

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8. THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.

These six parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles:

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.
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The WESTERN SOCIALIST

JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

THAT WAR ON POVERTY

- SOUTH VIETNAM ELECTIONS
- BLACK POWER
- HAYMARKET RIOT (1886)
- REQUIREMENTS FOR SOCIALISM
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- VICTORIA, B.C. ELECTION MESSAGE
- WHAT PEOPLE NEED
- BOOK REVIEW

A PALPABLE HOAX

The current "War on Poverty" is dedicated to maintaining the very class-divided society that gives rise to poverty, in the first place.



WSP CONFERENCE

The Labor Day weekend is traditionally a busy time for the World Socialist Party (U.S.) It is Annual Conference time and as many of the members and friends from around the country — and other countries, as well—that can make it, wend their way to our national headquarters in Boston, Mass. For a period of some three days, serious Party business, camaraderie, and a generally good social time is had by all.

On the week-end of September 3, 4, and 5, 1966, some forty delegates, fraternal delegates, and sympathizers gathered at the new headquarters at 295 Huntington Ave. to thrash out issues of Party concern. Those in attendance came from the Greater Boston area, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and fraternal delegates arrived from Great Britain and from Canada. A prepared agenda was debated and voted on. Items that carried will be put to the general membership of the World Socialist Party (U.S.) in forthcoming referenda. There was also a period, totalling three hours, of theoretical discussion. A buffet supper was served in the headquarters on Saturday evening and this was followed by a social during which Party tapes were listened to, and general socializing was enjoyed.

The Sunday session were followed by a dinner at a Cambridge restaurant and a swinging party at the home of comrades. The Conference sessions ended early on Monday afternoon and the 1966 WSP Conference passed into history.

But there were interesting pre and post Conference activities that must also be recorded.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Subscriptions, donations, articles and correspondence for insertion in *The Western Socialist* should be addressed to the World Socialist Party, 295 Huntington Avenue, Room 212, Boston, Mass. 02115, or Socialist Party of Canada, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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Our comrades from the Socialist Party of Great Britain, Phyllis and Arthur Howard went before the mikes and the telephones on the Palmer Payne program, WNAC A.M. and WRKO F.M. on the evening of August 26, from 6.15 to 8. Socialism once more received an airing throughout New England, Northeastern U.S. and Eastern Canada. The Howards did a fine job and have joined a select group of British comrades who have spread the word over American radio — Comrades McClatchie, Darcy, and Grant.

* * * *

News from Toronto, Canada

On Saturday September 10, Local Toronto (Socialist Party of Canada) sponsored an International Rally for Socialism in the new Nathan Phillips Square in front of the new City Hall. Seven speakers from the Socialist Party of Canada, the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party (U.S.) presented the case for socialism over a public address system. It was the first open air meeting to be held in this busy shopping area.

In preparation, press, radio and TV were notified but there was no response. Despite the blackout from the news media, however, the meeting was a success with a satisfactory sale of literature. Many requests for information were handled at the literature table and the audience, generally, was attentive.

There were some interesting side-lights: 1. Larry Solway, host of one of the talk shows in Toronto (Radio Station CHUM) wrote Local Toronto that he does approve of free speech but the Socialist Party of Canada does not deserve a hearing because of their "antiquated" ideas about class struggle, etc. 2. A reporter for a Toronto newspaper interviewed Comrades Phyllis and Arthur Howard of London, England but his write-up was not cleared by his editor. Disappointed, he nevertheless attended the regular Sunday meeting in Allen Gardens (September 11), took copious notes of the speeches and pictures of the speakers. This time there was

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Editorial Committee Views the News

South Vietnam Elections

Generally speaking, the American press had a field day in reporting the result of the election of a constituent assembly in South Vietnam. The consensus of opinion would seem to be that it was a major defeat for the Viet Cong because it showed conclusively (as these analysts read it) that the overwhelming percentage of the population of that country are on "our" side. There are, however, some important flaws in the consensus that are worth noting:

Writing in *The National Observer* for September 19, 1966, Richard Egan makes the following point:

"To be sure there were subtle pressures on the South Vietnamese to go to the polls. In the countryside, the peasant's orientation is to his village and little beyond. If the village chief urged him to vote, the peasant may have feared alienating his local leader. Many of the rural voters didn't know whom they were voting for or what the functions of the constituent assembly would be. Yet they flocked to the polls, ignoring Communist terrorism and threats of reprisals."

Could it have been a fear on their part of jumping from a frying pan into a fire? Quite possibly and a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* of September 18, 1966, by a Mr. Albert Bridgewater of New York seems to underscore the old cliché. Mr. Bridgewater, who claims to have lived in a former French colony which was "undergoing a guerilla war at the time of the national election" reminds us of the quaint custom of checking the internal "papers" which all residents must carry. "The promise

or mere possibility that some reprisal could be taken against those who lacked a voter's card (with the corner missing) would be more than sufficient to account for the (80%) turnout," declares Mr. Bridgewater.

And Joseph Kraft, in his column of September 17, (*Boston Globe*) seems to substantiate the argument, even if unintentionally. He tells us that the heaviest voting took place in the areas of South Vietnam that were coolest to the Government and which had, consequently, *the largest concentration of government troops*. (Our emphasis.) This is democracy in action? It seems reminiscent of elections in Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

THE SHOEMAKER'S LAST

A certain Rodger Swearingen, professor or international relations at the University of Southern California, director of the university's Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, etc. has broken into the news. A few months ago, *The New York Times* published an impressive and expensive three-page advertisement signed by and paid for by some 6000 academicians and professional types representing some 100 and more educational institutions. The ad was an exhortation to President Johnson to stop the war in Vietnam and to do it quickly. This paid open letter and a previous, similar one, galvanized Professor Swearingen into action. "Who were these people?" he wondered, and he set to work to check their credentials.

"Just as I thought," he must have muttered, "these people, for the most part, are engaged in departments that have little or nothing to do with international politics. What in heck do they know about it anyway? Why

don't they stick to their last?" And he answered the Johnson critics with a withering blast, three columns, in length, that was published by *The National Observer* (September, 1966.)

It is not our intention to rush to the defence of the indicted academicians. It could even be true to a considerable extent that few, if any, of the 6000 signers are properly informed on international affairs in general and the politics, etc. of the Vietnamese War, in particular. We would, however, question Professor Swearingen's own credentials in spite of (or perhaps, *because of*) his particular field. But why should we present our own viewpoint when we have a generally recognized authority to refer to who has done the job quite admirably, and recently. We call as our chief witness Mr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., former close adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. In a lengthy article entitled "A Middle Way Out of Vietnam" (N.Y. Times Magazine, September 18, 1966), Mr. Schlesinger has the following to say:

"The Administration in Washington was systematically misinformed by senior American officials in Saigon in 1962-63 regarding the progress of the war, the popularity of Diem, the effectiveness of the 'strategic hamlet' program and other vital matters. It was not that these officials were deliberately deceiving their President; it was that they had deceived themselves first. Ordinary citizens restricted to reading the American press were better informed in 1963 than officials who took top-secret cables seriously."

A fig for Professor Swearingen and his "inside" information! And Mr. Schlesinger continues:

"The fact is that our Government just doesn't know a lot of things it pretends to know. It is not discreditable that it should not know them, for the facts are elusive and the judgments incredibly difficult. But it is surely inexcusable that it should pretend to know things it does not — and that it should pass its own ignorance on to the American people as certitude. And it is even less excusable that it should commit the nation to a policy involving the greatest dangers on a foun-

dation so vague and precarious."

It would seem that Professor Swearingen and the other "experts" might need a new last.

"BLACK POWER"

Since Stokeley Carmichael and SNCC ("Snick") began to raise their new battle cry, "Black Power," a great deal of emotions are being stirred up. One viewpoint of the meaning of the slogan — as argued by syndicated columnist Ralph McGill, a supposedly liberal Southerner — is a sort of black KKKism and Mr. McGill, bemoaning the metamorphosis of the old SNCC into something which seems quite different, recalls with nostalgia the former "Snick" as a "genuine" and "militant" civil rights group.

On the other hand, we have a representative group of avowed liberals disagreeing with Mr. McGill's interpretation and arguing that "Black Power" is a sensible and logical goal when seen in its proper context. It simply means, according to them, that Negroes should enjoy a feeling of "psychological equality" and that it is perfectly logical for them to feel that White teachers and political leaders would be better occupied in organizing Whites. There is nothing in the nature of "black chauvinism" or KKKism about the new SNCC, they argue.

Conservative and reactionary opinion, unlike that of the liberals, seems to be more united. "Black Power" is a *devilish* movement and must be confronted with "White Power" in all its strength.

The World Socialist Party takes a "third camp" view on the question. We think that the Negro working-class would be well advised to leave the question of "Black Power" to the Negro bourgeoisie and would-be bourgeoisie. As long as capitalism persists the choice between "White Power" and "Black Power" is like the choice sometimes offered capital offenders — the gallows or a firing squad. Or at very best the choice of a life of malnutrition as against one of insufficient nutriment. The

difference, if any, is nebulous. Neither "White Power" nor "Black Power," we insist, but political working-class power aimed at the immediate abolition of the wages, prices, profit,

system and the introduction of a classless system based upon production for use — socialism. Therein lies not only Negro emancipation but the emancipation of all mankind.

THAT WAR ON POVERTY

LAYERS AND TIERS

Back in the days of World Wars One and Two, it was common practice to lay aside crossword and jigsaw puzzles, as well as other cultural formalities, and indulge in the pastime of sticking pins in maps to denote the progress of the contending armies on the various fronts. The sudden changes in the manœuvres and logistics of army units made the ritual a stirring avocation.

In the present War on Poverty such a ceremony would prove dull and irksome. The progress, if any, is not discernable and the pins would be prone to rust in their primary positions.

To the Marxian student of economics, it is always interesting to watch the subtle retreats, intrigues, and compromises relished by the capitalist or vulgar economists. We concede that some of these are earnestly seeking a way of shoring up the present system of society, and derogating its detractors. They are honest even if mistaken in their mission. But the most of them act as though their brains were eligible to apply for unemployment insurance. Their talents are utilized in the base purpose of selling the system to those who are robbed of everything in the process of producing wealth.

Nothing could more clearly reveal the harlotry and rational bankruptcy of the venal economists, who champion the cause of capitalism, than the case of the current campaign to abolish poverty. A palpable hoax, as anyone with the rudiments of economic acumen can see, it is accepted as a serious and promising venture by the economists of every caliber dedicated to maintaining the class-divided social system as it is.

The top layer in this system is more than adequately supplied. Beneath this tier are the skilled technicians, educators, professionals, and public servants who are indispensable to the operation of the system. Then comes the great body of the working class, the men and women who produce the wealth, and provide the services in return for the wages and salaries that enable them to buy the necessities for survival and reproduction.

Closely associated with these are the crowds of unskilled, unqualified, unadaptable, and unambitious outcasts who constitute the bottom level in modern society. The condition of these is reduced to chronic destitution. They are mainly part-time workers, whose numbers and lack of social pressures, militate against the acquisition of any advantages or prospects. They are firmly established on a course of indigence and despair.

So long as this type of social system obtains there can be no means available to remove the sordid situation of those caught in the clutch of circumstance. Chunks of wealth, even representing the expenditure of billions of dollars, may be allocated to their needs, but such serve only to temporarily allay the most virulent aspects of social privation.

There appears to be but one consequential remedy to deal with the disease of poverty, and this one involves the elimination of the basic wage-labor and capitalist relationship and the introduction of a system of production for use. This of course erases the upper as well as the lower level, and would have no particular appeal to those on top.

They intend to stay there. They prefer a more intricate and discomposing solution. So it is that the sham economists are falling over each other in the quest for jobs for the unemployed, and relief for the unemployable. That they do find jobs must be granted. But these seem to be fabricated for the benefit of the promoters rather than for the impoverished legions they are ostensibly aiming to assist.

MORE ALPHABET SOUP

In the New Deal era, we had the National Recovery Administration, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Commodity Credit Corporation, with a giant blue eagle, symbolizing the prevalent social blues, flying high above them all. With those formidable alphabetical weapons, providing jobs for party favorites, President Roosevelt continued his assault on poverty for many years. But his heroic attempts had little effect till America joined the other battling nations in slaughtering workers, and having billions of dollars worth of wealth destroyed. This turned the tide.

Now we are specializing in fancy titles again. The Job Corps, Work Experience Corps, Upward Bound Corps, Head Start Corps, Community Action Corps, Work Study Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Green Thumb Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America Corps. All those indicate a healthy condition of jobs where none existed before. But to the apprehensive needy in the nether realm, their attitude was one of suspended commitment. Out of the millions of dollars expended, thousands might trickle through to the basement, while the bulk of the funds clung to the fingers of the corps engaged in squeezing them through.

CORES OF THE CORPS

These sundry corps have definite parts to play in poverty eradication. Project "Head Start" goes to what the administration considers to be the seat of the problem — the edu-

cation of children. If they can cram sufficient education into the heads of the youngsters, the first battle is won. They have no inclination to go to the point of production where the poverty originates and remove the foundation on which the robbery is built.

The "Upward Bound Corps" attempts to motivate poor boys and girls to climb the ladder of learning by going to college, and getting their young heads fixed to fit into the potential openings in industry and finance. That there are millions of young people now in possession of diplomas competing for jobs doesn't stymie the promoters from adding to the number. "Misery likes company," and the "more the merrier."

The "Green Thumb," and "Medicare Alert" Corps apply to the geriatric section of society. There's no sense in having the old people imitating their rulers by consuming wealth, and doing nothing when they can be usefully employed in planting trees and shrubs, and otherwise beautifying the gruesome aspects of the urban scene.

This year, 5000 young, energetic workers spread across the nation to assist in social service projects. They penetrate city slums, and the grim haunts of rural communities. They enter the filthy camps of migrant dwellers, cover the expanses of Indian reservations, and survey the institutions of the mentally ill. These youthful volunteers serve for one year and are paid \$50.00 per month, plus living essentials.

THE GENERALS' CONCLUSIONS

To get the war on poverty into proper perspective, so that it can be fought along lines that harmonize with the milieu of the nuclear age, the national experts must be assembled occasionally and their conclusions studiously assessed.

In keeping with this requirement, the University of California, first in numerical attendance; first in sun-dering the miniscule atom; first in the delicate culture of popularizing four letter words, via public placards,

became the first American University to make the call for immediate and decisive action. 450 national notables, consisting of professors of sociology and economics, government officials, trained welfare workers, social personnel managers, and assorted intellectuals got together to formulate battle techniques that would obliterate poverty in such fashion that it would never again be capable of raising its hideous head.

In real scientific manner, they decided that the first requisite was to find out what poverty is. They didn't call in any of the poor to identify themselves as case histories for the analysis. They thought it best to make an objective study in an abstract way. They resolved that it was the inalienable right of every American to have some kind of a home, plus some sort of an automobile, and a TV. These were basic essentials that must be conceded. Other fixtures or appliances could be evaded or deleted, but the family unable to huddle around the "Hollywood Hillbillies," or "Gun Smoke" was poor indeed.

They found the statutory figures on poverty to be a bit confusing. In California and some other states the poverty level is established at \$4,000 per family, per year. President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers places it at \$3,000. A recent report has it that the President was in favor of reducing the line to \$2,000. Should they continue the reduction in this manner, it could soon be found that, figuratively speaking, there is no poverty at all.

Sargent Shriver, Commander-in-Chief of the Prosperity forces, bent on emptying all the poverty pockets, had an interview with U.S. News and World Report, Feb. 28, 1966. When asked the question — "When is a person or family poverty stricken, by your standard?" replied, "We figure anybody is poor who has less than 23 cents a meal a day, plus \$1.40 for everything else — housing, clothing, recreation, transportation, education, and so on." We can agree with the Commander that anyone unable to

realize this amount of cash could well be placed in the poverty column. Even were the stipulated quota measurably escalated, he would still have little else than poverty in his pockets.

"EXPERT" DIAGNOSIS

The causes of poverty were next considered by the experts. One professor contended that it was purely an urban problem. In the rural communities the standard of living was fairly well established and there was no articulate movement aiming at its disruption. But in the urban centers trouble was brewing. This disputes Shriver's response that the 32 million poor Americans are composed of 45 per cent rural, and 55 per cent urban, but the latter have developed a more sensitive reaction.

Another delegate advanced the theory that poverty was caused by the poor having more children than they can afford. This was regarded as a profound statement in depth that required attention. Shriver says that they encourage local groups to bring in birth-control-information programs but they don't make a grandstand play out of it for obvious reasons. It's an emotional issue with lots of Americans. It's a religious issue with some. But it also has economic connotations that cannot be overlooked. The Catholics are in favor of birth control for the Protestants, and the reverse is also true. The politicians, who represent both religious groups, are caught in the middle and are cautious about taking a stand.

It's the first time that a Government agency had to face this issue. It's a virgin project pregnant with hope. Under capitalist auspices it is indeed a touchy subject.

THE "DOCTORS" DIFFER

Now, that there was unanimity of mind in regard to the existence of the problem, the next thing was the means to be taken to wipe it out.

One pundit was convinced that the invention of more jobs would do

the trick. One thought that massive spending for public works was the real solution. One had it that compensatory education was all that was needed. One opined that slum clearance was the way out.

A note of labor solubility was injected by Daniel P. Moynihan, advertised as a doctor of philosophy and a widely known author, who was once an assistant secretary in the U. S. Department of Labor. The great American hope, Moynihan said, is the trade union — "the original and still effective anti-poverty movement." Given the proper mass support, the trade unions could solve the whole problem, and restore the balance in the U. S. economy. This evoked applause.

But another delegate erased the glamour from this theory, by his assertion that he was a member of organized labor for thirty years, and he could still see a profusion of poverty and unemployment in his own union. If they couldn't eradicate those social blemishes within the unions, how could they effectively dispose of the obstacles on the outside?

HOW MUCH — HOW LONG?

Commander Shriver, in his interview, was asked how much would it cost per year to eliminate poverty? He frankly admitted that he didn't know. But he believed that it would cost many billions of dollars to do the job completely. He could have raised the ante to trillions, and still the task wouldn't be done. So long as the production of wealth is carried on for the purpose of sale and profit, no possible amount of money substitutes thrown to the producers can liquidate the poor.

When the questioner enquired as to how the prospects of the war appeared at present, the answer was that there are 32 million, or about 17 per cent of the population, remaining in poverty. He was hopeful that with more spending for defense, and education, and the war on poverty —

all combined — they could perhaps bring it down to maybe 31 million. There were a lot of concessions required to get it reduced even to that extent.

When asked *when* this prodigious reduction would take place, he said he wasn't sure. It depended on the immediacy of the impact of the Defense Department's spending. So these are the bright and hopeful prospects — appropriate more funds for defense, ship more of the poor to Vietnam, spend more on the weapons of destruction, and these factors, taken together, can provide hope for this modest deduction in the area of poverty.

"LOAVES AND FISHES"

Testifying at a Senate hearing, Mr. Shriver mentioned his newest project — "Operation Loaves and Fishes." It has a biblical flavor. Legend tells us that an inspired, but unemployed, carpenter fed 5000 picnickers, who forgot to bring their lunches, on 5 hefty barley loaves, and 2 fishes, so small that they should have been thrown back in the lake. The legend has some kind of a symbolic relationship to the miracle of the Administration in removing poverty.

This project is to provide the old people with more of those delectable and nutritious 23-cent meals (basic ingredient: fish head flour). The geriatric hosts are a pressing problem. There's nearly 20 million of them. They are of no earthly use any longer. The values they once possessed have been drained out of them. They are not even qualified for the Vietnam scene. What can be done with them? Euthanasia, through the medium of 23-cent dinners, can do it authoritatively, and legally.

Neither Mr. Shriver, nor the experts assembled by the University of California, have failed to neglect the one and only corrective for the poverty disorder — the abolition of capitalism. With common consent they shunned this one.

J. A. MacDONALD

GEMS FROM AMERICAN HISTORY

CHICAGO'S HAYMARKET DRAMA (1886)

On November 11, 1887, four men were led to the gallows in Chicago's Cook County jailyard. For men who were about to die their last words were certainly brave ones. Joseph R. Buchanan, a sympathetic witness at the execution, recounted the scene and reported the statement in *The Outlook* of January 1904 (an illustrated journal of the period). The statements, as Mr. Buchanan and others recorded them, were as follows:

August Spies, thirty-two-year-old editor-in-chief of the anarchist *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, a cultured and intellectual-type of "philosophical" anarchist and former member of the old Socialist-Labor Party: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

Adolph Fisher, 25-year-old enthusiastic anarchist organizer: "This is the happiest moment of my life."

George Engel, another long-time devotee of anarchism: "Hurrah for Anarchy!"

Albert R. Parsons, a former Confederate soldier, champion of Negro rights, organizer in the Knights of Labor, and editor of the anarchist-oriented *Alarm*: "Will I be allowed to speak, O men of America? Let me speak, Sheriff Matson! Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh!"

Looking back with the hindsight of 79 years, the scientific socialist is inclined to but one opinion. The Chicago anarchists no doubt believed that their deeds, their advocacy of armed resistance by workers, and their own martyrdom would help usher in a better world. But they died in vain. Millions of working people have been killed or maimed in capitalist-inspired outbreaks of all types since bloody "justice" was meted out to the anarchist agitators. The capitalist-controlled propaganda media is far better equipped to stimulate working people to acts of violence — against each other —

than the puny press and oratory of anarchist or similar radical organizations. Furthermore, the mere fact that the farcical nature of Judge Gary's trial of the eight Chicago anarchists in 1886 was universally decried by liberal, conservative, and radical, did not prevent such travesties from being committed on future occasions. One has but to recall the Tom Mooney Case, the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, and in more recent times the trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Whatever might be argued about the ideas, and even the characters of any of these victims of capitalist "justice," there is sufficient cause to brand their trials — and scores of other less-publicized affairs — as frame-ups.

But, for now, an examination of the Haymarket Riot, the events immediately preceding it and those that were to follow as a result of it are in order.

MCCORMICK REAPER WORKS

A modern reader of *The New York Times*, could he be suddenly transported backwards in time to May 4, 1886, would surely rub his eyes and scratch his head in amazement at the language on the front-page and center-story of that date. Charged and slanted phrases? Judge for yourselves from this excerpt:

"BLOODSHED IN CHICAGO: Initiating The Eight-Hour Fight With Broken Heads. Fiery Speeches Incite Lumberman and Others To Acts Of Violence — a mob of 7000 or 8000 Anarchist workmen and tramps, maddened with free beer and free speech, and a crowd of policemen.... More than 500 shots were fired and hundred of windows in the works were stoned. There are broken heads and bruised bodies all through the lumber district tonight, but the down-trodden masses have risen and had their fun. The talk of storming McCormick's works started early in the morning among the thousands of ignorant Anarchistic lumbermen who had been on strike since Friday night..."

What was the trouble all about? What were these "murderous" and "ignorant" workers demanding of their long-suffering and kind-hearted employers that caused these gentlemen and their journalistic hacks to froth so? Could it have been the struggle for an eight-hour day? Strange as it may seem in our times this was the frightening battlecry raised by the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America* and the first day of May, 1886 was fixed by these generally conservative unions as the day on which this new "nightmare" system would begin.

The trouble at McCormick's resulted from the lock-out of the big Reaper Company's employees and the fact that 300 armed Pinkerton detectives had been hired to protect the strike-breakers who operated the plant. In his "History of Socialism In the United States" (1903), Morris Hillquit stated:

"On the third day of May the Lumber Shovers' Union, of which the majority of the locked-out McCormick employees were members, held a mass-meeting in the vicinity of the works to discuss the terms of a peace proposal to be submitted to the employers. August Spies was addressing the meeting with 'unusual calmness and moderation,' as he relates in his autobiography, when the bell of the McCormick factory rang and the 'scabs' were seen leaving. An excited crowd of about 150, separating itself from the meeting, made a move toward them. A street battle

*The forerunner of the American Federation of Labor — a far from anarchist-oriented union.

ensued, stones being liberally thrown on each side. The police were telephoned for, and a patrol-wagon filled with policemen immediately rattled up the street. A few minutes later about seventy-five policemen followed the patrolwagon on foot, and these were again followed by three or four more patrolwagons. The police were received with stones, and in turn opened fire on the crowd, shooting indiscriminately on men, women, and children, killing six and wounding many more. Frantic and infuriated beyond measure over this act of brutality, Spies hurried back to the office of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," and there composed the proclamation to the working men of Chicago which has since become famous as the 'Revenge Circular.' (p. 245).

This circular was headed "Revenge!" and called upon the working men to arm themselves and to avenge the "brutal murder" of their brethren.

HAYMARKET SQUARE (MAY 4)

The printing and distribution of five thousand of these circulars in English and German resulted in about two thousand working men turning up at a scheduled protest meeting in Haymarket Square. The fact that anarchist orators such as Spies, Parsons and Samuel Fielden were to speak brought out the Mayor, Carter H. Harrison, who fully expected trouble and was ready, in such event, to call for police. But the Mayor was somewhat surprised by the general tone of "tameness" of the words of August Spies and Albert Parsons. So much so that he returned to the police station where reserves were held in readiness and informed Captain Bonfield that the speeches were

about over and that nothing had happened or seemed about to happen to cause trouble. This, coupled with the fact that much of the crowd had dispersed because of a threatening rainstorm made the sudden appearance of a detachment of 176 policemen led by Captain Ward somewhat puzzling. Fielden was addressing the few hundred workers who remained when the police captain ordered the meeting to disperse. Fielden replied that the meeting was peaceable and then it happened — somebody, a somebody who was never apprehended, threw a bomb among the police. The New York Times in its inimitable style of journalese of those times put it this way:

"Anarchy's Red Hand. Rioting and Bloodshed in the Streets of Chicago. Police Mowed Down With Dynamite. Strikers Killed With Volleys From Revolvers —

And the Times writer referred to August Spies as "an anarchist with a Negro wife"!

Whoever threw the bomb remained a mystery although there were various theories, and Joseph R. Buchanan wrote in "The Outlook" story referred to above that a telegram had been delivered to Governor Oglesby from an August P. Wagener, Counselor-at-law of New York, which informed the Governor that the bomb-thrower was in the custody of New York anarchists and which sought to influence the Governor in an 11th hour stay of execution. Another and even more interesting theory was that the deed was committed by an "agent-provocateur" at the behest of the police or the employers in order to destroy the agitations for the eight-hour day that had by then reached alarming proportions.

The Slaughter of injured police and civilians following an Anarchist meeting — twelve policeman dead or dying — the number of killed or injured civilians unknown but very large — the bravery of the police force — The villainous teaching of the anarchists bore bloody fruit in Chicago today..." (May 5, 1886).

THE (ANARCHIST) ROUND-UP

According to Morris Hillquit, the strength of the American anarchist movement was centered in Chicago. He claimed that there was an actual membership of about 3000 in the city and its immediate vicinity. There were at least twenty groups and a number of journals. The cities of America were crowded in those times with unemployed people and a movement such as that of the anarchists could command a lot of attention. Hillquit states:

"The Internationalists of Chicago held numerous mass-meetings, a great street demonstration was arranged by them on Thanksgiving Day of 1884, and the "Freiheit," the "Alarm," and other anarchist papers counselled their adherents to arm themselves, and even published minute instructions for the preparation and use of dynamite. Similar instructions were contained in a pamphlet written by Most at that time, under the title Revolutionary Science of War," which was reprinted by several anarchist papers and had a pretty extensive circulation. The climax of the agitation, however, was reached in 1886." (p. 244.)

The Haymarket massacre was blamed on the anarchists. The capitalists' media of propaganda were easily able to turn the wrath of most workers against the "advocates of violent revolution," and also create an image of unions, generally, as being composed of long-haired and wild-eyed radicals. Union organization, of course, survived but the drama in Chicago marked the beginning of the end of the American anarchist movement. Eight of the most prominent leaders of the area including Spies, Parsons, and Fielden who were there to address the crowd, and Michael Schwab, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe and George Engel who were not even involved in the meeting, were arrested and subsequently indicted.

The trial began with an unusual manner of selecting potential jurors. Rather than using the customary method the judge appointed a bailiff to go out and summon such jurors

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OCT. 16—TALK: A Sense of Proportion — K. Ellenbooen

OCT. 23—FILM: "Eternal Children"

OCT. 30—INFORMAL SOCIAL

NOV. 6—FILM: "Clean Waters"

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as he might choose. A panel of 1000 were picked of which only five were working men. These were promptly excused by the State. The remainder according to Morris Hillquit's history, were either employers of labor or those dependent on such. Upon being asked regarding their feeling towards anarchists most admitted they were prejudiced but all affirmed that they were strong-willed enough to overcome such prejudices. Press and pulpit throughout America thundered at the accused all through the trial. The judge made frequent derogatory remarks clearly intended for the ears of the jury. The State couldn't prove that whoever it was who threw the bomb was, in fact, influenced by the writing and oratory of the accused. Yet all eight were found guilty. Guilty because of their ideas!

Seven were sentenced to death and one to prison. Two of the seven were later given commutations. One committed suicide in his cell. Four were hanged. "Justice" was done.

Charles and Mary Beard in their "Rise of American Civilization" sum up *the Case against Judge Gary* in a paragraph:

"In a laconic summary, the presiding judge, Joseph E. Gary, disclosed the spirit of the trial when he said: 'The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did actually have any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan; but the conviction proceeds upon the ground that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes to commit murder and had left the commission, the time, place, and when to the individual will, whim or caprice or whatever it may be of each individual man who listened to their advice'.... Admitting that the evidence did not convict the accused of taking any part in the crime, the judge declared that in consequence of their 'advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death.'" (p. 233).

The atmosphere of the trial, as the Beards put it, was more that of a battlefield than a court-room.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD

Six years after the execution of the four, a new governor, John P. Altgeld, reviewed the case and pardoned the three who still remained in prison. Had he been content to issue a quiet pardon he would have been unquestionably pardoned himself for so doing by the majority of the powers of the time. Passions had subsided considerably by that time and there was a wide-spread recognition of the bad odor left by the case. But Gov. Altgeld was shocked by the evidence he had turned up and because he was an unusual type of capitalist politician—one who has probably never been duplicated in the history of American politics—he went far and beyond the call of his duty. He flung the mess in the faces of those who had been largely responsible, he sowed the wind and he reaped the whirlwind.

For Governor Altgeld became the most reviled politician in American history. He was damned by Dr. Lyman Abbott, a top religious figure, as "The crowned hero and worshiped deity of the anarchists of the Northwest." He was condemned by Theodore Roosevelt as a man who "condones and encourages the most infamous of murders." And he was, in fact, so thoroughly excoriated that he never recovered either politically or physically. He became a ruined man, his career sacrificed on the altar of capitalist respectability.

* * *

Anarchist advocates of "the deed" are not very plentiful in America today. Nor, for that matter, are anarchists of any variety—and there are certainly a variety of anarchists. But there are organizations professing to be socialist or communist that advocate the arming of workers. The World Socialist Party would urge our fellow-workers to pay them no heed for they are relics of a dead past. With Frederick Engels, we understand that the day has been long gone when workers can sensibly resort to street fighting and "armed resistance"

against the awesome weaponry of the capitalist class. Not in highly-developed nations, at any rate. The solution must lie through a legal, political party making use of the

franchise in the only way it can ever count for the working class—to abolish the wages system and introduce socialism.

HARMO

The Requirements of a Socialist Society

It is often a major surprise to a liberal or a "socialist" who encounters the World Socialist Party for the first time to discover that what we mean by socialism has nothing whatever to do with government control of industry. And when we then explain our goal is a classless, wageless, moneyless, world-wide system of society in which the means of production will be controlled democratically and every individual will be guaranteed the free right of access to the social product, we are often dismissed promptly as "utopian dreamers."

The fact is, however, that the basic requirements of a socialist society are far simpler than those of capitalism, and far more easily met once the initial task of abolishing private property in the means of production has been accomplished. Socialism will need: I. *Labor* (under which include manpower, training, co-operation, and incentive); II. *Materials* (under which include means of production & distribution, resources, transport, raw materials); and III. *Organization* (under which include administration, communication, statistics). There is really nothing in these requirements which could not have been met in the major industrial countries for the last half-century. Indeed, capitalism does meet them in its own disease-ridden, poverty-gutted, war-generating way. But capitalism must not only meet the physical tasks of producing and distributing goods and services. Besides labor, materials, and organization, capitalism must also maintain the commodity society with wages, capital, money, banking, credit, etc. It must maintain a massive police and

militia force to defend property against those who have produced it at home, and an even more massive war machine to protect it against those who covet it from abroad. Capitalism must find ways to adjust to unemployment; class conflict; poverty; waste; flimsy, cheap, destructive, and deadly commodities; air and water pollution; riots; strikes; race prejudice; crime; and mass battlefield slaughter. It must maintain huge bureaucracies to dispense such services as unemployment compensation; medical insurance; social security; charity; and welfare. It must employ the best brains of its universities in the task of figuring out how to make sheets that dent at a touch; engines that need a major overhaul every two years; tires that wear to the fabric after 40,000 miles, and appliances that last, generally, as long as the period of their installment payments. It must train armies of psychologists to keep workers producing in a system that robs them of every other work incentive except subsistence. And finally, capitalism must grind out an omnipresent barrage of propaganda to convince its victims that no industrial society could possibly be run any better.

LABOR

We have said that socialism will require labor, and that labor includes manpower, training, co-operation, and incentive. All of these requirements can be far more effectively met once the obstacle of capital and wage-labor relationships is removed. In 1960, for example, there were about 70 million persons in the United States labor force, carrying on all the social

tasks required by the U. S. economy. About 28.5 million of this force were engaged in the following generally non-productive occupations:

Wholesale & retail trade.....	11,385,000
Government	8,127,000
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	2,425,000
Armed Forces	2,520,000
Unemployed	4,206,000

(Figures derived from *Statistical Abstract of U. S. for 1960*). This figure of 28.5 million represents the approximate number of persons who would have been released from un-productive occupations in the U. S. and made available for socially productive tasks had socialism been established in 1960. The above list does not include some 6½ million "service & miscellaneous" workers, many of whom would also have been released, and it does not include the entire capitalist class of some 5-10 million persons. So despite the fact that a percentage of these lumped as "unproductive" might be engaged in socially-useful occupations, the figure is close enough. Now 28.5 million people was, and still is, over one-third of the total labor force in this country. If such a reservoir of labor, which is at present socially wasted on tasks made necessary by profit and property, were fully utilized on productive tasks by a system of labor rotation, the average U. S. work week could have been cut to absolutely no more than 26 hours in 1960 without even making use of automation. What automation would cut a socialist work week down to is at present only a matter for speculation, but 5 hours is certainly a reasonable estimate.

A mere glance at the existing power potential of the American economy is enough to convince one that socialism will have no trouble meeting its manpower needs. Nor should training and co-operation pose any difficulty. The labor process has already established a general school and co-operative through the development of the industrial revolution, and every industrial country has already established a general school

system. It only remains to put these things to more effective use than capitalism can permit.

WHAT ABOUT INCENTIVE?

The problem of incentive, similarly, should cease to be a problem with the arrival of socialism. One can list at least twelve effective incentives for the stimulating wealth production, only two of which socialism will abolish: 1. profit; 2. wages; 3. obtaining wealth for consumption; 4. obtaining more durable and useful goods than capitalism will produce; 5. service to the community (an incentive which has never been wholly killed, even after its misuses in capitalist wars); 6. the need to expend mental and physical energy (a need which will come increasingly to the fore as socialism steadily cuts down the necessary work week); 7. the sense of accomplishment in having produced a well-made, useful, and aesthetically pleasing article; 8. the expression of artistry and creativity in the production process itself; 9. interest and pleasure in the complexity, variety, or nature of a task; 10. approval from others; 11. opportunity to associate with others in a common effort; and 12. freedom to control the contingencies of one's own work (such as breaks, hours, standing & seating arrangements, location, lighting, tools, pace of production, methods, etc.). Capitalism relies almost entirely on incentives 1 & 2, plus the fear of punishment. In doing so, it partially or wholly destroys for the working class incentives 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 12. Socialism will abolish (happily) only incentives 1 & 2. It will be free to make full use of incentives 3-12, simply because its wealth will not be produced to sell, its work will not be done under slave conditions of wage labor, and its enormous manpower and machine power reserves could be freely employed to lighten any job before it becomes punishing to anyone.

MATERIALS & ORGANIZATION

Materials and organization, again, are both problems which capitalism

has already basically solved. There are more than enough means of production in the U. S. alone to supply every man, woman, and child in the Western Hemisphere with any item that can be mass-produced. Cybernation, the destruction of crops, and the enormous waste of military consumption should be ample proofs of this fact. If more be needed, consider that the productivity per man-hour of the U. S. worker climbed by about 69% between 1947 and 1964, a figure which gives us an idea of the latent power in the muscles of modern industry. Capitalism of course burns, buries, pollutes, restricts, wastes, and blows to bits a vast amount of materials simply because it is not profitable to use them for needs. Socialism will waste no materials on the requirement of profit.

Socialist administrations will have to keep statistics and information which will enable them to answer these questions at all times: what are the wants and needs of the population? What kinds of wealth, work, etc. will best meet them in a way that is satisfactory to all? How much and what kinds of labor and materials are needed to produce that wealth or provide the necessary services? And what is the most efficient way to organize all those able and willing to work for its production? When one considers the vast amount of organization, communication, statistics, and pure policing which capitalist society must maintain to deal with its property, profits, exchange, finance, etc. it is inconceivable that human beings would not be able to obtain such basically simple information. None of it is really more complex than the kind of data contained in the one-volume *Statistical Abstract* published each year by the Department of Commerce.

EXAMPLES OF SOCIALIST BEHAVIOR

If we reflect further, there is no basic feature of socialism named in this article that has not already occurred in isolated form. Indeed,

there is usually a certain irony to the standard "utopian" and "human nature" arguments which we must answer time and again. One critic will claim that human beings cannot possibly co-operate with each other because of their rotten natures, and yet he will co-operate daily with his fellow workers in the production process on a scale which has never before been known in any society previous to capitalism. Another critic will dismiss the idea of free access to wealth as a utopian fantasy in the very act of taking free access to air, water, and the matches and toothpicks distributed freely by American restaurants. A third can see nothing but the prospects of sudden universal laziness if wages were removed, while he cheerfully goes about planting his gardens, working in his civic projects, sawing wood in the cellar for some new house repair or piece of furniture, teaching his children, shovelling his driveway in the winter, and doing his laundry: none of which is compensated by wages. Still another shakes his head at the idealism of those who can imagine one world undivided by national boundaries, while sometimes planning to traverse no less than 3,000 miles of undivided geographical territory for a summer vacation, touring an area in which 190,000,000 people live and work in a single functioning social structure. Finally there are the "realists" who scoff at the conception of a classless society, without realizing that mankind has spent 99% of his known existence on this planet without social classes or property in the means of production.

But though capitalism has laid every necessary foundation for socialism, there is one thing we have not discussed, and we must save it for another time. And that is the job we have yet to do.

STAN BLAKE

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## THE MIND OF A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

Book Review: *The Accidental Century* by Michael Harrington (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965)

Next to the world-wide Moscovite movement, the largest phony "socialist" tendency is that which is frequently referred to as "social democratic," or, unfortunately, as "socialist." The Scandinavian social democratic parties, the Labour Party of Great Britain, and the Socialist Party of America are all of this tendency. At one time, social democracy could boast some able theorists. Now, however, it has a very low theoretical level. A recent illustration of this theoretical weakness is Michael Harrington's book, *The Accidental Century*.

The author is known for his book, *The Other America*, the fame of which is attributable to its stimulation of the discovery of poverty by the liberal press and mass media. *The Accidental Century* presents the author's general evaluation of the social developments of the last sixty years.

In the preface, the author acknowledges the inspiration of Norman Thomas, Max Shachtman, and Bayard Rustin. It seems incredible that this trinity of social democracy can be openly acknowledged as theoretical mentors. This in itself speaks volumes on the primitive level of social democratic theory.

The book seems addressed to an audience of "liberal liberals," that is, those who are so very, very liberal. In trying to appeal to this type, the author tones down the more radical implications—conclusions are gently suggested rather than boldly pursued.

One somewhat amusing aspect of the book is that the author has taken on the posture of a literary essayist in an apparent imitation of ex-radical writers like Irving Howe, who have landed jobs as professors. As a man of letters and serious literary critic, Harrington is a flop. His pretensions to scholarship are quite

"mid-cult." For example, there is not even a bibliography provided; nor are any citations given for the plethora of quotations. Literary allusions plus a hodgepodge of synopses of men and ideas do not add up to anything profound. Of course, no doubt, Harrington makes some correct summaries of literary themes, but his whole process is reminiscent of the term paper of the college sophomore mercilessly carried to great length. Clever phrases, comments and thumbnail sketches are not enough justification for writing a book, let alone one that purports to present a serious political perspective.

The theme of the book is the decadence of traditional capitalism along with the institutions and ideas associated with it. Harrington sees some of these ideas as valuable and he laments the dangers to these ideas from the forces unleashed by capitalist development. The cause of this decadence is the undirected and unintended byproducts of technological changes. This "revolution," as he calls it (his terminology is imprecise), has "unsettled every faith and creed in the West."

This, one would think, would be generally welcomed by Harrington. Yet there is a definite note of ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism in his designation of useful ideas as "Western." He is really expressing sorrow for the decay of social democracy. Had social democracy presented a real alternative to capitalism, its decay would not have been so complete.

Harrington tells us "...the one set and undeviating aspect of socialism is its commitment to making the... free choice of the citizen the principle of social life." A hundred and fifty years ago this expression of the ideals of bourgeois democracy would have been progressive. But today it ignores the recognition that democratic theories must be related to a social context. The social democrat never understood that the science of political economy is the heart of the matter. Democracy cannot exist on

thin air; it refers to a social context. Specifically, where the social relations of wage labor and capital exist, democracy cannot exist. It is not that more planning is needed but that outmoded social relations must be abandoned. Socialism is not just that people get what they want; it refers to what can be done when people want and get a different society with different social relations.

W. J.

## WHAT PEOPLE NEED

Socialism is to be a new form of society, a form in which all the people in the world will own in common the means to produce wealth, and will distribute it according to the needs of each. In other words, each person will decide for himself what he needs to live — and he'll be able to take it.

Perhaps some of you feel that this situation would result in chaos, when everyone took television sets and four Cadillacs, for example. But try to remember that before we can institute a socialist society, we will already have a population that isn't likely to react that way. Today, all those who are able to, ostentatiously display their wealth — live in huge mansions, own numerous automobiles, and so forth — because these expensive things determine their social status. When possessions of jewels, automobiles and artistic items is open to anyone who wishes to weigh himself down with these things, the desire to accumulate them will to a large extent vanish. Water is one of the most precious things in the world to the human race, yet no one attempts to hoard and dispay huge tanks of fresh water. Water and air, except under extreme circumstances, have not been denied to all but those who can afford them. Yet this is the case with almost all the other objects you can think of. Our present system of society, because it is based on buying and selling, tends to make everything into a commodity that can be sold at a profit or else withheld from use... most unlikely

objects such as paintings. Under socialism, on the other hand, all the products of human ingenuity will be as freely available as water and air now. And the psychological need for expensive status symbols will vanish.

You might also stop and think about how many of our needs today are instilled in us by the advertising industry, which spends millions of dollars annually for just that purpose. When we no longer live in a commercial world, perhaps, some of us will no longer "need" a car with tires called tiger paws in order to feel like a real man; and, perhaps, the rest of us can be sure of our womanhood even without deodorants and perfume and an improbable hair color. For many of us, these things are real needs today; but they have all been clearly created to sell products.

All this may indicate that men's needs are not a constant. They vary according to the circumstances in which people find themselves. In a truly democratic, socialist society, it will not be too hard to determine what is wanted at any given moment, by means of polls, public opinion surveys and the like, such as are in wide use even today; and it will also not be too hard to satisfy people's needs. We have the technology to do that right now.

But although people's material needs and wants may vary a good deal, there are *certain* needs which are part of being human. A fundamental need of humanity, for instance — and a need which will be felt in *any* social system — is occupation.

Almost the hardest situation, for a person to find himself in is one where he is forced to be completely idle — for instance, in a hospital bed, or in certain prisons. Generally speaking, we are miserable if we have no outlet for our energies. Now at present, the way our society is set up, we have two separate outlets, and we make a major distinction between using up our energies on work, or on things we do for pleasure. We only work when we have to, and the rest of the

time we either rest or do something we enjoy.

But, since it is clear that in a socialist society no one will *have* to do anything he doesn't *want* to do—since each individual will have free access to what society produces regardless of his own contribution—this distinction cannot apply.

Not many people would really want to spend their lives sightseeing, or dancing, or playing cards or golf, because an endless sequence of *aimless* pleasures soon gets tiresome. Occupation, to be satisfying for any length of time, must have some object to it: like gardening, or building, or designing. Actually, most necessary work can be pleasant, once it has as its goal people's needs, rather than profit. People tend to enjoy their work today if they know it's useful, and if it's reasonably pleasant in itself. And, in the society we want, it's only the useful work that will have to be done — we need no longer bother with useless occupations like advertising, for example; nor need we waste time making shoddy imitations of expensive items. Everything made will be the best of its type that *can* be made. It's always more satisfying to make a really excellent product than to cut corners and costs. I think we can be pretty certain that useful work under socialism will be pleasant, too, and attractive to people when they are not under any financial pressure to work. As the whole of the people in free association will control the conditions of existence, the general aim in a socialist society will be to make that existence as satisfying as human ingenuity can contrive.

Today, we work in order to live. Tomorrow, perhaps, we will live to work — to be engaged in pleasant, useful activity. This will fill the human need for occupation, and for fellowship in a sane society.

KARLA ELLENBOGEN

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## VICTORIA, B. C. ELECTION MESSAGE

Among the endless irritations that accompany modern commercial society, there is one that particularly intrigues members of the companion parties of Socialism — that is, the perpetual willingness of the exploited majority to swallow so much of the ruling class political propaganda that is fed to them every perceiving day of their lives.

We could paraphrase a possible conversation of the early dark ages—“Hey Sam, have you heard the latest? Some nut is trying to tell us that the world is round! How crazy can some people get? Any man in his right mind knows it is flat.”

As potent as the truth is, a sad fact has been that the supply of this vital element has always exceeded the demand, with every competitive class claiming that it was the sole possessor.

But the same people who thought the world was flat, also believed that man was born greedy; they embraced religiously the religious doctrine of original sin, exactly as so many proletarians do today. Except that today we are supposed to have achieved the age of science and enlightenment. Our forebears could not even read and write, they had more reason to be superstitious.

At a time when the social labor of the working class can accomplish the

(Continued from page 2)

some, albeit limited, recognition of his efforts with a display of a few pictures headed: “Sunday in the Park — a Swinging Spot” and a brief, 100-word caption. The meeting, however, was even more successful than the International Rally with a friendly audience discouraging a couple of hecklers. Literature sales were very good and there were several inquiries for information about socialism.

Local Toronto, an active and enthusiastic group of young men and women, appears to be going places and in a genuine socialist direction.

RAB

feat of putting a satellite into orbit around the moon, when the inner workings of the atom have been inspected, it is difficult to get adjusted to the fact that the same intelligent working class humans believe, for instance, that the state functions in the interests of the “people.” Or that wages are paid so that workers can buy the things they need.

The “great man” theory, was going strong in the days of the ancient Greeks. The slaves were told that their inferior social status was a biological thing, that their masters were a superior race. Leadership, the antithesis of democracy, is still in vogue today. The intelligent mass leaves its political thinking to the representatives of the capitalist class.

In harmony with the great man theory, is the idea that when things obviously go wrong, it is because we have bad leaders, (bad, great men); it is alleged to be the fault of the politicians who are in office at the time. This one is wearing thin in parts however. Even the two local press spokesmen for the status quo have admitted that the current economic boom would have come, no matter what party had been in office.

Evolving naturally out of this fantasy, is the variant that goes back at least to our great, great grandmothers' time, of the good guys versus the bad guys thesis, that all politicians are bad.

### SHEARING THE SHEEP

One of the strangest phenomenon is the spectacle of the wage-worker who can give us the latest base-ball score, but who hasn't a clue as to how he is separated from the fruits of his labor down at the factory. Theories pounded into his head about rich men or commissars being smarter, or contributing more to society don't give him much incentive to delve, we admit.

Even when we bare the simple truth, we don't expect him to go rushing around telling his fellows the formula of our collective exploitation.

We agree, it would be of no use for capitalists to have capital around if it didn't proliferate. But inert materials and static machinery won't grow into surplus wealth by themselves. The boss has to buy human ability, labor-power, from the working class; just like he would buy sugar or soap.

The value of labor-power amounts to approximately just enough goods and services to maintain the worker as a seller of this commodity — nothing more.

And the difference between this value of the workers' ability and what they actually produce, is the source of the mountain of loot that the rulers of the earth are sitting on top of today.

### HELPING THE POOR TO HELP THE RICH

Some of these gains are used to pay obedient politicians like Premier Bennett to tell us that state ownership is Socialism; some are used to finance doles, handed out to the worst victims of legal robbery, to get them on their feet and producing again, and otherwise keep the discontent and miseries of the workers at a level somewhere near bearable. The objective being to minimize interference with the dominant function of world society — the making of profits.

### THE MAJORITY ARE POOR BE- CAUSE THEY WORK FOR WAGES

We don't expect the workers of the Canadian section to become politically sophisticated tomorrow morning, merely because the harder they work, and the more money-wages they make, the deeper they sink into personal debt; to discover shortly that their position in the social scheme of things equals not much more than a cipher in the economic equation of the supreme cash register, or to reflect lengthily on the compulsion to put their substance up for the highest bidder for a wage or salary, because they do not own the capital to live without carrying those who do.

## AND DESTITUTE WHEN THEY CAN'T WORK FOR WAGES

Another social anachronism that makes it difficult for us to believe that this is really the twentieth century, is the attitude of that growing body of workers who have miraculously survived a "life" time of being fleeced. When the walking package of labor-power has been drained, becomes an empty hull, and can no longer be used by capital, he usually discovers that he is completely free of any substantial possessions.

Although the pittance handed out by the wealthy parasites who have lived off him so well and for so long will barely equate enough energy for a struggle down to the polling booth, he can be relied upon to faithfully put down his "X" for the system that has relieved him of so much.

## ARMED FORCE TO PROTECT LEGAL ROBBERY

Part of the proceeds of exploitation are used to finance vehicles of violence to protect capital, both from workers nearby and from capitalist groups elsewhere. And to protect or extend sources of raw materials and places to sell commodities. The biggest market depression in the history of capitalism was ended by its biggest war.

Oblique references in the daily press — "... new hopes that the potentially richest nation in South-East Asia (Indonesia) will not slip into 'Communist' hands"; "We cannot allow Southeast Asia with its rubber and rice... to fall to the Soviets," and former President Eisenhower's statement, "... our power and ability to get certain things we need from the richest of the Indo-China territory, etc., ... manganese and cobalt, tin and tungsten," and "our need for markets for our agricultural and industrial products," show that the slaughter of worker against worker in Viet Nam is just part of the normal functioning of capitalism in which two giants, the U.S. and China, are contending for the same prize. It would be impossible to ask workers to professionally and scientifically

mass murder each other if they knew that such carnage was in the interest of their respective masters. This is the reason why a worker who cannot pay cash for a deep-freeze has to be told that he has a country to fight for, or that the killing is done for peace, or in defence of freedom.

We can sympathize with the idea of some workers that war research and H Bomb production should stop, and that this social energy should be devoted to finding a cure for cancer perhaps. But we cannot sympathize with the social ignorance that causes them to think that capitalism can operate contrary to its nature. It would be easier to make a tiger eat hay, than it would be to abolish competition for profits, and still have capitalism.

## ANY COLOR YOU WANT, SO LONG AS ITS BLACK:

In terms of solving the social problems of the useful section of society, this is really not an election. Reminiscent of some forced labor camps in Russia, which were self-administered by the inmates, (peoples' democracy?) where the idea of getting out was seldom considered. Modern elections are conducted partly to determine whether tweedledum or tweedle-dee will have the honor of officiating for international capital for another term. Japanese, U. S., British, German and Swedish as well as Canadian entrepreneurs dip their fingers into the golden hoard produced by the patriotic B. C. section of the working class.

The five conservative parties contesting are basically identical. During the Hungry Thirties, one man ran on a combined Socred-CCF ticket, and why not? Was capitalism any different in Social Credit Alberta than it was in CCF Saskatchewan? And there is no way we can distinguish the program of the unofficial representatives of Russian capitalism in B.C., from the other parties here. The only clue is their name.

Soviet and Chinese millionaires are doing well off the labors of their share of the world's exploited. They

must chuckle to themselves when they see what admirable co-operation they get from editors, university professors, social "scientists," preachers and other political dinosaurs of the West, in fostering the biggest hoax of the century, that the Russian rulers are building Communism.

Yes, the workers have no substantial choice. Their political ignorance guarantees this.

## WE CAN BE IGNORANT OR FREE, BUT NOT BOTH:

Have we disturbed your train of thought? Well, your political naivete gives us no alternative. There is not a day that this system does not plague all of us, we who oppose it, and you who support it. So long as you retain such antiquated ideas that exclusive ownership of the productive apparatus by a few, and wages for the many is an unchangeable and natural order of things, then we have no other way of defending ourselves.

Eventually the temporary escape mechanisms will become a less adequate substitute for living. The TV urging you to buy junk, the beer tranquilizers, comic books, the new auto, designed to need repairs at about the fifteenth payment, the Church with a promise of life hereafter, — and the leaders, gladly doing your political thinking for you; and do you know, they just can't get the welfare of the capitalist class off their minds?

The vital statistics about increased crime, mental illness, suicide and alcoholism are only a visible part of the iceberg of submerged misery that affects all of us in varying degree, merely a tabulation of some of those victims who have cracked under the strain.

This earth is practically one big automated factory. Why shouldn't it be used for humanity? All the ingredients are here to make this planet a fit place for us all, except one — working class political awareness. The onus is on you.

## A Christian Science Critic

We are in receipt of a letter (too lengthy for publication and for a point-by-point reply) from a correspondent in Pocatello, Idaho, who "accepts" our challenge to prove Socialism wrong." (WS No. 5-1965.) Unfortunately, this challenge was predicated on the assumption that a potential critic would at least give a modicum of attention to the contents of "The Western Socialist." Had the lady done so she could never have presented us a rebuttal of socialism based upon a fallacy—that "planned controls" such as are "advocated by socialists" (according to her) ignores the need for "talent"; that "Know How" is "an ingredient socialists seem blind to"; and that everything that (socialists) touch turns to ashes."

The fallacy is not that the lady is wrong about the effects of "socialism" in Syria, Russia, China, England, etc. Nor are we concerned with her equally fallacious praise of the capitalist economies of Japan, Formosa, and "the wonderful UNITED STATES." The confusion that confounds our critic is that what she describes as "socialism" is actually capitalism (the state-capitalist form) and had she taken the trouble to read the issue of "The Western Socialist" to which she refers she could have either refrained from writing us at all or answered our challenge from an entirely different viewpoint.

The letter, interestingly enough, was enclosed in a package of Christian Science literature, for our critic is (as she puts it) no longer a believer in atheism and socialism, as she was in her youth. She now sees the truth and the light in the writings of Mary Baker Eddy and her followers. An editorial in the "Christian Science Sentinel" (March 14, 1964) by Ralph E. Wagers, entitled "Moral and Spiritual Values in Industry," to which she refers us, informs us among other things:

"In industry individuals are united, not separated, by the terms 'management,' 'labor,' and 'stockholder.' Each group has

certain responsibilities not only to every other one but to the business itself. Each is essential to the success of the enterprise. That is why the members of each group . . . should constantly reach out in honest desire for that which will determine their equitable relationship."

And the editorialist continues:

"Whether so recognized or not, this desire, this reaching out, is a form of prayer to God, divine Principle, whose will, or law, brings management and labor together to their mutual advantage . . ."

Having probed behind the facade of "The Christian Science Publishing Society" in Boston, Mass. we know what the writer means. This imposing structure nestles within a sort of Christian Science enclave of beautiful Church property and streets of not-so-beautiful tenements and apartments (also owned by the "Mother Church" but scheduled for demolition by the billionaire Corporation in the interest of better-paying investment property within the developing "New Boston.") One finds within the Publishing Society all of the varied expressions worn by the creators of surplus value—the working class—from the smiling greeters and hostesses who conduct guided tours of the plant, to the ever-so-many office workers, printers, and the myriad of other wage-slaves of many types found in capitalist enterprise, generally. "Management and labor" really appear to "reach out" in an "honest" effort to produce "Christian Science Monitors" and the various religious journals of the Eddy edifice and thereby help increase the profits of the "Mother Church." And God (in his infinite wisdom) appears to continue to apportion the rewards according to capitalist precepts: the "talented" and those with the "KNOW HOW" necessary to extract a maximum of surplus from the producers are rewarded with the executive powers with commensurate income, while those who produce and distribute the wealth receive also their just deserts—a chance (when they can be "used") to work at the going wages or salaries. It all, somehow, seems to

resemble the system in Russia, China, etc. on a miniscule scale. (We can picture our critic, hands raised in horror!)

The "Mother Church" cooperates by making as pleasant an atmosphere as possible (for hens, cows, and workers all produce more abundantly in pleasant surroundings) and one can listen to a "daily prayer" via recording or discover the current reading of one's favorite stock through the facilities of the "Monitor." The distinct relationship between religion and capitalism is, in fact, no better exemplified than in the worker-employer relationships within the Christian Science Publishing Society.

Which function — the dissemination of religion or the production of surplus value — is the "Mother Church" more concerned with? The answer to this conundrum was best summed up by Karl Marx in his preface to the 1st Volume of "Capital": "The English Established Church," he pointed out, "will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on 1/39th of its income." We do not know how many "articles" the Christian Science Church possesses. But when we consider the fact that the followers of Mary Baker Eddy in the United States constitute but a tiny fraction of those who espouse religion and capitalism we can make an educated guess as to which our critic considers more important. Capitalism without religion (especially the "Mother Church" variety) is to be regretted. It is even conceivable that she could bring herself to give grudging approval to those countries she now attacks were she to realize that they have abolished neither God nor capitalism and that distinctions of income and wealth ownership through government bonds do exist. But a society in which goods and services would be freely available to all, where class distinctions would vanish and where all mankind would live in brotherhood? That, our critic believes, would be disaster.

HARMO

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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

## OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. — THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.*

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