

*The American*  
**Socialist**

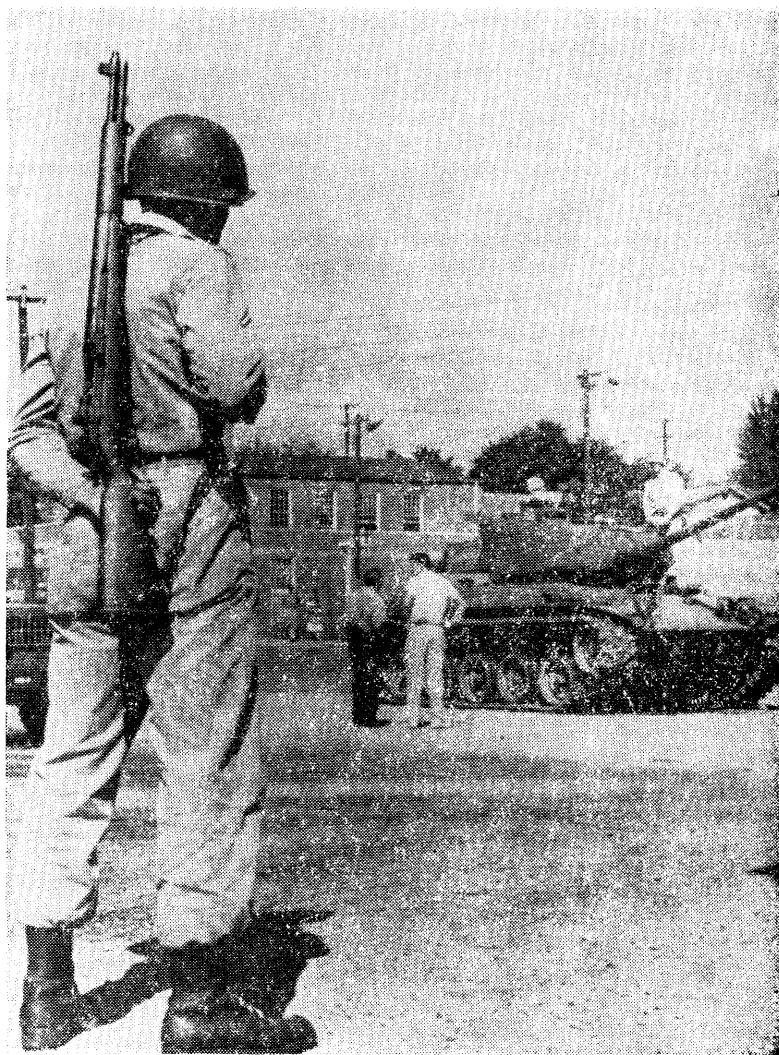
NOVEMBER 1956

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**OIL  
and  
SUEZ**

**Where  
Do we  
Stand  
on  
Integration?**



**Upton Sinclair's "Jungle"**

**The Fight for Clean Meat Fifty Years Later**

# CLIPPINGS

**T**HE French Socialist Party, harassed by many members within its own ranks, is desperately trying to stifle opposition to its Suez policy. The latest move is an attempt by the Executive Committee to ban members of the French Party from writing for certain newspapers. According to "Franc-Tireur" of Sept. 29, the repressive measures taken by the Executive Committee were sparked by articles written by Oreste Rosenfelde and Marceau Pivert in "France-Observateur" and articles by Lucien Weitz in "Tribune." The Federation Socialiste de la Seine, to which both Marceau Pivert and Lucien Weitz belong, recently sharply rapped the French Socialist Party's attitude over Suez. Its resolution declared that it was madness for the French government to think of using force, that the principle of Egypt's right to nationalize the Suez Canal should be supported, and that the whole dispute should be referred to the United Nations. It is because of this—as well as the articles in the two newspapers—that Guy Mollet has started his campaign against free speech in France. (British "Tribune," October 5, 1956.)

**E**ARL Browder, ex-chief of the American Communist Party, has proposed to his old enemy, Norman Thomas, 72-year-old veteran Socialist Party leader, that the latter take the initiative in organizing a new socialist Left. Browder declared: "As a national political influence the whole socialistic left wing shares a common nullity. Most of its membership has been demoralized and scattered; its present leaders spin dizzily in their sectarian corners. The Left is weaker today than any time since I first joined the Socialist Party some half-century ago." Browder went on to say that "A key role must be played by Norman Thomas who over the years has won a special moral authority among large masses, who has always stood superior to faction, and who spoke for one of the main currents when the Left was strong."

Thomas told newspapermen, "It is not politically feasible that any new party will be started by those of us who bear too many scars of the past." He indicated, however, that he was interested in "something like a new Fabian Society. . . . Neither Adam Smith nor Karl Marx would recognize what was going on today."

**S**TIRRINGS of renewed political interest are seen in Detroit. The Detroit Labor Forum announces a symposium on "The Crisis In The Auto Industry" to be addressed by Frank Marquart, Educational Director of UAW Local 212, Brendan Sexton, Educational Director of the UAW, and Dr. Harold Sheppard of the Sociology Department of Wayne State University. The meeting is scheduled to be held on Friday, November 16 at 8 P.M. at Highland Park YMCA, 13220 Woodward.

**A** NEW magazine, "Africa South," has appeared on the newsstands in October. Avowedly anti-Apartheid, (Apartheid is the

name for the official segregation policy of the South African government), the new quarterly is sponsored by Alan Paton and other South African Liberal Party leaders, the Rt. Rev. Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, several Labor Party MP's and officials, and Jordan K. Ngubane, a former African National Congress spokesman. The official press release states that "opponents of Apartheid hope the new publication will serve as the impetus for the first democratic coalition of all non-Communist South African forces dedicated to the creation of a multi-racial society based on full and equal citizenship for all South Africans."

**P**ACIFISTS and socialists are cooperating in a petition campaign urging President Eisenhower to grant executive clemency to Vern Davidson, Socialist Party member now in Tucson Federal Prison for refusing induction into the armed forces. Davidson began serving a three-year prison term early last September. His imprisonment climaxed a three-year court battle carried on by the Davidson Defense Committee, which charged the government, in refusing Davidson a conscientious objector classification because he is an agnostic, with the violation of the American tradition of freedom of conscience. The case went to the Supreme Court twice but was refused a hearing. (The draft law includes a requirement—Section 6-J—that a man must believe in a Supreme Being to be exempted.) This discrimination violates, in the opinion of the committee, the principle of separation of church and state. Copies of the petition can be obtained by writing the Davidson Defense Committee, c/o Rina Garst, 167 West 60 St., New York 23, N. Y.

**I**N a spirited session of the CIO Rubber Workers convention held at Long Beach, California, the delegates rejected the administration proposal to shift away from the union's traditional six-hour day which constitutes the present work schedule at all Akron rubber plants as well as at Firestone in Los Angeles and U.S. Rubber in Detroit. The union leaders gave tortured arguments to the effect that by going over to a uniform eight-hour day, the path would be cleared for a later fight for the six-hour day, 30-hour week. But the local union delegations refused to be taken in. One delegate from Detroit told the gathering: "Don't forget the rest of the world is looking at this convention. . . . You fellows know as I do that once the companies get back to eight hours, you'll never get to six. Let's hold the line."

The Catholic trade union federation of Quebec province voted in favor of affiliating with the merged AFL-CIO, the Canadian Labor Congress. Its annual convention in Montreal instructed the officers to resume unity talks. If the unification goes through, the Catholic federation of 100,000 members will enter the one-million-member Labor Congress on an equal footing with other affiliates.

**M**MURRAY Kempton, liberal N. Y. Post columnist, revealed the existence of a letter from AFL-CIO President George Meany to the Tillman Lodge of the International Association of Machinists in Charleston, S.C., in which Meany angrily disclaimed that the AFL-CIO has given any financial assistance to the NAACP. Meany went on to assure the Tillman Lodge that the AFL-CIO held that it will take "a long time to work out" implementation of the Supreme Court school decision. Officials of the Lodge were so pleased with the letter that they had it photostated and sent copies to all AFL-CIO locals in South Carolina. Kempton observed that this letter contradicted everything Meany has been saying on civil rights for the past year.

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## Sore Spots in the Boom

**E**VER more insistently, labor economists are pointing with alarm to the growing pockets of depression in the national boom. We do not know whether these presage a full-blown economic downturn soon, or whether, by one extraordinary device and another, the boom may proceed apace for another couple of years. But we do know that these depressed pockets, so-called, are unmistakable alarm signals warning us that our \$40 billion war program and Keynesian welfare-statist cushions notwithstanding, capitlism still operates blindly and chaotically. While the new setup has modified the system's workings, it has by no means eliminated the old boom-and-bust cycles.

The depressed pockets also have a large meaning in human terms. They signify that in the midst of the boom, while the statistical charts show impressive upward-sweeping lines of the Gross National Product, total numbers of gainfully employed, hourly wages etc., literally millions have been thrown out of employment, have had the tenor of their lives disrupted and been forced—many of them in middle age—to try to find new jobs and establish new homes and connections, to re-knit the broken tendons of their existence among strangers, in new surroundings, and with no accumulated resources.

Liberals have waxed indignant at the Stalinist depredations in Russia where millions of people have been moved about like pawns on a checker board without proper regard for humanity—and we join in this indignation and protest. But can they not muster some of this righteous indignation at the heartless things that are happening right here at home? Can their tears—crocodile or otherwise—

be taken seriously unless they show at least an equal interest concerning the welfare of the American wage earners and rural poor as they have flauntingly displayed in recent years regarding the collective farmers of the Ukraine or the workers of Stalingrad or Poznan?

**W**E are not trying to blow up a few specks on the horizon into a typhoon. These “depressed pockets” are serious business, and grand percentage statistics should not blind us



REUTHER  
275,000 unemployed members

to the violent tremors that now mar the existing prosperity, and bespeak an economy that is in the throes of vast change. Irresponsible writers earning good pay can chatter about all of us belonging to the middle class, and a posturing labor leader who has just had his salary jacked up to fifty grand a year can gape about the new wonder-

ful “people’s capitalism,” but the Babbitt-ridden trade union press itself is now beginning to complain about the sore spots that can no longer be safely ignored.

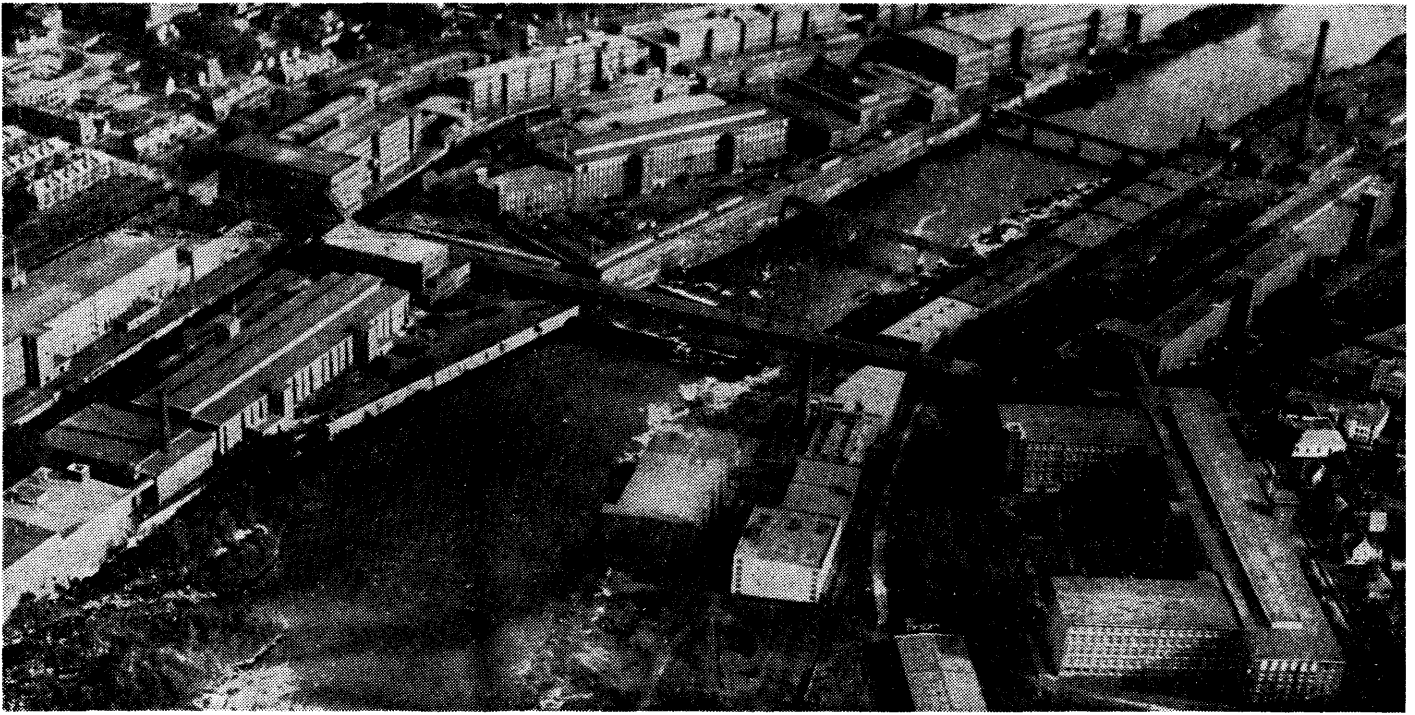
The truth is we are in the midst of an industrial upheaval with the system undergoing rapid alterations spurred on by shifting sources of raw materials, changing population patterns and revolutionized technology; not to mention that we are on the threshold of the atomic age. Industry and finance are transforming the economic structure by policies of decentralization and relocation, modernization, rationalization and automation, and enormous capital investment programs.

Spokesmen for the economic royalists have long inveighed against a planned economy because it allegedly leads to totalitarianism. But our multi-million-dollar corporations that run the economic life of this nation plan—except that their planning is selfish and irresponsible, because they are animated solely by their greed for private aggrandisement, because their plans collide with the conflicting plans of competing industrial empires, and because their acts affect the lives of tens of millions of people, while they are accountable in their decisions only to tiny coteries of industrial and banking plutocrats.

**A** SENSATIONAL report issued last month by the Textile Workers Union lays bare the scandalous situation in that industry where for years conscienceless speculators have turned old industrial cities in New England into ghost towns, and with the connivance of local businessmen and Bourbon politicians have fastened an oppressive industrial feudalism upon the Southern cities which they have invaded. We learn:

*Massachusetts has had dire unemployment problems in Lawrence and Lowell, the first abandoned by the woolen industry and the second left high-and-dry by a variety of textile firms.*

*The area around Nashua and Manchester, N.H. is an industrial desert because of the earlier depredations of the late Frederic C. Dumas who destroyed Amoskeag, the world's largest textile mill, and the*



**FEW SIGNS OF LIFE:** Textile mills such as this one at Manchester, N. H., in the New England cradle of American industry, have cut back production, laid off thousands, brought hardship to whole cities as corporations move South, looking for more profitable labor exploitation.

*latter-day manipulations of Royal Little who shut down Textron's holdings there.*

This is one instance where crime does pay, and pays plenty. Textile investments are among the most lucrative, surpassing over the long haul even General Motors. But the movement of textile plants out of New England and into the South is such an old story that people have become somewhat inured to hearing it. They view it in the nature of an elemental misfortune, like earthquakes in Japan or dust storms in Arabia.

Now, however, the automobile workers, an aristocratic section of labor, working in an industry that is effectively unionized, are getting hit on the nose in a similar way. Parts of the east side of Detroit look like a ghost town. Hudson is dead. Packard is gone. Midland Steel is no more. Motor Products is washed up. So is Federal Truck and Murray Body. Chrysler is way down. Carl Stellato, President of Ford local 600, stated that one-fourth of the jobs at River Rouge plant have slipped away in the last ten years. "We had 60,000 workers at Rouge in 1945. Now we have less than 45,000." Ford is decentralizing operations and establishing

new plants around the country.

Here we see the limitations of the union contract. A local may build up what are considered as fair standards over a period of years. But the power of fundamental decision remains in the hands of the corporation big shots. One day they decide to move the plant—and presto, several thousand workers find themselves on the street, and the union contract, with its seniority provisions and its other protective clauses, becomes a useless sheet of paper.

**B**UT decentralization and shifting of plants is only part of the story. The October issue of the *United Automobile Worker* is full of lamenting about what used to be called structural unemployment. Reuther quotes government figures that 275,000 auto workers are unemployed throughout the nation, while in Detroit alone, 12 percent of the work force is jobless. Other figures show that more than 35,000 are unemployed in the agricultural implement industry, as well. This industry employed 160,000 in 1951 and is down to 107,000 today. Most of the laid-off people will never get back in the industry, just as it is understood that some 100,000 seniority

automobile workers had better find themselves jobs in some other lines. They are not temporarily laid off. They are out.

No firm figures are yet available as to what the national work force is going to be for the automobile and auto parts industries, but that the decline is going to be drastic is not in dispute. Improved production and handling methods and the eruption of automation are shooting productivity way up and taking their toll of jobs. Some of the recent figures on coal mining employment give us an inkling of what to expect. In 1923, there were 705,000 active miners. Today, the figure stands at 205,000. Only eight years ago it took 441,500 men to mine the coal now being dug by less than half that number. In the anthracite fields, the number of miners has slumped from 160,000 to 25,000.

The business magazines have a ready answer to this. "What of it?" they ask. "We are getting more productive all the time, and these displaced workers will be absorbed in new industries and lines." Many no longer accept this explanation as complacently as they did a few years ago. First, the human costs of these industrial relocations and re-

adjustments are mounting, and the people on the receiving end are getting mad at being treated like a herd of cattle. In the midst of the national euphoria, pools of social resentment and discontent are developing. Next, capitalism—and particularly American capitalism—is so dynamic that it can maintain its equilibrium and employment only by steady expansion. And the boom seems to be levelling off.

**J**UST as there is no such thing as absolute totalitarianism, so there is no absolute complacency and apathy. While a boom is roaring along, and speculators and real estate sharks are rolling the green stuff in, and the laboring men and women are in a conservative frame of mind, still hundreds of thousands are earning less than \$1,500 a year, and thousands elsewhere are being pushed out of their jobs and homes and forced to start all over again. These experiences have sent little electric jolts and shocks through some sections of the unions. Nobody is revolting, but there are tremors, and it's something to watch.

One voice is heard to the effect that "our union must broaden its horizon of thinking." This local committeeman

in Detroit writes: "If our union is to continue to protect our jobs, we must now extend our bargaining rights to include the right to determine where new factories are to be built and the kind of automation that is to be introduced into these factories." (*Voice of Local 306*, August 16, 1956.)

More significant, talk of the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay is spreading from one union to the next in a remarkable fashion. A list of all the unions that have passed resolutions declaring for the shorter work week would fill this page and would include some of the very conservative, old-line unions. Of course, this is just talk, as yet. But the palaver of today often becomes the action of tomorrow.

Some of our social observers, overwhelmed by the success of opinion-manufacturers in manipulating the people's thinking, are wailing loudly about the new "mass man," about the huge, impersonal institutions that seem to be devouring us all. But there are exposed chinks in the armor of this colossus of American Capitalism. He also has an Achilles heel. And it is time to begin paying some attention to this aspect of the social reality, as well as its glossy side.

1920 .....	49 percent
1924 .....	51
1928 .....	54
1932 .....	56
1936 .....	63
1940 .....	66
1944 .....	57
1948 .....	53
1952 .....	65

The irony of the Voice broadcasts explaining to the world how voting apathy is destroyed by a show of violent language in the absence of basic disagreements, is that in almost every West European nation the percentage of adult citizens that votes is far higher than in the U.S. In the British election of 1950, 84 percent of the voters went to the polls. A more likely conclusion than that of the Voice is that the American pattern of muffling issues and putting the emphasis on personalized fakery and public-relations devices is too transparent to sustain serious popular interest. (We are happy to see Stevenson's call for stopping the H-bomb tests, hitting one of the vital questions disturbing the American people; an example of a real issue breaking through the two-party strait-jacket.)

## What's Wrong with U.S. Politics?

**W**HEN these lines reach our readers, the 1956 presidential election will be over. Once again, it has been proved that as a sporting event, the quadrennial campaign has no peer. The State Department, bursting with pride at what it regards to be the apex of our democratic system, invited the Russians to come over and watch. But is it really the high point of American democracy? As a display of free speech, perhaps yes; but as a device of democratic choice by the people, hardly.

A curious interpretation of the campaign was broadcast by the Voice of America as it went about its wearisome task of explaining these United States to the rest of the world: "The people of America have become too aware of their responsibilities in this critical age to disagree—even in an election year—over the fundamental program." What, then, is all the noise

about? "It may seem as though the nation is tearing itself apart, but to Americans the process is enjoyable, stimulating, perhaps even necessary. . . . A campaign period without charges and counter-charges, without bursts of outraged indignation, without quips so slyly phrased that the opposition must cudgel its brain to think up an equally snide retort—such a campaign would leave the American public feeling cheated." What is the merit of all this? "The whole procedure is a healthy one, a revitalizing one," explains the Voice. "Little room is left for apathy on the part of the voter."

The idea is of a campaign without basic issues, but so enlivened by "quips and sly retorts" and "outraged indignation" that it leaves the voter "little room for apathy." How explain then the percentages of adult citizens voting in presidential elections since 1920?

**W**HAT'S wrong with the structure and methods of American politics? During the Progressive era of 1904-17, the big nostrum of the reformers was the short ballot. The country had gotten so big, it was explained, and the complexities of a ticket so vexing, that Americans could hardly be acquainted with more than one or two of the candidates they were called on to vote for. Far better, the reformers claimed, to have a few elective posts and the rest appointed by the victorious candidates. The reformers have won their point, as executive power in the federal government and the states has become so centralized that the strings of each administration are tightly held by those who control the central executive office. And yet, it can hardly be claimed that voting has become either more intelligent or more widespread than in the Progressive era.

Others claim that the trouble is the two-party system, which cramps the style of this vast country and confines the electorate too closely to enable the multiplicity of interests and



ideas to get expression. But Britain also has a two-party system, and British elections are far superior to American in their thoughtfulness and in the amount of real choice open to the people.

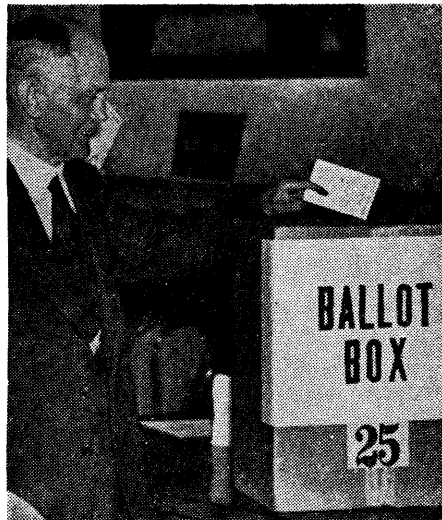
The trouble seems really to be one of arrested development. Politics becomes very little when it is not dominated by some grand design greater than the petty ambitions of politicians. The striving of mankind for a progressive evolution in its economic and social arrangements, and the conflict of classes and interests within that evolution, gives such an axis to politics. In bygone centuries it was the clash between aristocracy and capitalism, between landed interests and industrial interests, between slavery and hired labor.

During the past half-century, the axis of politics in every modern—and most of the backward—nation has become the clash between capitalism and socialism, planning in the economy and chaotic profit-making, capitalists and wage workers. It needs only a glance at the political map of Western Europe to see that those countries are politically divided, without exception, along these lines, with parties that reflect, in greater or lesser degree, the real meaning of politics in the twentieth century.

**I**N America, this evolution never took place. It is as though the Liberal and Conservative Parties of Britain had gone on mouthing the phrases of the last century without serious challenge from a new Labor Party, only occasionally giving muffled voice to the real choices of the day. American politics hasn't grown up into the new century, and that has nothing to do with the number of parties or the length of the ballot.

The big reasons for this are well known and have been often discussed. Capitalism developed here with so breathtaking a sweep and lavish a hand that the need for a new day of progress beyond the system has become temporarily obscured; when the need began to be writ plain on the walls of the land in the thirties, our precarious war economy was brought along to stay the new day just a little longer. But is that the only reason for the arrested development of American politics?

The present party structure has been hardened by conscious measures taken by the ruling politicians. It is true that they could never have gotten away with it had the social ferment and protest mounted a bit higher in



the Progressive era or in the thirties, and continued a while longer. But the fact remains that measures *were* taken to freeze politics in its outmoded state, and those measures deserve a bit of attention.

In every nation outside of the outright dictatorships, the political parties are private institutions, voluntary associations unknown to the law. Up until the latter part of the last century, that was the case in America too. But the extreme corruption of American elections and the spoils system led to a movement, inspired partly by reform sentiments but steered by practiced politicians, to "regulate" politics. The end result was that the parties were defined, given status under the law, their mode of operation prescribed, and their hold on the government structure underwritten. "The American party system," one scholar has written, "is unique in the fact that it has been overlaid by statutory prescriptions and mechanically articulated with the government."

Measures of control over the way parties run their internal affairs may have cleaned up some dirty politics, but in the long run their more important result has been to give official and semi-official status to the two dominant parties. Requirements of the laws creating various commissions

specify the division of commissioners between the parties; more significantly, the statutes creating election boards divide them up between the Republicans and the Democrats. Since it would not be cricket to specify these parties by name in the law, this is gotten around by such devices as assigning the chairmanship of each county board of elections to the party "polling the highest number of votes" in the last election, and the secretaryship to the party "polling the second highest number."

The effect of this is to create a ready-made job trust for the Democratic and Republican Parties; but more important, it gives close control of our complex election system to the two existing parties, and, by awarding them a machinery that extends into every county board of elections, it puts the electorate at their finger tips the year round for machine purposes. All of this is something that is very hard to duplicate from the outside, and forms a massive barrier against the kind of evolution of our party system that has taken place elsewhere.

**A** BELIEF has arisen that the Republican and Democratic Parties own the government as a right of patrimony handed down by foregoing generations. After 1952 when Senator Wayne Morse, formerly a Republican, supported Stevenson and announced himself an independent, he was excluded from his positions on major Senate committees by both the Republicans and the Democrats. When he protested that his Senate seniority entitled him to his committee seats, he was told that his seniority meant nothing other than as *party* seniority. Thus, the traditional Senate rule of seniority attaches, by this interpretation, only to Republicans and Democrats, and an independent could sit in the Senate long enough to call Walter George "junior" and still not get a role in the decisive committee structure of the Senate.

In part by law, in part by extra-legal custom and atmosphere, the Republican-Democratic twinship has been established as the sole recognized channel of politics. Then, the restrictions against new parties also play a big role. The ruling removing the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Workers

Party from the New York ballot this year highlights this.

Under our archaic system, voting is controlled by the states, subject only to the restrictions in the Constitutional amendments that enjoin them against stopping people from voting because of race or sex—the race provision being a dead letter in the South. But all other aspects of election procedure are state-determined, with the result that a medley of laws, varying from state to state and requiring a battery of lawyers to comprehend, are in force. How does a new party get on the ballot?

Some states require a quantity of signatures to a nominating petition. Others require a convention. In states where write-in votes are permitted, a candidate may theoretically file nomination papers and then, by polling a vote larger than a certain minimum, gain a place on the ballot for his party in the next election; there is no actual example of this happening. In practice, the most common form is the nominating petition.

The number of voters who must sign a nominating petition for a new party or for an independent candidate is very high in many states; in some, such as California, almost prohibitive to any but a very large machine. In New York, 12,000 signatures are required, but these must include 50 from each county; in Illinois, 25,000 are required, but 200 signatures must be secured in each of 50 counties; in Indiana 8,000 signatures are called for, but each signature must be individually notarized! In some states, the time allowed for obtaining signatures is very limited, as in Pennsylvania, where a 30-day period is set. In others, the signatures must be obtained very early in the year, before the major parties have named their candidates.

**O**NEROUS as these laws are, the way they have been interpreted by the courts has made them far worse. In general, the courts have followed the reactionary maxim that if the laws don't absolutely prohibit the new candidate, they are all right, no matter how hard they make it for him. The courts have given the strictest possible meaning to all disputed matters in these laws. Thus, for example, one of

the ambiguous terms contained in most state election statutes is that calling for the signatures of "qualified electors."

Is a voter who has not yet registered a qualified elector? He may have plenty of time to register before the election, and yet his signature on a nominating petition is not honored. If a voter has moved between the time of registration and the time of signing (many may have done so as a year or more may have elapsed) his signature is not honored. In some states, entire sheets of qualified electors are thrown out on account of a single minor discrepancy, which may be clerical.

The trend has been to increase the barriers. Some states have raised the requirements in recent times. New York State used to require 6,000 signatures to get on the ballot and 10,000 votes to stay on; this has been raised to 12,000 signatures and 50,000 votes. Indiana formerly required only 500 signatures and now asks 8,000.

The tendency is for an ever smaller number of states to permit minority

parties on the ballot, the majority making it increasingly difficult, on the theory that the Republican and Democratic Parties are sufficient to take care of all reasonable political needs, and anything outside of them is either subversive or crackpot. And, at times, the rights of minority parties are used as political footballs, with one party taking a more rigid position than the other in the belief that its voting position would be strengthened by keeping the small party off. This has sometimes made the Republicans more liberal than the Democrats on this issue. On the other hand, the Democrats once threw the Republicans off the Florida ballot on the ground that it wasn't a party at all, but "a mere aggregation of individuals" (in the words of the Florida courts).

Despite these formidable barriers, a sufficiently large movement can command a place on most state ballots. The Wallace-Taylor ticket was on the ballot in all but three states in 1948. But the Progressive Party started out with a former Vice President as its candidate and with a network of organized backing all across the nation. While the laws and regulations don't make a new ticket impossible, they make it difficult for small beginnings; a new party must have a lot of support right at the beginning to overcome the obstacles.

**B**UT leaving technical difficulties aside, the big trouble in American politics is the sluggishness of our labor movement, which has failed to make good on the promise of nineteenth-century Populism and early-twentieth-century progressivism by shaking up the party structure so that it adequately represents the issues and the classes of modern America. Only organized labor has the power to overcome the long-time habits and legal barriers, and get American politics re-polarized to fit the needs of our epoch.

Until that time, the boastfulness expressed by the Voice of America and implied in the State Department's invitation to the Russians will not really be justified. The American elections, far from being the cream of world democracy, are among the pettiest, most confused, most inconclusive, in the Western world. They are not worth bragging about.

### "We Own America"

**T**HE class I represent care nothing for politics. . . . Among my people I seldom hear purely political discussions. When we are discussing pro and con the relative merits of candidates or the relative importance of political policies, the discussion almost invariably comes down to a question of business efficiency. . . . It matters not one iota what political party is in power or what President holds the reins of office. We are not politicians or public thinkers; we are the rich; we own America; we got it, God knows how, but we intend to keep it if we can by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our political connections, our purchased senators, our hungry congressmen, our public-speaking demagogues into the scale against any legislature, any political platform, any presidential campaign that threatens the integrity of our estate. . . . The class I represent cares nothing for politics. In a single season a plutocratic leader hurled his influence and his money into the scale to elect a Republican governor on the Pacific coast and a Democratic governor on the Atlantic coast."

Frederick Townsend Martin  
A member of the wealthy  
class, in the mid-1890's.

In the twilight of empire, with China, India, and other long-exploited lands lost forever, imperialism clings with desperation to the oil of the Middle East. The story behind Suez, told by a foremost analyst of the oil industry.

# Oil and Suez

by Harvey O'Connor



**B**EYOND Suez lie the oil fields, incomparably the richest prize in all history. In a crescent around the Persian Gulf there is anywhere from \$100 to \$250 billions in tangible wealth under a light cover of desert sand. In the twilight of empire, with the bright jewels of China, Indonesia and India lost forever to the lords of London, Paris and Amsterdam, this loot in the Near East is the most precious that is left. Small wonder that the British Tories are willing to set the world aflame to hold on; not all the silks and spices of the Far East ever compared in value to the oil of the Near East.

Only in the present generation has the unimaginable wealth of the Persian Gulf region been suspected. Fifteen years ago these oil reserves were estimated at six billion barrels, about the same as the East Texas field. Four years ago the estimate had swelled to 65 billion barrels. Last year the official estimate was 125 billion. And Wallace Pratt, Standard of New Jersey's leading geologist, estimates the Persian Gulf reserves, known and available, at 230 billion barrels, or seven times that of the United States, hitherto the nation richest in oil. In the Gulf crescent is three-fourths of the world's oil reserves. The Ghawar field in Saudi Arabia has more oil than all of North America; the desert sheikdom of Kuwait, the size of Connecticut, has more than all of the United States.

No wonder Rear Admiral Ernest M. Eller (ret.) said: "Every American should know that the United States and its allies would be crippled, if not brought to disaster, if we lost the Middle East oil and control of the sea that makes it possible for us to use it." With all due credit to the admiral's sapience, the people of the United States could do very well without the Persian Gulf's oil. If his "we" is narrowed down a bit to mean the oil companies and their allies, then his statement is quite valid. The oil deposits of the Near East are the main treasure left in British-French-Dutch imperialism's dwindling bag of world booty. Without it, the British Isles and Western Europe become merely an appendage of the Eurasian continent.

**T**HE seven international oil corporations in charge of the Persian Gulf made an overall profit last year of \$3,919 millions. This is more than the entire profit made by the U. S. oil industry, by far the richest industry in this country. Within ten years it is expected that the Persian Gulf will double its output; within 20 years it may increase five-fold. If so, an enterprising petroleum magazine has calculated, profits on Persian Gulf output will reach \$2.2 billion by 1965.

The seven international firms, in 1965, on this calculation, would make on their Persian Gulf output alone:

British Petroleum (formerly Anglo-Iranian)	\$648,000,000
Gulf (Mellon)	369,000,000
Standard of New Jersey	263,000,000
Standard of California	214,000,000
Texas Co.	214,000,000
Royal Dutch/Shell	180,000,000
Socony-Mobil (Standard of New York)	148,000,000
Compagnie Française des Petroles	137,000,000

The stake of the United States companies in the Gulf is shown in this table:

SOURCE OF 1955 PROFITS, PER SHARE				
<i>Company</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Other Western Hemisphere</i>	<i>Eastern Hemisphere*</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gulf	\$2.72	\$1.61	\$3.85	\$8.18
Socony	2.23	.52	2.00	4.75
Standard of California	2.06	.16	1.43	3.65
Standard of New Jersey	.93	1.81	.87	3.61
Texas Co.	2.67	.55	1.55	4.77

\* Eastern Hemisphere profits are mainly from the Persian Gulf.

The profits of British Petroleum (Anglo-Iranian) arise almost exclusively from the Persian Gulf, as do those of the French oil company; Royal Dutch/Shell has dominant interests in Iraq and Qatar, and important shares in Iran.

Persian Gulf output is expected to soar because Western Europe has become an energy-deficit area. Its coal industry (and apparently this holds true for Eastern Europe as well) is static; its hydro-electric resources are already well developed; its own oil resources meager; and the peaceful uses of atomic energy still lie in the future (if its destructive uses do not blot out civilization before then). If West European economy is to continue expanding, it is dependent on petroleum from the Persian Gulf.

The Suez canal incident is a portent of things to come,



rather than a shattering blow at imperialism. In an emergency, for a short time, oil could be hauled around the Cape of Good Hope to Europe. And in any event, the bulk of Persian Gulf oil reaches Western Europe not through the canal, but by pipe line to ports on the Levant, whence it is tankered onward.

The hesitations of imperialist policy are dictated by these particular circumstances. The warlike maneuvers of Eden and Mollet, the efforts of Secretary Dulles to sooth these belligerent statesmen, the bombastic threats and nervous backtracking of the Anglo-French foreign offices betray gnawing fears, conflicting interests, and the hollowness of imperialist might.

There is no good reason why the western powers should not reach an agreement with Egypt, if that were all there is to the problem. That would of course involve a certain humiliation, but then what have the London, Paris and Amsterdam imperialists endured in the past ten years but a series of humiliating disasters far more deadly than the loss of Suez? The crux of the matter is stated in *Petroleum Week*, the McGraw-Hill organ: If Nasser wins on Suez, there is little doubt of his next goal, "nationalization of all Western oil interests in the Middle East." The Voice of the Arabs radio in Cairo is quoted as saying that the rulers of the oil states concluded concessions with foreign companies against the will of their peoples, who will resist. Egypt is credited with the ouster of Sir John Glubb from Jordan, with starting a wave of riots and unrest in "hitherto quiet and peaceful Persian Gulf sheikdoms and kingdoms." Egyptian teachers and technicians are said to abound in the oil regions. The Near East rulers do not, says *Petroleum Week*, want to kill the oily golden goose, but Nasser's prestige, if he wins on Suez, will force them "to follow aroused popular sentiment or be toppled in the process." In addition the French ruling class has an added fear of Egypt, accused of giving aid and comfort to the Algerians struggling for freedom. For all these reasons, the British and French oil companies have determined to make a stand at Suez. It may not be the "final conflict," but they hear the bells tolling—for them.

**W**HY then the rather coy performance of Secretary Dulles on this particular brink? He was an eager beaver at Quemoy and Dienbienphu; at Suez he seems to have hesitations. It is useful to look at the situation this servant of oildom faces.

The first, and most obvious, fact is that it is Western Europe and not the United States which is dependent on Near East oil. We have Venezuela, under the iron heel of a military elite working hand in glove with Standard of New Jersey's Creole Petroleum Corporation. While Dulles wastes no sympathy on Egypt, he is not likely to counsel war if this country stands in no immediate peril. In addition, the independent domestic oil producers have a distinct aversion to all this Near East oil. It is a constant threat to them in their quest for higher prices for purely domestic production. As half our domestic oil comes from Texas, it may well be asked: Is it possible for us to go to war for Near East oil if Texas objects?

The second fact is that the nationalization of Near East oil will hardly follow immediately on Egypt's control of

Suez. *Petroleum Week* is undoubtedly right in assuming that Egypt's success would hasten the day, but that day will not be tomorrow and possibly quite a few years. The big international companies know their days are numbered: Chairman Abrams of Standard of New Jersey, defending the high profits made in the Near East, remarked: "The greater the risks, the greater the returns." This is indeed the twilight of imperialism, but the twilight of an age may be reckoned in decades. In the meantime, how the money pours in!

The third fact is that the kingpin of the U. S. oil industry, Standard of New Jersey, is not too directly menaced by the Suez incident. That tempers Jersey's belligerence, and Dulles', too. Most of Jersey's oil is in Venezuela. Its Arabian oil, shared with the Texas Company, Socony-Mobil and Standard of California, goes mostly by the Trans-Arabian Pipeline to the Mediterranean. Jersey doesn't care for the nationalization of Suez any more than any other company, but for Jersey it is not a life-and-death matter.

For whom, then, is it?

An analysis of Suez traffic discloses. About three-fourths of the canal's tonnage is oil. And of the oil, two-thirds comes from the tiny sheikdom of Kuwait. And who owns Kuwait? Not Standard of New Jersey, or any other Rockefeller company. Andy Mellon's Gulf Oil pioneered in Kuwait and then, because the British control the protectorate, Gulf had to cut in British Petroleum (at that time known as Anglo-Iranian) as a 50-50 partner. So the oil most directly affected by the Suez crisis is that of a British company and of a non-Standard U. S. company that sells much of its output to Royal Dutch/Shell. There are no pipe line connections in Kuwait toward the Mediterranean and all the crude must move by tanker through Suez. The fact that half of it is owned by British Petroleum and that most of it moves to Britain explains Sir Anthony Eden's rush of blood to the head.

Accentuated by one more fact. Of all the major entities along the Persian Gulf, Kuwait is the biggest producer, and also the smallest in population and territory. In fact, before oil was discovered, Kuwait was only a run-down port which the Germans had once eyed as a possible terminus for the Berlin-to-Baghdad railroad. That was when the British moved in. Behind the port lies nothing but desert without even an oasis. The tininess of the country, its position as a British protectorate, and its helplessness in a military way—all these items sharpen Sir Anthony's belligerence. Arabia, Iraq and Iran are sizable countries against which military operations would be futile in face of determined guerilla enmity. Refineries, oil wells, pipe lines, all are highly explosive. But Kuwait is so small that a British army conceivably might occupy it, seal off the oil installations from the people, and perhaps operate for an extended period, hauling the crude around the Cape.

Kuwait's potential production, shut in now but ready for use if needed, is so great that it could supply all of Western Europe's needs, even if the other Persian Gulf countries were cut off. Perhaps such considerations lead Chairman S. A. Swensrud of Gulf Oil, Kuwait's half-owner, to say: "At whatever rate our need for outside oil

may develop in this country, there can be no question of the dependence of Western Europe and many other parts of the free world on Middle East oil. In the kind of free world we visualize as necessary to avoid the threat of communism, we must consider Middle East oil supplies for the free world vital to our security." (At any rate to Mr. Swensrud's and the Mellons' security.)

The Standard companies and Texaco, owners of the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco), face a troubled situation in Arabia. Arabia is big and could not possibly be occupied by Western troops, as could tiny Kuwait. Aramco pipes most of its crude across the Arabian, Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese deserts to the Mediterranean, a long and exposed life-line which any of the Arab countries can cut. Arabia is ruled by a powerful despot, King Saud, an enemy of the West and an ally of the Egyptian military dictatorship. He is also rich, enormously so, from the \$250 million a year Aramco pays him for the privilege of taking his oil away.

**S**O Aramco wants none of Sir Anthony's saber-rattling. Its stake is too enormous, its position too exposed, its future too clouded as it is. Its managers in the air-conditioned desert oil town of Dhahran bow so obsequiously before King Saud that the imperial London *Times* is embittered: "The queer interrelation between a great American company and a kingdom in a state of archaic social stultification poses a real threat to Anglo-American cooperation in the Middle East. For so firmly established is Saudi Arabian dominance over the company, and so unwilling is the latter to jeopardize its position, that Aramco is apparently being used as a tool to further Saudi Arabian policies that are directly hostile to Britain." Perhaps Secretary Dulles' hesitations are a faithful reflection of Stand-

ard Oil's. Just what does one do when King Saud demands \$50 million a year rent for the use of the Dhahran airbase, built by the U. S. military in order to bomb Russia's Caspian oil fields? Quite useless to remind him that the base is intended to protect him from the Russians. As a good Arab, King Saud feels that he needs to be protected mainly from the British.

Nevertheless it is curious to hear the London *Times* complain of Arabia's "archaic social stultification." What epithets could it use then to describe the corrupt Nuri es Said clique that runs Iraq; for the Ruler of Kuwait who uses \$100 million of his annual \$300 million take for his own needs and banks another \$100 million in London (although now even he threatens to move his swag to Switzerland). How would the *Times* of London describe the military-royal dictatorship in Iran, installed after Allen Dulles' CIA had helped to overthrow Mossadegh?

"Archaic social stultification" is an excellent description of most of the native regimes in the Near East, although the London *Times* has shown little enthusiasm for new social forms in that region. In Iran and Iraq, landlord-cockroach capitalist-militarist regimes prevail. Syria and Lebanon are burgeoning toward popular rule although still controlled by upper-class cliques. Jordan and Egypt are under military control. But underneath simmers social ferment.

Nationalist and socialist ideas have swept the Near East in the past decade. It is tantalizing to know so little of the strength and scope of this movement. The business press alternates between the theme of Moslem hostility to "communism" and scarehead stories of popular uprisings. As usual in times of rising social discontent, the reporters and editors of the business press, including the *New York Times*, understand little and explain nothing of the under-

## ***U.S. Oil Industry Needs International Crises to Keep Booming***

*A high mark in self-revelation for an American industry was scored by the authoritative Oil and Gas Journal when it published the following editorial in its September 24 issue under the title "Does it take a crisis to prevent a crisis?"*

\* \* \*

**T**HE domestic crude-oil situation is fast approaching a crisis that can be resolved only by the development of an international crisis.

If the Suez Canal is closed, much foreign crude scheduled for the United States, plus some domestic production, will be diverted to Europe. This would soon reduce the currently high stocks of crude, permit prorating states to raise their allowables, and probably call for special efforts to increase crude production still further in some areas where pipeline capacity can be arranged.

Unless such a crisis reverses the supply-demand picture overnight, the crude situation threatens to go from bad to worse. For months crude has been in oversupply, despite refinery runs higher than needed and a consequent buildup in product stocks. Allowables are generally low, some fields are shut in, some prices have weakened, and some purchasers are prorating. Still there is too much crude.

Last week one big buyer announced that it will prorate heavily in four states. Several refiners are reducing their runs, which means that they may have to slack off crude takings

soon. Some crude-oil men predict that half a dozen other big buyers will have to resort to purchaser prorating within a few weeks unless something happens.

The only thing that is likely to happen which would relieve the domestic situation materially is an international crisis curtailing the flow of Middle East oil. But it would be a grave mistake to increase U.S. production unless and until there is an actual demand for it.

We have capacity to increase output substantially in short order. Therefore it would be foolish to burden our own industry with more above-ground stocks in anticipation of a foreign need which may not materialize.

**C**URRENT events only point up how poorly the oil industry as a whole manages its affairs in this country. For one reason or another—but not in anticipation of a Suez closing—both crude and products have been in long supply for many months.

Today it appears that nothing short of international crisis will stave off serious trouble. This has happened before. The Korean war and the Iranian oil nationalization, for example, put crutches under the U.S. oil industry at similar times when a long period of oversupply threatened disaster.

Do we always need an international crutch to bolster a self-crippled domestic industry? Can't we find some practical means of becoming self-sufficient in our supply-demand relationship?

If Suez does prop us up this time it will only postpone the need for a solution to the recurring problem of too much oil.



lying stresses. Nor do the socialist and union movements help us much. Quite understandably there is little contact between the official socialist movement in Western Europe and that of the Near East. One is suspected of imperialist tinge (particularly the French Socialist Party); the other of communist. Union delegations and students from the Near Eastern countries come here, shepherded by the State Department. From them it is hard to learn much. Some of the delegates, handpicked by their own ruling classes with State Department approval, do not represent underlying pressures; those who do are too discreet to speak out.

**O**F one thing we can be sure, from Egypt clear across the Arab world to Iraq, and also in Iran, the masses are on the move. For that reason President Nasser has strength. For that reason the political agent of the Ruler of Kuwait, quite surprisingly, can warn that Kuwait, Bahrein and Qatar would join the Arab boycott if the Western powers occupy the Suez. The rulers, he added, have no choice because of popular pressure. Riots broke out in Kuwait when British destroyers attempted to land forces there in August. A Lebanese paper can attack the oil sheiks for squandering their huge revenues on palaces and pleasures, instead of helping to build the Aswan dam.

The Arab Socialist Resurrection Party, with 16 seats in the Syrian parliament and two ministries, proclaims that its supporters in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq "will destroy oil installations in the Arab world to stop the supply of Arab oil to the Western states if these states attempt to take any retaliation against Egypt." Even King Saud is rumored to have said that he could not guarantee the safety of Trans-Arabian Pipe Line properties. In Bahrein, where the British political adviser to the sheik was thrown out, a nationalist leader is quoted as saying that the Bahreini "would destroy oil installations and slaughter every Briton in the protectorate."

What are the prospects in the Near East, with the British Tories threatening war on Egypt and occupation of Kuwait, and the Arabs threatening an uprising that would

extinguish what is left of Anglo-French-Dutch-United States imperialism? The opposition of the British Labor Party and Standard Oil interests to drastic Tory action probably means an accommodation of some sort between Egypt and the West in regard to Suez. Such a compromise would be a moral victory for the Egyptians and all the Arab world and would hasten the development of nationalism and of socialist influence throughout the Near East. The wobbly regimes of Iraq and Iran can topple; popular forces in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt can force those countries along the road toward social transformation; even the absolutist regimes of Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrein, Oman and Muscat will respond to the pressures of their peoples.

**A**S for nationalization of oil—that is a difficult problem for the Near Eastern peoples. Mexico was able to make nationalization stick after 1938 because the domestic market could absorb the nation's oil production. Obviously there is a scanty market in the Near East for its oceans of crude. The oil must flow outward, mostly to Europe (a substantial portion actually is coming to the eastern seaboard of the United States, to the great refineries along the Delaware). An orderly nationalization of oil in the Near East seems unlikely in the near future. If the British Tories could force the issue to arms, Western imperialism's investment would go up in a series of explosions rivalling those of the atomic bombs and there would be little left to nationalize—for a long time. Or, granting the rise of popular nationalist governments in the Near East, markets could be opened in the Soviet world. But the Soviet economies are not geared to petroleum in nearly the volume characteristic of the West and could absorb only a fraction of the present output of Near Eastern fields.

Obviously what is needed in the Near East is a true internationalization of a great natural resource which owes nothing to the despots and corrupt oligarchs holding sway over various deserts and wastelands. But to suggest internationalization now only brings to mind the phony internationalization which the Western powers seek to impose on Suez. There was no thought in the chancelleries of Western Europe of internationalizing the canal so long as the Universal Suez Canal Co. held undisputed control. Nor would they dream of internationalizing Near East oil so long as seven great corporations hold the precious wealth. Once that sway is threatened, we may expect proposals for "internationalizing oil."

When the International Cooperative Alliance back in 1947 proposed a United Nations Petroleum Authority to make Near Eastern oil available to all nations at all times on equal terms, the Western powers turned thumbs down. But the co-op proposal was a true socialist proposal—to hold in trust for all peoples this precious energy resource. It emphasized "all"—the Soviet world as well as the non-Soviet world would have been given access on equal terms, at all times; the Near Eastern countries would have been assured a stable income. A great source of world friction would have been removed; a true lessening of international tensions of this order would make sense of the talk of disarmament. Along that road lies peace.

The integration picture is one of small gains and bitter resistance in the South. A change in the national setup, this Mississippian writes, is what's needed to break up the Southern Jim Crow pattern.

## Where Do We Stand On Integration?

by Buford Posey

UNFORTUNATELY, most of America's leaders including Eisenhower and Stevenson have misled the average person into believing that if the Southern racists are only given time, the segregation problem will eventually be solved in a moderate, sane manner. But any honest, intelligent observer in the South will have to concede that such predictions are either deliberately deceitful or else based on bad information or foolish thinking.

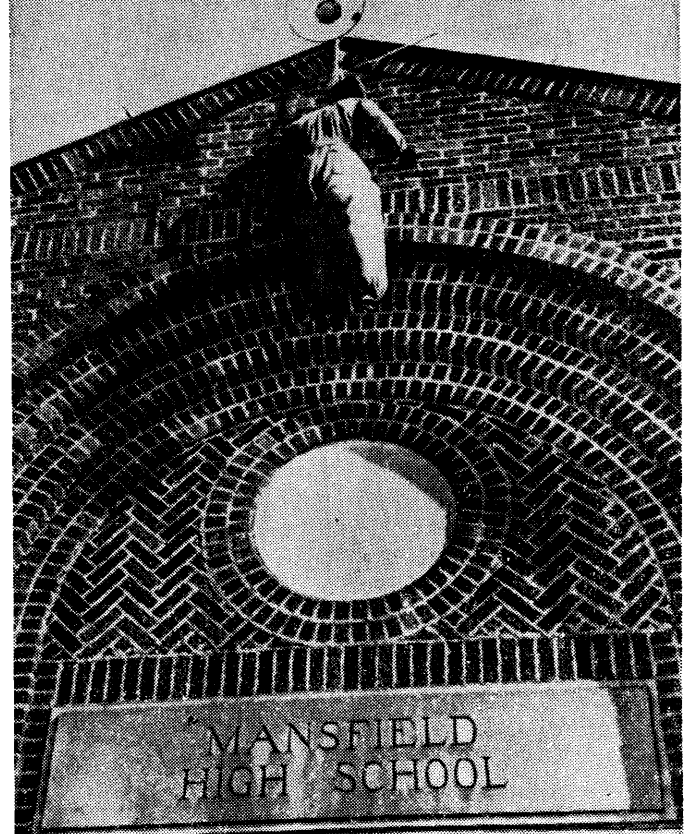
Let us take a brief look at the segregation situation as it affects the eleven former Confederate States of America. Although the U.S. Supreme Court rendered a decision against racial segregation in the public schools in May 1954, here is how it has been carried out:

*Alabama:* Negro population, 979,617; NAACP outlawed. No desegregation whatsoever, mob violence overcame attempts at desegregation at the University of Alabama. Governor Folsom, once considered a friend to the Negro people, has now been thoroughly discredited and effectively silenced by the White Citizens Councils. Alabama legislature and the white voters of Alabama have passed numerous laws and constitutional amendments reinforcing segregation. In the cases of couples involved in inter-racial marriages, the Negro partners are still prisoners in the Alabama State Penitentiary. (An inter-racial marriage, legally speaking, means that either of the partners to a marriage contract is of at least one-eighth non-Caucasian ancestry while the other partner claims to be a member of the white race. This law is in force in all of the 11 Southern states and penalty for violation is 5 years in prison and \$1,000 fine. To my personal knowledge there are violators presently imprisoned in the penitentiaries of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. These state laws apply to Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and in fact to all races which do not possess white skins. These laws are enforced whether or not the defendants have knowledge of their non-Caucasian ancestry.)

*Arkansas:* Negro population, 426,639. Number of Negroes attending desegregated elementary and secondary public schools: less than 50. Governor Faubus has pledged an all-out effort to prevent desegregation.

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*Buford Posey, a young Mississippi farmer and part-time journalist, has written previously for the American Socialist.*



SCHOOL DAYS, SCHOOL DAYS, DEAR OLD GOLDEN RULE DAYS: Swaying grotesquely above entrance to Mansfield High School in Texas, effigy of a lynched Negro greets school children on second day of registration. This was the third such effigy during registration week.

*Florida:* Negro population, 603,101. No desegregation whatsoever. State Legislature with approval of Governor has passed numerous laws in an attempt to preserve segregation. Governor Collins publicly pledged to preserve segregation. NAACP undergoing state investigation.

*Georgia:* Negro population, 1,062,762. No desegregation whatsoever. State Legislature and Governor Griffin pledged to preserve segregation, period. Plans under way to outlaw NAACP.

*Louisiana:* Negro population, 882,428. No desegregation whatsoever in elementary or high schools. Governor Long and State Legislature have approved laws which they hope will preserve segregation permanently. NAACP outlawed.

*Mississippi:* Negro population, 986,494. No desegregation whatsoever. Legislature and Governor recently approved numerous laws to preserve segregation. NAACP being kept under State surveillance.

*North Carolina:* Negro population 1,047,353. No desegregation whatsoever on the elementary and high school level. Governor Hodges, legislature, and voters have all approved laws and amendments to State Constitution to strengthen segregation.

*South Carolina:* Negro population, 822,077. No desegregation whatsoever. Governor, voters, and legislature have passed laws and constitutional amendments for reinforcement of segregation. Clarendon County was one of the defendants in the original desegregation decision, yet it still remains segregated.

*Tennessee:* Negro population, 530,603. Exactly 12 Ne-

groes attending the desegregated school at Clinton, which touched off large-scale riots, and the threat of a white boycott still hangs over the school. Homemade bombs exploded in Negro residential district of Clinton on the night of September 26, 1956, presumably after the rioting had ceased. Oak Ridge schools—owned and operated by the federal government—have desegregated. Governor Clement and legislature have so far taken no action to prevent desegregation, stating that it's purely a local affair; however, these statements have made the Governor very unpopular and it is believed that the January 1957 session of the State Legislature will be *more* than apt to pass laws upholding segregation.

*Texas*: Negro population, 977,458. Some desegregation has been successful in West Texas, affecting perhaps 8,000 Negro children. But Senator Price Daniel, elected Governor in September 1956, to take office in January 1957, promised the voters to *stop* racial desegregation in the public schools. The Texas voters have also approved amendments to their State Constitution strengthening existing laws against inter-racial marriages (4-to-1 majority). And also passed by a 3-to-1 margin was a resolution declaring the U.S. Supreme Court decision against racial desegregation null and void. White Citizens Councils are increasing their strength considerably. Still, it must be conceded that Texas and Tennessee are the so-called bright spots in the Southern segregation story, in spite of the riots which occurred at Mansfield, Texas and Clinton, Tennessee.

*Virginia*: Negro population, 734,211. No desegregation whatsoever on the elementary and high school level although like Clarendon County, South Carolina, Prince Edward County, Virginia was involved as one of the defendants ordered to desegregate by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. The Legislature and Governor are in almost unanimous agreement that segregation will be preserved or the schools closed. The white voters have approved this course of action as they already have in *all* Southern States except Tennessee and Texas. Florida voters will vote on the proposition sometime later this year.

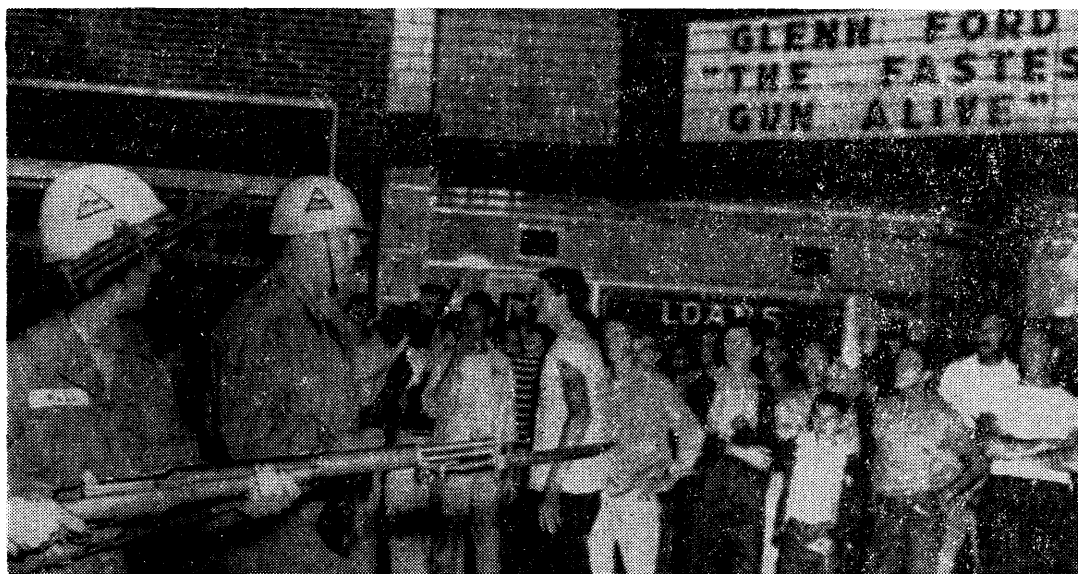
**N**EGRO school teachers in all of the above states, with the lone exception of Tennessee, have charged that they are being fired as soon as authorities determine that they are members of the NAACP. The state laws of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina are specifically written to bar employment to all people (on state jobs) who do not approve of racial segregation!

Of the 11 states, only one Governor has failed to take a strong public stand *against* desegregation: Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee. And the Texas State Supreme Court is the lone State Supreme Court which has officially recognized the U.S. Supreme Court decision against race segregation in the public schools as being the law of the land.

Since the August conventions of both major parties, Southern resistance to racial desegregation has stiffened on all fronts, because of the cowardly civil rights planks adopted by both the Democrats and Republicans. In fact, their actions served to worsen the already bad situation in which the Southern Negro is very rapidly losing what few civil rights he formerly enjoyed.

Recently, I traveled quite a bit in the South, and noted that cities such as Memphis, Jackson, Birmingham, and New Orleans have defiantly refused to obey the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling prohibiting racial segregation in railroad and bus depots and instead have passed city ordinances against desegregation and have police on duty to see to it that these ordinances reign supreme. Although both the U.S. Supreme Court and the I.C.C. have ruled that interstate and intrastate buses and public city carriers cannot segregate their passengers, anyone who is rash enough to attempt to obey this court edict would be jailed immediately! (On September 27, 1956, a Chicago Negro was removed from an interstate bus in Jackson, Mississippi, and fined \$15 because he sat in a section reserved for "Whites Only.")

**E**.O. Spencer, chief of the Mississippi Republican Party, who is a close friend to U.S. Attorney General Brow-



**CLINTON**: National Guardsmen advancing down the main street of a small Tennessee town emphasize the grimness of the issue and the bitterness of resistance. Two thousand riotous demonstrators fighting integration in Clinton High School were dispersed by Guardsmen.



nell, has for the past four years dispensed all Republican patronage for this State. Spencer refuses to let Mississippi's Negroes participate in Republican politics, and not a single Mississippi Negro has received any sort of federal job within the borders of Mississippi since Eisenhower has been in office. Furthermore, Spencer proudly calls his group the "Lily White" Republicans and until very recently furnished Rooms 202-203 of the Walthall Hotel which he owns in Jackson to be used as a state-wide office for the White Citizens Councils. Is there any wonder that federal law-enforcement officials never seem able to catch and prosecute race murderers in Mississippi?

Spencer is the Dixiecrat who supported Thurmond and Wright in 1948 for President and Vice-President, is now an Eisenhower Republican, and has been Eisenhower's guest at White House stag dinners. Although Senator Eastland is a leading Democrat, he and Spencer have been and remain very close political allies in state politics, and many believe that Eastland controls Republican patronage.

Of course, when the Democrats occupy the White House, federal patronage in the Southern states is controlled directly by Eastland, Talmadge, Ellender, and Co. Certainly, as long as this type of people controls the appointment of federal judges and U.S. Marshals in the South, it's ridiculous to think that desegregation will be seriously pushed or enforced by local federal courts.

**A**T present, White Citizens Councils have around 500,000 members and in all probability within two years their membership will increase to 1,000,000. Since the formation of these Councils two very significant changes have occurred. First, the number of Negro voters has sharply declined. Second, labor union organizational activity has been practically halted. Concerning the first point, let's use Mississippi as an example. The first chapter of the White Citizens Councils was formed the first week in July 1954, in accordance with a suggestion made by Senator Eastland when he opened his campaign for re-election on June 14, 1954.\*

At that time, 20,000 Negroes were qualified to vote in Mississippi. Today, there are 8,000 qualified colored voters or a *decrease* of 12,000 which amounts to exactly a 60 percent drop in colored voter registration. Here briefly is what caused this drastic decline: 1) An amendment was added to the State Constitution giving registration officials unlimited authority over who could and who could not register. 2) The State Legislature passed a law requiring voters who had registered within the past year

\*I was in the audience at Forest, Mississippi, when Eastland suggested the formation of nation-wide "White Citizens Councils" to preserve white supremacy. The next day, June 15, 1954, I wrote several liberal publications that a new Ku Klux Klan had been born. Only one magazine answered my letter, and its all-wise editor told me that he was certain that I had become unduly alarmed and attempted to reassure me that no sane person would attempt to evade the U.S. Supreme Court decision against racial segregation in the nation's public schools. Thus one editor tried to comfort a poor ignorant, ill-informed Mississippi hillbilly named Buford Posey. Please understand that I still most assuredly have a very high regard for this editor, and fully realize that he is one of our country's most intellectual, brave, and distinguished liberals.



**EASTLAND**  
White Father of the White Councils

to re-register. 3) White employers obtained voter lists and fired those colored employees who refused to request that their names be removed from the voters list. 4) White businessmen refused credit to Negroes who were registered. 5) I personally know of an instance where a Negro college graduate was refused permission to register because he could not answer the question, "What time of day was it when George Washington died?" This Negro's name was Charles Evers and this incident occurred here in my home town of Philadelphia, Mississippi. Later, Evers was forced to flee Mississippi, because he was considered "sassy." 6) Last but certainly not least, two Negroes, Rev. G.W. Lee of Belzoni and Lamar Smith of Brookhaven, were murdered because they refused to withdraw their names from the registration books when invited to do so by local groups of White Citizens Councils. Gus Courts of Belzoni was seriously wounded by a blast of buckshot after he'd refused a similiar invitation. However, Courts was lucky; he recovered, then promptly fled the state.†

Of course, no arrests were made by local or state authorities, and Attorney-General Herbert Brownell refused to take action saying, "Those murders and shootings were purely local affairs." Naturally, after Mr. Brownell's famous declaration, few if any Negroes care to die merely in order to *attempt* to vote. Therefore, although according to the census of 1950, Mississippi's colored population numbers 986,494 there are only 8,000 Negro voters and even this number will more than likely be further reduced within the near future.

†The two white men who killed the Rev. G.W. Lee are employees of a service station at Belzoni, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation knows their identity and also has the shotgun which they used to murder Rev. Lee. However, the U.S. Department of Justice *refused* to issue a warrant for the arrest of these murderers by using U.S. Attorney General's alibi that the incident was "purely a local matter." Only one white person has ever been legally executed for killing a Negro since Mississippi was admitted into the union in 1817. This white person was a traveling salesman from Tennessee who was hung in 1890 for killing a Negro at Grenada.

Meanwhile, Eisenhower is still smiling and saying "let's go slow," and Stevenson continues to urge moderation. It would be interesting for those two gentlemen to tell Southern Negroes how they should go about dying, voting, or attending non-segregated schools in a slow, moderate manner. Regardless of the wishful thinking of many sincere, dedicated idealists, unless and until there is a drastic change on the national political scene, Negroes residing in the South will never, never be allowed to vote freely and will always face insurmountable obstacles, especially in small towns and rural areas where many of them now reside.

AS far as racial desegregation, equal justice in the courts, and equal employment opportunities are concerned, only the very foolish believe that they will ever be realized until the Southern Negro obtains unrestricted use of the ballot. But, with both our major parties engaged in frantic attempts to woo the race-baiters by yelping "go slow" and "moderation," it is incredible that many otherwise sensible people have duped themselves into believing that these desirable goals can be achieved by sticking with and supporting the Democrats or Republicans, when every schoolchild knows that when the Democrats control Congress the Southern white supremacists hold most of the committee chairmanships, and when the Republicans take over Congress they are not going to do anything to disturb their long, time-honored, unofficial, but very real alliance with the Southern Democrats.

In any event, down South, the mottoes "go slow" and "moderation" mean exactly this and nothing more: *The status quo will be maintained permanently!*

FOUR major labor unions merit special praise for having truly exhibited real courage on racial matters. I am listing them in the order of the unusual obstacles they have fought and conquered with militancy without compromising those basic principles on which they were founded. 1) United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO. 2) United Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO. 3) United Mine Workers, Independent. 4) United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO. Among the smaller unions, perhaps the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, Independent, has been the most progressive in race relations.

Unfortunately, many unions still maintain segregated locals and some are badly split, with both officers and

rank-and-file members foolishly joining the White Citizens Councils. Apparently, some union members are too ignorant to realize that the Citizens Councils are playing the dual roles of fighting for white supremacy and fighting against labor unions. Therefore, those members of unions who belong to these Councils in order to deprive the Negro people of their lawful rights are at the same time greatly assisting in destroying their own unions, and seriously impairing the economic benefits they presently enjoy as the result of membership held in unions. Naturally, such developments overjoy the business interests as observers can easily ascertain. The White Citizens Councils truthfully boast that their leaders are the business leaders on Main Street.

By clever usage of the White Citizens Councils to promote racial hatred, the Taft-Hartley Law to create legal obstacles, and state "Right to Work" laws to discourage union membership, Southern employers have for the time being almost completely halted the further organization of Southern workers. (Most Southern employers are merely factory bosses since usually the actual owners of plants are wealthy Easterners). It's quite obvious that the wealthy corporations have decided to really pitch in and wage an all-out struggle to have the South remain the land of the open shop and cheap labor and they are being aided and abetted in this fight by Southern politicians who are both willing and anxious to betray their own people in order to remain in public office and continue to graft and steal with impunity.

This tragic situation poses the gravest of threats to the living standards of *all workers throughout the entire nation.*\* Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of our so-called labor leaders are still blindly following one or the other of our major political parties down the road to their own sacrificial altar, much in the very same manner as most leaders of the Negro people are presently floundering about in deadly political traps which they fail to comprehend due to the guile of skillful and ruthless professional politicians.

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\*Many northern workers can vouch for the fact that they lost their jobs when their employers closed down existing factories and moved South in order to obtain cheap, non-union labor.

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IN Minnesota last January, employees of the Standard Oil Company sent over 30 telegrams to the state's senior Senator urging him to vote for the Harris-Fulbright natural gas bill. They did not, however, secure the approval of the people whose names they signed to the telegram, as a hearing before a Senate Committee showed last September. Shortly after the Senate Committee took this testimony, Standard Oil sent a letter to all employees (whom it appropriately calls "Standard Oilers"), which, after disowning and condemning the practice of signing other people's names to lobbying wires, says:

*We are not going to discipline any of the people involved, because we think that wouldn't be fair. The mistakes made were mistakes of judgment, and they were made in over-enthusiasm for a cause which most of our people felt very deeply.*

*We want our employees to display initiative, especially on matters of public policy, and we know they can't do it if they're afraid they'll be cracked down on for any honest mistake in judgment they may make.*



A socialist writer blew up a nation-wide storm fifty years ago, and the result was federal meat inspection. But filthy and diseased poultry is still being sold, and the butchers' union is fighting to end that menace to our health.

## Upton Sinclair's "Jungle"

by David Herreshoff

THE basic food and drug laws are fifty years old, and now the keen eyes of Harvey W. Wiley peer at us from behind a microscope through which he has been examining a food or drug sample. Wiley, the chief chemist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture between 1883 and 1912, fought for the Food and Drug Act of 1906, and afterwards was its first administrator. He has been put on a three-cent stamp issued to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Act. In color, the stamp is unfortunately of a deep, hard green, suggestive of gangrenous meat.

The Post Office should put out at least one additional stamp on this occasion, to remind us of a man, still living, whose contribution to the cause of pure food was of a different order than Wiley's, but no less important. This stamp would be printed in socialist red, a color suggestive of fresh and wholesome meat. It would picture Upton Sinclair glancing up at us with his bright yet mild eagle eyes from a book called "The Jungle."

Upton Sinclair wrote "The Jungle" after a six-week stay in Chicago's "Packingtown" in 1905. In the fall of the year it began to appear serially in the *Appeal to Reason*, the socialist weekly paper with a national circulation of around a half million. After several rebuffs, Sinclair found a publisher willing to print his explosive exposé of the packing industry. In February 1906, Doubleday, Page published "The Jungle." Simultaneously, Sinclair published his own edition of the book, an enterprise made possible by a subscription of \$4,000 raised by readers of the *Appeal to Reason* in response to an announcement written by Jack London:

### CIRCULATE "THE JUNGLE"

*The book we have been waiting for these many years! It will open countless ears that have been deaf to Socialism. It will make thousands of converts to the cause. It depicts what our country really is, the home of oppression and injustice, a nightmare of misery, an inferno of suffering, a human hell, a jungle of wild beasts. . . . What "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did for the*

*David Herreshoff, secretary of the Socialist Club at the University of Minnesota, has written previous articles and reviews for the American Socialist.*



*black slaves "The Jungle" has a large chance of doing for the white slaves of today."*

London warned the readers of the *Appeal*:

*Remember, this book must go out in the face of the enemy. . . . The most dangerous treatment it will receive is that of silence. For that is the way of capitalism. Comrades, do not forget the conspiracy of silence.*

AS matters turned out, London's warning was needless. "The Jungle" was a best seller in 1906 and it had immediate national and international impact on the fortunes of the packing industry. For the book was part of a movement of exposure and publicity which was, to the accompaniment of wide popular interest, uncovering one sore after another in American life at the start of the century.

The heyday of muckraking, as the movement was labeled by a critic whose epithet stuck, was the decade between the incorporation of United States Steel in 1901 and the year 1912 when the principal muckraking magazines, after having built mass circulations by exposing shady economic and political doings, became innocuous and respectable. While sympathetic to labor and opposed to the growing power of Big Business, the muckrakers in the main were a liberal rather than a socialist current. They were for a middle-class progressivism which could look to Theodore Roosevelt and Senators La Follette and Beveridge for leadership in preference to Debs, Haywood, and DeLeon. Those of them who wrote for the *Appeal to Reason* did so only when they could not publish in *McClure's*, *Collier's*, *Everybody's* or the *American*. Sinclair called the *Appeal to Reason* the "haven of suppressed muckrakers."

Little business and farmer resentment at the rise of the trusts came several decades before the muckraking movement, and the huge success of Edward Bellamy's utopian novel, "Looking Backward" shows that events were bring-

ing into being a broad sympathetic audience for attacks on the inhumanity of capitalism. The careful yet fierce thrust at the Rockefeller empire contained in Henry Demarest Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1892) established the technique which the best of the muckrakers would emulate in their studies of specific industries, corporations, and political institutions after the turn of the century.

During the nineties the "yellow journals" of Scripps, Pulitzer, and Hearst established themselves, and, more important for the history of muckraking, the popular magazines made their appearance. Before that time magazines had been expensive and were not read by a mass audience, but technological advances at last made possible the issuance of illustrated magazines which could be marketed profitably at ten cents per copy. The new and revamped magazines quickly found a mass audience receptive to the journalism of exposure which, within a few years, became a staple of the magazines. Without this general muckraking ferment conveyed through these inexpensive magazines of mass circulation, it is probable that Jack London's fear of the silent treatment in the case of "The Jungle" would have proved justified.

**T**HE booming of the Chicago packing industry had been made possible by the railroads and was enormously stimulated by the invention of the refrigerator car. The packinghouse capitalists, like many of their brethren, had a public-be-damned attitude in conducting their enterprises. Their single-minded money-grubbing naturally provoked occasional flareups of popular bitterness.

The quality of the canned meats which they shipped to the Army in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, for instance, became the subject of a Congressional investigation. Theodore Roosevelt, who had eaten the meat during the war, testified at the hearings that "I would sooner have eaten my old hat." The taste of Chicago canned meat may have lingered in Roosevelt's mouth for a number of years. At any rate, packing was one of the industries indicted during his administration for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. And in 1906 he responded to the publication of "The Jungle" by calling Sinclair to Washington for a conference and by appointing a com-

mission to investigate Sinclair's charges against the packers.

The immediate background of Roosevelt's action was the public response to "The Jungle." It was, I have mentioned, a best seller. Sinclair reports that after the book's publication Roosevelt began to receive one hundred letters daily about the packing industry. An important part of the press, however, did not receive "The Jungle" with favor initially.

*Collier's*, "in order not to run any risk of wronging" the packers, conducted its own investigation of the Chicago plants, and published the findings in a series which began April 22, 1906. This report proved to be a whitewash.

Elbert Hubbard carried a message to Garcia about "The Jungle": ". . . can it be possible that anyone is deceived by this insane rant and drivel?" The grateful packers arranged a mass mailing of Hubbard's piece.

The May 1906 *Critic* equivocated: "How far his book represents actual conditions we need not attempt to decide; that it contains some exaggeration is plain. To consider it as a work of art would be futile; to discuss it as a tract would lead us too far afield."

The *New York Evening Post* found "The Jungle" "lurid, overdrawn. . . If the author had been a man who cared more for the exact truth. . ."

All these reactions were, in effect, a supporting chorus to the aria which J. Ogden Armour had intoned in the *Saturday Evening Post* within a month of "The Jungle's" publication. In his article Armour unequivocally asserted the uprightness and purity of his business. This was Sinclair's opportunity. He wrote a reply to Ogden Armour entitled "The Condemned Meat Industry." *Everybody's* published it in May 1906. It is a model of muckraking journalism: devastating, accurate, unanswerable. In it Sinclair cites the number of times Armour had pleaded guilty to violating existing state pure food regulations, and printed the affidavit of a former Armour employee who had been bribed to keep quiet about the fact that Armour was putting condemned meat on the market.

**M**EANWHILE "The Jungle" was having an international impact. In Germany, Sinclair reports, it was perhaps the only book to be endorsed simultaneously by the Socialists and the Junkers. The East Elbe landowners had an economic stake in discouraging the importation of American meats into Germany. "The Jungle" was grist for their mill. According to one packer, the furor over the industry cut American meat exports in half. (This development was not wholly due to Sinclair. In 1905, the British medical journal *The Lancet* had published a very damaging report on the methods of the Chicago packers. And publication of the report by Roosevelt's commission multiplied the impact of "The Jungle.")

In England, Winston Churchill devoted a two-part review to "The Jungle." At the time, Churchill was a member of the Liberal Party. It is rather surprising to read his sympathetic comment:

*This terrible book . . . pierces the thickest skull and most leathery heart. It enables those who sometimes think, to understand. It is possible this far-reaching*



*book may come to be a factor in far-reaching events. The issue between capital and labor is far more clearly cut today (in America) than in any other communities or in any other age.*

"Mr. Dooley" (Finley Peter Dunne) epitomized popular reaction to "The Jungle" in this country with the remark, "I haven't been able to eat annything more nourishin' thin a cucumber in a week. . . . Today th' wurrd restrhant makes me green in th' face." To him Sinclair's book was "a sweetly sintimintal little volume, to be r-read durin' Lent."

Roosevelt's first response to the public commotion was to have the Department of Agriculture investigate the Chicago situation, but Sinclair pointed out to him that the Department itself was partially responsible and could not be expected to report properly on its own shortcomings. Roosevelt then appointed James Bronson Reynolds, a settlement-house worker, and Charles P. Neill, a United States Labor Commissioner, to conduct the investigation of the packing industry. Mark Sullivan remarks that giving Neill "authority to investigate the property of the packers was a breach of caste, an encouragement to irreverence in the lower orders."

The Neill-Reynolds report confirmed Sinclair's charges. For the moment, Roosevelt kept it private, hoping to use the threat of publication as a means of obtaining the acquiescence of the packers in the reform of the system of government inspection of meat. But Roosevelt reckoned without his hosts. According to Sullivan, the packers "tried, through themselves, and their friends in Congress, to intimidate Roosevelt."

**A**T issue was the Meat Inspection amendment to the Agricultural Appropriations bill, drawn up by Senator Albert Beveridge and adopted in the Senate on May 25, 1906. In response to the packers' campaign to kill or emasculate the bill in the House, Roosevelt sent a portion of the Neill-Reynolds report to the House. The key points in the Beveridge amendment were rigid inspection standards, payment of cost of inspection by the packers, printing the date of canning on the labels of canned meat.

The packers now assailed the Neill-Reynolds report as unsupported sensationalism and attacked the Beveridge amendment as unconstitutional, but meanwhile they launched a furious clean-up campaign in the packing-houses. Among other things, they literally covered the walls of the plants with whitewash.

In the House, the Committee on Agriculture under the chairmanship of James W. Wadsworth killed the Beveridge amendment. In its place was substituted an emasculated bill which was passed by both houses and signed by Roosevelt on June 30, 1906. The Wadsworth substitute relieved the packers of the cost of inspection and of the need to date the canned meats. Sinclair made a bitter evaluation of the results in his book on the American press, "The Brass Check":

*To me the diseased meat graft had been only one of a hundred varieties of graft which I saw in that inferno of exploitation. My main concern had been for*

*the fate of the workers, and I realized with bitterness that I had been made into a "celebrity" not because the public cared anything about the sufferings of the workers, but simply because the public did not want to eat tubercular beef. . . .*

*"The Jungle" caused the whitewashing of some packing-house walls, and it furnished jobs for a dozen or two lady-manicurists, but it left the wage-slaves in those huge brick packing-boxes exactly where they were before. . . .*

*I took a few millions away from the Armours and the Swifts—giving them to the Junkers of East Prussia, and to Paris bankers who were backing enterprises to pack meat in the Argentine. I added a few hundred thousand readers to Everybody's Magazine and a considerable number to the New York Times. I made a fortune and a reputation for Doubleday, Page and Company, which immediately became one of the most conservative publishing houses in America—using "The Jungle" money to promote the educational works of Andrew Carnegie, and the autobiography of John D. Rockefeller, and the obscene ravings of the Reverend Thomas Dixon, and the sociological bunkum of Gerald Stanley Lee.*

But all these ironic consequences cannot efface the fact that "The Jungle" was one of the most potent missiles hurled in the muckraking war against graft and greed, and that without it, compulsory government inspection of red meat would have been much slower in arriving.

**P**EOPLE are still getting sick and even dying in this country from the handling and eating of diseased flesh. The greatest menace to health is now poultry, the production of which has become the third largest source of gross farm income in the nation. One out of three cases of food poisoning is attributed to poultry or poultry dishes. But up till now there is neither compulsory inspection of poultry for diseases, or of poultry packing plants for sanitation.

The state of affairs is literally rotten, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen has campaigned for more than a year for compulsory inspection of poultry and poultry packing. The union's objective is to guarantee that only clean, wholesome poultry be marketed so that the health of its members and of the consuming public may be safeguarded. As was the case with the muckrakers of a half-century ago, so now the union and other actively interested organizations need to present the issue in a way which will catch the conscience and imagination of the public, so that people know of the 26 diseases which are transmissible from poultry to man, and have some idea of the seriousness of tularemia, salmonellosis, brucellosis, Newcastle disease, or psittacosis.

And such stark little narratives as the following, which was brought to the attention of the Food and Drug Subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee by Shirley W. Barker of the Meat Cutters' Poultry Department ought to be bruited about:

*I, Julia J., am a resident of S county. I am a chicken grower in S County and have been growing chickens for the last two years. On or about May 13, 1954, a*



Thursday, I sold my house of 3,000 chickens to the X firm in S county. At the time that X bought my chickens, they were all sick and were dying at a fast rate. I called the chicken doctor out to my place. He is Mr. B. When the chicken doctor arrived he looked the chickens over and said that he didn't know what to do with them since he had prescribed all the medicine that he knew of for their colds. He said the only thing to do was sell them before they all died. I had these chickens insured through the X feed company and would have been paid under this policy for all of them that died. Mr. C. hauled these sick chickens to the processing plant at T, Tex. I insisted that these chickens could not be sold here in X town at either of the two processing plants, and I received a good deal of argument along these lines, but he finally relented and agreed not to carry them to either of these two plants. I personally followed the truck as far as X town to make sure that the feed company lived up to its agreement on where the chickens could be sold. (Hearings on S. 3176, May 9 and 10, 1956, p. 58.)

In other words, the feed company, not wishing to

honor its own insurance policy, dragooned the woman into selling sick chickens; and she, not wishing to poison her nearest friends and neighbors, insisted that the birds be carted away to another town so that the atrocity of marketing them might be inflicted on faceless strangers.

**H**OW debasing "free enterprise" can be! It would seem incredible that even the most conservative persons could oppose compulsory Federal inspection of poultry on the ground that to give the government this power would be to attack the dignity of the individual. The proposed poultry inspection law would liberate small chicken growers like Julia J. from the threats or blandishments of a conscienceless feed or packing company; it would liberate poultry workers from the dangers of working with diseased birds, and all of us from the threat to health represented by uninspected and therefore potentially dangerous poultry.

The Meat Cutters' union asks support of its campaign. That would be the best way to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the pure food and drug laws. All forms of individual and organized pressure on our lawmakers are in order.

## ***Diseased Fowl and Filthy Poultry Packing Plants Threaten Health***

**I**N the last session of Congress bills were introduced in both the House and the Senate to compel inspection of poultry and of poultry-packing plants, as red meat is now inspected. In introducing the Senate bill, Senator James E. Murray of Montana said:

"It is amazing, but true that today, 50 years after the enactment of the Meat Inspection Act, poultry still need not be inspected to assure the consumer a clean and wholesome product. Filthy and diseased poultry may be, and often is, sold with immunity.



"This intolerable situation has had dire results. For example, the Public Health Service reports that an average of one-third of the reported cases of food poisoning are traced each year to poultry or poultry dishes.

"Some 26 diseases have been found transmissible from poultry to man and they are taking their toll annually. These

illnesses include the influenza-like and sometimes deadly psittacosis or ornithosis; the infection, salmonellosis; the viral Newcastle disease and fungus infections.

"Periodically, and cyclically, diseased poultry causes a large outbreak of disease. Thus, for example, in 1954, an ornithosis epidemic broke out among turkeys in Texas. Several hundred men and women, especially in poultry processing plants, became ill. Several persons were fatally stricken.

"Equally dangerous and despicable are the filthy conditions in which some poultry is processed. Some plants are rodent-infested. Sewage disposal is primitive and even non-existent. Dust, dirt and fecal matter are allowed to stick to the birds. Slimy and rotting poultry is processed.

"These are not imaginary horrors. These are facts from affidavits of poultry workers and from the reports of Food and Drug Administration inspectors. . . .

"The difficulty is the absence of a compulsory inspection system with power to stop these abuses. A voluntary program does exist, but it covers only 21 percent of poultry in interstate commerce and is ineffective in assuring wholesomeness of even this comparatively small amount."

**P**ART of the danger stems from new methods of selling poultry, as President Earl W. Jimerson of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen has pointed out. Housewives used to buy poultry from a farmer or dealer and saw the birds alive before slaughtering and cleaning. While even this was no guarantee of a disease-free animal, still the housewife saw the bird's general appearance, and saw how it was cleaned. Today, most poultry is already killed and cleaned, and no clue to its condition is visible from its final appearance.

The *Butcher Workman* reports that the deaths of two persons were probably caused by diseased turkeys in Oregon last March. At least 45 persons, all having contact with the turkeys, became victims of psittacosis, a pneumonia-like disease.

In Congress, the inspection bills were emasculated by amendments under pressure from the Department of Agriculture and poultry processors, and finally killed. Unions, consumer groups and a number of Congressmen intend to continue the campaign until Congress finally enacts strong legislation.

# Notebook of an Old-Timer

by George H. Shoaf



## Reflections on the 1956 Campaign

AS these lines are written, the phoniest campaign in the American political record is drawing to a close. Between the two political parties—Republican and Democratic—not one issue of major importance has been raised or discussed. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, itself an Eisenhower proponent, the only issue is that which relates to the selection of either Eisenhower or Stevenson to become the chief executive of the nation during the next four years.

Both candidates unreservedly favor the “American way of life,” are pledged to continue the allegedly free enterprise system of individual initiative based on private ownership with profit as its animating motive, and are opposed to fundamental social, political, and economic change. This means the continuance of the economy of boom, bust, depression and war. The operation of this economy, as of now, has brought financial bankruptcy to the nation, with an overall debt, public and private, approximating 700 billion dollars. Through inflation and installment buying, small owners—agricultural, petty business, minor manufacturing plants, homes, household gadgets, automobiles—are mortgaged for far more than their possessions are worth, with no prospect of solvency. The operation of this economy, and the attitude its proponents and beneficiaries have assumed toward foreign peoples, have lost the reservoir of good will once the cherished possession of the American people.

Tragic to admit, the voting public is not aware of the situation as it concretely exists. Deluded by slogans, wickedly conceived and hypocritically

stressed, such as “Peace and prosperity, ain’t it wonderful?” and “You never had it so good,” millions of Americans actually believe the Eisenhower administration has wrought an accomplishment achieved by no former administration, the accomplishment being prosperity and peace.

Fundamentally considered, what difference will it make if either Eisenhower or Stevenson is President of the United States? That is, as far as the welfare of the American people is concerned? Eisenhower is largely a newspaper build-up, foisted on the people to do the bidding of his sponsors and promoters, the magnates of Wall Street. In the estimation of this writer, he is the greatest hoax of the century. Only a people uninformed, apathetic to the social process, indifferent to current events, socially, politically and economically gullible, would have been taken in as they have been by Eisenhower, himself in undisguised wonderment as to how he came to be where he is.



As a politician, Stevenson reflects the operation of capitalism in all its manifold aspects and characteristics. That involves association in intimate fashion

with corrupt politicians, doing business with malefactors of wealth always eager to subsidize for a consideration any and every politician who successfully wiggles his way to influence and power, and above all, he stands adamant against fundamental change. Like Eisenhower, in his personal appointments, he is the perfect gentleman. On occasion he goes to church, and for the effect it has on U.S. suckerdome, he is willing to end his public pronouncements by giving praise to Almighty God. Anyone who challenges the honesty, integrity and humanitarian interest in the public welfare of either of these candidates is a grouch, pessimist, subversive, red, and an outright traitor to the American way of life.

THE naked truth is that American voters had nothing to do with projecting either Eisenhower or Stevenson into the political arena. All they know of the two candidates is what they read in the papers, hear over the radio or view through the agency of television. The issues of the campaign, if any, came not from the grass roots as reflecting the interests of the people, but were formulated by a coterie of rascally politicians who saw to it nothing detrimental to the masters of Wall Street was incorporated in the platforms of the two political parties. Under these circumstances, the people are helpless to do anything but vote against their interests when they enter the polls on election day, or refrain from voting altogether, which millions will do.

In a nation-wide survey respecting voter reaction recently, it was revealed that the political ignorance of the people is appalling. One woman interrogated knew all about Mickey Mantle, but thought John Foster Dulles was a television announcer. She did know that Eisenhower, who “won the second World War,” was President of the United States, and that she intended to vote for him “again.” This reaction to inquiry was symptomatic of the political ignorance of others interrogated. No wonder one old-time radical, disgusted with effort to awaken the people and inspire them to become alert to conditions that are transforming what once was a Republic into a dictatorial oligarchy, exclaimed: “What this country needs is a damned good dictator!” For the information of the old-timer it

can be well said that oligarchy is here. But it is a setup in which privilege rules, and the people ignorantly obey.

What should be considered relative to the national political campaign are the developments—social, political and economic—the world over. Since the dethronement of the Russian Czar and aristocracy, and the emergence of Russian serfs to place and power, the enslaved people of the so-called colonial countries have risen in their might and measurably achieved some degree of independence. Other countries have replaced capitalist and semifeudal economies with economies based on the proposition of common ownership and operation of the means of life. Today, over half of the world population is living and making headway under some form of collectivist economy. Most European democracies, including Britain, have adopted part-time collectivism in making their economies work. Save for a few South American dictatorships, misnamed Republics, the United States is the last solid bastion of capitalism remaining. Wall Street knows this, and so do the politicians, now controlled or to be controlled by Wall Street, know it. Fact of the matter, the bigwigs of capitalism have their backs to the wall and are fighting for their very lives. In this fight, is it reasonable to expect that the bigwigs who dominate the social, political and industrial life of the people will permit the election of a chief executive who leans to the left or whom they cannot control?

**R**ECENTLY, a Santa Ana, California, Protestant minister, in discussing the decline of democracy and freedom in the United States, and the attempt to impose thought control by the governing agencies, hinged the matter on a purely moral equation. It is simply a matter of good people and bad people, he said. Bad people have forged to the front because they are unprincipled and aggressive, while good people, timorous and decently afraid, and shirking their responsibility and duty, have stepped aside and permitted the bad people to have their way. The only cure for the situation, he stressed, is to "take it to the Lord in prayer," and "have faith that in His own good time the Lord will intervene and make things right."

Not a word of the system and its environment. Not one syllable did the minister utter respecting the industrial revolution, the injection of science and invention, the gradual displacement of competitive economy by monopoly economy, the organization of the trust and combine, the emergence of a powerful owning and ruling class, and the consequent rise of a social, political and economic oligarchy to take



charge of and dominate the American way of life. It is not a question of people being either good or bad. It is a matter of social evolution. Whether Americans want it or not, fascism, American brand, is on its way, unless Americans, through contact and experience with events, become wise enough and courageous enough to arise in one vast body, and take over the instruments and agencies of production and distribution, and socialize them for the common good.

It is not fear of "Russian aggression" that determines the thinking and action of the bigwigs of capitalism so much as it is fear that the American people will learn the difference between a capitalist economy and a socialist economy; that a socialist economy, democratically administered, makes for plenty, democracy and peace, while capitalist economy invariably involves scarcity for the working class, restricted freedom, and war. Napoleon declared he feared one newspaper that told the truth and depicted conditions as they were infinitely more than he feared an enemy army. In like manner, the bigwigs of capitalism, determined to keep the people ignorant, and conditions as

they are, have seized control of all the agencies of publicity—press, radio, television, motion pictures and the pulpit—and through these agencies they permit the people to get such information as will not jeopardize the interests of the plutocracy, and keep them totally ignorant of the progress collectivism is making in other countries abroad.

**T**HIS notion of restoring civil liberties to the people, as set forth by Republican and Democratic politicians, is buncombe, pure and simple. Instead of enjoying a greater measure of freedom in the future, it is certain that present freedom will be curtailed, and that irrespective of who is elected President of the United States. Help to relieve the distress of small business, whose individual units are disappearing bankrupt every day, is impossible, no matter who makes the promise. The chain stores and amalgamated industries and bonanza farms are going to continue to liquidate the little fellows in the future as they have been doing in the recent past.

Under the jurisdiction of whatever candidate is elected President, be he Eisenhower or Stevenson, economic uncertainty will continue to prevail, class stratification will grow more pronounced, factories and plants will turn out more consumer goods than can be profitably sold, the cold war will be stepped up to avoid impending depression, juvenile delinquency will increase alarmingly, immorality and corruption will take a stronger hold on the public life, crime of all kinds will become so common that the criminal element will be taken for granted, and war, dread H-bomb war, will threaten as a constant menace.

These are the ripe fruits of the capitalist system of individual initiative and free enterprise functioning on a basis of private ownership for private profit. Few people like such fruits. Why, then, in the name of common sense and a humane desire to live decently with justice to all don't they change the system that brings forth such fruits and adopt a system whose fruits are plenty, sobriety, virtue, justice, comradeship and global peace? Why wait until impending crisis compels action? Americans have lived illusory lives long enough. Realism should supplant illusion.

# Time to Stop the Trials of Ideas

by Harry Braverman

The following talk was given by Harry Braverman at a meeting on the Smith Act in Boston on September 28. Other speakers were Oliver Allen, attorney and former chairman of the Massachusetts Progressive Party, and Otis Hood, chairman of the state Communist Party and at present under Smith Act indictment. Rev. Hugh Weston was moderator at the meeting, which was sponsored by the American Socialist Forum of Boston.

**F**OR ten years, an American Inquisition armed with laws, inquisitors, finger-men, ferrets, rats, and all the other standard paraphernalia has been moving in on the traditional liberties of this country. I don't like to use the term "witch-hunt," because cliches, I know, fall on jaded ears. But a word or a phrase becomes a cliché when it fits neatly; that's why everyone uses it. And the word "witch-hunt" can't be improved on much if you want a description of what we're going through.

Anyone can hunt witches, but it takes a certain kind of mind to find them, and a certain kind of atmosphere to convince people that they have been found. Our rulers and opinion-makers are gripped with a fear of devils, they cry that evil spirits stalk the land which by word and incantation possess the power to harm. People are being persecuted, deprived of their living, jailed, and otherwise hounded, for the thoughts they think and the words they speak, as though social and political ideas were governed by a criminal code.

At first, scholars assured us that this was a passing hysteria which would soon blow over, like the Red Hunt of the months after the first World War. But as the years wore along, and as the scholars themselves began to take part in the madness, it was clear that there was something wrong with their assurances. The Palmer Raid flareup was a true hysteria, in that it gripped the government apparatus and a part of the nation before it had time to think, and it was over within a few months. This time, the witch-hunt has been going on for a full decade and more almost without letup.

The Palmer craze was actually based on the unbelievable notion, which the press and the Attorney-General managed to sell to millions for a short time, that a revolution was due to begin within days, weeks, or even hours, and when Palmer failed to make good on his promises, he became a laughing stock instead of getting the Presidency he was aiming for. This time the persecution is not based upon the imminence of Soviets in our streets, or of any kind of action at all. It is a straight-out and unabashed hounding of people for their opinions.

There is a bit of the hysterical about our current witch-hunt, but in the main—unlike that of the twenties—it is a cold and calculated effort on the part of our highest governmental authorities to work a distinct change in the country, to perceptibly alter the rules that have obtained here for generations, and to shrink the area of popular liberties and acceptable differences of opinion.

**A**T the core of this reversion to some of the political standards of the Middle Ages—standards which have only occasionally been glimpsed in this country since the slaveowners barred Abolitionist literature from the mails a hundred years ago or since the British Crown put out a warrant for Sam Adams in this city—there is the Smith Act. This Act, passed in 1940 by an irresponsible Congress without either hearings or sober consideration, contains, in the words of Zechariah Chafee, "the most drastic restrictions on freedom of speech ever enacted in the United States during peace."

Since the summer of 1948, there have been sixteen "conspiracy" indictments under this Act, including a total of 138 individuals. In addition, there have been 18 indictments against individual persons under the "membership" clause of the Smith Act, and four others have been indicted for serving as accessories after the fact. This adds up to a total of 160 indictments. Of this total, 114 persons have been tried and convicted and ten have been acquitted, in nine of these cases by a directed verdict. The remaining indictments are pending trial. Many of the cases have passed through a series of appeals, right up to the Supreme Court.

That's a lot of courtroom activity. You would expect, with all this litigation, that by this time something tangible would have been established. Trials are supposed to prove whodunit: who heisted the sparklers, who wielded the blunt instrument, who buried the lead pipe in his backyard, who threw the overalls in Mrs. Murphy's chowder. Even the Salem witchcraft trials purported to prove that some tangible harm had befallen members of the community who ran afoul of the evil eye.

Well, if you expect that kind of evidence, you don't understand a Smith Act trial. They all have been cut to a pattern by the tailors, they are trials of ideas only, and about the only thing they have succeeded in establishing is that any jury accepted by the prosecution is not going to have much use for socialism or Marxism. The "evidence" consists entirely of writings that were originally published up to a century ago. Books are tried and convicted, and then people go to jail. Dr. John Sommerville, who testifi-

ed at three of the trials as a witness for the defense, has written the following description of a typical scene in a Smith Act trial:

*If by any chance anyone did not realize that books are on trial in these cases, a glance into a courtroom where one of them is in process would bring him to a shocked awakening. The tables for prosecution and defense are groaning under piles of books, sometimes stacked so high one has difficulty in identifying the lawyer sitting behind them. Witnesses walk to the stand balancing outside volumes in one hand, and clutching an overloaded briefcase in the other.*

*The anterooms reserved to counsel and clients of the respective sides for the duration of a trial become reference and lending libraries, with books indexed and catalogued, instantly available for courtroom quotation or counter-quotation, then carefully replaced so as to be ready for the next passage-at-arms. Each side has to assign specially trained personnel to keep track of the books, to see that they are available and in good order. Library hand trucks resembling large tea wagons are wheeled in and out of the courtroom for each session, stacked with "reserve" books likely to be used that day.*

In New York's third Smith Act trial this summer, the jury sent for copies of Karl Marx's works after having been closeted for a couple of hours. Then these good men and true presumably settled a number of knotty points of doctrine that thousands of Marxists and scholars have been puzzling over for a century, and on the strength of their scholarship sent six men to prison for from one to five years. That's the absurdity we've come to in the land

of the free and the home of the brave! That's the way 114 people in twelve states and two territories have been sentenced to a total of 456 5/6 years in the penitentiary since 1948.

**A** CASE which is drawn up against teaching, speech, or utterance, is bad enough, but when the conspiracy statute is applied it becomes a hideous outrage. The Smith Act has been used with machine-like regularity over a period of years to punish people with dangerous thoughts even when their thoughts can be inferred only from their associations. If you think I'm being far-fetched, all you have to do is take note of the fact that in few cases against any defendant have his own words been cited in testimony or by exhibit of his writings. The defendant might be an illiterate deaf mute, but if the prosecution can divine the thoughts that lie behind his silent brow from his association with others, then he is just as guilty as the man who wrote a dozen books.

I'm sure I don't have to underscore the clear unconstitutionality of such legislation, or the threadbare and shabby cheapness of any reasoning—including that of the Vinson Court—by which such a suppression of the right of free speech and opinion has been justified. It is illegal on its face, illegal in the light of our traditions, illegal under the First Amendment to the Constitution, even illegal under the clear-and-present-danger doctrine which Holmes and Brandeis used in past Supreme Court decisions. It is the thin end of the wedge by which our right to say many things not yet covered in the present indictments can be taken away from us.

And what are these horrendous things which the Smith Act victims are accused of saying, or teaching, or by their

## *A New Stage in the Smith Act Prosecutions*

**A** FEW rays of light are showing in the Smith Act picture. Supreme Court hearings on four Smith Act cases have already resulted in an order for a new trial in one of them.

The new-trial order came as a result of a remarkable development in the Pittsburgh case in which the government, in effect, impeached its own witness. Joseph Mazzei, an FBI informer for over a dozen years, was produced at the Pittsburgh trial in 1953, where he testified to the usual cock-and-bull story. Having been brought out from under cover, he then started prancing around the country in a grand try at making a career out of a psychopathic imagination. He told a Senate committee of a man who had been "selected by the Communist Party to do a job in the liquidation of Senator Joseph McCarthy." He called a certain un-named Government official a long-time active member of the Communist Party at a secret hearing. He later added to his list of "secret Communists" John J. Mullen, national director of the United Steelworkers Political Action Committee.

This summer in Florida, Mazzei, testifying at disbarment proceedings against a Florida lawyer, loosed a string of further revelations: The Communist Party had tried to take over a bus line serving a Florida air base; the Communist Party made plans in 1948 for an invasion of the country, and sent Mazzei to Miami "because it was a seaport"; he was taught how to blow up bridges, poison water reservoirs, etc.; he worked on a plan to "knock off" one Judge Holt; plans were laid to as-

sasinate Senators and Congressmen, and he even went to Washington and beat up a Senator.

The Justice Department, placed in an untenable position by Mazzei's self-exposure as a chronic liar, petitioned the Supreme Court that the Pittsburgh Smith Act case, then before the Court, be remanded back to the District Court for a hearing on Mazzei's credibility as a witness, hoping to salvage the case by this step. The Supreme Court, instead, promptly handed down a ruling voiding the Pittsburgh trial and ordering a new one.

At this writing, the Supreme Court is hearing argument on the Scales and Lightfoot membership cases, and preparing to rule on the California case. The last Supreme Court ruling on the Smith Act came in the Dennis case, which was decided in 1951; the personnel of the court has changed since that time.

The week before the Supreme Court started hearings in the Smith Act cases, Rev. A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, announced that several hundred prominent Americans had added their names to an amnesty petition for Smith Act victims. The petition, presented last December, was signed then by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Steele Commager, Norman Thomas, Elmer Rice, Michael Straight, and about forty others. The new signers are from 21 states, and include educators, unionists, social workers, religious figures, lawyers and farmers of many political persuasions.





**THREE VICTIMS:** Gus Hall, Henry Winston, and John W. Gates are led handcuffed from Judge Medina's courtroom where they were convicted under the Smith Act and sentenced to a total of 21 years in prison. The crime is simply the holding of unpopular opinions which have been construed under the Smith Act to be illegal opinions.

silence giving mute assent to? The right of revolution has been freely asserted in every corner of our land for almost 200 years by leaders and governed alike. It is written into the Declaration of Independence, which, believe it or not, the defense was prohibited from mentioning in the Smith Act trial at—of all places—Philadelphia. That right is every nation's Magna Carta; the ultimate redress which a people holds when every other means is closed.

**I**N this country, we do have many other means of redress, including the ballot, the rights of assembly, petition, trade unionism, speech and press, although some of these rights are beginning to look a bit frayed around the edges. No one speaks seriously of calling upon people to start a revolution, because we do not have a tyranny which closes off every means but the ultimate—and anyone who so spoke would not get a hearing. But no people surrenders the rights of ultimate redress without thereby putting a question mark over all its other rights.

How can anyone justify the suppression of the right of free speech in this matter? You would have to suppress the Declaration of Independence, together with the writings of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Thoreau, Declarations of the states of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the *Memoirs* of Ulysses Simpson Grant, to mention just a very few of those, conservative and radical, who have affirmed the right in strong language. "The right of revolution," Grant said, "is an inherent one." Is Grant's tomb now to be razed under the Smith Act? How far we have come from the free-and-easy spirit of the great days when America made its name as the iconoclast of the world!

And freedom of speech is all that is involved. There are no weapons in secret caches, no plans for revolution alleged, no incitations to violence—only the circulation of books which are available in thousands of libraries and bookstores. The few instances where lurid language was attributed to the defendants depend on the unsupported word of paid informers whose testimony is becoming in-

creasingly discredited and who have been renounced in some instances even by the prosecution offices which brought them forward. Surely this is a low point in the history of a nation which, up to a few years ago, had a world fame as the home of free opinion.

**I**N the last two years, we have seen some glimmerings of sanity returning to the country. A number of excellent court decisions have been handed down. Influential people have spoken out more boldly. The lunatic fringe of the Inquisition, men like McCarthy, have been curbed. Their place has been taken by the Eastlands—our Democratic Party's gift to the national welfare—but they have not been able to generate the same blinding furies of three or four years ago, when even the Eisenhower administration was backed into a corner and threatened with the red brush.

The government job-purge has been assailed; the screening procedure on the waterfront has been challenged, as has the denial of passports on secret testimony. Even the most conservative papers ridiculed the latest Dulles brain-storm: prohibiting U.S. correspondents from going to China. And many other features of the witch-hunt have been under attack.

But in the case of the Smith Act, apart from a few perfunctory protests by the unions and some prominent individuals, here and there, the rule has been one of silence. The editorial columns of our influential papers, even those which have been worried by other inquisitorial moves, have been closed to the subject. The Smith Act remains the central fortification of the witch-hunt, and until it is repealed or inactivated the witch-hunt will go on.

That is why one of the brightest signs of recent times was the amnesty petition addressed to President Eisenhower by 46 prominent Americans last Christmas, asking freedom for the Smith Act victims. Eleanor Roosevelt, Lewis Mumford, Henry Steel Commager, Elmer Rice, Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, and the other signers, including many churchmen and teachers, deserve a hearty

vote of thanks for putting their names to that petition, and I will repeat to you here what we wrote at the time in the *American Socialist*:

*May the amnesty plea . . . grow and grow until it can no longer be resisted by our high officials! May the doors unlock on all of our political prisoners! For the sake of the victims and their families, and even more, for the sake of all the rest of us!*

What can be done to help achieve that goal? There are seven Smith Act indictments awaiting trial in this city, and I presume the question is very much in the minds of liberal-minded people here. I think it was a very good idea for readers of the *American Socialist* in Boston to organize this timely meeting, and I hope they will continue their efforts on behalf of the victims.

You all know of the need for publicity for these cases, of the finances that must be raised, the appeals to unions and other organizations that should be made, the expert legal help that should be secured. I hope every opponent of the Smith Act will do his part in all of that. Beyond this, however, there is another matter of special importance to a meeting such as this one I want to mention.

**T**HE ultimate aim and object of the Smith Act trials is to so frighten Americans of independent mind that they forget their beliefs, lose their will to gather in organizations, and permit America to become transformed into a desert of conformity and robot-like silence in which nothing is heard save the creakings of the bureaucratic machine at work and the occasional cheers of dutiful apologists.

In the name of socialism, in the name of plain humanism, we cannot permit that to happen, or we must shudder to think what kind of a nation this generation will bequeath to its children. Yet, as we look about us at the sparse ranks of the Left, at the confusion, demoralization, and disarray which prevail, we must recognize how close we have come to that state of affairs. The independent mind, the rebel spirit, the proud dissenter, the organized Left, has never been in so low a condition in living memory, and we must have the courage to understand that it is very close to complete destruction as a factor in American life.

Should that happen, then the real object of the Smith Act will have been achieved, though the trials cease and the jails open. Should that happen, all America will have become a prison for those who glory in a proud spirit and a will for the progress of humanity. Should it however be prevented, then the Smith Act will have been a failure, in spite of the suffering and injustice it has inflicted and may inflict in the future.

The American Left is badly in need of a fresh start. How can we get it? I will state our opinion briefly.

Many of the old sectarian notions have been falling into bad repute, and that is all to the good. It is becoming widely recognized that we need a broader movement, more appealing to Americans, than any which has existed in this country since the last Debs campaign. As old feuds are outlived and old barriers torn down, the prospects

for such a regroupment grow brighter. But there are still many who don't fully understand the kind of drastic steps that have to be taken, the great change that is needed, and who think that a few well-chosen words can solve the entire difficulty.

**I** READ recently an interesting article in the Communist Party discussion section of the *Worker* by Mike Russo, the New England District organizer of that party, and one of the defendants here in the Smith Act indictment. He said:

*An important step in that direction [forming a broad socialist party] would be the formation soon, within a year or so, of a non-party organization, political in character, whose chief purpose would be to advance the cause of socialism in the United States.*

*By publicly proclaiming our readiness to dissolve the Communist Party and to join with other groups in the formation of such an organization, we would contribute greatly to the unfreezing of attitudes in the ranks of the Left and help create the prerequisites for united action and a common approach to the task of advancing the cause of socialism in the United States.*

There is such a thing as an organization outliving its day to the point where it has neither appeal nor function, outside of providing a home for old-timers, and when that happens it becomes a sect. The Communist Party is hopelessly compromised by its entire course over the years. It made a fatal mistake about Russia when it assumed that a country which was in transition from extreme backward Czarist-feudalist-capitalism to the conditions of modern socialism—and it is still in that transition—was already a fully socialist country which Americans should be called upon to ape and emulate. It sedulously copied every expression of opinion of the Russian leaders, whether about physics, politics, or genetics, until it won the repute of an organization without any principles of its own. It based its entire future upon those assumptions, and the error has caught up with the Communist Party and is costing it its life as a viable force in the nation.

On top of all this, it compounded the basic errors by another equally serious one; attempting to transplant to this land a style of organization and approach which could not succeed. On these counts the Communist Party is too badly crippled in both its past course and its entire method of thinking to make the fresh start that is needed.

The people in the Communist Party, most of whom appear from their expressions of opinion to want a fresh start, can be a very great asset in any new socialist movement. From that point of view I believe the proposal made by Mr. Russo is a very good idea, and ought to get a lot of serious attention in the coming months. If the whole Left is willing—is big enough—to let old attachments go by the board and look for a way to launch the ship of socialism anew, well then, I don't say such a way will surely be found, but I do say there is a good chance that it can be. If that proves to be the case we may yet be able to come out of the Smith Act period in better and sounder shape than we went into it.

# Toward a New Movement of Democratic Socialism

by Bert Cochran

**T**HE editors of the *American Socialist* participated in a number of open meetings this past month. Harry Braverman spoke in Boston on September 28 (see his remarks elsewhere in this issue). Bert Cochran spoke in Chicago on October 5 at an important symposium which included A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Max Weiss, National Education Director of the Communist Party, Sidney Lens, author and union official, Harvey O'Connor, author of "The Empire of Oil," with Robert Pickus of the American Friends Service Committee acting as moderator. In some respects, this gathering was a counterpart of the New York Carnegie Hall meeting held several months earlier, and attracted an audience of approximately 800, considered quite good by Chicagoans these days. (Bert Cochran's opening remarks appear below).

Cochran also debated Professor Friedrich A. Hayek on October 8 at the University of Chicago on "Socialism—The Road to Freedom or Serfdom?" before an interested college audience. Finally, the *American Socialist* sponsored a round table discussion on "What can be done to get an effective socialist movement?" on October 19 at Adelphia Hall in New York.

We consider these meetings, particularly those like the Chicago symposium, which some of our supporters helped to organize, as of immense importance in the healthy evolution of the American Left. They accomplish one big thing: They serve to break down the narrow bigotries between the

different segments of the movement, encourage a free exchange of opinion, and a restoration of public discussion.

**P**RACTICALLY since its inception, the *American Socialist* has declared that a regroupment was necessary on the American scene, that the old movements had knocked each other out, and what remained of them had either succumbed to the slough of sectarianism, or had outlived their usefulness as vehicles of American radicalism. At first we were a lone voice, but today this idea is accepted by many. Nevertheless, as a result of many private conferences and conversations that we have been engaged in over these past months, we are convinced that the regroupment and the setting up of something new will necessarily involve a more or less protracted process of discussion, debate, and re-examination of many of the Left's premises and solutions, before the ground is sufficiently prepared for the next organizational ventures.

We intend to continue our active participation in this discussion. We intend to help in all practical measures so that the discussion may become as deep-going and thorough as possible, and involve every important segment of Left opinion. Finally, we intend to keep pushing to the fore those proposals, political and organizational, which in our opinion, will lay the proper foundation for the new movement, and will hasten the realization of the political reassessment and the organizational regroupment which we believe necessary before American socialism can begin moving forward in a serious way.

**O**UR symposium tonight occurs while the American Left is in the throes of soul-searching. And that is hardly surprising. American radicalism has practically hit rock bottom. In the era of the crumbling of capitalist power around the world, and the disintegration of imperial empires, the socialist movement in this country has never been weaker. One has to go back to the years immediately following the Civil War for any comparable period of socialist isolation.

People got into the habit of assigning the blame for this humiliating condition to inexorable forces outside our control and beyond our reach. There is this much truth to the proposition: It is no simple matter to build a socialist movement in a country that is rich, whose economy is booming, and whose rulers still have an enormous hold on the thinking of the people. But it is finally dawning on many of us that we can't put all the blame on history, or sociology; that a good part of the fault lies right inside the Left, that the finger of guilt points to the Left's own derelictions, its own mistakes, its stubborn blindness, and its colossal stupidities.

We cannot avoid an inquest into the past; not in order to rekindle old quarrels, but to clear the ground for the present and future.

For two decades, in the thirties and forties, American radicalism was dominated by the Communist Party. This movement possessed an incomparable asset: It had a membership that was fanatically devoted and extraordinarily energetic. They did a lot of worth-while things in their heyday. They were the first to organize the unemployed after the 1929 crash, they pitched in in the early battles of the CIO, they fought against Negro discrimination at a time when the Negro did not command the wide support that he enjoys today.

But the good work, the militancy in labor battles, the zeal on behalf of the oppressed, were all vitiated—worse than that, turned to ashes—because the Communist Party rested on a big lie. It pretended to be a party of the American working class, run by its own membership. But, as is now admitted, it was not run by the membership at all; and its policies were brazenly manipulated from the outside.

**T**WICE in its history, its national leaders were unceremoniously given the gate, like office boys. Jay Lovestone in 1929, Earl Browder in 1946. Was the membership dissatisfied with their stewardship? Was that it? No, the membership had nothing to say about it. On both

occasions, the dismissals were triggered by a signal from abroad.

This represented a startling innovation in the socialist movement. The history of socialism has recorded the existence of right-wing parties, left-wing parties, democratically run parties, bureaucratically run parties, but it had never before given birth to a party that did not own its soul, and whose leaders could not tell you from day to day what their program was going to be.

For five years after 1929, the Communists proclaimed that Socialists were social fascists, that the AFL leaders were fascist; they went in for united fronts, but only from below, in order to blow up the other organization.

Then, Dimitrov made a speech in Moscow, and the Communist Party flip-flopped, and became the tail end of the Democratic Party, and former deep-dyed enemies of the working class were now transformed into progressive leaders of mankind.

Five more years went by, and they were defending the Stalin-Hitler Pact, Molotov informed us that fascism was a matter of taste, and "The Yanks Weren't Coming."

Two years later, Hitler attacked Russia, and like all late converts, the Communists became holier than the Pope. They denounced Lewis for the war-time coal strikes designed to secure some justice for the miners, they attacked A. Philip Randolph's March-On-Washington which aimed to get jobs for the Negro people, they advocated piece work and speed-up inside the unions.

**W**ELL, the word finally got around that the Communist Party was just a big hoax. It wasn't a matter of mistakes having been made, or mistakes being corrected. None of us are free of error. But how can you deal with leaders who aren't really there, who are figments of somebody's imagination? How can you deal with a party which doesn't do its own thinking?

When this fact sank in among a lot of American people, the Communist party was finished—and, I may add parenthetically, everybody else on the Left got dragged down in the process. The party leaders and members only woke up to this fact after the Twentieth Congress, and they have been doing a lot of breast-beating since. But, as their discussion shows, they can't jump out of their political skins—and it's awfully late now, anyhow. The party is too disgraced and tainted to make a comeback. Its future is strictly behind it.

I think the chap in the *Nation* who proposed to the Communist Party that it dissolve, and let its individual members—yes, and leaders—play a constructive role in a new radical movement, was giving them good advice. And from what I am told, a good many are taking that advice.

But the fact that the Communist Party is behind the eight-ball doesn't solve the problem of the American Left. We have to face up to the reality that the whole radical movement has disintegrated until only a number of splinters remain. The rock on which this radical movement split and split and split, and finally foundered—was Russia. This is a towering fact, which we have to digest, which we can't simply deplore, or exorcise out of existence.

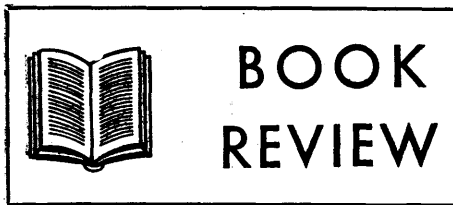
What we have to ask ourselves, I think, is this: Is it possible now in the light of the dolorous experience of American radicalism, and the greater knowledge we possess today of the Russian experiment, is it possible to look at Russia from higher vantage ground, and from the viewpoint of our own American needs even if we have some differences in our precise appreciations? Can the Left free itself from unthinking idolatry and the whitewashing of Russian crimes against socialism; and, on the other extreme, from the embittered hostility which misses the epic movement of historic progress, and can see in the Soviet bloc only the anti-Christ of our time.

**I**N other words, I am making a plea for sanity, for more mature judgement, for deeper historical insight, for an end to Left bigotry and Babbitry, for a cease-fire in our own cold war, for an effort at cooperation, and where possible, reconciliation.

If we do not regroup our effectives, if we cannot integrate our work, then it may be that the present radical movement in this country, from one end of the spectrum to the other, will go under in the flood, and a new generation will have to build a socialist organization from the ground up.

If we can find the inner resources to unravel this knotty riddle of our lifetime, then we have the chance to reconstruct the movement on sturdier foundations and along more mature lines, and the challenge of *democratic socialism*, compelling and clear, can again be flung into the market place—where it has unnecessarily been absent far too long.





## Wistful Conqueror

*THE CRUCIAL DECADE*, by Eric F. Goldman. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1956, \$4.

ERIC F. Goldman, professor of history at Princeton University, chronicles the ten exciting and fast-moving years, 1945-1955, that most of us have actively lived through and with whose affairs we are roughly familiar. Like Mark Sullivan, America's chronicler of a less tempestuous age, Goldman provides us with a first-class running commentary of the dramatic highlights of the times and underlines for our consideration the continuity of events in the passing parade. And also, like Mark Sullivan, he generally does not penetrate too deeply beneath the surface, and his evaluations never stray very far from the going explanations of our metropolitan editorial pages.

The author is at pains to assure us that "The volume is based on no special theories about man or about history; it contains no ringing plea to save America." Here, surely, he is voicing the spirit of the times! But though this is in the popular mood, it is empty of content. One cannot write even a news article, much less a whole book, with an absence of some generalized positions—or if one wishes, theories—and of course, author Goldman is no exception. Either explicitly, or by implication, or by the selection of a particular set of facts, he is pitching one theory after another—even though these are usually the facile explanations dished up by *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek* and the *N.Y. Times*.

In reading about the 1946 strikes, we learn, as though it were an obvious truism of the social process, about them "pushing prices toward still higher levels." The late Senator Vandenberg's turn to "internationalism"—symbolic of America's massive assumption of its role as world imperial leader—is described with all the saccharine rhetoric with which it was greeted at the time by the "world federalist" eggheads, etc.

SOMETIMES the comments and quotes are unusually apt and provide an arresting pen picture of a great social event. A case in point was the remark of the Rev. Renwick C. Kennedy, an army chaplain from Alabama, who made these trenchant observations when he returned home after twenty months in Western Europe:

*From England to Germany they have had enough of us. . . [The American soldier in Europe has proved] more than a little pathetic. . . He is not*

*very clear in his own mind about why he fought, nor about what his victory means. As a matter of fact, he is not much interested in such matters. . . His interests are chiefly three: 1) to find a woman and sleep with her; 2) to buy or steal a bottle of cognac and get stinking drunk; 3) to go home. . . There he stands in his bulging clothes, fat, overfed, lonely, a bit wistful, seeing little, understanding less—the Conqueror, with a chocolate bar in one pocket and a package of cigarets in the other. . . The chocolate bar and the cigarets are about all that he, the Conqueror, has to give the conquered.*

In late 1946, the Parfums Weil Paris Company put out a new perfume in New York City called "GriGri." It was designed, the ads explained, "to replace the atom bomb with a dash of the inconsequential." The public was fed plenty of the latter, yet it could not drive away the anxieties, frustrations and dissatisfactions of life in post-war America. Goldman gives striking accounts of these, but he finds it difficult to fit the manifold experiences into a meaningful framework, and he gives conflicting explanations for the popular political oscillations.

WE are told that as the Congressional elections of 1946 approached, the Harry M. Frost Advertising Company of Boston hit upon a magical slogan that swept the country. "Had enough?" the Republicans asked. A nation, fed up with inflation, strikes, the atom bomb, the Russians, rose up in a fit of exasperation and elected the first Republican Congress since the days of Herbert Hoover. Fumbling for the underlying explanation that accounts for this political shift, Goldman comes up with this indigestible mouthful out of the college sociology courses: "Revolutions provoke counter-revolutions. . . In social movements, nothing quite fails like too much success. . . No group is more annoyed by reform than those who have benefited from it and no longer need it. . ."

But this explanation—widely accepted by our current crop of analysts—flies in the face of another explanation the author provides for Truman's unexpected victory in 1948. He quotes approvingly Truman's close adviser, Clark Clifford, who describes in colorful football lingo the campaign strategy that was employed. "We were on our own 20-yard line," Clifford explained. "We had to be bold. If we kept plugging away in moderate terms, the best we could have done would have been to reach mid-field when the gun went off. So we had to throw long passes—anything to stir up labor and the other mass votes." And what were these "long passes?" Gobs of promises of big reforms. And the "new middle classes" that were supposedly fed up with reform—ate it up! It is true that the American people turned away from Truman again a little after the elections, but only after they realized that the campaign handouts were just Tammany Hall blah.

The American people were thoroughly un-

prepared for the flaming events that crowded history's calendar in the next few years, and their mentors were determined to keep them ignorant and prey to demagoguery. Their so-called political leaders exploited their confusion and fright. And the intellectuals enrolled as technicians in the service of the powerful and rich. The Chinese revolution, the Korean war, the burgeoning Soviet bloc, the Hiss trials—what was the meaning of these strange events? There was no effective, honest leadership to guide the bewildered public. Mickey Spillane for a while took over the field in literature and politics. "One Lonely Night" sold more than three million copies. Its message lacked nothing in clarity. Our hero, Mike Hammer, let us have it straight between the eyes:

*I killed more people tonight than I have fingers on my hands. I shot them in cold blood and enjoyed every minute of it. . . They were Commies, Lee. They were red sons-of-bitches who should have died long ago. . . They never thought that there were people like me in this country. They figured us all to be soft as horse manure and just as stupid.*

WHAT comes out very forcefully in the book as the events are rolled out in consecutive fashion is the metamorphosis of Taftism—hard crusted, stiff-necked traditional conservatism—into McCarthyism—a brand of nihilistic adventurism. This towering fact tells more about the nature of McCarthyism than many of the sociological pseudo-profundities about the antagonism of the Midwest *nouveau riche* to the East Coast aristocratic families, upward status strivings, etc. The traditional conservatives tried for years to re-sell the American people Hooverism straight and they couldn't get to first base. After a lot of experimenting around they found a tactic that worked—the witch-hunt wrapped around a theory of internal conspiracy. "Certainly Senator Robert Taft," our author concludes, "was moving closer to McCarthyism. Even before the Korean war, in March 1950, several reporters asserted that Taft had remarked: 'McCarthy should keep talking and if one case doesn't work out he should proceed with another.'" His sympathetic biographer, William S. White, sadly commented, "This was not the Taft one had known."

For a racy, easy-once-over account of the ten post-war years, "The Crucial Decade" rings the bell. It is good reading, it is sprinkled with expertly selected quotations; it exudes March-of-Time eloquence.

B.C.

## A Look at Russia

*THE SOVIET UNION AFTER STALIN* by Helene and Pierre Lazareff. Philosophical Library, New York, 1956, \$6.

HELENE Lazareff heads France's most popular woman's weekly, *Elle*, and her husband Pierre is director-general of *France-*



*Soir*. Among the first of foreign journalists to tour in Russia in the year after Stalin died, they published this book of observations in 1954 and Philosophical Library has now brought it out in English translation. It has its interesting features, but in the main it is dated. In the two years since its original publication, events have transpired so rapidly in the Soviet bloc that things which were startling in the first year after Stalin's death have been shaded over by big events and are commonplaces. Nevertheless, the daily life of the people has not changed so rapidly that a two-year-old account is without interest.

The first chapter is called "Things are better since Stalin died," taking its name from a frequently heard remark the authors caught (Helene speaks Russian) during their stay. And throughout the book, the mood of hope for something better out of life that took hold of Russia's millions is vividly described. "For a year now they've been building, and guess what? . . . houses to live in!" a civil engineer gleefully told the authors. And a cab driver permitted himself this outburst: "You can't imagine how afraid we all were in those years. Suppose I were to quarrel with you today and you go to the police and declare: 'This is what comrade so-and-so says about the government'—and you tell them whatever you like. Next day I am sent to prison. That's what used to happen. Since Stalin's death things are much better. Now we have hope."

An interesting paragraph relates the words of a Russian Jew: "He confided that his brother Jews had felt safer during the last twelve months, but that during Stalin's last years, long before the 'affair of the Doctors,' they had been the object of ostracism and incessant persecution. These measures took the form of preventing them rising to positions of any importance in every branch of national activity. Since the execution of Beria, however, they seemed to have been somewhat relaxed, but nevertheless there still existed a sort of secret *numerus clausus*." This reference to a continued "quota system" for Jews in the various departments and professions has since been borne out by indiscreet interview statements on the part of Soviet officials who did not seem to realize the enormity of what they were relating.

**F**OR the rest, the book has occasional scraps of fresh information about living conditions, but since the corps of foreign press reporters has been expanded and the censorship relaxed such information has been pouring out in large volume and the book does not have the interest it had at the time of original publication. Still, the viewpoint of the authors is refreshing, not so far as their ideology is concerned—they are flippant and thoroughly dense about the meaning of what they saw—but in the fact that Frenchmen writing about Russian living standards are never so indignant as Americans. The standards in their own land are not as far superior. Thus when they mention that Moscow possessed 70,000 television sets, and that Paris possessed 50,000,

they can hardly muster the sneers of Americans with their tens of millions of sets. The rise of the Russian standard of living is bound to be much more impressive in countries like France and Italy, where stagnation has been the rule for so many years, and it shows up in the writings even of a fashionable *haut monde* couple like the Lazareffs.

A.S.

## *Witness for the Defense*

*THE COMMUNIST TRIALS AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION* by John Somerville. Cameron Associates, New York, 1956, \$3.50.

**D**R. Somerville is a non-Communist student of Marxism, who has written on the subject for four encyclopedias, many scholarly journals, has worked on grants from the Cutting and Rockefeller foundations and Columbia and Stanford Universities, and has taught at many institutions of higher learning. He was approached by counsel for Communist Party defendants in Smith Act cases to testify as an expert witness on what Marxism really means, and appeared in three trials. This book is a summation of his ideas on Marxism as it bears on the Smith Act, including lengthy excerpts from his testimony under examination and cross-examination.

As Dr. Somerville works it out from the published materials in the library of Marxism, Marxists are not indiscriminate advocates of force and violence, but they do advocate, in common with the natural rights philosophers like Rousseau and Jefferson, that a people has the right of revolution when all other rights have been closed or exhausted.

His reading of Marxism is very exhaustive and careful, and his logic is stringent. One wonders, however, how effective this line of argument is in an American courtroom under the present atmosphere. The prosecuting attorneys seem to have been satisfied to get Dr. Somerville talking and keep him talking so long as he used the terms "revolution" or "force and violence" at least twice a minute, no matter what he was saying about them. As he himself comments in his book:

*Everyone must make up his own mind about these issues; but I will candidly say that it was hard for me to escape the conclusion, as the trial went on, that it was being held against the defendants that they talked about revolution at all. As a psychological fact, it is apparently easy to feel, and to communicate the feeling, that the subject of revolution in itself is a suspect and illicit one, one which no honest American would be concerned, even in the city of Philadelphia, within sight of Independence Hall.*

**I**T is hard to say how a court can be made to listen to reason in a Smith Act trial, or if in the present atmosphere, there is any way at all. But one suspects that

the good professor would have been better off if he had been a little weaker in logic and a little stronger in a feel for history. Marx, Engels, Lenin, all wrote on the European continent when it was in the grip of revolutionary crises, and when representatives of almost all classes and shades of thought were writing that way. If the people who profess to follow in the tradition of Mazzini, Garibaldi, or even Kerensky were to be tried on the strength of the words of those worthies, there would be a lot of them in jail. In those years whole societies were in the grip of a barricades fever, as one autocracy after another was being toppled, and Marx's words and tone cannot be understood or interpreted except in that context. Dr. Somerville understands this point, but gives it far too little stress.

Of course, the chief defense in any Smith Act trial is a civil liberties one; trying to get a jury to become favorably inclined to or even understanding of the ideas of Marxism may be pretty much hopeless in the current atmosphere. On civil liberties grounds, the defense is impregnable, as there is clearly nothing more involved in these persecutions save free speech. No calls to action, no prospect of revolutionary activity, can be proven or even alleged, and this appears to be the basis upon which the widest possible support can be rallied for the defendants.

As an exercise in the interpretation of Marxism, Dr. Somerville's book makes interesting reading, although it suffers from the usual academic defects of a too mechanical logic, a rigid compartmentalization of ideas to the point where they are hard to understand in their flow and development, and in general an attempt to cram the complexities of thought and history into syllogisms.

H.B.

## *A Forgotten Era*

*OUT OF THE DUST*, by Lars Lawrence. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1956, \$4.50.

**I**T is good that a book of this kind should be written and published today. It is a story of a group of Spanish-American coal miners in a Western company town in the early thirties—but it might just as well be about miners in Bolivia or Chile one hundred years ago, so remote and unrelated do these people appear to our America of the fifties.

The subject of this novel, the second of a trilogy, is of a phase of American life that has receded into the dim background of our memories and left no clear imprint on our literature. This group of miners, most of them of Mexican origin, and members of the Communist Party, were engaged in the previous novel in a long and bitter strike led by their Communist-run union. Now, the story centers about the attempt of local and state officials to railroad a number of them to the electric chair for the death of a sheriff who was shot in the

course of an unemployed demonstration that turned into a bloody riot.

To write well about a subject like this, a novelist has to know a lot about the mood of workers in the depression days, must have a feel for his locale, and also a grasp of some of the essentials of labor and radical groups who loomed so large in that chaotic era. Off-hand, this reviewer recalls two previous books that portray these aspects of labor struggles of those days in authentic fashion: "I Went to Pit College" by Lauren Gilfillan, a book forgotten today, that conveys a dramatic impression of the coal strike of 1931 led by the Communist National Miners Union; and "Adventures Of A Young Man" by John Dos Passos, which wonderfully catches the nuances of the period, although already marred by the author's oncoming political dyspepsia and growing disillusionment.

"OUT of The Dust" doesn't measure up to the latter novel, nor, if memory serves aright, to the former book. It is not that the book lacks virtues. On the contrary. The author handles his plot with great ability, the social background is sketched in expertly, and the story positively crackles with excitement and suspense at times. But the numerous characters remain stereotypes, and the author completely misunderstands and misses the spirit of the Communist movement of those days, with its ultra-romantic leftist hysteria and fanaticism, its Red unionism, its rhetoric of gibberish, and its behavior of bureaucratic arrogance. A note of unreality creeps into the proceedings by the author's naively treating with dead-pan solemnity some of the childishly contrived conversations of his characters (improbable and unbelievable, to boot, even in those fantastic days) as if

they sound perfectly intelligent and realistic to him.

If Mr. Lawrence continues writing on these kind of themes—and he should by all means—he will have to sharpen up his understanding of the radical and labor movements, and delve a bit further into the makeup of his characters. He needs the greater political knowledge, not so he can write Marxist tracts, but to portray his radicals accurately, to write about their relations with others in consonance with reality, and to weave a social fabric that bears the stamp of authenticity. The individual characters have to be drawn with greater depth so that our sympathies are not jarred by false notes, or blunted by inappropriate melodramatics.

R.G.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, published monthly at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher and editor, Bert Cochran; Managing editor, Harry Braverman; Business manager, Elaine Roseland; all of 857 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a

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/s/ Elaine Roseland  
Business Manager

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 19th day of September, 1956.

(Seal) /s/ Ethel Supnick

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Weltanschauung?

Dear Sir, I've read the latest copy. Most of it is worthy of applause; But one word here is very long and sloppy, It makes the reader puzzle, peer and pause.  
*Weltanschauung? Achtung!*  
*Weltanschauung!*

Perhaps I am quite hopelessly provincial, My intellect, I do suspect, is low, Perhaps I should go back to Walter Winchell Where monosyllables are known to blow.  
*Weltanschauung? Achtung!*  
*Weltanschauung!*

Now maybe there is some word like "perspective"; It doesn't win a PhD in Arts, But snobbish traits are worthy of invective, They poison people with their subtle darts.  
*Weltanschauung? Nein! Nein!*  
Please refine.

M. S. H. Chicago

Am a subscriber to this publication from the very beginning of its appearance, and consider it the best and most genuine Marxist periodical in this country. I would like again to emphasize, as I did before, the utmost importance that this magazine become a publication not for a small group of intellectuals only, but for broader masses. This partly depends on the way subjects are presented, and the variety of material discussed. You have gifted writers, and the policy of the magazine should be adjusted to the demand and interest of the common people as well as to the intellectuals.

L. S. Chicago

I read in your reply to Mr. Hochman (*American Socialist*, October 1956) that a "typical cyclical economic crisis involving deflation, unemployment, etc. can theoretically be avoided with a constantly stepped-up arms program." You go on to say, "a military program operates through the established business structure, and there is no problem of disposing of the products on the market." I believe these statements are open to serious questioning. . . .

Donald Nelson, formerly head of the War Production Board, writes in his "Arsenal of Democracy": "Neither the war in Europe nor the war in the Pacific had been won . . . but the actual truth is that we had more planes than we knew what to do with. We never reached our maximum potential in the production of military aircraft in reference to either quantity or quality, yet the machinery of our plane production was grinding away at such dazzling speed that drastic cutbacks had to be made." Later he adds: "Men were being thrown out of work. Fewer men were needed to produce the war goods called for in our over-all military program than had been needed six months previously. The curve of employ-

ment was going steadily downward."

This was taking place during wartime!  
R. E. R. Brooklyn

As usual, I found your September issue both interesting and provocative. However, in my opinion, the article "Socialism, the Word and the Deed" contains a number of inaccuracies and unwarranted judgments.

You state that "the Communist movement speaks in a vague sort of way about all the countries in the Soviet bloc as being socialist." This may be true if by "Communist movement" you are referring to certain sloppy statements of the Communist Party of the USA (see the recent Draft Resolution published September 23, 1956 in this regard). However, most of the serious theoretical works by Soviet and East European writers regard only the USSR—which is of course a federation of socialist republics—as having achieved socialism. The governments of the countries of Eastern Europe (excluding East Germany) and China are labeled "People's Democracies" or "People's Republics." The East German government is a "Democratic Republic" as is the government of North Viet Nam, while North Korea is the only "People's Democratic Republic." It is true that all of these countries mentioned above are sometimes spoken of as being in the "socialist camp," but officially, except for the Soviet Union, they are considered to be only on the road to socialism.

What is the reason for this distinction? The reason seems obvious to me when we consider the fact that a large share of agriculture is not collectivized in all of the above countries outside the USSR. In some of these countries, not even all of industry has as yet been nationalized. The peculiar labels attached to the East German, North Korean, and North Viet Namese regimes undoubtedly stem from the fact that the Soviet Union does not wish to recognize the bisection of the original countries as being a permanent state of affairs.

It is true that even the Soviets themselves do not consider the collectivization of agriculture to be on a par with the socialization of industry. But both industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union have one important characteristic feature in common: *No longer is it possible for a Soviet citizen to employ labor power for the purpose of extracting surplus value.* Surely this is a qualitative difference. It also strikes me as being somewhat unfair to label these peasant garden plots as "midget farms" as you do. These plots are limited by law to approximately an acre in area (more if the land is poor and less if it is fertile). Each peasant in the Soviet Union is required to perform a minimum number of work days annually on the collective farm to which he belongs; the remainder of his time can of course be spent tending his cow and garden. But at least some city dwellers with

large incomes own cars and also tend gardens near their dachas. Does that make them capitalists? I think not.

Finally, you state that "the Soviet regime has called into being what is probably the largest, the most powerful, the most monstrous bureaucracy in the whole history of mankind." This is certainly not borne out by recently divulged statistics on the percentage of white-collar workers in the entire labor force. According to the new statistical handbook, these white-collar workers, which would certainly form the bulk of any bureaucracy, accounted for 9 percent of the labor force in 1932, but by 1955 this had been reduced to only 4 percent.

A Student of the USSR *New York*

This letter is to tell you that I enjoyed your article "Socialism, the Word and the Deed." This was, by far, the most informative article that you have, in my opinion, ever written. So often, you deal with politics on a plane beyond my ken. . . . You have more than served the purpose of helping me to an understanding that was lacking. More, please.

L. J. G. Flint

## Down to Earth Answers

Have read your reply to the questions about depression put up to you by Larry Hochman and I feel it has been excellent. But it has made me realize again what socialists will be up against if you are planning to start another movement now that the old one seems to have almost completely petered out. You have to deal with a population thoroughly trained and indoctrinated in the ABC's of capitalism, and it will be extremely difficult to make them even feel that socialism, or any other form of non-profit, public ownership system, can be made to work to their advantage. . . .

There are down-to-earth questions which, if you want to convince a man to become a socialist, have to be answered to his satisfaction, otherwise he is going to tell you to go and peddle your stuff somewhere else. The answers given have to be also down to earth. . . .

I have translated the article "The 1956 Elections" [into Dutch], which, I feel, will explain to my friends in Holland the political situation here a lot better than I could do it. The socialists in Holland are also badly muddled up, I think, but not near as bad as over here, it seems.

The *Party van di Arbeid* (labor party), the successor to the old *Social Democratische Arbeiders Party* (SDAP), has added so much water to the milk that it cannot be called milk any more. The Communist Party is still doing pretty good, but just at present, of course, also does not hardly know where it stands, and where to go from here, it looks to me. But still, looking at it from the socialist standpoint, the situation over there is not near as bad as it is over here in many respects. Economically, there is not much to come on over there, but it still seems pretty hard to beat the Dutch; they are a tough lot, and well do I know it.

Y. V. Pennsylvania

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