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THE SOCIALIST CALL

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Labor Day 1958

An Editorial

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Norman Thomas

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Mexican Revolution at Dead End

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The Alienated Worker

Frank Marquart

THE SOCIALIST CALL

HERMAN SINGER, EDITOR. ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, LEON DENNEN, HARRY FLEISCHMAN, MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM, AARON LEVENSTEIN, BENJAMIN MILLER, ROBIN MYERS, ERNST PAPANEK, NORMAN THOMAS, ASSOCIATE EDITORS. ERICH FROMM, HARRY W. LAIDLER, CONTRIBUTING EDITORS.

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The Whys and Wherefores of the CALL

● Two members of the SP-SDF from Chicago have been imprisoned and one is in the hospital as the result of their participation in a non-violent protest against construction of the nation's first ballistic missile launching project at Cheyenne, Wyoming. Kenneth Calkins was run over by a truck as he sat in the gate entrance to the site and is hospitalized with a fractured pelvis. Sheriff Norbert E. Tuck has said he will be arrested as soon as he is released from the hospital. His wife Eleanor has already been sentenced to 104 days for trespassing, as has Erica Enzer, secretary of the Chicago Local.

● Our June issue reported that the SP-SDF National Convention had voted to accept the members of the Independent Socialist League into the Party. A referendum of the membership on this issue followed. By a small margin the convention decision was affirmed by the results of the referendum.

● As we go to press, final arrangements are being made for the integration of ISL members into the SP-SDF. The terms of integration include prior dissolution of ISL as an organization, placing of their publications at the disposal of the SP-SDF to do with as it sees fit, and individual applications for membership under the same provisions and obligations as cover all other applicants.

● Thus the process of socialist "ingathering" continues. In January, 1957, the Socialist Party and Social

Democratic Federation merged. Now the members of the Independent Socialist League are joining the SP-SDF. One consequence of this latest development is a rejuvenated Young Peoples Socialist League, which is expected to make quite an impact on the nation's campuses this Fall. The integration of ISL will also bring about renewed activity and growth in the adult field, thus spurring on the encouraging re-birth of American socialism which began in January, 1957.

● Dr. Michael Shadid, whose second article appears in this issue, organized the first cooperative hospital in the United States. In his autobiography, *Crusading Doctor*, he tells the story

of his fight with organized medicine extending over a period of 23 years. Of this book, Norman Thomas has written, "I am delighted to have at hand your book. It gives me concrete facts to quote when I discuss the sins of the AMA in its war against cooperative or any kind of socialized medicine. You have rendered a very real service, not only to the people of your immediate community but to all Americans." Readers desiring a copy can now have one at the reduced price of two dollars by sending the amount to Dr. Shadid in care of the CALL.

● Former Virginian R. W. Tucker has written us with great indignation to protest our saying, in the blurb that accompanied his article in the last issue of the CALL, that he "was graduated from Virginia schools." He says definitely he was not, and that if he had been he's sure he wouldn't now have the intelligence to be a Socialist. Our apologies. (But we doubt it. Does he think he's the only member in or from Virginia?)

● CALL editor Herman Singer, in Europe last month, wrote that he had seen Anna Kethly, in addition to other socialist personalities in Europe. Robin Myers took over the editorial burdens for this issue.

● From Colorado, Ailene Whitehead sends a welcome word: "Just a line to let you know that I think the July-August issue of the SOCIALIST CALL is one of the best I have seen in some time."

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Labor Day, 1958

THIS LABOR DAY WILL SEE again the annual formal outburst of self-congratulation, from the President of the United States on down, on the existence of a free trade union movement created by workers who have in this country blessings unparalleled throughout the world. Even though the bare fact of the statement is true, these will be ironic words on many lips. For despite the growth of this union movement to rank among the most powerful institutions in the country, it stands today, as it did in earlier years of its struggle for existence, exposed to attack so powerful as to threaten its actual destruction.

That labor has been under direct attack in recent years is known to any reader of the daily press. But the nature of its changing legal position is far from obvious, even to some within the labor movement itself.

Erosion of Labor's Rights

But behind the smokescreen of Congressional attack and the shift of public opinion to a more and more anti-union attitude lies a third series of changing patterns in labor relations. The Courts that supported a broad position of union inclusion in a civil libertarian approach in the struggling period of the thirties have begun a reversal of position whose steady erosion of basic rights of labor sets precedents dangerous for the future. And the National Labor Relations Board is retreating steadily from a position which encouraged the legitimacy of trade union organization to one which would ignore or hinder it.

Perhaps the most significant of all these decisions, because it appears to be a complete reversal of previous opinion, was a limitation of picketing in a Supreme Court decision of June, 1957. The case was the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 695 A. F. L., vs. Vogt, Inc.*, owner of a gravel pit in Wisconsin. The union tried to get some of the employees to join the union and picketed the entrance with signs, "The men on this job are not 100 per cent affiliated with the A. F. L." Drivers of several trucking companies then refused to deliver and haul goods to and from the plant, and Vogt sought an injunction. The Wisconsin Supreme Court first reversed the opinion of the trial court that a Wisconsin statute (103.535) prohibiting picketing in the absence of a "labor dispute" justified the injunction, but

upon re-argument withdrew its original opinion. The court then held that because of another statute (111.06) the picketing was for "an unlawful purpose," as the statute made it an unfair labor practice for an employee individually or with others to "coerce, intimidate or induce any employer to interfere with any of his employes (sic) in the enjoyment of their legal rights... or to engage in any practice with regard to his employes which would constitute an unfair labor practice if undertaken by him on his own initiative."

State Policy Upheld

The Supreme Court, reviewing its own precedents in picketing cases, pointed out its own "growing awareness that these cases involved not so much questions of free speech as review of the balance struck by a State between picketing that involved more than 'publicity' and competing interests of state policy."... "*This series of cases, then, established a broad field in which a State, in enforcing some public policy, whether of its criminal or its civil law, and whether announced by its legislature or its courts, could constitutionally enjoin peaceful picketing aimed at preventing effectuation of that policy.*" The inference was that the picketing was intended to coerce the employer to put pressure on his employees to join the union in violation of the declared policy of the State. The Supreme Court held that a State may enjoin such conduct consistent with the Fourteenth Amendment.

The dissenting opinion (Douglas, with Warren and Black concurring) was blunt. "The Court has now come full circle. In *Thornhill v. Alabama*, 310 U. S. 88, 102, we struck down a state ban on picketing on the ground that 'the dissemination of information concerning the facts of a labor dispute must be regarded as within that area of free discussion that is guaranteed by the Constitution.' Less than one year later, we held that the First Amendment protected organizational picketing on a factual record which cannot be distinguished from the one before us..."

"Today, the Court signs the formal surrender... *State courts and state legislatures are free to decide whether to permit or suppress any particular picket line for any reason other than a blanket policy against all picketing.*"

An Attack on Finances

Nearly a year later, another Supreme Court decision that could open the way for financial destruction of unionism was announced. This was the case of *U.A.W. v. Russell*, a non-union employee who brought action in a state court (Alabama) for "malicious interference with his lawful occupation." Pickets during a strike had made it impossible for him to go into the plant and he claimed damages for his loss of earnings and for mental anguish, plus punitive damages. A jury decided in favor of Russell, awarding him \$10,000. "*The federal act in the Court's view did not deprive the victim of union conduct such as this of his common-law rights of action for all damages suffered.*" The fact that the National Labor Relations Board might have had concurrent jurisdiction did not create a conflict of remedies, particularly since the NLRB is not granted authority to award such punitive damages. The dissent argued that the Court had ignored the Congressional purpose of providing a single body of nationwide jurisdiction to regulate labor relations.

This decision was a double blow. Like the picketing case, it strengthened the power of the local as contrasted to the federal authority. But here it did so in such a manner as to weaken an existing federal agency whose province such a case might have been. And the net effect is a precedent that could be used with little change to destroy a union by destroying its whole financial structure if it should undertake a strike without 100 per cent support from the employees in the plant concerned.

National Anti-Labor Board?

In a memorable report on the magnitude of changes taking place in the NLRB, the Workers Defense League has cited four areas of major reversals of previous NLRB positions in the last six years:

1. By raising the minimum amount of gross business required of a firm in order to qualify for Board jurisdiction, its activity has been limited to larger enterprises, leaving unions in smaller businesses to the State Boards. But such Boards exist only in heavily unionized areas and there are none at all in the South. Thus weak unions and those in process of organization are the ones that the Board has rejected.
2. Under the Wagner Act, the employer had no right to interfere in organizing campaigns. Under Taft-Hartley, the employer may express his views so long as they contain "no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit." The Board's continuously broadening interpretation has allowed the employer to say he will close the plant if the

union wins the election (*Chicopee Mfg. Corp.*, 1953); to question individual employees about union membership and to tell them that even if the union wins an election he will not recognize it (*National Furniture Mfg. Co.*, 1953). The Board has permitted employer distribution of anti-union literature while forbidding union distribution (*Nutone*, 1955) and has permitted employers to address captive-audience meetings of their employees (*Livingston Shirt Corp.*, 1953; *Peerless Plywood*, 1953).

Right to Strike Restricted

3. The Board has steadily increased restrictions on the right to strike, the means of rendering a strike effective, and the rights of strikers. For example, in the *Lion Oil Co.* case, it virtually read a no-strike clause into every union contract, regardless of the intentions of the contracting parties; this was overruled by the Supreme Court.

4. The Board has increasingly widened the scope of the secondary boycott and has thus indirectly encouraged strike-breaking. Examples of this occurred in case of the *Denver Builders*, *Royal Typewriter*, *United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, *McAllister Transfer Inc.*, and *Alloy Mfg. Co.*

These and other decisions have added up to not only deprivation of protection previously afforded to workers under law, but actual interference with organizing attempts and the outlawing of the most effective union techniques for securing recognition and bargaining rights that are still guaranteed by law and a matter of public policy.

Court cases and labor board decisions alike seem to be forcing labor's legal position back to the pre-New Deal era when workers had only their own organized strength to rely on, and the sympathy of an informed public. Through the years, organization of the mass industries has made this strength immeasurably greater but the outside support has receded. The first reaction to a new legislative, court, and public opinion situation must be, inevitably, that labor's basic strength is its own organization, and the organization of the unorganized is always the first essential. The second realization ought to be that public support can be won by trade union organization irreproachably dedicated to the welfare of its own membership, by unions that return to the early ideals that have been lost in the success of business unionism under paternalistic government. Thus the necessary defeat of the mid-century anti-labor forces may be achieved not only for the sake of the labor movement but for the strengthening of the whole democratic fabric of American life.

Unionism: The Good and the Bad

Norman Thomas

WHEN I LOOK back at the improvements in the hours and wages of organized workers in America during my lifetime I have to acknowledge great progress even if we are still far short of the Socialist ideal. To that progress labor unions directly and indirectly have tremendously contributed. A modern industrial society without them is unthinkable in terms of democracy and any decent reward of the worker's toil. The mere existence of unions has helped the unorganized who are still the great numerical majority, and has given labor collectively great power in most of the basic industries which are well organized. It is the unions which have made the "right to work" as against unemployment and arbitrary lay-offs have some meaning, not the enemies of labor who usurp the phrase to fight unions and any solidarity of the workers.

We need to remind ourselves of this on Labor Day 1958, because with the success of unionism, too often business unionism, has come more acceptance of it by the public and the workers themselves than pride in it. When the unions were weaker and the struggle keener, it was rare to find a liberally inclined person, especially in any student body, who was not staunchly pro labor union. In my experience that is by no means equally true today with the same sort of people, including in this category workers who themselves are union members. Too many unions, despite some good resolutions passed at conventions, are mostly concerned with hours and wages in the trade or industry where they work, and "to hell with anything else." Intellectual interest in, or zeal for, organizing the unorganized is at a low ebb, and of recent years success in it against difficulties is even lower.

Organizing Becomes a Business

I do not want to exaggerate. I remember back in 1916 or 1917, getting an AFL organizer to speak to some unorganized strikers. He made a perfunctory speech with no result and turned to me saying, "Well, that's over. The IWW and the priests have it right. You can't do anything with these wops and hunkies but crack a whip." That man rose quite high in

labor's hierarchy. But the men who built the unions in the difficult years were of a different sort. A disproportionate number were Socialists with a big or little "S." Of course they wanted better conditions in the particular line in which they were working, but even more, they wanted a better social order. Now, with notable exceptions, union organization is merely a business job. Active Socialists, welcome enough in the hard days, are a bit of a nuisance, inclined, perhaps, to interfere with the politics of the leaders. Some of the latter, a few years ago, made an educational committee in a union of which I was an honorary member withdraw its invitation to me to speak on race relations. The pity of it is that in many unions and among the unorganized there is no group doing work equivalent to what Socialists did for many decades out of all proportion to their numbers.

Thirteen Years After the A-Bomb

This letdown in morale and interest in the whole social order isn't the sort of thing that principally concerns or ought to concern the McClellan Committee. But that Committee's revelations ought to concern us all. To end racketeering and corruption in corporations is democracy's business. I don't forget President Meany's firm stand for labor's own high code of ethics when I say that labor clearly needs help of the right sort from government in the fight against racketeers and dictators. The Kennedy-Ives Bill isn't perfect, but on the whole it is along right lines. Labor did itself and its cause no good when very strong unions like the teamsters, the coal miners, and the steelworkers, the latter in the AFL-CIO, found themselves lined up with the NAM and Chamber of Commerce to defeat that bill in the House. Each group acted in its own supposed interests, the bosses because the bill justly amended the Taft-Hartley law in certain respects, and imposed certain controls on corporations as well as on the unions; and the labor leaders because they want no democratic regulation from the outside or, if the truth be told, the inside of their unions. The way the bill was defeated in the House is a disgrace to the Democratic leadership and the majority of voting Republican Congressmen.

This Labor Day will see us thinking, if and when we think, of foreign affairs and the struggle for peace. Less than a month earlier occurred the thirteenth anniversary of the first use of our A-bomb in the

destruction of Hiroshima. That is now one of our smaller bombs; each pentonic division of our land forces has four Honest John rocket launchers; the rockets have atomic warheads one and one-half times as powerful as the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki it was announced that in the year preceding the thirteenth anniversary, 65 people had died of atomic sickness. The number dying from delayed effects of radioaction is increasing: 65 the thirteenth year, 30 the twelfth, 20 the eleventh. Even worse: of 32,000 children born in Hiroshima in the past 13 years, nearly one in six was deformed or stillborn.

In the same month of August, the UN's committee of scientists from 15 nations reported unanimously that "The Committee considers that all steps designed to minimize irradiation of human populations will act to the benefit of human health. Such steps include... the explosions of nuclear weapons." Russia has stopped or says she has stopped tests. Ours go on in the Marshall Islands which we don't own and whose people have protested to the United Nations. As I was writing this column, I heard over the radio that Britain would soon start a new series. France and others will follow suit. And we call this civilization!

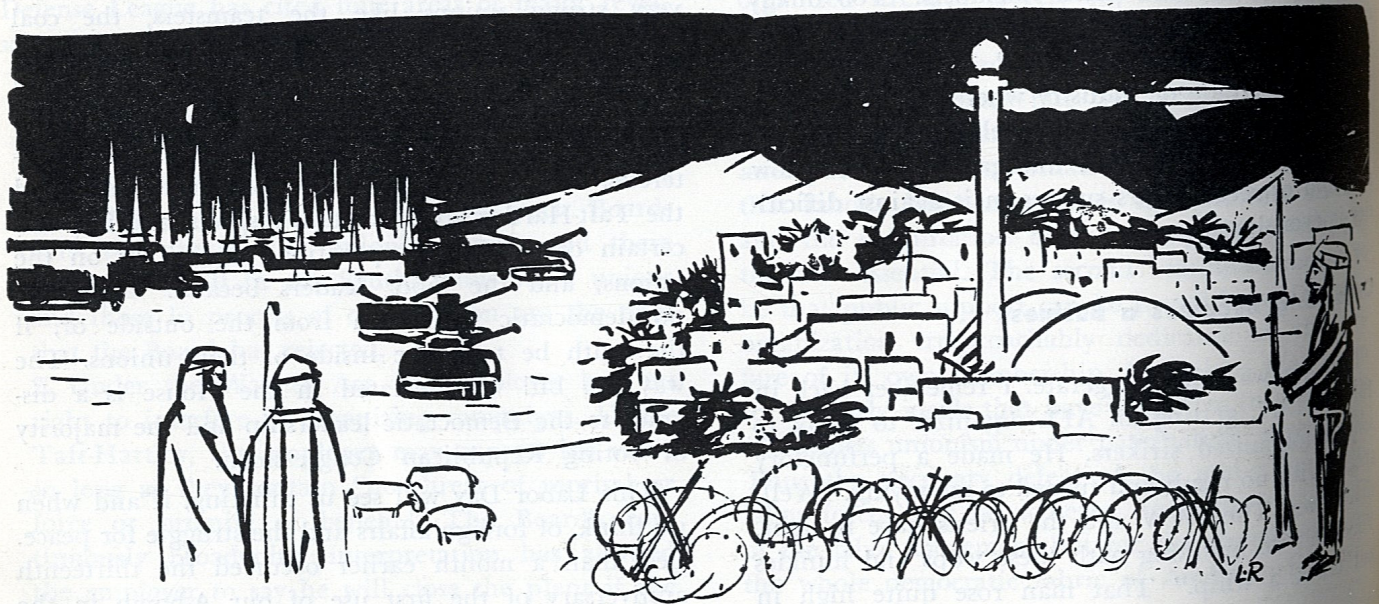
Well, there is this comfort. The scientists on both sides of the cold war who are meeting in Geneva seem to be making progress in agreement on how to inspect tests. The United States and Britain have finally proposed a year's moratorium in testing. It is reported that the Russians have proposed a kind of international air police to which Washington is cool.

That's interesting because Moscow has always opposed that kind of international action and the controlled Russian press is denouncing President Eisenhower's suggestion of a UN force in the Middle East. Maybe all this will be clearer when you read these lines.

A Policy for the Middle East

Meanwhile, I must praise the President's speech to the UN Assembly as an improvement on his former policy and decidedly better than Mr. Dulles had indicated in his press conference a few days earlier. However, Mr. Eisenhower gave little hint of the way in which he would handle the problem of permitting Jordan to have the government its people want, encouraging rather than frightening the Arabic federation, and yet guaranteeing the existence of Israel in an atmosphere of peace, with justice done to Arab refugees, and the Arab boycott of Israel ended. That's the real heart of the problem; and I think it will require negotiations off the floor of the Assembly involving Hammarskjold, the President, Khrushchev, Nasser, and Ben-Gurion. It will be a hard job but tremendously well worth trying.

After I thought I had finished this column came word of the sound decision of the Court of Appeals reinstating the school integration order in Little Rock. Here is a theme for Labor Day consideration. Labor's rights are insecure when the human rights of anyone are denied or abridged by race or color. Integration should have high priority in labor's demands, especially in view of the local successes and the arrogance of the segregationists.



Toward a National Health Plan

Providing Medical Care for All

By Dr. Michael A. Shadid

IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE in the CALL, I indicted the prevailing system of medical care on four counts: 1) its high cost of illness; 2) its neglect of the prevention of disease; 3) its inability, inherent in its lack of organization, to bring to the care of the sick the best professional knowledge and skill that is available; 4) the temptations it gives for performing unnecessary surgical operations, fee-splitting and so on.

I was graduated in medicine from Washington University in St. Louis, in 1907. During that period of four years I had occasion to read a book, *Principles of Scientific Socialism*, by Rev. Charles Veil, after which I joined the Socialist Party and became an active Socialist. I helped to set up a chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which was organized by Upton Sinclair and Jack London.

After beginning the practice of medicine, it did not take me very long to observe the above-mentioned shortcomings and evils of the prevailing system of medical practice. As a struggling country practitioner, there was not much I could do about them. I did, every now and then, write short stories for the *Chicago Daily Socialist* and the *Oklahoma Pioneer*.

Illness Tied to Low Income

In 1922, a committee representing the medical, dental, and nursing professions, along with economists and other personnel (known as the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care), was given one million dollars by nine foundations to make a study of medical practice. After five years of research, the committee reported that half the illness in the country occurred among people earning twelve hundred dollars a year or less. The majority report, given in 1927 and signed by its chairman, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, formerly president of the American Medical Association, made the following recommendations:

"The committee recommends that medical service,

both preventive and therapeutic, should be furnished largely by organized groups of physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists and other associated personnel. Such groups should be organized, preferably around a hospital, for rendering complete home, office, and hospital care. The form of organization should encourage the maintenance of high standards and the development or preservation of a personal relation between patient and physician.

"The committee recommends that the cost of medical care be placed on a group payment basis through the use of insurance, through the use of taxation, or through the use of both of these methods. This is not meant to preclude the continuation of medical service provided on an individual fee basis for those who prefer the present method."*

When I thought of the people, I realized that I might get further if I tackled the problem from their angle: make medical practice fit them rather than ask them to accommodate themselves to the doctor's concept. Elk City, where I lived, had a co-op cotton gin built and owned by the farmers, and it did more business than all four of the privately owned gins put together. In Elk City, too, there was a branch of the Roger Mills County Co-operative Association that sold coal and lumber to its members and later built a wheat elevator. It was highly successful and of benefit to its members. Obviously, the co-operative was an organization developed by the people themselves to fit their own needs. Could it be adopted in any way to the practice of medicine? Certainly it seemed to offer the best possibility.

The Co-operative Plan

By the summer of 1929 I had worked out the basic plan. The plan called for six thousand families (in my county then there were seven thousand families) who would each buy a fifty-dollar share of stock with which to build and equip a hospital, to buy the two existing hospitals in Elk City, and to build a clinic building to house the diagnostic operating staff, and who would pay fifty dollars each year for their medical and surgical care.

* Dr. Fishbein, the then editor of the *Journal* of the American Medical Association, dubbed the committee's report as "socialism inciting to revolution."

Dr. Shadid, a small part of whose story is told in this article, is still crusading. His article in the June issue of the CALL, which promised a second, led to many requests for more, and the CALL hopes that he may develop his ideas on a national health program in a future issue. A note on his recent book, *Crusading Doctor*, appears in the "Whys and Wherefores of the CALL" column.

Hospital care was not to be covered but was to be paid for as needed at a low daily rate. The reason for this was that the people whom we intended to reach were of the low-income group and had never had any experience with paying out money as a form of insurance against sickness. The Blue Cross was not then in existence. Even today, less than four per cent of the Blue Cross subscribers are farmers. Indeed, to insure them against hospital care in addition to medical and surgical care would increase the premium and make it prohibitive. Furthermore, except in emergency cases, the farmers in southwestern Oklahoma do not go to a hospital. Prior to the building of the Community Hospital, I delivered about three thousand babies and in no instance was the delivery in a hospital.

The prepayment plan stipulated that the medical men in the area, twenty in number, were to meet and organize. A given group, eight in number, representing surgery, internal medicine, and the specialties, were to be assigned to the hospital where they would examine, treat, and operate on all cases referred to the diagnostic center and hospital by general practitioners, twelve in number.

Six thousand families, each paying fifty dollars for complete medical and surgical care, would bring to the medical staff three hundred thousand dollars. It was proposed to pay the eight specialists one hundred fifty thousand dollars per year and the twelve general practitioners an equal amount. This sum, if it were equally divided, would pay each specialist \$18,750 per year and each family doctor \$12,500.

Aids Both Patient and Doctor

The eight specialists would have to agree among themselves as to the distribution of their total incomes, but the family doctors might be paid on the basis of the number of patients, letting each member of the co-operative designate on his application the physician he selected, with the right to change at the end of each six-month period. The doctor could be paid \$25. from the \$50. from each family, with the rest going to defray clinic and specialist expenses.

The objection that the six thousand families might not all join was not valid, because they would have to continue to pay for medical services privately, and when they discovered they were paying more than fifty dollars a year, they would join in self-defense. Furthermore, with doctors cooperating, a patient could not change indefinitely from doctor to doctor to evade the payment of bills.

This plan I envisioned would solve the problem of the high cost of sickness, improve the quality of medical care, and enable the participants to call on



the doctors for regular examinations and preventive medical services as well as medical and surgical treatment without any thought of having to pay fees; I expected, too, that it would remove the incentive on the part of the doctor to perform unnecessary treatment and operation.

The Advantages of the Plan

Moreover, I figured this reorganization of medical practice would be especially advantageous to the physicians as well as to their patients by assuring them an adequate salary that would free them from the harassment of bookkeeping, bill collecting, and the multitude of financial end-of-the month irritations which keep good men in a state of insecurity.

When I had drawn up a report of my plan, I took it to Dr. M., who owned one of the three hospitals in town. He assured me that he would read it carefully and get in touch with me in a few days. But when two weeks went by without a word from him, I went to see Dr. N. and his son, who were interested in another local hospital. They promptly rejected the idea as unsound and unworkable.

I was very disappointed but not particularly surprised at the response from the doctors. It had become evident that if a co-operative hospital were to be established in Oklahoma, it would be in spite of, and not because of, the physicians. I realized that I could count on the active opposition of the medical profession as soon as its members became aware of any real threat to their income. While these considerations gave me pause, I could not abandon the plan.

I went ahead single-handedly, and organized a co-operative Health Association and as a result I had a fight with organized medicine on my hands that lasted 23 years. During this period I appeared in District Court twice and before the Supreme Court of Oklahoma once. Finally, to compel the county medical so-

ciety to accept our staff doctors in their association we sued them for three hundred thousand dollars in damages. Our attorneys were Judge Thurman Arnold, former assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and William Hamilton, a former member of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care. During all this litigation, the state medical society was paying the court costs and the attorneys' fees. When the damage suit was instituted, the state society let the county medical society know that they would pay no damages, whereupon the county doctors agreed to take all our doctors into the Association and forget the past if we would withdraw the law suit. We agreed.

As a voluntary health program for the nation, co-operative medicine is futile. This is due to the incompetency of the consumers and the greed of the producers of medical service. At one time we had 20 co-operative health associations that owned their own hospitals in the state of Texas, yet today I doubt if there are two of them in existence as co-operative hospitals. Doctors from within or from without find the means of destroying them as such. On the other hand, here and there a co-op health association and hospital has stood the test of time. Such are the associations at Elk City, Washington, Seattle, Two Harpers, Minn., San Diego, New York City.

Co-ops Can't Do It Alone

Another factor that mitigates against the success of co-operative medicine is the fact that those who need it most are not able to afford the cost. A medical co-operative undertakes some charity work but its budget does not enable it to do too much. Under any system of medical care, the underprivileged and the poor have to be taken care of by government or by charity. Were we able to secure government subsidy for those unable to afford the cost of good medical care, co-operative medicine would indeed have become a

challenge to the prevailing profit system of medical care. Those in control of organized medicine know this and act accordingly.

Through the valiant Senator Hubert Humphrey, we introduced a bill into Congress, the "Co-operative Health Act," to subsidize people of low income. We had public hearings on the bill. But organized medicine has in Washington a formidable lobby that our lawmakers cannot or will not prevail against. Too many of our lawmakers put their own private interest above the interest of the nation as a whole. Even President Eisenhower's bill appropriating 25 million dollars, a drop in the bucket designed to bail out health insurance companies and medical prepayment plans, failed of passage.

As I see it, voluntary health insurance plans, co-operative or otherwise, are a mere stop gap. Blue Shield added to Blue Cross does not constitute a comprehensive health plan and the two together make no provision for preventive medicine. This is not to deny their positive contribution, for they have shown that risk-sharing and prepayment are feasible. Voluntary health insurance has helped millions of people to meet most of their hospitalization expenses and some of the expenses of surgery.

In 1952-53," according to Senator James E. Murray, "half a million families had medical bills exceeding their entire annual income. About 11 per cent of all families accounted for 43 per cent of their income for personal health services. A sixth of the nation's families were in debt for hospital and medical services. The situation is certainly worse today."

Surely this nation cannot afford *not* to provide adequate medical care for all its people. This means a national health insurance program.

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Mexican Revolution at Dead Center

Behind the Current Unrest

By S. Fanny Simon

ON MARCH 18, 1958, MEXICO commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the nationalization of the oil industry. This event and the presidential campaign which ended with the election of Adolfo López Mateos represent important achievements in the revolutionary struggle begun by Francisco Madero and others a half century ago. But if the whole political, social, economic and cultural scene is evaluated, would the answer be that the Mexican Revolution had achieved its main objectives?

When Madero overthrew the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz in 1910, it seemed as though he had won his fight. Actually, constitutional government for which Madero was fighting was still a long way off. In the years of struggle which followed Madero's assassination, new dimensions were added to what was originally only a political struggle. With the entrance in 1912 of Emiliano Zapata and his *agraristas*, the Revolution took on a social content. Zapata demanded land for the landless and the break-up of the large estates. Similarly, the organization in 1915 by the workers of the so-called Red Battalions led them to demand recognition of workers' rights, especially the right to organize. The agrarian and industrial workers' demands were safeguarded in the Constitution of 1917 in articles 27 and 123.

Peaceful Transition Seen

To state categorically that any Latin American country has achieved political stability is always dangerous. In Mexico, the outlook, at least for the immediate future, is for a peaceful transfer of political power. And what is as significant is that the presidency will again be, as it has been since 1946, in the hands of a civilian. Most of the big military *caudillos* whose rivalry in the past was responsible for frequent military coups or attempts at coups are dead. The few who remain have been integrated into the political machine which today dominates the government.

The present party set-up was the brain-child of General Plutarco Elías Calles, the most important of the *caudillos*. It was he who suggested in 1934 that

the National Revolutionary Party, now known as the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the PIR, be organized. It came into existence for the purpose of electing Lázaro Cárdenas president. After Cárdenas was elected, Calles, who had dominated the political scene until then, wanted to continue to be the king pin. Cárdenas insisted on being president in fact as well as in name. By taking a leaf out of Calles' notebook, Cárdenas won the fight against Calles. Calles had strengthened his position vis-a-vis other military leaders with the aid of the Regional Confederation of Labor, the CROM, under the control of Luis Morones. To defeat Calles, Cárdenas rebuilt the trade union movement which had been smashed after the assassination of Obregón. Using the group around Vicente Lombardo Toledano, including the communists, Cárdenas helped organize in 1936 the CTM, the Mexican Confederation of Workers. The CTM never had the political power of the CROM. When Lombardo Toledano wanted to use the CTM to strengthen his political power, the PIR saw to it that he was eliminated from a position of influence in the CTM.

One-Party State

Freedom of organization, assembly, and the press exist in Mexico today but like the Solid South, Mexico is a one-party state. The PIR is the official party and the entire official machine is at the disposal of its candidate or candidates. For the presidency it is the fight for the nomination which is important, not the election. Once the nomination has been made, the election is assured. Nevertheless, Adolfo López Mateos acted as though his election was in doubt. He conducted a vigorous campaign; he went up and down the length and breadth of Mexico, shaking hands, making speeches, holding conferences with local and state leaders. The PIR is a coalition of professional politicians, the army, and the leaders of the agrarian and trade union movements. All the unions, except the communist-controlled, whether in the CTM or not, are today part of the PIR. The workers, whether they want to or not, must participate in the demonstrations called by the CTM in honor of the candidates of the PIR. A number of seats in Congress, both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, are

S. Fanny Simon, a regular contributor to the CALL, is a member of the International Affairs Committee of the SP-SDF who spent the summer traveling in Central America.



To avoid a similar situation, the top leaders of the Petroleum Workers' Union personally addressed every local to explain why they had agreed to a renewal of the old contract for another fourteen months.

Living Standards the Great Problem

It was early recognized that the central problem of the Mexican Revolution was to raise the living standards of the rural masses, who even today constitute sixty per cent of the economically active population. "Land to the landless" had been the slogan of the *agraristas*. They had conceived the idea of restoring the old communal system of *ejidos*. Cárdenas gave the program of *ejidos* a new impetus. During the first two years of his administration more land was distributed than was the case during all the previous administrations. Between 1915, when the program began, and 1934 some 5,293,044 acres were given to *campesinos*; in the first two years of the Cárdenas administration the amount was 9,342,046 acres.

Cárdenas was not satisfied with a mere quickening of land distribution. Most communal farmers produced corn, the staple food crop of the population, often for their own subsistence. Under Cárdenas, *ejidos* were organized in what were purely capitalistic crops—cotton and henequen. This program, so its supporters believed, ushered in a new deal in agriculture. It was to be a peculiarly Mexican way of changing from an individual system to a social.

The Laguna Experiment

The Laguna, where cotton predominated, was the great experiment. Today the Laguna presents a sad picture. The economic situation of the *ejidos* is so bad that the newspapers reported demonstrations and riots in the area. Some of the *ejidatarios* have left the Laguna and have gone to the United States as workers or *braceros*. Why did the hopes fail to bear fruit? The answer is far from simple. Basically, it is due to a change in the attitude of the government toward the agrarian program. The emphasis shifted to increasing agricultural production, no matter what the means. The feeling in government circles was that it could best be done by individual or private farming. The credit and irrigation went to new producing areas and the Laguna was neglected. The new cotton lands in the states of Tamaulipas, Sinaloa, and Sonora are in the hands of a small group. Some say that the owners were high functionaries or close relatives of these functionaries. Because of their connections, they were able to obtain a disproportionate share of both public and private credit. Others have gone as far as to imply that the law in regard to the

allocated for them. Other seats are given to the National Peasant Confederation. However, neither the trade union sector nor the agrarian, nor the two together, control the Congress. They are, so to speak, junior partners; the majority control rests with what is known as the popular sector. That sector is unorganized, which means that the real power is in the hands of the *politicos*, especially in the hands of the president and the top leadership of the PIR. The latter is headed by an army man.

The agrarian and trade union movements are hardly free agents. It is commonly believed that the CTM receives a regular subsidy from the government. The leadership serves as a transmission belt to see that the unions are not out of line with government policy and to report to the government the pulse of the membership. Sometimes the leaders' political interests clash with those of the members. Dissatisfaction with their leaders has occasionally led to wildcat strikes and to strikes which were really against their leaders. Such was the case recently of the strike of the telephone workers. Communists naturally take advantage of the dissatisfaction with the do-nothing policy of the regular leadership to stage demonstrations. Last April a dissident group under communist leadership embarrassed the leaders of the National Union of Educational Employees by its demonstrations for a forty per cent increase in salaries of elementary school teachers. Because of the brutality with which the police suppressed the demonstration, the group obtained a great deal of publicity and sympathy. It led to a new demonstration which was much better attended than the first one and to strikes on the job in many schools. President Ruiz Cortines finally had to intervene before the teachers ended their strike.

amount of irrigated land any individual may own is being violated. Land is presumably registered in the name of members of their families and other relatives. A new type of latifundia is growing up, the owners of which are men in control of the machinery of the government.

An outsider looking at the agrarian scene of Mexico sees everywhere a very low standard of living—homes unfit to live in and a lack of sanitation. If he digs a little under the surface he will find that there are anywhere from three to six million Indians—the estimates vary—who, from the point of view of the national economy, are complete zeros and who do not even speak the national language. And yet it would be a mistake to infer that no progress has taken place. After all 1,600,000 *campesinos* did get land. Defective as the *campesino* organizations may be as democratic entities, the *campesinos* are a force whose wishes cannot be disregarded entirely. Their children have more opportunities for getting an education. Even economically the average *campesino* is slightly better off than he was twenty years ago. More of them can afford shoes.

The cities present much greater changes. In twenty years, the City of Mexico has been transformed beyond recognition. From a city with a colonial appearance, it is today a great metropolis with wide boulevards and skyscrapers. Other cities have grown and all reflect the tremendous strides Mexico has made in industrialization.

Industrial Growth

The best picture of the extent of industrial growth during the past five years was given by Antonio Carrillo Flores, the Secretary of the Treasury, in the speech he delivered at the bankers' convention held at Acapulco last April. The rate of industrial growth was eight per cent per year. Investments totaled 10,000 million pesos in 1957 compared to 4,732 million in 1952 (the peso is worth slightly more than eight cents). The share of private investment has increased. Ninety per cent of the capital investments has been native and only ten per cent represents foreign capital.

According to Antonio J. Bermúdez, the director general of Petroleos Mexicanos or Pemex, the single most important factor in the growth of Mexico has been the nationalized petroleum industry. Bermúdez, in his speech of March 18 marking the twentieth anniversary of the expropriation of the oil industry, told his audience that ninety per cent of all energy that moves industry, transportation, and commerce comes from petroleum. Domestic annual consumption

of gasoline in 1938, before the expropriation, was some twenty-two million barrels. Today, the Federal District, of which the City of Mexico is a part, consumes three times as much. Total domestic consumption amounts to 107 million barrels a year. Under private ownership, Mexico exported mostly crude oil; today only ten per cent of the export consists of crude.

Pemex has aided industrial growth by prices lower than world prices. The subsidy lower prices to industry, transportation, and the general public amounted in 1957 to some 540 million pesos. During the entire period of nationalization, the subsidy amounts to 2,080 million pesos. Also, the nationalized industry has met out of income the entire cost of the expropriation and has made capital investments during the twenty years of 6,800 million pesos. It has paid to the government 6,090 million pesos in taxes. The private companies paid only 777 million pesos from 1901 through 1937. The petroleum workers have gained privileges for which they had earlier fought in vain and are today among the highest paid workers in Mexico.

Oil Nationalization Achievements

Oil reserves are higher than they were in 1938. The nationalized industry is practicing conservation by keeping production down to four per cent of the fields' total reserves and by teaching poorer families to use kerosene instead of charcoal as fuel. Kerosene consumption increased 2,500 per cent. The director general cited other benefits to Mexico of the nationalized industry. He mentioned that Pemex' low-price policy and its subsidies have made for financial stability. He concluded that nationalization has been a great success and should be continued.

His last remarks were directed against those who want the government to get out of the oil business. They are the same groups who are against government control over the economy. The opponents of national control of the petroleum industry charge



that Pemex' management is bureaucratic and wasteful and that the uneconomic price policies which it has been forced to follow by the government will prevent it from meeting the growing demand for petroleum products. For the Mexican industry to continue to grow at its present pace, the rate of investment in the oil industry must increase. By the policies of subsidies and low prices, Pemex has been unable to accumulate the necessary capital for expansion. Had it raised prices to world prices, had it not been forced to give special rates to the bus companies and to the National Railroad of the Pacific and to import kerosene and sell it to the public at the same price as it did in 1938, its average net annual income would have been greater by some 200 to 300 million pesos. Profits for 1957 would have been greater by 540 million pesos. These additional profits could have been used for expansion. Whether the economic or price policies of Pemex were or were not justified, Bermúdez was of course right when he insisted that the nationalized petroleum industry did not exist to make profit; it had important social ends to serve.

Continuing Government Ownership

It is not likely that those who want the oil industry returned to private enterprise will get their way. In his speech accepting the nomination, López Mateos coined the slogan, "Not A Step Backward." Private ownership he considered a step backward. The government seems aware of the need to expand oil facilities. Pemex has obtained a loan from the Export-Import Bank and the government is planning to issue 200 million pesos in bonds, the proceeds of which will be earmarked for Pemex. To assure the ready sale of these bonds, the government intends to guarantee them against loss in value from inflation. There is even talk that it will permit Pemex to raise prices.

The sixty-four dollar question to which many would like the answer is: "Will the new administration devalue the peso as did the two preceding administrations? Does the idea of guaranteeing to the buyers of the proposed bond issue mean that the government economists fear continued inflation? The annual average price rise during the period 1940 to 1952 was twelve per cent; during the past five years the annual rise in the price level was half the above figure. Should the new administration be unable to keep price fluctuations within narrow limits and should it decide to devalue the peso, both it and the CTM will be on the spot. The share of the national

income which goes to the workers in the form of wages was twenty-six per cent in 1952 and in 1958 it is thirty-three per cent. It is still extremely small. It indicates that too many workers are earning only minimum wages.

Last December, López Mateos, as Secretary of Labor, got the CTM to accept minimum wages of 12.50 pesos a day for the City of Mexico and 9.50 for most areas outside. The next revision of these minimums is two years away. These minimums bought only the barest necessities. Any further rise in the cost of living will make a bad situation worse. Discontent is bound to rise. Will López Mateos be able to keep the workers in line and will the labor leaders accept the situation or will they demand a revision of the minimum wages and of the contracts? If the CTM follows a do-nothing policy in the face of rising prices, the chances are that it will have a revolt on its hands.

There is however no reason why Mexico should devalue the peso. Carrillo Flores in his speech to the bankers was quite optimistic and felt confident that 1958 would be better than 1957. He predicted that both production and income would increase. The outlook, as far as one is able to predict at this stage, is that López Mateos' policy will differ little from that of his predecessor and that the government will continue to exercise as much control over the economy as it has in the past. It will maintain a balance over the growth of the economy and the social services offered to the workers.

WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Here by the fire I watch a dying ember
Break into sparks of gold and rose like flowers,
And I am happy that I can remember
The fading glory of our golden hours:
I can remember how we took the dare
Of all the storms that thundered through the sky,
When we were like young eagles in the air
And laughed among the lightnings, you and I.

We hear young voices speaking once again
Of hopes we cherished; our old stormy blast
Is theirs to ride, and theirs our joy and pain.
To them the fiery treasure of our past
And our own visionary star of truth
We have bequeathed, and all that was our youth.

FLOYD DELL

Politics and the German Intellectual

Toward a New R

By Carlo Schmid

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY, more than that of any other nation, is characterized by the refusal of the intelligentsia to take part in the life of politics. Hugo Preuss, one of the fathers of the Weimar Constitution, once said that Germans are inept at democracy because, until 1918, Germany had an authoritarian government and not a popular one. Thomas Mann, who in his later years paid lip-service to democracy, was still able to write in 1918 that the authoritarian form of government was the one best suited to the German people, and the one they actually desired. Mann was not the only intellectual who glorified the authoritarian state at that time.

A good number of reputable German thinkers, when I was a student, described the authoritarian form of government as the essential difference between Germany and the so-called Western Powers, as the "specific form in which the German idea of freedom reveals itself." This was said by none other than the really great liberal theologian, historian, and philosopher, Ernst Tröltzsch. These thinkers, who were really quite respectable, and who later became important intellectual leaders, considered Western Europe, and France in particular, the birthplace of an abstract and sterile rationalism, the home of dangerous and destructive ideas, which had had their fateful consequences in the French Revolution.

The Prussian Authoritarian System

Thus, these ideological apologists of the authoritarian state celebrated the beginning of the First World War as the signal for the fight between "the ideas of 1914 and 1789," or, as Werner Sombart called it, "the fight between the shopkeepers and the heroes."

In Germany the intellectuals have traditionally played a significant role. Although there have been outstanding dissidents who have resisted the heavy hand of state philosophy, generally German philosophers have supplied ideological support for authoritarian regimes. In recent years, Dr. Carlo Schmid, one of Germany's influential intellectuals, has taken the lead in urging his colleagues to enlist in the day-by-day struggle for democracy. A distinguished teacher of philosophy, Dr. Schmid is vice-president of the German Bundestag, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. This article is based on a talk recently delivered by Dr. Schmid, who is pictured on page 15.

We, of course, were the heroes. A whole ideology, most a mystique, had been built up around the concept of profundity." We Germans were supposed to be very deep, and because we were so deep we needed the authoritarian state as a frame for our inner development. Perhaps they forgot Nietzsche's derogatory remark that some people darken their shallow waters to make them appear deep.

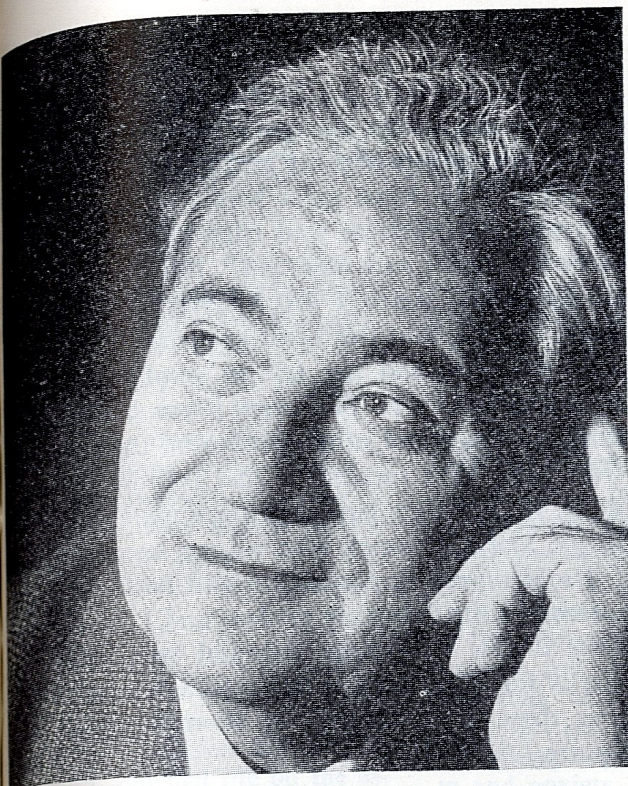
Thomas Mann welcomed the authoritarian state even more decisively when he wrote to his brother Heinrich Mann, in 1918, in his *Observations of Germany Who Is Unpolitical*, "I am convinced that the German people will never be able to love democracy for the simple reason that they will not be able to love politics, and that the much-lambasted authoritarian state is and will remain the order which best suits the German people. The mechanically democratic state of the West will never find a home with us."

At other times, Thomas Mann denied even more energetically that it is the mission of Germany to turn political ideas into reality. The Germans, then, were supposed to be the only people who were unable to give political expression to ideas, that is, to determine history. Politics and democracy were irreconcilable with the German character, and Mann gives this an especially beautiful expression in a reference to a note by Nietzsche on Wagner's *Meistersinger*, in which Nietzsche sees the *Meistersinger* as a symbol of the opposition to civilization, the German against the French: "In the blinding flash of a brilliant critique, we see for an instant the whole opposition for which Nietzsche's book searches, the real contrast between music and politics, between the German way and civilization, which has been denied so long out of cowardice, but which is, nevertheless, undying."

The Cause of Ruin

These quotations—I could give you a thousand other examples—are not just accidental remarks; they constitute a kind of confession on the part of the German intelligentsia of that time. Nor was this merely an episode. The whole manner of turning away from politics, from the state, and from democracy, is revealed as something which has sunk very deeply into the German consciousness.

Although the authoritarian state broke down in 1918, large sections of the German intelligentsia held



It was to be the right of the citizen to determine the will of the state; and he would freely obey the laws he had helped create even if he were outvoted in the assembly. This concept of civic freedom was joined by an awareness that a people gains power over history when it becomes a nation. And a nation, in Ernest Renan's poetic definition, is a plebiscite which quietly repeats itself every day.

These thoughts became political reality at first, not in France, but in America. The German intellectual, however, was affected only after France had followed America. The Declaration of Human Rights in Paris in 1789 worked like a beacon of enthusiasm and, for a long time, blinded observers to the bloody things which were happening there. Not one of the leading classical thinkers of Germany failed to write some enthusiastic lines about the event. Of course, a reversal of German opinion followed after the revolution had turned radical and the fanatic apostles of freedom began their Reign of Terror.

The Spark of 1789

The decisive factor, however, was that the impetus to freedom, which came from the French Revolution, was transmitted to the German intelligentsia via German idealist philosophy. German idealist philosophy turned something which had been a clear political desire into a kind of idealist religion, a philosophical system. It thereby separated the theoretical expression of the event from its political interests, from political happenings in the proper sense of the word.

At the time, there was much talk about the classes which defended the state, and the intelligentsia now tried to represent this class. One became a government official, one became a professor, one became a physician, or attorney, or judge or merchant or engineer. The relationship between the intellectual and the state, however, was the relation of a servant to his master, that is, the fundamental relationship of the authoritarian state. He was an expert in administration or in the preservation of order within the society, so to speak.

The Impact of the Labor Movement

Into this world came the labor movement, just as Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lasalle had conceived and shaped it. Marx, who said that he wanted to set Hegel on his head, that is, to take him from his head and set him on his feet, thought that history proceeded according to fixed and predetermined laws, dialectical conversions, and that man could do little more than execute the world historical law of his epoch.

to the belief, even during the years of the Weimar Republic, that the political structure of the Prussian authoritarian state was superior to the Western democracies, not only technically, but also ideologically. They considered the introduction of democracy a grave misfortune for the German people. This belief was at least partially responsible for the final breakdown of the Weimar Republic, since it prevented Germans from giving democracy their wholehearted support. Not until democracy had failed could the storm troopers of National Socialism begin to triumph.

Freedom as a Right

In the eighteenth century, France and America were the stage for a revolution which fundamentally changed the entire political scene. I mean the political awakening of the middle classes. The members of the bourgeois class not only wanted to improve their lot, but demanded active participation in the state as well. They were no longer content with being the objects of history; they wanted to help determine it. It was in this way that a new concept of freedom was born. Freedom was no longer to be a mere guarantee against the arbitrary power of the Prince, the freedom to live in undisturbed peace. Now, freedom was presumed to exist only where the people themselves determined the will of the state, a will which everyone was to obey. Nor was freedom to be confused with license.

The state served merely as an instrument of that class which was in power, and which used the state to suppress the others. It was important, therefore—and Marx claimed this as the specific task of the intellectuals who understood the state—to destroy the state, to destroy what was really nothing more than an instrument. He said all this in grandiose language, language as grandiose as that of the Apocalypse.

This is how socialism became a kind of religion to those intellectuals who were not yet state-broken. It was a noble impulse which moved the intellectuals for, inasmuch as the intellectuals began to renounce the state of their own era, they were tempted to renounce the state altogether. Had not Karl Marx himself said that the state would become superfluous one day, when the classless society had been formed? Thus, a new kind of abstinence from politics and the state originated. The important tasks did not lie in the fields of politics or democracy, but in economics. The class struggle itself would bring about the necessary solutions.

The Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic was the realization of this kind of thinking—the republic without democracy, as it has been called. I should prefer to call it the republic without a passion for democracy.

And now, what is the canon for today? This is the first canon for the intellectual: Up and into the state, not only as a government official, or as a bar-room politician. The intellectual should be a full-fledged citizen like Socrates, a citizen who knows that he has rights and that these rights are only the converse of the duties he has toward himself and his society. It is not sufficient that a man tackle this task by himself. He is likely to follow the example of Don Quixote and to mistake windmills for giants, and he may wonder why he ends up in the dust. In order to participate in the state, the intellectual must have the courage to join a party, or, at least, to attempt to bring order into a state, together with a political party.

Political parties are not accidental inventions. They became necessary on the day that the franchise was extended to the public, a public in the throes of modern mass society. It is our unfortunate lot today that we are born into the midst of a mass society. And the political party affords us our only protection against the power monopoly of interest groups. For even the smallest and least important of political parties is still possessed of something, when we compare it to interest groups, something which might be called spirit or intellectual force. It is better, therefore, to

join even a bad party, from my point of view, than no party at all.

Until the end of the Second World War, I myself failed to act. I also thought, "My God, political life is horrible, and parties are really dirty. What business of yours is it? Read good books, write a few books yourself, and cultivate your friendships. That is much more beautiful and dignified." But during the time of the Third Reich I asked myself, "Is it not your fault, as well, that this beast has come to govern Germany? If you had not felt so comfortable in your beautiful garden in Tübingen, if you had entered the market square and others with you, then perhaps he would not have succeeded. And because you did not do it, you, too, are guilty, perhaps more so than some stupid Storm Trooper, who did not know any better."

I told myself then that I would not become guilty a second time. I left my garden, and I joined a party. Even if this is not beautiful, and even if every week one is forced to take things which are hard to swallow, there is no better way of entering the market square.

The Task of the Intellectual

It is one of the incontrovertible facts of our existence that we live in a time of industrial revolution. The first stage is about to come to an end, while the second stage of atomic energy and automation has already begun. Life à la Weimar has therefore become impossible. It is necessary to live according to the laws of the time. An escape into the idyll is no solution even when it ends in a villa in Tessen.

The danger remains that man can be reduced to an object in society, that our life can be de-humanized, and that the human element can be completely lost sight of until it lives only in our romantic memory. I mean by this human element nothing else than our ability to make responsible choices about our own lives.

I think it should be the task of the intellectuals, their *mobile officium*, to stand on the side of those whom history has treated badly. Nor should anyone think in terms of giving aims. One ought to realize that these people have to be helped for the sake of our own self-respect, for the sake of our own honor. A mere adherence to the concept of freedom of thought is not enough. Some people like to talk about such tolerance. But tolerance which implies, "I'll tolerate you and your belief because it is so unimportant that I need not bother to take it away from you," is a shabby tolerance. True tolerance says, "You are different from me, and I want you to be different." Now to explain this to mankind. I consider this to be one of the great and essential tasks of the intellectual.

The Alienated Worker

By Frank Marquart

"The union leader who represents workers and sometimes manipulates them seems increasingly to regard what his workers do as merely subsidiary to the job he himself is doing in the larger community... the impression is left that the problems of the workers in the background (or underground) have been stabilized, if not permanently solved."

HARVEY SWADOS

* * *

REVIEWERS OF HARVEY SWADOS' novel *On the Line** agree that the book shows able craftsmanship, that the characters are convincingly drawn, and that life on the assembly line of an auto plant is vividly portrayed. Yet these professional workers missed something significant about the story. But a steward in a Chrysler plant who read the book caught its significance instinctively. His comment:

"By God, that's how it is on the line. Sometimes you can't even take a drink of water without getting behind and then there's hell to pay. Like the book says—the dirt and noise and crowded aisles and the speedup! You feel like a trapped animal, a driven animal. There are only two things you like about the place—quit time and pay day." Then, with a gesture for emphasis, he added, "To the guys in that book factory life is a nightmare and that's what it is in real life—a nightmare. The union has done a lot for the workers. But we've had the union now for twenty years and factory work is still a nightmare!"

THE NATURE OF THE JOB

This is the significant aspect of the novel which was overlooked by the reviewers: By giving us an honest picture of factory work, the book shows that, despite all the gains the union managed to chalk up during the past twenty years, it has not succeeded in solving the alienation and brutalization of the work process in a mass production industry.

* Atlantic-Little Brown. \$3.75.

What is the nature of the factory worker's life on the job? What does factory work do to him? How does he react to it? What goes on in his mind and in his feelings and emotions? How does the work shape his hopes and aspirations and dreams? No two human beings are alike in all respects and no two factory workers react in precisely the same way to their work, just as no two people react in the same way to pain, though they both feel pain.

The characters in Swados' book feel trapped and alienated, they feel the degrading character of their work. They feel the monotony, the fatigue, the aching muscles; they feel insecurity and anxiety, and a deep sense of hopelessness.

The story opens with LeRoy, a powerful Negro with a golden voice, who takes a job as hook man on the body line of a new assembly plant in order to earn money to continue his vocal studies. He finds the work "hard, dull, unremitting and backbreaking." Moreover, he has to put in long hours of overtime. As hook man, he has to jump on the auto bodies as they move past on the line and clamp each one with a heavy hook and chain so that it can be hoisted in the soldering booth. From head to toe he gets covered with red primer dust "which sometimes lays across his cheeks and

forehead too when he pauses to wipe his face with the back of his glove."

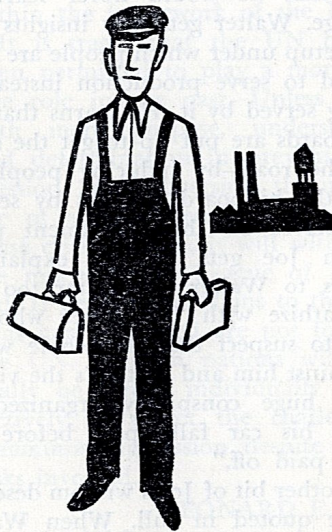
Thinking of his job as merely a painful means to launch him on a successful singing career, LeRoy has hope because he has an aim. He tells his Irish partner on the line: "Every man ought to have an aim. Maybe in your country it's different, but here you're nothing without an aim. They don't even know your name here, only your social security number and your time clock number. If I didn't have the singing to think about, if I didn't have anything to look forward to except eight hours more of this tomorrow, I believe I'd get old before my time. That's why I say you got to have an aim."

THE SENSE OF ALIENATION

"They don't even have a name here..." Here LeRoy expresses the frustrating sense of alienation. In the factory men don't even have names, they are designated by numbers, like machines. LeRoy looks forward to the day when he will have realized the highest potentiality of his personality, when he will be a singer. "Take me. I expect some day I'm going to be on the Metropolitan Opera Auditions of the Air. I fully expect it."

He doesn't want to be just some thing without a name; he wants to be a human being in his own right. But LeRoy doesn't realize his aim. The factory—or rather, the speedup in the factory—undoes him. One day he goes to the fountain for a drink and "takes too long to rinse his mouth." When he gets back to the line he finds a row of station wagons traveling quite fast. Rushing with two heavy hooks to catch a body that had moved forward on the line, he loses his footing and his neck hits against the opening door of a station wagon. He never sings again....

Commenting on LeRoy's fate, the Chrysler steward said: "The speedup fetched him. There should have been an extra relief man on the line. The fight for enough relief men goes on all the time in assembly departments. The union hasn't licked this problem



yet—after all these years.”*

One might almost say that the emphasis on speedup and on grinding, monotonous toil serves as the theme by which the chapters (each a character sketch, actually) are fused into unity. To bring out the hatefulness and meaninglessness of the work process, the author uses some rather skillful literary devices, as in the case of Kevin, the Irish immigrant. Kevin begins his new job in the plant with almost childlike wonder and astonishment at the “vast, endless steel and concrete world.” But such illusions can't last long when you work on the assembly line.

His first awakening comes when he senses that “his fellow workers were not only indifferent to their work, but hostile to it.” Next he discovers that the most congenial fellows are those who regard their factory jobs as merely temporary, “a necessary evil, a pill that had to be swallowed in order that they could go ahead with what really mattered.” The final disillusionment comes for Kevin after he succumbs to the American lure of buying a new car on the installment plan. Then it soon dawned on him how the trap works, “. . . he saw with bitter clarity that he would be chained to the line for years, chained to the drudgery, the monotony, the grinding labor—all of which lost their novelty and certainly their glamor when you had won your prize—literally until the prize itself had become valueless and demanded that you replace it with another, shinier one.”

THE EVER-SHINIER STATUS QUO

The compulsion to buy a car (or other expensive gadgets), only to replace it before long with a newer, shinier one, forms the rationale of an economy based on commodity fetishism. One of the workers on the assembly lines observes: “Ever stop to think how we crawl here bumper-to-bumper and crawl home bumper-to-bumper, and we've got to turn out more every minute to keep our jobs when there isn't even any room for them in the highways?”

Committed to the status quo, the trade union movement accepts this rationale as a matter of course and

***“The fight against the speedup is an eternal struggle. You will never be able to solve it. It is a problem that goes on continuously.” (Walter P. Reuther, Proceedings, 16th Constitutional Convention, UAW, page 322.)**

gears its collective bargaining approach to it.

One of the most interesting characters in the novel is “Joe, the Vanishing American.” Joe's type is rarely found in auto plants any more, but in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties there were quite a few like him. Joe is a rebel, not only against the assembly line but against the whole system of human alienation. His fellow workers sense that he is “different” and some of them think it is because he is “uppity,” but Joe disclaims that. “I just read a little more and ponder a little more than the average fellow.” And he is freer than the others; he can take days off when he wants to and quit anytime he feels like doing so. But for this freedom he has to pay a price—he can't afford to form family ties. “They punish you one way or they punish you another way.”

A sardonic, aloof man, with cold discerning eyes, he sees through the skin game: “Spending your life on the production line means counting out the minutes, being grateful that Mondays go fast because you're rested, and hating Tuesdays because the week is so long. It means that you're paying off forever on all the things you've been pressured into buying by getting up every day in order to do something you'd never, never think of doing if it was a matter of choice. It means never having anything to look forward to in all of your working life.”

THE BEGINNING OF INSIGHT

A skilled metal finisher, Joe fascinates Walter, a youth who sweats and strains to learn the hard work of metal finishing so that he can earn money for college. Walter learns things from Joe that he would never learn in college. Walter gets new insights into the setup under which people are compelled to serve production instead of being served by it. He learns that the billboards are put up to get the show on the road—by inducing people to buy the billboard pictures by selling themselves on the installment plan. When Joe gets through explaining things to Walter, the latter too can sympathize with “any joker who begins to suspect that the whole world is against him and that he's the victim of a huge conspiracy organized to make his car fall apart before it's been paid off.”

Another bit of Joe's wisdom deserves to be quoted in full. When Walter wonders how many people feel the

way Joe does, the latter replies: “More than you can count. It's always safe to figure that if you feel something, the world must be full of people who feel that same way. Every sensible man realizes as he gets older that his feelings aren't unique. After all, that's the basis of art—the fact that you recognize yourself in it and all those inner experiences that you'd thought no one else but you could know.”

How does it feel to go back to work on the assembly line after one has succeeded in escaping from it for many years. How does working on the assembly line differ today from what it was like in the days before the union? Frank, who left the shop twenty years ago to set himself up in a business and is now forced to return to the body shop, explains:

“You walk in and pick up your tools and it's exactly the same as it was twenty years ago. Same smells, same noises, same assembly lines. I'm back in the body shop, just like I was, as if I'd only been gone a week instead of twenty years.”

Yet it's different. . . . “They haven't got any idea what it was like in the old days. Oh, you work, you still work like a dog, but that fear of being thrown out in the street isn't there—the union protects you.”

THE IMPACT OF THE UNION

The fear of being thrown out in the street isn't there. The workers have seniority protection now, provided the company isn't driven out of business, so that all its employees, including those with more than twenty years seniority, are dumped out of business in recent years.

Also, wages are much higher now than they were in those depressed days when “. . . we were getting two and a half cents an hour and I was glad to get it.” Other substantial gains are written in the contract now. As a bargaining agent, the union is continually improving the terms of the sale of labor. But how about the work process itself? Has the quality of work process been humanized? For Frank had been a small business owner, a respected member of his community, a “man among men.” Now, in the factory, he finds himself “. . . a tired man among many dirty

men... no more responsible than the
 least of them for the shining marvels
 that roll off the final assembly line,
 different from the rest only in that he
 was older and more whipped than
 most."

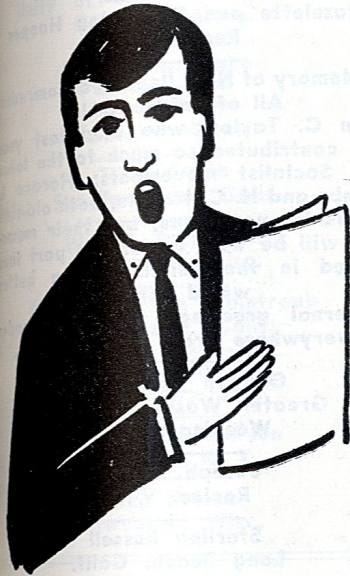
Symbolizing factory life is the in-
 cident that occurs one day in the cafe-
 teria during lunch time. A policeman
 walks in from the supervisors' cafeteria
 and stands at the doorway. For a
 moment there is hushed silence, fol-
 lowed by a storm of catcalls and boos

and stamping of feet. A fellow worker
 seated next to Frank tells him this
 happens every time the plant police-
 man is sighted, as if the factory were
 a prison.

Sociologists tell us that the modern
 corporation resembles the authoritarian
 state, that all the major decisions flow
 from the top. To the workers in the
 cafeteria the plant policeman, with
 his thumbs thrust in his Sam Browne
 belt, is a symbol of this hated author-
 ity. In this authoritarian setup the

worker knows, without being able to
 say so in words, that he is a mere
 "factor of production." In the ab-
 sence of a democratic work process,
 he will remain a factor of production
 even though his union wins higher
 wages and new fringes with each round
 of collective bargaining. So far the
 union has not seen fit to address it-
 self to the problem of democratizing
 the work process. In fact the union
 leaders leave the impression that this
 problem has somehow been solved....

BACKTALK



To the Editor:

Foreign policy has become unques-
 tionably and by far our most impor-
 tant problem. The two basic ap-
 proaches held by most liberals and
 socialists are well illustrated and dis-
 cussed by Sidney Hook and Bertrand
 Russell in *The New Leader* articles of
 April 7 and May 26, 1958, and later
 issues. (Also note letter by Norman
 Thomas in the issue of June 9, 1958.
 I recommend that all readers of THE
 SOCIALIST CALL read these care-
 fully.)

I, for one, find myself in funda-
 mental agreement with the point of
 view held by Sidney Hook in his ar-
 ticles: "A Foreign Policy for Survival"
 and "A Free Man's Choice." He pro-
 poses a realistic understanding of Rus-
 sian communism's basic aim of world
 domination. It is his position that our
 Western world take a firm moral stand
 in defense of past, current, and future
 victims of Soviet aggression and sub-
 version.

Bertrand Russell basically presents
 the pacifist point of view of "peace
 at any price." Given the existing world
 realities, this approach must end in,

indeed invites, complete communist
 world domination. As long as the
 Western world demonstrates such com-
 plete readiness to be blackmailed,
 from the communist point of view it
 would be stupid not to continue dem-
 anding an ever higher price for
 peace, including eventually the ulti-
 mate price of complete submission. Of
 course, as long as we continue paying
 blackmail we will have "peace." It is
 necessary merely to pick the fruit as
 it ripens, and not cut the tree down.

If the above is the sum and sub-
 stance of our foreign policy position,
 then I submit that we are in effect
 giving up our struggle for democratic
 socialism and settling for the Russian
 brand.

While I am very much concerned
 with controlled disarmament with ef-
 fective inspection, and I am in favor
 of negotiations to that end, I believe
 Russia's insistence on negotiations out-
 side of the UN is evidence of bad
 faith. We have now reached the point
 where we should insist that further
 negotiations be carried on exclusively
 within the framework of the UN.

It is tragic that the UN has not
 been permitted to play a more effec-
 tive role in the past. Unless it acts
 with more purpose, understanding
 and determination in preventing ag-
 gression and subversion through the
 use of a permanent police force in
 these critical times, it will wither and
 die much as the League of Nations
 did. If peaceful solutions to the prob-
 lems here discussed are not found in
 the UN, Western nations will even-
 tually be forced individually or col-
 lectively to accept the challenge of
 communist aggression despite all the
 risks involved.

LEONARD E. KLUE

Detroit, Mich.

To the Editor:

Whether your mistake or mine, I
 cannot say, but the paragraphs of
 mine which you printed in the Febru-
 ary-March issue contained a mistake
 in the number of the Senate Bill on
 nuclear tests. It should read Senate
 Resolution 173.

Perhaps you might care to print that
 resolution, introduced by Senator
 Wayne Morse, along with the House
 Resolution of Representative Charles
 O. Porter.

The Senate Resolution reads: "Re-
 solved, that it is the sense of the Sen-
 ate that the President should under-
 take by all available means to obtain
 the prompt and concurrent cessation
 of further testing of nuclear bombs
 by the United States, the Soviet Union
 and Great Britain, until an interna-
 tional committee of recognized scien-
 tists can at least determine the extent
 of the danger from radioactive fall-
 out."

The House Resolution H.R. 8269
 states that "no device designed to
 produce a nuclear explosion shall be
 tested by explosion by the government
 of the United States until such time
 as the Atomic Energy Commission
 shall report to the President that a
 nuclear explosion has occurred on or
 after the date of enactment of this
 Act and that such explosion was not
 the result of any activity of the gov-
 ernment of the United States."

For those of us who long for peace
 above all else—and who does not?—I
 believe we can find hope and comfort
 from Senator Hubert Humphrey's re-
 cent speech. Men everywhere are be-
 ginning to sense that ideas more than
 weapons can release mankind from
 the nightmare of the arms race.

(MRS.) RUTH H. POOL

Seattle, Wash.

LABOR DAY GREETINGS

Greetings to Democratic Socialists
Everywhere on Labor Day, 1958
Local Gambier, Ohio

Labor Day Greetings
San Francisco Local SP-SDF

Negro Labor Committee
New York, N. Y.

Workmen's Circle
Branches 207 and 207B
Atlanta, Ga.

Labor Day Greetings to the Socialist
Call from the 8th District Socialist
Club, Bridgeport, Conn.

Cloak and Suit Tailors Union
Local 9—I.L.G.W.U.
22 West 38th Street
New York, N. Y.

In Memory of
Joseph J. Solnick
and in honor of
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Solnick
Workmen's Circle Branch 671E
Cleveland, Ohio

Erma Arnstein
San Francisco, Calif.

S. A. DeWitt
New York, N.Y.

Kate Frankenthal, M. D.
New York, N. Y.

Fred Meder
Milwaukee, Wisc.

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Reading, Pa.

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Newburgh, N.Y.

Charles J. Browne
Lorain, Ohio

Gene Suter
Cuttingsville, Vt.

Morris Seskind
Chicago, Ill.

Vladeck Branch 443
Workmen's Circle
Los Angeles, Calif.

Workers of the World Unite. Socialism
for a More Sane Civilization
Robert G. Aulenbach
Robesonia, Pa.

Walter & Frances Bergman
Detroit, Mich.

Katherine Bertin
Des Moines, Iowa

In Memory

Luba Wilner, after a long and painful
illness, closed her eyes and went to
the eternal sleep. Luba Wilner, in her
teen age, joined the party of Socialist
Revolutionists. To the ideals and aims
of the party she remained faithful
during the czarist jails, and the Com-
munist persecutions for the past forty
years. As her name Luba (love)—her
last wish was love to Socialists the
world over, who are in the struggle

for human dignity.

Comrades from Leningrad

A Member of the Party
for 40 Years.

Wm. Cox
Carbondale, Ill.

Jennie D.C. Ebert
New York, N.Y.

Oscar K. Edelman
Dayton, Ohio

Greetings!

Let Socialism Be Your Guide

Alfonso Fiorentini
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Albert Goldman
Chicago, Ill.

Jacob Goldner
Elmhurst, N.Y.

Edmund Hare
Philadelphia, Pa.

In Memory of James H. Maurer

Francis J. Harvey
Wharton, N. J.

Isaac Kantorovsky
New York, N.Y.

Jack Kaufman
Bronx, N.Y.

Anthony J. King
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Nelson Lorentz
E. McKeesport, Pa.

Henrietta Baker Low
Baltimore, Md.

Jasper McLevy
Bridgeport, Conn.

Mrs. William P. Mason
St. Louis, Mo.

Jack Melhado
Bronx, N.Y.

Greetings to Socialists
Everywhere

Blanche H. Meyer
Milwaukie, Oregon

Grace & Morris Milgram
Philadelphia, Pa.

Greetings, Comrades!

May We See Socialism in Our Time
Charles Solin
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Axel R. Norman
Chicago, Ill.

Leonard P. Projansky
Chicago, Ill.

John Paulsen
Durant, Iowa

Clifton Daland
Battle Creek, Mich.

Helga R. Halvorsen
Miami, Fla.

Hazelette and Darlington Hoopes
Reading, Pa.

In Memory of Now Departed Comrades,
All of Toledo, Ohio,

John C. Taylor, who died last year
and contributed so much to the labor
and Socialist movements; Horace L.
Combs and H. C. Holden, both old-time
Comrades now gone, but their memo-
ries will be with us for the part they
played in the building of a better
world for all

Fraternal greetings to all comrades
everywhere from Toledo, Ohio.

Growth Thru Unity!
Greater Washington Local
Washington, D.C.

Joseph Dumont
Racine, Wisc.

Sterling Russell
Long Beach, Calif.

N. G. Phillipson
Yucaipa, Calif.

Socialists of the World, Unite!
Frank D. Barberis
Farmington, Ill.

Carl F. Bloedau
Loganville, Wisc.

Glenn Buell
Buellton, Calif.

George Bursma
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Socialists should be united in name as
well as in fact. A political party should
not be a hyphenated mixture either
Socialist Party or Social Democratic
Party. Not a Party-League.

Archie Craig
Oxford, Pa.

Tilford E. Dudley
Washington, D. C.

Workers of the whole world, unite!
To end exploitation is a mighty
worthwhile fight.
Arthur H. Eager
Fairfield, Calif.

In memory of Severino Pollo
Socialist and Labor Leader.
His birthday would be Sept. 21.
1877-1945

Rita Pollo Harrecker
Los Angeles, Calif.

Nat Hillson
Pasadena, Calif.

Magnus Jacobsen
Staten Island, N. Y.

Wm. F. Leonard
West Bend, Iowa

Greetings to all comrades.
Socialized medicine is a blessing.
Push it for all you are worth.

Carl C. Nelson
Laurelton, N.Y.

Unity of all Socialists now.
Cease bickering.

C. E. Robel
Lewiston, Idaho

Lee Schaal
Gillett, Wisc.

Tillie Smith
San Francisco, Calif.

Walter Trautmann
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Esra and Adele Weintraub
Los Angeles, Calif.

Samuel S. White
Kansas City, Mo.

Alice Dodge Wolfson
New York, N. Y.

Frank Kolenc
Milwaukee, Wisc.

V. Fiorentini
Ventura, Calif.

Democracy of the Left, unite
for a Cooperative, Responsible Society
by Reconstructing a Social Order that
Embodies Judeo-Christian Ethics and
Philosophy, Socialism in Economics,
Democracy in Government that will
bring Freedom and Justice for all.
Walter O'Hagan Auburn, N.Y.

Socialist Greetings
Samuel and Mary Friedman
New York, N.Y.

Fraternal Labor Day Greetings
from the newly organized
Ann Arbor Local—SP-SDF
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Jewish Labor Bund
Los Angeles, Calif.
S. M. Oshry, chairman
Joel Litewka, secretary

Wm. and Sarah Friedman
Fannie Elstein
Michael and Sophie Charnofsky
Edward and Bella Garber
Sam and Mollie Oshry
Los Angeles, Calif.

Cavendish Moxon
San Francisco, Calif.

B. Robbins
New York, N. Y.

Anna G. Sachere
New York, N. Y.

Albert Schmidt
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Adele Schmitz
New York, N. Y.

Mr. & Mrs. John A. Stanavage
Wilmington, Dela.

W. B. Starr
Cisco, Texas

Philip Stern
Long Island City, N.Y.

Heartfelt thanks and greetings to the
Socialist Call and the Cooperative
Commonwealth to which it is dedicated.
Anna Strunsky Walling
New York, N. Y.

Albert Waser
Bridgeport, Conn.

In Memory of Carle Whitehead
Ailene Whitehead
Denver, Colo.

John M. Work
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Paul L. Munson
Weston, Mass.

Greetings to our Socialist Call
Camden Branch, N.J.

Greetings to

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Labor Day Greetings

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7th A.D., Bronx

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EMIL BRODDE

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Member, AFL union over 60 years.
Milwaukee, Wisc.

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to

THE SOCIALIST CALL

\$3.00

For Twelve Issues

Greetings

Labor Day 1958

NORTHEAST DEPARTMENT

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

We greet our brothers and sisters of the Trade Union Movement in the fervent hope that this Labor Day will mark a new beginning for a victorious march against all oppression by the peoples of the world.

Our United Labor Movement is the strongest force for peace and tolerance among the freedom-loving nations and against the evils of communist despotism. It gives hope for dignity, freedom and security to the workers of the world.

David Gingold
Vice Pres., ILGWU
Director, Northeast Dep't

The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers extends Labor Day Greetings to the SOCIALIST CALL.

On Labor Day let us remember Peter J. McGuire, pioneer trade unionist and Socialist, who first proposed that one day in the year be set aside in honor of the toilers of our land.

International Office Fort Edward, N.Y.

John P. Burke,
President-Secretary

GREETINGS!
JOINT BOARD DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION
ILGWU, AFL-CIO
Charles S. Zimmerman, General Manager
Leon Namenwirth, President
Nathaniel M. Minkoff, Secretary-Treasurer
AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION
Local 10
Moe Falikman, Secretary-Manager
DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION
Local 22
Israel Breslow, Manager-Sec'y.
DRESS & WAIST PRESSERS' UNION
Local 60
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Local 89
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