruction to the administration of justice' only to a Department of Justice or a grand jury intent on conjuring up a *bete noire* to replace the image of the government's irresponsible use of professional informers. The necessity, as measured by the Department of Justice, for the indictment of Mr. Solow is quite clear: neither the department nor Mr. Brownell has ever forgiven the *Nation* for the first major expose of the informer system. . . ."

The statement concludes with this ringing challenge: "The *Nation* is fully aware of the fact that one of the purposes of the indictments against Mr. Siegel, Miss Shapiro, and Mr. Solow is to punish, and if possible silence, this publication for the political sin—and it is that in Mr. Brownell's book—of having repeatedly, consistently, and from the outset, denounced the unjust and incompetent administration of the Department of Justice under his direction. We have no intention now or later of permitting a crude tactic of this kind, more in keeping with the practices of a totalitarian regime than of a democracy, to divert us from focusing attention on the informer system and pointing to the threat to civil liberties and civic decency implicit in the use of paid witnesses to impose a system of political surveillance on a sizeable section of the population. The *Nation* has been around for a long time, much longer than Mr. Brownell, and we have no intention, in celebrating this year our ninetieth anniversary, of surrendering our independence under pressure of his vindictive bullying."



The Big Four at the summit meeting did not ratify any agreements or settle any of the outstanding conflicts between the two camps. But they did inaugurate a new abatement of the cold war and set the stage for the detente in world politics.

After Geneva:

Return From The Summit

by Our European Correspondent

Geneva

THE GENEVA Big Four meeting was an event in the international *detente* rather than a treaty-making conference. Its occurrence, however, was in itself a ratification of certain *de facto* decisions reached on the battlefields of the cold war and a recognition of a certain balance of power which neither side has presently the strength to alter. The guns had already been silenced over the Formosa straits and, at the other end of the world, the struggle over the destiny of Germany, hence over Europe, had reached a stalemate. In place of war, according to all the rules of diplomacy, there should have been negotiations for peace, but as these were not yet possible Geneva became the scene of a nine-day round of smiles and backslapping, of banquets and parties, a grand celebration of the fact that . . . there was no war. The co-existence of apple pie and caviar does not settle the rivalries of capitalism and socialism, but in any case it is a better diet for statesmen than is radioactive dust for the people.

There was deeper significance to the camaraderie of Eisenhower and Zhukhov than their (temporary) agreement not to fight. Geneva marked the bankruptcy—although not yet the tombstone—of the bipartisan doctrine of "negotiations through strength." According to the grand design of this policy, there was not to have been any negotiations with the Russians until they would be confronted with an overwhelming array of force that would have compelled major concessions. Eisenhower's declaration calling on the Soviets to abandon Eastern Europe and the proposal to reunify Germany under Adenauer and within the Atlantic alliance were vague echoes of this policy. Now, they were statements merely for the record. In fact, Washington had come to Geneva on the defensive to parry a spreading tendency for neutrality which Russia and China were encouraging in Europe and Asia.

All the assiduous work in securing the ratification of the Paris agreements had been threatened with collapse. "The most expert jugglers in the history of diplomatic acrobacy," as Sulzberger calls them, suddenly found themselves outjuggled by Moscow's cession of neutrality to

Austria and its repentant recognition of Yugoslav autonomy. Adenauer was invited to Moscow to receive even more impressive political and economic concessions in return for German neutrality. In the Far East the attempt to build in SEATO a rampart of force against China was undermined by the coalition of Chou En-lai and Pandit Nehru at the Bandung conference. Its sequel was the emphatic refusal of Western governments to join Dulles in a war for Formosa and the plague of offers by Asian mediators to settle the conflict on terms which recognized Communist China's rights over the island. The State Department was left high, dry and despised as Asian neutralism—whose first principle is to live in peace with the Chinese Revolution—encompassed the East from Japan to Egypt.

The Russians sized up this situation and came to the meeting at "the summit" to propose agreement for the ending of the cold war on the basis of the *status quo*. They dropped the argument about the re-armament of Germany, they didn't demand the withdrawal of American troops from Europe. They had no spectacular propositions to rival Eisenhower's "honest aerial espionage." As a result, some intrepid cold war addicts summed up the conference with the claim that the tough policy had brought the Kremlin to its senses. Dulles' first remark as he stepped off the plane in Washington—that we didn't give anything away at Geneva—was a more accurate evaluation of the real situation.

UNASSUMING and undemanding in appearance, Bulganin's proposal was actually laden with dynamite. The preservation of the *status quo* and the ending of the cold war is in reality a contradiction in terms. Once the cold war ends, the *status quo* will rapidly alter. For no government could then justify an armaments race with the hardships it works on the people and the damaging effects on the economy; NATO would lose its reason for existence; Western Germany could not be armed as a *revanchist* power seeking restitution of eastern territories by civil war and armed conquest. That Bulganin offered for bargaining a plan to achieve this end by graduated steps over a period of years was no consolation to those who had built a warlike structure for precisely opposite ends.

The weeks that preceded the Big Four meeting were the scene of hectic efforts to save the Washington-Bonn axis—that great contribution of John Foster Dulles to the felicity of mankind. When Adenauer received his invitation to Moscow, he immediately boarded a plane for the opposite direction, Washington. The Bundestag was then presented with a shotgun proposition to give the Ministry of Defense a blank check to proceed with the immediate establishment of the new Wehrmacht. In the first session the Defense Minister even refused to answer questions from those preoccupied with the danger of setting up a new Prussian military machine. No chances were to be taken that a prolonged debate could leave the Bonn regime without the framework of an army when the Geneva conference convened.

According to a dispatch from Bonn in *France-Observateur,* received, they claim, from an absolutely reliable source, a NATO delegation headed by Lord Ismay, making an inspection tour on July 4-5 in Germany, arrived at the following secret agreements with Adenauer: 1) The General Staff of the new *Wehrmacht* was designated by name thus eluding possible control or veto by the Bundestag; 2) German volunteers could be integrated as "technicians" in American, British and French forces stationed in Germany to the extent of ten percent of the latter effectives. This would surpass the 6,000 volunteers, asked by Adenauer as a first draft, and would set the creation of the army in motion regardless of the Bundestag's decisions or possible agreements at Geneva; 3) Implementation of a prior secret protocol providing for close coordination between the NATO services and the Gehlen organization, an intelligence network for Eastern Europe and Germany inherited from the Gestapo. A paragraph in the agreement stipulates that these are "agreements between governments, not requiring ratification by any parliament."

Adenauer, watching the Geneva conference like a hawk from a Swiss mountain chalet, professed to be satisfied that the policy of "strength" had yielded results. In sharp contrast with his gloating, bourgeois German circles were overcome with dismay to learn a few days later that the Russians, far from showing signs of weakening, had actually raised the ante for reunification. On top of withdrawal from NATO, Khrushchev in his speech at East Berlin had insisted that a reunified Germany must preserve "the political and social achievements" of the Eastern German regime.

FOR THE first time in many months, Georges Blun, the violently pro-Adenauer, anti-Social Democratic Bonn correspondent of the *Journal de Geneve* shows signs of discouragement. There is apparently a big debate in top circles of Western Germany as to whether Adenauer should go to Moscow and what he should do there. A Christian Democratic deputy, Dr. Friedensburg, Chairman of the Institute of Economic Studies, has reproached his political colleagues with being victims of an "anti-Russian mystique." Blun moans that "the more one tries to dissect the declarations of German politicians, the more one is convinced that the nation is more divided than is generally admitted." He continues: "Must it be feared that, since Geneva, there has been a further deterioration of the internal situation which would establish that the stiffening of the Russian position has really had its effect? Personally we incline to believe it."

Here again we are led back to our previous conclusion. In a continuation of the cold war, Germany could become the dominant reactionary force in Western Europe and the spearhead of the military coalition against the East. Given its cessation, however, Western Germany becomes the object of negotiations and bargaining which only enhances the disquietude of the Germans themselves. Added to this are fears about the strength of a reunified Germany in British and French ruling circles which led Eden and Faure to assume a bargaining posture at Geneva unlike that of the Americans. *The Economist* nervously scolds Eden for "fostering the fears of the Germans that a deal will be done at their expense. . . . If they succeed in so weakening the Chancellor's position that his fellow-countrymen, in spite of all warnings, opt for re-

union on Moscow's terms, then a devastating blow will have been struck at Western unity and security." We are not there yet. But you can put it down as a fact that German unity, if and when it occurs, will be as different from the conceptions and plans of the major powers as is the present-day Germany from the ideas of the men who met at Potsdam a decade ago.

Meanwhile, serious changes were in rapid progress in Southeast Europe. Proclaiming that the military aspects of the Balkan Pact were no longer pressing as the "threat of aggression had been lifted," Tito was on his way out of the western military alliance. The signs are multiplying that Yugoslavia may re-enter the Soviet orbit—but on its own terms. While the impact on Eastern Europe of a Yugoslav-Russian relationship based on friendship without dependence has been the subject of extensive comment, its effects elsewhere in Europe have still to be noted. What is to be expected, for example, in Greece, where reaction owes its rise even more to Stalin's excommunication of Yugoslavia in 1948 than to American intervention? The idea of Balkan cooperation on socialist terms is bound to be attractive to a people who have lived in grinding poverty amidst a shower of dollars which has enriched only a tiny handful of parasites.

The French press is already speculating on the domestic effects of the new climate of negotiations, of the spectacular resumption of tourist and cultural intercourse. If the "Iron Curtain" goes up between East and West, they question how long it can continue to separate the parties on the Left, how long the rigid patterns of anti-communism on which present governments are formed can last. And this holds ten times over for Italy. The attitude of the Communist parties towards these unfolding developments as they are caught between the conflicting currents of their traditional dependence on Soviet diplomacy, a re-established Tito who publicly blames Stalin not Beria, and a more independent-minded left-wing opinion than has hitherto existed, will bear close watching.

IT IS striking that these new vistas are opening up without a single agreement having been signed, without a single outstanding question settled at Geneva. Can the cold war really end? We can brush aside the moralizing hypocrisy of Senator Eastland of Mississippi on the alleged treaty-breaking proclivities of the Soviet Union. History will show that our government had, if anything, been less delicate with the rights of its neighbors, Indians, Mexico, Spain—and that Senator Eastland himself is still violating the rights of his Negro neighbors as established by the 14th Amendment and despite the recent decision of the Supreme Court. The problem is a more serious one, and it involves the attitude of the United States in the first place.

How deep does this change go and what is behind it? We have written many times that the grand scheme of the State Department, from Acheson to Dulles, would shipwreck on the post-war world revolution. Reluctant allies were cajoled or bribed into the coalition but politicians who signed treaties in the face of mass opposition were a poor crutch upon which to lean. The H-Bomb unhinged the military strategy of the Pentagon. Colossal changes in the world are symbolized in the equality achieved in nuclear weapons by a Russia that had become the second industrial power and by the rise of Communist China, which upset the international balance of power.

Recognition of these changes slowly penetrated the craniums of some of the men who rule our nation. There was clearly a conflict in counsel between two wings of the plutocracy: the "opportunists," whose thinking is pragmatically governed by present facts, and the "fundamentalists" who, envisaging no co-existence between the two systems, directed all their efforts toward a showdown. The circumstances—that is, the booming economy and the fabulous profits—favored the ascendancy of "the opportunists." To fight a war under such conditions seemed the height of insanity. The facts—that is, the successive collapse of the strategical inanities of "containment," "roll-back," "massive retaliation"—bolstered their case and has led to their present victory. Eisenhower went to Geneva as their spokesman, and Dulles is now grimly following the leader to talk to the devil himself—Red China.

AT THE risk of looking a gift horse in the mouth, the about-face in foreign policy is too sudden and drastic to pass without further examination. As it has all come down from the top, with the paternalism so often characteristic of American politics, we have the right to ask whether what is given today cannot also be taken away tomorrow. There is no reason to assume that the present prosperity which exists in the U.S. and to a lesser extent in the rest of the Western capitalist world will endure indefinitely. What guarantee is there then that those who have taken the path of peace today, because peace is more profitable, will not in the midst of crisis and desperation turn again and with greater violence to war? Furthermore, the social stability of great areas of the world, in Europe as well as in Asia and Africa, remains as fragile as ever and new eruptions which no one can prevent may frighten the wits out of those who have a vested interest against socal revolution, especially after they have settled down to the illusion of an unchanging *status quo*. (Premier Faure, to take one example only, was full of proposals for a *modus vivendi* in Europe while civil war was raging at his back door in Morocco and Algeria.) For the present Eisenhower and Wilson have the upper hand in policy-making councils but as there has not been any sharp break between the two tendencies in the oligarchy, new changes in the world, economic and political, could reverse the order to put Radford and Dulles on top.

That, however, depends on the American people with whom in the final analysis is lodged the fate of co-existence. For if the U.S. oligarchy is the only capitalist class in the world with sufficient strength to wage a major war, the American people is the decisive force to assure the peace. Up to now, it has remained on the sidelines. To be sure, the sentiment for peace is profound. Eisenhower, with his promise to end the Korean war, profited from it in 1952, and the narrow margin with which war was averted over Formosa can also be indirectly attributed to the popular desire for peace. But it is as yet an emotional not a political movement and finds no organized expression either in the opposition party or in a party of its own. What is hopeful, however, is that Eisenhower, whatever his intentions, has removed peace

from the realm of the outlaw. Two opinions are henceforth "legal" on foreign policy, and when the next crisis again precipitates the great debate, a movement for peace will draw its first strength from this position of legitimacy with which it has been officially endowed.

IF WE stress these American facts from the distance of Europe, it is because as Marxists we understand that the possibilities of co-existence between antagonistic social systems depend neither on the goodwill of statesmen nor on the workings of super-historical powers. Human forces arising from material circumstances and operating within the framework of a given reality are the factors which make for the so-called "inevitabilities" of history. The H-Bomb, because of its universal destructiveness, imposes peace only on the condition that it arouses a vast popular reaction to stay the hand of rulers who have already adjusted their military plans to the new nuclear weapons. The inevitability of war between capitalist and non-capitalist states will be further called into question given an independent American mass movement for peace. It would then require a fascist dictatorship to launch the maniacal military adventure. And only the most unalloyed pessimist could now consider that as the "inevitable" next stage of American history.

We take the liberty at this juncture of peering into the future because it is clear it will be full of shocks and crises which will bump the world many times to the brink of war. It is a future of great dangers—and great hopes. Mankind will finally be safe when a triumphant socialism has cleared away the last minefields of a retrograde and barbarous society.

Smudge of Oil on Peron

ACCORDING to an anonymous article in *France-Observateur*—the author is described as an important Argentine political figure—the hand of the American ambassador operating on behalf of Standard Oil was in the background of last month's military uprising against Peron and is deeply implicated in the present crisis of the regime.

The events are traced back to the signing of an agreement between a subsidiary of Standard Oil and the Argentine government. The contract provided for the leasing of 50,000 square kilometres of land to the company for a period of 45 years with an option for its extension. The Argentine tax system and the law governing foreign investments will not be enforced on this "extraterritorial" concession where the company is authorized to establish bases and airstrips, to freely import foreign exchange for its operations and to repatriate surplus funds in dollars. The government agrees to pay in dollars for oil it buys from the company at a price fixed not at the cost of production but at the Texas rate, the highest in the United States. In the event the contract becomes inoperative, the government will pay the company an indemnity equal to 50 percent of the value of the oil which could have been extracted in the duration of the agreement.

This agreement, the writer says, outraged the nationalist feelings of Argentine navy and air officers and became a complicating cause of the June 16 *pronunciamento*. After having originally encouraged the conspiracy, U.S. Ambassador Nufer denounced it at the last minute to Peron. He was received by the President at the Casa Rosada less than three hours before the bombardment of La Plaza del Mayo.

At the last moment, on the advice of Ambassador Nufer, General Lucero, Minister of War, announced that the army, which had participated in the conspiracy, would not join the revolt. In reality, this

JUAN PERON

was a veiled threat to blackmail Peron into making major changes in his regime which included a gradual change in government personnel, the neutralization of the CGT (the powerful trade union organization which, along with the armed forces, had been a major bulwark of Peronism), a moderation of penalties against the rebels, abandonment of the anti-clerical policy and some gestures at the liberalization of the regime. Peron was also supposed to have agreed not to be a candidate in the coming presidential elections.

Many of these measures have already taken effect, and the present purpose of the various political maneuvers is to regroup the conservative elements which, under the legality of Peron's presidency, will carry out a "deperonization" of the regime and prepare the election of a military leader. The new tone taken by the Vatican and the accommodating mood shown by former political opponents of Peron indicates the machinery of the change is in motion.

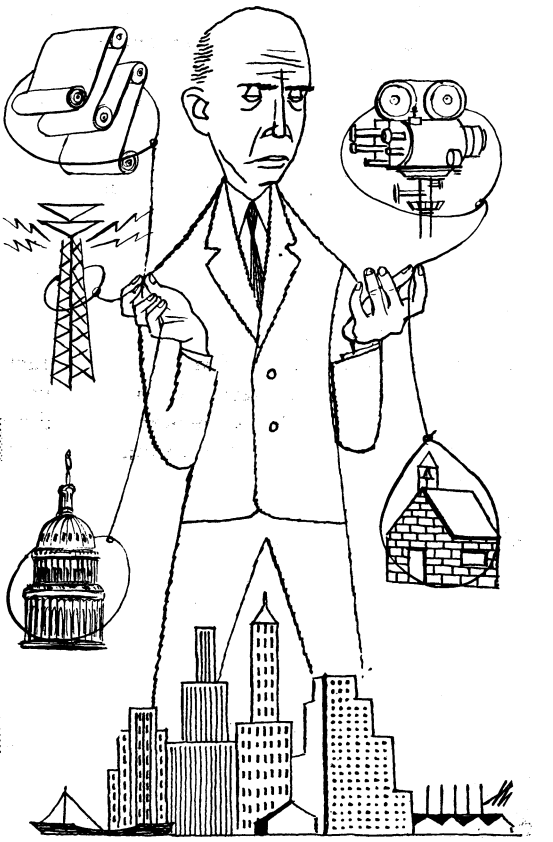
ONE of the principal objects of the "revolution," says the writer, will be the application of the oil agreement and a rapprochement with the U.S. which in return will support the new leaders. In his July 4 address, Ambassador Nufer declared that Argentina was one of the ramparts of continental order against the introduction of subversive ideas and that the application of the oil agreement would consolidate the bonds between the two countries.

In reaction to this American intervention in their internal affairs there is a growing demand on the part of liberal groups for a complete restoration of democratic and political rights. A movement within the CGT and the Peronista Party has started, led by those who believe themselves betrayed by their leader, for the establishment of a labor party without Peron. And within the army, the pro-American policy has aroused the violent opposition of the "Young Turks" in the lower echelons of the officer corps.

(*Business Week* of August 13 comments: "Note the experience of Standard Oil of California. It reached agreement with the Peron government last spring. But now the contract is bottled up in the Argentine congress, where nationalist opponents call it a giveaway to Yankee imperialists. The indecision, of course, is partly the result of the foggy political climate following the June revolt against Juan Peron. But outsiders think the government is anxious to make an oil deal. . . .")

What Is Property?

by Forrest Oran Wiggins



People tend to take for granted the social relations and concepts of the present and regard them as immutable and eternal. An expert in the field discusses the concept of property, its origins, its development under changing conditions, and the new philosophy of the law of property that is now emerging.

WHAT is property? In the first place, property is a relation between a person and a thing. We generally state the relation by saying that the person has the right to use, enjoy and dispose of the physical object. In the second place it is a relation between persons. Property is not a thing so much as it is a right to a thing. Hence, if we say a person has a right to a thing or object, in the same breath we say that other persons do *not* have the right.

If, in seeking justification for the institution of property, we go back to its first attribute as the right to use and enjoy an object, then when the individual does not use and enjoy the object, it would mean that he would lose the right to the property. But this is not the case. Therefore we have to make a distinction between present use and future use. That is, the individual may not use the object now; but it is the source or object of future use. Thus I may not use the tractor which is *now* in my yard, or my lawn mower, but I *will* want to use it in the future. But let us complicate the picture just a little bit. Suppose I have fifty tractors, to which I have legal ownership; I may not even know how to use or have not the remotest intention of using them. I have the capacity of holding these property objects, not for use, but to give me withholding power. That is, I can keep others from using these tractors or lawn mowers. The essence of property lies therefore in the control which is conferred upon the owner. This control is backed up by the state. For, if I cannot get the state to enforce my claims, they are null and void. That is, the claim might exist as an abstract right, but unless I can call upon the power of the state to enforce the right, it has no practical meaning. I think it is in this spirit that Bentham said, "Property and law are born together." Where there is no state there is no property. Thus the great political struggles of all times have been contests of the securing of state power.

In America we have inherited our notions of property from eighteenth and nineteenth century philosophers. The eighteenth and nineteenth century liberal movements were revolts against the tyrannical exercise of state power in the interest of a definite class, namely the landowning class. The class character of law is evident in a society which recognizes definite classes and it was no less evident that the state power was used for the benefit of and in the interest of the landowning class.

IN the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, freedom meant, therefore, not only the opportunity to engage in trade and to recognize the claim of the classes engaged in trade to a share in state power, but for many men it meant the attempt to gain direct access to the land.

Our own country got a good start on the road to freedom if freedom means access to the sources from which men are to derive their livelihood. The land was free. There was no feudal class. Thus we could rightfully exalt the notion of a free country composed of free men. Ninety percent of the nonslave population owned their own land.

Dr. Wiggins is on the faculty of Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina, as Professor of Humanities.

The same person was both the owner and user. And since the same person owned and used the land, he had a real sense of security and freedom. He depended on no other man for his livelihood. In a large measure his destiny was in his own hands, his economic fate depended on what he earned, his frugality, his thrift, and his hard work. More than that, he enjoyed the fruits of his labor.

But even beyond this factual situation, some moral justification had to be found for the private ownership of property. We cannot escape the fact that property is not man-made. The earlier insights stressed the fact that the earth was the Lord's and the fulness thereof. "Nature philosophers" like Rousseau had to talk of the bountifulness of nature. To take a part of the Lord's earth and to appropriate it for one's own private use demanded a justification.

In general the justification did and does run something like this: 1) The general well-being of the nation can best be furthered by a system which allows private ownership of the means of production. Men are best stimulated to work and to save when they know that they are working for their own benefit. 2) Through competition for property objects, the best in men is brought forth. Men must engage in business competition for control over property objects, for in this way the general harmony and well-being of the nation will be furthered. 3) For this competition to be genuine (and that there be no monopolies as existed in the feudal regime), there must be relative equality among the bargaining or competing units. And, 4) production must be for a market over which no individual or group of individuals has control. The market must be free, its working must be automatic, beyond human control or manipulation.

TO ensure the free market and especially to place his faith in the automatic workings of the system, Adam Smith had to call on the invisible hand of God. Now Adam Smith was not naive. He asserted that merchants in the same line seldom got together even for merriment without conspiring on ways to raise prices, fix prices, curb wages, and mulct the public. But Smith was living too close to the period when government was used to further the aims and interest of the landowning classes. So it was natural for him to have a keen distrust of all governmental activity. And though the slogan was not his, but belongs to a later age, he would have subscribed to the theory that "that government is best which governs least."

In the wake of the Industrial Revolution which created the need for a class of propertyless city dwellers, it soon became evident that we could not trust to the invisible hand of God to regulate economic activities. The abuses of the early factory system are too numerous and well known for me to point out here. It became necessary for the state to curb the excesses of the private property system. Each and every attempt of the use of the state power was resisted in the name of freedom—freedom of the owner to do what he wished with his own, freedom of the worker to make contracts to which he alone gave assent.

The state has found it necessary to pass social legislation—and all social legislation is contrary to the principles of freedom of property and of the privileges accompanying the traditional concepts of property. The state has found it necessary at times to abridge the opportunities of the few in order to ensure the security of the many. And this shift in the meaning of property has occurred because the character of property itself has undergone a profound change. If law is to maintain its dynamic character it must frame for itself a new and different type of philosophy of property consonant with the changes which have taken place. It is my purpose at the present time to give in the broadest outlines what this newer philosophy of property must consider.

IN the first place, property has shifted from the time of the founding of this country. At that time, as we have seen, about 90 percent of the population had access to property. This meant that they were free men dependent on themselves primarily for their livelihood. At the present time almost 90 percent of the population works for wages and salaries. Only 6 or 7 percent of the American people own corporate stocks. If property is the means by which the will is actualized, and, if property is liberty or the instrument by which one expresses his will, lack of property means dependence on those who do have property. This is a situation which comes about because property alone is able to furnish employment.

Property alone gives employment, for the laws of property, plus the large-scale development of populations and of industry, have effectively cut men off from the natural resources which lie at the basis of subsistence. But the private property system cannot give employment and subsistence at all times, nor has it been able to guarantee the full abundant life which it holds up to the citizens. The private property system is dependent on a market for its products at a satisfactory price, which includes a profit. Periodically, for reasons which we cannot at this point analyze, this market fails, and the phenomenon of large-scale unemployment appears. That was the situation during the last depression from which we did not escape until we started to prepare for war. So we find in the present private property system the sources of insecurity and with it the attendant lack

Post Office "Explains"

Item from the August 6 London Economist *addressed "To Our Subscribers in the United States"*:

We have for some time been trying to discover why it is that copies of *The Economist* sent by mail to subscribers in the United States are so late in delivery. An explanation has recently been received from the U.S. Post Office. It appears that all foreign publications are forwarded to the Bureau of Customs for review under the Customs Tariff Act of 1930 as possible propaganda matter. Investigations by a Post Office inspector disclosed that, owing to the large volume of incoming foreign mail which must be examined, a back-log has accumulated and it is understood that at times the examining unit has been considerably in arrears in "processing the mails."

We feel that comment by us on this state of affairs might be in bad taste, and is certainly superfluous.

of opportunity. Now we are told that these forces are impersonal and hence we have no control over them; any attempt to secure control over them in peace time is construed (and rightfully so) as tinkering with the system and endangering it.

The ownership of property controls employment, and at the same time confers power over persons. This fact is largely overlooked in a money economy. Property, therefore, is not only liberty, it is also power. In a private property system it is the power to withhold or to wait until the opposite party to the bargaining situation will consent to the bargain.

THE control over property is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands and consequently produces broad inequalities of wealth. As Laski pointed out in his "A Grammar of Politics" (p. 116), "Broadly, I am urging that great inequalities of wealth make impossible the attainment of freedom. It means the dictation of the physical and mental circumstances which surround the less fortunate. It means the control of the engines of government to their detriment. . . . It is able to weight the educational system in its interest. It is able, by the rewards it offers, to affect the propertyless brainworker to its service. Since the judiciary will be largely selected from its paid advocates, legal decisions will largely reflect the lessons of its experience. Even the churches will preach a gospel which is permeated by their dependence upon the support of the wealthy." To repeat our first point: Productive property is in fewer and fewer hands.

The second great significant change which has occurred in the nature of property is its social or corporate character. The theory of Locke which held that a man had a right to that with which he had mixed his labor cannot longer be used as a justification for the private property system. No man can point to any product of our economy at the present time and say, "I made this," or, "I mixed my labor with this exclusively and hence it bebelongs to me alone." Production is a social process; but the process is directed by private individuals for private ends. As a matter of fact monopolistic forms of business organization have superseded the competitive form of early capitalism, which depended on relative equality among the bargaining units. Business organization takes on the character of an absolute monarchy, with authority from the top down. Industrial and financial government is released from the actual human effect of the rulers' policies. Morris Cohen ("Law and the Social Order," p. 62), in describing the contemporary scene, says that "There can be no doubt that our laws do confer sovereign power on our captains of industry and even more so on our captains of finance."

ONE of the principal functions of the state is the regulation of property. Changes in the form of ownership of property are generally reflected in the form and substance of the state. From Plato through Harrington, Locke, Hamilton and Webster to Marx the class character of society based upon distinctions of ownership of property has been recognized. Democratic political forms did not remove economic inequalities nor economic classes. In America we are faced with this incongruity, namely, political equality and economic inequality, political freedom and economic coercion. For more than one hundred and fifty years we have been able to get along fairly well in spite of this tension. It is highly questionable that this precarious balance can contine much longer.

Holders of property rights have always been the real political rulers. Of course the universal application of Hamilton's famous statement: "Give a man power over my subsistence and he has power over the whole of my moral nature" is an exaggeration, but it contains more than a grain of truth. In capitalist economic systems property tends to be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, so that at the present time the economic destiny of the American people—as well as their political destiny—lies in the hands of a few corporate giants. As far back as 1913, Woodrow Wilson declared, "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and industrialists of the United States." In the same work he also stated: "If the government is to tell big business men how to run their business, then don't you see that big business men have to get closer to the government even than they are now? Don't you see that they must capture the government? They have to be restrained too much by it. Must capture the government? They have already captured it." ("The New Freedom.") The economic and political power of the industrialists and capitalists have increased many-fold since the time of Wilson. Their control over school, church, press is wellnigh complete.

If the economic "freedom" of property owners leads to great inequalities and insecurity, political freedom has the potential power to destroy it. If democracy as a political system depending on sheer mass of numbers is not satisfied with economic "freedom," it may refuse to tolerate an autonomous economic system where power is distributed according to command over property. If the political system has the ultimate power, it can take over the economic system; if the economic system has the ultimate power, it can take over the political. In the latter case, the state, which is the ensemble of man's cultural life, will be bent in the interests of business. The school, church, family—all will be controlled by economic interests. This spells the end to political democracy.

THE autocratic political principle was rejected by Americans more than a century ago, and many are coming to see that political democracy and economic oligarchy are incompatible. We had the wisdom more than a century ago to see that men, acting in their public capacity, must take control over their political destinies. Now we must see that our economic destinies are also guided by a sense of public welfare and need.

Let us for a moment be hardheaded, realistic, and practical. All over the world the private property system is being challenged. Among the socialist countries it has been entirely repudiated. Since the first World War, which was a struggle among private property state systems for sources of raw materials and markets, the area of such states has become smaller.

The new alternative philosophy of the law of property will combine both the need for security and freedom.

Barbara Falgoust, 19-year old secretary of Local 1124 at Godchaux Sugars, one of the officers on trial for contempt.

The militant CIO Packinghouse Union is engaged in a key battle to break down the ramparts of the old feudal South. Both the International union and the CIO have recognized this strike as a crucial action for any forthcoming campaign.

A Crucial Fight For Unionism

Chicago

THE packinghouse union—one of the most militant and forward-looking in the CIO today—is conducting an epic battle to establish unionism in the South. While the strike involves only 1500 workers at two sugar refining plants near New Orleans, its success is important to any coming organizational campaign. And the savagery with which the employers, the State police and the courts are trying to bust the workers' ranks is an indication that the Southern Bourbons are grimly bent on holding on to their low-wage citadel.

On April 14, Local 1167 of the United Packinghouse Workers struck Colonial Sugars at Gramercy, Louisiana, and Local 1124 struck Godchaux Sugars at nearby Reserve, as the two companies refused to meet the pattern of other Southern sugar wage agreements.

The companies thereupon unloosed a veritable reign of terror to break the union and terrorize the whole population of the townships as well. They combed the State for strikebreakers up to 250 miles away from the plants, and brought them in by Pullman under heavy armed guard. They hired armed guards to keep the scabs under control at gun-point, and gunfire has been heard within the plants. At the same time, these industrial barons who run both Gramercy and Reserve as strictly company towns, and whose word heretofore has been law, called upon the courts to help keep Southern feudal conditions inviolate.

76-year old Judge L. Robert Rivarde obliged by issuing one of the most sweeping injunctions in the history of the State, limiting the union to two pickets at not more than four posts, who must be "always and constantly moving," and declaring that not only the strikers, but *anybody* within the jurisdiction of the court will be tried under the terms of the injunction if guilty of any "breach of the peace." The injunction harks backs to the old legal definition of a labor union as a "conspiracy."

Two local residents not connected with the union or the Godchaux plant are now in jail under contempt sentences for a tavern brawl with two scabs. Five Godchaux strikers are in jail because they witnessed (but didn't in any way participate in) the same tavern brawl. All of the union officers and executive board members are now on trial charged with responsibility for a series of acts none of which are even claimed to have been committed by the accused. The judge in Gramercy has threatened to jail President Helstein and other International officers if they should so much as enter the parish where the union members are striking.

The strikers, in a magnificent burst of militancy, are fighting back with everything they've got. The Women's Committee of Reserve is campaigning for the recall of Judge Rivarde—a step legally possible in Louisiana. The people of Gramercy, through meetings with their town council, have succeeded in obtaining the appointment of sixteen more deputy town marshals. The effect has been to force the private armed guards back onto company property and to reduce the intimidation of sheriffs and State police, as eight of the sixteen deputies are strikers, as is the town Justice of the Peace.

The packinghouse union has thrown

White and colored workers picketing in front of Colonial Sugars. Self-segregation has disappeared in union meetings by spontaneous action of the strikers.

its unstinted support behind this important battle to break the back of the feudal South. As Charles Fischer, administrative assistant to President Helstein correctly stated, at issue is the eventual elimination of the North-South wage differential and the organization of the South. "The new unity between Negro and white workers in the deepest South is the rock on which the growth and development of the New South can only be built. Without it we not only cannot win strikes, but we can never hope to see the South become well organized."

The CIO Executive Board at its July 20 meeting, recognizing what is at stake, resolved "to give every support, moral, organizational and financial, to the Packinghouse Workers in this strike."

Prosecution of Bridges Flops Again

San Francisco

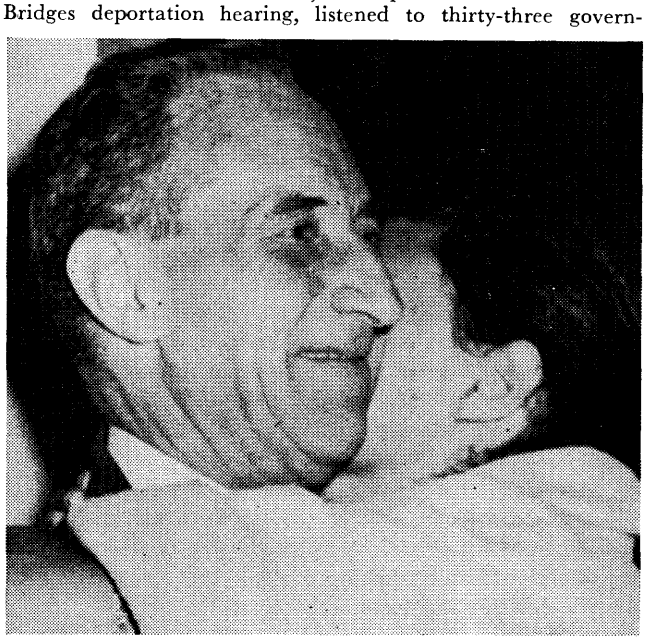
BRIDGES Wins Long Citizenship Fight—these headlines in the July 29 San Francisco newspapers signalled the conclusion of the latest, and what official union sources believed, may be the final defeat of the government's twenty-year attempt to deport Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The campaign to get Bridges has its origin in the 1934 Pacific Coast maritime strike and the General Strike in San Francisco, which catapulted Bridges to leadership and national prominence.

After years of government hearings and appeals, the Supreme Court set aside a decision against Bridges in 1945 and he was admitted to citizenship in the same year. Any illusion that this would end the attack was dissipated when in 1949 the government convicted not only Bridges but also Henry Schmidt and Bob Robertson, two other leaders of the union who had testified for Bridges in 1945 when he'd obtained his citizenship. The three were found guilty of having falsely sworn that Bridges was not and had never been a member of the Communist Party. The case then went to the Supreme Court which in 1953 set aside the decision on the grounds that the statute of limitations made the conviction illegal.

The government forces, now in the person of Attorney General Brownell, renewed their attack through the pressing of a civil suit, a complaint which had been filed concomitant to the conspiracy indictment of 1949. This civil suit aimed at depriving Bridges of the citizenship which the government had granted him, took place before Federal Judge Louis Goodman without a jury. The hearings ran for sixteen days, with recesses, from June 20 to July 22.

All the trials have featured informers. Dean James Landis of the Harvard Law School, who presided over the 1939 Bridges deportation hearing, listened to thirty-three government witnesses and rejected the credibility of all of them. Of one he said in his report on the hearings, he "left a convincing impression that he was not telling the truth." He described another "whose tendency toward prevarication was almost pathological," and a third as "afflicted with verbal haemophilia." These descriptions apply equally well to most of the seven witnesses that the government used in the recent civil suit.



Harry Bridges embracing his 12-year old daughter, Julie, after Judge Goodman refused to revoke Bridges' citizenship.

All of them had some petty axe to grind or the motive of personal gain. One was incensed because ILWU officials refused to help him set up a business. Another, while discussing the Bridges case with the Department of Immigration and Naturalization, incidentally took up the matter of rectifying his own citizenship status. An informant who had been "screened" from the ships was allowed to sail again after testifying for the government. So thoroughly "unscreened" was he that he became a steamship company official.

Aside from the dissident unions, there was a general silence from the labor movement regarding the latest Bridges hearing. However, there was at least one notable local exception: Daniel Del Carlo, President of the San Francisco AFL Building Trades Council, testified as a character witness in Bridges' behalf, and had the unanimous backing of his union council. It seems this is one of those strands, formed in the 1934 struggles, that proved durable. Similarly Schomaker, the stool-pigeon, found himself unceremoniously expelled from his hod-carriers local here at the time of his testimony in the 1949 Bridges trial.

IT MUST be mentioned that the government attorneys were confident they were going to win this case, even going so far as to withdraw, toward the end of the trial, their own vague charge of "affiliation," choosing to rely on the sole grounds of their having proved his "membership" in the Communist Party. The result was a complete failure, a fiasco that vividly manifested the contradiction between the aims of the powers-that-be and the "cumbersome" democratic structure that sometimes fails to fulfill their requirements.

Bridges owes a large part of his victory to the firm support of the ILWU rank and file who recognized that outside attacks on the leadership are attacks on the union. The longshoremen, who, by a one-day strike in 1953 ran the Velde Un-American Committee out of town a full week before it was scheduled to adjourn, tied up fifteen hundred miles of Pacific Coast waterfront for 24 hours in protest against the latest attack on the union. Implicit in that tieup before the trial opened was the threat of extension of another strike to the Hawaiian islands.

The Bridges case has been with the ILWU since its birth. Difficult as it is to define, there was in a certain way an acceptance of it, as of a birthmark that one has always had. That attitude is gone now. Continuation of the case could be like the straw that broke the camel's back. This is apparent not only on the waterfront and in the warehouses from the comments of the unionists, but is also manifested in a significant editorial in the Republican daily, the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

"The American citizenship of Harry Bridges having been upheld in the face of the Government's attempt to revoke it," the Chronicle stated, "we advise the government to abandon further civil or criminal prosecution of the Bridges case."

For the first time since carpetbagger days, South Carolina Negroes are shown going to the polls to vote in the Democratic primaries.

The recent strike wave, developing labor understanding, the emergence of new liberal newspapers, all herald the fact that the South is stirring.

The Changing South

by Fred Perry

THE greatest strike wave in recent Southern history was successfully concluded in June. Militant strikes against Southern Bell Telephone, the Louisville and Nashville Railway, Greyhound Bus, several Louisiana sugar companies, hotels in Miami and some actions in textile made national headlines for months. Not only were some of these strikes won (some are still on), but they set a tone of militancy and labor solidarity which had their beneficial effects even on the national auto and steel negotiations.

The strike wave reached a peak in May when the steelworkers in Birmingham began plans for a general sympathy strike to help the Bell workers. About the same time, Governor Folsom of Alabama refused to call out the National Guard against the Bell strikers, underlining the new political power of labor in the South.

Less spectacular, but just as important, has been the slow growth of unions all the way from Texas to Virginia. Year after year, despite mistakes and difficulties, they have inched ahead. There is now a solid base from which to move further. The merger of the AFL and the CIO will help to some extent. There is much talk that Walter Reuther may be in charge of a new drive.

Textile is the crucial industry. Some progress has been made in the Carolinas and Georgia. But the national leadership of the TWUA is so conservative, and so afraid of encouraging any initiative from the local ranks, that they are winning only about 3 out of 10 elections. They don't know how to handle the race question. They long for "co-operation" with non-cooperating mill owners.

The cotton-mill workers themselves are ready for unionism. My survey last summer showed that 76 percent of white industrial workers favored unions. Here is a significant confirmation of that poll. I interviewed a Regional Director of the TWUA. He told me, "Now let's get this straight about the militancy of Southern workers. They are slower to accept unions, but are stronger for them when they do, than Northern workers are. I'm having to hold back several locals right now from wildcatting."

SOME conservative bureaucrats, with their bumbling methods, no doubt do "hold them back." But the observation on militancy was borne out by the views of many local leaders to whom I talked. In a small South Carolina textile town I met some wonderful indigenous young leaders who have grown up right out of the red clay soil. They had just won a 2-1 victory in an NLRB election.

"Those rich folks uptown have been calling us 'cotton mill trash' for years. We've always known about it," one of them told me. "Well, we don't want to be called trash any more. We don't want to work for 75 cents an hour any more. We want to be able to send our kids on through school. We want to have a little something to say about running our town. That's the real reason we brought the union in."

Fred Perry, a native Southerner now living in the North, has written one earlier article for the American Socialist *("Progress in Dixie," November* 1954). *He has recently returned from a trip through the South.*

This intense class consciousness, so long twisted against the Negro, is beginning to untwist toward the mill owner. The local leaders are often better on the race question than are their national leaders. "I'm having an awful time getting the organizer to put a clause in the new contract to protect the yard men and the bale handlers. Those colored fellows need it worse than we do. It just won't do to let them down after the way they helped us to bring the union in." He consistently used the word "colored" rather than other terms more common in the South.

This young leader and his friends led a marvelous fight against company propaganda, firings, red-baiting, race-baiting and even against the ponderous bureaucratic methods of the national TWUA. "Sometimes I can't understand why the Regional Director talks so buddy-buddy to the management. Our fathers did that here for 50 years and it never got them anything except to be called 'lintheads.' The management doesn't respect anything but strength."

These remarks are quoted only because they seem to me to be typical of the local leaderships. These local men and women, up against the firing line, are 'way ahead of their national leaders.

The CIO got to be very nearly psychopathic in its anti-communism for several years. They sought to protect themselves from the universal charge by the Bourbons that the CIO is communist. There has been some letup in the last year. A leader of one of the unions expelled from the CIO in 1949 told me that his union is now back on speaking terms with the rest of the labor movement in the area.

The feeling among progressives generally was that the recent turn in American foreign policy toward more negotiations and less war scares had caused the witch-hunt to quiet down some. It is so bizarre, really, when the right wingers talk about Reds in the red hills and Communists in the cotton patch, that the thing dies a very quick death.

Scarcely a week goes by that some national magazine does not run an article commenting on the changed attitude of the young Southerner toward the Negro. Let me summarize by saying that there is hardly a person under 30 who feels as his parents did. The unionist is ready for the Negro to advance economically. The student is ready to go to school with colored students. The churches and the legislative halls are seething with the issue. Institutions of this character do not seethe unless the contending forces are nearly equal in strength.

An elder in the First Presbyterian Church in a South Carolina town complained bitterly to this correspondent, "I have to take a whipping every Sunday morning. Our minister keeps preaching that segregation is a sin." When asked why the Board of Elders did not fire the minister, the unreconstructed patriarch sputtered in frustrated anger, "Because the young people in the congregation won't go along with us! Too many of them have swallowed this Yankee-communist propaganda about equality!"

Unionization and desegregation are the two main crusades in Southern society today. Both are on the move. It is against this background that we must view the rise of the small progressive organizations.

"PROGRESSIVE" is a broad term. But I would say that anyone who operates within the borders of the old Confederacy and advocates both unionization and desegregation is entitled to the honor of being called a progressive.

The best recent development in Southern publishing is called the *Southerner*. It is put out by poet-author-educator Don West and Reverend C. T. Pratt in Dalton, Georgia. The *Southerner* bases itself upon a combination of several textile locals and the Church of God of the Union Assembly. Aubrey Williams, Dr. Alva Taylor and author Herbert Byron Reese are contributing editors. This paper is well written and skillfully managed. Its policy statement when it was launched last spring said: "Our job . . . will be to bring out, to push forward, that other South—the South of the progressive tradition, the South of the common people who never owned slaves in the old days or their counterparts today. . . . We believe that a potentially powerful and potent force for saving the American ideal lies with the common poor white man of the South. With him and this cause we identify ourselves."

Other small papers of at least a liberal character are the *Texas Observer* published in Austin, the *Southern Patriot* in New Orleans and the *Last Call* in Houston.

"Respectable" liberalism is represented by the *New South,* published by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and by the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* published by some Duke University professors in Durham, N.C.

The former New Deal figure, Aubrey Williams, publishes the 800,000 circulation *Southern Farm and Home.* He has been smeared for years and boycotted by all the big advertisers—more because of Williams' reputation than the content of the magazine.

The Negro press, of course, is far more liberal than the white press. Among the better Negro papers are the *Carolina Times* in Durham, N.C., and the *Black Dispatch* published in Oklahoma City.

The Highlander Folk School, led by Myles Horton at Monteagle, Tennessee, runs a program of progressive education on an interracial basis. It enjoys some labor support.

Rev. Claude Williams, recently unfrocked for "heresy" (sounds medieval, doesn't it?), heads the People's Institute of Applied Religion at Helena, Alabama. Lest socialists sniff at this being called a progressive institution, they would do well to read Rev. Williams' keen analysis of the relationship between the Southern working class and Protestantism. This question must be understood before anyone can think of doing serious work in the South.

Thus, some of the organizational outlines of a future progressive and socialist movement in the South are beginning to take shape. The groups are small as yet. They are harassed and persecuted. But these little groups ride upon such tremendous sociological currents that growth is bound to come. The twin drives to unionize the region and to obtain justice for the Negro people are probably the most dynamic social struggles going on in America today.

One of our editors examines the theory that we are now operating under a brand new economic system. His point-by-point analysis demonstrates that the old laws are still very much in operation.

Myths About the "New Capitalism"

by Harry Braverman

THERE are very few people who call themselves socialists in the United States today, and fewer still who deserve the name. Yet, in spite of that, the debate—socialism versus capitalism—has never raged more fiercely; there has rarely been a time when the propaganda mills have ground out so many books, articles, speeches, cartoons, academic theses, films, radio and television scripts, all aimed at proving to us poor overwhelmed citizens that we never had it so good, that we live in the best of all possible worlds from which any change would be for the worse, and that we owe everything to capitalism, and, what is more, to the New Capitalism, that late-model, up-to-date contraption from which the engineers have removed all the bugs, improved with foolproof safety features, and which is uniquely American.

If the claims are valid, then American capitalism will be the Peter Pan of social systems, growing ever younger. If the claims are not valid, American capitalism will find itself *Europeanized*—beset with economic crisis and class struggle—and the fate of world capitalism will be sealed. How soon this would come to pass is not the question, and, in terms of narrow time-schedule prediction, is not possible to tell. The important thing is the basic trend.

AMERICAN capitalism came out of the great depression of the thirties with a badly scarred reputation, and the easy-to-see connection between the recovery and the second World War didn't help that reputation any. Then the economy tilted downwards again in 1949, and everybody knows the restorative power of another war—this time in Korea—and a cold-war arms program were brought to bear before the boom was well under way again. All this is widely appreciated—Eisenhower even made demagogic use of it in his election campaign in his October 1952 speech at Peoria:

> *I propose to show you tonight that whatever economic gains have been made since* 1932 *have been due . . . to war or the threat of war. If we look closely at the last twenty . . . years we find a startling thing. Nineteen twenty-nine was the last year in which we enjoyed prosperity in time of peace. From then on until* 1939, *when World War II began, our economy showed no growth whatever in real output per person. The New Deal never actually solved the unemployment problem. In* 1939, *after seven years of New Deal doctoring,* 9½ *million Americans were still out of work. . . . Then came World War II. . . . World War II did what the New Deal was unable to do. . . .*
>
> *In spite of the illusion of improvement created by larger dollar signs on payrolls and prices, there has been since the war no economic growth and no rise in living standards. . . . Just as . . . the economy was beginning to weaken, along came Korea. Defense production again propped up the economy.*

But now we have a brand-new economic system. Like a poor sinner who has been washed in the blood of the lamb, it has emerged clean and bright, and can never sin again; like one who has been baptized in the waters of the Jordan, it has been reborn. And, like all infants, it is even getting a lot of suggestions for a new name. "The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution," Adolph Berle calls it, and he says we have a "planned economy" totally different from the old capitalism. *Fortune* magazine, celebrating its 25th anniversary, has gone into a year-long paroxysm of hosannahs to "The New Economy." Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey calls it a "wonderland economy" that "has grown right over, and left in the dust, both Socialism and Communism." John Kenneth Galbraith, the Harvard economist, discovers that we have left competition behind, and have entered an era of "countervailing power," which is not competition, but something far better, that neither Adam Smith, David Ricardo nor Karl Marx knew about or could foresee.

OUR capitalism is not what it was twenty-five years ago; that is true. But the hosannah shouters, because of the long economic boom, because they don't fear contradiction or criticism—and when you get in that kind of a situation, watch out! you can start talking nonsense very easily—are not picturing the changes in American capitalism accurately at all.

Since the beginning of World War II, there has never been a year when expenditures for war purposes, direct and indirect, have fallen below 10 percent of the national income. And only for a couple of years right after the war was it even that low. At the present time, and for the last six years, it has been in the neighborhood of between 15 and 20 percent of the national income. But, so accustomed have we become to fancy figures, people

This article is adapted from a lecture given in New York on May 13, 1955.

don't really appreciate any more just what kind of a neighborhood that is. We have to make a few comparisons. During the first World War, it is doubtful that military expenditures much exceeded ten percent of the national income. So that today, the bottom limit of military spending, below which it hasn't fallen since World War II, is about the same as the ceiling of military spending of the "old" capitalism in the very midst of a war which appeared unimaginably destructive to the generation carrying it on.

In the twenties and thirties, spending on the military was microscopic compared with today. When we speak of the arms budget, therefore, we are speaking of a major structural change in the American economy. It is so huge, has become so important a part of the peacetime economy, and is so persistent and continuous, that we are entitled to call it that.

Here's another way to look at it, even more significant: The heyday of European imperialism, when it was most stable, most prosperous, growing most rapidly, was in the years immediately preceding World War I. The European capitalist nations, England, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, etc., had found a great outlet for manufactured goods in exports to the colonial and semi-colonial regions, and they took most of their payment for these goods in pieces of the economy of the rest of the world; this was imperialism in its classic form. These countries found a market for their surplus goods about as follows: Roughly 20 percent of their national income was gained from the sale of goods abroad, and another two, three, at most four percent in sales to the military. (The normal military budget was below two percent of national income. Germany, the nation preparing most actively for war, spent only about four percent of her national income on arms in 1913, the last peacetime year.)

TODAY in America, this picture is almost exactly reversed. The military portion of the economy takes the percentage that exports used to take in Europe—fifteen to twenty percent—while exports account for a small percentage, much like the military used to take—4 and 5 percent. You can interpret the significance of these extraordinary comparisons this way: While in the old imperialism, military expenditures were only a means to an end (economic domination giving an outlet for goods and capital), in the present American imperialist economy, frustrated as it is by an inability to build an old-style imperialist empire as a result of the revolutions abroad, military expenditures have become an end in themselves, replacing in their economic effect and proportions the foreign-trade sector of the old imperialism.

I mention here only in passing the political and revolutionary wall of fire which separates America from the kind of imperialist empire it would need to build to get stabilized like the old European capitalism. I am here interested solely in the economics of the thing. And the economics are this: American capitalism has become such a gargantuan productive machine that in order to get an empire proportionally as big as the Europeans used to have, exports would have to be multiplied at least five times over, and capital investments abroad each year would have to be multiplied perhaps twenty times over. This they cannot do; this they cannot even dream of doing; the actual trend is in the other direction; hence, this is one of the reasons why American capitalism has developed a war economy as a substitute.

Now this change in the structure of the American economy, so basic that it is doubtful the economy could be sustained if it were removed, so apparent that it is part of the business dealings of every major corporation and many smaller ones; this structural change about which nobody can have any doubt, strange to say, is hardly ever mentioned by the high priests of the "New Economy." As anxious as they are to spot "revolutionary changes" in American economy, they can't seem to focus on that one. But they do their level best to hunt up some other changes that would justify the big hullaballoo.

America, we are told, is heading towards a classless society; a great and growing middle class is its biggest feature, and this middle class is devouring the capitalist class and the working class. There is a big shift in income to a more equitable distribution. Everybody is becoming a capitalist, and the ownership of America's corporations is becoming ever more widespread. Finally, we are told that we are getting an economy, not only of superlative abundance for all, but a planned economy, as well. For all these reasons, the New Economy is proof against depressions. In sum, as Benjamin Fairless, just-retired head of U.S. Steel, put it in a pun—which I will cite in order to prejudice against him all to whom puns are painful—"Marx didn't know all the Engels."

LET'S look into the New Economy. The claim about the growing middle and capitalist classes and declining working class is just plain bosh. The data shows a declining capitalist and middle class, and a rising working class. Where, in 1910, 27½ percent of the population could be said to belong to the capitalist and middle classes (taking in professionals, farmers, managers, proprietors, officials, and even tenant farmers), by 1940, this had declined to 24 percent, and the working class (composed of skilled, unskilled, semi-skilled and clerical workers), taking in all the rest of the population, rose to 76 percent from 73.

In a period of thirty years—a shift of three percent towards the working class. In the fourteen years after that, in the very period, in other words, when the "new capitalism" was born, the shift towards the working class in the composition of the population proceeded at a rate almost twice as fast as in the previous thirty years under the old capitalism. A shift of almost three percent was again recorded in these next fourteen years. In half the time, the new capitalism had shifted as large a percentage of the people into the proletariat as in the previous twice-as-long period. Now those are the figures I have found, and I don't believe anybody has any different figures, unless they're running their own Census Bureau. Thus, so far as class structure is concerned, the new capitalism is hurrying up the process which Marx described, and not reversing it.

How about the ownership of corporate stock? Perhaps the nation is getting to be more and more made up of wage-earners, but these wage-earners are starting to buy up the corporations, so that we have a broadening "economic democracy," with every worker on his way to becoming a capitalist? Every once in a while you read a story along that line.

SOME of you may recall that the Brookings Institute published a report called "Share Ownership in the United States" on June 30, 1952. Editors, columnists and orators threw caution to the winds. The advance predictions as to what that report would say ran from 15 to 20 million shareholders. Actually, the report showed that 6,490,000 persons, or only 6.4 percent of the adult population, owned corporate shares. This was a very sharp decline from the TNEC estimate of 1937, 15 years earlier and in the middle of the depression, when 10 to 11 percent of the adult population held stock in U.S. corporations! But that didn't stop the propagandists—they probably had the stories all set in type before the Brookings report reached them. Facts don't mean a thing when you're riding a cloud. Not one newspaper or magazine report that I read—and I read a good many of them—mentioned the steep decline from 1937, although the 1937 statistic was reported in an appendix to the very Brookings Institute report that was being used as a trumpet for the hosannahs.

That same Brookings Institute report had other facts in it from which you could figure out that even among the 6.4 percent who owned stock, concentration was extreme, with only one percent of the nation's families holding two-thirds of all the stock. Then, within a few months, the Federal Reserve Board came out with a report of its survey which highlighted this concentration, and showed further that most of the rest of the stock was scattered in tiny holdings. These facts were sensational, disclosing a concentration of stock ownership never before seen in America and possibly in the world, but nobody seemed to notice them. Here again, the facts are against the New Economy boys, and it is clear that this is another angle that Marx knew pretty well.

WELL now, we must go on to consider another celebrated feature of the New Economy—the "income shift." You know, in astronomy, there is such a thing as a "spectrum shift" that you see with a telescope; well, in economics we now have the "income shift" that you see with a microscope. A lot of the talk about this "income shift" started with the publication in early 1953, a year after the stock-market sensation, of a book of statistics by Dr. Simon Kuznets of the National Bureau of Economic Research, "Shares of Upper Income Groups in Income and Savings." His figures, drawn up for the top 1 percent and the top seven percent of the population, showed, according to his text, that the share of these top groups in the national income had declined "strikingly and persistently" since 1939.

To give an example of the greeting this got, Sylvia F. Porter wrote in her widely syndicated column of home-

spun economics: "But above all is the shining point that the revolution of which Marx dreamed has come true. Not in Russia, though. Here." But again, there is more to the tale.

The Kuznets figures were based upon federal income tax returns. His "income revolution," we can see, corresponds with exactly the period in our national life when taxes on individual incomes in the upper brackets rose astronomically, to as high as almost 90 percent. During the same period, taxes on corporate income were (and are) much lower. Now, it is true that Dr. Kuznets, figures showed the same downward trend both before and after taxes. But what must be taken into account is that he is dealing with a time when every one of the roughly 600,000 individuals in the top one percent of income receivers is making every conceivable effort known to man, beast and tax-lawyer to report as little personal income as possible. I'm not talking about fraud. Not yet. I'll get to that. For the moment, I'm talking about such facts as this one: Between 1929 and 1948, despite the fact that corporate profits rose by 152 percent, dividends paid out to the stockholders (which they would have to report as personal income) went up only 36 percent. But undistributed profits during that same period went up fully 408 percent! In other words, the wealth of individuals in the top brackets was going up tremendously, not in the form of personal income, but of a growing value of their holdings in American industry. It is worth wondering what would have happened to Dr. Kuznets' conclusions if he had found a way to include that side of the picture.

I promised to talk about fraud. Taxes are evaded by people who find all sorts of ways not to report personal income on the income tax forms from which Dr. Kuznets works. A worker can't do that, because his income is recorded and tax deducted by the employer. But others, especially in the top brackets, can.

IS this just conjecture? No. The Department of Commerce puts out an estimate of adjusted gross personal income every year. The Treasury Department also puts out a figure for adjusted gross personal income, but it bases that figure on what people are reporting on their tax returns. Now, in 1948, the Commerce figure was $45 billion larger than the Treasury figure—$45 billion, or 22 percent of all personal income that year! Even after you subtract the incomes of those who don't have to report, like soldiers, etc., the gap is still huge.

Who makes the gap? National Bureau of Economic Research (Dr. Kuznets' own organization; I sometimes wonder what would happen if the researchers on different projects met in the hall and got to talking!) figured that out for 1948. Ninety-five percent of all civilian wages and salaries were reported, as you might expect, and I'd sure like to know how the other five percent got away with it. But only 71 percent of income from non-corporate business was exposed to the tax collector, only 37 percent of interest payments to individuals, only 76 percent of dividend receipts, and only 45 percent of rents, met his cruel eye. In the light of this, we have to wonder just how much of the "income revolution" was in real life, and how much in the files of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

Then, there is another peculiarity about the Kuznets figures, which are not his fault but the fault of the way they were used in the press. He divides the population between the top 1 percent and the bottom 99 percent, or between the top 7 percent and the bottom 93 percent. What kind of a way is that to estimate income trends? It mixes up fish and fowl, worker and capitalist and professional and middle-class small capitalists, all in one pot. Suppose you do find out that the "bottom 93 percent" is getting a higher share of the national income? What have you found out? What's going on within that group is impossible to tell from such figures. The parts of the capitalist class and upper-middle class in this large group might be getting a big increase in their share of the national income, and the working class getting a smaller share. As a matter of fact, that's what was happening. The source of the confusion about the Kuznets figures is that they were never intended to show overall trends in *income;* their purpose was to show the possible future trends in *capital formation;* whether it would come from individuals or from retained earnings of corporations.

Now let's look at what actually happened. In its Feb. 11, 1955 issue, the *U.S. News and World Report* indulged in some of that heart-rending weeping that it periodically turns on: the workers are getting more and more and the capitalists less and less. They give the figures for wage and salary workers: in 1929, 58.2 percent of the national income; in 1947, 65.3 percent of the national income; in 1954, 69.1 percent of the national income. A clear case of creeping socialism, and creeping pretty fast, too. They give these figures in a big chart, and there is no doubt that in the next few weeks after that, a few hundred amateur and professional prophets of the New Economy cited them, either in praise or blame, in the course of a speech on the New Economy and the beauty (or horror) of it all.

BUT you don't have to be a professor or statistician to figure out that those statistics, as they stand, are meaningless, because they don't indicate what happened to the grouping of wage and salary workers as a percent of the population. In other words, if it should happen that the wage and salary workers were a much bigger percentage of the people in 1954 than in 1929, they might not have gained at all. They might even have lost. That is exactly what happened. Wage and salary workers rose from 63 percent of the employed population in 1929 to 77.4 percent in 1954. To put it in plain English, then, while the wage and salary earners, as a portion of the population, were increasing their relative size 22.3 percent, their share in the national income went up only 18.7 percent. *U.S. News* readers can relax. Socialism is creeping backwards.

To complete the story, let's look at the share in income being received by the various fifths of the population. The top fifth has stayed about the same. It got 46.2 percent of the national income in 1910, about 47 percent in 1949 (1950 Census). The second fifth from the top has moved up, from 19 percent in 1910 to 24 percent

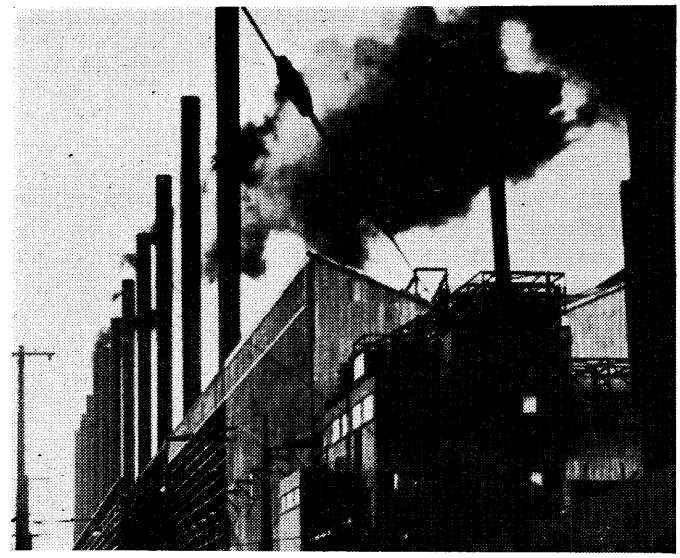
in 1949. This was the biggest upward shift. The middle fifth moved up only slightly, from 15 percent to 17 percent. The fourth fifth—and here's where the trend reverses—dropped from 11.5 percent in 1910 to 9 percent in 1949, and the lowest fifth, which was getting 8.3 percent of the national income in 1910 dropped to 3 percent! And this was a continuous downward trend, with 1929 showing the lowest two-fifths of the population in a better relative position than today.

So far as I can make out, a true picture of the income changes would go something like this: The capitalist class has stayed about the same or perhaps dropped a little in its share in the national income. But that's only so far as personal income is concerned—its corporate wealth has expanded far faster than any other form of American wealth or income, but, for reasons that I have given, the trend is away from vast and unspendable personal incomes and towards the piling-up of that wealth and income in the hands of the corporations, which the capitalists control in far more concentrated form than ever before. There has been a shift of income to the upper-middle-class—the small capitalists, the engineers, technicians and other professionals, big farmers, and possibly even to a portion of the skilled working class. The mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, farm and other laborers, poor farmers, lower-middle-class people like teachers and retail store keepers, etc., has been losing out in the great American race. For this grouping, the bottom half or more of American economic society, the relative share in the national income has been declining.

I don't want to get the wrong idea across. There is a big prosperity, and national income has gone up tremendously. Thus the real income, in absolute terms, of almost every section of the population is higher today than before—in the case of the wealthier, a great deal higher, in the case of the poorer, somewhat higher. But we are talking percentages, relative incomes, and relative incomes are all that count when you talk about the structure of the economy and its ability to stave off economic troubles, and that's what these gentlemen are talking about in their hosannahs to the New Economy.

THERE is another sphere in which the New Economy prophets have been active, and that is the field of "planned economy-countervailing power-corporate soul." This is the sphere which the so-called liberal economists have pre-empted. Up until a few years ago, the worst bugaboo in the economic field was bigness, monopoly and destruction of competition. The liberal economists in this respect expressed the long-standing populist hostility of the American people to the trusts.

But now these economists are taking a new tack. Bigness cannot be fought, it's here, and here to stay. The old-style competition is dead, gone and buried. Not only that, but it has suddenly been discovered, after all these years, that this is the best thing that could have happened to us. Do 200 corporations control most of the corporate assets and production of the country? Are we tighter than ever in the grip of America's Sixty Families? Great! The fewer the better. That's an integral part of the New Economy. Everything, our modern Dr. Pangloss



tells us, has turned out for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

Adolph Berle Jr. has discovered that, because of concentration of economic ownership and power, because the corporations have become more and more self-supporting so far as capital is concerned and don't have to try to raise as much funds on the outside, the result is that "Mid-twentieth-century capitalism has been given the power and the means of a more or less planned economy, in which decisions are or at least can be taken in the light of their favorable effect on the whole community."

If industry is dominated by fewer and fewer moguls, what reason is there for believing that this fact has given the soulless corporation a kindly, generous and socially responsible soul? Mr. Berle doesn't really answer this question. He seems to be saying merely this: When competition dominated the field, every corporation had to think first of its own survival, but now that it no longer does, corporations can think about the community. Why is it, then, that the corporations have given no sign of this reformation: Why do they fight so bitterly against the $1.25 minimum wage, a mere pittance, insufficient to live on, but surely the least which could be provided by the New Economy and the new soulful corporations? Why have some entire communities been in the past few years murdered economically by corporations moving out in search of lower wages, lower costs? Why are the corporations plunging headlong into automation, eliminating workers ruthlessly without accepting—fighting ferociously—the proposed measures for softening the initial shocks?

In the January 1955 issue of *Fortune,* the first issue of the series devoted to the "American Breakthrough," we find the following comment about the corporations: "The vulture of competitive costs is constantly exploring their liver, and their fate, like Prometheus', is that endless gnawing feeling." This writer found that "Prodded by the current buyers' market, industry seems engaged in one of the most determined assaults on unit costs, and one of the fiercest strivings for volume, that the U.S. has ever experienced." And business commentators agree that this is going to get worse, not better.

Some liberals and laborites who are taken in by the baloney about the "New Capitalism" nevertheless place their reliance for achieving stability and economic welfare not upon the natural workings of the economic system, but upon increasing government intervention, which they believe is in the offing. Theoretically, if a government could, by keeping watch on the trends—and there is nothing mysterious about them, all the facts and figures are now available almost every month—alter the proportions in the economy by taking income from one class and giving it to another, by breaking the regular economic rules, in other words, and changing the system from one in which profit is the dominant theme into one in which welfare takes first precedence—if a government could do this then stability could unquestionably be accomplished. But the proposition cannot be discussed as a purely economic matter, and Marxists should not try to divorce any so-called "pure economics" from the social fabric. Marx subtitled his "Capital" a work in *political* economy; he understood that politics is not divorced from economics, but, in the last analysis, produced by it, and is thus beholden to it for its basic trends.

No one can yet answer in full the question of just how much government intervention for the sake of the welfare of the economy there will be in America, because that question will be decided by the struggle of social classes in the economic and especially political arenas. It would be foolish to assume that the capitalist rulers are reconciled to even the existing welfare setups. For the present, it is true, the capitalists are agreed to let the existing popular gains—social security, unemployment insurance, etc.—stand.

But how about the future? Well, experience has shown that reactionary social classes, as their economic troubles mount, tend to become more dogged in their resistance to changes, not more amenable. Middle-class reformers have trouble understanding that; they wonder why the Capet monarchs didn't take the advice of their financial reformers and give up much of their wealth and privileges in order to forestall the French Revolution; why the American slavocracy didn't retreat gracefully in 1860 as they were advised instead of courting doom. But a privileged class has its own way of looking at the matter. In the first place, the capitalists don't assume they are courting doom; they hope to smash all opposition and rule forever with the mailed fist—Hitler said his Reich would last a thousand years. In the second place, they don't see any advantage to giving up their power and privileges voluntarily over losing them by duress. There will be a bitter struggle over what the government should do in the event of a new economic crisis in America, and its outcome will be determined by the results of that struggle. In any case, the welfare-statist theory provides an argument not for the existence of an alleged "new capitalism" with built-in stabilizers, but an argument for the labor movement to organize itself on the political front so as to be able to extract maximum concessions for the ranks.

I HAVE referred to some of the statistics about concentration of income, polarization of classes, centralization of ownership and control, and so on. One important fact emerges from all these trends and that is: The war economy, instead of slowing down these tendencies—as the prophets of the New Economy like to think—increases and accelerates them.

The capitalist system works better with a war-budget stimulus. We see that in the present war boom. But, the better it works, the faster its own self-destructive tendencies work. That is lesson number one of the war economy.

Lesson number two is that, having become accustomed to war stimulus, the economy requires it in increasing doses. After government spending had ceased to rise and even declined a little in 1954, the economy showed the effects at once, and unemployment shot up to about 5 percent of the labor force. Right now, we have pulled out of that dip to a certain extent, and the capitalist class is really immensely relieved—in 1954 they didn't really know where they were headed, and they were a very worried class. But even with the recovery, the increased unemployment has remained. Many commentators have noted that we are going to have the reserve army of industry back with us in the coming years—and they don't even know that they are plagiarizing Marx in using the term.

If we are entering upon the kind of a period in international politics which will not call for big boosts in the war budget, the economy is in for trouble. It may not be sudden and dramatic trouble; the preview we've had during the past two years shows that it is more likely to be a creeping stagnation than a cataclysmic drop. But with that trouble will come a renewed social contest in America over what to do about it.

THE U.S. Army, under pressure to stop prosecuting GI's for alleged actions in Korean and Chinese prison camps on the ground that these men were "brainwashed" and therefore not responsible for the actions, has finally been forced to admit that the "brainwash" story was a huge propaganda hoax. Apparently, every time the Chinese had even so much as exchanged the time of day with a prisoner of war, he was being "brainwashed." But now, in a sensational article in *This Week* magazine, July 17, 1955, entitled, "They Were *Not* Brainwashed," Army spokesmen say:

"Well, now that investigations are completed the time has come for the Army to speak out, and divulge the real truth about so-called 'brainwashed' collaborators. Let's get right to the point:

"1. No man being prosecuted was 'brainwashed'—in fact no American military prisoner was 'brainwashed' during the entire Korean war.

"2. No American PW has been or will be tried by the Army who was physically tortured. But torture, in the classic sense, was not used at all as a means of obtaining converts.

"3. The Army has in no way violated its word in respect to PW's who at first refused repatriation.

"4. The men who did not collaborate with the enemy generally fared as well or better in enemy hands than the men who did."

The author of this story, who wrote it as it was told to him in the Pentagon by the team of Intelligence officers in charge of the investigation of Korea PW's, goes on to say that the only "torture" applied to the PW's was the normal hardship of being in prison under Chinese and Korean conditions. He then summarizes:

"Let me repeat again—there is not one iota of evidence that drugs, hypnosis, or any other device *except dramatic persuasion* [his emphasis] were used on our PW's in Korea."

A Review-Article

Symbol of French Labor Drama

L'AFFAIRE MARTY, by André Marty. Deux Rives, Paris, 1955.

IN the same week last May that Khrushchev made amends to Tito, André Marty emerged from two and one half years of silence to publish the story of his expulsion from the Communist Party of France. The timing was pure chance but the coincidence is rich in political symbolism. French Communist leaders welcomed the healing of the breach at Belgrade, but none came forward to heal the breach with Marty. They couldn't find a French Beria on whom to load the blame, or if they could they didn't see any advantage in it. Tito represents a power whose alienation cost the Russian Communists dearly in the cold war and whose rehabilitation has thus far cost them little internally. Marty, a legendary figure in the French communist movement, was a solitary powerless individual who could be framed-up, slandered and expelled in December 1952 without causing the smallest split; his rehabilitation, however, would have the most far-reaching consequences. Yet the Russian reversal of policy on Yugoslavia gives Marty an audience among many who would not listen before. If Tito, the arch-heretic of post-war communism, could have been a victim of injustice, if he can have different opinions on the road to socialism, why should Marty receive less consideration?

Since the publication of his book, "l'affaire Marty" has become a symbol of the drama of French labor since the liberation. In this story of great hopes and equally great disappointments, in his opinion of what the leaders might have done but didn't, Marty speaks for a multitude of silent proletarians who will not join him in the wilderness, but who seek, like him, a change in the methods and policy of the French communist movement.

Time is pressing on this reform. France is crackling with strikes. They are not yet big nation-wide walkouts, but they show a new spirit in the workers who have united ranks, occupied factories and shipyards, forced the employers into negotiations by human barricades, fought the gendarmes in pitched combat in the streets. What will the Communists do, if as has happened before, this movement or another later on, sweeps the land and precipitates a political crisis—and if there is at the same time an international *detente?* This too is the subject of Marty's book. In an indirect way, the controversy came to the fore in the recent CGT congress. Marty could take heart from the fact that for the first time since the split with *Force Ouvrière* an organized opposition openly expressed differences, and its representatives were re-elected to the leading committees. On the other hand, it was disquieting to note that the Communist trade union leaders, while properly insisting on the struggle for higher wages, refused to commit themselves on the program such a movement would have if it forced a change in government. In this sense also, the Marty affair transcends the individual and becomes, along with an examination of the past, an open window into the future.

WHO is André Marty? In the publications of the Communist Party today his name is anathema. We prefer, however, to take the biographical facts from an official biography of Communist leaders published in illegality "somewhere in France" in February 1944 and entitled "Frenchmen in whom France can have confidence."

Marty was born on November 6, 1886 at Perpignan, France, the son of a French worker of Catalan descent who had been sentenced to death for contumacy as a Communard at Narbonne in 1871. After ten years of exile in Buenos Aires and Barcelona, his home at Perpignan became a haven for Spanish rebels crossing the border in the course of bloody struggles against the monarchy. In 1907, André was a participant in the pitched battles that opposed peasants and agricultural workers to the troops in the wine-growing regions of the South of France. It was during the first World War that his name became famous. An engineer in the French fleet, he was one of the leaders of the mutiny in the Black Sea that successfully halted Clemenceau's intervention against the young Soviet Republic. Under indictment that provided the death penalty, he was sentenced by the Council of War to twenty years hard labor, but after four years, one year after the last of the mutineers had been released, repeated protests and demonstrations and his election to office 43 times from prison finally set him free. On his liberation from prison in 1923, Marty joined the Communist Party. In 1925 he was elected to the Central Committee, in 1931 to the Political Bureau and in 1945 to its highest body, the Secretariat, all of which positions he held until expulsion proceedings began in 1952. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1932 and a secretary of the CI from 1935 until its dissolution in 1943. From 1924 to the present he has been consistently returned from working-class sections of Paris as deputy in Parliament. His biographers of 1944 penned the following:

> *The name of André Marty will remain inscribed high in the annals of the anti-Hitlerite war in Spain. It will remain linked with the history of the glorious International Brigades of which he was the organizer and inspirer. From Algiers today* (1944) *he continues the same work by throwing all his strength into the mobilization of all forces*

for the liberation of France . . . There is no one upon whom the Fifth Columnists visit more hatred and calumny, but the people of our country surround with ten times more love; the name of André Marty, synonym of antique simplicity in private life, of consciousness in the work of the assemblies, of indomitable courage in the service of the national dignity, prestige and freedom of France.

On May 26, 1952, after twenty-nine years in the party and almost as long in its top counsels, Marty was summoned before the Secretariat to answer allegations of factional activity in consort with Charles Tillon, the leader of the Communist military forces in the Resistance during the war. By the end of the year, Marty was expelled, driven from his high estate to "exile" in his native Perpignan. His reputation was torn to bits, his integrity called into question, his name blackened. The hero of the Black Sea revolt allegedly had been "a traitor since 1919" who could think of no better way to end his years than as a common police informer. Subjected to endless provocations, to cunning stratagems designed to push him into a false position, deserted by wife and friends in the midst of physical illness and the soul-wracking ordeal, the solitary old man took up his pen to save his own past and others' future. In the two and one-half years that have passed, surrounded by the landmarks of his youth, when the word solidarity had a different meaning, Marty has had long hours for reflection. The ideas and criticisms which fill the pages of his passionately written book are different from those Marty held before his expulsion, or at least from those he openly expressed in the party. The blame for that lies not with Marty but with the system within the Communist Party which makes a normal confrontation of ideas or a conflict over policy before the full view of the membership impossible.

WE may pause for a moment before describing Marty's present views to unravel the mystery of his expulsion. We should add that it is a "mystery" in the political, not the detective-story, sense. It isn't necessary to await the report of the sleuths who will track the shadowy clues to some supreme culprit like Beria—any more than it was necessary in the Tito case, nor of Rajk, Slansky, Trotsky, Bukharin. The evidence in Marty's case also —which convicted him of common treachery—is historically improbable, internally false, it cannot stand objective examination, and was therefore not submitted to the bar of working-class opinion for a verdict.

The one charge that may have had

a germ of truth, but which is far from a crime, was that Marty was thinking of forming a faction for the purpose of winning the leadership of the French CP. At the moment his case arose, power was not clearly fixed in top party councils. There was also considerable confusion on policy. Maurice Thorez, who had held undivided sway, had been stricken with paralysis and was receiving treatment in Moscow; he was not expected to recover. If Marty was seeking power at this time, he was beaten to the draw by another, Auguste Lecoeur, who unexpectedly became first secretary of the party in May 1952. Two days later Lecoeur instituted proceedings against Marty. When Thorez eventually returned from Moscow, Lecoeur in turn was charged with building a private machine and as with Marty his "self-criticisms" were considered inadequate and he was thrown out. In brief, what happened in the French CP was a weirdly distorted version of what often happens in other labor organizations—a struggle for leadership. But since such struggles are expressly forbidden, since no one has the right to question an existing leadership or to suggest it might be altered, those who lose lose all; they are cast into the role of traitors to stamp out any idea among the rank and file that there is anything legitimate in such a struggle or that they might participate in it.

Behind these conflicts which appear superficially as those of men seeking power for its own sake, there are sometimes here too, as in other political segments of the labor movement, divergent views on policy and a reflection, no matter how indirect, of discontent among the membership. In the accusations against Marty and in his initial replies, there were suggestions, shadows of opposing views on a whole range of tactics concerning the peace movement, the struggle in the colonies, the relation of the party to Soviet diplomacy and others. As in the case of Tito, the accusations were based on chance remarks, on an unguarded rejoinder made in a moment of anger, and the reply was an outright denial, an insistence on orthodoxy but accompanied by a stubborn refusal to be humiliated. After the parting of ways, the cloud of difference which had been no bigger than a man's fist grew into a storm of political controversy. Marty has only a past and a book. In a world of mammoth powers, these are puny weapons. But those who spurn them, spurn also the origins and ideals of the socialist movement. For that reason, among others, his criticisms deserve a hearing.

THE essential difference, he writes, between himself and the CP leadership is between a policy of "revolutionary class struggle" and that of "class collaboration" which "resting on secret compromise with the workers' enemies" sacrifices their interests. He begins with the great experience of the new generation, the Liberation.

"We missed the boat in 1944-45-46." This says Marty is an opinion widely held by the workers who believed there could have been a "thoroughgoing change in the condition of the working masses and in the economic and social structure of France." He denies that he then called for a "socialist revolution" or now believes that one might have been possible. But given the formidable strength of the armed resist-

ance movement, of the network of *ad hoc* committees that were springing up all over the country, he believes that an aggressive policy of strengthening these bodies and of confiscating the property of the traitors, virtually the majority of the banking magnates and industrialists, would have irreversibly altered the social nature of France.

Instead, upon Thorez' return from Moscow, the militias were dissolved, the factory committees which had been direct instruments of control, were reduced to consultative bodies, the workers were called on to "produce, produce, produce" and strikes were frowned on as "embarrassing to the Communist ministers in the government." Now again "the golden calf reigns over France. . . Misery crushes the people; ten years ago, they hoped for something different. . . The working class has the right to demand an accounting."

In August 1953, according to Marty, there was another opportunity to "change all that" during the big strike of postal, communication and railroad workers. Strike committees in a number of towns took possession of law enforcement and the distribution of foodstuffs. Within a couple of weeks, workers in private industry, and particularly the metallurgical workers of Paris, returning from vacation, would have joined the fray. The reactionary Laniel government was powerless. A revolutionary leadership, says Marty, would have invited the Socialist Party to join in extending these strike-committee governments to the whole country. Supported by this movement, it should have demanded the immediate convocation of parliament which it could have obliged to summon immediate elections in which a united working class would have campaigned to elect a Socialist-Communist government. Given the discontent then prevalent among the peasants, who were erecting barricades on the highways, and among students and teachers over miserable government budgetary expenditures on education, he believes victory might have been possible in such an election.

But revolutionary leadership was not forthcoming, the CP leaders were as paralyzed as the government. They gave no lead, unless it was the attempt to restrain the local strike committees from assuming local political authority or to prevent the Renault workers from joining the strike. "Once again," Marty quotes these workers as saying, "we missed the bus."

HIS criticisms of the Peace Movement are equally trenchant. He does not deny the efficacy or need of such a movement but he says a single action against war is worth thousands of signatures, to the collection of which this movement has almost solely been confined. Without seeking a way to unite the trade unions and parties of different political persuasions, the movement has been limited to the Communists and a few outstanding public figures. During the height of the Indochinese war and the Geneva negotiations, the passivity of the CP, which did not call a single meeting until after the armistice was signed, permitted Mendès-France to write the terms of the settlement with the Vietminh without regard for French working class opinion. He considers unforgivable that at the outset of its campaign against German rearmament, the party leaders should have forgotten the principles of internationalism and, ignoring the traditions and present opposition of the German socialist and trade union movement to Prussian militarism, should have lumped all Germans in the same sack.

In some ways, Marty's views on the internal functioning and the *mores* of the working class movement are the most interesting side of his book. First of all there is a sense of history and a respect for the past of the socialist movement. The political creation no longer begins with Thorez, everything that went before being effaced from view. Jaurès and Guesde, the great architects of French socialism, are restored to their honored place. The revolutionary syndicalists, Monatte, Rosmer and others, are recognized for having been the anti-war minority during World War I which established the left wing in the socialist movement and became the nucleus for the foundation of the Communist Party. Trotskyists are mentioned in several places in a casual way without epithets.

Marty reacts with violence against "the cult of the leader," and inveighs against the practice in France where Maurice Thorez has been presented as "the supreme savior," to whom is attributed the foundation of the party, the leadership of the struggle against fascism, and all other achievements big and small. Alien to the labor movement, this practice, he says, leads to paralysis among the workers whose initiative and devotion derives from revolutionary doctrine and from free discussion before action.

He speaks with nostalgia over the now defunct Communist International —"old revolutionists wept at its dissolution in 1943." He would like to see a new revolutionary workers' international reconstituted now to aid strikers in various countries, to support the colonial peoples and to coordinate the struggle for socialism. The International should be reconstituted on the statutes of the Seventh World Congress of the CI which, according to his rose-colored views, "allowed each party to fix its own practical and political orientation."

FINALLY Marty insists that democracy must be re-established in the unions if they are to re-establish and maintain their unity. For this they must be independent of political parties, embracing all workers regardless of political persuasion and excluding none from membership or office because of such opinions or affiliations.

Marty is a new convert to the principle of internal democracy in the labor movement, but this conversion may very well be his most important contribution. The crisis and division in the French labor movement today is, of course, primarily political. But new politics cannot be evolved without free discussion, the split cannot be healed if the weaker section feels it will be crushed by the stronger in a united movement, enthusiasm cannot be generated when loyal but dissident militants are persecuted and slandered. What is involved is cooperation of Socialists and Communists which is the key to progress in France. Opportunism and corruption among Socialist leaders has been a strong barrier to this unity, but the good sense and revolutionary instincts of French workers can overcome this as they have in the past. Only the Communists, however, can overcome the feeling among Socialists that the price of unity is the fate suffered by their counterparts in Eastern Europe, that the price of dissidence is the fate suffered by André Marty.

G. C.

BOOK REVIEW

The American Background

LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE, by Bernard Mandel. Associated Authors, New York, 1955, $3.

IT MAY seem on the antiquarian side to reach back a century and more to find the sources of American labor's lack of political independence. After all, one might say, labor's political conservatism today obviously feeds upon the continued prosperity, and needs no other explanation. Nevertheless, Bernard Mandel's excellently documented and reasoned book on the relation between slave and free labor, and the consequences of that relationship, is a valuable contribution to the study of the peculiarities of American historical development which bear upon the retarded character of labor's political activities.

Such works as Mandel's show that the particulars of our national history, its special features which mark off our country's development from all others, have also imparted distinctive characteristics to our labor movement. One of the most glaring of American idiosyncrasies was the growth of the slave system here at a time when it had already been discarded in all other major centers of civilization. This departure from the history of other modern nations left us with a persistent reactionary heritage. Any trade unionist who doubts this, need only reflect upon the current problem of the runaway shops in the South: Why is the South still like an alien country? Why did the great sweep of the CIO fail by and large to include the land of Jim Crow? Slavery carved out its empire there one hundred and thirty years ago—and we contend with its effects to this day.

Mandel points out that in the same period when European labor was developing class consciousness and seeking independent political means of solving its problems, the American workers remained largely dependent upon political parties controlled by their masters. ". . . In the thirty years before the Civil War, American labor tried to achieve its redemption through the major political parties. . . . While the American labor movement in some respects developed along the same lines as in Europe, there were also some striking differences. Although the class lines were well established by the 1850's, they had not yet become fixed, and the individuals within each class were constantly changing. There was still considerable opportunity to rise out of the laboring class and to become a small farmer, shopkeeper or manufacturer, because of the rapid expansion of the American economy. Consequently, it can hardly be said that the working class had achieved an independent position; class conscious as it was in so far as economic struggles were concerned, it still followed in the train of the middle class politically and ideologically. The revolutionary working class movement of 1848 in Europe had no counterpart in the United States."

IN ADDITION to the attractive call of the vast frontier and the fluidity of classes, the author describes how the "peculiar" institution of slavery distorted labor's development: ". . . The most decisive factor in disfiguring the American labor movement was the existence in the Southern states of the institution of chattel slavery." Whether one accepts slavery as the most decisive factor in slowing the workers' political development—and this reviewer believes that other factors in the post-slavery period were decisive for their time—it is indisputable that slavery bequeathed a formidable obstacle to the unification of labor as an independent political force.

Since Mr. Mandel's purpose is to trace the effects of slavery upon the workers' movement, he does not dwell upon the effects of the frontier, the belated and then swift rise of capitalism, and other special characteristics of our history. These unique factors are worthy of a great study, which would contribute much toward our understanding of the national features of American labor. Marxists have laid such heavy stress, in contention against apologists for capitalism, upon the fact that America conforms to the basic laws of capitalist development, that they have neglected those aspects in which this country has followed a most unconventional path.

As a matter of fact, the entire development of capitalism in the United States was not typical. There was no slow evolution of a capitalist class out of the old classes of feudalism. Family tenure of the land and old established commercial enterprises were unimportant during the stormy period of capitalism's rise. The development from home industry to manufacture was telescoped within a few years prior to, during and after the Civil War. In the Northern seaboard states, opportunity was unprecedented for a workman or artisan to become a small business man; the existence of the limitless land frontier, virgin territories not in the grip of feudal families, expanded the vistas of opportunity. It is no surprise therefore that far more than in Europe, the oppressed and most exploited sections of the population were gripped by the ideology of the rising capitalists.

That is why the political movements of any size or significance which appeared on the scene before, during and following the Civil War, were essentially populist, centering their demands around such solutions as easy credit and cheap land.

MOREOVER, the struggle against slavery did not actually mobilize the working class. The slave system served on the contrary to divide the oppressed workers of the North from their fellow-sufferers in the South. In tracing the relationship between white labor and the struggle against slavery much is revealed about labor's protracted dependence on the middle class political movements.

This is not to say that American workers were not subjected to great exploitation, herded into proletarian ghettoes, brutalized on the job, and pressed by their conditions of life to battle for their rights. By 1854 union membership had reached 200,000 in the United States, and big strike struggles had shown labor's inherent power and militancy. But this militancy did not produce any stable working class political movement, and none of labor's prime demands of that period were incompatible with a rising capitalism.

Lincoln's victory in 1860 was attributed by many newspapers of the time to the votes of laborers in the urban centers. But the working class pushed forward the bourgeois revolution through the medium of capitalist politics, and not through their own independent means. Lincoln no doubt had a strong appeal to workers. He promised a Homestead Act, and a free economy where every man would have an equal chance to succeed. It has already been made amply clear that when Lincoln spoke of labor being prior to and above capital, he meant it in the sense that through labor a man could become a capitalist.

Not only didn't the workers participate in the critical struggles of the time as an independent force, but they did not ally themselves for the most part with the Abolitionist movement, the most radical wing of American middle class politics. The abolitionists, of course, did not direct their appeal to workers in the North and did not interest themselves in workers' problems. But the workers were actually not receptive to Abolitionist propaganda, as they saw no connection between the emancipation of slaves and their own betterment. The contrary belief was common that the freeing of the slaves would throw a great army of free labor into competition with Northern workers and drive down wage scales.

Northern workers were torn by contradictory feelings in their attitude toward slavery, in contrast to the attitude of European workers towards feudalism. On the one hand, many of them knew that slave labor, often rented out at low rates as mechanics, carpenters and the like, tended to degrade all labor economically and socially. But the thought of the sudden freeing of millions of slaves seemed to present an even greater danger. *The Workingman's Advocate,* most influential labor publication of the time, in 1845 expressed this view: "It is not difficult, therefore, to foresee in whose favor the competition between three millions of blacks and a yet greater number of whites, would terminate; and who would first suffer from want of employment and the reduction of wages consequent on competition." The editor of this paper proposed the gradual emancipation and colonization of slaves in one of the Western territories.

A STRONG minority of the workers, notably the Irish of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, bitterly opposed Abolition, and the Irish press openly advocated violence against Abolitionists. These Irish workers were the bulwark of the Democra-

tic Party of the North—a party which during the Civil War was the nesting place of defeatists and Copperheads.

The resentment of these backward workers finally reached such proportions as to produce the anti-draft riots that swept a number of the Northern cities. The draft law of 1863 provided that anyone eligible for the draft could buy his way out of the army by turning over $300, or by sending a substitute. Hence, the popularization of the slogan, a "rich man's war and poor man's fight." Mandel describes the widespread working class riots as "a blind revolt against class legislation, against strikebreaking, against intolerable economic conditions, against the orgy of profiteering and speculation at the expense of workers and soldiers; they were nourished on the white supremacy propaganda of politicians."

While the riots were a genuine expression of working class resentment against the rotten deal they were getting from leaders and politicians, it was all badly confused with the anti-Negro sentiment of these workers, and hence their actions played into the hands of the Slavocracy.

The Northern workers thus could not intervene actively as a class on the slavery issue. They did support in large measure such movements as the Free Soil Party, which echoed the slogan of the *Workingman's Advocate*: "Vote yourself a farm," and which supported the proposal that slavery be outlawed throughout the nation. But at the same time they drove free Negroes from Northern jobs by violence and refused to admit them to their unions.

In the South, slavery put its mark on the labor movement with even greater and more debilitating effect. At the very period when Northern labor was conducting an effective strike struggle for the ten-hour day, similar strikes of Southern white workers were broken either by direct use of Negro slave labor or by the threat to use slaves. While Northern labor was organizing itself from the 1830's up to the Civil War, Southern labor was crushed by the existence of the cheap labor force of three-and-a-half million slaves.

IN THE pre-Civil War period there were anti-slavery movements among Southern white workers, as there were anti-slavery rebellions among the Negro slaves. But the rebellion in both cases primarily took the form of an escape from "Egyptland." To the white worker the great free lands of the Northwest beckoned; the slaves organized the underground railway to seek work as free labor in the North. And among the Southern poor whites who chose to stay and fight rather than seek new lands, their struggle was directed primarily against the Negro slaves and not their masters or their system.

Mandel describes such an anti-Negro strike in Richmond, Virginia, in 1847. White mechanics in an iron foundry, when asked to teach newly hired slaves their jobs, refused to work unless the Negroes were removed from the mill, with the strike finally broken by Negro strikebreakers. Southern white workers pushed for laws to prevent the hiring out of slave labor, and mounted quite a movement on this issue, to the point of forcing through legislation. But this attempt to limit slaves to the plantations was doomed, since the slaveowners were powerful enough to ignore such laws.

The workers' frustration taught some of them the lesson that slavery as such had to be fought, and "there was a strong and growing undercurrent of hostility to the system," according to Mandel. Moreover, the Southern Abolitionists, unlike those of the North, directed their appeals to the white workers, who were hard pressed by the competition of the slave system. Some of the leading Southern Abolitionists were white mechanics. Many of the German immigrants in the South strongly adhered to equalitarian ideas, and some even to communism, and they fought vigorously against slavery. But, as Mandel correctly observes, "so long as the laboring class was small, scattered and unorganized, there was little possibility of its becoming a serious threat."

The Southern workers were kept divided, and their political development retarded, by the powerful propaganda of the slaveowners. Slaves, the workers were told, "were consigned the hard, menial and low-paid tasks. If slavery were abolished, white workers would have to compete with slaves in every job." And just as the Northern worker figured, with far more justification at the time, that he could become an employer, the Southern worker was fed the bromide that every laborer could be a slaveowner.

But more insidious was the effect of race prejudice, nurtured by the Southern Bourbon, who was and still is, past master of this heinous art. "The workers were beguiled by a spurious pride of caste and social status, and in addition frightened by the specter of race war, Negro supremacy, and miscegenation. . . . Because he was himself reduced virtually to the status of the slave, he could preserve a modicum of self-respect only by identifying himself in some way with a master class, with whom he could share the 'privilege' of lording it over a helpless class of pariahs."

AFTER the Civil War, when the Northern workers rebuilt their unions which had been smashed during the depression of 1857 and by the strikebreaking of the capitalist class in the course of the war, a movement for independent labor political action began, culminating in the organization of the National Labor Party in 1872. But, inevitably, this became another populist movement, dominated by currency reformers, tariff "experts," and the like. The National Labor Union was helpless to cement solidarity between white and Negro worker, as both leaders and members "looked upon the Negroes not as brothers in a common struggle, but as competitors." In 1869 the National Labor Union, with Negro delegates participating, could do no better than provide for the organization of Negro workers into separate Jim Crow unions, affiliated with the national body. Following this action, the *Workingman's Advocate* stated, "It will take time to eradicate the prejudices of the past . . . there is still a wide gulf between the races in this country." But the labor paper predicted: "At no very distant day they will become united, and work in harmony together."

It took almost 70 years for the first real blows to be struck against the heritage bequeathed to American labor by the "peculiar" institution of slavery, when the CIO began organizing workers on a relatively equal basis. But the South still remains to be conquered for even Northern-type democracy. This remains, as it were, one of the most important of the unfinished tasks of the Civil War.

Game of Chance

CHANCE OR DESTINY: Turning Points in American History, by Oscar Handlin. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1955, $3.75.

AMERICAN historiography has been guided by a variety of methods and viewpoints. Early writers held to the theistic view that history is an unreeling of Divine purpose; later, in the post-Revolutionary surge of nationalism, celebration of great patriots and of America's "manifest destiny" took the center of the stage. Still later, historians were to write America's history as the story of a "superior race" which began its progress towards democracy in the forests of Germany and spread thence to England and America. With the growth of so-called "scientific" historiography, scholars began to concentrate on the compiling of facts, and let all questions of method and meaning go by the board. Then, with the rise of the Beard school, with its progressive social outlook and its emphasis upon the underlying economic trend, the writing of American history took a big forward leap.

Recently, as in many other fields, history too has been invaded by a retrograde tendency, and all kinds of theories and viewpoints that were fading from view are again being pushed. The study of history for the purpose of finding scientific causation is increasingly neglected, and all sorts of amorphous and shapeless notions have risen to the top again. Among these is the theory of chance as the chief determinant of history.

The practitioners of this for-want-of-a-nail-a-kingdom-was-lost school spin their yarns like the old grannies of the chimney corner: Just think; if Joe Doakes had only put the cat out that night, all history would have been different. The neighbor's tomcat out in the alley wouldn't have yowled all night, and the courier down the street would have gotten a good night's sleep, and the next day he wouldn't have fallen from his horse, and the general would have gotten the message in time, the war would have been won instead of lost, and as a result Transylvania would now be the most powerful country in all Europe and nobody would ever have heard of Britain and France—all this would have come to pass if only Joe Doakes had remembered to put his cat out as usual.

FOR those who like this sort of history, this new book by Oscar Handlin, who won the Pulitzer Prize with his previous book on immigration, will ring the bell. They will find almost every important event in American history, from Yorktown to Pearl Harbor, interpreted by this obscure-accident theory. American independence on a colonial-wide basis was won because of "the unexpected wanderings of British foragers along the Jersey shore, of the accidental loss of the frigate sent to alert Graves to the presence of the French fleet, of the luck that permitted two separate armies and two separate fleets to converge at the right moment on Yorktown, of the storm that held Cornwallis in the beleaguered town." On the Louisiana Purchase, which sent the United States on its spread across the continent: "But without the avarice of a woman, the miscalculations of an emperor, and a trick of climate, Louisiana might long have remained foreign soil . . ."

If a group of Confederate soldiers hadn't gone into the town of Gettysburg looking for new boots, they wouldn't have run into a Union detachment and the battle of Gettysburg might never have been fought; thus the Confederacy would most likely have won its fight for secession.

If Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1898, had not been temporarily alone in the department and thus in charge, he would not have been able to send a dispatch to Admiral Dewey putting his naval squadron on a war footing, and the fatal course would not have been begun that "was to transform a struggle for Cuban independence into a war for American empire. . . . The United States was thus to be committed, for the next few years to a policy of imperialism, and forever to a global destiny." That's all. The expanding economy, the Latin American and foreign trade and investments, the consequent big-power drives set up in American politics had nothing to do with it; it all hung on a single telegram.

After the preceding six chapters have been read, the reader will not be at all surprised to discover in the seventh that the U. S. entrance into World War I resulted, in the ultimate analysis, from that fact that the commander of the "Lusitania" zigged when he should have zagged, and hit the torpedo that was just about to miss him. Or, in an earlier section of the book, to find that, in 1844, an explosion aboard the "U.S.S. Princeton," during tests of a new naval gun, killed a Secretary of State from Virginia and caused his replacement by a Secretary of State from South Carolina, John C. Calhoun, thus making the Civil War inevitable sixteen years later.

IN a closing section, Handlin generalizes his theory as follows: "Is it truer to speak of just eight turning points in American history? No! Not if to do so implies that all that transpired between each of them was orderly and inevitable by the operations of some regularity or law. For the turning points are made of such stuff as these: of a shifting wind and a courtier's slyness, of a woman's greed and an old man's hatred, of a metal's failure and a soldier's blunder. Unplanned encounters enter into the shaping of events and so too thoughtless words, the shape of a young girl's face, and the quirks of character of politicians. These are the ingredients that determine the zigzags of history; and the historian can begin to understand its course only when he perceives that it is a line made up of a succession of points, with every point a turning point."

Those who have tried to look upon history as an infinite game of chance have generally run into the following difficulty: History is not a few unrelated acts, in which the turning of a card or the dealing of a hand of poker decides the outcome of a conflict, but is made up of millions and billions of actions by innumerable individuals. In such a situation, as we know from the mathematicians, chance events tend to cancel each other out, because chance operates on all sides of the fence. In a complex and protracted war, both sides get many small- and large-scale lucky and unlucky breaks, but neither can count on them for success. Unlike the armed combat between two mailed knights, where the element of chance may bulk large, in an all-out contest of contending nations or classes the superior weight of one side, its superior economy, forces, geographical and social position, etc., sooner or later make themselves felt.

American independence did not hang upon chance occurrences, but was determined by the virtual impossibility of subduing so spirited and forceful a rebellion by such an economically matured colony at so great a distance from Britain. Had the first rebellion been crushed, by any combination of circumstances, one can rest assured from all the known facts about the contending forces that the second would have succeeded, for independent American power had grown too great to be caged within Britain's mercantile system. Nor could the South, with its meager industrial base and corroded social system, have counted upon chance to win its war for it against the Union; as a matter of fact the only surprising thing about the Civil War is that it took as long as it did in view of the relationship of forces, and even that is explicable by known factors, and not by luck.

THE Marxian method of interpreting history cannot, any more than any other method except the mystical, claim foreknowledge of particular events or special configurations in history. But it can explain basic trends from the underlying socio-economic development of society. For example, men have puzzled long over the myriad complexity of European history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It is impossible to conceive of a more varied and apparently mixed-up jumble of histories than those exhibited by the nations of Europe in that period. Each country followed its own special road; the political systems varied from republicanism to despotic monarchy, some countries had "great men" and others had nothing but duffers to lead them, some countries had revolutions of one sort and others had revolutions of another type, the church and religious systems were different and antagonistic to one another, and, to please Mr. Handlin, the history of each of these countries was filled with chance and mischance, with all sorts of apparently accidental turnings of the road. And yet, the historian should ponder on the fact that despite all the multiplicity and chance, the road in each and every one of the nations of Europe led unerringly from feudalism to capitalism, from the breakdown of the old order and its replacement by the new. Moreover, when examined more closely, basic trends and similarities of development in all these lands emerge to the trained eye. No one can contemplate such historic panoramas with their massive forces and movements without catching sight of the historic lawfulness which man's social activity, by virtue of its own inner conditions, is subject to.

Meanwhile we have Mr. Handlin's book. What can be said of Mr. Handlin's book? For those who like a good yarn, it shouldn't go too badly. For those who long to enthrone Lady Luck in Clio's place as the Muse of history, it is just what the doctor ordered. But the rest of us had better stick to more pedestrian accounts.

H. B.

Conflict on Campus

THE SEARCHING LIGHT, by Martha Dodd. The Citadel Press, New York, 1955, $3.50.

WE have the assurance of many observers that the very institutions which ought to nourish idealism, principles and love of justice most assiduously, the American universities, are actually almost devoid of these graces, and that the teaching staffs of these institutions are cowed and timid souls for whom the basic principles of freedom have long since become nothing more than a web of words. John Jay Chapman likened them to the most nervous of animals, writing: "The average professor in an American college will look on an act of injustice done to a brother professor by their college president with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren . . . We know, of course, that it would cost the non-attacked rabbit his place to express sympathy for the martyr; and the non-attacked is poor, and has offspring and hopes of advancement."

But, be that as it may, we have in this noteworthy novel testimony to another side of the matter; that no matter how cowed the majority of college teachers may be, there is a stalwart minority which will not be separated from its ideals and forms a nucleus of resistance which can grow to be a powerful force in the schools when conditions favor. Martha Dodd writes from a background of knowledge of the inner workings of university life and politics, having lived her first twenty-five years on the campus of the University of Chicago, where

her father, William E. Dodd, one of America's soundest and most acute historians, lived and taught before he became Ambassador to Germany in the years before World War II.

The story concerns the events that transpire when the Regents of Penfield University, possessed by the reactionary spirit of the times and threatened with an Un-American Committee investigation, seek to impose a loyalty oath upon the teaching staff of the University. The chairman of Penfield's English department, John Minot, a cloistered Milton scholar, moved by his uncompromising feeling for what is right and just, becomes the leader of organized resistance among the faculty.

AS the story opens, Minot has just acquiesced in the dismissal of two non-tenure teaching assistants on charges of being "communists." He had hoped to see the university go unmolested in the future after this sacrifice, of which he is vaguely ashamed. But the Regents soon institute a sweeping oath requirement. From here on, the main thread of the story is Minot's progressive transformation from a trusting and naive professor into a fighter.

At the start, he opposes efforts by a co-teacher with earlier experience in the labor and left-wing movements to broaden the fight and enlist popular support and publicity outside the university; but at the end, angered and educated by the conscienceless maneuverings and breaches of faith by the Regents, he has changed his mind. At the outset, he is opposed to raising any issues but the strict letter of academic freedom; later on he is himself linking the university fight to the cold war and the national witch-hunt. Finally, having seen the large force rallied against the Regents dwindle to a baker's dozen, he leads the remaining few in refusing to sign the oath, faces dismissal and prepares to fight in the courts, broadens his interests to include larger civil liberties battles in the state, and derives considerable satisfaction from stirrings of awakening and support among the students and among like-minded colleagues throughout the country.

More than a political narrative, however, the novel is an attempt to show the impact of the witch-hunt on a representative cross-section of university people. Thus a series of characters are introduced, each with his own special situation and problems, including an Italian emigre whose father had gone through the same process in Italy, a weakling who is defeated by his family problems, a Jewish physics professor, and others. But the main interest centers on Minot and his family, his artist daughter, and his wife who suffers from a heart disease and who is torn between a sincere sharing of her husband's ideas and a vague hope for an untroubled and prosperous life.

It is certainly very difficult, in a novel the main interest of which is frankly political, to develop characters into real people and not symbols. While many of Martha Dodd's cast of characters often emit the hollow ring of made-up persons introduced to illustrate a point, she is surprisingly successful—much more so than most current "problem novels"—in breathing believable life into them. Each of them faces the age-old question: "Someone must fight, but—why me?" and answers it in his own way.

Professor Minot's answer is, in effect, Luther's famous "Here I stand; I can do no other." If this answer seems too intellectualistic and self-consciously moral, if it smacks too much of a Kantian categorical imperative to suit the majority of men, who fight from other motives, just the same it does answer for Professor Minot, and the author does succeed in delineating a man who will fight back for that reason, and in making us see him as a man who could not go on if he did not do it. There are some Professor Minots; would there were more of them!

A. S.

A Liberal Answers Twenty-five Questions

NOW IS THE TIME, by Lillian Smith. Dell Publishing Co., New York, 1955, 25c.

LILLIAN SMITH, author of "Killers of the Dream" and "Strange Fruit," is perhaps the leading individual in a significant new group of Southern liberals whose open and bold opposition to segregation of Negroes foreshadows important changes in the land of Jim Crow.

She has elected in her latest endeavor to write a political treatise on the problems presented by the anti-segregation Supreme Court decision of May, 1954. Her book is an appeal to Southerners to "give up segregation." Her approach is two-sided; on the one hand she makes a strong appeal on the broadest humanitarian grounds, lambasting the many false arguments of the white supremacist propagandists; on the other hand she tries to bring to bear the politics of the cold war to convince her fellow Southerners.

When dealing with the problem of desegregation as such, she is very effective: "Were legal segregation to be ended today, what would happen tomorrow?" Miss Smith asks. "The signs over public doors would be gone. That is all. Stores would open promptly, clubs would meet as usual. . . . The banks would be open. Unemployment would not increase. . . . You would see at school—after the change-over had been effected by the school board—a few children who had not been there before. Just children, not ghosts. . . . That is the way it would be. Whatever upheavals there were would happen *inside people's minds.* Only there."

She discusses twenty-five questions, those most commonly put to her when she lectured before Southern audiences. "If God wanted the races to mix, why didn't he make us all the same color?" she was asked. "If God had not wanted people of different colors to mate, why didn't He make it biologically impossible for them to do so?" she replies.

Another question deals with the allegedly higher rate of lawlessness among Negroes than whites. Miss Smith replies, "Poverty, lack of schooling facilities, discrimination of a dozen kinds, social rejection, make a poor growing climate for children."

BUT unfortunately, this sort of dialogue with Southerners does not make up the backbone of the book. For Miss Smith has felt called upon to enter the lists of the cold war against communism, and to try to elicit anti-segregation support from the anti-communist feelings of white Southerners. Thus, the book lays its greatest stress upon the presentation of a choice between getting rid of segregation or aiding world communism. "As we watch the Communist conspiracy move steadily across Asia, as we see millions reach out for this new tyranny, we ask ourselves two questions: What is there in communism that appeals to Asians? What is there in democracy that does not? The answer is not simple. It lies, however, in large part in two words: poverty and color."

And the conclusion pressed upon the Southern white patriot is, "As long as we practice segregation . . . Asians and Africans will not trust us." Other considerations are adduced: "They remember that the United States used the atom bomb against Asians." But these are things for the authorities to handle. The people of the South are urged to do what is possible for them. "Why do we not begin at the easiest place—here at home? Why not do the simplest thing? To give up segregation, to do it quickly and harmoniously, is a small price to pay."

Once this is done, we "shall have started on our way toward assuming real world leadership in bringing our world into a harmonious whole." The fact is, states Miss Smith, "What we are facing today is the crumbling of an old idea," the idea of white supremacy. This is a change that goes on in the minds of people, and she in all sincerity is trying to speed the process.

What she apparently fails to realize is that the rebellious uprising of the Asian peoples—which she terms the "communist conspiracy"—is the strongest force bringing about the "crumbling of an old idea." The Asians have decided to throw off the white man's domination, and are succeeding, not because the white man has become convinced of the inhumanity of imperialism, but because he can no longer muster the strength to impose his rule. This central fact of world history since the end of the second World War made possible the Supreme Court decision of March, 1954.

IT IS necessary for Southern liberals to separate themselves politically from the Dixiecrat machines and break their reactionary hold on the Southern states. For this a new radicalism is needed to unite all those in the South who stand for an end to the dictatorial system entrenched there. This cannot be done by attempting to outshout the "hate-communist" demagogues in their own field.

J. G.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Best Labor Publication

The *American Socialist* is, in my opinion, the best Labor publication I know in the English language. One may disagree with some of its conclusions, but it reasons instead of vilifying.

H.S.R. *Surrey, England*

As a good wisher of the *American Socialist* I would like, if I may, to make the following comment:

I read this journal regularly from its first appearance, and admire it as one of the most genuine Marxist periodicals. The highly qualified analysis and interpretation of events in this magazine are of great interest.

A publication of this kind containing very important material so ably discussed should, in my opinion, be presented in a more popular form, so that broader masses of readers could be reached. It would be very regrettable if this magazine will be confined to a narrow group of intellectuals. The *American Socialist* has gifted writers with great talent, and they are able to bring it to a wider class of readers.

Herewith . . . my renewal. . . .

L. S. *Chicago*

Atomic Energy

I should like to voice my commendation of the general excellence of the *American Socialist*.

One suggestion which I'd like to make which you might put in your ledger for future reference is this: You can't devote too much space to automation and to atomic energy. My attention was drawn to the former by the absolutely apocalyptic deductions of the effects of automation on the labor force written by Gabriel Kolko in the *New Republic,* July 11. Furthermore, the expected effects on the white-collar workers are due to make hash of all the theorizing on the rise of a "new middle class."

Re atomic energy: The giveaway of these resources to private business is reminiscent of the giveaway of the public lands to the railroad and timber interests.

Both of these subjects retain my interest because of the opportunity they offer to revive the ideas of nationalization and planning which virtually died in the U.S. after the thirties. While it is still too early for such ideas to make an impact on the labor movement, I believe they would be received with great interest by readers. . . .

C. G. *New York*

I have on hand two issues of your *American Socialist*. From reading them I cannot make out any plan or program for a socialist society. . . . I am a firm believer in a socialist system of government. However, a plan must be worked out before socialism is put before the working class. One of your aims is "important social analyses of basic economic and political questions from the *Marxist* and socialist point of view." This I like to hear, because a socialist party should be based on Marxism.

L. Z. *Milwaukee*

Socialism and Democracy

If you read our American newspapers, you surely must have noted that there *still* is a conspiracy extant against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. From such reading you would discover that international capitalism has not given up its original objective since the 1917 Revolution in Russia, namely the subversion and overthrow of socialism everywhere in the world and the re-installation of capitalism or fascism. Surely this one fact—the *external* threat of capitalism which is utilizing its great wealth for the internal subversion of socialist countries—explains more clearly why the internal conditions of socialist countries do not meet the standards of Mr. Cochran. Whenever international capitalism accepts the idea of "live and let live," then only will the socialist countries measure up to Mr. Cochran's requirements.

However, there still is a question whether the socialist countries today are lacking in civil liberties and democratic procedures as Mr. Cochran believes. I certainly am not qualified to answer this. However, there have been many visitors to the socialist countries, some of them not lacking in integrity, who differ in their presentation of the facts from Mr. Cochran. You may note also the severe self-criticism found in the publications of socialist countries (released in the American press if you haven't read the original publications).

Frankly, the article "Socialism and Democracy" [July 1955] appears to me as a misrepresentation and distortion of the problem and the facts. Furthermore, it can only result in giving all the "cold" and "hot" warriors ammunition to carry on their current campaigns, because they never use the detached, objective approach—all they wish to do is to preserve capitalism by cold and hot war at the expense of suffering, want, and death of people both here at home and abroad.

Enclosed please find my subscription renewal.

C. J. W. *Michigan*

At long last! Your publication represents some of the finest thought in our country today, yet I've only just discovered it. It was only a month and a half ago that I found there are two socialist magazines intelligent enough to realize the folly of being uncritically either pro- or anti-Soviet.

The well-considered militancy of your periodical so impressed me that I'm sending the price of a regular full year's subscription instead of the bargain trial one, and will try to give or sell some of the trial subs to friends.

K. A. *Los Angeles*

Enclosed find my renewal. Please use remainder of $10 bill as a contribution for your fine publication. Best publication on the Left. July issue was excellent. Should have more articles of the discussion type as the ones by Braverman and Cochran.

C. Z. *Los Angeles*

Re: Paul Breslow's article on MRA ["Mysticism Serving Reaction: Moral Re-Armament Hits Chicago," July 1955]—He says: "MRA's idolized leader, Dr. Frank Buchman, who previous to having a vision had been a Pennsylvania Lutheran minister, has been quoted by reliable sources as having made pro-fascist statements during the 1930's."

At first I was going to pass up this obviously ridiculous statement with a "tsk, tsk," but on second thought feel it is not so ridiculous as it is shallow and dangerous. Firstly, to state that a man made pro-fascist statements 25 years ago implies that the man is a fascist; this may or may not be the case but the fact it is a mere implication is resorting to the same type of innuendo currently employed in every respectable witch-hunt. Secondly, I am sick of "reliable sources." . . . Thirdly, it is possible that a pro-fascist of 25 years ago has learned something of decency since and is no longer a pro-fascist. . . .

Although this is essentially a minor point and was not at all typical of Breslow's thinking throughout the article, I feel the *American Socialist* must not—if at all possible—assume any of the weaknesses of current inadequate thinking. . . .

Enclosed are two more introductory subscriptions for friends.

J. F. *Seattle*

Enclosed find renewal. . . . I enjoy your magazine very much. I am a member of the executive board of my union local. I have occasion to use some of your thinking in my discussion and find it very valuable: Einstein, security, annual wage, etc. Yours for a prosperous future,

R. F., *Seattle, Washington*

It was with dismay, but not surprise, that I read of the refusal of the executive of the AFL to send a delegation to the USSR. . . . As a member of the reactionary Transport and General Workers Union I am happy to say that the attempt by the late Arthur Deakin to prevent the exchange of delegations was a complete failure thanks to the protests from all sections of the labor movement. If we can do it, then so can you, and who would doubt that the cause of world peace would be strengthened if American and Russian workers were to visit each other's countries. Best wishes to your readers and the staff, and may you go from strength to strength.

B. H. *London*

Won't You Do Your Share?

FROM June through September over 700 subscriptions have expired or are due to expire. As of the middle of August, we have held our own, on the basis of the renewals and new subscriptions that have come in.

People with a lot of experience in the circulation field tell us that this is a remarkable achievement for the summer period.

This is very gratifying to all of us on the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. Nevertheless, we will be standing still, circulation-wise, if we do not now register further increases in our new subscriptions.

We are aiming to increase the inflow by at least 25 percent, and believe, now that the summer vacation period is drawing to a close, this is an entirely realizable objective.

We are putting our shoulders to the wheel here in the office. Won't you do your share by sending a trial subscription to a friend?

Chicago Readers

SYMPOSIUM

What's Ahead for Labor?

Ernest DeMaio
Pres., District 11
United Electrical
Workers of America

Prof. Kermit Eby
of University of Chicago

Ernest Mazey
Secretary, Michigan Committee
Against Trucks Law

Friday, October 14 — 8 P.M.

Midland Hotel **Contribution 75c**

Auspices: American Socialist

Subscribe for a Friend

The American Socialist

A monthly publication · 863 Broadway · New York 3, N. Y.

I want to take advantage of your special introductory offer of a six-month subscription for one dollar to introduce the magazine to my friends. Please enter the names below on your subscription list. Enclosed find ..... dollars.

Name .....
Street .....
City ..... Zone .....
State ..... Donor .....

Name .....
Street .....
City ..... Zone .....
State ..... Donor .....

Special Introductory Offer 6 MONTHS FOR $1.00