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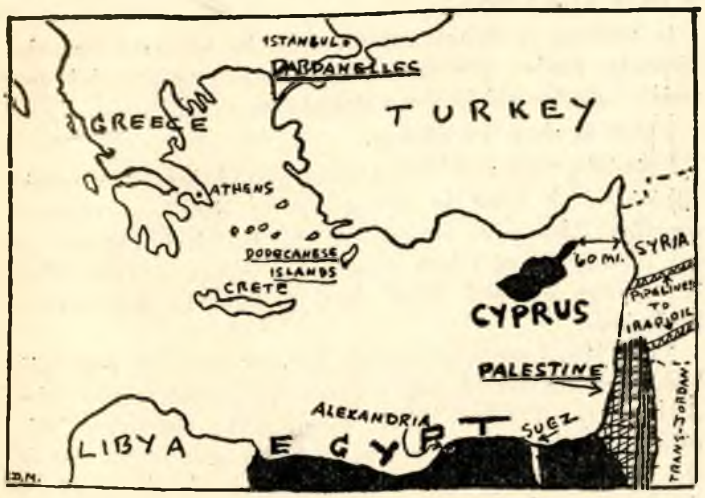

Since the first of the year, the British Labor Government has been carrying out a major shift of imperialist strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean—the 'hinge' of the Imperial Lifeline that connects England with Australia, India, and the Far East. The main events have been:

Egypt: All British troops to be withdrawn in the near future; the great naval base at Alexandria to be given up.

Palestine: Jewish immigration held to a minimum; repression of local Jewish community, coming to a climax on June 29 with seizure of the Jewish Agency.

Cyprus: While the Dodecanese Islands have been restored to Greece on Anglo-American initiative, nothing is said about this Greek island long held by the British. On January 21, entire leadership of the Cypriot trade union movement is arrested.

Greece: Royalists take power in March 31 elections, held under Anglo-American auspices. Despite earlier promises that plebiscite on King's return would not be held until 1948, London now agrees to let Royalists advance plebiscite date to this fall.

There is a pattern to these moves. Egypt has long been England's naval and military base in the Eastern Mediterranean. Now that it is being given up—under compulsion—Palestine is slated to take its place, supplemented by Cyprus. This means reducing the power of the local populations to assert themselves contrary to British wishes.

The Story of Cyprus

(with notes on Labor Imperialism in Greece, Egypt and Palestine)

CYPRUS is a large island at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. The Sultan of Turkey gave it to Disraeli just before the Berlin Conference of 1878. At the Conference, Disraeli defended the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, to the surprise and disgust of his allies, Russia and France. He forgot to mention the Cyprus deal until the Conference was almost over, producing another unpleasant shock for his allies and stimulating editorials in the Paris press about Perfidious Albion. Britain wanted Cyprus because she needed a strategic base to protect the Suez Canal. Four years later, however, she occupied Egypt, which was even better located, and lost interest in Cyprus so far as spending money and developing it went (but not to the extent of giving it up). Now that she is pulling out of Egypt, her interest in Cyprus is reviving.

When Sir Garnet Wolseley's troops landed at Nicosia, the capital town of Cyprus, on July 8, 1878, they were met by a deputation of Cypriotes, headed by the Greek Orthodox Archbishop, who "welcomed the British occupation as a stage towards the union of Cyprus with Greece." * And, indeed, Disraeli had extorted the island from the Sultan only on a provisional and contingent basis, which was to expire under certain complicated conditions. We need not bother about them here, however, since they have long since been fulfilled without at all loosening the British grip on the island.

When the Sultan chose the Bad Side in World War I, the British annexed Cyprus outright, passing an order in Council to make it legal. A year later Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Secretary, unsuccessfully tried to bribe King Constantine of Greece to enter the war on the Right Side by

* from the chapter on "Cyprus, the British Empire and Greece" in *Survey of International Affairs for 1931*, prepared by Arnold J. Toynbee and V. M. Boulter for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (Oxford Press, 1932). Much of the data in this article is drawn from this study, a model of its kind, which deflates the British claims to Cyprus with irony and scholarship. My other chief source is *Cyprus, Past and Future*, by Doros Alastos (Committee for Cyprus Affairs, London, 1943, 75 pp.), a valuable factual survey. I cannot help remarking here that one of the most attractive features of British culture is that the most authoritative exposes of British imperialism are generally first published in London.

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offering him Cyprus as a reward. After the war, Britain made her possession of Cyprus even more formidably legal. Article 20 of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (1924) states: "Turkey hereby recognizes the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on 5th November, 1914." And on May 1 of the following year, Royal Letters Patent were read and proclaimed in Nicosia conferring on Cyprus the status of a Crown Colony. That a Labor Government was in power in London detracted not at all from the happy solemnity of the occasion. (The happiness, we may infer, was specially marked in London, the solemnity in Nicosia.)

Thus, if there is any law and order left in the world, Britain's title to Cyprus is clear, and we may be sure that the London Socialists know this. We may also be sure that they know Cyprus is only 40 miles from the coast of Asia Minor and 60 miles from Syria and that "The center of the island consists of a flat, treeless and waterless plain, suitable for airfields." Cyprus, in a word, is a huge and unsinkable aircraft carrier in the middle of the Middle East.

People Live There, Too

Besides being an aircraft carrier and a commodity in international diplomacy, Cyprus is also the homeland of people—some 384,000 of them.

The most obvious fact about the people of Cyprus is that four-fifths of them are Greeks, who want very much to become part of Greece. The official British position is that they are not Greeks but — Cypriotes; for generations, the inhabitants of the island were divided, for all official purposes, into "Mohammedans" (the one-fifth who are of Turkish descent) and "Non-Mohammedans" (the four-fifths who are Greek Christians). It is true that for most of its history, Cyprus has been ruled by alien overlords: the Romans, the Crusaders, the Venetians, the Turks, and now the British. But archeologists place the first Greek colonization of Cyprus around 1400 B. C., and inscriptions and other records show that from that respectably ancient date up to the present Greek has been the dominant language on the island. (See Toynbee's "A Historical Note on the 'Greekness' of Cyprus" at the end of his study.) If foreign overlordship causes a people to lose its nationality, then Greece itself is not "Greek." In any case, whether the inhabitants are Greeks, Cypriotes, or non-Mohammedans, there is no question but that they consider themselves Greeks and that for many generations their great aspiration has been to unite with Greece.*

In addition to British rule, it must be admitted that the Cypriotes have a few minor "grievances", as they are discreetly called in the British Colonial Office. As:

¶ Half of them are illiterate.

¶ Between 1878 and 1927, London milked them of an annual tribute which came to 17 percent of their governmental revenues. This went entirely to the British Exchequer, to pay the interest on a loan made to the Sultan in 1855. Thus one foreign overlord taxed them to pay the debts of his predecessor.

¶ In 1928, London generously forgave them the debt they had never contracted, and reduced the annual tribute from £50,000 to £10,000, which is paid under the rubric "Imperial Defense" (defense *of* the Empire, not *from* it). One of the live issues in Cypriot politics today is the return of the £2,500,000 which was extorted to pay the Sultan's debts between 1878 and 1927, a transaction which even official British circles no longer defend.

¶ Almost all of them are poor and hungry. The going rate of wages is 2s. 6d. (about 60c) for a 10-hour day. The country is largely agricultural: about 80 percent of the

* This spring the Boston Marathon was won by a bill-collector from Athens named Stylianos Kyriakides. "A year ago he had an idea," reported *Time* (April 29). "Greece's first victory in 50 years of Boston Marathons might dramatize his struggling nation, gain U. S. aid for his hungry countrymen. By covering his bill-collecting rounds on the double, he saved time to toughen up his feet with twelve-mile runs in Peloponnesian stone-quarries. His family made sacrifices to build him up: 'Sometimes I eat meat, my wife eat peas.'" He made the trip and won the race. What *Time* did not report is that Stylianos Kyriakides is a native of Cyprus.

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inhabitants are farmers (1931 census). Yet the British have never bothered to provide an export market for the fruits and wine Cyprus produces. A former Governor of the island, Sir Ronald Storrs, has described the Cypriot standard of living as about equivalent to that of Tudor England.

The 1931 Rebellion

The Colonial Office dealt successfully with these grievances, but after nothing had been done with great energy for a long time, Cyprus had her most serious revolt to date against British rule. The general causes were the economic depression, the sentiment for union with Greece and the authoritarian policies of the then Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs.* The immediate cause of the 1931 uprising was a clash between the Governor and the Legislative Council over tax policy. This Council was a curious affair. Gladstone had stigmatized the rape of Cyprus by his Tory rival as "a gross act of lawlessness, an unpardonable breach of international law" and had made the rafters of Commons ring with his denunciation of the annual tribute levied to pay the Sultan's debts. He was at the time, needless to say, in opposition. When he took power in 1882, he found that he could pardon the breach of international law, after all; he neither freed Cyprus nor abated one shilling of the tribute. (The same evolution, from morality out of office to *realpolitik* in office, may be observed in Ramsey Macdonald and in the present Labor chieftains on the matter of Cyprus; this shows that Bevin's famous "continuity of foreign policy" goes much farther back than is generally assumed.)

But Gladstone did give Cyprus a Legislative Council, constructed on the best Liberal lines so as to give the appearance of self-government without the reality. The Greeks elected 9 members, the Turks 3, and the Governor appointed 6 British officials. In case of a tie, the Governor had the deciding vote. The gimmick was that the Turkish members invariably voted with the British officials, producing a tie which the Governor naturally resolved in favor of his policy. In *Orientations*, Storrs gives a memorable picture of this representative body:

"The Legislative Council presumably appeared to the brains which evolved and approved it in Whitehall in the eighties to be an ingenious and statesmanlike device. To all concerned with its workings in Cyprus—the Governor, his officers, the Greek members, the Turkish members, and the inhabitants in general—it proved an exasperating and humiliating nuisance. The President (as in most Crown colonies) was the Governor, who was thus forced to combine in his person the aloofness of the King's Representative, the impartiality of the Speaker, and the partiality of the Prime Minister driving a bill through the House by means of a minimum but perpetual majority. He was for most business entirely dependent upon the loyalty and assiduity of the three Turks, and during a crucial clause of the budget would cast anxious glances upon their third empty chair, whose occupant sometimes found it to be difficult to be present after dinner. Different Governors might handle the 12 Greek members with varying degrees of consideration, but when it came to Supply, the screws must be put on or Government would cease; and the Greeks, confronted with the unanimous officials and the three almost mechanical Turkish votes, could not but feel with irritation that they were little better than a debating society . . . Nor could the Turks find their position particularly dignified. Their assistance, based on community of interest with the Government, was assumed without much gratitude even when, under the stern eye of their leader (or after a hurried consultation with him in the antechamber) they voted against their convictions."

In 1931 the Cyprus budget, like many other budgets that year, was badly out of balance. The British proposed to increase taxes, the Greeks to reduce the salaries of the British officials. When the Governor's tax bill came up in the Legislative Council on April 28, 1931, a sensational event took place: a Turkish member voted with the Greeks. The tax bill was lost. Governor Storrs thereupon got an Order in Council passed in London imposing the increased taxes. The amount involved was not enormous, even for Cyprus—some £20,000. "Yet English officials," remarks Toynbee, "had only to consult the constitutional history of their own country—the classic storehouse of constitutional lore—in order to be reminded that a small tax was capable of producing a large upheaval if an important constitutional principle were involved." American history is also to the point: "Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny" could have been a slogan for the Cypriot rebels. And what followed was a kind of Boston Tea Party, in that it was a spontaneous revolt against alien oppression that expressed itself not so much in bloodshed (only six deaths, all of Cypriots, resulted from the whole affair) as in symbolic acts. The high point was the burning of the Governor's mansion on October 21; the demonstrators shouted for union with Greece and sang the Greek anthem; no one was hurt. The rebels also followed Gandhi's civil disobedience tactics, gathering salt in contravention of the Salt Laws.

Vengeance is Mine, Sayeth the Colonial Office

The ease with which the rebellion was put down showed that the Cypriots were not yet in the mood of the Americans of 1775 or the Irish of 1916. A couple of cruisers and a company or two of troops from Egypt were sent in to reinforce the permanent garrison of 125 men; by the end of the year, all these reinforcements had been withdrawn. This docility gained the Cypriots nothing. The Colonial Office on November 12 abolished the Legislative Council and vested all law-making power in the Governor, who two weeks later decreed that (1) the Mukhtars (headmen) of the villages should henceforth be appointed by the Governor instead of being elected; (2) no flags should be displayed without a license from the Governor; (3) no bells should be rung

* The former Military Governor of Jerusalem and the mentor and comrade-in-arms of T. E. Lawrence in the Arab revolt, Storrs was one of the most intelligent and energetic proconsuls the British Empire ever produced. He was Governor of Cyprus from 1926 to 1932. In many ways, he was the best Governor the island ever had; he got London to reduce the annual tribute money; he worked hard to irrigate the land, suppress usury and attract British capital; he caused the preparation of the important *Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus*; he did a good deal for Cypriot culture and archeology. On the other hand, he was more aggressive than other Governors had been in his attack on the popular movement for union with Greece, and his methods were ruthless; he frankly admired the "de-Hellenizing" methods which Mussolini used in the neighboring Dodecanese Islands; he transferred control of Education in 1929 from the pro-Greek local authorities to the British administration, an unjust and unpopular act. His memoirs, *Orientations*, are good reading and a major source for the recent history of Palestine, Cyprus and the Middle East in general. The personality they reveal—in excellent prose—is a fascinating combination of intelligence, cultivation, and authoritarianism.

without permission of the District Commissioner. This last was because the church bells had been the tocsin of the late revolt—the Greek Orthodox clergy playing a leading part in the uprising. Toynbee points out that "under the Ottoman order, the silencing of the Christian church bells had been one of the symbols of the subjection of the Christians to their Muslim masters", and notes that, although the District Commissioners were "not vexatious" in administering the new law (granting permission to ring the bells, on proper application, for church services and to call children to school), the Cypriots, with their Ottoman bondage in mind, for the most part refused to make such application and preferred to leave the bells unrung.

This was just the beginning. A letter in the London *New Statesman & Nation* for Jan. 6, 1945, tells the rest: "A fine of £66,000 was imposed, 2,000 people were imprisoned or banished for life . . . Trade unions were made illegal. All democratic institutions were abolished, and although local council elections were permitted, in 1943 for instance, the totalitarian character of the regime remains. Teaching of Greek history in the schools was prohibited. Not more than five persons were allowed to meet together without police permission. Even the picturesque painting of village carts blue and white was stopped."

For some years after the 1931 revolt, "it became almost a phobia with the British Government that any and every grouping of the people, for whatever purpose, denoted conspiracy." (Alastos) In 1934, for instance, there was a famine, on which the London *Times* commented; "It is impossible to believe that it was beyond the power of the British Government to raise the condition of the agricultural population of such a small island as Cyprus in fifty years to such a degree of assured prosperity that they did not have to feed on grass during a period of drought." The outcry raised in London prodded the Colonial Office to make a "thorough investigation" of economic conditions, which produced many proposals for reform all of which were pigeon-holed after the excitement had died down. When the peasants, after the famine, organized their own cooperative credit societies — usurious moneylenders are the biggest problem of the Cypriot peasant—the Colonial Office for a time hampered this movement.

The Fight for Freedom

Beginning with 1937, British policy has become somewhat more liberal in Cyprus. Police repression has relaxed, trade unions are now legal, local elections are held; whether the church bells may be rung now I don't know. But the Legislative Council, such as it was, has not been restored; the Governor rules in collaboration with an appointed Consultative Council. And certain recent laws have gone pretty far. In 1937 a statute was enacted giving the Governor the right to deny entrance to the island to any Cypriot returning from abroad "if it be shown by evidence, which the Governor may deem sufficient, that he is likely to conduct himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order." This is all the more vexatious because the Cypriots are great travellers and traders. Another law (November, 1939) gives the police authority "to place under arrest or banish any person who works, *or is likely to work*, in such a way, or who *might* use his relative freedom of movement for the propagation of ideas detrimental to the defence of the state." (My emphasis).

This repression has united the Cypriots in the last decade as never before. Half the rural families are now organized into producers' cooperatives or credit societies. Alastos puts the percentage of workers in trade unions at 75 percent, which is higher than anywhere else in the Empire except Australia. About a third of these are in illegal unions, that is unions which have been denied registration, and hence legal existence, by the Government. (In all British colonies, trade unions are compelled to apply for official registration, and only those which are acceptable are permitted to exist legally. The Labor Government has not changed this policy; see question asked of the Colonial Secretary in Commons, March 3, 1946.) In 1937 a Committee for Cyprus Autonomy was formed, to work for self-government within the Empire as a step to freedom; it had strong local backing, but got nowhere with London. In 1940, when lack of shipping due to the war cut Cyprus off from her export markets, economic misery stimulated a strike movement which culminated in a 24-hour general strike in February. This extorted certain reforms. On October 5, 1941, the Progressive Party of the Working People (known as "AKEL" from its Greek initials) was formed—the first political party in ten years; this is based on the trade unions and peasant organizations and is said by Alastos to be similar to the British Labor Party; how Stalinized it is I don't know, though I suspect somewhat, from the prominence given to support of the war in its program, and from Alastos' description of its policies as "moderate and sober."

"Marxist Theory a Crime"

It appears that the Labor Government, for reasons of imperial strategy, is now taking away such liberties as the Cypriots enjoyed under previous Tory Governments. On January 21, 1946, the eighteen members of the Pan-Cyprian Trade Unions Committee, representing the entire top leadership of the Cypriot labor movement, were sentenced to prison terms of from twelve to eighteen months. L. J. Solley, Labor M.P. for Thurrock, gave the details in Commons on March 5:*

"They were found guilty of being members of a so-called unlawful association, namely the Cypriot equivalent to our T.U.C. . . . At the Pan-Cyprian conference of trade unionists, which was held in September, 1944, there was an attendance of 445 delegates representing 13,500 trade unionists. It was at that meeting that this particular committee, every member of which is now in jail, was formed. The Government knew of its existence, and in fact had certain official relations with it. Indeed, in January, 1945, they afforded every facility to the delegate of the committee to the World Trade Union Congress to leave Cyprus.

"The war being over, apparently the Colonial office thought the time was ripe to clamp down on these trade union and labor activities and go back to their despotism of 1931. They raided the offices of this Greek T.U.C. and obtained a certain amount of literature, which was no more lurid or dull than that which can be bought in England in any Socialist bookshop. They then began this prosecution.

* His speech is reprinted in the "Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin" which George Padmore has begun to put out. This useful monthly mimeographed bulletin gives verbatim reports of speeches on colonial matters in the House of Commons, and also the Colonial Secretary's replies to questions. It is invaluable to all interested in colonial and imperial questions. Address: African Press Agency, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh St., London, N. W. 1, England. $5 a year.

The trial . . . was not, of course, a trial by jury for the very obvious reason that the Colonial Office could never obtain a jury of Cypriots who would find their compatriots guilty of this kind of offense . . . The defendants were charged, in effect, with using this T.U.C. as a means of propagating ideas which it was suggested were such as to arouse illwill and hatred against the Cyprus Government and encourage its overthrow by force . . . .

"If one looks at the evidence which is supposed to have supported these allegations, it will be found in a series of extracts from documents which the police discovered at the headquarters of the Cyprus T.U.C. . . . For instance, here is an extract from a document headed, 'Lessons on the Political Organization of the Working Class':

" 'At a particular stage in the struggle of the working class, it is realised that the real welfare of the whole world can be brought about only by a change in the existing regime. It is then that the Labor movement starts to embrace Socialism . . . . '

"It is a fantastic state of affairs when Labor rules at Westminster, and Socialism is a crime according to the laws of Cyprus. Considerable comments were made at the trial about Marxism. Here is an exchange between the President of the Court and the Solicitor-General of Cyprus:

President: *Is Marxist theory a crime?*
Solicitor-General: *According to the Cyprus law, yes.*
President: *Is the possession of Marxist books a crime?*
Solicitor-General: *Yes.*

". . . . We are a Socialist Government, and we dare not see our Socialist and working class comrades in Cyprus in jail for doing something which a dictatorship law has declared to be illegal."

We may assume that this last observation is a rhetorical flourish, not meant seriously. For all experience of the first year of the present Labor Government, and of previous Labor governments in Britain, shows that these Socialists *do* dare to put their working class comrades in jail and to enforce dictatorial laws when a great principle is at stake, namely, the wellbeing of the British Empire. The Cyprus prisoners have not been released and, I venture to predict, will not be released until their sentences have been served. This is not an accident, an unfortunate aberration, but rather a quite deliberate and necessary policy.

The Singapore Deportations

There is so much confusion and wishful thinking on this point among American sympathizers with the British Labor Government that I think it worth citing here another recent passage in Commons which shows precisely the same policy being put into effect in another crucial area of the Empire:

"Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why the chairman of the Singapore Labor Union and nine other Chinese are to be deported from Singapore; and if he will cause their deportation to be delayed until the matter has been further investigated.

"Mr. George Hall, Secretary of State for the Colonies: Ten Chinese have been expelled from Singapore under the civil law of the colony on the ground that their expulsion was conducive to the public good. These persons . . . attempted in defiance of police instructions to organize a demonstration on 15th February which would have been prejudicial to law and order . . . I am advised that these men were in no sense genuine labor leaders, and that their activities were making impossible the development of a trade union movement on sound and democratic lines, which is now being undertaken by an experienced trade union officer from this country. Their aims were disruptive and they had no real popular support. On the other hand, they and their associates had been able by a policy of wholesale intimidation of labor to hamper the work of the government . . .

"Mr. Piratin (Communist MP): Would the Minister state what was the purpose of the demonstration?

"Mr. Hall: Whatever the purpose of the demonstration, the police advised those who organized it that it was untimely and dangerous to hold it.

"Mr. Piratin: What about the purpose?

"Mr. Hall: I am not speaking about the purpose. It was untimely and . . . led to bloodshed and a very serious situation in Singapore.

"Mr. Driberg: Is it not the case that these men were active in the anti-Japanese resistance movement during the occupation, and also that the trade union development which my right hon. Friend commends is being organized on lines of racial discrimination instead of inter-racially?

"Mr. Hall: I have no knowledge of their activities during the Japanese occupation . . ."

(*House of Commons, April* 17; *quoted in "Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin", No.* 3).

Thus a trade union Government in London deports the leaders of the trade union movement in Singapore, alleging that the latter had no popular support and also that they were able to embarrass the government, go in for "wholesale intimidation" of workers, and cause a "very serious" situation in Singapore — which is quite a big order for ten people to accomplish without any popular support. These London trade unionists then send in "an experienced trade union officer" (white) to organize "a trade union on sound and democratic lines" which turn out to be also Jimcrow lines.

This is what I mean by "Labor Imperialism."

The Friends of Cyprus

If there were a Society of the Friends of Cyprus, it would have a distinguished membership. For some reason, the unhappy lot of Cyprus seems to stimulate Anglo-Saxon statesmen to express Noble Sentiments. Not only such professional

STUDIES IN RELATIVITY: (1) Cyprus-Macdonald

1919: "For nearly forty years, we have obstinately refused to grant self-government to the inhabitants of Cyprus. We have turned a deaf ear to their plea. Today they are repeating that plea. It is up to our Government to give them the freedom they ask." (Editorial in "The Daily Herald", organ of the British Labor Party, Jan. 25, 1919. Shortly afterwards, Ramsey Macdonald thrilled the International Socialist Congress of that year with an impassioned demand that the principle of self-determination of nations be applied to Cyprus.)

1924: "His Majesty's Government are not contemplating any change in the political status of Cyprus." (Ramsey Macdonald, speaking in 1924 in the House of Commons in reply to a question about Cyprus. It might be added that he was then Prime Minister.)

1925: The Labor Government formally recognizes Cyprus as a Crown Colony.

dealers in this commodity as Gladstone and Ramsey Macdonald have been moved to words which they were later to regret, but even Winston Churchill fell under the spell in 1907: "I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which is nobly characteristic of the Greek nation." These words caused a certain amount of excitement in Cyprus because at the time Mr. Churchill was Colonial Under-Secretary. The Cypriots should have saved their energy: Cyprus is for Anglo-Saxon statesmen a rhetorical, not a political question.

They should also have remembered this when the amiable Mr. Stettinius,. during his brief term as U. S. Secretary of State, gave out with some Noble Sentiments to the effect that the principle of self-determination should be applied to Cyprus. Double skepticism was indicated in his case, for not only are American statesmen in general very highminded about other people's colonial possessions, but also Mr. Stettinius in particular wanted to show the liblabs, who had been somewhat appalled by his access to the Secretaryship, that even an ex-chairman of the U. S. Steel Corp. could be a good fellow. This statesmanlike purpose accomplished, Mr. Stettinius forgot all about Cyprus; and his successor, Mr. Byrnes, has shown no signs of reverting to that uninteresting subject. The Dodecanese Greeks arouse Mr. Byrnes' sympathies, but the Cypriot Greeks don't — for reasons sufficiently explored above.

The Colonial Office Disposes

In any case, Mr. Stettinius or Mr. Byrnes may propose, but it is the Colonial Office which disposes. How it will dispose is in the record. On January 23, 1945, Mrs. Keir, M.P., asked in Commons whether the Colonial Secretary was "aware of the views officially expressed by the U. S. Secretary of State as to the possible future state of Cyprus?" The Secretary referred her to "the answer which my right hon. Friend the Deptuy Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) gave on 17th January." Looking this up, we find: "*Mr. Attlee*: 'I have nothing to add to the assurance which I gave on 8th November last . . ." Looking *this* up, we get to the heart of the onion:

"Mr. Astor asked the Prime Minister whether Hong Kong *or any other part of the Empire* is excluded from his declaration that it is not proposed to liquidate the British Empire. (My emphasis — D.M.)

"The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee): No part of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations is excluded from the scope of the declaration referred to."

"Mr. Astor: While expressing great pleasure that this declaration has come from the leader of the Labor Party, may I ask him whether all encouragement will now be given to British firms to prepare plans for re-establishing themselves in Hong Kong?

"Mr. Attlee: That is obviously so.

"Mr. Shinwell: Does my right hon. Friend appreciate that members of the Labor Party are as keen to advance the well-being of the British Empire as are members of the Tory Party." (It might be added that Shinwell, now Minister of Labor, was a *left* Labor M.P.)

The last word on Cyprus, however, was said not by Mr. Shinwell or Mr. Stettinius or even Mr. Creech-Jones, but by that great Cypriot patriot, Sir Archibald Southby, M.P. (Tory) for Epsom, who on January 17, 1945, observed in Commons apropos the Stettinius proposal: "British subjects bitterly resent outside suggestions that British citizenship should be taken away from those who now enjoy it."

STUDIES IN RELATIVITY: (2) Cyprus-Jones

1945: "Mr. Creech Jones asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether further action has been taken on the Lefkonico shootings in Cyprus; why the interview with the Mayor was censored in "Cyprus Post"; why the official statements issued to the press were the only statements allowed to appear . . . **The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Col. Oliver Stanley):** As the hon. Member was informed . . . the Governor has appointed a Commission of Inquiry . . . **Mr. Creech Jones:** In view of the very considerable public interest which this incident has aroused . . . is it not about time that some consideration was given to this rather illiberal Press system and that much more liberal measures were adopted . . . ?" (House of Commons, May 16, 1945.)

1946: "Mr. Solley (Thurrock): I have to call the attention of the House to recent events in Cyprus of the utmost gravity . . . such as will shock the conscience of every Democrat . . . On Jan. 21 of this year, the entire leadership of the labor movement in Cyprus was sentenced to imprisonment . . . They were found guilty of being members of a socalled unlawful association, namely the Cypriot equivalent to our T.U.C. . . . **The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones):** . . . I regret the rather intemperate language my hon. Friend the Member for Thurrock used. These prosecutions are not matters for the Colonial Office, but are within the jurisdiction of the local authorities . . . I should also like to point out that there is no suggestions that trade union activity in Cyprus is discouraged . . . On the facts before me, I cannot see any case for an alteration of the law . . . I conclude by saying that, obviously, all of us are disturbed by prosecutions of this kind. I am the last person in the world to accept without resistance anything in the nature of an attack upon civil liberty. In this House I have always fought hard for the maintenance in our Colonial regions of the highest standards of British justice and administration . . ." (House of Commons, March 5, 1946.)

[JONES, Arthur Creech (Yorkshire, W. R. Shipley Div.) Labour. B. in Bristol 1891 . . . Late Nat. Sec. Transport & General Workers' Union; late Pres. of International Fed. of Commercial Employees; Gov. of Ruskin College, Oxford; Member of Council for Education of H. M. Forces . . . Chairman of Fabian Colonial Bureau, of Labour Party Imperial Advisory Comm . . . Parliamentary Priv. Sec. to Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, May 1940-June 1944.]

2. GREECE

I have already written a good deal on the first phase of current British policy in Greece. (See POLITICS for Jan., Feb., April and May, 1945.) The job that had to be done in that phase was to smash the popular movement led by the EAM, and the Tory-Labor Government did it most efficiently. Now comes the second, or positive, phase, in which the task is to get King George back on his throne; the Labor Government is handling this assignment with equal competence.

On March 31 elections were held in Greece resulting in a decisive victory of the Royalists ("Populist Party"). Greek Republicans of all shades, from EAM to the liberals, objected to holding elections then, but London supported the Royalists on the issue. EAM boycotted the elections, in which only 50 percent of the eligible voters took part.

On May 12, the new Royalist government, after consulting King George in London, announced that a plebiscite on his return to the throne would be held on September 1, 1946. Last fall the Attlee Government had promised liberal Republican

leaders that, if they agreed to the March elections and took part in them, the plebiscite would not be held before the fall of 1948. The liberals took part in the elections, but London double-crossed them. Challenged on this in the House on May 13, Foreign Under-Secretary McNeil replied that it was "essentially an internal matter", for the Greeks themselves to decide and that His Majesty's Government was averse to interference into the internal affairs of other nations. This lofty moral stand coincides nicely with British interests, for a monarchy in Athens would be largely dependent for its continued existence on British support and hence more tractable than a democratic regime would be. Also, because of his lack of popular support, King George will be forced to adopt dictatorial measures, thus sparing the London Socialists the dirty job of controlling the Greek populace. The harmony of policy between Laborites and Royalists shows itself, on the one hand, in the return of the formerly Italian-held Dodecanese Islands to Greece at Bevin's motion—a gesture which strengthens the Royalists at home; and, on the other, the discreet silence of the Royalists as to Cyprus, equally Greek but, unlike the Dodecanese, of strategic interest to Britain.

This formidable alliance of Socialists in London with Royalists in Athens has produced some impressive results, as the following recent news items suggest:

¶ "Clothing is plentiful in Athens—at least luxury varieties are—and . . . the restaurants offer every possible kind of meat and vegetables, with ample supplies of wines and brandies. The trouble . . . . is that the prices are beyond the reach of all except the 'thirty families' and their satellites, who dominate Greek economic life now as before and during the war . . . The virtual absence of rationing or price-control of food or clothing produced in Greece has permitted people with money to get everything they want while the remainder of the 7,500,000 Greeks have to depend on the rationed products supplied by UNRRA plus what they are able to buy in the free market." (*N.Y. Times, April* 15)

¶ "A statement was issued today by three Labor MP's who have just returned from a tour of Greece alleging that Greece was 'rapidly becoming a Fascist state.' The three — Norman Dodds, L. J. Solley and S. Tiffany—said that 'there exists a unilateral civil war, a war of extreme right against all democratic elements who dare to disagree with the Government.' They asserted that there were thousands of cases of murder, illegal imprisonment and brutal assault and that the gendarmerie and police were 'rotten to the core and take a foremost part in these criminal activities. The premises of republican, including leftwing, newspapers, trade unions and youth clubs are illegally raided and shut down in all parts of the country, according to their report." (*N.Y. Times, May* 14)

¶ "The Royalist Government, opening a drive to crush disorder in Greece, today invoked a drastic emergency decree setting up summary courts empowered to pass death sentences for using arms against the authorities or interfering with the police.

"There will be no recourse from the summary courts, and death sentences will be carried out immediately, the Ministry of Justice declared.

"The decree, which suspends guarantees in the Greek Constitution of either a trial within three months or freedom, provides also for a minimum sentence of five years for strikers in public utilities.

"The death penalty can be passed also for 'moral authors' of action against the state.

"Six articles in the Constitution relating to the courts were suspended, and the police and the military received wide authority.

"The police were authorized to enter premises, houses or business establishments at any hour without a search warrant. Any person can be held in jail indefinitely without bond and without trial". (*N.Y. Times, June* 8)

¶ "Apart from the criticism that hearsay evidence is admitted, a British legal mission in its report published today, largely vindicated Greek methods of investigation and public trial. This mission visited Greece at the invitation of the Greek Government . . . Its report advocates the building of a number of modern prisons to deal with a total of at least 8,000 persons . . ." (*N.Y. Times, June* 14)

3. EGYPT

Since the end of the war, the whole population of Egypt, from the fellaheen, industrial workers, Moslem nationalists and socialistic students who back the Wafdist Party to the landowners and rich businessmen behind King Farouk have shown aggressive opposition to the continued presence of the British in Egypt. Great demonstrations have materialized overnight on the slightest pretext; traffic accidents involving British army cars have touched off serious street riots; the Royal Government has become openly hostile.

As in India, when it became evident that only a large scale military effort would maintain the British position — and perhaps not even that — the Labor Government discovered that their clear duty as Socialists was to set Egypt free. "Our policy in Egypt," said Bevin at the Bournemouth Conference, "is not quite Churchillian." He was plainly delighted to be able to find at least one spot in the world where a distinction could be drawn between his policy and Eden's, a specious distinction, true, but at least better than nothing. But his colleague, Herbert Morrison, was franker when he told the House that revolution would probably result if the British refused to get out of Egypt at once.

Accordingly, it was announced on May 7 that all British military forces would be withdrawn from Egypt and the great naval base at Alexandria would be abandoned. Negotiations as to the date and conditions of this withdrawal began at once and, at this writing (July 10), are still going on. Chief dispute is over the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian alliance which London insists on as a quid pro quo: the Egyptians don't object to an alliance but balk at committing themselves to automatic support of Britain in another war and to allowing British forces to base themselves again on Egypt in that event. Indications of the intensity of anti-British feeling in Egypt are the facts that during the whole first month of the negotiations, the Egyptians rejected every British offer, forcing Lord Stansgate to return to London for fresh, and presumably more conciliatory instructions; and that King Farouk has threatened to appeal to the UNO Security Council if the British don't leave in a hurry. The chief problem of the London Socialists is how to withdraw from an untenable position with as much democratic rhetoric and as many imperialist safeguards as possible.

4. PALESTINE

Once the British had decided to give up Egypt, the fate of Palestine as a Jewish homeland was sealed. By all the laws of political physics, the gas of imperialism, compressed in Egypt, had to expand elsewhere. Palestine is to replace Egypt as the chief British military base in the Middle East: the hundred miles that separate its border from the Suez Canal is nothing in the age of mobile desert warfare; it has good harbors and is athwart the great pipe lines that carry the oil of Iraq to the Mediterranean coast; Libya and Trans-Jordan, the other two possibilities, are not so well located and are primitive lands where it would be more difficult to maintain large forces.

We may now understand the treacherous and brutal policy of the London Socialists towards the Jews in Palestine (and Europe). The policy has been, on the one hand, to restrict Jewish immigration by welshing on past promises; and, on the other, to crack down with military force on the rebellion which this restriction provokes in Palestine. The most important recent events are:

April 30: The Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine, an official body set up in January, publishes its report. Main features: 100,000 European Jews to be admitted into Palestine as soon as possible; repudiation of the 1939 British White Paper, which made further Jewish immigration dependent on Arab consent and forbade Jews to buy land throughout most of Palestine;* Palestine to be neither a Jewish nor an Arab state, but to be governed in some vague way through a UNO trusteeship. The report was a victory for the Americans — the figure of 100,000 immigrants, for example, had been previously proposed by President Truman. (The U. S. Government has been pro-Jewish on Palestine, since the Jewish community in this country is large and influential, while Palestine is not 'interesting' to American strategic planners.) Truman calls for immediate admission of the 100,000 immigrants, but Prime Minister Attlee announces that his Government will implement the report only on condition that the USA shares military and financial responsibilities for its implementation and that "both sides" in Palestine — which means the well-organized Jewish underground armies, said to number 60,000 — should disarm. Nothing has been done to date to implement the report in any way, and Anglo-American negotiations will not even begin again until July 15.

June 9: Haj Amin el Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, 'escapes' from France, where he was interned under house arrest, and reaches Damascus in a British plane. The Mufti is the most influential anti-Semite in the Moslem world; his incitements to massacre of Jews have been open and persistent; he worked for Hitler during the war and was supposed to be tried as a war criminal. His reappearance in the Middle East sets off wild demonstrations among the Arabs, to whom— and perhaps to the London Socialists as well—it appears providential. An unidentified "British Embassy spokesman" in Paris expresses complete mystification, adding: "I've got to hand it to the fellow; that's the fourth time he has eluded us."*

June 12: Bevin tells the Labor Party conference at Bournemouth that he has no intention of admitting, at present, 100,000 immigrants into Palestine, treating the proposal as though it were an exclusively American idea instead of being an official recommendation by a committee half of whose members he himself appointed. One sentence in his speech has become notorious: "Regarding the agitation in the United States, and particularly New York, for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine, I hope it will not be misunderstood in America if I say, with the purest of motives, that that was because they did not want too many of them in New York." Although the Labor Party had gone on record (before it took power) for increased Jewish immigration, the delegates overwhelmingly sustain Bevin on this and all other points of foreign policy.

(Here it is only fair to add that, however nasty in intention and phrasing, Bevin's remark about the USA not wanting "too many" Jewish immigrants was accurate. The loud protests that at once arose over here were tainted with hypocrisy. Truman bared the reality in his usual naive fashion— how masterfully Roosevelt would have glossed over it!— when at a press conference on June 14 he stated in rapid succession that (1) he was "pressing for action" on the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, and (2) "he had no intention of asking Congress for a modification of the immigration laws to permit admission of a larger number of Jews into this country." At the rate at which all immigrants from Europe, Jewish and non-Jewish, can be legally admitted to this country, it would take four years to reach 100,000, of whom most would probably not be Jewish. There is some reason for Bevin's irritation at the pot-and-kettle criticism from America.)

June 29: Striking at four in the morning, British police and soldiers raid Jewish homes and institutions throughout Palestine, arresting some 1800 persons and putting the country in a state of siege. The premises of the Jewish Agency, headquarters of world Zionism, are, for the first time, occupied and closed by the military, and four of the highest Agency officials are arrested. The British High Commissioner refers to "evidence in our hands" that the Agency had cooperated with the underground terrorists, but to date no such evidence has been made public. This is the high point, in the whole history of Palestine, of British repression of the Jewish community.

"If we put 100,000 Jews into Palestine tomorrow," said Bevin at Bournemouth, "I would have to put another division of British troops there. I am not prepared to do it." But the Palestine correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* wrote on July 6: "Apparently in connection with the evacuation of Egypt, accommodations for an extra division are being provided in southern Palestine." The British War Office refuses to reveal

* The White Paper was declared invalid by the League of Nations, but Britain, although holding Palestine under a League mandate, paid no attention.

* Historical note: The man who arranged to have Haj Amin "elected" Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in the twenties was our old friend, Sir Ronald Storrs, then Military Governor of Jerusalem. At least so Edgar Ansel Mowrer states in the *N. Y. Post* of June 3. There is no reference to this in Storrs' own detailed chapters on his career in Palestine in *Orientations*; it would be interesting to know which version is right.

how many British troops are now in Palestine; estimates range from 2½ divisions (120,000 men) to 4 — the latter figure being based on reports that, Bevin's speech to the contrary, at least one more division has been moved in since April. It is unlikely that this concentration of force is intended to cope with Arab attacks on Jews, of which there have been no serious ones for a long time, and which the Jews' own armed forces would probably be capable of handling. "One thing on which the Arabs and Jews seem to agree is that, contrary to British contentions, no more troops are really needed in Palestine . . . The British have more than enough troops in the country to cope with large-scale fighting. 'The British have got enough troops here to deal with Turkey, not with Jewish and Arab terrorists,' said Dr. Khalidi, secretary of the New Arab Higher Executive. 'They are here for another purpose.' " (*N.Y. Times, July 7*)

That purpose is to make Palestine secure for a future military base by breaking the power of the Jewish community to assert itself in any way against British policy. The Palestine Arabs have less economic power, weaker armed forces, and less effective organizations; in every way, they are less of a threat. It is to attack the Jews, not to defend them, that British divisions are moving into Palestine—and Bevin does not begrudge them for *that* purpose! (If 100,000 more immigrants would require another British division, it would be to sit on *their* necks, not the Arabs'.) The British have two objectives: to smash Jewish institutions in Palestine, and to break the links with Jews in other countries. The latter was the motive for the seizure of the Jewish Agency, regarding which the High Commissioner observed: "It is not our intention *at this time* to proscribe or close the Agency." (My emphasis—DM)

Palestine is recapitulating the Irish situation of 1916-1920. The fighting spirit of the Jewish underground forces reminds one of the Irish Republican Army, and they likewise appear to have the passionate support of the whole Jewish community. The bearing of Jewish terrorists in British courts is noble, dignified, firm; they carry themselves like individuals who are selflessly dedicated to a cause. It can be predicted that the British are in for a long and hard struggle, in which victory will not necessarily go to the Black and Tans—or, better, Pink and Reds—the London Socialists are pouring into Palestine.

FROM THE EDITOR'S MAILBOX

Dear Friend:

We take great joy in announcing that you will have an opportunity to see and hear Ilya Ehrenburg at Madison Square Garden on Wednesday evening, May 29.

Ilya Ehrenburg, accompanied by Konstantine Simonov and Major-General Galaktionov, will be the honored guests at this giant salute to the heroic Soviet people through the persons of three of their most honored sons.

Outstanding Americans in all fields, internationally famous representatives of the United Nations, foremost stars of stage and screen will join with the people of New York in making this historic occasion a resounding affirmation of American-Soviet friendship . . .

—Sounds like a dull evening.

Dear Classmate:

The response of 1928 to the Alumni Fund campaign has been most gratifying . . . The war is over, the new world is at hand, so why not celebrate by starting to repay Yale . . . ? If you didn't like Yale, what's your opinion against thousands? . . .

—My opinion.

The Diary of the Indoctrination Commentator

Wednesday, April 24th. I had to announce today that fissionable material was being rationed severely in order to supply fuel to the ships now exploring space. It has not been pleasant to salve over the fact that it is now too cold to continue living on earth. It is a fact too close to the reality of our daily lives, and no clever techniques can allay the terror. I must say, however, that the people are docile and quite willing to let the Central Government take care of the details. Our atomic engines have been slowed down with the result that the air is not so fresh underground as it once was. When we first moved into the underground fortresses built during the War for World Unification, we treated it as a lark. Then we felt comfortable and quite glad to keep out the sight of the dying sun. Now we feel imprisoned. I can't explain it, but I sometimes suspect myself of not being wholeheartedly in accord with the Central Government. But they are wiser. They know best.

Monday, April 29th. Mana showed me some photographs of the old sun. She removed them by subterfuge from the files of the Central Observatory. It is strange to think that the sun was once a ball of fire no one could look at directly without hurting the eyes. She also showed me some colored photographs of the world as it once was. The predominant color was something called green. It seems to me to be an insipid color, but perhaps my eyes are not used to it. The old poetry and songs make a good deal of it though. I received an order today to play no music prior to the thirty-second century, now called the "watershed century" by the creative writing section of the propaganda bureau. The latest directive points out that the thirty-second century was the period of the Great Accident which caused the atomic explosions in the sun to be accelerated, hastening its death. It is now maintained that the art prior to the thirty-second century was an art of hope and light, whereas we now must prepare ourselves for work and the darkness of space.

Wednesday, May 29th. I announced to the people that Mercury has been selected as our new home. It lacks the proper fissionable materials, but one side of it is close to the sun, and the remaining warmth of that body still heats the side of Mercury facing it. The Central Government is now letting the contracts for the construction of new homes and government buildings. I am informed that radio communication is difficult there, but the intricate cable system that links our underground life here on earth can be reconstructed. I am glad I will still have my job.

Monday, June 17th. I gave a nice talk today to the people, comparing Waxfen who led the great War for World Unification to the other great unifiers. (It is deemed necessary to stir our people to heroic deeds and sacrifices at this time because the voyages to Mercury will be difficult.) I worked in nice references to that unifier of Asia and Europe, Attila; the unifier of the spiritual world, the Holy Roman Apostolic Church; the great conceiver of hemispheric hegemony, Franklin Roosevelt; the economic integration of Europe by Hitler; the heroic, futile work of Damson in the twenty-first century. My sister Vani brought me some gossip, incidentally, from the World Audit Body where she works as chief regional bookkeeper. She tells me that they have received a report from the World Science Commission

detailing facts about Mercury. The fact that caused great consternation, according to Vani, at the World Audit Body was the one informing them that Mercury revolved about the sun once every 88 days. Vani says that will upset the fiscal bookkeeping.

Tuesday, July 2nd. I have had to keep all references to the fight going on between the strict constructionists and the loose constructionists out of my talks. I spoke about the warmth of Mercury and the vitamins the sun can still transmit, but my heart wasn't in it. The Constitution of the World is now a battleground according to Vani who is right in the middle of it. The World Audit Body wants an amendment that will permit them to make up a budget every *four* Mercury years to match in time the regular earth year. The strict constructionists, appealing to science, say a year is a revolution around the sun; the constitution is a scientific document for World Unification, and not merely *earth* Unification, they say further. A year is a year no matter where it is, and what is good enough on earth is good enough on Mercury. The Founding Fathers in their wisdom, etc. . . . It looks like a big fight.

Friday, July 19th. The Central Government has passed a law forbidding visas to Mercury to all the members of the World Audit Body who wished to amend the World Constitution. That is a little cruel, but They know best. It makes me glad to know I am working in the broadcasting system and not involved in political controversy. I don't know where Vani stood, but I hope for the best. Mana has gone with the Observatory to set up shop on Mercury. I will miss her, but look forward to joining her there. I wonder what she looks like in the sunlight?

Wednesday, July 24th. Today I found out from Vani that the World Audit Body staff has been quadrupled to meet the task of making up four budgets to the one made up here on earth. It means an expansion on Mercury of the Government. That makes me happy for the bigger the government, the more stable it is, and my scientific approach calls for stability as a necessary part of my life. Maxson, my relief man, has been assigned a spot on a space ship and is leaving tomorrow. I am to cut down the indoctrination programs to a minimum to conserve energy.

Thursday, July 25th. I told the people today that *Interstellar Highways,* the trade journal for the Space Express Corporations Institute, calls the mass movement of government personnel planet-shaking. They even compared it in such revolutionary terms as being equal to the shipment of fresh fruits from Florida to New York by air in the early days of the Twentieth Century. I am proud to be part of such a noble race as man! Our achievements shall rock the Universe! . . . With the curtailment of my activities I find more time to read. The library was left unguarded for an hour because of the shortage in government personnel so I read some old plays. Man wasn't much good in those old days. Tragedy, trouble, war seemed to be his lot, whereas we are well guided today.

Friday, July 26th. A few people left for Mercury today. There were fewer ships sent to us than there had been when the government was being moved. I suppose the others were being made safe for the journey of such precious cargo as will make up the future shipments — the people of the earth.

Thursday, August 1st. Almost a week has passed and no further word from Mercury. No ships have come in to remove the people on the World Waiting List; no broadcast from our new home. Has there been an accident?

Friday, August 2nd. Still no word. It is getting lonely here on earth with no one to guide us. Some people are even acting strangely, wanting to set up their own government. They will be repressed when the ships arrive once more from Mercury. I am not alarmed.

Wednesday, August 7th. There has been no way of organizing the food supply and people are going hungry in some parts of the world. Tellen, in Asia, told me this last night on the interstation system.

Monday, August 12th. Was told to stand by. Message coming.

Monday, August 12th (*evening*). I have copied the message from the recording drum exactly as it came in. I am writing it here after broadcasting it to the people. It is all I can do. This is the message:

"Citizens of the World State: The new world we are building on the sunny side of Mercury is now almost complete. Despite the overwhelming obstacles with which we have been confronted, we have carried on in the pioneering spirit so worthy of our heritage. We have been obliged to reconstruct and implement the personnel of the Offices of State, fully aware you would not tolerate your new Homeland unless its government was fully equipped to handle all the problems of daily life as well as preserve the sanctity of the Constitution. The great increase in government personnel has made our living quarters somewhat overcrowded and we have been forced to cancel all transportation of peoples from earth to Mercury. Do not be alarmed!— You are safe in the arms of history! You have had a hand in the preservation of that most sacred document of world brotherhood, the Constitution of World Unification!"

I might add that Maxson asked me for all the data available on my life. He envies me my historical position as the man who received the last message from Mercury.

EDWARD HARNETT

ENGLISH LETTER

Bevin at Bournemouth

ERNEST Bevin shares with Sir Walter Citrine the distinction of being the most reactionary leader in British leftwing politics today. He is also the dominant personality in the Labour Party, the only one of the big chiefs with the guts and vitality of a real leader. Foreign policy, furthermore, was the most important issue at the Party's recent Bournemouth Conference. For all these reasons, I think it legitimate to evaluate that conference largely in terms of Bevin's successful defense of his foreign policy.

Bevin's speech was cleverly put over, and went down well. Aspirates were dropped at the psychological moment, emotional appeals were made to the audience and, in the end, criticism of his foreign policy by the "rebels" crumbled up into a miserable capitulation. Bevin's strength lay, of course in exposing the faults of his opponents. He made great game

of the intransigence of the Soviet Union in her dealings with Great Britain, pointing out that while Stalin and Molotov were fully reported in Britain, his own speech in the House-of-Commons had not yet appeared in any Russian papers. He told how he had discussed the Treaty with Russia in Moscow, offering to extend it to 50 years. "Stalin said I should need to amend it. I said, 'let me know what would suit you.' I discussed the points where the Russian and British interests met. I said, 'We cannot help meeting in places and the thing for you and me to do is to keep the ball bearings so greased that there will be no friction where we do meet. I am willing to do it.' " Here Bevin paused, and with a dramatic gesture, arms outstretched, cried: "What more can I do?"

(But earlier he had been more unfortunate with his phraseology, saying that he would not be a party to any alignment of forces to attack Russia and that "not a soul in the Cabinet would lend it one *atom* of thought or allow it to occur.")

Concerning Palestine Bevin had some truly amazing things to say, cunningly worded ("don't blow up the British Tommy, who is quite innocent in this matter"), contradictory and cleverly appealing to those not conversant with the subject. He said that if he put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow without support from the United States, he would have to put another division of British troops there, and he was not prepared to do that, and followed this up with a statement indicative of his latent antisemitism and reminiscent of his recent advice in Parliament to Jews "not to try to get to the head of queues."

It is symptomatic of the Conference that Greece was hardly mentioned in either Bevin's speech or the discussions.

One tragi-comical highlight of his speech was his statement that he could not help it if sometimes the Tories cheered him. He even gave two examples (the Trades Disputes Act and Egypt) when they did not cheer him!

Defending himself against the attacks by those who accused him of not making big changes in Foreign Office personnel, he warmly repudiated the charges that officials in foreign embassies were not carrying out Government policy. "What the Civil Service likes," said this Socialist Foreign Minister, "is a Minister who knows his mind, tells them what to do and takes responsibility. That I am prepared to do." And: "It is said that I am admitting to the service Eton and Harrow. I am not one of those who decry Eton and Harrow. I was very glad of them in the Battle of Britain—my God I was!"

The reactions of the Press the morning after Bevin's speech are revealing. The opening paragraphs of the editorial of the tight-lipped, Conservative *Daily Telegraph* are worth quoting: "Mr. Bevin had an easy task yesterday in defending British foreign policy against the attacks of Messrs. Kegan, Kolinsky, and Zilliacus and Miss Marcouse. . . . The important point, however, is not Mr. Bevin's remarkable speech, but the fact that he had to make it. Previous speakers, ineffective though they were, showed an alarming persistence of fogginess about foreign affairs in the Socialist ranks. Though other parties have learned much since the 1914-18 war, it is only too clear that a section of the Socialists has learned nothing. This section is still obsessed with the idea that there should be some spectacular differences between a Socialist and a Conservative foreign policy. It is completely blind to the fact that a very large part of British influence in the world is due to continuity of foreign policy—to the knowledge that the average Briton, whatever his party, will react in much the same way to events, because he cares passionately for Mr. Roosevelt's 'four freedoms.' "

And the *Daily Worker*, still smarting under the Conference's overwhelming rejection of their application for affiliation, could do no better than produce the following wishy-washy sub-editorial, a typical distortion, under the heading of "Bevinism": "A forthright condemnation of Bevinism was narrowly defeated at the Scottish miners' conference yesterday. Other trade union conferences have also been very critical of Bevin's policy. At the Bournemouth Conference this week the view of Britain's trade unionists on foreign policy were by no means reflected in the votes. If the Foreign Secretary has gone to Paris with the belief that Bournemouth has said the last word it might be well to send some resolutions after him as a reminder of what the unions and factories are really thinking."

The fate of the six resolutions on foreign affairs before the Conference is truly amazing:

1. Conference appreciates Mr. Bevin's work for Uno and the Government's policy of open diplomacy; regards the development of international authority as the only alternative to national sovereignty; supports creation of any international force to restrain aggression—*Agreed*

2. Conference regrets the Government's apparent continuance of a Conservative policy of power politics, urges support of Socialism and anti-Imperialist forces throughout the world —*Withdrawn*

3. Conference calls on the Government drastically to revise methods of recruiting Foreign Office and diplomatic personnel, so as to ensure that execution of a Socialist foreign policy is entrusted to men who believe in it—*Lost*

4. Conference calls on the Government to remove present barriers in Palestine on Jewish immigration and land acquisition—*Withdrawn*

5. Conference calls on the Government to break off diplomatic relations with Franco and appoint representative to the provisional Spanish Republican Government. Food supplies should continue but, acting in consultation with the USSR, France and the USA, all exports of fat materials, including petroleum, should end—*Lost*

6. Friendship with progressive forces throughout the world, particularly USSR, should override British Imperial interests. Conference calls on the Government to foster Anglo-Soviet friendship and do all in its power to establish trade and cultural relations, including exchange of weekly broadcasts; and to repudiate Mr. Churchill's proposals to make Britain a satellite of American monopoly capitalism—*Lost*

These resolutions were published on the front page of *The Daily Herald*, followed by what happened to them printed in bold type. Apparently the official organ of the Labour Party is proud of the results.

The opposition to Bevin was entirely from the left—it could hardly have been from the right—and was a drab affair. This was due not only to the optimism of the Conference, a hangover from the surprise and exuberance of victory at the polls last year, but the fact that proposers of resolutions were limited to ten minutes and others to only five. A very expert speaker is needed to put his case in so brief a space of time, and no such speaker was forthcoming. Zilliacus, the bright boy of the opposition and a near-Stalinist, failed in a vain attempt to include all points in the time allotted. His brief speech, trying to contain everything, and including the well-reported crack that Bevin's policy was just "Winston and water," was well applauded but a failure for all that. The other critics were even less successful.

Above all, this Conference has shown that Bevin is well in the saddle. Like Citrine again, he possesses a tremendous personality and energy, and although criticism over foreign policy exists it is merely simmering and not likely to boil over for quite a long while. So far as the Labour Party in Great Britain is concerned, Bevin demonstrated that he was in almost complete control of the Party and that it would need a quantity of dynamite as great as his own massive self to remove him.

SURREY, ENGLAND, JUNE 17 MARTIN HASSECK

Why European Socialists Look to America

by Lucien Laurat

1. *Europe Is Finished . . .*

THE misery of this war gave the working masses of all Europe a strong revolutionary impulse and induced them to seek a socialist solution to their difficulties. But the objective conditions for Socialism on our war-destroyed continent are now much less favourable than before the war. Adepts of scientific Socialism do not doubt that the realisation of a more human society closely depends on the development of productive forces; but the productive forces of Europe are wasted and thrown down by bombs and plunder; and ruins, even though socialized, remain ruins.

It is curious to note that the present situation of Europe was foreseen more than fifty years ago by Frederich Engels, the friend and collaborator of Karl Marx. In an article written in 1891, he describes a future world war:

"That war, where fifteen to twenty millions of armed men will slaughter one another and devastate Europe as it never has been before, that war either would set up the immediate triumph of Socialism, or would leave behind itself, everywhere, such a heap of ruins that the old capitalist society would become more impossible than ever and the social revolution, delayed for ten or fifteen years, would then follow its course more radically and more rapidly."

The present collapse of European economic life is much deeper than Engels had been able to forsesee. [In a letter he wrote to his friend Sorge (January 7th, 1888) he even foretold "the complete triumph of American industry".] In every case, as if to confirm his anticipations, European capitalist society has now become more impossible than ever, and the ruins are so huge that the *immediate* triumph of Socialism seems well-nigh impossible. This war has delayed the social revolution in Europe. For ten or fifteen years, as Engels thought? That depends on the reconstruction of the industrial potential of our continent, which is at the same time our *Socialist* potential.

Scientific Socialism always taught us that capitalism is preparing by its own development the conditions for Socialist revolution. By the expansion of productive forces it creates the objective basis for collective property. At the same time capitalist evolution brings with it a constantly growing working class, more and more concentrated in huge factories, better and better organized and disciplined in trade-unions and political parties, acquiring the indispensable education and capacity for the control of economy. For "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves", as we read in the first article of the Statutes of the First International—as right today as it was in 1864.

The chief consequence of this war for the whole European continent—though much less so for Great Britain— is the tremendous destruction of the heritage which capitalism at its death was supposed to bequeath to its heir, the working class. And the heir too is harshly wounded: the most vital of Europe's youth are putrefying on the battlefields and those who survive have fallen into moral depravity and intellectual apathy—not all of course, but a fair percentage. There are tens of millions of uprooted people on the continent: prisoners, transferred populations. In the ex-fascist countries the young generations of the working class have never had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with democratic habits; many people of the older generations forgot them.

Thus a tottering heir is facing a vanished heritage. . . .

This situation had been foretold by Rosa Luxemburg in the famous "Junius Pamphlet", which she wrote in prison during the first world war (1915). The choice proletarian troops of the most advanced countries, she wrote, are decimated and exterminated. If there will be still another world war, "the perspectives of socialism will be buried under the rubbish of imperialist barbarism."

And after the first world war, Karl Kautsky, dealing with the situation in Germany, was obliged to recognize that the war had rendered the conditions for Socialism much less favourable than before,* because it had destroyed so many productive forces and impregnated a part of the working masses with "Lumpenproletarian" spirit—the mentality of soldiers, of mercenaries. Kautsky's analysis, valuable for Germany twenty-five or twenty-six years ago, can be extended to-day to the whole European continent.

The Socialist perspective on the European continent is delayed for many years. The first and most important task of the European Labour movement consists in recreating a democratic consciousness among the desperate and uprooted masses; this task requires time, for the murdered generations and "élites" cannot be replaced within 24 hours. On the other hand Europe must restore its productive forces in order to recover its objective maturity for Socialism.

2. *American Socialism's Future*

Almost a century ago, Marx wrote that an economic overthrow on the European continent which did not include England would be "a tempest in a teapot", for "it is England which rules on the world market, and it is the bourgeoisie which governs England." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Dec. 31, 1848).

Today the USA has replaced England as the dominant power on the world market, and the bourgeoisie governs the USA. A Socialist revolution in Europe without the aid of or against the wishes of the USA would be merely a teapot-tempest. The American bourgeoisie is in possession of the productive forces which Europe needs for restoration of its industrial potential, which is also its Socialist potential. Europe has fallen to a level where it cannot realize Socialism solely by its own means.

We European Socialists must accustom ourselves to the

* Preface of 1919 to Kautsky's book "Der Weg zur Macht" (The Way to Power).

idea that our wasted and exhausted continent has lost its economic independence. Even if our proletariat had not been decimated and partly uprooted by the war, European Socialism would still lack the necessary level of productive forces for Socialism.

On the other hand the American Socialists should familiarize themselves with the idea that the part they now have to play in the international Labour movement will be much larger than hitherto.

Till now neither the European nor the American Socialists seem to have fully realized this fundamental change which the war has brought. While the European Socialists continue to reason as if Europe had remained the center of the universe, the American Socialists—or many of them—are not yet conscious of the leading part which history now assigns them in the international labour movement.

It will not be the first time such a shift has taken place.

In the midst of the past century the center of gravity of the international working class movement was France, [not only because of the great number of Socialist theoreticians and their adepts (Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Blanqui), not only because Paris had been the starting point of all revolutionary actions since 1789; but also because of the dynamic spirit of the French proletariat and petty bourgeoisie.] But after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the slaughter of the Paris Commune, the French working class was so weakened and exhausted that Marx foretold that the center of gravity of the International would now be Germany. His anticipation was corroborated by actual events. In the Second International, from 1889 to 1914, the leading part was played by the German Social-Democracy.

A new orientation now seems in order for European Socialism: towards the USA. Decisive social battles will take place in the USA, and they will be decisive also for European Socialism. Our own possible achievements in Europe henceforth will largely depend on the offensive power of American labor against American capitalism.

Please do not smile, American readers! I divine your objections. You will tell me that I over-estimate the strength of Labour in the USA as well as the influence of Socialist ideology on your working class. All these facts are well known to me.

But American Socialism will have time enough to grow and American Labour will be able to consolidate its organizations while the European Socialists are dressing their wounds.

International Socialism is not dead; it is now entering a new stage. Until now it was essentially European; at present it is becoming really universal. And only at present will practical cooperation be inaugurated between American and European Socialism. To this cooperation the young American labor movement will bring as its gift the power of its masses, which the war had been able neither to corrupt, nor to decimate. And European Socialism will bring its experience, its substantial doctrinal culture. Weakened and bled, European Socialism is no longer able to furnish the first shock troops, but its contribution to the common struggle will not be limited to the part of a passive spectator.

In the world economy and on the world market, both dominated by American capitalism, the Socialists of America and of Europe must hitherto struggle together in closest solidarity for the renovation of the world.

The Streetcar is Man

A CONSTANT state of expectation is what constitutes the true personality of the passenger, of the man who takes busses and streetcars and trains, and who mortgages his future in appointments, luncheons, love affairs and vacations, and who, as a consequence, lives in continuous postponement. In past centuries also one used to postpone the solution of problems. We must not believe that cowardliness is a recent invention. But then it was more than anything else an attitude of conscious conservatism, as for example that of the Church, which has always feared change. The young and all those who did not believe in the necessity of conserving were courageously utopistic and did not tolerate postponement or compromise. Now it is the young and the revolutionaries who have adopted the manners of the disillusioned and the old, and they themselves (the old? the young?) are not disillusioned, indeed not, they live in a kind of idiotic intoxication, of streetcar optimism, because they believe that there are the laws of the Universe: from compromise to compromise, from red light to red light, the whole world is metropolis, and the best way to attain perfect social justice is never to name it, but always to change its name, tying the donkey where the owner wants it, as we say in Tuscany.

But strangely enough, these young modern revolutionaries elect themselves to be the donkeys as a measure of extreme political cleverness, and they consider as their owner whoever has the power or the means. And this optimistic superstition they push so far that they are afraid of anyone who dares name the real issue or who speaks of truth or says that he is inflamed by a passion of his own. To them it is like wilfully causing a short-circuit in the fatally perfect system of historical traffic. No one walks by himself, one goes by streetcar and one must believe that your passion is the passion of the streetcar which conveys you, only thus will you be able to win it over to your cause, for the streetcar exists, it is social and conscious, it is efficient and expedient, it WANTS the good, it is providential, and it is a member of the Communist Party. It should indeed be decorated like the trained dogs in the Army that have deserved well of the Fatherland, like Zhukov, the Russian Marshal who outdid Goering in size and decorations (He has twenty-five more than Goering).

Honesty? You despair upon seeing the world do such things? But who stops to consider these trifles? (Look out, look where you're going, you almost went under the streetcar! Don't you see that a streetcar runs on rails and carries honest citizens to work? Why do you want to make the streetcar a murderer?)

Look how much iron and steel and how many works of the mind and enjoy speed with us, because speed is good and providential. Come into the streetcar, don't despair, for tomorrow we will travel by helicopter and perhaps by atom, all of us, the proletarians not less than the reactionaries. All aboard the streetcar! All aboard! Fffff, dlang, dling, dlang, dlang, dling, dlong, dlang, dling!

NICCOLO TUCCI

Labor's Managerial Ambitions

WHILE American Labor's coming of age has been commonly linked with political aspirations, a more accurate gauge of maturity may lie in its entry into the field of management. Following the lead of the CIO's Steelworkers and, to some extent, the two big garment unions, Walter Reuther's autoworkers are bent on trying their hand at the basic managerial problem of stabilizing production.

The obvious spur to this particular encroachment on management's preserves is the fundamental need for eliminating seasonal layoffs, but the implications lie far deeper. The broad view of Labor's stake in management is beyond such issues as "ability-to-pay" or any shallow Lewisonian or Petrillesque clamor for royalties on the goods that Labor produces. It is a long way from such narrow wage demands as these.

Although such planned economy as existed under the New Deal contributed largely to broadening major union policies, the striving for a greater share in managerial functions by organized Labor has been due mainly to management itself. This is nothing new. It has been a consistent paradox in the development of American Labor that Management has always armed the unions with the very weapons with which they have later attacked it.

Before the first World War, employers laid the groundwork for collective bargaining through company-sponsored employee representation plans. More recently, industry's personnel specialists have opened the door for Labor's participation in industrial management by enlarging on the amount and type of company information or policy to be imparted to the employees. Basic thought behind this was to show the worker the relation between his pay envelope and the gyrations of the profit curve. Text-books were the quarterly profit and loss statements and sales records. The unions have taken this lesson to heart. Taking over Bethlehem Steel's old employee representation system, the Steelworkers have utilized the labor-management facilities to do their own research on production planning.

But industry has made persistent efforts to cure itself of seasonal slumps by attempts at stabilizing production. In the 1920s a few great concerns like the Proctor & Gamble Company toyed with schemes for synchronizing production with sales averages and forecasts. Advertising was utilized to its fullest extent to create demands for new products that might bolster sales or production figures during off seasons. Management sought a stable, year-round flow of production, not to avert seasonal unemployment but for general long-range planning and to lower costs.

Under one name or another, these schemes were paraded as employment rather than production equalizers. Famous as examples of pious "noblesse oblige" among industrialists and a statement of the realization of their responsibilities to the public and workers were the P & G plan and Nunn-Bush's "Fifty-two Pay Checks A Year". This background and the impetus given to labor-management devices by the war, such as incentive wages, have made the rank-and-file union members more conscious of their role in not only increasing output in order to increase their own earnings but in actual company profits as well.

Even more potent in this way has been the rise of profit-sharing where the worker, still susceptible to American industry's Horatio Alger fetish, is invited to become a partner in a capitalist enterprise. One by one these elaborate devices to discourage unionization—representation plans; inside unions; information-to-employee policies; group or company-wide incentives, and profit-sharing—have boomeranged, giving rise to greater advances by organized labor. Small wonder then, that the unions have decided to cash in on any gilded invitations to share in industrial management.

Up to now, union efforts to infringe on so-called management prerogatives have been concentrated on the narrow question of wages, hours and working conditions. Union representatives have fought for the right to participate in setting rates under job evaluation systems or standards for wage incentive plans. They have demanded the right to pass on employee transfers, demotions, reductions in the workforce, and even changes in machine design, tools or materials, but only as it concerned rates and effort required to perform the operation.

The cleavage within labor's own ranks is clear. Before the unions can go beyond the narrow viewpoint that collective bargaining or employee action begins and ends with wages and working conditions, many unioneers will have to be convinced that greener fields lie past the wage boundary. Reuther of the UAW-CIO will meet impressive opposition for other than political reasons when he talks of planned production for the automobile industry.

The really significant fact about the surprise policy-statement that was made by the Addes-Thomas-Leonard faction at the recent UAW conference was not the fact that the anti-Reuther crowd was out to run the union but that they repudiated the new president's plan to stabilize production cycles and employment in the auto industry. Aim of the project was to put an end to a marketing system which required peak production during certain months and then inevitable layoffs.

While the Addes report borrowed much of Reuther's organizational ideas and talked piously of general price control, it had this to say about the union's proposal to industry on incentive pricing for automobiles . . .—"the corporations are adequately capable of protecting their own profit levels without any help from labor spokesmen."

This is significant. It means that Reuther's plan or any move to give labor a real voice in industrial methods and control will be fought, not so much by management, as it will by the old time unioneers. Although the Thomas report talked of correlated proposals to reduce wages resulting from

Reuther's plan of offering cars at lower prices during off seasons, no real quarrel exists among union leaders over methods to stimulate regular production—by management. The real bone of contention is to what extent should unions participate in broad managerial functions.

The Reuther plan stands a better chance for a kindlier reception by a realistic management than by men like Lewis or R. J. Thomas who, if they had their way, might have settled the recent G. M. strike in one week by agreeing to higher prices as long as their wage demands were met. Coupled with this short-sighted opposition is the voluble Communist minority. One of the signers of the anti-Reuther report at the last UAW Conference was Nat Ganley, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. To these reconverted advocates of the class struggle any plan for regularization of production or employment is a mere palliative to be dismissed, at least for the time being, with past Browderisms.

Management engineering, undertaken by scientific unionists, can be a precious tool. It might be the means of bridging, at some far off date, the gap between seizure of productive means and efficient operation. This may have been the delicate weapon that was most sorely lacking in Lenin's own arsenal. Scientific unionism, even in the hands of David Dubinsky, Clinton Golden and Walter Reuther, has interesting possibilities.

BURTON BENDINER

THE ENGLISH COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

by George Woodcock

THE war in England has produced an interesting revival of an early phase of socialist experiment, the community settlement. The foundation of communities has formed a very considerable part of the activity of war resisters in this country, and, although the movement has been virtually ignored in the press, and even by the socially-minded journals, the number of such groups has reached several hundreds, while tens of thousands of men and women have taken some large or small part in their work. Many of the settlements have failed, most of the people who lived in them have drifted back into individual or family life, but a proportion have survived the six years of war, and even seem to have thriven.

As the idea of living in communities recurs perennially in the development of social thought, what I have to say may not present many original facts to those who are familiar with the history of earlier communities, but, as I have lived for periods of months in several communities and have visited and conversed with the members of many others, it will at least give conclusions based on first-hand knowledge.

The community movement was not primarily an attempt, like those of Owen and Cabet in the last century, to put into practice fairly complicated social theories. It is true that the community ideas had been discussed in anti-war circles for some years, with little effect, but the factor that really began the movement as a practical experiment was the effect of war on the lives of those who chose to resist it. Community appeared to them a solution to an urgent personal problem rather than the fulfilment of a political ideal. Theories tended to be developed after rather than before the formation of communities, and the ideological basis of the movement has always been nebulous. There have been broad variations in the ideas of the many groups, but I think that the actual lessons of their experience are far more important than the rather self-conscious phrases which make up the so-called "community philosophies." Certainly their experience reveals a far closer unity than their ideas.

Why Communities?

The pacifists in England first began to think of communities when the German *Society of Brothers* fled from the Nazis and set up a large farming settlement of several hundred members in the West of England. This *Society of Brothers* (or *Bruderhof*), a pacifist Christian group with an ascetic rule, attracted a few English converts, and their idea of communal living stirred the imaginations of many pacifists who could embrace neither their dreary severity nor their inconsistent preoccupation with commercial success.

When war came, the serious war-resisters found it increasingly difficult to remain within the ordinary structure of commercial society. Many were put out of work immediately and as war production became more totalitarian, the majority found that they had to relinquish their work in order to avoid some direct or indirect connection with military activity. The community seemed a means of maintaining individual conscientious objectors, and also of providing a kind of cellular structure for ensuring the continued existence of a cohesive anti-war movement.

These were the two most important motives in the foundation of the first communities. But there was also in the minds of many of the founders a realisation of the fundamentally warlike nature of capitalist society, and a hope that the communities might create an alternative pattern of social organisation which would not be based on acquisitive values and would not lead to war. Few of them envisaged their actions as an actual turning away from society in general. They regarded their settlements as examples from which other people would learn, as the nuclei from which a communal structure could spread through society and take the place of the state. The most pessimistic saw the communities as "interstices in the totaliarian order", where they hoped the seeds of freedom and culture could be preserved until the dark age they foresaw had passed away.

For a number of reasons, most of the communities began in the country districts. Most important was the fact that twenty thousand conscientious objectors were exempted from military service on condition that they worked on the land. To such men, land communities provided a means of fulfilling the condition of exemption without having to work for a driving employer or a War Agricultural Committee slave-gang.

The one important common feature of these early communities was their inexperience. Except for a few survivors from the old anarchist community in the Cotswolds, and a few men and women who had lived with the *Bruderhof*, they had no practical experience of communal living. Equally few of them had any wide knowledge of the farming methods by which they intended to live.

In other ways, these groups represented many varying attitudes and economic conditions. Some were openly religious. Others were anarchistic, and saw their task as the solution of a chiefly social problem. A few set forward ideas which embodied dangerous tendencies towards acceptance of the leader principle—their spokesman was John Middleton Murry, editor of the *Adelphi*, who declared of the community movement that "At the practical level . . . it seeks spontaneous and voluntary consent to the leadership of the chosen 'best' and a glad and grateful recognition of the gifts of the natural leader who is endowed with imagination and sensitivity enough to keep him in touch with 'the sense of the meeting'." Fortunately, these were the ideas of only a limited section of the movement.

From all these approaches there emerged a number of common attitudes:

1. A denial, varying in degree, of the validity of external institutions like the State.

2. A tendency to establish a common and equal sharing of goods and products, and an obligation to work in the common interest.

3. A consciousness of missionary purpose, represented often in a conviction that the communities had only to set an example for the rest of society to become impregnated with the desire for communal living, followed by a breakdown of the state into a patchwork of groups like their own.

4. A reaction against contemporary social values, which sometimes became atavistic, and involved a desire to return to primitive methods and jettison the technical advantages of an industrial civilisation.

Assets and Liabilities

When we consider the difficulties under which the communities began, it is less surprising that many collapsed than that some survived. Their assets were few, and usually not of a material kind. The principal were: enthusiasm, based on a desire to give some outward justification for the existence of the war resister: a large supply of potential members, willing to work for little more than their keep: a source of subsistence in home-grown food: the intermittent support of wider pacifist circles which had remained outside communities. To these must be added an important asset of a negative kind—the fact that life everywhere was becoming so unpleasant that the rigours of a primitive existence were relatively less unpleasant than they would have been in peacetime.

Against these scanty assets must be placed the really formidable liabilities with which the communities began. Some arose from external circumstances, and were hard to avoid; others sprang from internal faults, such as a crass ignorance of the necessities of human comfort, and an almost incredible feeling of arrogance which led many community theorists to believe that they had found the only solution to social chaos. Dr. George Macleod, leader of the Iona religious community, declared, "You may not know it, but you are in the mainstream of the one movement that has any hope in it, either for you or for the world", and Middleton Murry remarked, "I believe that community is the only antidote to totalitarianism." It is not surprising that men with such ideas should ignore the more practical details on which must be based the success of group living.

The main liabilities which afflicted the early groups fall under the following headings.

1. *Economic and financial difficulties.* Economically, the communities could be divided into two classes. Some started from the pooled resources of their members and then sought to keep themselves by growing as much food as they could. Others were subsidised by rich sponsors or even, in a few cases, by public subscription. The former was the more hardy type, because more people had an interest in trying to make the work of the community run efficiently, while the second type attracted penniless idlers and tempted even the best-intentioned to become slack because the individual members stood to suffer no personal loss. Most groups, however they obtained their funds, suffered from chronic under-capitalisation, which prevented the buying of sufficient plant, and created an affectation of anti-mechanism. It also caused poor farming through lack of money for fertilisers or sufficient seed. Sometimes the funds were so slight that the nutritional value of food sank below the necessary level for good health. There was a too-frequent custom to try and live on vegetables only, because they could be grown for little money. This contributed to illness and nervous strain.

2. *Defects of personnel.* The membership of communities was rarely satisfactory at first. Some people were temperamentally unfit for living in groups, others physically unfit for manual work, and there were dissident bodies of opinion in almost every group. Moreover, many open parasites attached themselves, to scrape a bare living for no work. Another disturbing element in communal stability was the drifting brotherhood of men "on the run", who found such houses very useful sanctuaries if they wished to leave the large cities.

3. *Domestic faults.* Many groups began with a Spartan attitude, which eschewed not only luxury, but even the most elementary comforts. This was often due to lack of money for furniture or fuel, but also partly to a desire to show that conscientious objectors could live toughly. It made the lives of these war resisters surprisingly like the barracks life of the army in which they had refused to participate. A further fault was overcrowding. Often the housing on a farm was insufficient to accommodate adequately all the members of the group, and the adoption of such measures as sleeping in dormitories and eating in common gave little room for privacy. My own experience is that in such communities it is rarely possible for the individual to devote much time to study or to any personal creative activity.

4. *Isolation.* This arose partly from the conscientious objector's own feelings of difference from the people around him, and partly from the suspicion and frequent hostility with which the country people regarded the communities that settled among them. This isolation caused a certain failure to understand the happenings of the surrounding world, and even a lack of interest in external events.

5. *Personal Tensions.* This was perhaps the most im-

portant difficulty that faced the communities. It arose largely from the preceding factors. Defects of personnel caused bad relations between those who worked well and those who worked badly or not at all. Lack of privacy caused people who were forced into each other's constant company to build up formidable resentments. The feeling of isolation caused the life of the group to turn inward, creating a hothouse emotional atmosphere where personal differences assumed monstrous proportions, and the most bitter feuds were started over trivialities that would have passed almost unnoticed in a normally externalised life. Sexual competition was aggravated by the relatively few women in the communities and the difficulty of making contact with the girls in the neighborhood. Nor were the communities innocent of the kind of cleavages which afflict other groups concerned with social development, and I have seen a power struggle waged in a group of forty people, with intrigues and calumnies that might have graced the internal life of any political party. The struggle ended in the virtual expulsion of one side and the declaration by both factions that theirs was the true idea of community development!

Has the Movement a Future?

It will be seen that none of these internal difficulties need necessarily have been destructive. Economic difficulties could provoke resourcefulness and provide an incentive to the conquest of practical problems. Differences of opinion could lead to the wider discussion of plans and to a continual internal growth. And each of the other difficulties provided some compensating tendency which was ultimately constructive. Those communities survived which could get something positive from these negative factors.

An even more important element in success was a change in attitude towards function. Most groups began with the principal intention of living together in community and brotherhood. So long as this was their self-conscious aim, they spent their time quarrelling over various ideas of how to live together successfully. The groups which never went beyond this stage inevitably split up in disillusionment and acrimony. The survivors have realised that community can be achieved only as a means to a positive social end. Such groups have made their aims the comparatively humble ones of running a productive farm or an efficient school, and have found community a reasonable means of working and living together for this end. In this way they have vindicated in practice the ideas of the social necessity of work which were put forward in the past by social thinkers like Morris and Kropotkin, and nowadays by the psychologist Reich. Such groups, besides working efficient farms or other undertakings, have often earned the respect and trust of the neighbouring farmers and villagers. One group which I visited lay on the edge of a mining valley, and had formed around it a group of young colliers who would help with the work at weekends, and another had started a centre of village industry which was supported by almost all the people in the surrounding district.

The survival of more than a hundred communities shows that communal life is possible, on a creative level, provided certain initial difficulties are overcome and a functional objective exists. But there remain great external difficulties, completely beyond the immediate control of the groups which, in my opinion, make it quite impossible for them ever to become a major social movement, at least in England.

The land community can never support itself in every detail from home-grown products, and thus has to enter into commercial transactions with the capitalist world that surrounds it. An economic boycott, reducing the members of communities to a strict dependence on their own land products, would make life very difficult. Nor is interference in markets the only way in which capitalism can restrict the communities. Already, as a result of the rise of land prices and the purchase of land by speculative syndicates, it has become increasingly difficult for new groups to buy farms. Moreover, although the government has not found it worth while to act against any of these wartime settlements, it would not be difficult to find some official excuse to interfere with them if they became too successful. The one really large and commercially important community, the *Bruderhof*, which became a formidable competitor of the Wiltshire farmers, experienced such pressure, both official and unofficial, that it was broken up and the German brothers were forced to emigrate to Paraguay.

In addition to this extreme vulnerability to attack, the communities have so far been prevented from assuming any widespread social influence, partly by the fact that they have been preoccupied with agriculture and have neglected the establishment of contact with industrial areas, and partly by their almost deliberate neglect of wider social issues. Conscientious Objectors in communities have shown much less social militancy than C.O.'s "on the run" or working for employers, and the few propaganda sheets which have emerged from English communities have been much more parochial and myopic than comparable literature from American C.P.S. camps, where conscientious objectors have been brought up against the open oppression of the state. Indeed, I am convinced that the authorities have adopted a relatively friendly attitude precisely because the communities have diverted the energies of so many pacifists from active war resistance.

It seems evident that, while many groups have survived and even prospered, they have produced no effective challenge to existing society, and are unlikely to take any leading part in a movement of social transformation. Their success has been limited to the functional level, and they have most value as experiments in free and communal working relationships. In this restricted circle their achievements have real social importance.

WITH THE "TIMES" BOOK REVIEWERS

When Mitchell kills a Japanese soldier in a wellwritten scene of knife-play, he at last crowns with some meaning his lifetime of sports. **(Saul Levitt, May 12).**

I found some of the lyric verses engaging . . . the eleven fine stanzas by William Everson on life in a camp of conscientious objectors (though what use is it, these days, to be opposed to war?) . . . **(Philip Wylie, June 16)**

SILVER-LINING DEPT.

GENEVA: Should there be another war, its victims will be better protected by international law, if the present campaign of the Red Cross succeeds. Its International Committee has suggested to the Big Five a meeting of experts . . . New and improved agreements will be drafted dealing with relief for sick and wounded combatants, prisoners, and civilian war victims . . .

—deadpan report by Robert Root in "Worldover Press", May 29.

A Talk with Lenin in Stalin's Prison

by Anton Ciliga

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *The following article is the original text of the ninth chapter, "You too, Lenin," of my book, THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA. The publisher of the first (French) edition of my book thought that it was too long and compelled me to end the manuscript in a rather abrupt manner. I had to reduce the chapter on Lenin to about one-fourth of the original text. I felt that under these circumstances I should confine myself to* posing *the problem of Leninism and the* twofold role of Lenin *in the Russian revolution. Therefore, I was only able to hint at the answer to this tremendously important question. I could not give this answer, even less was I able to give the basis for arriving at it (as I had in the original unabbreviated text). For this reason, the separate publication of this chapter may be of interest.*

Revolution in the sense of the real social liberation of the toiling masses of mankind as individuals cannot be achieved by becoming absorbed in or continuing one of the decadent phases of the last great revolution—the Russian revolution. It must take as its starting point the highest stage of this revolution, its past apex, its still unachieved aims . . .

THE problems of "workers' democracy"—political as well as economic — impelled the extreme Left Communist groups of the Russian Opposition (The "Workers' Opposition," the "Workers' Group," the "Democratic Centralism" Group) to submit to a critical analysis the entire experience of the Russian revolution, and not only its post-Leninist stage as the Trotskyite opposition did. These problems were: freedom for political parties versus the one-party-system; democratic versus bureaucratic management of nationalized industry; guarantees for the control of the government by the working class. All these extreme groups which were formed in the early years of the revolution, from 1919 to 1921, had, moreover, originated as movements which opposed, more or less distinctly, precisely the leadership of Lenin. During my stay in the Verkhne-Uralsk Isolator prison (from 1930 to 1933), the problem of the role of Lenin in the revolution was the subject of lively debate among the different opposition groups.

The Trotskyites

The Trotskyite opposition defended—officially and outside its own ranks—the thesis that "Lenin was always right." In order not to contradict this dogma, Trotsky for a long time "recognized" that Lenin had been right in all the past discussions in which he differed with him. Trotsky also accepted the proposal of Zinovyev to call their opposition group "Bolshevik-Leninists." Afterwards Trotsky made one correction in this dogma: namely, that so far as the theory of Permanent Revolution was concerned he, Trotsky, had been right and not Lenin. (This was, undoubtedly, Trotsky's most valuable conception.) Trotsky, it is true, pointed out that, essentially, Lenin also had been for permanent revolution and that their differences, therefore, were rather a matter of nomenclature and, accordingly, not of great importance. From that time, the Trotskyite opposition adopted a new point of view: they maintained that there never had been any profound differences between Lenin and Trotsky, that essentially Lenin always wanted the same thing that Trotsky did and that, therefore, there had been only differences regarding details or nomenclature.

The Trotskyite Opposition thus reconciled historical Leninism and historical Trotskyism by renouncing a critical approach to both of them and by covering the most outstanding and valuable characteristics of both tendencies with the varnish of officialdom. To the Stalinist legend they opposed not a serious historical evaluation but another legend.

Some Trotskyites went even farther: the Bohemian part of the "Militant Bolsheviks," the pure Trotskyites, asserted that the differences between Lenin and Trotsky had always been profound but that Trotsky had always been right in these discussions. It was significant that the Trotskyites who were so prone to quote authorities always only quoted Trotsky on all questions of the present and the past. Lenin was not quoted at all—except in extremely rare instances.

The "Detsists"

For the "Democratic Centralism" group,* the attitude towards Lenin was a very painful problem. Unlike the Trotskyites, this group had been created by old (pre-1917) Bolsheviks. It was, therefore, "Leninist" in its general outlook and in its methods. When it made its appearance, in 1919, it was considered an opposition of the local apparatus (an "opposition of provincial governors") to the central authorities. It opposed the bureaucratic centralism of Lenin's Central Committee in the name of "Democratic Centralism." The Detsists considered that Lenin was deviating from his own platform or was not drawing the necessary conclusions from his own principles. The group thus was formed on the basis of a defense of Leninism against Lenin. Unconsciously it opposed the Lenin of the period of the greatest revolutionary upheaval to the Lenin of the decadence of the revolution. It criticized Lenin's practices from the point of view of the principles of his *State and Revolution*. However, in spite of all its profundity, this work which was written by Lenin in 1917 did not provide any answers to the new problems which had arisen during the subsequent course of the revolution. As a result, during the decade from 1919 to 1929 this group moved in a circle—either capitulating before Lenin's ultimata, or submitting to the Trotskyites in their struggle against Stalin. Their attitude which was "plus royaliste que le roi" proved to be sterile.

The Five Year Plan completely shattered the group. Its majority capitulated like most Trotskyites. Timofey Sapronov, one of the outstanding Bolshevik workers of Russia and a

* Called "Detsists," short for "Demokratichesky Tsentralism."—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

leading Detsist, characterized the attitude of the capitulators: "Their explanation is: We have been wrong since the NEP [New Economic Policy], classes are being liquidated and, therefore, the construction of socialism has been under way . . . That the worker has been getting hell in the American way—is considered by them as only the chips which are falling while such a gigantic job of woodcutting as the construction of full-fledged socialism is being effected; these they say, are the inevitable costs of the ultimate and most difficult stage of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the petty bourgeoisie."

From the Leninist point of view, the reasoning of those who capitulated had some logical foundation. Lenin's entire post-October strategy was based upon the thesis that the only dangers for the proletariat and for socialism were the petty bourgeoisie and private capitalism. Lenin used a "hot iron" to eliminate all opposition forces who said that a self-sufficient bureaucracy and state capitalism were a menace to the working class. Following in the steps of Lenin, the Detsists declared on the eve of the Five Year Plan that "petty bourgeois counterrevolution" had been victorious and that the USSR had become a "petty bourgeois State." Any other kind of counterrevolution was unthinkable from the point of view of Lenin's conception . . .

And then suddenly came the Five Year Plan with its war against the petty bourgeoisie and its liquidation of this class. In this situation it was necessary to choose between remaining faithful to Lenin's conception and recognizing that the Five Year Plan was the fulfillment of the socialist program and, on the other hand, listening to what was actually happening and recognizing, in spite of Lenin, the triumph of a "third force," namely the bureaucracy and state capitalism. Those Detsists, who did not capitulate, adopted the last-mentioned point of view.

However, a reconsideration of values which rejected the essence of Lenin's entire post-October conception and doubted the infallability even of the pre-October Lenin, was necessarily slow and painful. As a result of the discussion of these problems, the small body of Detsists in the Isolator prison, which numbered 20 men, split into 3 or 4 groups. Some Detsists continued to assume that there were only occasional errors in Lenin's attitude after the October revolution and that the party line as a whole became wrong only after the ascent of Stalin; others thought that even during Lenin's lifetime, namely, at the time of the introduction of the New Economic Policy the bourgeois-democratic tendency of the revolution defeated its socialist tendency and that Lenin was not fully aware of what he was actually doing. A third group insisted that, in spite of its formal victory, the socialist tendency of the revolution had always been weaker than the petty bourgeois one.

The revision of Lenin's theories affected not only the problem of state capitalism but also the problem of party dictatorship. Originally, when Lenin, in 1920, proclaimed the principle of party dictatorship and the "single party" system, the Detsists accepted this principle, in contrast with the Workers' Opposition, which rejected it at once. However, the entire experience of party dictatorship induced them to break with their former conceptions. They now began to understand that without democracy for the workers there can be no democracy within the party. This revision of Lenin's political theories was even more painful than that of his economic theories: later, when I was in exile, I had an opportunity to follow the various stages of this revision for two years. The final result of the revision was a profoundly critical—if not directly negative—attitude towards Lenin's practices and theories during the period after the October revolution.

The "Workers' Group"

The "Workers' Opposition," or, more precisely, its extreme wing, which in 1922 formed an independent organization called the "Workers' Group," called the tune for a critical approach to the Lenin period of the revolution. Usually the adherents of this organization were called "Myasnikovtsi"—after Myasnikov, a prominent Bolshevik worker who was the leader of the group and who had been one of the most colorful personalities of the Bolshevik revolution. The Workers' Opposition and the Workers' Group had also been created by "old" [pre-1917] Bolsheviks. Unlike the Detsists, however, they criticized from the first the policies of Lenin not only in particulars but in their entirety; the Workers' Opposition opposed Lenin's economic policy from 1919-1920; the Workers' Group went even farther and also rejected the political "single-party" régime established by Lenin when the New Economic Policy was introduced. In the Isolator prison, the Workers' Group had a well-educated, very active and firm leader in the person of Sergey Tiunov; incidentally, he was not totally without some Nechayev characteristics.

The Workers' Group adopted as the basic principle of its platform the slogan of the First International formulated by Marx—"That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves"; from the very beginning the group declared war on Lenin's conceptions of dictatorship by the party and of a bureaucratic organization of production which the latter had developed as decadence began to infect the revolution. Against Lenin's policies, the Group demanded the organization of production by the masses themselves, beginning with the workers of each factory. They demanded the control of the governmental power and of the political parties by the masses of the workers, who, as the real political masters of the country, were to have the opportunity to remove any party from power, including the Communist Party, if they considered that the party in question did not represent their interests any longer. In contrast with the Detsists and the majority of the Workers' Opposition who limited the demand for "democracy for the workers" practically to the economic field and attempted to combine this demand with the "single-party" system, the Workers' Group widened its struggle for "democracy for the workers" by demanding free political self-determination for the workers and free competition of political parties among the working people, believing that socialism could only come as the result of free creative work of the toilers. The Workers' Group, therefore, from the very beginning considered that the alleged socialism which was being constructed under compulsion, was actually bureaucratic state capitalism.

In 1923, at the height of a wave of large strikes which were directed by the Workers' Group, it addressed the Russian and the international working class by a special Manifesto in which it expounded its attitude in a clear and bold manner. This Manifesto condemned degenerating Bolshevism

and its orientation away from the working class towards "Vozhdism" [rule by leaders, leadership principle]. This Manifesto was one of the most remarkable documents of the Russian revolution. Issued at the time of the internal collapse of the Russian revolution it sounded like the Manifesto of Babeuf's "Equals"—at the moment of the internal collapse of the French revolution.

"Why So Excited, Comrade Ciliga?"

During the long time I spent in the Isolator prison, I kept away from these prison disputes about Lenin. I belonged to the younger generation of Communists who were educated to bow unquestioningly to Lenin's authority and I considered it a matter of course that Lenin "always was right." The results—the conquest and the preservation of revolutionary power—were in his favor. I and my generation concluded that, consequently, his tactics and means were correct.

After I arrived in the Isolator, I defended this point of view. I was quite disturbed by the critical remarks which the Detsist worker Prokopeni made during one of my first walks in the prison yard.

"Why are you so excited, comrade Ciliga, about Lenin's fight against bureaucratism? In what way did he fight against bureaucratism? You refer to his article on the reform of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection which he wrote shortly before his death. Did he, however, in this article call for an organization of the masses against bureaucratism? Not at all: he proposed there the organization of a special board with highly paid officials. A top bureaucratic institution was to lead the struggle against bureaucratic methods."

"No, my foreign comrade," continued Prokopeni, "at the end of his life Lenin was imbued with mistrust of the masses of the workers. At that time he was putting his stakes on the bureaucratic apparatus; since, however, he was afraid that the apparatus would go too far, he wanted to prevent mischief by the control of one part of the apparatus by another." After a short silence, he added: "Of course, it is not necessary to shout it from the housetops. We don't want to provide Stalin with extra arguments. But actually this is the truth."

I was also prevented from studying the discussions of the past by the fact that my interest centered entirely in the problems of the present. In so far as I had, nevertheless, to deal with problems of history, it seemed to me that these groups exaggerated the importance of their old disputes with Lenin. In my opinion, the fate of the revolution was decided by the relation of class forces and not by the adoption of some formula or blueprint regarding problems of organization.

The Organizational Problem—New Theories

With the carrying out of the Five Year Plan, the problems of the forms of organization—both political and economic—suddenly again became a matter of immediate interest. Problems which, apparently, had been solved by history long ago, unexpectedly and with increased vigor became questions of the day. The elimination of the petty bourgeoisie and of private capitalism left only proletariat and bureaucracy on the scene. The question of the relationship between them and the question of "What is socialism and how can it be brought about" was now being solved through the medium of forms of organization. Problems regarding the techniques of organization were discovered to be social problems. The struggle of the toiling masses against bureaucratic oppression was now possible only as a struggle against the forms of organization which were forced on society by the bureaucracy. These forms, however, were not invented by Stalin but were inherited by him from Lenin. With all its contradictions and somersaults, the Russian revolution was to some extent an organic whole. Therefore, it had become impossible to avoid a discussion of Lenin's policies any longer.

In answer to the newly arising questions, the follower of Myasnikov, Tiunov, wrote several studies devoted to the historical debate on the problem of bureaucratic or socialist organization of production. The studies centered in a criticism of the militarization methods which Trotsky applied while organizing the economy during the period of war communism [1918-1921]. A young Detsist, Yasha Kosman, wrote a brilliant piece of historical research on the so-called "trade union discussion." He arrived at the conclusion that Lenin's approach to the problem of the organization of industry completely delivered the latter into the hands of the bureaucracy. The results were disastrous — by taking away the factories from the workers, the bureaucracy took the revolution away from them.

Another Detsist, Misha Shapiro, wrote a reply to this article in which he defended the traditional attitude of the Detsists, namely, that the debates on the different systems of the organization of production did not affect any question of principles. According to Shapiro, the Workers' Opposition represented the interests not of the workers but of the trade union bureaucracy. If their demand that the management of industry should be handed over to the trade unions had been fulfilled, the result would have been that the factories would be directed by trade union bureaucrats instead of party bureaucrats.

In order that the workers might have an opportunity to fight the bureaucracy they needed liberty: liberty of organization, press, assembly. Through this reasoning, however, they arrived at the conclusion that there must be liberty for political parties, i.e., they agreed with the demand which had been raised by Myasnikov and condemned at the time by Lenin as well as by Trotsky and the Detsists. Even then a considerable number of Detsists and almost all Trotskyites continued to assume that "liberty for political parties means the downfall of the revolution." "Liberty for political parties is Menshevism"—this assertion was considered unchallengeable by the Trotskyites. "The working class is socially homogenous and, therefore, its interests can be represented only by one party"—wrote the Detsist Davidov. "Why was it impossible to combine democracy within the party with an outside dictatorship of the party?" the Detsist Nyura Yankovskaya asked in astonishment. Dora Zak replied to Davidov: "Very well, the Paris Commune perished because there were many parties, but we have only one party left; why did our revolution perish?"

The young Detsist Volodya Smirnov was, as the saying goes, consistent to the point of absurdity. His opinion was: There has never been either a proletarian revolution or a dictatorship of the proletariat. There has been only a "popular revolution" from below and a bureaucratic dictatorship from above. Lenin never had been an ideological representative of

the proletariat. He was, from the beginning to the end, an ideological representative of the intelligentsia. Smirnov combined these evaluations with a general conception to the effect that a "new social formation"—state capitalism in which bureaucracy is the new ruling class is coming to the fore throughout the world, along different ways. He thus reduced to a common denominator Soviet Russia as well as Kemalist Turkey, the Italy of Mussolini, Hitler Germany and the America of Hoover and Roosevelt. In an article, "Communist Fascism," he wrote that Communism was radical Fascism, and Fascism—moderate Communism. In this conception the forces and prospects of socialism remained somewhere in the clouds.

The majority of the Detsist faction (Davidov, Shapiro, etc.), found that the heresies of young Smirnov went too far and expelled him with much noise from the group.

"You Too, Lenin?"

Once I understood the importance of the old problems both for the understanding of the present and for the determination of the tasks of the future, I concentrated on studying them. The shades of interpretation in regard to these problems which existed among the various elements of the extreme Left, stimulated a critical and independent approach. I began to study these problems after the practical experience of the revolution and, therefore, my approach was necessarily different from that of the comrades who had split over these questions 10 years earlier. Having the opportunity of observing the results of 15 years of revolutionary history, I was able to judge the past with greater certitude and firmness.

However, subjecting the "Epoch of Lenin" to a critical analysis, I necessarily penetrated the holy of holies of Communism and of my own ideology. I subjected Lenin to criticism—the leader and prophet who was surrounded not only by the immortal glory of revolution but by the legend and myth of post-revolutionary mystification. In spite of all the critical attitude of the milieu in which I lived, I could only timidly advance in this temple, obeying an inner voice which told me: the understanding of the experience and the lessons of the revolution must not stop before any obstacle, it must be as reckless as the revolution itself which did not stop before anything.

The farther I advanced in this temple the more often—for days, weeks, and months—I was overwhelmed by the fatal question:

"You too, Lenin? Is it true that you too were only great as long as the revolution and the masses were great, and that your revolutionary spirit was exhausted as soon as the strength of the masses failed and it became even weaker than they? Were you too able to betray the social interests of the masses in order to retain power? How your ability to retain power once impressed us naive people! Were you too able to prefer the bureaucratic conquerors to the conquered masses, to help this new bureaucracy to mount on the backs of the Soviet working masses, to suppress these masses when they were reluctant to acquiesce in the new submission, to slander them, to pervert the sense of their most legitimate aims? Lenin, Lenin—what is greater, your merits or your crimes?

"I am little impressed by your attempts at justification: that it is better that the bureaucrats sat on the back of the masses than that the former oppressors—the bourgeoisie and the landowners—returned to replace them. For the bureaucrats this is possibly very important, whether they or the bourgeoisie sit on the back of the masses; for the masses, however, this is not so very essential.

"I am little moved by the reasoning of your advocates, Lenin, who assert that, subjectively, you had the best intentions. It was you, Lenin, who told us to judge people not according to their subjective intentions, but according to the objective significance of their actions, according to what social groups profit by their activities and what social stratum is represented by the ideology which is reflected in their speeches . . . And, incidentally, in your own statements which, on the whole, are certainly very cautious, I find the proof that you were perfectly aware, even subjectively, of what you did objectively. Worse than that: at the moment when the bureaucratic dictatorship was being stabilized, you consciously slandered the masses when they resisted the triumphant bureaucracy (this fact can be proven!) This resistance, however weak, however trampled by the bureaucracy and perhaps necessarily doomed to defeat at that time—is the supreme legacy *of the Russian revolution. And a* new revolution—*in Russia or anywhere else in the world—can* begin *only by carrying out the program of this workers' opposition which had been crushed.*

"This is the call from the past to the present, this is the continuity of human history, of its really progressive tendencies.

"Yes, your personal role in the revolution, your relation to the working masses and, in general, the relations between leaders and masses in the revolution were actually different from the way they were pictured by the official legend to which I was loyal for such a long time . . ."

The sun is setting behind the distant ranges of the Urals and sheds its last rays into the window of my cell across the barren steppe which extends from the mountain ranges to the prison. It is difficult . . . I look avidly through the bars . . . Mountains, sun, air, freedom, freedom . . . I am alone in my cell, my cellmate is in the hospital . . . I feel lonesome . . . I am burying Lenin.

What am I doing? Is this not an exaggeration, a delusion engendered by prison?

Let us see . . .

Lenin as a Counter-Revolutionary

Of course, in 1917, the situation looked like a competition between the masses and Lenin, which of them would advance farther, faster, bolder. Like a tornado they attacked and addressed their uncompromising challenge to all that was old, rotten, and mendacious in Russia and in the world. Yes, those were the days "which shook the world." Russia was making its own and world history. And Lenin gained forever a place of honor in the hearts of the working people, in the pantheon of history because he had been able to sense the beating of the heart of humanity at the moment of its great liberating impulse, because he was on the side of the masses and gave them leadership in those days of their great daring and creativeness. This place is assured to him even if he, like

Cromwell, were to be delivered to public contempt for a moment of history, to be, like the dead Cromwell, carried out of the grave to the gallows or trampled in the streets of Moscow—in retribution for the crimes he committed against the masses during the period of the decadence of the revolution or for the crimes committed by his successors . . .

Nevertheless, as soon as the old regime was overthrown and Lenin had taken power, a tragic gulf opened between him and the masses of the people. Imperceptible in the beginning, this gulf grew and widened and finally its consequences became fatal.

The masses of the workers instinctively aim at their full liberation, at the fulfillment of their final objectives. It is in the name of these objectives that the masses accomplish revolutions. Everything and at once. Now or never. This is the difference between a revolutionary period and a period of reform. The working masses of Russia went farther in smashing the old social order and in constructing a new one than had been originally intended by Lenin. The pressure of the masses was so strong, the situation so tense, that the masses pulled Lenin along. Such was the relationship between leader and masses at the moment when the revolution reached its highest flood.

Let the facts speak. After the October revolution, Lenin aimed not at the expropriation of the capitalists, but only at "workers' control": the control of the capitalists, who were to retain the management of their enterprises, by the organizations of the workers in the factories. The spontaneous class struggle defeated this plan of Lenin for class collaboration under his power: the capitalists answered by sabotage, the workers collectively took over one factory after the other . . . Only after the expropriation of the capitalists had been practically completed by the workers, did the Soviet government recognize it *dejure* by issuing a decree on the nationalization of industry . . .

Later, in 1919, Lenin opposed to the drive of the workers towards socialism an entire system of state capitalism ("after the pattern of war-time Germany"), with most extensive participation by former capitalists in the new Soviet economy. Lenin did not stand for the complete destruction of the old, but for some equilibrium of the new and the old, for their co-existence. Lenin, who formerly denounced "class collaboration", had then become its advocate . . . After he became the representative of power, he began to experience the pressures of various social forces on him and not of the workers alone as before; he became rather the spokesman of the statics of the moment than of the dynamics of the epoch.

The spread of the civil war brought a new correction to this rearguard philosophy of revolution. The downfall of the German and the Austrian Empires gave new fuel to the maximalist expectations of the popular masses: the task of immediate transition to socialism won official recognition. The year 1919 began, the apex of the Russian revolution, its 1793. And as we have seen, it also began thanks to the initiative of the masses and not to that of Lenin.

There is only one step from the apex of the revolution to its downfall and there, at that historical moment, Lenin played a most deplorable role. If it was characteristic of the period of social upheaval and the deepening of the revolution that the masses succeeded in pulling Lenin along, the decadence and the downfall of the revolution were marked by the open opposition of Lenin to the masses of the workers, by his victory over the masses.

Focus of Struggle: The Factories

Where did the struggle center at that time? In the basic nucleus of socialist initiative—in the fate of the factories taken away from the bourgeoisie. It was here that the break occurred between Lenin and the working class. This is also the key to understanding the twofold role of Lenin in the revolution.

The workers took over individual factories and organized production collectively in these factories. However, the connections between the individual factories, the organization of production on a national scale began, thanks to the central government, to become the business of the apparatus of the nascent bureaucracy. This was already a dangerous sign of the weakness of the working class. The fate of socialism in Russia depended upon the ability of the working class to win control over the general direction of production. In order to effect a socialist organization of society, in order to reorganize agriculture along socialist lines, the working class had first to achieve socialist organization "at home"—in industry.

It would seem that this is an elementary truth. Nevertheless, as a rule it is forgotten when people discuss the fate of socialism and of the revolution.

After he had become the head of the apparatus, Lenin looked at this problem through the spectacles of the apparatus. This was keenly noted by the worker Milonov, a delegate to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, who said: "Psychologically Lenin's behavior is quite comprehensible. Comrade Lenin is the chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, he directs our Soviet policies. Obviously every movement, regardless of where it originates, which hampers this work of direction is considered a petty bourgeois and extremely harmful movement!" During the civil war the central bureaucracy actually increased its power, continuously taking over the management also of individual factories. Factory management which originally was appointed by the workers and employees of the factories was increasingly made up of appointees of the central authorities. Simultaneously management which in the beginning had been collective was surreptitiously transformed into one-man-direction. The workers began to lose their grip on the factories. This process continued on the initiative of Lenin against a sharp opposition by the working class portion of the Communist party, and by all prominent Bolshevik leaders of working class origin. At that time Tomsky was punished for this opposition by being exiled to Turkestan, for "party work" in that district; and earlier Sapronov had been sent to the Ukraine for "Democratic Centralism".

After the end of the civil war, the struggle between bureaucracy and working class for the control of industry was renewed with redoubled vigor. It entered its decisive phase. It was this struggle which exploded the system of War Communism. The ideological leader of the Workers' Opposition, Shlyapnikov, in an article published in *Pravda* during the discussion on the trade union problem before the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, openly characterized the essence of the conflict in the following words: "In our industry there is a system of dual rule—by the workers and by the bureaucrats. It is paralyzing production. The way

out can only be found through a radical decision, through the single power either of working class socialism or of bureaucratic capitalism".

Lenin's Position

How did Lenin act at that moment? He also stood, like Shlyapnikov, for an uncompromising decision, only different from Shlyapnikov, he was for the single power of the bureaucracy. In a slip of his tongue Lenin once admitted that, under the surface of the "discussion on the trade union problem", the real fight was for the elimination of the working class from the control of production. The statement of Lenin to which we refer reads: "If the trade unions, *nine-tenth of whose membership are workers not affiliated with the party,* were to appoint the management of industry what would then be the purpose of the party?" However, even the remaining tenth of the working class, the Bolshevik workers (workers who were party members) had the same demands as the workers who were not party members . . . A clear delimitation along class lines thus characterized this decisive debate: on the one hand the workers, whether affiliated with the party or not, who stood for working class socialism, and on the other hand the bureaucrats—party members or not—who were for bureaucratic state capitalism.

Lenin promised the workers the right to strike as a compensation for taking the factories away from them. As if the workers had made the October Revolution in order to obtain the right to strike . . .

The attitude of Lenin towards the "liberals" in his own, the bureaucratic, camp was also significant. When the groups of Trotsky, Bukharin and Sapronov, who maintained an intermediary position between Lenin and the Workers' Opposition, proposed a mitigation of the exclusive bureaucratic control by the admission of workers to the organization of production in a consultative capacity, Lenin opposed this proposal in the most categoric manner and applied very harsh "organizational measures" against them for their "vacillations" (at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party in March 1921).

Lenin indeed did not vacillate. After he had become the mouthpiece of the desires of party and Soviet bureaucracy, Lenin with unswerving firmness took away the factories from the workers, their basic revolutionary conquest, the sole lever with which the workers were able to advance the cause of their liberation, the cause of socialism. The Russian workers again became hired manpower in factories which did not belong to them. After that there was nothing left of socialism in Russia but words.

Many people will object by asking: "What about Kronstadt?" The essential decision on the fate of industry, i.e., actually the problem of socialism, had occurred before Kronstadt. Kronstadt was the attempt of an alliance of workers and peasants to react against the bureaucracy. Lenin and his bureaucracy were very much frightened by this alliance. After the crushing of the Kronstadt insurrection, the NEP (New Economic Policy) was the completion of an alliance between the bureaucracy and the (upper strata of) peasantry against the working class. Only at the time of the Five Year Plan the bureaucracy had become ready to attack its temporary ally—the middle stratum of peasantry and the kulaks.

Having liquidated socialism in the economy, the power of the workers in the factories, bureaucracy faced its last task—the liquidation of the political power of the workers and the toiling masses. The organ of this power had been a special organization which originated in the revolutionary process—the Soviets. The bureaucracy opposed to the political organization of the masses—the Soviets—and to the economic organization of the masses—the trade unions—the organization in which there was least mass participation and in which the new bureaucracy was stronger than anywhere else—*the party.* On the initiative of Lenin, in addition to the prohibition of all political parties in the country except the Communist Party, all opinions and groups opposed to the bureaucratic leadership of the party were prohibited in order to prevent the possibility of a struggle for the interests of the masses within the party itself (Resolution of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia). The party became a subsidiary organ of the bureaucratic Caesar, just as the Soviets and trade unions had become a subsidiary organ of the party. A Bonapartist dictatorship over the party, the working class and the country was taking shape.

"Do It—But Don't Say It"

I was startled when I found out that the leaders of the Communist Party were conscious of this at times. In 1920, Bukharin presented in his book, *The Economics of the Transitional Period* (page 115 of the Russian edition), a full-fledged conception of "proletarian" Bonapartism ("personal régime"). Lenin commented on this idea of Bukharin (see "Leninskye Sborniki" ["Leniniana"], volume 11, 1930), calling it: "Correct . . . but not the right word." Do it, but don't be so frank—this is the entire Lenin of that epoch, the epoch of his moving away from the working class into the camp of the bureaucracy. And Lenin knew how to disguise bureaucratic Bonapartism. "It is impossible to organize the dictatorship of the proletariat by universal organization of the proletariat", Lenin wrote, "because the proletariat is still so divided, so humiliated and here and there bribed". The dictatorship of the proletariat could "consequently be carried out only by the vanguard which has concentrated the revolutionary energies of the class—the party". The subsequent experiences of the revolution have unmasked the entirely bureaucratic essence of this conception of the dictatorship of the party over the class, the dictatorship of a chosen minority over the "backward majority" of the working class. Once again history confirmed the truth of the old workers' hymn:

We want no condescending saviors,
No God, no Caesar and no Pope,
We workers ask not for their favors—
Ourselves alone can bring us hope!
("The Internationale", second stanza)

And of the old slogan of the labor movement: "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves". Modern revolutions must achieve integral socialism or become transformed by necessity into anti-proletarian, anti-socialist counter-revolutions.

The liquidation of the political power of the working class required, however, a solid "ideological basis". The direct way —to call things by their names—was not practical: it was not convenient in a revolution which began in the name of the achievements of socialism to say suddenly: Here we are, the

new masters and exploiters. It was much better to call the taking away of the factories from the workers a victory of the socialist type of production, the suppression of the working class by the bureaucracy—a strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to proclaim that the new exploiters of the working class were its vanguard. When the feudal lords could be the fathers of the peasants, the bourgeoisie—the vanguard of the people, why could the bureaucracy not become the vanguard of the working class? Exploiters consider themselves always the vanguard of the exploited . . .

The Workers Go Into Opposition

Lenin justified his policy by asserting that the working class was weak. He declared that by handing over the revolution to the bureaucracy he was saving it for the working class. The fruits of the future were to justify the concessions of the present. Today these fruits are ripe and their social significance is well known. The Russian working class must be given credit for having grasped at the time something. It understood that Lenin acted as if he were saying: "You, the workers, are being illogical, you want to achieve socialism immediately, but have not the necessary strength to do so. Since, however, you cannot be the masters of society, you must become its servants; this is the law of class struggle in class society. By submitting to the inevitable you will obtain from us everything that is possible."

The workers had their conception of class struggle and acted as if they were answering Lenin: "No, it is you, comrade Lenin, who are illogical. If we don't have the strength to become the masters of society, we must become an opposition. A class does not capitulate, but fights."

The spontaneous working class resistance against bureaucratic encroachments showed that the working class was not so weak as was asserted by Lenin. If Lenin still had been at heart on the side of the workers he would have supported the working class opposition which arose in the country. Lenin, however, was already thinking and acting in the spirit of the bureaucracy and sensed in this strength of the working class a menace to the bureaucracy; he taught the working class a lesson of class struggle: a class which does not capitulate is suppressed by the conquerors. To the applause of the new bureaucracy of the entire country, Lenin exclaimed at the conclusion of the 10th Party Congress: "The opposition is now done and finished, now we have had enough of opposition". As a matter of fact, this was the end of legalized opposition; instead, prison bars and places of exile were opened and, later, scaffolds erected for it.

In spite of these fundamental changes, the revolution continued to be called a "proletarian" and "socialist" one. Moreover, Lenin himself showed how to combine radical phraseology with actual suppression of the working class. When real workers who were the victims of bureaucratic pretensions protested against the bureaucratic mystification of socialism and demanded that their real interests be attended to, Lenin, unhesitatingly, declared that their demands were "petty bourgeois", "anarchic", "counter-revolutionary". The vital interests of the working class were denounced as reflecting the narrow-minded point of view of the craft. The interests of the bureaucracy, on the contrary, were declared to be the "class interests of the proletariat". The totalitarian bureaucratic regime which was being established in the country stigmatized everything that was socially and politically progressive as "counter-revolution" and initiated an era of monstrous lies, insinuations, and falsifications which, now, in its Stalinist—completed and perfected—phase is strangling all of Russia and poisoning the entire international, democratic public life.

Disturbed by this evolution, Shlyapnikov exclaimed at the end of the 10th Congress, speaking on Lenin's resolution against the Workers' Opposition: "Never in my life, during my 20 years of membership in the party did I hear or see anything more demagogic and more distorting of facts". These words of Shlyapnikov sound like an angry echo of the words of Thomas Muenzer who denounced Doctor Luther as "Doctor Luegner" (Doctor Liar) for his pamphlets defending the cause of the Protestant princes against the Protestant peasants.

"This is what you, Lenin, had become at the end of your historical career!"

I look searchingly and with anger at the portrait of Lenin which is hanging above the table of my prison cell.

Before me there are two Lenins, as there are two Luthers and two Cromwells: the ones who bring about the ascent of the revolution and the ones who effect its decline. And this entire decisive historical change occurred within a period of two to three years of revolutionary turmoil—in the Russian revolution as in the revolutions which preceded it. And we, like the contemporaries of the preceding revolutions, have continued to discuss 10 or 20 years later whether this decisive change occurred or not!

"And, Lenin, your timid opposition during the last year of your life against unrestrained Stalinism was perhaps a personal tragedy for yourself, but, politically, it did not go beyond vacillation between Stalinism and Trotskyism, i.e., between the Black Hundreds and the liberal varieties of bureaucratism."

The fate of the Bolshevik party, the fate of Lenin and Trotsky, confirmed once more that the most advanced parties and the greatest leaders are limited by conditions of place and time and, therefore, inevitably become, at a certain moment, conservative and deaf to the new requirements of the epoch. The legend of Lenin has unfolded itself to my eyes as the sanctification of the lies and crimes of the bureaucracy.

"In order to destroy the power of the bureaucracy, which was created by your hands, it is necessary to destroy you, Lenin, the legend of your infallible proletarian nature . . ."

"You did not help a weakened proletariat in the hour of its last ordeal, but hit it on the head. If the world needed one more lesson, you taught it: When the masses cannot save the revolution nobody else can save it in their place . . . Your experience, Lenin, shows that the proletarian revolution can be saved only by pursuing it to its conclusion, to the achievement of the complete liberation of the entire working people. A revolution which has not been continued to its goal inevitably degenerates into the domination of a majority of the working people by a new privileged minority. Modern revolutions must achieve socialism or inevitably become anti-socialist, anti-proletarian counter-revolutions.

"No gods, no icons", I whispered quietly to myself . . ."

The portrait of Lenin which was suspended above the table of my cell is flung on the floor, torn to pieces . . .

It is dark in the prison cell . . . Outside, in the free spaces, there is night. The mountains and the steppes of the Urals are immersed in somber slumber. I feel sad and dejected . . .

For six months I was unable to speak, to talk aloud and describe what I thought and felt during the hour when I bid farewell to the legend of Lenin . . .

(Translated from the Russian)

What Is Roosevelt College?

IN 1995 historians will perhaps write that A.D. 1945 produced three disappointing features: the atomic bomb which failed to accomplish the destruction of world fascism; the labor victory in Europe which failed to accomplish the destruction of European imperialism; and the establishment of the Roosevelt College of Chicago which failed to accomplish anything. At present, however, many believe that this new college will be more than an episode. That is why the school has not only friends but also enemies. Certain members of the bourgeoisie say that it is Communist; Communists that it is Trotzkyist; Trotzkyites that it is a typical petty bourgeois illusion. What *is* Roosevelt College?

On February 7, 1945, Dr. Edward J. Sparling, president of Central YMCA College, Chicago, was advised by the board of the school to look for another job. Long-existing frictions between the board and its administration thus came to a head. In the case of Dr. Sparling the main issues were his democratic attitude toward labor and racial problems.

Specifically, the board asked Dr. Sparling for the number of Negroes and Jews in the college. Dr. Sparling answered that he did not know—"We don't count them that way." The board demanded the figures.

"If you use these figures to inflict quotas of any kind I shall be forced to resign," Dr. Sparling told the board. This statement caused the board to ask for Dr. Sparling's resignation. Following the President's resignation, 80% of the college faculty resigned and a mass meeting of the student body passed a resolution recommending separation of the college from the YMCA. It was an academic revolution of no mean proportions whose deeper-lying cause was perhaps that the Young Men's Christian Association disliked the fact that its modest philanthropic venture had developed into a full-fledged liberal college whose students no longer consisted exclusively of young men, nor of Christians only. The school, indeed, was infested with females in slacks and males who often lacked the proper pigment or the correct opinion or even both of these prerequisites of decency.

Dr. Sparling, instead of looking for another position, looked for a new board and new money. Marshall Field was impressed with the idea of a college with a policy based on democratic practices—a college which would reach a new high in academic freedom. Accordingly, he gave the college an initial sum of $75,000. Likewise, Edwin R. Embree, President of the Rosenwald Foundation, saw the need for this kind of a college and his Foundation contributed $90,000.

In the Fall of 1945, Roosevelt College opened its own eleven-story building, 231 South Wells Street, in the heart of the mid-western metropolis, to over one thousand students. Some 80% of the former Y faculty and other instructors belonging to many races and creeds, formed the teaching staff. In the Spring semester the college enrollment grew to 2400, of whom more than 1000 were veterans.

In order to see the college through its first year, more money was needed than had been contributed by the Rosenwald and Field Foundations. A Founders' Fund was inaugurated in September to complete the $400,000 needed by the college for its first two years to defray current expenses and to provide scholarship funds. Of this sum, $330,000 has been raised.

The spring semester saw the opening of the new chemistry laboratory, the equipment for which was given by Mr. Percy Julian, one of the Board members.

Some 66 scholarships were granted during the year. Some of these were awarded out of funds appropriated by the Board. Others were made available because of the following special gifts: The Biddle Scholarship Fund; the Edwin J. Kunst Scholarship Fund; the S. B. Fuller Scholarship; the James G. Vorhauer Memorial Scholarship; the Arthur Goldberg Scholarship, awarded to a victim of infantile paralysis; and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Scholarship Fund, founded by the estate of Jack M. Franks. Another noteworthy scholarship is the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Scholarship, established by Brith Sholom Lodge of Philadelphia, Pa.

The school is a completely self-governing organization, free of partisan or sectarian control. The faculty is generously represented on the Board of Directors, which otherwise is drawn from labor, capital and management, as well as from cooperatives, government, the professions, social science, press, and education. The Student Council is given representation at faculty meetings. The tuition is comparatively low, being $225.00 for a full year of college work and the usual college entrance quotas with respect to race or creed are, of course, omitted. Day and evening classes are scheduled to meet the requirements of students who are workers or employees. The 112 members of the faculty are now teaching a total of 346 day and evening classes.

"Institutes" are designed to unite, for informal college education, the community and experts on problems such as "Purchasing Power," "Interracial Relations," "How to Settle Labor Disputes." Some of the institutes have been held at one o'clock in the afternoon and others at eight in the evening. They are a liaison between the public and the college in the field of adult education.

Student participation in the classroom is the order of the day. In the writer's own class in the History of the French Revolution, each student has a chance to become an expert in one field of the topic under discussion. Eventually each student in the class has to deliver a lecture before the class in the field in which he has specialized.

The salary policy is generous and promises to be even better as the college grows, it being the aim of the Board and of Dr. Sparling to lift teachers out of the class of the "most poorly paid profession." Faculty meetings are sometimes a revelation in self-criticism, many faculty members being introspective with regard to their own achievements.

The political and social activities of both students and faculty have often been original and fearless. The Social Action Training Group has picketed White City Skating Rink accused of practicing discrimination in defiance of the law. A chapter of the American Youth for Democracy (admitted after a violent discussion about real democracy) sent a delegate to Washington to attend a conference of 150 organizations to protest racial discrimination in Columbia, Tennessee. The delegate's trip was financed out of the pockets of students and faculty.

A document on the writer's desk is a letter to President Truman dated December 19, 1945, and signed by 31 faculty members, among them Dr. Sparling and the Dean of the Liberal Arts School. The letter contains a statement of belief on two questions of American foreign policy. "The

role of the United States as a great power," it begins, "entails the responsibility of securing greater justice in the world." It continues:

"We vigorously protest the present treatment of the German people. We believe that neither human compassion nor political foresight permits the death of large numbers of Germans through starvation. . . . Moreover, those Germans who suffer most are the very old who generally opposed National Socialism and the very young who had no part in it. . . . It might well be asked: Is our present policy likely to convince the German people of the worthiness of democratic ways?

"We urge therefore that our Government take immediate steps to raise the German rations to a subsistence level.

"Secondly, we are thankful for your declaration of policy of December 15th, promising American support in creating a united democratic government in China. It is our firm hope that the spirit of this statement will be speedily carried out and will eventually result in the elimination of all foreign influences from Chinese soil."

This is no luxury college. The students are for the most part serious people who have a vital interest in the college from a personal standpoint and because they believe that this is a social venture of significance. The writer quotes from the Christmas editorial which was written by the student editor of the college paper:

"We are so entirely without precedent, we are so young and so incredibly eager to see this idea work that the few holiday pleasantries we may be lacking are of no consequence. This is the first of many holidays and if our corridors and classrooms should be somewhat bare, it is perhaps fitting that this be so. Endowed with little more than a concept of freedom and tolerance in a world bloated with bigotry, we can ask nothing more than to be put into being. We do not need the trimmings, they would detract from our accomplishment."

When the college opens next fall each student aspiring to a Bachelor of Arts degree will be required to take a one-year course in the culture of a non-English speaking people—one world or none, being in the minds of the faculty when this requirement was agreed upon. It is believed that Roosevelt College is the only institution of higher learning which has such a requirement.

There is, however, no reason to conceal the limitations of the new school. Social problems such as the cultural lag of the masses of North American Negroes, for instance, cannot be overcome by simply admitting their qualified representatives on an equal basis. Unless they are given special help, many of them will fall behind those who were more fortunate in the choice of their parents. Moreover, a single school of this type could hardly bring about sweeping changes. Another shortcoming is that most Roosevelt students, like all others, have to work for "credits" and "grades" instead of working for the sake of learning. They are thus prisoners of our whole educational system.

The fact, nevertheless, remains that Roosevelt College is an experiment which progressive thinkers should study with sympathy, and without that hysteric fear and hatred of "the store on the other side of the street."

HELMUT HIRSCH

Popular Culture

The Time the Lady Writer Imagined Me

by Dorothy McKenzie

SEVERAL years ago, I was fired from the fiction staff of a large and prosperous popular magazine. The trouble was that I couldn't see eye-to-eye with the other editors on the question of how Slick fiction is written.* I was a stubbornly simple type, with an old-fashioned view of authorship. I assumed that a writer, any writer, begins a work by being struck with a set of ideas; that he writes them into a story; that he sends the result to an editor; that the editor then buys it or not, depending on his judgment of it.

This is the view of a hopeless amateur, as I was soon forced to see. Stories for the Slicks are not born, but made. The Big Nine or Ten—those periodicals with the colossal circulations and the astral advertising accounts—publish a product whose manufacture is governed by as rigid a set of specifications as must apply to the making of automobiles and airplanes. The machinery is tooled up to allow for little tolerance, and no disruptive flurry of artistic frenzy can be allowed to enter in.

In our streamlined civilization it becomes harder and harder for the consumer to catch a glimpse of the original and often messy raw materials making up any product. The housewife on the hunt for meat finds it more and more often (if she finds it at all) processed in advance and done up in cellophane; her eye is not offended by the bloody carcasses which hung in the butcher shops of other days. Neither is her spinach laden with sand; flawless and sanitary, it comes frozen into a white carton. Her cakes are iced in advance by the baker; her dresses are trimmed to the last button before she sees them. When she dies, a mortician attends to the ugliest aspects of death before the funeral display.

We live in the age of the middle-man, whose role is to absorb unpleasantness and get things into attractive packages, to remove us from the necessity of facing up to raw essentials.

* The big-circulation fiction magazines are divided into "Slicks" and "Pulps", according to the kind of paper used. The Slicks (examples are *The Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, The Saturday Evening Post*) are manufactured for a middleclass audience, especially for the housewife; love stories and soup ads are their stock in trade. The pulps, aimed at a lower economic stratum, go in for science, criminology, adventure and treat sex as passion rather than sentiment; they run a few ads for trusses, Pelmanism, and bust-developers, but get their revenue almost wholly from circulation.—ED.

For the readers of the Slick magazines, as I discovered in my early days of disillusionment, there are two middle-men who pre-digest their literature so that they will not have to grapple with the untidiness and difficulty and occasionally blinding light of direct contact with an author's untrammeled mind. These middlemen are the Fiction Editor and the Literary Agent.

Because of these two, and the rigid standards for popular fiction which they have set, writers and Big magazine editors suffer alike in our time from a curious famine in the middle of a potential feast. Slick magazines unearth only rarely stories which they are able to use, although the country seethes with would-be authors.

This happens because the Slick fiction formula requires an author with as odd a combination of traits and talents as the half-man-half-woman in a circus side-show. On the one hand, the writer must have extreme mechanical ability for tale-telling; on the other hand, he must have a mind which will allow its ideas to be imposed from outside. This is an elusive combination, since creative impulse usually is coupled with extreme technical facility in writing. Hence, fierce competition and fabulous prices for the works of the few writers who can make a successful compromise.

Meanwhile, though they need to enlarge the numbers of their suitable contributors, busy magazine editors are appalled by constantly-arriving piles of unsolicited manuscripts, where much dross must be gone through to find a little gold.

It is far easier for a Slick magazine editor to think up a story himself and order it written by an author whose workmanship he can trust, than it is to read endlessly in search of the manuscript by an unknown which may happen by happy accident to fit all the measurements. Much more efficient, much more in line with the impersonal Big Business ideology into which the Slicks fit so nicely, for the editor to know that on a given date he can expect delivery of a pre-fabricated and mechanically perfect job.

To make his planning one step nearer the foolproof, the editor tends increasingly to buy fiction only through literary agents who have done the first winnowing, and who can help to reduce still further the elements of chance and the vagaries of creative personality in the procurement of stories.

The agent thus becomes a power in the molding of today's literature. He gets at least ten per cent of his client's receipts; and so is watchful to guide his guarded prodigies in the most profitable paths. Backed by the golden promises of the Slicks (and the Movies and Book Clubs) agents are able not only to yank back into the fold authors who grow momentarily recalcitrant, but gradually to convert some writers who began independently and at first wrote what they had to say because they couldn't help themselves.

The Slick fiction editor himself is important and well-paid in direct proportion to his ability in two directions. One requirement is adroitness at keeping chosen agents and authors sewed up for his magazine by any possible means—"friendship" (engendered over endless lunches and dinners and cocktails)—subtle blackmail—or simply fantastic story prices. The other requirement is ability to generate story "ideas" within the general frame of the publication's policy, and get them written successfully by well-selected authors.

On rare occasions, a story actually is purchased which an author wrote from the beginning, without suggestions or assistance from outside. However, in such a case, the editor usually discards at least a part of the manuscript, composing a new section out of his own head. Or he dictates a letter, ordering specific replacements for the despised paragraphs. Sometimes he plucks out one favorite character and orders a whole new story built around that personality.

The year I came upon these discoveries about magazine fiction, I was a naive and idealistic type. Literature was my sacred cow, and I was frightened for her. I couldn't see ordering stories by size and stock number, like something from a mail-order catalogue.

Furthermore, I was frightened. Our all-pervasive popular fiction bore little resemblance to life, but it dinned constantly at the readers of the nation. Would they not eventually reap neuroses from their frustrated attempts to make their lives more nearly resemble the story pattern?

I thought I detected a frightening tendency in current social and political systems, as in every other field, to remove the citizen from fundamentals, from any possibility of solving his own problems by his own direct action. Backed up by this tendency, would popular fiction so affect the national culture that in time life would begin to imitate the fiction formula, coming pre-packaged, with the most stirring and upsetting emotions and the elements of immediate personal will removed?

In that case, people would certainly become less like people and more like puppets, a trend of which I feared I already saw traces.

These were clearly no thoughts for a Fiction editor. I have already said that I did not last long in the job. Fortunately I was ejected before I succumbed to schizophrenia through my attempts to act one way in my professional role while believing the opposite.

It occurred to me, after I had recovered myself, that I should have a look at the war in which most of my generation was then involved. I thought that those who were away would come home shaken to their depths and possessed of new thought processes which would be unintelligible to me if I stayed home.

So after a few months I wandered off to the Pacific. In the press of subsequent events I nearly forgot that I had ever been an arbiter of popular magazine fiction. I put aside my worries over what the Slicks were doing to literature and life. If I thought of the matter at all, I probably thought that I had exaggerated the gravity of things in the flush of my first disillusionment.

But I had hardly set foot once more on Stateside soil before I was reminded forcibly of the whole question and made to see that, if anything, I had not worried enough. One thing I had not taken into account was the possibility that Slick fiction authors could believe their own stories. I had assumed they were playing a well-paid game which they recognized as such. Their readers they might delude, but surely not themselves. Nor had I ever dreamed that I myself might come close to losing control of my own life because a lady writer wanted to make a story of me.

The final illuminations about Slick fiction came to me because I stopped on the West Coast to visit an old friend. I knew she had always wanted to write, but I hadn't seen her for years; and I had not realized that for her the most impressive phase of my spotty career had been my Fiction Editor period.

I only wanted to be quiet and catch my breath before

starting East. Too late, I discovered that my hostess had scheduled me to speak a few nights after my arrival before the Writers' Club to which she belonged. Not about my overseas experiences and conclusions, which were the only subjects real to me at the moment. Instead, I was to tell how to write for the big magazines.

Special announcements of my appearance had been made; the Society Editor of the local paper had been alerted; a corsage had been ordered for me. The meeting would be a special one at the house of the Club's president, and would be followed by supper. In the face of these arrangements I gave in. I would not make a speech, but I would answer questions.

Wearily I tried to think what a writer hopeful of money markets should be told. What compromise could I make between my knowledge that Slick fiction is manufactured, and the delusion of my innocent audience that it is written, and might even be written by them?

Once more schizophrenia set in. I tried to separate myself into two people, so that the self so recently seasoned by the Pacific could go on functioning without reference to the speech of the personality snatched back from the frivolous past for a night.

In a haze, when the meeting came, I answered questions. Mercifully I was enveloped in a protective torpor and can remember little of what happened. Up to the point, that is, when the formal meeting was finished and I was cornered by the Club's president.

I had learned already that the President had attained her office by virtue of her success with exactly the kind of magazine on whose staff I had once done time. She produced two stories a month, and sold everything promptly.

The President was a charmingly voluble lady, and she at once undertook to show me her charming little house. In the study I came sharply awake for the first time that evening. What woke me was a revelation of the mechanics of the President's writing.

Pinned to the wall above her desk was the chart of her current work. There were two full-color illustrations clipped from magazines: a photograph of a handsome blonde man, and a sketch of a beautiful brunette girl. These, though they had originally figured in two separate stories, were now to become hero and heroine of the President's new tale. They would, of course, be re-illustrated from the finished manuscript; and might not in reincarnation much resemble themselves.

Notations for the author's guidance in writing the new story were scribbled around each picture: "Mark—rugged, stern features, flashes of warm humour—casual tweeds—tall —pipe"; "Lila—gay, charming, able break through Mark's reserve—petite—known for one perfume."

Startled, I stared at the pictures and a typed outline of their new adventures which was thumb-tacked alongside. Once I had objected to pre-fabrication of fiction. Now I saw pre-fabrication from pre-fabrication. It seemed incestuous.

The President, however, did not allow me to think the thing over quietly. "I want to tell you about Hank Snyder," she whispered, gesturing through the open door toward the figure of a young army captain whom I had not yet met.

Obediently I looked at him, while she explained to me that he was on terminal leave, that he was handsome and eligible, that his wife was away getting a divorce; that he lived and worked on a yacht which was anchored down in the harbor, and sailed away for adventure whenever he got bored; that this was all extremely romantic, and that he was a writer besides; that she thought he and I should marry, because he was a writer and I was an editor and we were both tall and just back from the Pacific; and besides, we had met at the Writers' Club. She announced that she intended to write her next story about our romance.

I wondered whether Hank had been informed of this and if so, how he felt. I wondered if I had once been right in fearing that life eventually will tend to pattern itself after fiction instead of the other way around. I explained that I had plane reservations for New York in two days, and that Hank and I had so far exchanged not so much as a word.

The President told me not to be silly, she didn't see why I had to go East at all, but if I insisted, it would be all right. Hank's divorce wouldn't be final for four months and I could be back long before that. Meantime she'd see that he didn't get involved with anyone else.

For a moment I nearly believed her, but I made one more objection. How could I become a memory strong enough to hold him over my absence, when I only had two days? The President told me it would be easy, all I had to do was quarrel with him; the more seriously the better, since a big obstacle always brought lovers together. I asked what we would argue about since he seemed perfectly nice. The President promised to think of something, and left me, since she had to see to supper.

Hank and I were introduced finally, and we were polite to each other through the beautiful buffet meal. No possible basis for quarrels arose, and at the end of the evening we went our separate ways. I did not see Hank again, although the President called me several times to give me pep-talks about him. By the time I took the plane I felt a certain admiration for this man who had not acted like a fiction character.

Apparently people cannot be written, like stories, and this I find reassuring. But maybe Hank didn't read Slick fiction, and hence simply did not know what was expected of him. What about the millions who do read it? How do they reconcile their realities with what they read? For the Slick stories keep on appearing, more and more inbred, more and more the perverted offspring of predecessors already too closely related to be safely mated. The President of the Writers' Club goes her mad way, mixing fantasy with reality, and she is not alone.

What can be done about her I don't know. In recent months I have not worried much about her or her output. As a matter of fact the only thing I've read much of lately is non-fiction. There has been some compelling writing about an invention requiring even more skill in the making than a Slick story—an invention called the atomic bomb. It may be the one basic issue from whose fundamental unpleasantness no individual can be shielded.

Sooner or later, this invention easily may take care of all my worries by eliminating from the earth not only the popular magazines but their readers too. As things stand, though, the latter likely are sufficiently narcotized by such forces as the former that they will not worry much in advance. Perhaps that's something in favor of the Big Nine or Ten.

NO COMMENT DEPT.

The latest perfumer's creation in Moscow is called "Stalin's breath." —"Human Events", May 15.

ATOMIC BOMBS, UNION MADE

Some Letters, with a Comment

(1)

June 6, 1946

Paul R. Christopher,
Tennessee Regional Office, CIO,
218 South Gay St.,
Knoxville 24, Tenn.

Dear Brother Christopher:

A special anti-war committee including Workers Defense League members is planning to picket the Oak Ridge atom bomb plant the first week in July protesting the Bikini tests and the use of atomic energy for wartime purposes.

The committee realizes that the CIO is now trying to unionize the plant, but does not believe that such picketing will interfere with the organizational campaign. On the contrary, many of the workers will doubtless sympathize with the demonstration's objectives.

Could you let us know how close to the plant we would be allowed to picket? In other words, how far does the government property extend on the main road from Oak Ridge to Knoxville? We would appreciate any additional ideas and suggestions which might be of value to us. Also, have you any proposals on sleeping accommodations for the pickets? Please keep this matter confidential, since we do not intend to give it any advance publicity.

Sincerely,

James Peck
Workers Defense League
112 East 19 St.
New York 3, N. Y.

(2)

June 12, 1946

Dear Mr. Peck:

I am very much disturbed over your letter of June 6, which has just come to my attention following my return to the office after four days' absence.

However good your motives in desiring to stage a picketing demonstration at Oak Ridge in protest against the Bikini tests and the use of atomic energy for wartime purposes, I cannot too strongly urge you to forget the whole business.

If this is done, or the attempt is made to do so, you will have done irreparable harm to our current organizing drive among these workers. We will be forced to take drastic measures to denounce your program, which we would not like to do . . . ..

I can think of nothing which would do WDL more harm than any attempt to pull such a stunt . . . I urge you to forget it. We can give you no cooperation and may have to take the offensive quite ruthlessly if you decide to try anyway.

Very truly yours,

Paul R. Christopher

(3)

June 14, 1946

Reverend Aron S. Gilmartin,
Workers Defense League, New York City.

Dear Rev. Gilmartin:

We are in receipt of a letter from Mr. James Peck stating that a special anti-war committee including WDL members is planning to picket the first week in July protesting the Bikini tests and the use of atomic energy for wartime purposes.

I say to you with all the earnestness I possess . . . . that such a plan to picket the Oak Ridge plant would definitely destroy our attempt to organize the workers there, and in the name of the CIO Organizing Committee I am earnestly requesting that the whole project be called off.

We not only know such picketing would destroy our chances of organizing the plant but would bring a great deal of trouble upon the whole CIO and the WDL.

Trusting we will receive your cooperation in calling off this projected picketing, I am,

Sincerely,

Van A. Bittner,
Director, CIO Southern Organizing Drive,
79½ Poplar St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

(Copies of this letter were sent by Mr. Bittner to Morris Milgram, Executive Secretary of the WDL, Frank McCallister, Southern Secretary of the WDL, and the following trade unionists on the board of the WDL: George Baldanzi, James B. Carey, Sam B. Eubanks, W. S. Townsend, Martin C. Kyne, R. J. Thomas. — ED.)

(4)

June 17, 1946

Dear Mr. Peck:

Your letter of June 12 . . . . has been referred to me for answer. Please be advised that we are currently engaged in an organizing campaign here and strongly believe any such activities on the part of your group would seriously handicap us and could cause us the loss of the election. Therefore, we are urgently requesting that you do not proceed . . .

Sincerely yours,

C. W. Danenburg,
Organization Director, Atomic Workers Organizing Committee, Division of United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO,
128 Galesburg Hall,
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

(5)

June 17, 1946

Dear Rev. Gilmartin:

In my capacity as assistant to Mr. Van Bittner in the Southern organizing drive, he had occasion to acquaint me with the contemplated demonstration by WDL members . . . . at the Oak Ridge atomic bomb plant. He informed me that he had advised you that any such move would seriously jeopardize . . . . our organization attempts at this plant, as well as to give to the enemies of CIO ammunition to be used against us.

I don't know where this idea originated, but I must be frank in saying that it is about as stupid a thing as I ever heard of. I have always worked in the interest of the WDL,

as I felt it was performing a useful function, and I was quite happy to be selected as a member of the executive board . . . . If, however, the WDL is to adopt this sort of a project, and if this kind of irresponsibility is to guide its destinies, I would appreciate your considering this letter as my resignation . . . . I am sorry that I must appear to be very blunt about this problem, but you can understand that it is impossible for me to . . . . run the danger of having my association with the WDL used in such a way as it would be detrimental to the success of the CIO organizing campaign.

Sincerely yours,
George Baldanzi,
Vice-President, Textile Workers of America, CIO,
15 Union Square,
New York City.

(6)

June 17, 1946

Morris Milgram,
Executive Secretary, WDL, New York City.

Dear Morris:

. . . . It seems to me that such a project is very ill-advised and can serve no good purpose. It certainly would be foolhardy to undertake such a job without consulting the people down here who are most concerned. In addition, it seems to me that this is outside the performance of the WDL . . . . Furthermore, even if picketing should be done, the pickets should be placed in front of the buildings of those responsible for the tests: that is, War, Navy and the Administration.

I feel sure that this idea will be abandoned . . . .

Fraternally yours,
Frank McCallister,
Southern Secy., WDL.

(7)

June 18, 1946

Dear Mr. Bittner:

Your letter of June 14, 1946, concerning a special anti-war committee's plans to picket the Oak Ridge plant . . . . came as a surprise to us. Of course this project is not one of the League's and the fact that some of the planners are members of the League in no wise can be constituted to indicate that it has our official approval.

Because your organizers on the scene are so alarmed about the possible effect of such picketing and because of your personal request, we have undertaken to intervene with the men and have been assured by them that any picketing that they might do will not be at Oak Ridge or anywhere else in the South. At the same time, we believe the effect of such picketing has been greatly exaggerated and we are sorry that it seemed necessary for us to interfere with what is essentially a personal matter with the men involved.

We again assure you of our desire to cooperate with you in your organizational drive and wish you every success in your campaign at Oak Ridge and throughout the South.

Sincerely,
Aron S. Gilmartin,
National Chairman, WDL.

(8)

June 17, 1946

Dear Brother Christopher:

Most of our anti-war committee's members being active unionists and some of them WDL members — none of whom want to come into conflict with organized labor— we have decided to call off the picketing of the Oak Ridge plant. If the committee does decide to picket in protest over the Bikini tests . . . that picketing will be in front of the Pentagon Building in Washington.

However, as I pointed out in my June 8 letter, I do not see how picketing of this nature would harm the organizing drive. It is the unanimous opinion of our committee that you have taken an unbelievably nearsighted viewpoint in this matter. A progressive labor body like the CIO should be in the vanguard of the fight against the atomic bomb. By supporting a project such as that planned for Oak Ridge, the CIO would be merely carrying out resolutions on the atomic bomb adopted by the CIO and many of its affiliates.

Despite this disagreement, our committee wishes you the best of luck in your campaign to organize the South and to defeat the Bilbos and Rankins.

Sincerely,
James Peck.

Comment by the Editor:

In "The Root Is Man", I remarked on the failure of organized labor to concern itself with the atomic bomb, except as a source of jobs. With this apathy, I contrasted the lively concern of the petty-bourgeois scientists. And I drew the conclusion, from this and other data, that the Radical can no longer assume the labor movement is "on his side".

The above correspondence shows what I mean. Here we have a small group of radicals in New York City proposing what would seem a modest and respectable enough action: to protest publicly the continued manufacture and testing of atomic bombs. The violence of the replies, approaching hysteria in the case of Baldanzi and Christopher (both of whom, incidentally, are what is laughingly called "progressive" trade unionists), seems at first glance out of proportion to the scope and intent of what was proposed. Why did the CIO leadership get so excited? It is notable that none of their letters give any idea of the reason *why* such a picket line at Oak Ridge would "destroy our attempt to organize the workers there." It is implied that the workers themselves would strongly object to such a demonstration, which they would see as threatening their job rights (this is not stated, as it would have sounded a little cynical). I think this is quite possible, and that Jim Peck may have been optimistic to expect the local workers to "sympathize with the demonstration's objectives." But I don't think the mere fact, if fact it be, of an antagonistic reaction of the workers explains the reaction of the CIO leadership. Especially when it is considered that the picketing would have been done by a half-dozen individuals on their own; even if the WDL had been concerned — which it was not, a fact which the trade unionists could have ascertained by a simple inquiry if they had not been too excited to think of doing so — the connection with the CIO would have been extremely indirect. It is hard to imagine the 30,000 workers at Oak Ridge refusing to join the CIO for this reason.

It is not hard, however, to imagine the Army and the Department of Justice taking a serious view of such a picket line (it would have been the first outside any atomic bomb plant), especially if it got any newspaper publicity at all. And here, I think, we have the clue to the CIO leaders' nervousness. In most parts of the South, the current AFL and CIO organizing drives have avoided local conflict; Oak Ridge is the one big plant where the two are clashing directly. Both organizing campaigns there are, furthermore, dependent on Government toleration — indeed, according to the *N.Y. Times* of June 26 last: "Under orders from Washington, office space within the Government reservation at Oak

Ridge has been provided for the organizers of the AFL, CIO, and the independent International Machinists Union." It was not always thus. "Paul Christopher, CIO director in Tennessee, recalls how he rallied organizers to the task and was about to start in real earnest when he received a peremptory phone call from Philip Murray ordering him, without explanation, to drop all activities in connection with Oak Ridge. Mr. Christopher did not understand the reason for this unusual directive until he read the news last August of the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Last March 22, however, Secretary of War Patterson decided that the security reasons against organizing campaigns among the workers no longer existed . . . ."

In a word, the unions are in Oak Ridge only because the War Department has so ruled: If they behave themselves, the Government will even provide them with offices; if not, out they go. The CIO leaders, as patriotic middleclass Americans, accept these conditions with docility. And they fear, doubtless with reason, that any "irresponsible" action which can in any way be connected with the CIO may give the rival AFL a big advantage *not with the workers, but with the Government authorities.* In these quasi-official organizing campaigns, it is essential to have the State on one's side.* Hence the uproar over Jim Peck's modest proposal.

A word on the behavior of the Peck group and the WDL in the affair. As to the latter, Chairman Gilmartin's letter speaks for itself. It is a depressing document. The WDL's membership includes many pacifists and socialists; its executive secretary, Morris Milgram, was a CO in the war; much of its current activity is in defense of CO rights. Yet its chairman was not only willing to put pressure on the Peck group to back down, but does not venture to defend the principle behind their proposed action. His only word in support of the demonstration is that it would not have been effective anyway! There is, of course, no mystery about the motivation of this abject letter: the WDL needs the support of the top CIO leadership, and it must jump when the whip is cracked. Such commitments are a commonplace in any respectable organization, but they don't make for dignified behavior when the heat is turned on. Especially when the organization is split, as the WDL is, between socialists and pacifists on the one hand and trade-unionists on the other.

Finally, on the Peck group, of which I was a member. The original idea was Peck's, and two meetings were held in my apartment to plan the action, the first being attended by about ten people, the second by about six. (As a participant, I asked for and was given copies of the correspondence, which is published here entirely on my own responsibility.) A half-dozen people, most of them pacifists and members of the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution, committed themselves to making the trip. (I myself decided not to, because it would have taken at least a week, perhaps more if we were arrested, and I felt I could not spare so much time.) The decision to call off the picketing after the CIO objected was unanimous except for myself. The others felt that it would be confusing and harmful to our cause if the demonstration resulted in an open clash with the unions. I felt, on the contrary, that such a clash would clarify things. The second paragraph of Jim Peck's letter seems to me in grievous conflict with the first: is it not precisely the job of radicals to "come into conflict with organized labor" — or rather, more accurately, with the persons who make union policy — if it back-tracks on so crucial an issue as the military use of atomic energy? If one believes that "a progressive labor body like the CIO should be in the vanguard of the fight against the atomic bomb", and if one finds that it is, to say the least, not, then must one not seek out ways not to conceal this fact but rather to publicize it as widely as possible?

The decision of Peck and his colleagues of the CNVR was due, I believe, to a cultural lag. As Marxians — the CNVR is largely Socialist in political coloration — they assume that their anti-war activity and their pro-union activity are both leading the same way. This assumption no longer is valid; collisions are possible, and even increasingly probable. This is not the last time they will have to choose, and let us hope next time they base their decision on the bigger instead of the lesser issue. It takes courage to risk probable arrest by the police and Army in picketing an atomic bomb plant, but it also takes courage to clash with the unions, those sacred cows of Marxian doctrine; and the latter kind of courage, I suspect, will be increasingly needed by radicals in the future. Finally, if it be true that the reaction of the CIO to the proposed picketing was largely due to its fear of losing its tolerated status with the War Department, then the affair takes the odd twist that the CNVR radicals are knuckling under to that very State authority which they oppose when it wears a policeman's badge instead of a union button.

D. M.

P.S. Word comes that the demonstration did take place on Bikini Day—but in Washington instead of in the explosive atmosphere of Oak Ridge. Eleven of the demonstrators were arrested for parading without a permit.

* In "The Root Is Man" I stated, incorrectly, that all the 150,000 atomic bomb workers carried union cards. The plant at Hanford, Washington, was 100% unionized, but the unions were evidently kept out of Oak Ridge. The reason for this difference I don't know. Of course, as Virgil Vogel's article on Hanford showed (POLITICS, September 1945), there was no question of permitting an organizing campaign there either during the war. A few conservative AFL unions were given a union shop agreement, and every new worker got a union card (and a dues slip) with his identification badge. The unions at Hanford were part of factory discipline.

Periodicals

"Report on the Negro Soldier" by Warman Welliver. *Harpers*, April 1946.

Mr. Welliver recounts in this article his experiences as a captain in the colored 92nd Division which fought in the Italian campaign. He indorses the accuracy of the War Department report which said that the 92nd Division had "melted away" in combat and had not been an effective fighting force. Since the 92nd was the only Negro infantry outfit to see combat, the Negro-haters deduced that the Negro lacked the ability to fight and was fit only for menial labor details.

According to Welliver, some Negro troops did fight effectively and heroically as individuals, but the unit as a whole was ineffective, and despite repeated reorganizations had to be pulled out of line. Why did the Negro unit fail to function efficiently?

Welliver lists several reasons: (1) The leadership of the division was composed of "officers who would guarantee the division the least possible chance for success." They were "all Southerners with conventional Southern attitudes" who had "violent and ungovernable prejudices." Obviously, such unsympathetic leadership could not give inspiration to Negro troops. (2) The colored soldiers suffered from severe educational handicaps; most of them were Southern boys with less than seventh grade schooling. It was difficult for them to assimilate the technical material indispensable for the soldier in a mechanized army. (3) "More important is

the habituation of colored men to discrimination and a dependent inferior position in civilian life. Most colored soldiers, before they entered the Army, resigned themselves to acceptance of the white man's arrogance. . . . This frame of mind is definitely not the stuff of which good soldiers are made." (4) "The discrimination and segregation to which he has been subjected in civilian life are carried over into military life. . . . Yet he is asked to risk his life against the enemy as bravely and with as few questions as the white soldier. Colored soldiers would be more than human if a lot of them didn't have very serious mental reservations about that setup."

Welliver, who concerns himself only with the military and not the social aspects of the problem, recommends the creation of volunteer mixed outfits in which complete equality will be the rule. He believes that in such outfits Negro soldiers will find incentives to struggle. It seem doubtful, however, if such mixed outfits would provide much incentive to Negro soldiers, unless they were the reflection of a general and universal practise in civilian life—and that involves a host of problems which even army officers as unusually intelligent as is Mr. Welliver have yet to face.

"The New Russian Imperialism—Its Economic Policy and Aims in the Occupied Countries". Editorial in *The New International*, April 1946.

A development of the point of view of the dissident Trotskyists that Russian society is a new social order, "bureaucratic collectivism," rather than either a workers' state, as Trotsky believed, or capitalism. While acknowledging that the imperialist policy of Russia is qualitatively different from that of capitalist imperialism, the editorial lists the methods of Russian imperialism which consist of a "combination by the Russians of phases of imperialist policy associated with all previous forms of imperialism, from that of ancient Rome to Wall Street. In this sense the exploitation of foreign resources by Russia reflects the exploitative societies, i. e. slave labor, serfdom and wage labor, yet combines them in such a manner upon the basis of a nationalized economy as to create an economic system qualitatively different from any previously known."

This imperialist policy "springs from Stalinist Russia's irrepressible need to remake the world in its own image as the only means of establishing security for its own social form; the need to satisfy the pressing requirements of the state economy by extending the 'primitive accumulation' from the 'internal' field to the 'external'! . . ."

By "primitive accumulation"—(the classic phrase Marx used to describe the early concentration of capitalist wealth)—as applied to Russia today, the authors mean "the systematic appropriation of the means of production by the Russians in every country they have entered, that feature of Russian occupation policy that has been most consistently applied, whether in Berlin, Vienna, Bucharest or Harbin." The Russian type of imperialism consists in the denuding of the means of production of occupied countries in order to provide for themselves additional means for their own exploitation of labor.

While the theory of bureaucratic collectivism clears much theoretical ground in disposing of the theory that Russia is a "workers' state" and also in indicating its qualitative difference from traditional capitalist society, its defenders leave as yet unanswered the following problems:

(1) Is bureaucratic collectivism an "historical aberration" deriving from a unique situation in Russia, or is it a possible third alternative to capitalism and socialism on a *world* scale?

(2) The theory is thus far largely a political *statement* rather than a description, valuable for what it denies more than for what it asserts. Its proponents have not yet attempted to offer an analysis of its economic processes.

"The Jewish Delicatessen: The Evolution of an Institution" by Ruth Glazer. *Commentary*, March 1946.

This is a charming account of the Jewish delicatessen store—an institution with which readers living outside of New York are unfamiliar, but which those of us who have periodically gone to it for a snack of salami (at a "nickel a shtickel") or for a hot pastrami sandwich, think of with delight. Miss Glazer, who writes from long experience as the daughter of a delicatessen store keeper, offers many interesting tidbits of information—how the mustard "toots" are made up, the different kinds of delicatessen meat—which will prove a source of fascinating lore for the uninitiated in the hinterland and will warm the hearts of those readers in New York who can recall as one of the high points of their younger days a trip to the delicatessen on Sunday night to buy some of those indigestible but delicious meats.

Commentary plans more articles of this kind on similar American Jewish institutions and if they are as good as this one, they will certainly brighten the pages of that magazine. This kind of factual reportage, done with feeling and taking a theme close to the author's first-hand experience, is a genre, modest but solid, which adds more to our understanding than many a more pretentious piece.

"The Conservative South, a Political Myth" by William G. Carleton. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring 1946.

This weird article has as its purpose to prove that the South is not, as commonly believed, a stronghold of political reaction, but is rather one of the main sources of the liberal tradition in this country. Mr. Carleton cites the traditional opposition of the South to Northern industrial capitalism, but fails to indicate the social basis upon which that opposition has been historically nourished. He cites further the fact that Jefferson and Jackson, two of the major sources of the liberal strain in American thought, were both Southerners. What relevance this fact has, however, for the *present* status of the South is not made clear.

"Leftists," he writes, "must admit that since the mid-nineties the South has usually been part of the national Popular Front which is slowly bringing social democracy to the United States." This statement should be sufficient to indicate how unrealistic and self-deceiving is the thought of even those few Southerners who consider themselves liberals. In that sense—as a demonstration of the impossible position in which the "Southern liberals" find themselves—this article assumes an almost classic status.

"Literature as an Institution" by Harry Levin. *Accent*. Spring 1946.

A criticism of the sociological approach to literature. In its anxiety to reveal the so-called content of a work of art, by which it usually means its ideological motivation, Levin argues, the sociological school misses a more revealing characteristic; the way the artist handles the appropriate conventions of his technique. The sociological critics—from Taine to Brandes to Parrington—have assumed an intimate correlation between society and art which does not in fact exist; for "literature, instead of reflecting life, refracts it."

Literature, insists Levin, is an institution. "It cherishes a unique phase and controls a special body of devices and precedents; it tends to incorporate a self-perpetuating discipline while responding to the main currents of each succeeding period; it is continually accessible to all the impulses of life at large, but it must translate them into its own terms and adopt them to its peculiar forms."

While most of what Mr. Levin says is true enough, there are several points of criticism to be made which indicate the essential weakness of his article: (1) He is pretty much beating a dead horse. The more vulgar varieties of sociological criticism have been subjected in recent years to such thorough attack that Levin's essay seems a pale anti-climax. (2) Levin underestimates the contributions of the school he attacks. For if the sociological critics have not given definitive answers to the problems of criticism, they have contributed at least parts of those answers. The nature of Levin's attack can be seen in the fact that the only Marxist critic whom he cites is Granville Hicks. (3) Most important, Levin fails to go beyond his negative points, familiar by this time, to the more valuable and original task of indicating what *are* the factors that shape Literature as an Institution.

(I) "Attitudes towards Soviet Russia" by George Horsley Smith. *Journal of Social Psychology.* Winter 1946.

(II) "Favorable and Unfavorable Attitudes toward Certain Enemy and Allied Countries" by A. R. Gilliland and R. A. Blum. *The Journal of Psychology.* Fall 1945.

(I) Professor Smith worked up a series of tests on attitudes to Russia and administered them to several diverse groups during 1944, when Russia was still in active military collaboration with the U. S. He utilized the standard methodology of psychological testing. His conclusions: (1) There is no significant correlation between sections of the country and the opinions people hold on Russia. Young people in the mid-west were no more opposed to Russia than young people in other parts of the country. (2) Negroes, as a group, were more sympathetic to Russia than any other group. (3) The only general anti-Russian attitude that could be correlated with race or religion was observed among Catholic high school girls. (4) There was a certain correlation between pro-Russian sentiment and a "progressive" attitude towards domestic problems, but this correlation was less than might be expected. Over 50% of the pro-Russians opposed a stronger labor movement in America: and 32% of them were against equal rights for Negroes!

(II) The authors report on tests given to groups of college students in Chicago in 1944 and again, in June 1945. Two results are especially interesting. First, while favorable attitudes towards both England and Russia dropped sharply in the second test, given after the ending of the war in Europe, the drop was much greater in the latter case. Second, an additional question was asked on the second test: "After the war, with which of the following countries should we form our closest ties: England, Russia, or China?" Answers were arranged by income groups, with rather startling results, on which the authors comment (our emphasis):

"There is not a great difference between any of the income groups in favoring our future closest ties with England. . . . *The table also shows that the higher income groups are more favorable to Russia than the lower income groups. The differences are consistent and striking.* This seems to be further evidence that many people in the higher income groups look upon Russia as a potential market for our goods."

It might seem there is a contradiction between this finding and that of Dr. Smith's above that Negroes are more sympathetic to Russia than any other group. But, leaving aside the fact that racial democracy is the biggest "selling point" for Russia today, any one who follows these polls at all is struck by the tendency of Negro replies to correspond closely to those of the highest income groups. This similarity of the opinions of our lowest and the highest social and economic groups is striking evidence of the cultural backwardness of American Negroes.

THEODORE DRYDEN

New Roads

DISCUSSION

Sir:

I have never before bothered to reply to a magazine article, but I found *The Root Is Man* (except for its flaying of the dead horse of Marxism) such an unadulterated piece of nonsense that I could not let the opportunity pass. (I would like to make it clear that I hold with neither the "Progressives" nor "Radicals" as you term them. My observations and conclusions are on an entirely different level.)

"The ability of science to guide us in human affairs has been overrated." How do you know? In every field that it has undertaken, science has triumphed. It has triumphed because it has the only working method of dealing with phenomena. Science has as yet not invaded the field of human affairs or attempted to deal with them. Judging by past performance, it is quite logical to assume that if science enters the fields of human affairs and continues to use its methods in those fields, it will be able to deal with them quite effectively.

Now—you give yourself away: "We—favor adjusting technology to man; even if it means—a technological regression." Hey, Prof. Hutchins!—another Neo-Thomist—grab him! Why don't you get out of your ivory and pink tower and look at the world about you? Whether you like it or not, modern technology is here to stay. Technology and science move only in one direction—toward a greater ability to deal with the world in which we live. When a technological advance is made, it remains—until replaced by a greater advance. No retreat. Technology can not be adjusted to man; man must adjust himself to technology. And there you have the crux of the problem. Can man adjust himself and his society to the Power Age? The problem is not a moral one or one of eternal verities—it is a technological one. Capitalism is not being undermined on grounds that Marxists or Radicals can understand—it is being undermined by modern technology. [See *The Economic Consequences of Power Production* by Fred Henderson. (John Day, 1931.)] When are you going to realize that the proletariat is a thing of the past—that modern machine technology has so rapidly replaced human labor that human beings are no longer an important factor in production—in fact, with proper organization of production, can be almost entirely eliminated? To adjust technology to man is impossible. Man must adjust himself to technology and realize that his chief importance to the industrial and economic organization of the future will not be as a producer, but as a consumer. Technology can provide man with abundance and free him from all economic worries in order to pursue higher ends—art, culture and gracious living. Science is not the enemy—it is the savior of mankind.

How can a modern person, living in a modern world be "non-materialistic and non-scientific"? Answer: He is too lazy to learn the scientific method (the only proven heuristic) and prefers guesswork to method and opinions to facts. Why do you try to escape from the real world? Why don't you come down to earth and deal with real problems on their own ground? Cut out the metaphysics. Rational materialism is the only philosophy that can deal with a real world; the scientific method is the only way of dealing with real problems. Take off that cassock, brother.

* * *

"By socialism I mean a classless society" [How can you say that after reading Burnham's *The Machiavellians*, in which it is proven that a classless society is impossible? If you mean—*economically* classless—that's another matter.]

. . . . in which the state has disappeared." [The *political* State may disappear, but the State (rulers) will never disappear. At best, it can take the form of a non-political world-wide planning board.]

"Production is cooperative." [Have you ever seen a "cooperative" industrial plant? Of course not. Production is never cooperative, nor is there any need for it to be. It is run by engineers and managers, people who are specially trained for their specific jobs. Try to run things from below, with every untrained man permitted to voice his opinion on matters of which he has no knowledge and you will have complete democracy—but no production. "Cooperative" production is impossible. Production must be controlled from above. Ask any qualified engineer.]

"And no man has political or economic power over another." [This is meaningless. The definitions of "political" and "economic" power depend on the society in which you live, as do "truth", "justice" and other universals.]

The last sentence of your footnote on page 102 is also meaningless. What does "his own talents and personality" mean? Personality isn't inborn. The personality of an individual is largely a function of his environment. Change environment and you change personality. An individual does not "develop his personality." It is developed for him by the world about him. [See any good argument for Determinism or Behaviorism.] By controlling environment, the personality of the individual can be controlled. No, you can't even keep science out of what you hope is the domain of the individual.

* * *

Pg. 102: "All we have on the Left is still that banal and hopeless clash of two unsatisfactory alternatives." Good. Now, you're getting somewhere. You are beginning to realize that the answer will not be found among *any* of the forces of the so-called "left". What, then, is the answer? Hold on to your hat, Macdonald—here we go:

I think we agree on what a good society should be—it should be one in which the individual is free to LIVE. That is, one in which material necessities are supplied to the individual as a matter of course, leaving him free to pursue non-economic artistic, cultural and recreational activities. This can only take place in an economy of abundance. Have we the means of producing such an abundance without toil? Thanks to modern technology, yes. What is lacking? A plan and the ability to put such a plan into effect. Who are the people who can plan things and carry the plans through? Here we disagree. To me, it has become evident that there is only one group of people capable of dealing with the problem—and they are the people you dislike and distrust most—because *you know nothing about them or their methods*. These people are the scientists and engineers and you, like the 100 Best Books educators, are afraid of them because you are too lazy to learn their languages (mathematics, physics, chemistry) and to understand their method of doing things—the only method by which anything—in any field—can be accomplished. The solution, then, lies neither with the "Progressives" nor with the "Radicals", but with the solid, factual, efficient and capable scientists and engineers. That they are rapidly becoming aware of their responsibility, even you admit: "The petty-bourgeois scientists who developed The Bomb have expressed the utmost concern over the effects of their creation—forming associations, issuing statements, proposing various policies, trying to arouse the public." The Sleeping Giant is beginning to awaken.

The answer to our problem is not in truth, justice, love—the abstract eternals. It is in the *practice* of these universals (as we know them)—and the only people in the world who have practiced them and continue to do so are the scientists. Scientists do not work for themselves, but for humanity. They do not seek personal power; they strive for the good of all. Therefore, since there *must* be a ruling élite (not necessarily economic—see Burnham), the only hope for humanity is that the élite consist of the *only people* who will run it for the benefit of all and who have a method whereby all problems may be solved. These people are the scientists. The answer, therefore, is not to confine science to "its own" domains, but to expand it to embrace our entire civilization, as eventually it must if we are to live rationally. The answer is *total science*—the scientific method applied to everything in the universe—including social organization.

Since you have realized the complete inability of the left to cope with the problems that face us—problems which, I repeat, are primarily technological—perhaps you would be receptive to ideas that have their basis in sound, scientific, non-political principles and methods. Look up the movement called "Technocracy, Inc." Don't come to any conclusions about them until you read some of their recent publications. Whether we like it or not, the coming form of social organization will be managerial ["totalitarian", "bureaucratic collectivism"—call it what you will—is there a semanticist in the house?] Technology has so dictated and technological trends are irreversible. The only thing we can try to do is to see to it that the coming totalitarian state is run for the benefit of its inhabitants and not for the benefit of an exploiting few (fascism). In the long run, this totalitarian (managerial) state may result in greater democracy, freedom and happiness than you ever dreamed of.

Ever read Edward Bellamy?

BROOKLYN, N. Y. MILTON SUBOTSKY

The answer to the last question is Yes. The answer to all the rest, with the possible exception of the statement that a good society is one "in which the individual is free to LIVE" (and even here I suspect that we have widely different ideas of what the word "live" means) is that Subotsky has put on paper, with admirable brevity, a social philosophy with every tenet of which I passionately disagree. He would intensify the forces that seem to me to alienate man from his own nature. Instead of that reduction of the division of labor in modern society which Marx and Kropotkin alike deplored, made a mainspring of their teachings, Subotsky would carry it even farther, to the extreme of a specialized hierarchy of scientists who would hand down happiness and culture to the passive, ignorant masses. I don't think I would like the poetry produced in the technocratic Utopia. —D. M.

Sir:

And now I would like the privilege of commenting on Macdonald's latest opus: *The Root Is Man.* In my opinion the first installment says much that is true and much that is false and dangerous. Especially false and dangerous is Macdonald's thesis that what he calls "bureaucratic collectivism" is a social system altogether different from capitalism, and that accordingly it is no longer tenable to premise the struggle for socialism upon the contradictions inherent in the capitalist economy. Instead of looking to the historical process as the basis upon which to build a program of social reconstruction, we are exhorted to "start off from one's own personal interests and feelings, working from the individual to society, rather than the other way round."

Macdonald proceeds from the fallacy that capitalism is no longer capitalism when it assumes the form of nationalization and becomes integrated with the state. This confusion stems from the failure to recognize that capitalism is not synonymous with *laissez faire* or "free enterprise." Wage labor and capital compose the foundation of government ownership as it is spreading in Europe, rigid state regulation as it was practiced under Hitler, and total state control as it exists in Russia.

Capitalism began with the reverse of laissez faire and everything indicates that it will decline that way. On this point Louis Hacker, in his *Triumph of American Capitalism*, page 44, says: "The state imported artisans, granted bounties, staked out monopolies, invested itself in enterprise and compelled private citizens to do similarly, sometimes erected workshops; and on top of this structure imposed elaborate codes for the supervision of the home industries thus created. As in present-day Germany and Italy, not the private initiative of capitalism was at the controls of enterprise but an enormous and top-heavy bureaucracy."

Those people who identify capitalism solely with its nineteenth century type would do well to read Hacker's chapters on the stages of capitalism. Another writer who understood that capitalism was not confined to any one stage was Frederick Engels. Already at the end of the last century he could perceive that centralization and accumulation of capital would reach proportions compelling state intervention on an accelerating scale. In *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* he explained how capitalism leads not only to monopoly but eventually to the monopoly of monopolies under the aegis of the modern state. "The modern state is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists." He saw the modern state as the "ideal personification of the total national capital." He stressed that under government ownership wage labor remains intact and the "capitalist relation is not done away with," even when bureaucrats replace entrepreneurs.

Macdonald thinks that the capitalist character of society was done away with when Hitler took over in Germany. There the entrepreneurs lost their freedom of economic activity and the Nazi state set production quotas, allocated materials and labor power, fixed prices, regulated wages, and supervised foreign trade down to the last detail. For this reason Macdonald thinks that the Nazis actually suspended the law of labor value as thoroughly as King Canute thought he could suspend the tides.

Judged by this logic, the law of value ceased to operate in the U. S. when the state here was impelled by the stringencies of a war economy to follow much the same pattern set in Germany. Here too the Government decreed what was to be produced, how much was to be produced, what prices were to be charged, what wages were to be paid, who was to be allotted materials and in what quantity, etc. etc. It is of course true that the U. S. government did not resort to the extremes of regimentation in effect in Germany, but had the war lasted longer ever more government interference would have been necessary over here too. That, however, would not have signified the nemesis of the social relationships peculiar to commodity production.

If the nature of fascism confuses some of our present-day radicals, the nature of the Russian economy positively confounds them. Thus Macdonald admits the existence in Russia of all the paraphernalia of capitalism: wages, prices, profits, investments, bonds, interest, banking, insurance, etc. etc. Yet he unqualifiedly denies the existence of a law of value and therefore of capitalist relations in Russia. For years Russian economists found that the denial of the law of value created embarrassing difficulties in explaining just such categories as Macdonald mentions. Recently a number of Soviet economists solved the problem by making a startling revision in Marxian Economics. They now contend that the law of value is not historically limited to the capitalist mode of production but prevails under any system of society, including "socialist" Russia! (See Raya Dunayevskaya's article in the *American Economic Review*, Sept. 1944).

To justify the class relationships in Russia, the economists have devised the formula: From each according to his abilities and to each according to his *labor*. Distribution according to labor through the medium of money is nothing more nor less than the Marxian category, *value*. Except for Russia's slave labor battalions, comparable to American prison labor and chain gangs, Soviet workers are divorced from the means of production and must sell their labor power in order to live. And the cardinal point in the Marxian theory of value is that, like any other commodity, labor power is paid at its value, getting merely what is socially required for its reproduction. Surplus value springs from the fact that the commodity which the worker sells is contained in his living person while the value he receives in exchange is materialized in money. Hence the living person is forced to toil beyond the point where the value created by him is objectified in his standard of living.

In Russia accumulation is the prime motive of production, and capital sucks up surplus value as greedily as in any other capitalist nation. To hasten accumulation, the Russian state increases the exploitation of its working class by policies more cruel than those employed to achieve primitive accumulation in the dark days of industrial England. How else can capital goods industries be built up except by gouging surplus value from the workers? In backward Russia the capitalist class was historically unfit to foster capitalism and the state power erected by the Bolsheviks is doing the job. As Lenin put it, "If capitalism anyhow, let's make it."

In the epoch of imperialism, accumulation at home calls for an ever progressing rate of exploitation; abroad it leads to sharpened conflicts with rival states. Macdonald is mistaken if he thinks Marxian analysts could not forsee the virulent nationalism by means of which capitalist accumulation would be fostered. Long ago Hilferding envisioned how " . . . the state, which is extraneous to the people, and the nation are bound together, and the national idea is made the driving force of policy. Class antagonisms are abolished in the service of the totality. Common action of the nation united for the goal of national greatness takes the place of class struggle, which for the possessing class

is both fruitless and dangerous. This ideal which seems to unite shattered bourgeois society with a new bond must receive an even more ecstatic acceptance, since *all the time the disintegration of bourgeois society proceeds apace.*" (my italics)

Unlike Macdonald, Hilferding had a profound grasp of political economy and knew that no matter how all-embracing and ruthless the state apparatus, the economic forces unleashed by accumulation will push society from convulsion to convulsion—until the people of the world put an end to the senseless slavery, starvation and slaughter. With the intellectual's usual cynicism for the masses, Macdonald thinks workers can never emerge beyond a trade union consciousness. This is the sort of rationalization by which fascist and bolshevik-elites try to justify their dictatorships. Macdonald to the contrary, the historical process goes on. The political and economic realities of decaying world capitalism will ripen human consciousness until mankind becomes aware that nationalization, whether administered by New Dealers, Laborites, or Bolsheviks, cannot bring freedom and a better life to the people. Government ownership will only exploit them more thoroughly, subsidize their poverty with social security schemes, and sooner or later regiment them for another holocaust.

Macdonald is certainly right when he writes: "It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish the 'Right' from the 'Left' wing." Both wings have this in common: They want to rule society through the instrumentality of the state power. None of the so-called "Left" groups whom Macdonald mentions is striving for a social system in which the tools of production will actually be owned and democratically controlled by the people. This "Left" amalgam is made up of totalitarian liberals; caretakers of capitalism like the politicians heading the British Labor Party; reformist socialists of the Second International stamp; Trotskyists, whose first act upon achieving power would be to ruthlessly suppress all who did not see eye to eye with them.

The acquisition of power by any of these groups would still leave society divided into rulers and ruled. These "Left" elements differ among themselves only as to how the rule is to be administered—whether by dictatorial or by "democratic" means. But real democracy " . . . a society in which the full and free development of every individual becomes the ruling principle—production by freely associated men" . . . is unthinkable so long as the people who work are separated from the ownership of the means of production. This simple lesson the human race has yet to learn. And the pressure of world events—or, if you please, the historical process—will be the most potent factor in driving this lesson home.

In ancient regimes, where the material basis for human wellbeing was lacking, the people endured poverty and war indefinitely, simply because there was no other way out for them. But people will not go on starving—as 500,000,000 are starving today—forever in a world of potential plenty, where humanity need only organize politically to lay hold of the production tools and master them to produce use values instead of being riveted to them as living exchange values. By clarifying economic and social trends, writers can hasten the maturing consciousness of the people. After reading and rereading the *Root Is Man*, however, it is my sincere conviction that this work will befuddle more than it will clarify. And in saying this I am not unmindful of the fact that Macdonald makes several major penetrating and sound criticisms.

DETROIT, MICH. FRANK MARQUART

The theoretical point at issue here, "What Is Capitalism?", appears to me to be part of a larger question, "What Is Marxism"? Later on, I shall deal with these questions in a separate article, originally designed to be part of "The Root Is Man". Here, therefore, I won't go into it, beyond noting that the two theoreticians on whom I base my case are, curiously enough, the same ones Marquart cites: Marx and Hilferding. I can't resist also noting, apropos the crack about the latter's "profound grasp of political economy" ("unlike Macdonald"), that this is indeed a rash remark. Marquart evidently is unaware that, while it is true that Hilferding "long ago"—specifically in his big work on finance capital published before World War I—propounded a theory of State Capitalism similar to that which Marquart and others hold today, he discarded this theory after Stalinism and Hitlerism has shown its inadequacy; and in 1939, *in* Sotsiakistichesky Viestnik *(Paris), he wrote an article which is an excellent brief statement of the economic theory of Bureaucratic Collectivism. If Marquart will look up my article, "The End of German Capitalism", in the May-June,* 1941 Partisan Review, *he will find the essential passages from that article, as well as other educational material (such as the distinction between monopoly capitalism and Bureaucratic Collectivism.)*

One extract from Hilferding: "The concept of 'State Capitalism' cannot stand any analysis from the economic point of view . . . The believer knows only of heaven and hell. The Marxist sectarian knows only of capitalism and socialism, he knows only of classes—the bourgeois and the proletariat—as determining forces. He cannot conceive the idea that modern State power, having become independent, develops its enormous strength according to its own laws, that it subjects the social forces and compels them to serve it."

To Marxist sectarians and trade union fetishists, a theory of capitalism which includes in that term the present Soviet economy is useful because it means that nothing basically new has happened and that socialists can continue with the old bourgeois-proletariat frame of reference worked out in convincing detail by Marx. They can continue to feel that moral and intellectual certainty which comes to those who have a familiar tradition behind them. They can dismiss, as Marquart does, such detailed demonstrations of the failure of the workingclass to advance towards socialism as the first part of "The Root Is Man" as instances of "the intellectual's usual cynicism for the masses." (I'm struck, by the way, with the tendency of Marxists like Marquart and Farrell to go in heavily for personal abuse—an emphasis on the subjective factor which is ironically at variance with their professed philosophy, though understandable enough considering the desperate weakness of their position on objective grounds.) They can exhibit the virginal innocence (and the gall) after the experience of the last thirty years, to blandly state: "The political and economic realities of decaying world capitalism will ripen human consciousness until mankind becomes aware . . . etc." In the spirit of empirical, objective investigation—that method which Marx, in his better moments, used with such telling effect — I amassed a good deal of evidence to show that in fact no such awareness has been developed by the masses after more than a century of increasing capitalist, and other, horrors. The pages of POLITICS *are and have always been open to Marquart or any one else who thinks he can show that such "ripening" has taken place in fact (not in wishes); or who can give us cynical intellectuals some reasons, of a solidity appropriate to our scepticism, for continuing to look to Marx's proletariat to usher in socialism.*

"People will not go on starving forever in a world of potential plenty," states Marquart. How does he know they won't? If a single generation can absorb two World Wars plus Hitler and Stalin plus saturation bombing and atomic

warfare without being goaded towards a better society—quite the reverse, indeed—how does Marquart know that people cannot adapt themselves indefinitely to starvation? He lacks faith in human capacities.

"By clarifying economic and social trends," he continues, "writers can hasten the maturing consciousness of the people . . . However, it is my sincere conviction that ('The Root Is Man') will befuddle more than it will clarify." His reasoning: since capitalism is still evolving as Marx thought it would, and since the masses are growing ever more socialistically conscious as a result of thier sufferings, also as Marx said they would, THEN an article which denies both these propositions befuddles more than it clarifies. Indubitably. But if the reverse of these two propositions be true, as my article goes into some detail to demonstrate, then it clarifies more than it befuddles. There is only one way that Marquart and other Marxists can win this argument, a most direct, simple and eminently Marxist way: to show by reference to recent history—after all, Marxism is a historical discipline—that the world is in fact moving towards socialism, that the masses are in fact showing a "maturing consciousness". (If they cannot take the considerable time which such an attempt would involve, then let them refer us to books or articles by others which demonstrate this thesis . . .) Let us grant all the dialectical regressions and temporary deviations from the progressive pattern that our Marxist opponents desire; all we want is to be shown that the broad, main line of history today is moving toward socialism, and then we shall all become Marxists again. O happy consummation! O safe harbor!

In Marquart's two communications, there is an implication that an article is "clarifying" if it shows the Marxian historical scheme working out according to schedule, and "befuddling" if it asserts the contrary. Or, as a Marxian friend said to me recently: "Your article is dangerous because it is a message of despair, because it paralyzes the will to struggle." But it is not my writings which produce despair and paralysis (such an imputation would be much too flattering to their influence, however critical of my own ethics) but the course of history itself. The first part of "The Root Is Man" is simply a thermometer, registering the desperate situation all socialists find themselves in today; the second part is an attempt to find a new basis for struggle. Marquart's approach is much simpler: he wants to change the temperature by fixing up the numbers on the thermometer. D. M.

Tolstoy on Science

Sir:

If the two essays by Tolstoy (particularly the first, *Modern Science*) do indeed "get right to the heart of the question which is now being discussed in POLITICS," then you have magnificently refuted yourself. Tolstoy's ethical ideas—even discounting the religious sentiment with which you find yourself unable to agree—are manifestly as absurd as his theories of alcohol and art.

Consider: Tolstoy's quarrel with experimental science is that it is not "true science"—his term for religion, philosophy and ethics—; in other words, that the potato is not a true sweetmeat. To buttress his argument that experimental science has no value, he points with scorn to such trifling occupations as "pouring liquids from one vial to another, . . . skilfully dissecting microscopic preparations, . . . cultivating bacteria, . . . cutting up frogs and dogs, . . . investigating the X-rays, the chemical composition of the stars, and so forth." Tolstoy's "simple, sensible man," who apparently suffers from the same semantic confusion which afflicts Tolstoy, expects that science will "teach him how to live; how to act toward [others]; how to struggle with his passions; in what he should and should not believe, and much besides." And when science replies that these problems contain so many factors that no scientific solution is possible until the basic problems on which they rest have been solved, Tolstoy's "sensible man" cries, "Teach me anyway, for I can't wait until you find out!"

As for the benefits of medical science, Tolstoy remarks only that it cures disease, but cannot prevent it —which is to say that it has committed the error of crawling before it tries to walk. Today, in the era of preventive medicine, one wonders whether Tolstoy would not object that medicine should leave off learning to walk and try to run. As for the rest of science, it is mere "idle curiosity"! Indeed, "steam, electricity, telephones, . . . all the practical results of man's victory over nature . . . are applied to manufactures injurious to the people; to means for exterminating men, to increasing luxury, dissoluteness; and therefore, man's victory over nature has not increased the welfare of men, but, on the contrary, made their condition worse." One could hardly ask a more compact argument for a return to the jaws of the saber-tooth.

In the presence of such blind aversion to logic, such passionate devotion to "common-sense"—that is to say, ignorance and faith—how can we expect a mind to react to an observed fact? Precisely as Tolstoy's did: Observing that when a society is organized on a basis of oppression, technological progress increases oppression rather than decreasing it, Tolstoy concludes that this is the fault of the technicians.

If only men would love each other as themselves, says Tolstoy, echoing Dumas, this change would at once "solve all contradictions, all difficulties, and . . . avert all the ills which the end of our century threatens." But, he continues, this idea is not original with M. Dumas; indeed, it has been current for three thousand years. Then why has it never been applied? Evidently there is "some secret but overwhelming reason." One might suppose that this is his last word on the subject; it sounds like it; but no—he has discovered the reason. It is that men are so busy with the vice of work, that they do not stop and think. There: now we have it—"no positive effort is necessary." Let everybody in the world lay down his tools for a moment and *think* about life—for "all great revolutions in the life of men commence in thought"—and every last lock will fly open. It never occurred to the poor man that he had been doing precisely that for most of his life, without achieving anything more than a shining platitude.

NEW YORK CITY DAMON KNIGHT

—But the whole point is what ARE these "basic problems" which must be solved before scientific method can answer Tolstoy's simple and profound question: What Should a Man Live By? Tolstoy says, and I agree with him, that they are ethical problems, value problems. The devotees of science have had sixty years since Tolstoy asked his question—not to mention a long time before then—and they have produced nothing to the point; we still must go to such deplorably unscientific thinkers as Christ, Lao-Tse, Thoreau, Socrates, and Tolstoy himself for answers. A fatal ambiguity pervades

the teachings of Marx and Dewey on this theme. Until this ambiguity is resolved, I prefer Tolstoy's shining platitudes to Marx's and Dewey's dull ones, just as I would rather take my chances on the jaws of the saber-tooth than on the atomic bomb. I envy Mr. Knight's unperturbed faith in scientific progress, but cannot help wondering where he has been since 1900?—ED.

The Intelligence Office

LETTER FROM AUSTRIA

Sir:

It was with indescribable joy that I received yesterday afternoon the two packages sent by you via Copenhagen.

May I express to you my deepest thanks. Through this generous act, you performed a great deed for me and my family, perhaps saved our lives, since we are at the end of our strength. For months now our daily nourishment has consisted of potato soup and two small pieces of bread. On this kind of diet one cannot do any spiritual or responsible work, and it is impossible to keep alive. My son is studying in a technical school and was twice carried out of his classroom unconscious because of lack of food. The conditions in these parts are so bad that it is absolutely impossible to describe them.

I would like to extend my hand to you in deep appreciation. Since that is impossible, I have to resort to a written thank you.

It would be a great joy to me if I could serve you in some way. If you have any wish which I could fulfill here in Austria, please let me know about it. I will always be ready to carry it out.

AUSTRIA, JUNE 12 DELY X

News sources confirm the impression made by this letter: that the food situation is more tragic in Austria than anywhere else in Europe. We have, therefore, set up a special emergency Packages-to-Austria Fund, to which our readers are invited to contribute. For every $15 received, we will send one CARE package to an Austrian family—30 pounds (net) of meat, cereals, sugar, fruit, butter, etc.

THE BLASCO MURDER

Sir:

In the February, 1946, issue of your magazine, I read the editorial comment headed, "Stalinism Means Murder." In it you cite some information from Jean Malaquais about the fate of Blasco (Tresso), a militant worker who was one of the old leaders of the Italian Communist Party, then an emigre, and finally a member of the P.O.I. (the French section of the Fourth International).

I took part in the Resistance with Blasco in Marseille in 1942. We were both members of the Fourth International ("Trotskyists"). We were arrested together on June 2, 1942, and sentenced together along with other comrades by the Vichy regime's special police. We went through the same prisons together, and were still together at Puy en Velay prison when the Maquisards freed us on the night of October 1, 1943.

Permit me to correct Malaquais' account as follows:

(1) Neither Blasco nor myself were ever tortured by the Gestapo for the good reason that we were never in their hands. We were freed by the Maquis two or three months before the German authorities took over all French political prisoners.

(2) There were five of us Trotskyists at Puy en Velay, and sixty Communists. Our relations with the latter were often strained, mostly because of instructions from outside; but on the whole, despite some vague threats from one particular Stalinist group-leader, we got on pretty well with the Communist rank and file.

(3) I lived for several days in the Maquis after our escape, together with Blasco, our other comrades and a lot of Stalinists. Not only were we not executed "at once," but our relations continued to be friendly.

(4) After I left the camp, I continued to get news of Blasco for about three months. Those in charge of the camp had changed their attitude towards him and considered him a partial prisoner, giving him menial jobs.

(5) Despite every effort, we never were able to get any *proof* that Blasco and our other comrades were executed by the Stalinists. Other Maquisards from the same camp—Stalinists—also disappeared without any trace. And in spite of our *very strong* suspicions, the assassination of four militant workers is an accusation which one can hardly make without definite evidence.

We have never hesitated to denounce the terrible crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy . . . But we feel that such serious charges should only be made on the basis of irrefutable proof. Such caution is all the more necessary in the case of Maquisards, whose way of life presented so many chances of sudden and permanent disappearance.

My own experience, leaving all political considerations aside, leads me to believe that such a crime could only have been committed on orders from above, by specialists detached from the workingclass movement, and perhaps even against the will of the Maquisards in the camp.

Finally, may I remark to Jean Malaquais that Blasco's theory "about defending the USSR" (which he held in common with the rest of us Trotskyists) was not conceived by him in order to "soften the hearts of his killers" nor by any wish to capitulate to Stalinism. Quite the contrary: it is because of our position of defense of the USSR (the only effective way of defending it, we believe) that the agents of Stalinism want to destroy us. Those who direct them cannot put up with our attachment to proletarian internationalism and to the socialist revolution.

PARIS, FRANCE ALBERT DEMAZIERE
(Member of the Central Committee of the P. O. I.

P.S. Thank you, in the name of the Party, for your editorial on "Free Speech in France" which we hope will help us win the right to publish legally our newspaper, "La Verite".

(1) *This letter has been sent on to Jean Malaquais, who is at the moment rusticating on a Mexican island with once-a-month mail service; we shall print any further word from him*

on the Blasco case. (2) The good news now comes that "La Verite", along with other leftwing papers, has at last been permitted legal publication by the French Government.—ED.

THE CPS STRIKES

Sir:

The committee wants to acknowledge your contribution and thank you for the write-up.

Of the 47 men arrested, 22 have now been indicted. (As of June 26th.) Two have been arraigned, plead "not guilty", and asked for a jury trial. They are the two who were the incident that set off the strike, Atherton and Behre; refused to transfer to Minersville.

The government stated in court three days ago that they expected to indict the remaining 25 with dispatch. They have not, of course, arrested the 30 men who are still on strike in the camp. These are men who have been in the program over 30 months. (Total of 77 men on strike).

An amazing assortment of people and groups, locally and national, have joined in the various protests. Even some of the labor people here have squawked rather loudly. But you have most of the material.

I am backing the strike because it is a rebellion against the state ("you can't strike against the government" is what the federal attorney said here), and it is a rebellion against the military who run the camps. Personally, I do not believe that the issue is a better conscription system. And men in the strike are coming to that point of view, I believe.

Incidentally, if you are interested in the dynamics of revolt this is an excellent illustration of the unplanned rebellion. We tried for years to get group resistance to the CPS tyranny. No result on a rational, planned basis. Then, after the war is over, in one of the most congenially located camps in the country 80 men—including 20 or 30 who would have been discharged in the regular course of events in about 30 or 60 days — go on an all out action over a couple of rather unimportant forced transfers. And they have the intelligence to broaden the strike aims immediately to get to their basic grievances.

They have worked hard to get over their point of view to the public, and have been successful. Our newspaper publicity has been amazing. The strikers have also worked together with considerable efficiency, and there has been no weakening of position.

Our committee is purely advisory *when asked.* We consider that the strike is the concern of the men, that they are of age to make decision, and we all hate this damn paternalism that has characterized the relationships of outsiders to CPS men. We have raised considerable in the way of funds. But the administrative expense of the strike has been great. Also, we as yet do not have funds with which to hire additional legal talent to aid Wirin. He needs it, particularly because of the volume of work and the complex issues. Too, yesterday the men on strike told us that they would have to have some allowances for personal expenses if they are to continue to work fulltime on the strike. We have found room and board for them, but this additional need — plus some dependency support — will amount to about $500 per month. It seems important to us that these men keep up the excellent work they have done to date.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. DENNY WILCHER, SEC'Y.

Sir:

Thank you for the piece on the CPS strike, which was accurate and to the point. The radical movement has been very slow to recognize that in CPS the United States has its own concentration camps.

The Glendora, Minersville and Big Flats committees have now (July 5) joined together in the Committee to End Slave Labor in America, with headquarters at 3302 South Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Calif. Dr. Allan Hunter is the executive secretary; Mrs. Frieda Lazarus and I are serving as Eastern representatives. This Committee will raise funds to defend the imprisoned men and will attempt to publicize the facts about CPS.

NEW YORK CITY ROY FINCH

SCHWEIKISM

Sir:

Re Don Calhoun's "Non-Violence and Revolution," may I draw your attention to a figure described by my late friend, Jaroslav Hasek, namely, Schweik, the Good Soldier? In the course of their painful history, harassed by reformers, counter-reformers, feudal lords, bureaucrats, etc., the Czechs developed an effective defense: sincere, disarming imbecility. Everything I hear in London shows that, of all the lands overrun by Stalin's GPU, the freest are Bohemia and Moravia, and I am sure that this is only thanks to the Schweikian attitude of the people. I also remember, in 1934 or 1935, Mr. Kolzow visiting Prague, where some avantguard theatre was performing "Schweik." With his commissar's instinct, Kolzow disapproved of Schweik and suggested that a better figure for dramatization would be Zizka, a long-forgotten military hero of the Hussite wars.

LONDON, ENGLAND JIRI KAFKA

—Hasek's "The Good Soldier, Schweik," which Jackson MacLow reviewed in these pages last year, is now again available in a 25c Penguin edition. Another reader writes in that this edition has been Bowdlerized of some of the most telling chapters, especially those satirizing the Church. But the only way to Bowdlerize "Schweik" effectively would be to delete the whole book. POLITICS *readers not yet familiar with "Schweik" will find no better investment for a quarter.*—ED.

CONTRIBUTORS

Edward Harnett, who was recently discharged from the Army, lives in New York City. He is working on a novel, attending evening classes, and looking for a job . . . *Martin Hasseck* works as a draftsman in an English aircraft factory . . . *Lucien Laurat* is a leading French Marxist theoretician; his books on planned economy are well known. *Niccolo Tucci*, whose "Commonnonsense" has appeared regularly in POLITICS, lives in New York City. He got out of the Italian diplomatic service in 1939, the Office of War Information in 1941, the Union for Democratic Action in 1942, and has been trying to make an honest living since then by free-lance writing. He is working on a novel . . . *Burton Bendiner* is on the staff of a labor-relations agency; he lives in New York, was recently discharged from the Army . . . *Helmut Hirsch* is on the faculty of Roosevelt College . . . *Dorothy McKenzie* was born and educated in the midwest; her first journalistic job was on Capper's "Farmer" magazine in Kansas, her second on the OWI after Pearl Harbor ("it was then the Office of Facts and Figures, under Archie MacLeish, and very like Alice's Wonderland"). After this came a year on the editorial staff of one of the leading Slicks, followed by some free-lance manuscript reading, and a year overseas as a Red Cross Canteen worker. "Came back to New York last March and worked a few months for a committee—very educational, too, since it was one of those liberal, non-profit outfits with a Beautiful Purpose which turns out on close inspection to be largely Promotion of the Founders. Have paused at the moment to do some writing and think what to do next. Principal ambition is simple: to find some kind of positive and decent role to play in what seems a stymied and pointless world." . . . *Theodore Dryden* is a first cousin of Terence Donaghue, who has often contributed to our letter columns; he is a partner in the Donaghue pedigreed ferret farm on Staten Island, N. Y. "Ferret-breeding," he writes, "is a most demanding occupation, for reasons not necessary to go into here. It leaves me just about enough spare time every month to do a regular Periodical review for POLITICS."

PACKAGES TO GERMANY & AUSTRIA

PARCEL POST: American zone in Germany only; Berlin excluded; 11 lb. limit.

"CARE" (50 Broad St., New York City) now sends to American and British zones in Germany, including Berlin, and also to Austria. Delivery takes 2 months. $15 for 49 lb. package.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE (103 Park Ave., New York City) sends to all zones of Germany, except the Russian, to Austria, and to all parts of Berlin, including the Russian sector. Packages are sent from Sweden or Switzerland, cost from $6 to $9. Delivery: 1 month.

ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT DEMOKRATISCHES DEUTSCHLAND (Dreikoenigstrasse 45, Zurich, Switzerland) sends to all zones of Germany including the Russian; also all sectors of Berlin. They offer seven kinds of packages, including one for children and one of medical supplies. $3.40 to $7.83. For details, write Nancy Macdonald at "Politics."