



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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HUMANITIES IN THE MODERN WORLD

INTRODUCTION

Humanities has been defined: "Peculiar nature of man, by which he is distinguished from other beings".....Archaic: "mental cultivation, liberal education, as classical and polite literature"; also: "Branches of polite learning".

Our section not too polite in terms of the reading.

Our subject of "Civilization Between Two Wars" implies that much of it is not pleasant. We will take time in the course briefly to review the crisis of our time, manifesting itself in 2 wars and now in talk of a third. We will try to define the crisis!

We will then delve into the 2 chief contributions that have been made during the era in the realm of thought (the third, relativity, not covered) These are psychoanalysis (Freud, DH Lawrence) and the attempt to put the Marxist ideal into practice in the Russian society (Lenin) together with an understanding of what happened to it (Koestler, Silone).

Lectures will give a background and will discuss the books. Repetition will be avoided, other than to answer questions which should be asked freely.

The books may be difficult. Not the fault of students; certainly not of authors - our culture is corrupted. We don't read anymore. Our culture is one of sport pages, comic books, movie magazines and trash novels. No thought!

(Questions) (Office Hours)

FREUD ON WAR

Does not ~~axcept~~ notion that war is just another of life's odious importunities, a natural, biologically sound and practically unavoidable phenomenon.

Looking at human instincts, he says there are two: those that conserve and unify, the "erotic" or "sexual"; and those that destroy and kill, the aggressive...Love and Hate....Life and Death.

Each of the instincts is as indispensable as its opposite and they modify one another. Thus, the instinct for self-preservation, erotic, often expresses itself in aggressive action.....Also, the love instinct, when directed toward an object, often calls for the acquisitive instinct to be effective (All's fair in love and war.).Also, the Crusades as an example....Attitude toward mother.

Also, in war. The whole gamut of human emotions called into being: cruelty plus idealism.

It is, therefore, not accurate to talk of war prevention in terms of hope of suppressing humanity's aggressive tendencies. That is always in man.

Rather we should make use of advantage given us by nature, which made Eros predominant. We should encourage Eros: relation toward a beloved object, sexual or no; love; identification; community.

But culture seems the greatest hope. It brings psychic changes in man (impairs sexual function) - It rejects instinctive reactions and sensations - It strengthens intellectual mastery over instinctive life.

All these lead to an introversion of the aggressive impulse.

War, therefore, runs most emphatically counter to the psychic disposition imposed on us by the growth of culture. Thus to an intellectual repulsion there is added constitutional intolerance.

Whatever makes for cultural development makes against war.

(Argument of Socialists against System and environment.)

During the course of next ten years he worked alone, developing a theory as to the nature and theory of psychoneuroses, from which arose a new conception of human nature....Finally, in 1906, a number of others joined him: Adler, Jung, Brill...In 1908, they formed the International Congress of Psychoanalysis, which has been meeting biennially ever since. It now has branches all over the world, with hundreds of psychoanalytical specialists who pay a religious deference to Freud as their teacher and leader..... Even in advanced age, he was active as director of the International Journal of Psychology....In 1938, Germany absorbed Austria; his fate was in doubt; but he ended up in London after a hectic flight.In 1939, he published "Moses and Monotheism" in which he set out to psychoanalyze anti-semitism. He dies in London Sept. 23, 1939.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Although Freudian psychoanalysis is by no means distinguished by logical consistency and strictly scientific method and would and could, therefore, never be a science to those who identify science with precise measurement and rigidly controlled experimentation, it nevertheless was scientific in the sense that its procedure was empirical...It regards the mental life as a strictly determined mechanism. You could not experiment with it like a biologist or physicist would, but through personal and autobiographical experience, a pattern could be developed. (Gas- expands directly in proportion to temperature and indirectly in proportion to pressure).

Psychoanalysis is the technique of exploring mental life and explaining its perceptions and findings by means of an elaborate theory regarding the growth, structure and dynamics of the mind.

The method consists of bringing to mind feelings, events and fantasies that had been put aside and out of the mind because they were disagreeable and in replacing them with "acts of judgment which might result either in the acceptance or rejection of what had been formerly repudiated"...Those feelings are brought to mind by the conscious cooperation of the patient through "free association". The patient was brought to recollect forgotten far off events of his life, most of them "purposely" forgotten, repressed.

When the patient could consciously remember and face all such events realistically, he was cured!

Psychoanalysis became very controversial because it was based on insight into mental articulations, analogies, guesses, chance fancies and figures of speech. Also, because it refers to submerged and opaque parts of the human psyche. It thus becomes the object of intense faith or ridicule.

Psychoanalysis says that the mind and body are separate and distinct. But they are also interdependent. As energies they interact with one another in definite and determined ways.... Somehow, the chemical energies of the biological organism and the mental energy of the psyche combine and express themselves in instincts.

These instincts are urges, seeking satisfaction appropriate to their natures and avoiding frustrations! - Satisfying them produces pleasure; dissatisfaction produces pain.

Associated with this concept of the interdependency of mind and body are three important and fundamental theses:

- 1) An unconscious exists, which has dynamic influence on the conscious.
- 2) The mind is split into layers, due to the intrapsychical conflict between various set of forces. (forget incidentals conveniently; forget distasteful by repression.)
- 3) Infantile sexuality must be recognized. An infant has an unconscious conflict toward its parents, which is often accompanied by jealousy and hostility. This is Oedipus Complex. A central factor in neuroses and also a fundamental contribution to the formation of character in general.

GENESIS of FREUDIANISM

Freud, we saw, first gained insight into psychoanalysis after becoming acquainted with Breuer's experiences with a patient cured by hypnosis. The patient was a young girl of unusual education and talent, who had become ill while nursing her father to whom she was very much attached. She came to Breuer a picture of paralysis with contractures, inhibitions and states of psychic confusion... Through an accidental observation, Breuer discovered that the patient could be freed from such disturbances of consciousness if she could be enabled to give verbal expression to the phantasies which dominated her.

He hypnotized her and urged her to tell him what oppressed her at the time and by this simple method he freed her from all symptoms... The significance of the facts lay in that in her waking state the patient knew nothing about the origin of her symptoms, but, once hypnotized, she immediately knew the connection between her symptoms and some of her past experiences.

All her symptoms were traceable to experiences during the time when she had nursed her sick father. Moreover, the symptoms could be traced to definite experiences and forgotten reminiscences of that emotional situation.... Common features of the symptoms consisted in the fact that they had come into existence in situations in which an impulse to do something had to be foregone because other motives suppressed it. THE SYMPTOMS APPEARED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE UNPERFORMED ACT. When the patient in a state of hypnosis recalled the act which she had suppressed and now brought it to conclusion under the stress of a freely generated effect, the symptoms disappeared.

This motivated Freud to study under Charcot. In 1885, he returned to Vienna to demonstrate what he had learned. He met

with considerable opposition.

It was the age of physical therapy, when physicians knew nothing about the psychic factors in disease, when everything was judged by the formula "A healthy mind in a healthy body"... Every symptom was explained on the basis of some organic lesion, and if nothing physical was discovered, it was assumed that there must be something in the brain to account for the disturbance.... Treatment was based on the same deficient understanding: drugs, hydrotherapy, and electrotherapy were the only agents that physicians could use... If the patient was excited, he received some sedative; if he was depressed and felt fatigue, he was given a tonic; and when drugs failed, electricity or cold baths were recommended.

During the first few years of his private practice, Freud relied mostly on hypnotism. He had some good results, but he soon found that not every patient could be hypnotized, and that even those who could be, did not remain permanently cured... He first attributed such failures to a deficiency in his own technique, and so he went to Nancy to spend some weeks with Bernstein, to whom he took a recalcitrant patient for treatment. Bernstein made a number of efforts to produce a deep hypnotic state in the patient, but finally had to admit failure.... This led Freud to leave hypnotism and develop psychoanalysis.

The efficacy of the treatment used by Freud and Breuer rested on a mental and emotional purging, a catharsis, which the patient went through during the treatment... It also rested on the concept that hysteria was a concept and a disease of the past and that the symptom was a monument to some disagreeable and forgotten repressed episode from the patient's life; Nevertheless the patient did not know the meaning of the monument.

This concept for the first time showed the importance of distinguishing between conscious and unconscious states, later developed by Freud as the psychology of the unconscious. New meaning was given to the emotional factors of life.

The symptom was the result of dammed up or strangulated effect. the idea was intentionally repressed from consciousness. As a result of this repression, the sum of energy which could not be discharged took the wrong path to bodily innervation and thus produced the symptoms.

In other words, the symptom was the result of a conversion of psychic energy into a physical manifestation, such as pain or paralysis. Thus a pain in the face, diagnosed as neuralgia might be due to an insult which would evoke ordinarily the thought: "I feel as if he had slapped me in the face"...As this result could not be retaliated against, the strangulated effect energy remained in a state of repression and gave rise to "neuralgia". The cure or the discharge was effected through what Freud called abreaction. The hypnotized patient was led back to the repressed episodes and allowed to give free vent in speech and action to the feelings which were originally kept out of consciousness.

Breuer and Freud were not received too sympathetically. Their psychogenic views of hysteria were interesting, but too revolutionary to be accepted by their older colleagues. On the other hand, there was as yet no real antagonism. That did not arise until later, when Freud began to stress the sexual factor in neuroses.

Breuer soon withdrew from the field. He enjoyed a stable and lucrative practice and a high reputation as a family physician and the storm brewing around Freud frightened him.

Freud, therefore, continued alone to perfect the instrument.

He made many modifications, the most important of which was the giving up of hypnosis in favor of free association. During his visit to Bernheim, he saw an experiment under which a patient that had been under hypnosis eventually remembered everything that had been said to him where he could not remember anything upon being awakened. It took slow urging. Freud applied the same method to those he could not hypnotize. He urged them to tell him everything that came to their minds, to leave out nothing, regardless of whether they considered it relevant or not. He persuaded them to give up all conscious reflection, abandon themselves to calm concentration, follow their spontaneous mental occurrences and impart everything to him. In this way he finally obtained those free associations which lead to the origin of the symptoms.

As he developed this method, he found that it was not as simple as he had thought, that the so-called free associations were not so free and had to be analyzed and interpreted. He, therefore, designated the new technique psychoanalysis.

In the course of working with free association, Freud gained a tremendous amount of insight into the play of forces in the human mind. He asked: "Why has the patient forgotten so many outer and inner experiences to be recalled only by hypnosis or free association?" ... It must represent something painful, something disagreeable, or something frightful and obnoxious to the ego of the patient, which he did not like to think of consciously.

In order to make it conscious, the physician had to exert himself to overcome the patient's resistance, which kept the experiences in a state of repression and away from consciousness.

He next surmised that the neurosis was the result of a psychic conflict between 2 dynamic forces, impulse and resistance,

and in the course of that struggle the ego withdrew from the disagreeable impulse...the withdrawal of the obnoxious impulse only meant that it was kept from access to consciousness and direct motor discharge. But it retained its impulsive energy.

The unconscious process, therefore, was a primary defense mechanism, comparable to an effort to fly away from something. But this impulsive energy still remaining, was still active and constantly thrust itself against the ego, always searching for expression.....Finally, it does succeed in expressing itself and find an outlet through some by-path and thus invalidates the intention of the repression. This outlet often settles on a course on some organ or part of the body and we get a symptom....Once this is established, the patient struggles against the symptom' in the same way as he did against the original repressed impulse.

CASE

A hysterical young woman. For some months, she was courted by a young man proclaiming his ardent love for her. Suddenly one day he made an unsuccessful sexual assault upon her and then disappeared leaving her in a state of deep depression. She could not confide in her mother, because from the very beginning of the affair the mother had forbidden her to see the young man. Three years later she was suffering from numerous hysterical conversion symptoms and attacks of an epileptic character which had been existing for 2 years.

Analysis showed that the attacks represented symbolically what had taken place at the time of the abortive assault. Every detail of the epileptic attack, every gesture, every movement, was a stereotyped repetition of the sexual attack which the patient was unconsciously reproducing.

The young girl was healthy and ready for mating. Her primitive instinct of sexual striving was waiting for fulfillment. Consciously, however, she could think of love only in the conventional proper sense of the term, in which the physical elements are deliberately kept out of sight. Her middle class, religious environment precluded any illicit sexual activity as far as she was consciously concerned.

But behind it all, the sexual impulses were actively searching out for maternity... She was sincerely in love with the man, but naturally thought of love as marriage, with all that goes along with it.

The sudden shock of coming face to face with the physical elements of sex left a terrific impression on her mind.... On the conscious level she vehemently rejected the lover's physical approaches; on the unconscious level, she really craved them.

For weeks afterward, she vividly lived over in her mind everything that had happened to her, and, now and then, even fancied herself as having yielded, a thought which was immediately rejected and replaced with feelings of reproof and disgust.....Last, but not least, she actually missed the love-making which she had enjoyed for months prior to the attempted assault.

Since she could not unburden herself to anyone, she tried very hard to forget everything, and finally seemingly succeeded.

But a few weeks later she began to show the symptoms which finally developed into symptoms of epilepsy.

These symptoms were the symbolization or the dramatization of the conflict between her primitive self and her ethical self - Between what Freud called THE ID AND THE EGO.

ID AND EGO

Freud says that the child brings into the world an unorganized chaotic mentality called the ID, the sole aim of which is the gratification of all needs, the alleviation of hunger, self-preservation, love, the preservation of the species.

As the child grows older, however, that part of the id which comes in contact with the environment through the senses learns to know the reality of the outer world and becomes modified into what Freud calls the EGO.

The Ego, now aware of the force of civilization, religion and ethics, refuses to allow motor discharges of the powerful sexual impulses emanating from the lawless Id and thus blocks them.

The attack of the girls, despite distortions, served as an unconscious compensation for the traumatic event.

HALLUCINATION, DELUSION, CASE

A patient hears, sees, or feels something not perceived by anyone else. It's not true, but patient is not lying. He actually perceives everything he says he does.... Freud says these hallucinations represent actual projections of inner feelings.

CASE- Woman seemingly living quite contentedly with her husband for 5 years, suddenly begins to hear people say that she is a "bad woman", that her husband is divorcing her and she has had illicit relations with a well known movie star. She also complains of peculiar feelings like pin pricks and electricity in certain parts of her body.

ANALYSIS - Her husband had been impotent but she had loved him and would not leave... The hallucinations depicted the wish instinctively to be divorced and to be married to a real man as a recompense for her drab existence.... The pin prick annoyances represented pangs of conscience and guilt feelings accompanying her phantasies... She could not decide one way or the other, so she tore herself entirely away from reality and behaved without reason.

It was a struggle between Id and Ego... At first, the ego tried to beat the id, hence the hallucinations.... But as time went on, she became careless and paid little attention to anything, smiled and talked to herself. Lost interest in herself and in outer world.... She became apathetic, indifferent (The ego was weakening and was being carried away from reality by id. It began to construct for itself a new world in terms of her infantile wishes and tendencies.)

She had to be put in sanatorium; unable to care for herself. Behavior in every way like a child. Talked childishly, played with toys.... She was going through infantile wishes to which she regressed, because life did not grant her what Id tendencies craved.

SEX

Freud was led to sex step by step. In probing for the origins of hysterical symptoms, in tracing them back as far as possible, even into childhood, he found physical and psychical activities of a definitely sexual nature in the earliest days of childhood.

He came to the conclusion that all neuroses represent a general disturbance of the sexual functions....He also concluded that sexual activities in childhood were always present and that they could not be considered abnormal, but were on the contrary normal phenomena of the sexual instinct.

"In a normal sex life, no neuroses is possible".

When the sex drive has means of healthy expression, no neuroses....Neuroses occur when the basic impulses, which lie in the sexual sphere, are strongly repressed. And one of the reasons they are repressed is that our ego tells us not to face the sex drive.

But healthy sex expression, not limited to animal intercourse. It is possible to deflect the sex drive, divert it, channel the primitive energy into various other paths, called sublimation; turning the drive toward non-sexual objects, humanity, socially valuable work, beautification of life..... It is this sublimation in fact which has built up civilization and is necessary for individual and racial progress.

Here Freud develops his theory of the libido. It is the sum of all the creative energy originally designed for the reproduction and perpetuation of the race; the sum energy of the sexual instinct, all the energies dealing with love in the broad sense....Hence it includes self-love, love for parents and children, friendship, attachments to concrete objects, and even devotion to abstract ideas.

This broadening of the term sex into love or libido is very important. It loosens sexuality from its close connection with the genitals and establishes it as a more comprehensive physical function, which strives for pleasure in general and only secondarily enters into the propagation.

The task of the analyst, therefore, is to free the regressed libido and direct it into paths of sublimation which will activate it into useful work and substitute such a form of satisfaction for the wasteful energy of the symptoms.

CASE- A patient treated by ophthalmologists for years. He complained of pains and blurred vision which could only be temporarily alleviated by medication or changing the eyeglasses.

ANALYSIS- For many years he alternated with an occupation of "scopophilia", getting him in trouble with the law and the neurotic eye symptoms... During the summer months, when he endeavored to look through a telescope at bathing resorts, hoping to see women, his eyesight was excellent, but as soon as this activity had to cease, his eyes began to disturb him... For 9 years, he suffered these conflicts which alternately afforded him perverse pleasure and made him suffer from neurotic symptoms, the negative of the perversion..... He was cured and his former vocation changed to become a dealer in optical instruments. Through the new vocation, he was able to sublimate the tendency for perverse looking.

Other cases of benevolent people toward animals. Whole literature about cats!

THE ANALYST TASK

The method of psychoanalytic therapy thus requires a highly specialized technique in order to penetrate, correlate, and readjust the wealth of plastic human material. Here dreams and errors are important.

The fundamental factor in the success of treatment is what FREUD called transference. It is that psychic ability on the part of the patient to bring over to the physician the whole burden of his psychic life and to find in him the sense of power and security which the neurotic character seeks. (patients fell in love)

It is a psychoneurotic attempt to revive the infantile parent images and the supreme security afforded thereby. Through this the physician gains the complete confidence necessary for the intimate and complex investigation of profound individual problems.

Having received the confidence, the physician must attentively interpret what he hears. In free association, he ignores nothing. Whatever the patient expresses is part of an effort to release something indirectly due to prevention or direct expression.

WIT AND ERROR

Human errors are not the result of fatigue or accident. There will, however, be more slips when fatigue sets in for the guard is down. The errors are meaningful and determined. They come from the unconscious and could not be prevented. The error signifies the true attitude which has been repressed.

It is not necessary to maintain that every error has a meaning, but this is probably the case. Some people after their errors have been analyzed, will admit the true basis.

CASE- An evening dance of a wealthy but not too generous host, which continued to about midnight when everybody expected a more or less substantial supper. Instead, just sandwiches and lemonade were served. F. Roosevelt was then running for Pres again under slogan: "We have us a square deal". While disappointingly consuming the modest repast, the guests were discussing the coming election with the host and one of them remarked: "There is one fine thing about Teddy. He always gives you a square meal".

This slip of the tongue not only unwittingly disclosed what the speaker thought of the supper, but also provided an outlet through laughter for the other guests. They are now relaxed and pleased.

It is the best safety valve modern man has evolved. The more civilization the more repression, the more need for wit. Only relatively civilized people have a sense of humor. The child and the true primitive show no such mechanism.

Strange Freudian slip by Rep. May when battling to preserve military control of atomic energy program for 4 hrs on July 19 when process servers with Mead Comm. subpoena waited outside, he began oration: "Your honor..."

THE DREAM

Dreams important in this connection. The hidden fulfillment of an unconscious wish. Dreaming is a normal function of the mind. It is the guardian of sleep insofar as it strives to release tensions generated by unattainable wishes and tensions, which, if not removed, might keep the person from sleeping.

They are also neurotic symptoms; and like errors, they are meaningful. Meaning must be understood. Must, therefore, pierce the dream system: condensation, substitution, distortion, manifestation.

The dreamer invariably knows the meaning of his dream, but he doesn't know he knows it... Encouraged to speak about it until analyst sees a pattern.

Dream distorted, making it difficult, for it is a substitute, since there is a resistance to the real object's coming through to consciousness.... The ability to repress is not as great in sleep as in waking state, but it is present so that the latent thoughts are distorted. The dream that appears is the manifest dream content. The real object is the latent dream thought.

FREUD IN AMERICA

Freud came to the US in 1909 to lecture at Clark University. Well received. Met President Lowell of Harvard. Converted him and many others.

In 1913, Brill began translation of works.

"The Nation" and others began to take note.

In 1915, Max Eastman popularized Freud in series of articles.

Example of rage: Cartoon of a proposal. The girl is hesitant. Editorial comment that she is a Typical Old Maid because she hesitates though she loves him. Her unconscious has an "ideal man", an infantile vision of her father or brother.

Intellectuals began to take hold. Mabel Dodge Sterne "circle". Walter Lippman. Greenwich Village

Psychoanalysis suited the young intellectual of the 20s. He had not too long before rejected the traditionally moral and social structure (Greenwich Village) and he was not yet ready to accept another fully developed system like Marxism....He needed a method, a psychological approach and justification for his own soul searching.....Psychoanalysis made to order for his personal revolt against tradition

The revolt of the postwar 20s was a "romantic protest" against the social and moral inconveniences with which society disturbed the individual....Psychoanalysis suited most of these men because it was new, unorthodox, shockingly frank and because it implied (certainly did not advise) a more liberal view of sex.

This affected literature and fiction. Writers modelled their study of character on the therapeutic situation. The hero was frequently pale, shy, sensitive, given to much introspective brooding over the world, which struck him as being harsh and importunate....His experiences with the other sex were more adventures in understanding than ~~adventures~~ affairs.

Writers were eager for an approach to characterization which avoided the gentility of Jane Austen, the sentimental heaviness of Dickens.They felt that sex was their problem and that psychoanalysis furnished a ready set of descriptive terms for their purpose.... Hence they substituted the complex for the simple, the abnormal for the normal, the novel for the conventional

The result of course was that too often they used Freud as an excuse for exploiting the interest in sex.....But much of it was on a higher level:....Sherwood Anderson (young men lying upon their backs in cornfields feeling depressed by their bodies); F. Scott Fitzgerald; Ben Hecht's ERIK DORN.

The important Freudian contribution to literature, however, was not sensuality and adolescent attacks upon mores, but introspection. Writers were self-conscious. Their interest seemed to be not so much in erecting systems of thought as in giving philosophical justification for a position taken to an unsatisfactory environment.

(In the 30s, they turned from Freud to economic oppression, Marx) (Greenwich Village gave to Steel City) (men no longer permitted the luxury of soul searching when the political and social ills were widespread)

Freudian contribution can be seen in the irrationality of the surrealists. They not Freudians, but they embrace his Unconscious. They take up their residence within the id, they disown the ego and conscience.

Most recent and most successful is Koestler's ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE. Peter Slavek, a revolutionary of long standing, arrives in the capital of Neutralia (Lisbon) prepared to join the war on fascism

In the course of his long and weary waiting for papers to clear the consulate, he meets and falls in love with Odette. The conflict of loyalties which results, love and the revolution, throws him into a state of psychic paralysis which communicates itself to his physical self, causing him to become violently ill....Dr. Sonia Bolgar, a psychoanalyst awaiting passage to America, takes over his case....A long series of dream interpretations and conversations lead to the ultimate truth: Peter has been a revolutionary all his life because of a crushing sense of guilt which had been born of his unconscious, infantile jealousy of his brother... he had wished to destroy his brother's eyes; he had seen his parents throw away a doll whose eyes had been broken, and he thought that they might cast his brother aside for the same reason... his wish was never actualized, but Peter was responsible for a similar loss, accidentally suffered by one of his playmates....The feeling of unconscious guilt which originates in this accident has persisted, and his revolutionary activities have been a "breathless search for atonement"....The analysis is completely successful; Peter gives up his revolutionary interests and determines to search out Odette in America.

But the solution is not quite so simple as all that. Psychoanalysis has been able to demonstrate the psychic source of his revolutionary activities, but it cannot prevent him from acting as he seems driven to anyhow "All of logic could not interfere with this experience of supreme peace which seemed to emanate from a source beyond her reach, from the very core of his self...And if she called this neurotic, let her. Perhaps there were times when the source of that emanation, finding all outlets blocked, had to force its way through twisted and dubious channels to assert itself"

Woestler's handling is the act of a master for it weaves into the narrative pattern. The character of the hero and the full scope of his past activity are both revealed through the analysis

Man, therefore, too much of 20th century life was an irrational being.

This suspension of belief in reason caused some writers to become so absorbed in the manifestations of unconscious life that their perspectives became warped and distorted. Since the boundary line between normal and abnormal had been removed and the distinction between good and evil removed, the instinctive life was the most important. They thus proclaimed a perpetual moral holiday on the ground that restriction of any kind deprives life of its vigor..

Another attitude was a love of the destruction of the past with no provision for moral or social structures of the future.

A third response to the overpowering presence of the irrational in modern life is an extension of Dostoevski's doctrine of resignation (Franz Kafka).

Its other effect dealt with the character of the moral revolt. Sex freedom was a prominent problem of discussion among intellectuals

This latter has taken 2 forms. One asks for an intelligent cultural analysis of sex habits and attitudes in modern times. It counsels a greater freedom of sex choice..The other a la DH Lawrence is sort of a vitalistic sex gospel, considers the sex drive as a ritualistic approach to the deepest and richest experience.

Finally and the view most favored by Freud is the emphasis on the tremendous task which the mind or ego has yet to fulfill. Followed by Thomas Mann. The hope that knowledge of the Unconscious affords us such an increased knowledge of human behavior and such strengthened means of control that man will now live both in the increased realization of his basic powers and in the sober recognition of the necessity for rational controls

DH LAWRENCE

Born (David Herbert) at colliery village of Eastwood, Nottinghamshire on Sept. 11, 1885...One of 5 children.... Brought up in an atmosphere of poverty, brutality and drink.... An early attack of pneumonia sowed the seeds of tuberculosis..... A frail and studious child, his mother encouraged him to develop his own mind. She was a fairly cultured woman to whom he was passionately devoted. (Women superior to men in later novels).

At 13, entered high school with a scholarship. Became a teacher at British School at Eastwood at 16. Entered training at Univ. College, Nottingham, to become certified teacher at 18. After 2 years, won his certificate and became teacher in an elementary school near Croydon

Meanwhile, he began to write verse. Became friendly with an Eastwood girl who was "Miriam" of "Sons and Lovers". She gave him a start by copying 5 of his poems and sending them to the "English Review" where they were published. His first novel The White Peacock in 1911.

Though his novel only brought in 50L, he decided to live by literature,; he quit school to travel and see for writing. Excellent reputation....In 1912, called on Prof. Ernest Weekly of Nottingham to inquire as to the possibility of a lectureship in a German university and instantly fell in love with Weekly's wife, a lady of 31 with 3 children. So did she. They threw in their lot together and left for Germany....They had but little money and she was unaccustomed to hard work. He did much of the cooking and cleaning....In 1913, he proved himself with Sons and Lovers, a mature work.

In July 1914, Weekly divorced his wife and Frieda married Lawrence....He acquired a reputation....Off to London.

The war brought special practical and psychological problems to Lawrence...His pulmonary weakness exempted him from military service... Frieda's German nationality and relationship to famous German airman brought suspicions...They were indiscreet, sang German songs, were not too careful about lighting regulations.....Ordered to leave coast.

Did a great deal of work during war...In 1915, his first trouble with the law came when police condemned THE RAINBOW as obscene and destroyed the edition. This made him bitter for he considered some of his best and poetical work went into the book.

Left England in 1919, toured Europe and the world. Came to US in 1922 (New Mexico).

Relationship with wife interesting. He gave her the stimulus of living with a genius. She gave him peace and love. But they fought like tigers. He seemed to suffer from mother fixation (oedipus complex) and found it difficult to arrive at proper relation with other women.... As to Frieda, they differed in nationality, class, temperament. Fought and threw crockery at one another. Not having children by Lawrence, she had a natural hankering for her children....In 1925, while at Italy, she rashly invited a daughter to stay. He reciprocated by inviting a sister. Before long, the whole establishment went up in smoke.

In 1926, he wrote Lady Chatterly's Lover, making no less than 3 versions. This is an account of the sexual relations of a highbrow lady with a gamekeeper. These are recorded with the utmost physical detail, language and all. Book prohibited in US and England.

Began painting in 1925. Exhibit in London in 1928. Raided by police.....Died in 1930 of TB in Italy at age of 44.

DH not easy to understand. He must be read and reread. One must acquire a taste for his writing. It would appear, though, that once that taste is acquired, one becomes a flaming disciple....He is easy to read but hard to understand.

To Sherwood Anderson: "His Kingship...fervent love for a great man - to me the greatest, at least among writers, who has lived in my times".

To Aldous Huxley: not only a friend, but a spiritual leader and great artist.

To John Middleton Murry: "One of the greatest lovers the world has known".

Yet few people understood him. He was much maligned during his life and much praised. Yet all will agree of his tremendous influence and impact on literature and the world of his day.

I do not pretend to know the psychological state of DH himself. Experts differ violently among themselves. But we can at least become acquainted with the views and understand the person if not his psychological state.

Broadly, it might be said that his whole powers were devoted to the pursuit of a fuller, freer, more intense life than is permitted by our industrial civilization and our social system.

~~He was not interested in man. But he was interested in the whole man rather than in individual man.~~

Essentially, he was an anarchical individualist, although he denied his anarchism. He became so absorbed in the problem of the individual in general and in his own problem in particular that he implied it was useless to consider how man might manage to live together when it was not yet clear to him how each could live with himself.

It might be said, thus, that he was a mystic, albeit a realistic one.

"One thing I know, I am tired of this insistence on the personal element; personal truth, personal reality. It is very stale and profitless. I want some new non-personal activity, which is at the same time a genuine vital activity. And I want relations which are not purely personal, based on purely personal qualities; but relations based upon some unanimous accord in truth or belief, and a harmony of purpose, rather than personality. I am weary of personality ...I am sick and tired of personality in every way. Let us be easy and impersonal, not forever fingering over our own souls, and the souls of our acquaintances, but trying to create a new life, a new common life, a new complete tree of life from the roots that are within us But we must grow from our deepest underground roots, out of the unconscious, not from the conscious concepts which we falsely call ourselves".

DH, therefore, was extremely responsive to the divine mysteries of the world. He was extraordinarily sensitive to the unconscious. He could never forget the dark presence of this otherness that lies beyond the boundaries of man's conscious mind.

He became a disciple, of course, of irrationality. Man, to him, lived in a world. For his own convenience, man calls this a universe. Actually, however, this world is within a greater alien world of external matter....Applying this to the mind, he said that man's home made universe, called a mind, actually lived within a greater alien world of external matter, which was irrationality....Out of this blackness (use blackboard) of that world, the light of man's customary thinking is only capable of scooping up, as it were, a small illuminated cave; just a tunnel of brightness. Man lives in this small tunnel of brightness from the date of the birth of his consciousness until its death; he lives in it, moves and has his being in it.

Most of us ignore this outer world, but not Lawrence. He wanted to be constantly aware of it....But he also differed from philosophers and men of science in the way he was aware of it. He approved of this outer darkness; felt at home in it, and did not want to increase the illuminated area.

The reason for it is that he trusted the dark unknown unconscious and mistrusted the light, rationality: "My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what the blood feels, and believes and says, is always true".

He, therefore, disapproved of too much knowledge because it diminished men's sense of wonder and blunted their sensitiveness to the great mystery.

This accounted for his passionate dislike of science. This expressed itself in many unreasonable ways..."All scientists are liars"....Didn't believe in evolution...To Huxley's evidence: "But I don't care about evidence. Evidence doesn't mean anything to me. I don't feel it here" (solar plexis)

It's interesting that many readers felt and feel the same way about Lawrence's novels. It meant nothing to them, because they "did not feel it here".

His novels were indeed strange. His approach was so unique.

Psychological reality, like physical reality, is determined by our mental and bodily make up. Common sense, working on the evidence supplied by our unaided senses, postulates a world in which physical reality consists of such things as solid tables and chairs, bits of coal, water, air.

Science now appears on the scene and carries the investigation further. It discovers that these samples of physical reality are "really" composed of atoms of different elements, and that these atoms, in

their turn are "really" composed of more or less numerous electrons and protons arranged in a variety of patterns.

Similarly, there is a common sense pragmatic conception of psychological reality and also an uncommonsense or "scientific" conception.....For ordinary practical purposes, we conceive of human beings as creatures with characters. But analysis of their behavior can be carried so far that they cease to be characters and reveal themselves instead as collections of psychological atoms...Lawrence took this uncommonsense view of psychology and man.

Hence the strangeness of his novels....He was determined that all he produced should spring directly from the mysterious irrational source of power within him...The conscious intellect should never be allowed to come and impose, after the event, its abstract pattern of perfection....Hence he hardly ever corrected or patched what he wrote. "He rewrote (3 complete and totally distinct manuscripts of Lady Chatterly's Lover)"

Philosophy of Cosmic Pointlessness: "There is no point. Life and Love are life and love, a bunch of violets is a bunch of violets, and to drag in the idea of a point is to ruin everything. Live and let live, love and let love, flower and fade, and follow the natural curve, which flows on, pointless".

He epitomized a rebellion. Struggled against the existing mores and customs of society. He opposed its wars, tyrannies, pettiness, fussiness of detail. (Ursula)...He had no time for unimaginative living. Modern society is degenerate...was most repelled by the successful bourgeoisie who concern themselves with accumulating money and protecting what they accumulate.

distractions

Lamented the criminal ~~distractions~~ which fill men with nonsense and leave no hole or cranny for serious thought to lodge itself into consciousness...One great criminal distraction was work, an opiate.

Work is immoral because it makes it necessary for man to shirk his first duty, which is to live..The other great ~~distraxion~~ distraction is "spirituality", which makes men forget the delights and difficulties of immediate living as they remember eternity and infinity.

He insisted on spontaneous living to the exclusion of ideals and fixed principles; on intuition to the exclusion of abstract reason.

So he refused to write about those distractions. Refused to write about mian activities of the contemporary world.

In The Rainbow, he even went further and refused even to write of human personalities in the accepted sense of the term: "Somehow,

that which is physic -non human in humanity, is more interesting to me than the old fashioned human element, which causes one to conceive of character in a certain moral scheme and make him consistent. The certain moral scheme is what I object to...I don't care so much about what the woman feels -in the ordinary usage of the word. That presumes an ego to feel with. I only care about what the woman is...You mustn't look in my novel for the old stable ego of the character. There is another ego!" (Like

diamond and coal are the same pure single element of carbon. The ordinary novel would trace the history of the diamond. But he says: "Diamond, what! This is carbon. And my diamond might be coal or soot, and my theme is carbon".

His methods therefore violate so called "dramatic technique" in novels. His characters are not as much unitary souls arranged in a pattern, as centers of radiation quivering with the interchange of impulses....He is more concerned with interplay of feelings than with activation...His characters are simply jets of a great stream of energy and cosmic will.....Neither are his plots full of intrigue and mysteri! They are more the line of movement of the elemental life force...The dramatic situations are simply the maladjustments, the counterbalances of erotic impulses.

LAWRENCE AND THE NOVEL

Associated with all this is the further fact that Lawrence used the novel for his own personal purposes—Art was useful to him: "One sheds one's sicknesses in books—repeats and presents again one's emotions to be master of them".

The novel was thus a therapeutic novel agent for him. He seemed more concerned with using the novel for his own purposes than with developing it as a definite art form...Critics have pointed out that each of his novels was less a novel than a treatment of some new aspect of his personal problem and an addition to the record of his perpetually unsuccessful struggle to make peace either with life or with the widely discordant desires of his own strong nature.

It's because of this that in spite of his passionate gift of expression that he has failed to exert more influence in encouraging frankness, helping popularize the use of psychoanalysis in fiction and even more conspicuously still he was in part responsible for free discussion of the sexual problems of characters...but because of the idiosyncracies of his own interests and his temperament, his influence was more general than specific.

"I always say, my motto is "Art for my sake". If I want to write, I write—and if I don't want to, I won't. The difficulty is to find exactly the form one's passion—work's produced by passion with me, like kisses— is it with you?—wants to take".

To him, the artist was an essentially separate being, who must not desire to meet and mingle and who betrays himself when he hankers too yearningly after common human fulfillments...His first duty was to his genius and he could not serve two masters. Hence to his psychologist:

"What ails me is the absolute frustration of my primeval societal instinct...I think societal instinct much deeper than sex instinct—and societal repression much more devastating. There is no repression of the sexual individual comparable to the repression of the societal man in me, by the individual ego, my own and everybody else's...myself, I suffer badly from being so cut off."

He would periodically deplore the absence of "real human relationships" and try to establish contact with the body of mankind. Efforts to join existing political organization failed: "Socialists are so stupid and the Fabians so flat"....How acutely he suffered from this freedom by which he lived: 45 years; 12 novels....In a kind of despair he plunged deeper into the surrounding mystery, into the dark night of that otherness whose essence and experience is the sexual experience.

Sex played a vital part in his life and philosophy. Murry said his capacity for love so great, he was afraid of it. Universal love burned him:

"So he strove to kill his love; he fled away from it, he hid his face from it, he sought oblivion from it: in woman. The more avidly he sought oblivion from this consuming flame of love, the less he could find it, the less capable he became of finding it. And slowly and inevitably, the love turned into hate. Hate, first and last, of himself who had feared his love and sought to kill it; hate, next, of woman to whom he had fled for refuge from the fire that consumed him, and from whom he could not take the oblivion for which he hungered; hate, finally, of a world of men which had caused him to suffer as scarcely any man has suffered before. --- Only he can judge Lawrence, who has loved as he loved. There is no such man living: of that I am convinced. I believe that once there was such a man, who loved as Lawrence loved and did not fear as Lawrence feared, or, if he did, he conquered his fear. He alone could judge Lawrence; and it was he who spoke the word "Judge not, that ye be not judged".

Murry's theory was mother fixation.

Frieda offended and violently disagreed.

In any event, whether we accept Murry's views or not, it is clear that his own personal experiences accounted greatly for his attitude toward sex. Even Muxley admits it

Now just what was his attitude toward sex? The significance of the sexual experience to him was that in it, the immediate, non-mental knowledge of that divine otherness is brought to a focus, a focus of darkness through sex. Sex was the road through which man could reach his real depths and the sexual relation was the way for that complete understanding of the unknown.

Love and sex, therefore, were not evil. They were real. He had no sympathy for pure lust, pornography. In fact, he had a horror of the Don Juans and the Casanovas.

"It seems to me queer that you prefer to present men chiefly - as if you ~~prefer~~ cared for women not so much for what they were in themselves as for what the men saw in them. So that after all in your work women seem not to have an existence, save as they are the projection of the men ... It's the positivity of women you seem to deny - make them sort of instrumental".

His own plea was for an attitude of complete frankness with regard to sex. Force the thing out, he urged, know even its excesses, and sex curiosity will assume its normal place among the functions of life. Sex in the final analysis, is negative; not until man has subdued sex can he realize his individual selfhood.

Despite his insistence on the physical aspects of sex he was far from being an immoralist; and indeed is described by many who knew him well as a puritan...He lived with the utmost frugality, did not smoke, and drank little.

He was essentially a modern of the postwar generation who believed that humanity will never get anywhere until it stands up and faces facts, forces everything out, breaking the old forms, if necessary, to find a new solution and a new creed.

This is the greater implication behind the amatory relations of his men and women. The sex motive to him was one vast symbol for all human activity and thought it he wished to reveal the unconscious aspects of life otherwise intransmissible.....
~~Nevertheless~~ Perhaps he attempted the impossible escape when he arrived at the belief that man could never realize the triumph of the living spirit without passing through the experiences of sex. ...Nevertheless, he would free man from the obsession of sex, not by the denial of the puritan, but by the frank acceptance of the primitive.

In a sense you can see that there are some similarities here between Freud and Lawrence. Both believed that the normal sex life of man had been disastrously repressed and neglected.....
DH also used many of the symbols used by psychoanalysis, dreams and othersie. Also his preoccupation with an Unconscious.

But they actually differed greatly. DH would not accept Freud.

LAWRENCE AND FREUD

When his SONS AND LOVERS came out in 1913, he was pointed out by Freudians as the novelist with exceptional insight into such psychoanalytical problems as incest-horror and oedipus complex

The fact of the matter, however, is that the novel was written before he had any real acquaintance with F and before he even mentioned F in any of his letters....He, therefore, needed no theory to aid him in the analysis of character. He had a theory of his own. Basically, therefore, it is a mistake to say that "Lawrence was influenced by Freud" or anyone else. "Lawrence was influenced by Lawrence",

Frieda had been greatly influenced by Freud and led to DH interest in him....He quickly came to the conclusion that F looked on sex too much from the doctor's point of view, that his "sex" and "libido" were too limited and mechanical and that the root was deeper.

His real interest, though, came when psychoanalysts began to hail SONS AND LOVERS as the most penetrating study of the oedipus complex yet to be found in English literature..He studies it with his usual intense interest, but he never wholeheartedly accepted it.

His most devastating criticism: A Science!

His most serious criticism seemed to come from a misunderstanding. He protested against psychoanalysis as anti-moral..He thought that the analyst considered incest-craving normal and thus desirable. "With dilated hearts we watched Freud disappearing into the cavern of darkness....He came back with dreams to sell. But sweet ~~harker~~ heaven, what merchandise! What dreams, dear heart! What was there in the cave? Alas that we ever looked! Nothing but a huge slimy serpent of sex and heaps of excrement, and a myriad repulsive little horrors spawned between sex and excrement".

(Of course, too F, if you let in the honest daylight of analysis, "sex" and "excrement" will lose their foulness, darkness, morbidity)

He also criticized F unconscious as nothing more than a place where the unpleasant was kept "the cellar in which the mind keeps its own bastard spawn"....His own unconscious was wholesome. The fountain of real motivity; the spontaneous life-motive in every organism. "Every individual creature has a soul...We need not explain the unconscious, any more than we need explain the sun. We can't do either, anyway".

The same as to sex. Sex to F, he said, was negative. He emphasized sex to remove illness....But DH considered sex as part of his religion, health and happiness, reality...Hence so many of his characters find their most vital happiness or their most bitter disillusionments during and after such experiences. (Ursula and Anton)

We saw that the police had objections to THE RAINBOW.Called it obscene.

"I had heard yesterday about the magistrates and the Rainbow. I am not very much moved: am beyond that by now. I only curse them all, body and soul, root, branch and leaf, to eternal damnation.

His first reaction was to fight. Friends in Parliament raised the issue. Then he decided against court action. "But my spirit will not rise to it. I can't come so near to them as to fight them. I have done with them. I am not going to pay any more out of my soul, even for the sake of beating them".

A private edition came out. An American edition later.

As to the book itself: "Whatever else it is, it is the voyage of discovery towards the real and eternal and unknown land".

"You ask me about the message of the Rainbow. I don't know myself what it is: except that the older world is done for, toppling on top of us: and that it's no use the men looking to the women for salvation, nor the women looking to sensuous satisfaction for their fulfillment. There must be a new world".

His medium is to explode without evasion or shame the processes of human life and emotion as he saw them.

Original title was The Wedding Ring. Also The Sisters.

Why Rainbow? (path to fulfillment freedom, span to otherness)

Novel opens with roughed in sketches of Brangwen family. We are carried back 2 generations in English soil. The men are endowed with the natural strength of animals who have yet to be defeated in actual combat.

Lawrence too came from a stock like that of the Brangwens, elemental in its passions, close to the soil and the ancient instinctive life which civilization had forgotten.

Into this blood DH poured a stream of foreign blood. Tom marries a Polish widow and later his nephew Will marries the daughter of her first husband. (DH too married German blood)

What DH tells us from now on is that while for generations the Brangwens farmed their own land, in the end they become servants of the machine. Mechanical industrialism is the symbol of their spiritual impotence. Because of this, they all suffer: Tom and the Polish woman; Will and Anna who carry on the struggle; and Ursula, more sensitive than the rest because of the mixed stream in her blood.....his spiritual impotence is seen most strikingly in Skrebensky's failure to serve Ursula..To a lesser extent also in Will's release through pure sensuality.

Tom's marriage is to some degree successful, for the intermingling of a foreign strain gives his household new life..He finds himself regarding his stepdaughter with stronger paternal affection than his own son, and once he overcomes initial jealousy, her marriage to his nephew gives him a special sense of gratification.

Up to this point of the marriage, the narrative follows the traditional structure of a full bodied English novel. In it, however, as we've seen, is some of his own life. Particularly, however, his peculiar style is apparent. One cannot mistake the passion of the early love scenes and the rich prose poetry.

With "THE CATHEDRAL" chapter, however, we get a change. From now on, we are asked to accept all further action in the novel in terms of this larger poetic symbol. The symbol, in fact, becomes more impt than the action of events.

The emotions of Will Brangwen and Anna Lensky are no longer treated in terms of direct action. Anna and Will no longer exist as separately defined entities. Both are absorbed in an emotional climax greater than their individual being. Only their conflict with one another remains and that conflict is stated in terms of experience larger than human form.

The entrance of Will and Anna into Lincoln Cathedral becomes a symbol of sex and marriage as a religious ~~symbol~~ experience, a symbol of a particular kind of transcendentalism that is to find its growth in Lawrence's philosophy...The cathedral is used as a sex image and the arch as a symbol of the sex act. But the arch is also a mystery that originates in religious emotion, the effort of the individual to identify himself with a world not his own, an escape into a larger being....Sex is thus merely an instrument.

D.H. carries this on. Ursula, the daughter of Will and Anna, is a child of the Cathedral experience. Her practical activity as a school-teacher and her sexual life are stamped with the signature of the Cathedral arch.

In a sense, one might regard the Cathedral chapter as the first recorded evidence of Lawrence's religious conversion. He branches off sharply from all orthodox forms of worship. We are made to feel that Will's immersion in the ritual of the established Church is a sign of both weakness and strength. He is but half man and the fact that Anne cannot share his full emotion and fights against it is a tragedy that sends him down to the defeat of his manhood.

In Ursula, the same lack of fulfillment is foreshadowed. She has in her the same delicacy and emptiness of her father. Her emotional capacities are never gratified: her delight in fondling a miner's baby;

her torture in school; her failure in her abnormal love affair with Winifred; her final failure at love with Skrebensky.....Her lack of feeling for Skrebensky is a lack of emotion for him beyond the immediate sex impulse and realizing this, she breaks with him....."or does her search for her needs end.

Despite the bitterness of self-revelation, loneliness, feeling cut off from sharing the full stream of emotion, the last image before her eyes is the RAINBOW - again the arch, again the liberation from herself.

The honeymoon of Will Brangwen and Anna Lensky is claimed to be autobiographical: conflict of love and hate that goes on between man and woman.

Very beautiful and powerful "Anna Victrix" chapter. Description of their honeymoon. The rebirth of the shy man in a long ecstasy of passion with a carefree, beautiful, passionate unashamedly physical woman.

"She didn't care. She didn't care in the least. Then why should he? Should he be behind her in recklessness and independence? She was superb in her indifference. He wanted to be like her".

He, therefore, surrendered to her completely. But together with the delight and ecstasy, there is humiliation for him. He becomes dependent upon her. She becomes irritated at his helplessness and clinging. A nightmarish struggle....Continues even after birth of child..... resolved only after a rebirth in him. But this accompanied by an undermining of his own creative purpose. He loses faith in his own ideals, his own belief in himself.

Symbolic visit to Lincoln Cathedral. Anna deliberately shatters her husband's passionate ecstasy in the pure upsurge of the buildings. The mason, she said, had carved the portrait of his detested wife. "You

hate to think he put his wife in your cathedral, don't you?"

Meaning of the symbolism is that through the woman, sex, the spiritual ideal is destroyed. And it is ~~xxx~~ good that it should be destroyed, for the spiritual ideal is false so he responds more warmly to the face in the cathedral.

Will seems to be a Lawrence who has given up the effort - the effort to make the spirit and flesh dwell together in harmony. But Lawrence has not given up the effort...The effort is to find the rainbow, the bright arch that spans in beauty the conflicting elements.

The same sexual struggle occurs between Ursula and Anton.

Murry says RAINBOW is the story of Lawrence's sexual failure. The two men who have succumbed to woman are one man, himself. The rainbow is the symbolic sense of a harmony between spirit and flesh; and it is as far away as ever at the end of the book.

It shines over the first generation, where man is really man and does not need to arrogate authority over woman. It begins to be remote in the second, where the woman begins to establish the mastery; in the third where woman is not only "victrix" but "triumphans", it fades away into the dim future.

Ursula, the woman becomes the protagonist, the man is secondary, an attitude of the woman.

Nevertheless, Ursula is an unconvincing character. She is a composite figure, made of the hated sexual woman and of some of Lawrence's own manly experiences. Thus she is made to carry much of his experience as a schoolmaster and of his own disappointment with the university.

USE OF PSYCHE

Twice in the story, we have the father, baffled in his urge toward the mother, turning to the daughter for his emotional fulfillment.

In the case of Tom and Anna, we have a man really loving the child, treating her with sensitive understanding and patience, so that she is finally won over to him.... Their parental relations are adjusted so that the child has a feeling of security in their union.

In the case of Will and Ursula, we have a stupid self-absorbed father, in spite of her love and her dependence, he is insensitive to her spiritual needs and is brutal and indifferent in his treatment, so that, in her sensitive pride, she shuts up against him, comes to see the world as hostile, and is badly conditioned for her emotional problems in maturity.

Lawrence also puts much stress on a state of awareness between people. As if all human beings are centers of radiation, attracted and repelled, quivering, electric in character.

Thus the relation between Will Brangwen and daughter Ursula: "Between him and little Ursula there came into being a strange alliance. They were aware of each other. He knew the child was always on his side".

Similarly, in sexual relations, we have the impression of lights going on and off as a result of a hidden touches, short circuits.

Also a consciousness of rival bodies exerting pull on one another. Tom and Lydia: "And he remained wrathful and distinct from her ... Of which she became aware gradually ... Then suddenly, out of nowhere, there was a connection between them again" ----- And with Anna and Will we see 2 forces wishing to dominate, push one another to the wall, destroy one another. In Ursula and Anton, sexually drawn to one another, but unable to find vital fulfillment.

CONCLUSION

Wrote 30 odd volumes of fiction, poetry, travel, criticism and drama.

No need for us to accept him as the archfiend of psychopathic realism, as his critics claim, or as the demigod of the new fiction as his admirers make him...We must accept his erotic furies and passions for what they are.

It is true that he has challenged society's ethical and moral concepts with his analyses of passionate human emotions, but the annihilation of his books in no degree removed sex from the world.

Literary Contributions:

- 1) Strong insight into human personality.
- 2) Insight into complexity of human relations.
- 3) Powerful sense of beauty. Ability to capture it.
- 4) High descriptive ability. Exceedingly interesting.
- 5) One of most unhackneyed writers of all times.
- 6) Scene-builder.
- 7) Feeling for sensuous, sensual, mystical.

ARTHUR KOESTLER

We now enter a literature of a new period. During the 6-8 years before the Spanish Civil War, the mood of the younger writers had been Utopian. They thought bourgeois society would soon be destroyed and they hoped and believed a happier world would be erected on its ruins by a process somewhat resembling the Russian 5 year plan. (Andre Malraux)

But in the new period of literature as in politics, the prevailing mood is one of defeat and disenchantment. It is not a mood or time that makes writing easy. (Koestler and Silone)

Rubashov's death typical. Malraux's hero in "Man's Fate," a communist, dies because he gave meaning to life. "It is easy to die when one does not die alone".... Rubashov dies for a faith in which he no longer believes. What he discovers while waiting for the end is not a sense of comradeship, but rather the feeling of individuality that he lost during his political career. As the guard leads him, he reflects: "He...had not been taken to the top of a mountain; and wherever his eye looked, he saw nothing but desert and the darkness of night".

Silone and Koestler (with Malraux) stand almost alone in Europe as writers of first-rate talents who have continued to take imaginative ^{not} literature with the utmost seriousness and who have lost their hold on the large social developments that lie behind national conflicts.... They have survived the intellectual starvation, the spiritual panic of the war and they are among the most valuable forces alive on the continent.

LIFE

Koesler born September 5, 1905 in Budapest. Educated in Vienna...At 21, made Middle East correspondent for a liberal German chain of newspapers after spending 2 years tramping in the near east: Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq.....In 1929, made their Paris correspondent and not long thereafter was called ~~thairxParis~~ ~~corxxxxxxxant~~ to Berlin as foreign editor.....In the middle 30's, after having joined the Communist Party in 1931, he travelled through Central Asia as guest of USSR.

On July 18, 1936 when the Franco revolt broke out, he was at a seaside resort on the Belgian coast writing a pacifist novel. He persuaded the London "News Chronicle" to send him to Spain, at an advantage as a result of his experience...For a while, most things went in his favor. But during the Fascist attack on Loyalist city of Malaga in Feb. 1937, he was taken captive, sentenced to death and imprisoned. He carried a hypodermic needle and morphine at time of capture ("Dialogue with Death"). Through good offices of friends in England and a remarkable set of circumstances, he was released in May.

In 1938, as an anti-communist, he was in Paris editing an anti-Moscow anti-Hitler German language weekly. In 1939 at time of Russo-German pact he was working on "Darkness at Noon", a psychological study of Moscow trials, near Riviera. He made his way from Riviera to Paris on the declaration of war and was there arrested by French police as an enemy alien. Actually, he was a Hungarian national and neutral. He was taken to prison and then concentration camp at Le Vernet on Spanish border.....British gov't secured his release; escaped to England in fall of 1940 ("Scum of Earth")....Worked with Ministry of Information and BBC....Wrote essays, etc.

BOOK

Trials of Old Bolsheviks who sat with Stalin around Lenin's council table (Radek, Bukharin, Trotsky)...They had clumsily confessed to a tale of which they didn't clearly know dates: that they plotted to assassinate Stalin in complicity with Trotsky and Hitler's secret police..Tremendous self villification.....John Dewey hearings.

Believes real background traceable to 1932 complete outright collectivization of land; peasants afraid and kill their cattle, burn their crops, died of starvation...estimated 2 million dead in Ukraine.

That confessed because they had been rotted by the revolution which they served. He rejects idea of torture for if terrorism is to blame, then one is only saying the leaders went astray; also they withstood torture...Koester's implication is that Khabashov in power is no better than Gletkin, or if better, only to the extent his outlook is partly pre-revolutionary.

The black confession was asked of them because a dictatorial regime committed to its own infallibility cannot afford to let the masses realize that in political matters there is scope for differences of opinion within the same camp. Hence the accused had to belong to the "black" side, counter-revolutionists.

Rubashov, one of the last survivors of the original Central Committee of the CP is arrested, charged with incredible crimes, denies everything, is tortured by deprivation of sleep, confesses and is shot in the back of the neck. The story ends with a young girl in whose house Rubashov once lodged wondering whether to denounce her father to the secret police as a way of securing a flat for herself and future husband.

Almost its whole interest, however, centers about the intellectual struggle between 3 men, Rubashov, Ivanov and Gletkin, the GPU agents. Ivanov belongs to R's generation and is suddenly purged and shot without trial in the midst of proceedings.....Gletkin, however, belongs to the new generation, grown up since revolution, in complete isolation both from outside world and past. He is the "good party man", an almost perfect specimen of the human gramophone.

Ivanov does not actually believe that " " has committed the preposterous deeds charged. The argument he uses to induce him to confess is that it is his last service required of him by the Party. The common people cannot grasp that deviation is a crime in itself; therefore crimes of the sort that they can understand, murder, train-wrecking etc. must be invented.

Gletkin's attitude is different. We are never certain whether he believes " " to be guilty or not; or, more exactly, no distinction between guilt and innocence exists in his mind. " "s he sees it, anyone capable of thinking a disrespectful thought about Stalin would, as a matter of course, attempt to assassinate him. Therefore, though the attempt at assassination has perhaps not been made, it can be held to have been made.

G's strength lies in complete severance from the past, which leaves him not only without pity but without imagination or inconvenient knowledge.... On the other hand, it was the weakness of the old

Bolsheviks to have remained "Europeans at heart, more akin to the society they overthrew than to the new race of monsters they created.

When R confesses, it is not because of the torture, for he has suffered worse at the hands of the Nazis without confessing, as much as from complete inner emptiness.

"I asked myself," he says at trial, "For what am I fighting"?

For what indeed? He has long since forfeited the right to protest against torture, secret prisons, organized lying. He recognizes that what is now happening is the consequence of his own acts. He even feels a sort of admiration for G, as the kind of subhuman needed to guide the revolution through its present stage. The only valid moral criterion is social utility. The party is everything, the individual nothing ("The party knew only one crime; to swerve from the course laid out; and only one punishment, death. Death was no mystery in the movement; there was nothing exalted about it; it was the logical solution to political divergences",)....The will of the party is the will of history is the feeling that has carried him through revolutionary activity. Maybe No 1. is still right?

The theme is not so much one of wickedness of the Russian dictatorship, but the everlasting conflict between the political universe and the moral universe, deep psychological level.....

Exquisite use of irony in R's complete innocence and his logical realistic mind convincing him that all oppositional elements must be annihilated without regard to sincerity or degree of opposition.Should he sign a confession of crimes he never committed and by a show of abject repentance bolster the faith and morale of the people, or should he indulge in bourgeois whim of retaining his individual integrity and thus force the state to deal with him administratively, secretly.

Then, we see R doubting his own innocence, for he is forced

to admit that by the Communist standards he always proclaimed he is guilty. Neither can he reject CP standards for solution, for judging by older principles of Christian ethics, his conduct is even more deserving of punishment.

Significance of book is its brilliance, its totalitarian analysis. A subtlety and economy which classes it as great literature. A book which will survive epoch for it deals with universal problem.

K approaches problem of ends and means, love and truth as they relate to social organization.. He believed many years ago, R, that the answer to the eternal question of right and wrong, ends and means would be solved by him when he joined Party....It was a simple argument: He held, with philosophers of all ages, that the ideal society is communistic. Object is to remove unnecessary misery in the world, establish greater happiness for greater number; hence destruction of capitalism....Communism promised land....But the Church demanded loyal adherence and unquestioning obedience. The end was so incomparably great that it justified all means.

And R served loyally and tried not to question: Obediently, he had denounced to the Nazis an earnest young comrade whose leaflets conformed to his private judgement of the Party's needs in Germany and departed from Moscow line...He accepted as necessary the suicide of a Communist waterfront leader who had believed that Russia was loyal to cooperating in effort to stop war and whose life was smashed when A instructed him that though Russia was saying this publicly, Party instructions were to let armaments through..... To preserve his right to work in Party, he allowed his secretary and mistress to die in hands of GPU rather than say word to save her.... He believed he threw old ethical ballast overboard, but pity defeated him; he came to doubt his own and Party's infallibility. He ceased

unconsciously to talk of "we" and talked of "I" and "they".....

His crime was that he occasionally wished that the state did not have to crush so ruthlessly all who did not jibe with pattern (Potash Nitrate dispute, p. 98)

At the end, R becomes once more a human being, a man of feeling, of subjective sensibilities. While with his mind, he is assenting to G, in his heart he is acknowledging that perhaps man ought not to follow the logical consequences of his thought to the end:

"perhaps reason alone was a defective compass, which led on such a winding, twisting course that the goal finally disappeared in the mist".

IGNAZIO SILONE

Secondo Tranquilli; born May 1, 1900. His father was a landed proprietor. Went to a Jesuit school but learned little more than the rudiments of farming. Became converted to socialism as outcome of deeply religious spirit...With brother Romolo, he published a labor paper in Trieste....In early 1920's, during the fascist uprisings, their quarters were raided and burned to ground. Romolo seized and thrown into prison where he was beaten to death in his cell....Silone, by good grace, escaped to hills where he worked for underground Communist organizations and for 3 years was shielded by peasants and then in 1931 cautiously smuggled into Switzerland...He lived there for 14 years during which time he remained one of strongest and surest spokesmen for freedom loving Italy.....Alone in Italian lit as outspoken militant socialist and moralist....Like many other European writers of era, he wrote his books in hiding. Yet he seems to have escaped contagion of hatred (like Koestler).

BREAD AND WINE

Time is prior to outbreak of Ethiopian war. Peasants are oppressed, defrauded, forced to live miserably....Contrasted with them and living off their backs is younger generation of fascist bureaucrats.

Chief protagonist is Pietra Spina ; who unlike many of his schoolmates did not choose road of capitulation and acquiescence, but selected road to revolution. This has saved him his character but robbed him of health.

Shattered in body, perturbed in spirit, with his face changed to avoid recognition, he returns to Italy looking like an old man and posing as a priest. He returns to Italy to work again in the underground movement in order to regain fresh contact with people.

The novel integrated through Silone producing a compassionate, sunny, sensitive book, written in a spirit rare in our day. It is a spirit with a tragic sense of good feeling; the serenity and gaiety of a folk writer; the joyous tenderness of a man who is fond of his own people, his hosts in time of danger....An immense faith in the masses and is democratic by instinct. Does not distrust the peasants whose story he writes, albeit annoyed; he tries always to look beyond them for ultimate cause.

It is this superb sense of fellowship that distinguishes book, since so much is a study of defeat and degeneration. He writes about a revolutionary who loses faith in revolution; about masses who lose faith in themselves; about his own contemporaries, a generation which was the first to carry fascism on its back and now gives up faith and are reduced to despair.

No statistics or casualty list could tell as much about fascism in operation as Silone does with simple portrait of musician, once an idealist, now lies in bed watching his pregnant and starving wife

with elaborate unconcern; a man who has given up the very pretense of living, even the words and gestures and aspirations of normality and who can express himself only by act of violence.

Silone tells us what happens under fascism. Don Benedetto:
"To what shall I liken you... to what shall I compare your unhappy generation? You are the children sitting in the market place, calling to one another and saying: 'We have played the flute, and ye have not danced: we have mourned to you and ye have not wept'. Everything has turned out in a manner contrary to what was promised you."
Result: "Now you are between 32 and 34 years old, and already you look like aged cynics".

"We see fascism maintaining itself by continuous mobilization of poverty, fear and moral decay...." On this degradation of man into a frightened animal, who quivers with fear and hates his neighbor in his fear, and watches him, betrays him, sells him, and then lives in fear of discovery, the dictatorship is built.

Besides being an imaginative report of conditions under fascism, however, it is also an audit of the revolutionary conscience.

How can a man retain the moral and intellectual integrity of his own being and remain within a revolutionary party? His own political experiences in exile the main factor in causing him to ask the question.

If the intellectual's basic impulse toward Marxism has its primary source in his moral condemnation of existing society, is he not cheating himself when in trying to implement his ideals, he comes to regard moral values as "petty bourgeois prejudices" and when he subordinates his spiritual and moral needs to the logic of professional politics.... Does not this subordination lead to utter loss of integrity and impoverishment of life?

Spina, endowed with a consciousness of highest order is repelled by customs and insincerity of party politics and returns from exile to renew himself in underground revolutionary work. His task is twofold: practical and spiritual. While engaged in conspiratorial work he must simultaneously seek to discover the true morality of revolutionary action.

Hence the story proceeds on 2 levels. It is an ethical dialogue and a plot of active politics. But these 2 levels are symbolically unified at the very start when Spina, to elude the police, puts on the dark robes of a priest and is thus enabled to consecrate the new revolutionary mysteries in the very vestments of the old.

Spina asks whether a man can develop as a truly human being and be a party member. He questions the traditions of Jacobinism in the revolutionary movement carried on by Bolsheviks under Lenin.

The answer which he finally comes to after varied experiences is a composite. He cannot and does not completely reject his Marxism. But to it he adds what amounts to a Christian concept of the regeneration of the soul; a conception masked in contemporary conceptions and divorced of supernatural sanctions.....He concludes that it is necessary for man to develop more than a set of logical formulae, more than a new political program opposed to fascism. There must be a moral reorganization of the human being.

The book, therefore, is a troubled book; a product of revolutionary defeat. It raises questions which perhaps cannot be answered in books or in the minds of men even as brilliant as Silone.

He redefines his concept of Christianity through Don Benedetto who sees the dictatorship as anti-Christ. He sees spiritual forces in which action and morality are reconciled....He concludes that the revolutionary life, in our epoch the only genuine spirituality, must vindicate the destiny of man by repudiating "alike the destiny of the sheep and the destiny of the lion".

Ethical passion, therefore, becomes the motor force of social change! And a Christianity denuded of all mythology, of all Church control.

Differs from earlier book "Fontamara", a political and revolutionary novel, a masterpiece. Like all of his works, simple, understanding. But it was written out of revolutionary passion, with a feeling that something could be done to fight the dictatorial regime in Italy, conceived in Marxian character.

B & W doesn't have same revolutionary hope and passion. He indicates it is next to impossible perhaps to organize an effective action against the regime: the simplest acts of opposition, such as chalking slogans on a wall, are followed by the severest reprisals striking down the innocent and guilty alike.... it takes months of patient and cautious effort to perform the simplest and most elementary tasks, those of establishing contacts; and they are often broken up and must be done over in same slow manner.

Yet it brings unspeakable moral integrity and keenness of a brilliant analyst.....His books promise to live in any future world of intelligence and liberty.

COMMENT

"Seed Beneath Snow" finds Spina renewing contact with man. 1st step toward new life is simply practice of friendship, kindness, humility.

During War: "But the struggle between fascism and liberty will not be decided on the military plane. In this battle one must reckon with a Third Front, which cuts through all nations and which, independently of any government, will lead to the real decisions. It is on this Third Front that I have volunteered to fight. That is why you will not find me serving as a bombing pilot or a tank driver, but only as a isolated Partisan attacking the enemy behind his own lines - just

at the point where he feels himself to be safest and most invulnerable".

"The struggle between socialism and fascism will not be decided by this war, the truth being that wars in general decide nothing, It may well be that fascism will be conquered by force of arms, and nevertheless will develop in the victor states - perhaps even with a democratic or socialistic mask, under the form of a "Red fascism".

CRITICISM

Silone's solution remains on the individual plane. He indicates no method through which it could be effected within a mass movement or a political party.

"His desperation for way out affects belonging to army of political exiles restricted and hounded, welcomed nowhere, suspected, persecuted, isolated.

FOR

"MARXISM"

SEE

"FUNDAMENTALS"

RECENT POLITICAL THOUGHT

Socialism, Early:

For many centuries, religious prophets and dreamers brought before their peoples the vision of a better and more brotherly and equitable world which the righteous would inherit either on earth or in the after-world. Generally, however, these utopias were far from democratic in conception for it was hard for the prophets to visualize a worldly state without a king. The king was portrayed, however, not as an oppressor but as a friend and guide to the people and as a representative of God. Little attention was given in these visions to actual social or economic organization and they thus differed widely from the widely accepted types of social utopias.

These visions of a better world gripped Plato, religious utopians like St. Augustine and many social philosophers in the 19 centuries which intervened between Plato and Sir Thomas More. During some of this period, equality and common ownership were urged by philosophers, poets, theological writers and agitators in the belief that a communistic state of society was the first and "natural state" and that civil law created inequality, private ownership and class divisions.

In the 16th century, Sir Thomas More wrote his UTOPIA and though many of his suggestions were fantastic and impossible of application, he strove to hold before men a commonwealth which honored its citizens not for their wealth or pride of ancestry, but for their service to society. He directed the attention of the people to useful work and to pleasures that developed body, mind and soul, without poverty or superfluous riches; where the end was the good and happy life.

Francis Bacon's NEW ATLANTIS in the 17th century.

In the middle of the 17th centuries, communistic ideals were revived with considerable enthusiasm as the monarch and Parliament engaged in a bitter fight for supremacy.

In England, the Diggers, under Gerrard Winstanley visualized a utopia in which "there shall be no buying and selling of the earth, nor of the fruits thereof...If any man or family want corn or other provisions, they may go to the storehouse and fetch without money. If they want a horse to ride, they may go into the fields in summer or to the common stables in winter, and receive one from the keepers, and when the journey is performed, bring him back...As everyone works to advance the common stock, so every one shall have free use of any commodity in the storehouse for his pleasure and comfortable livelihood, without buying or selling or restraint from anybody".

Family life, however, must be private and monogamous and "every man's house, furniture, and the provisions which he fetches from the storehouses are proper to himself, likewise the wife to the husband and the husband to the wife".

James Harrington around this time developed his political OCEANA.

In the 17th century too, Peter Chamberlen developed a nationalization program and argued that the wealth and strength of all nations was the propertyless workmen who did all the necessary work for society, made up most of the army. He called for nationalization of the estates of the King, the bishops, the deans, and the delinquents, as well as the public ownership and development of the forests and the mines and the land and sea treasures; and for taking possession of the unearned increments in value in agriculture, trade and manufactures.

He proposed the establishment of a national bank and the cultivation of land on a cooperative basis, but with farmers free to work individually if they so desired.

"Let no man say that men were poor because they were unworthy. Some of the greatest apostles, also Christ and the apostles, were poor. Besides, the poor would not be poor, if the rich were honest, so as to let the poor have their own; the riches of the rich are oftentimes but trophies of their dishonesty, of having robbed the poor or cozened the Commonwealth".

With the coming of the 18th century our scene shifts from England to France for here lived the majority of the great utopians of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The French utopians were a product of the forces that led to the French Revolution and its aftermath.

The writings of Voltaire and Rousseau exerted a potent influence on the revolutionary movement of the day and gave courage to those who would sweep away rather than patch up the corrupt monarchical system. This sentiment was intensified by the American Revolution.

When the French Revolution did come, it became evident that the bourgeoisie continued to wield the power formerly possessed by the titled classes. Men were made equal before the law but the relation of property had not changed and the chief causes of economic and social inequality remained. The peasants and city workers were still the burden bearers of society. Machine production deteriorated rather than improved the lot of the many, with its long hours, low wages and unemployment.

Many idealists, therefore, turned elsewhere and among this group were the utopian socialists.

These socialists differed from one another. Some pictured a future condition of society in which the state would regulate in detail both industrial activity and behavior. Others pinned their faith to a system of free and voluntary cooperation. All tried, however, to visualize an industrial society wherein equality of economic opportunity would prevail and wherein no man would be able to live off the labor of his fellows.

In general they believed that men are by nature good, ought to be freed from vicious institutions and be permitted to develop according to the laws of nature. Many of them next devised social organizations to give nature's forces full play.

In working out their utopias, they worried little as to whether the great industrial forces at work in society would permit of the contemplated change. They scarcely thought in terms of social evolution. All that was necessary to do, the majority of them believed, was to present a plan for social salvation, begin to experiment on a small scale, interest powerful men in the development, and extend it to the masses. Such trifles as the state of industry and the preparedness of the masses disturbed them not at all.

Babeuf:

The first of the school of utopians socialists and an extreme product of the revolutionary period. Represented the old communist conception of absolute equality rather than equality of opportunity. He started a paper, "Tribune of the People" which was probably the first communist paper ever published. He launched violent attacks against the institutions of civilized society and opposed the ^{terror} ~~vindictive~~ of the revolution. For this he was imprisoned.

Upon his release, he formed a secret organization to overthrow the Directory and introduce the communist millennium. At one time, 17,000 men were prepared to join the insurrection. But the "Equals", as they were called, were apprehended, Babeuf was apprehended and guillotined.

They believed: "The aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists of equality"... "Nature has given to every man an equal right in the enjoyment of all goods.

This equality was to be established gradually. First, all the property of corporations and institutions would be nationalized. That of individuals would next be nationalized on the death of each, for there would be no inheritance. By the end of 50 years, all property would be in the hands of the nation. Production would then be carried on under officers elected by popular vote. These officers would determine the needs of individuals and divide the products of industry among the workers. They would receive the same reward as the ordinary workers and rotation in office would prevent them from becoming entrenched in positions of power.

Only citizens performing labor considered useful by the government could exercise any political rights... Teaching would be permitted only by those declaring their adherence to the principles of the community.... Literature and fine arts would not be included in the category of useful occupations.... Children were to be taken from their parents at an early age, brought up together and taught the principles of communism, so as to prevent the growth of inequality.... Workers could be ordered by the govt to go from one region to another.

A cheerless and uninteresting utopia, fitting product of terror and materialism of the day.

Cabet:

With Babeuf an absolute egalitarian, though with more idealism and poetic imagination. He too was imprisoned, fled to England where he became acquainted with More's "Utopia", the inspiration for his "THE VOYAGE TO ICARIA", a new paradise where peace and wisdom, joy and happiness were universal.

Icaria is a well organized industrial machine on a national scale. Country is divided into 100 provinces and each into 10 communes; the capital cities are in the center of each district. Everything is symmetrical and follows the decimal system. The city contains straight and wide streets and beautiful gardens. Each block has precisely 15 houses, all of uniform size and construction. The city sees to it that the citizens are supplied with every sanitary convenience...Dust is collected by elaborate machines... the sidewalks are roofed over with glass to protect the citizens from rain.

Each citizen arises early for 6 o'clock breakfast prepared according to scientific standards. 7 hrs. of work in summer and less in winter....the state owns all the large industries, sees to the cultivation of land, to housebuilding, to production, and divides the product of industry equally among the workers.....the officers, chosen by inhabitants, have much power close to dictatorship of technicians

They dress alike...marriage is monogamous, with a preliminary courtship of 6 months being provided for....education begins at 5-18.... all can retire at 65...women held in high esteem.... no newspapers, but all have right to submit proposals to public assemblies... art and literature encouraged but censored (those who want to join, sign up end of hour)

Planned to begin with education in 50 years, with minimum

wage laws to begin, progressive taxation.

To convince doubting Thomases, he secured a land grant in Texas to establish a sample colony. He started his band of followers there, but with development of yellow fever transferred to Illinois, where some 1500 Icarians gathered.

But Cabet was no leader. He dreamed of what he could do with 500,000 and failed to get 1500 to work harmoniously. Dissension broke the colony

Saint-Simon:

A utopian whose aim was to develop a social system wherein man would be rewarded according to his deeds and equal opportunity rather than a mechanical equality.

A unique personality. Born in Paris in 1760, a younger brother in a noble family. He lost his inheritance through a family quarrel, but was convinced he had destiny in store and so commanded his valet to awake him every morning with "Arise, Monsieur le Comte, you have grand deeds to perform".

At 19, he went to America where he took part in the American Revolution. During French Revolution he took the side of the Revolutionists, but was imprisoned because of his nobleman background. "I consecrated my entire life". Declared that his ancestor Charlemagne appeared before him: "My son, thy success as a philosopher will equal mine as a warrior and politician".

Upon release from prison, engaged in land speculation, accumulated a moderate fortune., then devoted himself to study. Lost his money, became ill. Began career as author and social reformer at age of 43 in 1803 until 1825, his death.

The substance of Saint-Simon's teachings: The world is in need of some authority which will rule the inner life of man. The Catholic Church provided that authority up to the Middle Ages and the Reformation, but its influence is waning and a replacement is needed. The present age is one of destructive criticism. Its chief forces are producing disintegration, i.e., French Revolution. But the period is necessary to clear away old obstacles to progress. The time is ripe now for constructive plans, for a new social system based on universal association.

A transition to this system could only be brought about by an advance of knowledge and a marriage of that knowledge with the growing industrial and scientific system.

He asks for a European parliament composed of real leaders whose function it is to arbitrate disputes.

He asks for a united effort to guarantee labor for all at a reward commensurate with its merits. Everybody should work. The idler is a parasite and cannot be tolerated whether rich or poor, for he eats that which others have produced, and is thus no better than a thief.

To inaugurate his new order, he first appealed to the classes rather than the masses and even urged Louis XVIII to help. He believed that the new state should be under the spiritual direction of the men of science. In his last days, however, he looked forward to labor organization as a means to his new order.

His principle as expressed in his NEW CHRISTIANITY is: men ought to regard each other as brothers. This principle, which belongs to primitive Christianity, will receive a glorification, and in its new form will read: "Religion ~~will~~ must aid society in its chief purpose, which is the most rapid improvement in the lot of the poor".

Saint-Simon gained many followers and a movement grew which was a socialist one protesting against the dichotomy of richness and poverty.

Their practical proposals included the transfer of industry from private to public ownership; the retention of private property in consumer goods; and the insistence that each shall labor according to his capacity and receive a reward according to services.

Under the plan production would be organized in somewhat the same way an army is administered, with gradation of authority and rank. The directing authorities would decide the value of the service of each to society and the reward which each would receive. They did not, however, make clear how the officers would be selected.

The assumption seemed to be that the wise and the good would naturally gravitate to the top and voluntarily assume the positions for which they were fit and there would be no opposition.

Inheritance would be abolished for it would interfere with the principle of reward according to merit.

The aim was a cooperative commonwealth ruled bureaucratically by an aristocracy of science.

. Their proposals for public ownership and their insistence on reward according to merit distinctly anticipated modern socialist principles.... On the other hand, their dependence on the classes rather than the masses to bring about change and the bureaucratic plans without proper democratic safeguards, were at variance with much of the modern socialist movement.

Their philosophy was admirably summed up in a brochure defending themselves against charge of advocating communism of goods and of wives:

"Yes, without doubt the Saint-Simonians profess peculiar views regarding property and the future of women ... But these are very different from those ascribed to them. The system of community of goods means a division among all members of society, wither of the means of production or of the fruits of the toil of all.

"The Saint-Simonians reject this equal division of property, which would constitute in their eyes a more reprehensible act of violence than the present unequal division, which was effected in the first place by the force of arms, by conquest.

"For they believe in the natural inequality of men, and regard this inequality as the very basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order.

"They reject the system of community of goods, for this would be a manifest violation of the first of all the moral laws which it is their mission to teach-that in the future each one should rank according to his capacity and be rewarded according to his works.

"But in virtue of this law they demand the abolition of all privileges of birth, without exception, and consequently the destruction of inheritance, the chief of these privileges, which today comprehends all the others, and the effect of which is to leave to chance the distribution of social privileges among a small number, and to condemn the most numerous class to pribation, to ignorance, to misery.

"They demand that land, capital, and all the instruments of labor should become common property, to be so managed that each one's portion should correspond to his capacity and his reward to his labors...

"Christianity has released woman from servitude but has condemned her to religious, political and civil inferiority. The Saint-Simonians have amounced her emancipation, but they have not

abolished the sacred law of marriage, proclaimed by Christianity. On the contrary, they give a new sancity to this law.

"Like the Christians, they demand that one man should be united to one woman, but they teach that the wife ought to be the equal of the husband, and that, in accordance with the particular grace given to her sex by God, she ought to be associated with him in the triple function of the temple, state and family, in such a manner that the social individual whocn has hitherto been man alone should hereafter be man and woman".

The movement grew to include many noted people like DeLesseps, the noted engineer, noted professors, writers, economists, lawyers, bankers...at first the leader was Enfantin, a strange man with great influence: "He ruled despotically over their lives and thoughts; he induced them...to lead an ascetic life; he withdrew them from refined society, and forced them to share in the coarsest toil; he compelled them to undergo the humiliation of public confessions, and he received from them the reverence accorded to a divine teacher".

The movement broke up over questions of divorce and free love., but Enfantin and others continued to preach, travel abroad. He died a rather weid thy man after becoming a director of the Lyons "ailway.

In summarizing Saint-Simon's movement and in estimating his influence, we can consider him a pioneer in emphasizing the notion of labor and property in man's development, in calling attention to the evils of inheritance and in representing social reform as the true function of government.

Its ideas exerted a propund influence on the later socialist movement.

FOURIER:

Published his first volume in 1808. Awaited support to continue with his social reform and one day announced he would be at home every day at a certain hour to await any philanthropist who would give him a million francs to develop an experimental colony. Waited at noon for 12 years in vain.

He had one opportunity to experiment. A member of the Chamber of Deputies offered him an estate at Versailles. Failed, although he had many disciples.

Had a strange philosophy that world with him would turn from infantilism to 70,000 years of maturity during which lions would serve man and draw man's carriages, while whales pull ships and sea water tastes like a beverage.

The chief brunt of his philosophy, however, is that men are naturally attracted to one another for united action.. Obviously the present society is not a harmonious one and does not allow for free play of man's uniting passions. To correct this, small communities of 400-2000 should be formed, called phalanxes. In each community all members occupy one large central building, called phalanstery...Industry largely ~~industrial~~ agricultural..

Citizens would unite in voluntary groups, each undertaking to do a certain kind of work. Within each group there are "series" of 7-9 people. People can change units if they want more congenial company or tasks.

This will create joy in people and a healthy rivalry which will improve upon what is..Hence soldiers, policemen, criminals and lawyers will be unnecessary.

Nor will it be necessary for workers to build separate duplicating homes and appliances, for there will be central living

and central kitchens, with central storehouses.

Productivity will thus increase and a man from 18-28 years of age can produce enough to live in leisure the rest of his life.

Unlike Saint-Simon and his thoroughgoing socialism, Fourier permitted different incomes to labor (5-12 th of surplus), capital (4-12th), and talent (3/12th)...Labor was also divided into necessary, useful and agreeable with rewards in that order.

Officers were to be elected.

Differences in wealth would not create disharmony for all would be filled with the spirit of harmony...This spirit would also tend to lead family and marriage to disappear.

He thought the millenium would come in 10 years so he even advksed his followers not to put their money into real estate.

After his death, his followers grew. Several communities were formed. In 1840 the ideas were brought to America and received support of people like Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley.... About 34 experiments were tried, the most famous was that of Brook Farm, in Mass.

Proudhon:- (Pierre Joseph)(1809-1865)

Made most direct frontal attack on private property up to his time, and is thus clearly in the rank of militant revolutionists.... Yet, his bitter denunciation of all govt and authority and his ridicule of the fantastic utopian plans of his predecessors seem to place him squarely outside the school of utopian socialists and communists and into the ranks of anarchists.

His famous book "What is Property" appeared in 1840. It is a pioneer work attempting to prove the iniquity of private property per se; it expounds the doctrine of labor time as a measure of value, a doctrine which became a basis for Marxist socialist thought.

But he also criticized socialist and communist theories.

He took no part in the Revolution of February 1848, contending that since all forms of government were bad, it did not matter which faction triumphed.

Proudhon, while extreme in many of his statements and often without mercy for his intellectual opponents, was consistent in his personal life with his ideals, lived a life of simplicity and self-sacrifice. He was devoted to his family and even criticized many of the early utopians for their immorality. In his later life he began to see that he ought not be as harsh on individuals and wrote "Perhaps I was sometimes wrong in confounding in my indignation persons and things; at present I only know how to despise and complain. In order to cease to hate, it is only necessary for me to understand".

In approaching the social problem, Proudhon sought to discover the science of society based on liberty, equality,

fraternity. A perfect state founded on these principles could not, he felt, be brought about overnight. He rejected the concept that society could be forced to adopt a ready-made scheme of social reform.

He thus distinguished between the ultimate goal and the transition to that goal. As a step in bringing about the ideal society, he urged the organization of a great national bank from which the workers would be able to obtain the instruments of labor without price....The bank would issue paper money in the form of checks in exchange for commodities deposited therein. These checks would purchase anything else the production of which cost the same labor.

There would be no profit, no interest and all men would thus be associated with another on terms of equality. This was the highest form of association.

His ultimate society would possess several characteristics. In the first place it would be devoid of government. The control of man by man is oppression.

Secondly, his ideal society would contain no private property, which he regarded as theft. He takes up the 2 arguments of economists that private property is justified on grounds of occupation and those of labor....Occupation doesn't justify. According to the theory, that which belongs to no one becomes the property of those who take possession. Property thus becomes nothing more than accident of birth or the time of arrival on the scene; late-comers have no rights. Wrong. Also the theory defeats itself: it assumes that at one time property was held in common, for if the property to be occupied belongs to no one, it must have belonged at one time to society at large and yet it would be folly to think that all of society would or could renounce title to their common possession. Therefore, in taking it from the community, the

occupier must have committed theft.....As to the second argument of economists that labor is the basis of private property, he says it is true only insofar as that which I produce is mine hence the earth is mine only so long as I cultivate it. The moment another labors on it, it becomes his property..The theory of labor thus demands the abolition of property in order that everyone may have free access to the soil and to the instruments of labor.

Not only is property theft, but the proprietor is a thief. The worth of goods is measured by the time and labor put into their production. If a capitalist or landlord added 10% to the cost, the goods are overpriced more than worth and the proprietor thus becomes a robber.

While he condemned private property, he was not opposed to private possession, provided it was secured by labor. But stealing by charging for tools, rent, profit or interest is wrong.

He took issue with the communists, however, on the ground that their system would lead to oppression of the strong by the weak. His aim was not primarily to bring to men equality of compensation, but equality of means for producing wealth. And yet, where each one possessed the instruments of labor, he seemed to be of the opinion that each would work equally and that the products, as measured by labor time, would be equal in value.

He opposed giving higher remuneration to superior brains: "When the astronomer produces observations, the poet verses, the savant experiences, they consume instruments, books, travels, etc; now, if society provides for this consumption, what other proportionality of honors can the astronomer, the savant, the poet demand?

He also looked forward to a time in which "the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an in appreciable ~~approximate~~ minimum".

How consistent Proudhon is remains to be seen. In advocating both anarchy and absolute equality, he faces a dilemma. Suppose that each cultivated the fields as he wished under Proudhon's non-authoritarian system, without any outside interference. One critic asks: "Can anyone suppose...that all would derive the same products from the same instruments?...What is to prevent my accumulating labor receipts if my production exceeds my consumption? Or shall the state or some outside body prevent my taking more than I consume from the magazines or banks, whatever they are called? If so, do we not have all the interference and control of the hated community? It is thus seen that Proudhon is inconsistent as well as paradoxical".

In summary, a social organization without government, without private property, without inequality was negatively Proudhon's ideal. His philosophy was nearly devoid of positive constructive elements. He did not think that anyone was capable of working out a future state in any detail. He believed primarily in enunciating general principles and in trying to apply those principles to concrete steps. He was an intense believer in liberty in equality. He did not seem, however, to understand that dilemma and inconsistency.

But his ideal of free association, his desire to give scope to the development of human personality are as a breath of fresh air in contrast to the myriad of state regulations of individual conduct which many of the pictured utopias imply.

William Godwin: ("Enquiry Concerning Political Justice")

Man holds no innate ideas of either a good or bad nature. He has but the passive capacity to receive sensations and the active capacity to reason. From reason he gets thoughts. Moral action depends on thoughts. If social institutions are based on justice,, man's impressions, thoughts and motives would be good and evil would be eliminated. Man would thus steadily improve. But government, originating in force and violence, strengthens evil by defending institutions that are based on injustice. It perpetuates inequalities and binds men with the chains of authority. Government is evil. Society is natural. Government springs from our vices; society from our needs.....Government can be abolished by equity and the common deliberations on general welfare, which is the law of reason.

Government, however, is not the only institution that must be abolished if justice is to reign. Private property must also be eliminated, for it develops an inequality which fosters vanity and depravity among the rich and a slave status and immorality among the poor...It deprives the worker of leisure to cultivate his mind, and leisure is the real wealth of the nation:

"If justice reigned, a state of equality would prevail. Labor would become so light as rather to assume the appearance of an agreeable relaxation and gentle exercise. Every man would have a frugal, yet wholesome diet; every man would go forth to that moderate exercise of his corporeal functions that would give hilarity to his spirits. None would be made torpid with fatigue, but all would have leisure to cultivate the kindly and philanthropical affections and to let loose their faculties in the search of intellectual improvements. How rapid would be the advance of intellect, if all men were admitted into the field of knowledge! And the moral progress would be as great as the intellectual. The vices which are inseparably joined to the present system of property would inevitably be eliminated in the state of society where all shared alike the bounties of nature...No man would be an enemy of his neighbor, for they would have no subject of contention, and, of consequence, philanthropy would assume the **empire** which reason assigns her".

He did not agree that each should be recompensed in accordance with his capacity. It is not just that one should receive 100 times more than he needs, simply because he performs greater service. If one has 10 loaves of bread and another none, common justice demands that the hungry should obtain from the well-to-do enough to appease his hunger.

He did not, however, project a future utopia. He advocated no close communist society, but a community of free individuals bent on the development of their personality.

He also became convinced of the futility of force and made it clear that he depended on reason and persuasion as the sole instrument for bringing in the new order.

(see September 1946 POLITICS)

Henry Thoreau (1817-1862)

Must be considered in anarchist thought. Had little patience with utopians. Chose not to pay taxes for he disapproved of too much that government spent their money for.

"That government is best wishes governs not at all; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have ... A government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it...I think we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for law, so much as for the right ...If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood ... Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison ... Let your life be a counterfriction to stop the machine".
(Civil Disobedience, 1849)

• Count Leo Tolstoi (1828-1910)

Lived in a world impregnated with religion and a sense of sin. The decay of conventional religion in Russia was leading to a re-examination of the basis of Christianity. Tolstoi, like Thoreau, was led by his meditations to a violent conviction of the iniquity of war, a distrust of the military state and an objection to the payment of taxes for these purposes.

He is filled with a masochism very typical of the Russia of his day. His books are filled with descriptions of the evils of contemporary society, peculiarly Russian: drunken prostitutes, penniless consumptive laundry maids. In "What Must We Do then?" (1885):

"I want to help my father by my labor", says a common un-learned man, "I want also to marry; but instead, I am taken and sent to Kazan, to be a soldier for six years. I leave the military service. I want to plough the ground, and earn food for my family; but I am not allowed to plough for one hundred versts around me, unless I pay money, which I have not got, and pay it to those men who do not understand how to plough, and who require for the land so much money, that I must give them all my labour to procure it: however, I still manage to save something, and I want to give my savings to my children; but a police sergeant comes to me, and takes from me all I have saved for taxes; I earn a little more, and am again deprived of it. All my activity is under the influence of state demands; and it appears to me that the bettering of my position, and that of my brethren, will follow our liberation from the demands of the state". But, he is told, such reasoning is the result of his ignorance.

Later he says:

"So called science supports this superstition with all its powers, and with the utmost zeal. This superstition resembles exactly the religious one, and consists in affirming that, besides the duties of man to man, there are still more important duties toward an imaginary being which theologians call God, and political science the State.

The State is then a system for raising taxes to protect property. This property system is largely built up because some men free themselves from the labour, the manual labor, proper to all and impose it on others.

State activity is not useful to men. It is neither no argument to say that it has always been in existence. Because not only have other useless institutions always been in existence but so have very pernicious ones, like slavery, prostitution, and wars.

He believed that mankind must return to primitive Christianity and to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. To love all men, even those who despise you, to be humble, to return good for evil- these are the principles of life.

Man should not do violence to his fellow beings. This affects luxury too: "I eat, I talk, and I listen, I write or read - And in order that I may be able to do this, it is necessary that the porter, the peasant, the cook, the footman, the coachman should toil from morning until night"

Man ought therefore acknowledge that these things are wrong and follow in his life this law of love. Men should not wait until society changes before they act. Men in general know, he says, that their acts are wrong but are afraid of publicly voicing their belief, since each tends to think he is alone against the rest of society and fears punishment if he follows the dictates of his heart....Change will never come from men waiting for each other. A sincere individual must begin and others will follow.

He asked the wealthy to give up their comfort. He opposed the division of labor. He wanted all to work with their hands and thus divide up the day rather than the labor.

Tolstoi condemned violence as a method of obtaining the goal. "When a government is overthrown by violence and the authority passes into other hands, this new authority is by no means likely to be less oppressive than the former. On the contrary obliged to defend itself from its exasperated and overthrown enemies, it will be even more cruel and despotic than its predecessor, as has ever been the case in periods of revolution... Thus whichever party gains ~~control~~ the upper hand, it will be forced in order to introduce and maintain its own system not only to avail itself of all former methods of violence but to invent new ones as well. It simply means a change of slavery with new victims and a new organization, but the violence will remain, may increase, because human hatred, intensified by the struggle, will devise new means for reducing the conquered to subjection".

Count Michael Bakunin (1814-1876) :

differs from other anarchists and stream of utopianism in being convinced that the new society could only come about by force. He became a leader in the revolutionary movements of the 1840's. He was captured in 1849 in suppression of the Saxony revolt, narrowly missed execution and after 12 year imprisonment in Germany, Austria and Russia escaped from Siberia back to Europe.

He speedily became the chief advocate of Anarchism and waged a bitter fight with Marx for First International. He demanded that the association declare for the destruction of the state and not for its utilization, as Marx demanded. He also attacked the proposed founding of labor parties and the spreading of socialistic doctrines by peaceful political action and the election of labor candidates to office. He urged instead that mass revolution should be the means used. This struggle broke up the International.

He wanted the state replaced by a new organization "which has no other basis than the natural interests, needs and attractions of men, nor other principle than the free federation of individuals into communes, communes into provinces, provinces into nations, and finally the latter into the United States of Europe, and later of the entire world.

"Each nation, whether it be great or small, each people weak or strong, each province and each commune has the absolute right to complete autonomy, provided that its interior constitution does not constitute a menace to the autonomy and liberty of neighboring countries.

He went beyond a political program and declared that "liberty without socialism is privilege and injustice". The chief problem which the Anarchist must face is organizing a society of such

a sort that everyone when the man or woman may find at least nearly equal opportunities for the development of their talents.

This society must be such as to make it impossible for anyone to exploit the labor of another and each should be permitted to share in society's products in so far as he has directly contributed to produce the goods. This could be achieved by having the land, instruments of labor become social property, owned by voluntary associations federated through free unions for "socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality".

Peter Kropotkin: (1842-1919)

More robust intelligence and humane spirit than Bakunin, though a disciple. Son of an aristocratic Russian family. Gave up a brilliant scientific career. After imprisonment as an anarchist, he escaped to England. He emphasized economic aspects of anarchism.

He distinguished between laws protecting persons, property or government. Laws on property are made to rob the producer of part of what he creates. The legal recognition of an "owner's" right to a house is a recognition of property values which have not been created by the owner but instead by the workmen who built the house and who did not receive full product of their toil and by the past generations of workers who made possible all the appurtenances of modern civilization which the houseowner now can enjoy.

It is because these forms of property are a crying injustice that a whole "arsenal of laws, and a whole army of soldiers, policemen and judges are needed to maintain it against the good sense and just feeling inherent in humanity".

Humanity, in general, respects "the right of each to what he has created, without the interposition of any special laws", while "all the laws about property have no other object than to protect the unjust appropriation of human labor by monopolists".

As for the second type, laws that protect government, they indirectly serve the same purpose since "the mission of all governments, monarchic al, constitutional, or republican, is to protect and maintain by force the privileges of the classes in possession, the aristocracy, the CLERGY AND THE TRADERS".

Laws for the protection of persons and the punishment of crime are equally useless and injurious. To remove the cause of most crimes, private property ought to be abolished, namely "the desire to obtain possession of someone's wealth".

As for the vicious: "the fear of punishment has never stopped a single murderer. He who kills his neighbor from revenge or misery does not reason much about consequences. Punishment does not deter crime; to remove punishment may,

in fact, decrease murder and crime to the degree to which they are committed by men who have been brutalized by prison life....The punishment inflicted by the state upon men is far more atrocious than the crimes which they would commit against each other.

His new society was the usual free association of free groups, building society from below on the principle of assent instead of from above by compulsion.

Beyond voluntarism, he proposes an economic organization assuring a comfortable supply of food, clothing, shelter to all by sheer fact of their need. In his FIELDS, FACTORIES, WORKSHOPS, he estimates the amount of work it will take quite carefully and comes to the conclusion that there will be at least 5 hours a day during which man can work on science, art, personal needs.

Manual work would be performed by all and thus no longer debasing. He would introduce labor saving devices. He would decentralize industry and bring it closer to the agriculture. Men will work partly in the factory and partly in the field.

He also opposes all wage systems based upon relative "production". In our complex world it is impossible to differentiate between the contributions which men make to life. "No distinction can be drawn between the work of each man. Measuring the work by its results leads us to absurdity; dividing and measuring them by hours spent on the work also leads us to absurdity".

Instead of this the principle of "to every man according to his need" should be adopted.. All should have their share of the necessities of life as a right and not doled out as a gift and all should share in the comforts as well.

Even the lazy should share as well as the industrious. "If you are absolutely incapable of producing anything useful, or if you refuse to do it, then live like an isolated man or like an invalid. You are a man and you have the right to live. But as you wish to live under special conditions and leave the ranks, it is more than probable that you will suffer for it in your daily relations with other citizens and be looked upon as a ghost of bourgeois society".

Basically, he doesn't believe there will be many laggards; making the work attractive, the pressure of informal social opinion, and the social education of children would reduce number.

His anarchist communities will be kept together in harmony by reliance upon biological principle of mutual aid. He claims Darwinian principle of natural selection misunderstood and that nature is not a war of each against all. More typical of nature is the banding together of individuals into groups for mutual resistance to the rigors of nature and assaults from other species.... Those who do combine and cooperate have superior survival power over those who play a lone hand and there is thus bred in the survivors an instinct to protect and assist their fellows... Cooperation and not competition is then the law of life.... Men can therefore be trusted with freedom.

Anarchism, Summary:

The abhorrence in which anarchists hold the State are not easily comprehensible to the average citizen of today who has been brought up in the cult of nation-worship. Yet, upon investigation, the political states of the world are responsible for many crimes and outrages which far surpass crimes of the individual.

War, for example, state fostered and state wages is and continues to be the destroyer of the race. At the command of the state, men are marched forth to slay and be slain...The State does interfere with men and opinions and ideas.

Particularly, therefore, to those who suffer injustice and are sensitive, the state is the arch-criminal. Anarchism has, therefore, not been created so much by the perversity of man as by the crimes of the state. Wherever the state will offend most against the consciences of mankind, there will inevitably grow up a strong anarchist movement.. It was no accident that Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoi were all Russians...The surest cure for anarchism is for the state to lead the good life.

Furthermore, whether we agree that a society where coercion is absent is possible or not, we can agree that the anarchist criterion is a good measuring rod by which we can judge societies and civilizations.

The direction for the future seems surely to be that of learning to trust in other forces than big guns if we are to be saved. While society, therefore, may imprison men like Proudhon, Godwin, Tolstoi, George Fox for preaching this doctrine, humanity is benefitted and not injured by having men of this stamp preach and practice anarchism, even though the mass of mankind may not be ready for it; for only through such men will humanity ever move forward to newer and higher levels of life.

Utopianism to Marxism:

Our subject incomplete without a few words about Robert Owen and Louis Blanc.

Robert Owen:

Robert Owen came on the scene in England to become the "father of British socialism" as the industrial revolution had completely revolutionized British industry, greatly increasing the wealth of England and its manufacturers, but bringing along with it for the workers unemployment, misery, starvation. Child labor was rampant. Factories were developing and personal employer-worker relations disappearing.

Growing economic and political labor groups were worrying the governing classes who feared the French revolution in England.

As a mill owner and superintendant, he took an active interest at first in human affairs in his mill: paid high wages, sanitary, cheap stores, housing, schools for children and workers. People came from far to observe his successful experiment.

He extended his philosophy to larger social problems. He believed that the aim of human society is the greatest happiness of the greatest number: "But happiness cannot be obtained individually; it is useless to expect isolated happiness; all must partake of it, or the few will never enjoy it; man can, therefore, have but one real and genuine interest, which is to make all of his race as peaceful in character and happy in feeling as the original organization of nature of each will admit; ... then will they be occupied in promoting to the greatest limit, their own individual happiness, ... and the only contest among men will be, who shall the most succeed in extending the happiness of his fellows". (THE BOOK OF THE NEW MORAL WORLD)

men are today unhappy because evil conditions breed evil men. Man is now surrounded by conditions that breed greed, selfishness, ignorance, vice, hatred, war...Hence the first job in reform is to spread the truth about the real nature of man, namely that man's character is made for him, not by him and that all are capable of good characters.

By education, men can be trained to live perfect lives. Hence it should be universal and compulsory. Children should be instilled with tolerance, brotherhood, good will.

Wealth was also needed for the good life but society had sufficient wealth to lift masses above poverty line.

He wanted to establish a labor bureau which would guarantee full employment and security.

He was not a revolutionist in approach. He first merely wanted to eliminate ignorance and hatred and considered that private initiative, legislation and education could eliminate the social maladjustments.

He worked hard at these efforts, produced tons of literature, spoke, urged laws.

He slowly came to a more radical communist approach as a result of the depression of 1816. He turned to Utopianism and called for the development of cooperative villages as a remedy, attractive, with state control of children after 3. They would be self-contained but federated to embrace the whole world.

No support even from labor and he began to attack the church and accused them of preventing mankind "from knowing what true happiness really is". Further alienated followers.

Now began to appeal to labor (ADDRESS TO THE WORKMEN, 1819) for support asking, however, that they accept his doctrine of human nature and renounce all hatred and violence against the ruling class. All men had common interests and the upper classes had no desire to keep the workers in subjugation. Again no support.

Developed his communism further opposing all private property. Main problem of society was distribution. Called for complete equality.

Called for system of labor exchanges, permitting goods to be exchanged for vouchers indicating labor time which could be exchanged for goods. This would eliminate exploiting middlemen. Met with some success. He then continued agitation with labor and cooperative groups urging unions to become cooperative societies, which would use labor exchanges, and then even form a general congress to supersede Parliament. All without violence and disorder.

By 1883 it was estimated that about 800,000 belonged to unions close to him but his own program bypassed as labor attracted by its strength to general strike and extreme class consciousness. He fought the syndicalist elements and war class elements; hurt the union movement

His actions failed, though he lived to late 80's in age.

Louis Blanc: (1813-1882)

He first to base his appeal to workers rather than the privileged class to effect social transformation and hence is connecting link between older utopian and Marxist socialists.

The development of personality was his highest aim. Everyone should be provided means to do that. Called for more brotherly system, modeled after human body, with all men regarded as common members of one great family- govt should be based on common consent.

He called for erection of social workshops by state. The poor were poor because they had no tools to produce; the state should thus furnish them. Workshops controlled by workers funds would be obtained from taxing wealth and public ownership of public utilities.

This would lead to socialist state.

Believed that inequality existed in powers and abilities but that does not excuse aggrandisement of personal power or exploitation. "If you are twice as strong as your neighbor, it is proof that nature has ~~assigned~~ destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter about you more light...The more a man can, the more he ought.

Compensation according to need; not with work performed for absolute equality (Saint Simon and Babeuf)

His plan would eliminate misery and permit materialism to be eliminated. "Misery restrains the intelligence of man in darkness, in confining education within shameful limits. Misery counsels always the sacrifice of personal dignity and almost always demands it...If misery creates long suffering, it engenders also crime...it makes slaves; it makes of the greater part thieves, assassins and prostitutes".

Utopianism, Resume:

Utopian socialists agree in their indictment of the system of private property; in their belief that some form of social ownership of industry leads to the remedy of ills, with mutual aid supplanting competition; they agree on the importance of environment in molding character.

A strain running through them is that God made the world, or nature, and that it is good and the world is good. Human society is part of this good world, therefore, that too must be peace and harmony. Man is by nature good and is capable of developing to the highest perfection.

Yet an analysis of society shows only misery and suffering. How has this come about? One answer: man has tampered with the original, perfect constitution of human society, which was in essence communistic, and by the use of such artificialities as private property has destroyed its natural harmony and as a result the happiness of the individual.

Hence it is essential to restore the natural order of things.

As a first step in this direction, men must discover the reason why mankind departed from the natural state. Investigation will show that this departure was not due to wickedness but to error and shortsightedness. We must learn the laws of this natural order. Reason will show us these laws.

Once truth is known, we ought to inform people. Once truth is known, their sins will disappear.

Neither will class struggle be required. All men suffer hence when all know the truth, they will all help bring about change. The rich as well as the poor. In fact, special effort

should be made to convert the rich and wealthy and powerful for they would help reach the masses.

Hence word and example were the answers.

They seemed to fail to appreciate that many who would realize the evil of society for the many would still prefer to preserve it because it means economic advantage and power. Thus social change is opposed.

Furthermore they thought too highly of their own power to bring about a future society; their power of discerning the exact truth regarding social principles; their power of spreading knowledge; their power to convert.

They also lacked historical perspective. They failed to consider, as did later socialists, the historical mission of capitalism in increasing productivity, in developing a proletariat, in training workers to govern.

They had the mistaken notion that it was possible for social thinkers to cut out a pattern of a future order in all details and that mankind could be induced to follow that pattern in all details.

Nor, after their perfect state would be achieved, did they conceive that there would be change.

The character of their utopias differed too.

Their dreams were incapable of realization and they had to give way to others whose schemes came closer to reality. They could show few tangible results during their life, but their exposure of social ills, their demand for a better world and their faith in human development had a great influence in later socialist thought and on social improvement.

Post-Marxism:

By the early 1880's conditions of industry and the physical and psychical conditions of the working classes were far different then they were in the late 1840's when Marx wrote the "Manifesto". Contrary to Marx's expectations, capitalist industry had survived and expanded in England. The workers had passed through a number of crises but had not revolted. Working conditions improved as a result of their trade union activity and the enlightened self-interest of the owners.

The franchise was extended to the workers. They now felt that they could make changes through the ballot. The worst evils were being ameliorated through social legislation. They now began to emphasize legislation. It did not appear to them as clear that the capitalist system was breaking up.

A number of schools arose, therefore, which have played their part in the molding of socialist thought and action. Some tried to supplement the Marxist school; some to revise it; some to carry out what they considered to be its logical end.

We find, therefore, for example, Fabianism growing in England with its emphasis on gradualism in the change from capitalism to socialism; peaceful change; utilization of the middle class.

In Germany, the movement took the form of Revisionism led by Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932). It took six main issues with Marxism:

1. - The collapse of the capitalist system is not imminent. It is, therefore, a mistake to adopt tactics which presuppose the immediate development of catastrophe.
- 2.- The MANIFESTO was wrong in its time element though it's theory of social evolution was correct as a general tendency.

3.- "The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a decreasing number of large capitalists, but by an increasing number of capitalists of all degrees. The middle classes change their character, but they do not disappear from the social scene".

4.- "The concentration of productive industry which Marx predicted is not being accomplished with equal thoroughness and at an equal rate. . Agriculture, for example.

5.- Under the pressure of the working class, a social reaction has set in against capitalist exploitation. Factory legislation, the democratization of government, friendlier legal systems. This diminishes again the imminence of catastrophies.

6.- There is greater security in a steady advance rather than in the possibilities of a catastrophic crash. Hence his emphasis on the immediate next steps, on the struggle for political rights, on legislation.

Basically, Bernstein saw socialism as the logical carrying out of certain liberal principles. He agreed with the immediate demands of the Marxists of his day, but he insisted that they ward off the revolution.

From the late 90's until the First World War, a battle royal took place between the revisionists and the Marxists headed by Kautsky.

In defending Marxism they made certain admissions regarding imperfections. Generally, they defended the economic interpretation of history admitting with Bernstein, however, that the complexity of human relationships made the task of exact prophecy extremely difficult.

The defenders differed among themselves about the validity of the Marxian theory of value and its importance.

They admitted the mistakes about time.

They admitted that the pace of industrial concentration was not equal and that many small industries remained, but insisted that the proportion of output produced by small and large concerns bore out Marx's contentions of concentration. The growth of the corporation destroyed competition.

They also admitted that the group receiving "middle class incomes" was increasing in modern society, but that did not make a middle-class person in the Marx sense. People working for others were still members of the proletariat even if their wages were increased.

Kautsky saw class antagonisms increasing, but agreed that the revolution would probably not be a violent one but would rather be a peaceful change of government by ballot and by economic action.

Most of them saw the need of social reform, abandoned the theory of increasing misery of the proletariat, although some insisted upon it in the psychological sense.

SOVIET DISILLUSIONMENT

Rejection of dialectic: Marx accepted Hegel's inevitability, religious myth, non-personal entity called "History" which accomplishes things on its own hook, regardless of effort. (escalator bottom step). Dialectic tolerated injustices of Soviet and despotism.

Marx's predictions also thwarted. He predicted chaos yet none in England of 1880's, no revolt. Contrary to expectations, capitalist industry survived and expanded in England. Workers had passed through a number of crises, but had not revolted... Conditions improved for a number of them. Enlightened selfishness. Franchise. Ballot. Social legislation. Imminent breakdown of capitalism no longer imminent.....

Growth of social democracy in Germany. Eduard Bernstein. Revisionism

Revisionists criticized exclusive emphasis laid by some on economic factors in history.

Marx also wrong in predicting disappearance of middle class. Revisionists didn't believe in imminence of world catastrophe. They put their hope in evolutionary processes of democracy, cooperatives and unions.

Broadly, Marx and Lenin did not understand democracy in view of their backgrounds.

Basic inconsistency of Marx in discrepancy between scientific point of view of historian and moral point of view of prophet... On one hand, he says capitalism carried out a certain "historic" development, indispensable for progress of race... On the other hand, he fills you with fury against wickedness of people who performed it. (As if Darwin criticizes inadequacies of species produced by evolution.)

Necessity for use of violence also questioned. No revolution by violence in England since 17th century; abolition of slavery in Denmark, England, France, etc.; abolition of serfdom; industrial revolution; change in England, N.Z., Australia..... Violence sets forces in motion; a web catches up men of good will.

Dictatorship of proletariat: "He assumed that although the employer had shown himself to be grasping, the dominant class of the proletarian society dictatorship would not dream of abusing its position.

Finally, there was a criticism of the Soviet regime proper. Russia did not establish a socialist economic order. They did not establish democratic socialism but a communist dictatorship plus government ownership. Socialism, however, is impossible without democracy. It involves both collective ownership of industry plus democratic control of the economic, political and cultural life of society.

In the days of Lenin, communists assumed that such democratization would follow once the nation eliminates the power of private capitalists. They did not take sufficiently into account that the love of power might be as strong a motive and as great a source of injustice as the love of money; and that under a system of public ownership those in control of government might seek to perpetuate the exercise of their power to their own advantage... Why should those who control economic power, even without owning it, have any more concern for the ordinary workers than those now in control of corporate structure.

Soviet Developments:

Education: Dewey in 1928 had glowing praise: no marks in grading; no medals or insignia; internal rather than external discipline; no punishment; no examinations; no school uniforms; ; ; ; ; ; ; ; ; In 1935, Stalin: uniform rulings; strict regimen of studies; uniform report cards; strict rules of conduct; strict discipline; Communist youth organizers to survey students in and out of class; single uniform; ; ; ; ; ; ; ; ; In 1940, free tuition abolished from secondary school up; higher education only for those who can afford it; special cadet schools for children of bureaucracy; those

who can't afford fees, conscripted to 4 years labor service thus resulting in tendency whereby children of manual workers and peasants so remain and children of bureaucracy ditto.

Inheritance: Socialist tenet is equal opportunity for each child. In 1918, inheritance abolished....1936 Constitution reestablishes inequality from birth making inheritance legal with guarantee of right to dispose of property by will...Insurance encouraged.

Crime: 1935 death penalty for theft applicable to minors from age of 12 (teacher's union apologists say under socialism children are so precocious and well educated that they are fully responsible for their acts)....Marx: state as an instrument of compulsion was to die away, the process to begin at the moment of socialization of industry.

Sex and Family Relations: Decree of large families and wholesale human breeding: "holy instinct of motherhood"....."Having received rights woman now has duties.....woman has"put man under the obligation to care for her with special knighthood"....."Every girl must be treasured not only as a textile worker, a bold parachute jumper or an engineer, but as a future mother. The mother of one child must be treasured as the future mother of eight"....cost of divorce raised too high for most of asses.

Patriotism: Lenin: "The essential thing is for us to be, even when times are most trying, is real internationalists in deed"..... 1934 Pravda: "For the fatherland!...The defense of the fatherland is the supreme law of life...For the fatherland! For its honor, glory, might and prosperity"....."Workers of the world"....Abandon "The Internationale"....-ditorial followed by decree making it a crime of treason to "escape over the border" of the same fatherland, punishment by "shooting and confiscation of all property". If a soldier escapes, grown member of his family who knew of intention and did not notify police gets 5-10 years in prison with property

confiscation. Those who did not know, but lived with him may be "deprived of citizenship and exiled for 5 years to a remote region of Siberia".

Army: Lenin and Engels for abolition of army and for citizen militia... Stalin: abolition of militia system. Army with restoration of title, rank and officer privileges (see clippings).

In addition, 3rd International tactics split the working class as it used ruthless means and polemics to capture and control... Laski: "I think it probable that had Lenin not precipitated the fatal split in the working class forces implied in the foundation of the Third International, certainly not Hitler, and perhaps not Mussolini, would have attained power. But the preliminary conditions of their success was that, through communist fanaticism, the forces of the organized working class were divided and hesitant when they could have been united and strong".

More than 30 years have elapsed since the Russian Revolution of October 1917. Some perspectives. Important not only to the objective course of events, but to personal decisions.

It is difficult to measure actual material accomplishments. In every regime which permits no opposition and brooks no criticism, official figures are rightfully suspect. According to official Stalinist theory "statistics cannot be neutral" for it is a "class science".

Yet it would seem as if industrial production and capital investment have increased many times over...In electric power, agriculture, aviation and heavy industry heavy strides.

Translating these things into living standards, however, for comparison is difficult. Do we choose 1933 when 4-6 million people starved to death? or 1935, 1928, 1940-years of acute shortages? (see Manya Gordon)

Yet all this proves is the industrialization of the country, not the superiority of socialism for capitalists too developed.

Important to analyze the State and see contradictions:

a) According to Marxist theory, the state is an instrument of a dominant economic class. In a genuine classless society, there can be no state; the regulatory functions of govt become an integral part of the productive processes...Today, by official edict, Russia is declared to be a genuinely classless socialist society. At the same time, not only is the existence of the state recognized, but its strengthened character is an occasion for celebration. The Communist International on August 20, 1935 adopted a resolution proclaiming that "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism and the all-sided reinforcement of the state of the proletarian dictatorship is achieved in the Soviet Union". A contradiction in terms,

b) According to Marxist theory the differentiating factor in the exercise of state coercion as distinct from coercion of public opinion, mores, etc. is existence of special bodies of armed men standing out against rest of population. Where these armed bodies are found, they exercise a function of protecting economic interests ~~of the population~~ of dominant class.... Russia, say CP, has already reached first stage of communism in which classes are no longer found, yet GPU and Red Army are bigger and more powerful.

c) According to Marxist theory, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is in reality a workers democracy which gradually gives way to complete political and social democracy for the entire population under socialism.... The USSR Constitution not only (Stalin) leaves "in force the regime of the dictatorship of the working class" but in Section 126 provides that CP is to be "the directing nucleus of all organizations of the working people, both public and state..... Political control by a minority.

Basic to an understanding of the regime is the question of "classes" which we can define in terms of social position and political power, privileges, standard and condition of living..... No dispute but that the differences between the incomes and living conditions of the polar strata of Russian population are enormous. Hook: "the worker can be just as much exploited when the instruments of production are owned in common as when they are not"

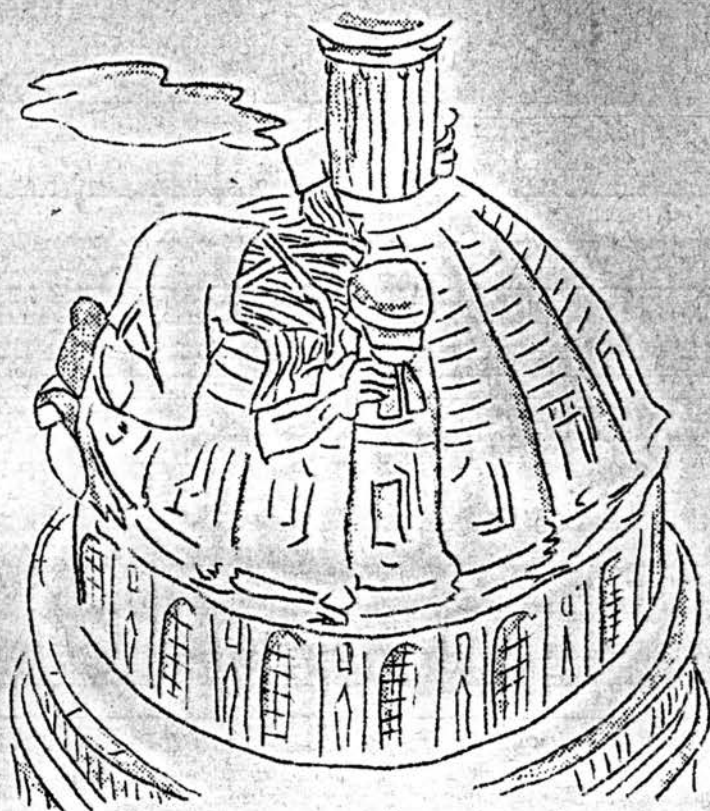
Trotsky (The Revolution Betrayed): "If a ship is declared collective property, but the passengers continue to be divided into first, second, and third class, it is clear that, for the third class passengers, differences in the conditions of life will have infinitely more importance than the juridical change in proprietorship. The first class passengers, on the other hand,

will propound together with their coffee and cigars, the thought that collective ownership is everything and a comfortable cabin nothing at all".

AMERICAN LABOR POLITICS

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Why do we teach American labor politics? There is a growing realization on the part of the American labor movement that this is an important area that deserves more attention. The experience of the European labor movement (see The Tragedy of European Labor by Adolf Sturmthal) demonstrates that concern with "bread and butter" problems and strength in that area are not sufficient. European labor was not able to stem the defeat of democracy and offer a rallying point for the reconstruction of a democratic society. The development of a political philosophy committed to democracy is, therefore, necessary for labor's self-preservation.

American labor has a similar responsibility to politics if democracy is to survive here, for the U.S. is not immune from totalitarian trends. Labor must take an active part in the problems facing our American democracy "before it is too late". The dangers facing democracy don't necessarily come from outside forces. We have undemocratic tendencies and practices within our society. Too few Americans know enough about the problems facing our democracy; too few dare to learn about them, to help solve them. Since the success of democracy depends upon an aware citizenry, that in itself may spell the end of democracy.

Unions have come to see, increasingly, the importance of educating their members to political problems and to the activities of government. More intensely than ever before, they affect the very existence of unions, the conditions which affect unions, and the welfare of union members as individuals.

Unions have a particular stake in preserving democracy which is facing severe internal problems. Since there is no assurance that the U.S. can escape the defects suffered by democracy elsewhere in the world, if labor shirks its responsibilities of preserving democracy, they may perish together, as they did in Europe.

The concern of labor with democracy and its problems is not new. Since the birth of the labor movement in 1792, at about the same time as the birth of American democracy in 1787, both the labor movement and our American democracy have followed parallel growths.

What is politics? Politics is the study of how people govern themselves. It is the process by which the community resolves conflicts. Conflicting interests seem to be a fact of human existence. Examples could be found in labor-management conflict and in the many differences of opinion that are always expressed on such issues as taxation, public housing, how to achieve peace and any other question of living. "Politics" is the word used to describe the way decisions are made to resolve the conflict. Since today the decisions are made by government, the study of politics is primarily the study of government.

There are, broadly speaking, two kinds of government; those that make decisions by majority rule and those where a minority makes the decisions.

Democracy is that form of government where the majority of its representatives makes the decision. Governments which do not accept democracy make decisions by rule or a minority and are often called despotic, totalitarian or dictatorial.

Some of the characteristics of minority rule are; 1) a government based on force, 2) a police state with the suppression of the will of the majority of the people through control of the press, radio, schools and churches, 3) corruption, 4) revolution and instability as there is no other means for the dissident groups making their will felt, 5) a disregard for the general welfare of the people.

Some of the characteristics of a majority rule government, or a democracy are 1) a peaceful change of government, 2) more likelihood that decisions made by the majority of the people will be for the general welfare and not for a small section of the population, 3) freedom of all channels of communication so that the people can find out what the nature of the problems are and so the people can let their representatives know what they think should be done on questions of public concern, 4) better government with experience.

At the root of democracy is the belief in the essential dignity and equality of man, human brotherhood. It implies action and belief that the next man is as good as we are.

One of the greatest dangers faced by American democracy is the discrimination which exists against people because of their race, color and religion. At the root of all the discrimination is the belief on the part of the guilty that the next person is not as good as they are and does not deserve equal standing and treatment. Some of the areas in which discrimination is practiced in the North as well as in the South are in housing (restrictive covenants) employment, education (quotas) and services such as restaurants and movies. This destroys the foundation of democracy.

The labor movement and individuals committed to democracy who reject dictatorships must concern themselves with the problem of discrimination. Unions perform a particularly important service by setting the example of people working and building together as equal human beings with an important and constructive job to do.

It has been found by scientific studies that two of the important causes of prejudice are 1) ignorance of the group - all of us tend to distrust strangers and people who do not live or talk exactly like we do, 2) insecurity and unhappiness. There is a direct relationship between economic depressions and prejudice. In a depression and in a war people become insecure, tense and unhappy and they often get rid of their bad feeling on a minority group, using them as "scape-goats". When prosperity and peace return, there is a decrease in racial prejudice. During the war it was discovered that prejudice increased in proportion to the distance from the group in question. Units that had no contact with Negro troops had a high per cent of prejudice against them, whereas white units that worked and fought with Negroes had little or no prejudice against them.

That there is no scientific basis for prejudice has been proven many times over. Such pamphlets as "Races of Mankind" present in lively, readable form the facts on racial differences. It is up to the union educational programs to bring these facts about peoples and the necessity for real understanding and brotherhood to the membership. It is impossible to have a democratic and strong union when the union's members are prejudiced against any racial or religious group of people in our country.

Our government can help fight discrimination. It can pass legislation and help educate to eliminate segregation and discrimination. For detained proposals and analysis see "To Secure Those Rights", the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Democracy, or the fulfillment of majority will in government, requires a minimum number of formal political institutions.

Voting - it must be free, secret, frequent and effective.

A minimum of two opposing political parties to allow for criticism, explanation of the issues to the voters, check on the power of the rulers. A block of voters should also have the right to form a new party of their own if they feel they do not receive adequate representation in any of the old parties.

Civil liberties: free speech, assembly, press, must exist to allow the opposition to acquaint the majority with their views and thus allow the majority to change its mind.

Can the majority party abolish the Communist Party or any other minority party? If they abolish it they are saying that they do not trust the majority opinion. If the Communist Party is forced to operate underground as a result of being legally abolished, it robs the people of an opportunity to criticize and expose their propaganda. The real test in civil liberties is not that you believe in freedom of speech for yourself, but that you believe in freedom of speech for people whose ideas you dislike. People who believe in democracy have police laws against minority violence but they do not attempt to deny their right to free speech and free assembly as long as they are peaceful. *

The majority should be able to carry out its will.

* Criticism of the government by any minority keeps that government honest and efficient.

* It robs people of a choice at a future time and it abolishes criticism of the majority.

The United States falls short of being a full democracy in a number of important ways. If it can solve its problems and redress the wrongs in its structure it can become a stronger democracy.

The Constitution was written to provide a check against too much power in democracy; it represents a check against majority rule, as expressed in the declaration of independence.

- 1) The manner in which our President is elected is not democratic. The President is elected by the Electoral College. Each state is allowed a number of delegates (or votes) in the Electoral College, based on the number of Congressmen it has. It is possible under this system for the President to get elected by a minority of the people. And it has happened in our history and it can happen again.
- 2) The Senate is undemocratic. Each state sends two senators regardless of the number of people in the state. It is possible in the Senate for a combination of small states to block a bill which the majority of the people favor. It was more undemocratic under the original Constitution before amendment when Senators were chosen by the state legislatures and not by the people.
- 3) The procedure of a bill through Congress does not guarantee that the will of the majority will be effective. Step one in the history of a bill is its introduction by a Congressman, 2) it is assigned to the appropriate committee (both the House and Senate have committees). Each Committee is composed of a chairman who is a member of the party in power, and members of the Senate or House. The chairmen of the Committees are chosen on the basis of seniority and they hold their position as long as their party is in power and they can remain in office. The Committees may decide to stop the bill in Committee if they don't like it, or they can call hearings to hear testimony from both sides to help them make up their minds, or 3) they can pass it to the Rules Committee (both the House and Senate have a Rules Committee). The Rules Committee decides in what order bills are to be discussed on the floor of the House or Senate. The Rules Committee can block a bill they do not like by putting it at the end of the list of Congressional business which is never finished. The Only recourse the proponents of a bill have is to get a petition started to bring it to the floor over the head of the Rules Committee.
- 4) The Supreme Court is not a democratic body. It decides on the constitutionality of laws passed by State legislatures and the Congress. The Constitution is a document which is the governing law of the land. It was written in 1787, 161 years ago when this country consisted of 13 agricultural states. Today with 48 states and an industrial economy, we have quite a different world, but we have the same Constitution. Is it really the same? The Constitution has been changed by Supreme Court decisions. Hughes, one-time Chief Justice of the Supreme Court said, "The Constitution is what the judges say it is." And the judges don't always say the same thing. In 1932, New York state passed a law regulating working hours of women. The Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. One year later, the same law passed by another state came before the Supreme Court. This time one judge changed his mind and the Court declared the law constitutional. The Constitution had not changed but the judge did.

Each judge looks at the law and at the Constitution from his own point of view. A judge who was once a labor lawyer will look at a labor law in a different light than a judge who was once a corporation lawyer.

The interpretation of nine judges is considered, under our present system, superior to the interpretation by Congress. Unlike Congress, the Supreme Court judges are not responsible to the people. They are appointed by the President and approved by the Senate; they have life-tenure.

The power of the Supreme Court as we accept it today is not written into the Constitution. The Constitutional Convention met in a period of reaction in this country. Most of the delegates to the Convention were conservative landowners and businessmen. They tried to write a Constitution to prevent the will of the majority from being too powerful. Thomas Jefferson looked upon the Convention with great suspicion. Hamilton who was a conservative, wanted to give the Supreme Court power over Congress but many of the delegates were afraid that the states would not ratify the Constitution with that provision. They compromised and didn't say anything about the power of the Supreme Court.

The Federalists who were the conservatives wanted a strong Supreme Court. In 1800, Jefferson was elected President. President Adams, a Federalist, made a number of appointments from his own party just before he left office. Jefferson, of course, resented this and took the laws of appointment to the Supreme Court. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Court chose this case to prove that the Supreme Court had the power to decide on the constitutionality of a law. So the democrats who didn't want the Supreme Court to have such power, had the first decision in their favor which established the precedent which the Supreme Court has followed ever since.

- 5) Freedom of the press is decreasing rapidly as more and more papers are being bought up by fewer people. Many communities have only one paper. Many communities have two papers owned by the same man. This means that a large proportion of our population read only one interpretation of the facts of the day. They lack the opportunity to hear two sides of the important issues of the day. Most of our newspapers prejudice people against trade unions which means this situation affects trade unions more seriously than many groups in the community.
- 6) State laws which make it difficult for the majority will to express itself. These include the poll tax and the laws which make it almost impossible for a third party to get on the ballot. In New York state, for example, a new party must get a certain number of signatures in all counties in the state. If the party got the majority of most of the counties, and couldn't get the minimum number of signatures in one county, they would not get on the ballot. The old parties agree that they don't want any new parties and they join together to pass such laws.

In England, anyone can run on any ticket, but he must put up a bond. If he doesn't get a certain per cent of the votes he forfeits his bond. The bond is worth enough to make a candidate hesitate from running without substantial support, but not so expensive that a poor party or individual cannot run.

In our South, the situation is such that we cannot have a free expression of majority will. Both the poll-tax and the threat of lynching stop Negroes and many poor whites from voting. In this connection, the Senate system of the filibuster has for years prevented an anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bill from passing. The Senate has a rule whereby anybody can debate without a time limit. This rule is used most frequently by the Southern Senators to block passage of bills against discrimination. It is possible for one Senator or a group of Senators to keep debating on a subject so long that the Senate is unable to complete its other business. They keep this up till the majority agree not to call for a vote on the bill. The Senate can prevent a filibuster by a 2/3 vote stopping or limiting debate time. This is called cloture and is rarely and is rarely used as the Northern Senators are afraid that it will be used against them when they want to filibuster on a bill they don't want.

All of these imperfections in our democracy can be remedied through Congress and our state legislatures. This means that organized labor must get into politics.

Organization of political parties. How do Congressmen get chosen? The voter has small choice in the selection of candidates. Generally, he can only choose between two candidates on the ballot. If he doesn't like either of them, there is nothing he can do about it. That is why we must get to know how the political parties work. An example of labor's successful participation in politics was in Minneapolis, the spring of 1948.

In Minnesota, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party was in control of people who were not really liberals. The labor movement there wanted to choose their own candidates.

The state is divided into counties; each county is divided into election districts or precincts. Labor and liberals found that in every election year by law, a night is set aside for precinct election night. That means that each party meets in each precinct that night. Most citizens don't know this (it's true not only in Minnesota but in most states), don't take much interest and don't go to the meeting. The unions did an educational and publicity job to get all their members registered to vote so that they could attend these meetings in the precincts in which they lived. A few people in each local were held responsible for seeing that their members were registered. They often took the members down to the city hall personally. They then divided the membership into precincts and sent them all cards telling them where and when their precinct meeting was to be held. On the night of the precinct meetings, the halls were packed with people, labor and liberals who never before had participated. In each precinct that night the liberal-labor coalition was able to elect their own delegates to the county meeting which was held the following week.

At the county meeting, the liberal-labor group found they had the majority of delegates because they had been able to get more people to the precinct meetings than the politicians had. From the County meeting, they elected delegates to the state convention. Delegates from each county in the state met. At the state convention, again the liberal-labor group had a majority of delegates and as a result they controlled the convention. They were able to choose the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party candidates for the U.S. Congress and for Governor of their state.

This is something that any labor-liberal group can do if they are determined, and can get their membership to back them up.

Government and Labor. The early experience of the labor movement with our government and courts demonstrates the undemocratic character of the U.S. from the beginning.

The courts at first declared unions to be illegal. This legal rule was gradually changed and many union activities such as striking and picketing were declared illegal.

Employers, with the aid of the government, were able to discharge workers for engaging in union activity, obtained injunctions against strikes, formed black lists, and insisted on yellow dog contracts.

Beginning with 1932 and followed by the New Deal period, laws were passed placing union activity on a more legally secure basis.

- 1) The Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932) was the anti-injunction law. It took from the federal courts the right to stop strikes and other lawful union activities by injunctions. It also abolished "yellow-dog" contracts which were a device used by employers to keep unions out of their shop. They were agreements which all employees would have to sign before getting a job, pledging not to join a union.
- 2) The National Industrial Recovery Act (N.R.A. 1932) placed the government on record as favoring union organization.
- 3) The National Labor Relations Act (1935) guaranteed the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively. It protected them against being fired or being discriminated against in other ways for union activity. It outlawed company unions and protected genuine unions and their members against unfair labor practices by the employer.

With the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, a new phase of labor legislation had developed, placing labor under government regulation and restricting the activity of labor unions. It replaces the Wagner Act as the law governing labor relations. It weakens the protection that labor gets from the government. Under the Wagner Act, labor could go to the National Labor Relations Board for help and protection. Now that board is the agency that can be used to annoy and harass unions. The Taft-Hartley Act allows the Board to be used by anti-union employers. Employers who want to get along with the union can do so under this law but anti-union employers can do a lot of damage to the labor movement under this law.

Although the law will not protect the labor movement, labor is not in a much better position to protect itself than it was in the thirties when the Wagner Act was passed. The trade union movement will continue to grow and flourish despite the Taft-Hartley law if the membership supports them.

First, the law makes it more difficult to organize.

1. By widening the employer's right of "free speech", he can use his influence against the union, short of making direct threats or promising benefits if they stay out of the union. Under the Wagner Act, employers were prohibited from coercing employees. Under the old law an anti-union speech by an employer was considered an unfair labor practice but now it is legal. Employers used to organize "Citizens Committees" to fight the union. Under the Wagner Act the N.L.R.B. forbade such employer dominated groups. Today, it is more difficult to uncover this camouflage.

2. By merely alleging a labor unfair practice, an employer may postpone a representation election. In an organizing campaign, the union asks for the N.L.R.B. to hold an election when the union thinks it has a majority of the workers signed up. They time their request for the election when they think they have the best chance of winning it. Now an employer can have the election postponed to give him time to work against the union. He doesn't have to prove his charges of unfair labor practices at the time of making the charge. It is up to the Board to investigate his charges and it may take many months. During this time, it may be difficult for the union to keep its members.

3. An employer may call for an election before a union is ready. Under the Wagner Act only the union could call for an election. Now an employer can call for one too, if the Union has made any claim that it represents the workers. If he is an anti-union employer, he will call for an election when he thinks the union is least able to win. And no new election can be called for one year. If the union wins the election, when the year has expired, the employer can get a number of employees in the plant to claim to the Board that the union no longer represents the majority of the employees and another election will be held.

4. An active union member may be fired if the employer can show "cause" for the dismissal. "Cause" can mean violation of any of the many rules of a plant. Under the Wagner Act, the Board could and did take into consideration that other employees who didn't obey all the rules hadn't been fired and therefore, the cause of the firing was due to union activity. Now the union cannot contest such a firing. However, once the union has a contract, they can protect themselves by putting in protective clauses in the contract.

Second, the law makes it more difficult to negotiate.

1. The closed shop and preferential hiring are illegal. The hiring halls of the longshoremen that have been so helpful in stabilizing the industry are also banned as a form of preferential hiring.

2. A union shop or maintenance of membership can be agreed upon by the employer and union if a majority of the workers in the shop vote for it in a special election. The first election is only for union recognition as the bargaining agent. But if the union wants a union shop, they must call for another election. And if they win the election - that is if they win a majority of everyone covered by the contract - not a majority of everyone voting which is the usual democratic majority (how many fair Congressmen would be elected if they needed a majority of all those eligible to vote?) they still may not be able to get a union shop if the employer does not agree. Because over 90% of the elections which have been held by the Board have upheld the union shop, the Board recommended to Congress that it was a waste of money and personnel to continue holding them. Senator Ball however, instead of agreeing to eliminate the elections, thinks Congress should eliminate the union shop.

3. Even under a union shop, the union may not ask the employer to fire a worker who has been expelled from the union unless he has been expelled for non-payment of dues. This means that the union has no disciplinary power over its members, but it is, under the law, responsible for violation of its contract and may, therefore, be sued for a wild-cat strike, for instance. Several unions have tried to protect themselves by putting in a clause prohibiting locals from calling strikes without the consent of the international union. An assessment can be considered "dues", non-payment of which can be a cause for dismissal.

4. Individual signatures of workers are required before the check-off can be arranged. Some states require the spouse's signature as well. When you have a state law which is stricter than the Taft-Hartley, the state law stands; if the state law is more lenient, the T-H law stands.

5. It is possible for an individual worker to settle his own grievances with the employer but he may not undercut the contract and a union representative may attend all the meetings of the employee and employer.

Third, Unions can now be guilty of unfair labor practices.

Under the Wagner Act, unfair labor practices were defined to protect the employers. Taft-Hartley adds practices which the union must not engage in. These unfair labor practices are particularly important because the employer can claim that the union is engaging in unfair labor practices without proving it and thus annoy the unions.

1. A union may not threaten or coerce workers to join the union. There is a thin line between persuasion and coercion. Certainly coercion is not a good organizing technique, but an anti-union employer could harass a union by claiming that their persuasion was coercion.

2. A union may not ask an employer to discharge a worker for any reason other than his non-payment of union dues. This means that the union may be held responsible for its troublemakers without having any disciplinary power over them.

3. A union may not charge excessive or discriminatory fees. "Excessive" is a vague term and can be interpreted to mean anything. "Discriminatory" dues would mean charging a Negro more than a white worker.

4. A union may not ask an employer to pay for work not performed. This is the anti-Petrillo section. The American Federation of Musicians under Petrillo has been forcing commercial record users to pay for the musicians that have been displaced because of the record and juke box industry. But the law has been written so badly that vacation with pay, sick leave and grievance time could be considered pay for work not performed.

5. A union may not engage in a jurisdictional strike or secondary boycott. A jurisdictional dispute is one in which two unions in a plant are competing for recognition and go out on strike. The boycott is the most dangerous provision of this section. It can mean that workers in several plants, belonging to the same union would not be able to support each other if one plant went out on strike. It means that the teamsters cannot refuse to haul goods from a striking plant.

Fourth, a union may now be sued if it violates the union contract.

If a union has a contract with the employer, they cannot strike until the termination of the contract. They must give 60 days notice before the end of the contract. 30 days after the first notice they must notify the U.S. Conciliation Service to come in to help re-negotiate the contract. If no agreement is reached by the expiration of the contract, then a strike is legal. If, however, the union does not notify the employer 60 days before the expiration of the contract, they still cannot strike until the 60 days are up.

In a suit against a union for violation of the contract, the union's "agent" is an unclear term. One international has gone so far as to change the name of its business agents to organizers to protect themselves.

Fifth, to be eligible for services under the new law, a union must file an annual affidavit signed by each officer that he is not a member of the Communist Party.

The union must also file a financial report. The unions must sign if they want to be eligible for services from the N.L.R.B. If a union does not sign, it means that the N.L.R.B. will not put their name on a union recognition ballot. Unions that are well organized do not have such a problem with this provision but weak unions or unions with a large part of their industry still unorganized cannot afford not to sign.

But the unions consider this an insult. Employers do not have to sign such affidavits. United Steelworkers - CIO have refused to sign to test the constitutionality of the provision. Certainly if we have the secret ballot in this country, it does not seem consistent with our democratic ideas to make a certain proportion of the population tell their convictions openly, when other segments of the population do not have to undergo such a test.

The labor movement knows that it has communists in its ranks and it understands the danger of communist leadership much more clearly than most Congressmen. They feel that they must be able to rid their unions of communist domination by their own democratic processes.

Sixth, union contributions and expenditures in connection with federal campaigns are prohibited.

It is now illegal for the union to make contributions to any federal political campaign. They may make indirect expenditures; individual union members can donate to a political fund and the union can contribute to an organization such as the Americans for Democratic Action, who in turn engage in political action, but they are not considered a political party. This is also being tested for its constitutionality.

The Supreme Court handed down a ruling on the test case of the CIO News which printed the voting records of Congressmen, that the bill did not mean to interfere with the freedom of the press.

To live with the Taft-Hartley Law and try to get it repealed, unions must rely less on government protection and more on their own economic strength and the loyalty of their members. They must intensify their education programs to inform their members of the importance of union solidarity and political action. Political action by the labor movement must be intensified.

Wage and Hour Law (Fair Labor Standards Law) of 1938. This law put a ceiling on hours and a floor on wages. It established a 25¢ hourly minimum which was to be raised over the years to 40¢ an hour, minimum wages. Today we have the 40¢ minimum. It established the basic work week as 40 hours, with time and a half starting after 40 hours. It abolished child labor in inter-state commerce.

Today this minimum wage is completely inadequate. Two bills have been introduced in Congress to adjust the wage. The first bill is the Thomas-McCormick Bill designed to raise the minimum wage immediately to 75¢ an hour with an increase to \$1.00 in particular industries and to increase the coverage of the bill to five and one half million additional workers. Senator Ball's bill would raise the 40¢ to 60¢ and decrease coverage by one to three million workers - exempting office workers, maintenance workers.

To decide what the new minimum wage should be, it is interesting to look at the Heller Committee budget for a worker's family to maintain health and reasonable living. That committee estimated that the annual income should be at least \$3,800 or \$1.86 an hour. The Bureau of Labor Statistics studies the needs of workers in large cities. On the basis of this study they figured that a family of four needs \$3,400 a year in order to obtain minimum standards of living.

Although most union members make more than the present minimum of 40¢ an hour, it is of vital importance to them to have the minimum wage raised because non-union plants provide unfair competition with union plants and union plant employers argue that they cannot afford to give high wages when they have to compete with low wage employers. If the minimum wage is raised, it will decrease competition between union and non-union plants.

With a 75¢ an hour minimum wage, the annual wage would be \$1500 which is less than half of the subsistence budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Under the Thomas-McCormick bill, the administrator shall appoint labor-management committees to study the possibilities of raising the 75¢ minimum to \$1.00. The increase in coverage under the Thomas-McCormick bill, includes domestic servants, retail and agriculture laborers, transport workers and civil servants.

A new Supreme Court decision interpreting the old Wage-Hour Law rules that overtime pay should be computed on the total weekly pay (including any overtime and premium pay) divided by 40 hours. This decision means that a considerable number of workers are entitled to back pay for two years. If a worker brought suit against his employer for this back pay, he can sue for double the amount he was underpaid. If a great many people sue, there is the possibility that Congress might pass a law abolishing all claims.

Social Security law provides for two systems of social insurance to protect workers from emergency situations.

1. Unemployment insurance is run by each state, though the Federal Government gives the state funds to run it and they can insist on certain uniform standards. The benefits vary from \$3.00 to \$28.00 a week. The average is \$15 - \$20 per week. There is a waiting period of one to two weeks and many loop-holes.
2. Old age insurance is run directly by the Federal Government. One percent of the workers wage is deducted from the worker's salary and one percent of his wage is paid by the employer to the Government. At 65, every worker covered is eligible and is given a certain per cent of his wage.

This law must be expanded, in coverage, and payments increased. Watch what happens to it in the next session of Congress.

American Foreign Policy

A democratic foreign policy is one that gives support to those governments run by majority rule, and to give encouragement and hope to the peoples of minority-ruled countries. In this way only, can we work toward a peaceful and democratic world.

1. The issue in Europe today is not whether the countries of Europe will decide to have a socialist economy or a capitalist economy but whether they make that decision by majority will or by minority will. In other words, the United States is not or should not be concerned with what kind of economy they choose, but how that choice is determined.

The fact is that there are few leaders or people in Europe who believe in capitalism for their country. Most of them are committed to some form of socialism-that is government control (to a larger or lesser degree) of basic industries, and national resources. The socialists of Europe are determined that the economic decisions formerly made by private industry, be made by the people through their government.

Our opposition to communism is political not economic.

2. The European Recovery Plan (the Marshall Plan) is our means of helping the hungry peoples of Europe rebuild their countries and strengthen their democracies.

- a. In the fall of 1947, Secretary of State Marshall made a speech at Harvard University in which he stated that the United States stood ready to help itself. Britain's Secretary of State, Ernest Bevin, took the cue and urged the countries of Europe to join with Britain in a conference to discuss their needs and their ability to recovery.
- b. As a result of Marshall's speech and Bevin's appeal, a meeting of 16 European nations was held. They figured out what they needed to get on their feet again and how much they themselves could produce the next year. The gap between their need and their ability to fill that need themselves was the extent of their need from the United States. They sent these figures to the United States.
- c. Our representatives then met with the 16 nations to discuss their calculations and cut down their request to 16 million dollars which would be spent in Europe over a period of four years.
- d. Congress discussed the bill appropriating that money to Europe. The proponents of the bill pointed out that 16 million is much cheaper than war and that without financial help from the United States, war was a constant threat in Europe and the world. They realized that though not one country in Europe that is now dominated by the Communists, elected communists by a majority vote, hungry and hopeless people are much more liable to go communist than healthy hopeful people.
- e. Marshall said that we would help every country in Europe that could show a need for help and a willingness to cooperate with the plan. Russia realizing that European recovery is the greatest threat to communism opposed the plan and forbade any of its satellite countries to take advantage of the plan. Russia knows that a confused and weakened Europe is necessary for the success of communism.

3. Can the United States dictate to the European countries what kind of government they can and cannot have?

- a. To be effective, the European Recovery Plan must help Europe not only economically but it must also develop friendship and respect for America and our democratic way of life.
- b. If we use the E.R.P. as a means of threatening countries, our whole plan will fail. The countries may continue to take our money but they will not be our friends. We cannot sell democracy to Europe by robbing them of their rights of free choice in choosing the type of government and type of economy they desire. We would be playing into the hands of the communists who claim that the United States is using the E.R.P. to dominate Europe.
- c. We can and do protect ourselves from the danger of our aid being taken over by the communists by insisting that American representatives have the right to keep careful watch on how our goods are being distributed and how they are being used.

4. C.A.R.E. - the Co-operatives for American Remittance to Europe is one important means whereby an individual or a group of individuals such as a local union can help preserve peace.

C.A.R.E. is an organization made up of many relief organizations in this country. Through C.A.R.E. individuals and groups can send food and clothes packages to individuals and groups in any European country. Both the CIO and the AFL send C.A.R.E. packages to trade union groups and leaders in Europe. Any union local can adopt a European union local to send food and supplies to and to correspond with. The good-will which this kind of gesture creates is tremendous and in taking this responsibility, each of us is helping to build a strong democratic Europe and a peaceful world.

5) Enlightenment not only ideologues, but also technical
& scientific, - Science, commerce, industry,
factory brought rise in working class,
proletariat - Bourgeois and proletariat in conflict,
- Alliance broke down - Very process of
Enlightenment brought rise of proletariat agent
bourgeois as well, - Paris Commune.

6) Enlightenment brought socialist theories -
Intellectuals brought it to the working class union
- Later movement shows of human liberation;
in social socialist

7) Here was the answer, the Utopian

8) But Wilson kills in the USSR was at the
Utopian.

9) Struggle came as fight between man, Our
Utopian movement failed to stop fascism in
Italy, Germany, Austria - all of Europe.

10) Stannard is there a little labor union not
published, in last years, it was former
group 'tainted' - A part of new labor union

action on Auto labor most says the European
labor lost its secretions -- Analysis that
early alliance with social & labor union
leaders broke down; no mass equality --
Trade union leaders had the manner & the
responsibility of the common talk "hard & bitter"
matters.

- 11) Why did Studdert write? Why shall we
be interested? -- To teach US labor
movement.
- 12) What lesson can we learn? What help
has he had?
- 13) What failures in our history has made A L M
diff from W. European? -- What secret
has A L M been secret, against, which?
Must be with his & bluster; his integrity, not his
- 14) Of course, this is a cause in itself & must
it say to all story to say you; I'm not sure yet
what you could do in 1941. But asking you we are in
1941 & a review is good & needed!
- 15) Up to job review tool & then on F.M. division next & put
under a duty. PAC, ALP, CIO/IAFL - files?

LABOR AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS

I- Clear, certainly up to New Deal, that the American Labor Movement differed in many respects from the European. For one, it was weaker.

A) 1930- 26% of English labor in unions. (1939- 28%)

9% of American Labor in unions (1939- 22%)

- Reasons:
- 1- Workers a racially and culturally diverse group.
 - 2- Large size of country and large employing units.
 - 3- With new immigration, natives and old immigrants became independent businessmen, employers, farmers.
 - 4- Western migration left population in flux.
 - 5- Industry moving from area to area prevented class stratification.
 - 6- Democracy and the vote worked against class stratification as ~~still~~ did class system on wealth basis not feudal.
 - 7- Workers hoped to rise out of wage earning class.
 - 8- Spirit of individualism; free land frontier conditions; sparse population; slow development of factories and agricultural background held on; constitutional philosophy.

II- Historical Development and Significance.

A) 1792- First US Union in Philadelphia, shoemakers.

a- 1806- Unions convicted of conspiracy, English common law; crime: "guilty of a combination to raise wages".

b- 1821- Shoemakers tried to prosecute employers for conspiracy to raise wages. Court held: lawful for Master to restore wages to their "natural level".

(beginnings of distrust of courts)(still exists today)

B) Factory system began about 1800. It brought with it child labor, long hours, poor conditions. (Sarah Cleghorn poem)

a- The Average New England work day in 1825 was 13 hrs.

b- Weekly wages about \$3.23.

c- President Monroe in annual message congratulated the NE manufacturers on the "fall in the price of labor, apparently so favorable to the success of domestic manufacturers".

(beginnings of distrust of political officers and gov't)

III- Early attempts at Reform Often Political.

A) WORKING MEN'S PARTY - first labor party in the world. Formed in 1827 out of Philadelphia Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, a city-central org. of workers in various trades.

(American labor movement home-made not of foreign importation.)

a- Flourished from 1829-32... Local labor parties formed in at least 15 states... 50 labor papers.

b- Included independent craftsmen and farmers as well as wage earners... Held city and state conventions. Elected a number of candidates. Backed by Jacksonian Democrats in NY.

c- Program: 1- 10 hour day.

2- free public education for all (1833, 1 out of every 3 children not in school)

3- abolition of monopolies and restrictions on banks as "privileged monied institutions".

4- more equal and just taxation.

5- opposition to protective tariffs: "tariff protected manufacturers are most prone to reduce the wages of their workmen".

6- in Vt. and NY for equal division of all property.

d- Failed: New at game of politics; factionalism

IV- Analysis of Early Political Action.

- A) Factory laws enacted in the 1830s after agitation, but no enforcement. Not until 1880 that enforcement takes place.
- B) Since wage-earners were comparatively weak in voting strength (before 1870, less than $\frac{1}{4}$ total population), their political activity characterized by alliances with farmers and small businessmen.
- C) Characterized by increase in depressions with increase in dissatisfaction; and decrease ~~with~~ rise of prices for farmers became content and workers stressed union activity to maintain their income levels and gain share of economy.
- D) Programs generally anti-monopolies and banks; attraction for reformers (Fourier, Owen) and utopian schemes.
- E) Constant struggle between reform radicalism and trade unionism.
(repeated later in Europe in 1920s and 30s as per above)
- F) Hampered because after Panic of 1837, labor declined in spite of population growth, membership never exceeding 1830 peak until after Civil War. (1836-300,000; 1884-300,000; 1897-447,000)

V- Other Political Attempts to Turn of Century.

- A) AMERICAN WORKINGMEN'S ALLIANCE- formed by German trade unionists and revolutionists in NY who came here after the uprisings of 1830 and 1848.
 - a- formed in 1853 to build up an independent labor party. Branches in NY, NJ, Ohio, Penn, Washington.
 - b- dissolved in a short while with rise in prices and attention to trade union issues.
- B) NATIONAL LABOR UNION- formed in 1866 when sharp rise in prices after civil war led to union growth in the 1860s (at least 32 national trade union existed)
 - a- Farm groups and other political interests joined.
 - b- Attempt to combine concern with trade union matters and attention to wider political activity.
 - c- Political actionists worked for producer coops, land reform, greenback money, Negro rights.
 - d- Organized NATIONAL LABOR REFORM PARTY and nominated Charles O'Connor, NY lawyer, for President. Received only 30,000 votes.
 - e- These and other failures led to dissension from within between the actionists and the trade unionists who lost interest because of failures and saw their energies going to waste.
(later fear of losing everything when party loses.)
 - e- Depression of 1873, again dealt a severe blow to unions with membership dropping from 300,000 to 50,000 and the no. from 32 to 8 or 9.
 - f- With the depression, political activity again increased, again joining with farmers who agitated for greenback issues to increase prices.
- C) WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF U.S.- formed out of combination with ILLINOIS LABOR PARTY, German workers in the east and their WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA and groups in Cincinnati.
 - a- Combined membership of 3,000 at first.
 - b- Decided at outset not to be political because of its weakness, and stressed trade unionism.
 - c- Grew and had branches in 19 states.
 - d- Broke up in 1877 when trade union v. political struggle broke, and with prosperity of 1879, trade unionists not concerned.

- D) GREENBACK LABOR PARTY- more agrarian than labor, although a number of labor leaders ran for office on ticket.
 - a- Joined by old National Labor Reform Party remnants and in election of 1878, gathered 1 million votes.
 - b- Decline with prosperity of 1879.

VI- KNIGHTS OF LABOR

- A) Started in 1869 as a trade union for garment cutters in Philly.
- B) Combined political action with economic trade unionism (like old National Labor Union)
- C) Formulas worked as it went through prosperities and depressions gaining from 5,000 in 1875 to 700,000 in 1886.
- D) Disregarded craft lines and all workers could join; attracted the less skilled; grew with spectacular strikes (railroads).
- E) Program
 - 1- Cooperatives
 - 2- Public lands for actual settlers
 - 3- National currency issued directly to people.
 - 4- 8 hr. day
 - 5- Abolition of child labor.
 - 6- Equal pay to both sexes for equal work
 - 7- Mechanics' lien for wages.
 - 8- Inheritance and income taxes
 - 9- Postal savings banks
 - 10- Workmen's Compensation
 - 11- Public ownership of utilities.
- F) Lost ground when craftsmen opposed unskilled favoritism; too greatly centralized; Haymarket bombing of 1886. By 1900, they had virtually disappeared.

VII- AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

- A) Craft trade unions always opposed Kof L.
- B) Led by Cigar Makers, FEDERATION OF ORGANIZED TRADES AND LABOR UNION formed in 1881, with only 50,000 members.
 - a- Purpose primarily legislative and not political.
 - b- Bitter conflict between Cigar makers and knights in 1886, with mutual scabbing, led to formation of AFofL
- C) AFL now became economic as well as legislative with 150,000 membership in amalgam of craft unions.
 - a- Grew as Knights dispersed.
 - b- Gompers elected President in 1886 (to 1924) - his influence fashioned the labor movement from then practically to date.
- D) IWW, 1905, didn't interfere with this AFL dominance or have too much influence outside of some Northwest lumber regions.
 - a- appeal to unskilled and migrant workers, using strikes, sabotage, violence to eliminate wage system and overthrow capitalism.
 - b- membership never exceeded 60-70 thousand.
 - c- *Leader arrested for World War opposition.*

BREAK (traced primarily labor political action or inaction to Gompers and AFL. Before going on with analysis of whys and wherefores of AFL policy, contradictions, experience, let's examine the socialist movement up to this time. It'll help understand Gompersism too.)
(Questions...notes taking)

VIII- EARLY Socialist Movement in USA.

- A) Dates from the Owen and Fourier utopianism of the 1820s.
- B) After Revolution of 1848, many Germans refugees came to US bringing with them new ideas of Marx and scientific socialism.
 - a- American Workingmen's Alliance (above) of 1853.
 - b- General German Workingmen's Union of 1867.
 - 1- Formed by Marxists
 - 2- Grew to include other nationals and spread to NY, Chicago, San Francisco.
 - 3- Affiliated with First International in 1869.
 - 4- By 1871, several thousand members and more than 30 sections.
 - 5- Died in 1876 after Marx-Bakunin struggle brought the International to the U.S.
 - c- Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America.
 - 1- small group in east, which joined Workingmen's Party of US.

IX- SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

- A) Formed in 1877 after breakup (above) of Workingmen's Party by those who opposed the trade unionism and favored political action.
- B) Led by Daniel DeLeon.
- C) Labor should develop "class consciousness", endorse socialist candidates and overthrow capitalism.
- D) Socialist principles a condition for union membership.
- E) Supported Henry George in 1886 for NY mayor, candidate of United Labor Party.
- F) Program failed to win the conservative majority unions.
- G) Calling trade unionists "labor fakers", formed a rival SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE in NYC devoted to "class struggle".
- H) Strengthened AFL against "dual unionism".
(basis for Gompers' later enmity toward socialists)
- I) DeLeon caused split in SLP for action without consulting others and AFL socialists opposed dualism too.

X- SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

- A) After his prison sentence re the Pullman Strike, Eugene V. Debs came out of prison a confirmed socialist.
- B) Representing his American Railway Union, he and other socialists called a conference in 1897 at which labor union reps came; cooperators; SLP groups; religious organizations.
- C) Program:
 - 1- Work to make 1 state a model for cooperative life.
 - 2- Eventual overthrow of capitalism.
 - 3- public ownership of utilities, monopolies, resources
 - 4- public works for unemployed.
 - 5- Reduction of hours.
 - 6- Proportional representation.
 - 7- Initiative and referendum

XI- SOCIALIST PARTY

- A) Formed out of SDP when joined by Milwaukee, NY groups (Berger, Hilquit)
- B) 1898- Electoral gains in Mass, electing even a mayor.
- C) 1900- Debs: 97,000 votes for President. (SDP)
- D) 1904- Debs: 402,000 " " " (SP)
- E) 1912- 1,039 dues members in office; 56 mayors; Congressman etc.
- F) 1920- Debs: 919,000 votes (after jail term and war issue split)

add 1,2

addendum

- G) Appeal of Party via poems, essays, plays, novels, cartoons, pamphlets, sermons.
 - a- Agerwood Anderson, Charles Beard, John Dewey, Max Eastman, Morris Hilquit, Helen Keller, Harry Laidler, Walter Lippman, Jack London, Gustavus Myers, Scott Nearing, Carl Sandburg, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Charles Steinmetz, Veblen, Louis Untermeyer,
 - b- Clergymen from pulpits saw "brotherhood". (Art Young cartoon)
 - c- Real part of Americana - College chapters
 - d- Debs became a legend during his lifetime.
 - e- Important to realize appeal: spirit. Marxist materialist, but SP appeal to morality, justice. (cartoon) - *clergy - Roman Thomas*
 - f- Party opposed war, Debs jailed. (Read excerpts)
 - g- For President while in prison,

XIA - Socialist Party and War

- A) 1917: "unalterable opposition to the war just declared"; asked "workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars". Techniques of "demonstration, mass petition, and all other honorable and effective means within our power".
 - a- Raids. Debs imprisoned.
 - b- But in NY, Hillquit record vote of 146,000 for Mayor against Tammany; 17 legislators.
 - c- Small intellectual group split: "Social Democratic League of America"
- B) Russian Revolution brought demand on part of left-wingers that SP join Third Communist International at Moscow and not Berne Conference (1919) to revive international solidarity 2nd Interat.
 - a- SP decided to join Berne.
 - b- Left wing wanted work for immediate revolution; SP democratic peaceful progress (see "honorable" above).
 - c- Split and left wing formed an underground United Communist Party until 1921 when an open legal Workers Party formed (later).
 - d- Split greatly weakened SP structurally in spite of Debs 1920 and they looked to cooperation for a Labor Party.
- C) SP found new support in unrest among organized workers tending toward progressive political and economic action.
 - a- Railway brotherhoods supported public ownership of rrs.
 - b- UMW in 1919 favored immediate ALP
 - c- Western farmers formed NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, electing many.
 - d- Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.
 - e- CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION of above plus needle trades, unions representing 1½ million.
 - f- 1924 CPPA meeting in Cleveland, SP asking for permanent 3rd party, but dominant Brotherhoods hesitating. Postponed question but nominated LaFollette and Wheeler for President.
 - g- SP for first time endorsed non-Socialists anticipating an independent political party - close to 5 million votes.
 - h- 1925 meeting Brotherhoods hesitated, No vote. CPPA out.
- D) SP becomes political again with Thomas in 1928 and 1932 but ready "to merge its political functions in a genuine independent political party of American workers" (impt for later action).
 - a- 267,000 votes in 1928; 900,000 in 1932.

XI B- COMMUNIST PARTY

- A) UCP to WP with William Foster and Benjamin Gitlow running in 1924 and 1928 (33 and 48,000).
- B) Split(radical plague)with Lovestone and Gitlow accusing minority of ultra-leftism and falsely believeing an immediate revolutionary crisis. Moscow International sided with minority and Lovestone-Gitlow followers expelled in 1929. Now Communist Party.
 - a- 1928 Cannon-Schactman followers expelled on Trotsky issue. (exist today:MILITANT and LABOR ACTION)They asked "genuine party democracy" instead of "administrative terror and suppression"

XII-----

XII A- Communists and AFL generally characterized by "boring from within" aggressively rather than Socialist cooperation.

- a- Foster:"progressivism is a grave danger to the working class"; "Communist party makes it clear to the workers that the capitalist democracy is a sham and that there must be no illusions about peacefully capturing the state for the working class"; "the policy of the social democracy is basically that of fascism". ~~Unity~~
- b- Foster organized Trade Union ~~Administrative~~ League" in 1928 formally coordinating undermining AFL policy. Factionalism. Boring.
- d- Organized industrial dual unions, mining, textiles, needle-trades. National Miners Union v. UMW; ...In unions, they kept up ~~xxxxxx~~ factionalism to disrupt.
- d- Conservative AFL fought back . CP lost and changed tactics, forming Trade Union Unity League in 1928, dual unionism.
- e- Never succeeded much; some strikes. Policy lasted to 1935 (hence enmity of socialists, unionists, AFL)

XII- Socialist Party and the AFL.

- A) First, Debs in 1905 joined with DeLeon, Haywood, Western Federation of Miners in forming IWW.
- B) Factionalism, policy difference, Debs withdrew.
- C) SP position was primarily educational rather than disruptive. No attempt to "capture" unions.
- D) Active in AFL.
 - a- 1912- Max Hayes, Cleveland, ran against Gompers and received one-third of votes cast
- E) Urged political party action.

XIII- Recapitulation of Gomerism (now we understand rather than criticize)

- A) Basic distrust of government.
 - a- early court decisions to date (Anath F. name)
 - b- Gov't on side of manufacturer (Monroe)
- B) Fear of political action
 - a- Suspicion that actionists more interested in particular program than in pressing trade union matters.
 - b- Bitter experience and failures of past.
 - c- Appreciation that labor politically weak in voting strength.
 - d- Partisan politics might create dissension among members and turn attention away from trade union matters.
 - e- Neutrality more effective in calling for bids.
 - f- Risk of losing all influence if party loses.
 - g- Prejudice against "socialists" due to DeLeon, Anights, IWW.

XIV- Gomerism and AFL in Practice.

- A) Could not avoid politics or action in spite of theory.
- B) Pressure from within: socialist unions, UMW.
- C) Protection against 1900-1916 "open shop" drive of employers and use of courts for injunctions and anti-trust actions (positive protection needed).
- D) Moved headquarters to Washington in 1896 and took an active part in pressure politics.
 - a- 1908-Asked both parties for platform on anti-injunctions.
 - b- Republicans countered with Taft, who judged them harshly.
 - c- Dems responded and Gompers supported Bryan in 1908, Wilson in 1912.
 - d- Result was passage of Clayton Act.
- E) ~~Actively~~ supported legislation:
 - a- endorsed Senators
 - b- secret ballot
 - c- civil service reform
 - d- initiative and referendum
 - e- workman's compensation
 - f- 8 hr. day for gov't employees.
- F) Lesson of 1920s
 - a- Attitude of gov't very imp't
 - b- Friendship during War stimulated membership
 - c- Post-war antagonism
 - 1- Injunction by gov't against UMW in 1919
 - 2- US Shipping Bd. refused to let its vessels be used by operators renewing union contract; defeat of Inter-Seamman's Union.
 - 3- Labor injunctions (against organizing yellow dog signatory)
 - 4- Anti-trust prosecutions in spite of Clayton Act (labor an "unreasonable" combination, but US Steel "reasonable")

- G) Action- Support of LaFollette Progressives in 1924
 - a- 5 million votes.
 - b- Railway Brotherhood conservative support.
 - c- Reluctance to support permanent party with SP and others.
- H) Emphasis on political activity seen from fact they take 31 pages to explain their political and legislative achievements.
- I) By no stretch of imagination, therefore, is the AFL non-political. Rather they claim non-partisanship and even there not strictly.

XV- New Deal tremendous effect on labor and socialist movements. Must be discussed together.

- A) ND took the ball away from the socialists. Thomas got large vote in 1932 (884,000) and only 188,000 in 1936.
 - a- New unions grew up; sec. 7a.
 - b- Still non-partisan, AFL supports FDR unofficially.
 - c- CIO active in support of FDR.
- B) With ND, strong movement in SP, younger, to be more militant and left stressing ends rather than immediate gains FDR supplying. This temper led many older socialists, mellow, attracted by FDR, active in needle unions, to fear that SP succumbing to Communist lure and being too militant and perhaps undemocratic.
- C) Formation of SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION in 1937, supporting FDR but asking for 3rd party too.
- D) SDF, labor, liberals formed AMERICAN LABOR PARTY in NY for election of FDR, Lehman, ND and still show progressive independence. ALP both AFL and CIO.
- E) In 1937, SP, still looking for ind. labor party, decided to cooperate. Members joined (Laidler 1939) worked and Thomas withdrew as candidate for Mayor, supporting LaG.
 - a- 1939: ALP made its "electoral agency". Laidler.
 - b- Lasted until 1940 when war issue closer and Thomas for Pres with Krueger (117,000) and 1941 when it broke on NY mayor with Hartmann as mayor. (VOA from SP on war in 1941)

XVI - CP and Political Action

- A) Saw start with boring factionalism.
 - a- Then dual unionism, vicious fight with SP (fascist) and AFL.
- B) In 1936, change in tactics with Moscow declaration for People's Front. Gave up their unions; joined AFL; wooed SP (SDF break) which failed when SP saw "capture tactics".
- C) With birth of CIO at this time, joined wholeheartedly in working. Lewis allowed them in to make use of energies. Infiltrated.
- D) Joined ALP with same fervor in 1937.
- E) CIO influence: Longshoremen, Maritime, Furriers.
- F) Aug. 1939 non-aggression pact saw CP change from unity against fascists to anti-imperialist war.
- G) ALP awake to find CP control most of NYC; but State ALP supported FDR though CP ran Browder. Threat, however, to run peace candidate against LaG in 1941.
- H) June 22, 1941 came in time. Support LaG.
- I) 1942 Alfange 403,000 votes.

XVII- Effect of war CP became COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION worked completely through ALP and caused split between SDF (SP no more), needle unions (old enmity dualism), liberals (war issue and distrust of vacillations)

- a- Communists all remained but others like Hillman too.
- A) LIBERAL PARTY to support FDR in 1944 and begin new labor party.
 - a- Now NY has LIBERAL party and ALP.

XVIII- LABOR Political Scene Today

- A) AFL we saw is political, not completely non-partisan although determined to support existing parties. But not all.
 - a- Green 1935 levelled threat: "in favor of independent political action...when the crystallized opinion of the workers indicates that they believe that their interests can better be served through such action rather than through the pursuit of non-partisan political action".
 - b- ALP and Liberal Party.
 - c- ILG in 1944 (Dave): "We who believe in a labor third party movement are fully aware of the difficulties which it has to contend ~~with~~ against...Apathy of American workers who for many years have been made to believe that a policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies' is sufficient to protect them politically, but this loose policy... has frequently worked in reverse...Where confronted with a situation of 2 Coolidges or 2 Deweys running on their respective party tickets, labor would be placed in a position in which it would reward its enemies...Under such circumstances labor becomes a homeless group; one to be ignored and snubbed by either party".
- B) AFL program today far cry from bread and butter of yore.
 - a- (Jan 46) price control
 - b- Loan to Britain
 - c- Housing
 - d- Recognize Spanish Republican gov't.
 - e- 10 pt. program to help democratic Germany
- C) CIO much more sympathetic to political action with non-labor people and grand scale.
 - a- Lewis started it in 1936 with LABOR'S NON*PARTISAN LEAGUE on state level for FDR, ND. (barely lived thru 40 and Lewis)
 - b- 1944 PAC (CIO and Citizens) introduced Big Time activity and ingenuity.
 - 1-Time: "The pamphlets are far and wide the slickest political propaganda produced in the U.S. in a generation".
 - 2- CIO also (read Wall Street Journal) (refer First Round, Gaer)
- D) After 1944 PAC reaffirmed non-partisanship working for political education "regardless of political party".

XIX - Third Party possibilities.

- A) CCF emulated in Oregon, Michigan, NY et al.
- B) PAC said no third party "at this time", machinery there. - *will be on ballot*
- C) Difficulties are AFL v. CIO and Communist issue.
 - a- Latter may be more imp't for cooperation exists such as GM;
 - b- WFTU and IFTU conflict exists; as well as ILO.
- D) Marxism? Labor is not Marxist. Even Socialists now critical, except for SLP, Communists
 - a- POLITICS: Marxism reexamined to "redefine socialism in moral rather than historical terms"... "to point out...the apparent impossibility of maintaining a socialist position without introducing the question of Justice in itself and for itself".

CONCLUSION: Up to date: Conclusions?

- 1- Not simple!
- 2- Economic problem, yes, but also political (in BA Schhol?)
- 3- For us all, not just labor with us on sidelines.
- 4- Those who look for continuation of Enlightenment, reexamine values, techniques, means, take stock
- 5- Issue not merely 3rd party or Wallace, but whether there is vision to learn lesson of Europe:
 - a- what happens to dem and human freedom in one section of globe affects people all over the globe.
 - b- that dem and hf is our criteria
 - c- hence hopeful that Spain, Germany a labor problem. that Martin Resolution be endorsed. No war.
- 6- Sturmthal and NY Times

Talked too much.

Now that we have goals, perhaps you expect us to show you how we're headed toward fulfillment, dem Eng dream. - Now we're following Stummel's advice, leaving lesson - No.

1, 2, 3 above

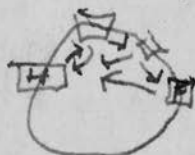
2 current issues:

- 1- ~~labor v capital~~
- 2- Soc v Comm in Europe

center in judg future;
Does it show common ground of
that can be done by
any one man?

Social Science - Economics

- 1) Between 1857-1937, 10 major cycles with full scale depressions.
- 2) Society characterized by depression and fear of depression.
- 3) Aim is to eliminate both depression and uncertainty (fear of dep.)
- 4) Progress hampered by lack of understanding about money.
 - a) People thought of money in terms of coins with a specified value and never realized that its buying power fluctuates
 - b) did not realize that when money can buy more, business prosper and runs wild even. while when it buys less, business can fall into paralysis.
- 5) Within past 25 years, tremendous progress made. - In 1936, J. M. Keynes "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, Money". Today economists are very largely agreed on Keynesian theory of unemployment.
- 6) Mod. econ. life involves exchange of goods and services by money. Too complex to handle with barter.
 - a) We don't want money for its own sake. But for the things we can buy with it. - People anxious to get money, but only to pass it on again - Thus money is kept circulating most of the time.
 - b) Process best described as cycle. ① It is money to market to buy things, take purchases home. ② Retailer gives salesman salary who buys it home; and passes rest on to manufacturer; ③ manuf. pays salary, passes on to primary producer; ④ they pay salary and pass on back home.



(p. 48)

CIRCULAR
FLOW
OR
MONEY

7) This process also permits consumer to "signal" to the producer with his money. Producer will produce what consumer wants and will fend off by looking at points where stream of money is thickening.

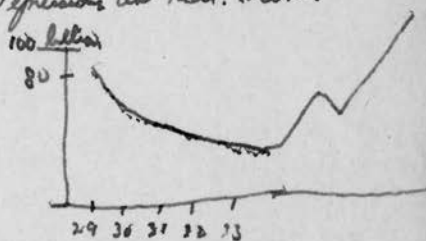
8) The flow of money going round in the picture represents the total earnings of the population, i.e., National Income in the form of money.

9) Picture oversimplified: Assume all private incomes are spent on goods without delay and that all business income goes to pay wages and production costs.

- no word about savings (some dough doesn't go back)
- no word about investment (not all money is wages et. al.)
- omits taxes and govt expenditures
- no foreign trade and what we may gain or lose thereby.

10) There is a direct relationship between Depression and Natl. Income.

1929 = 82	36 = 68
30 = 74	37 = 72
31 = 60	38 = 67
32 = 42	39 = 71 1/2
33 = 41	40 = 80
34 = 50	41 = 99
35 = 58	

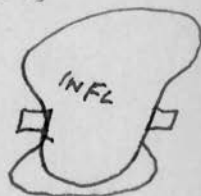
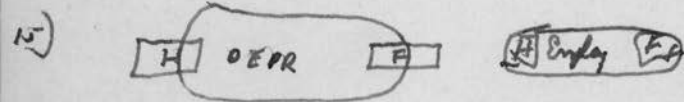


11) So long as our picture works, the volume of business activity never changes. No recession; all goods produced are sold. The money which goes buying will be just enough to buy that which is produced.

12) Is this satisfactory? - Depends on whether all of national labour is being utilized. - If not and there is unemployed, then they stay unemployed.

13) Suppose people decide to increase their daily expenditures (see how both)
- Shops sold out before demand is satisfied. - Stocks depleted. -
Prices and profits tend to rise - Production expanded. - by that
increase is kept stable, to higher level of circulation of production
remains indefinitely.

14) Suppose contraction rather than expansion. Daily expenditures
reduced. - Stocks accumulate in shops - Prices and profits
fall - Production curtailed. - by no keeps to that reduced
level, business activity remains there.



16) Width of money belt (natl. inc.) determine level of employment
and production

17) Citizens and govt can affect the width of the money belt.

a) Both can save it; leave it unemployed.

b) Both can borrow from someone who chooses not to spend or
spend themselves

c) State can tax and spend

18) There are 2 ways of saving by workers taken alive from money
belt - Counterpart is spending of money previously saved.
Every such addition is permanent and carries with it a rise
in employment and production (after full employment, it is inflation).

19) Does not mean that savings bad and prodigality good (Actually,
savings always more than bank withdrawals & it is different
that matters)

20) Savings ^{can be} balanced by "new investment" - Construction of new
factory (wages, interest, rent, profit)

- 21) Money spent by govt on taxes has some negative investment.
This is no regardless of the way or purpose of govt spending.
- 22) Savings & investment govt independent decision
Sucking Pumps and Squinting Pumps
- 23) Lack of balance in the future exp. for occurrence of business fluctuations. Aim:
a) adjust pumps to balance
b) balance level at high level for full employment at rest for inflation
- 24) Self-sealing gap" (Kendall Depression theory)
If 2 pumps out, stop with draining or sucking of money continues indefinitely? - No! Forces will be set in motion to restore balance
a) If savings exceed investment - less circulation; fewer jobs; smaller production; smaller N. Income; people not spend less money from their shrinking incomes - as savings decrease, gaps narrow and close
b) If investment exceeds savings - circulation grows; employment and production rise; N. Income rises; people not spend more money - Gaps reduced & closed.
- 25) This self-sealing takes place regularly but not immediately. -
Thus money to pay savings and investment are identical.
- 26) Invest. is then part of Natl. Income
- 27) Hypothetical case (Kendall 1971/5) - Rock Bottom Concept
- 28) Introduce Keynesian multiplier - by 25% rate of savings, multiplier is 4
- 29) Thus: a) we must not permit gap to get too big
b) gaps ought to be sealed at full employment

- 30) Inventory included in Investment - Building up stock of goods. -
upon depletion or depreciation, then in reg. or disinvested.
- 31) Nat. Income is total private and public consumption + New Invest.
- 32) Since disinvestment is a factor, it is possible for Nat. Income to
be less than total consumption, if no new investment of the
in depreciation (set up capital)
- 33) US figures (Kendall 20)

SIGMUND FREUD

Founder of psychoanalysis. Born at Freiberg in Moravia on May 6, 1856....Moved to Vienna at age of 4. In his youth, was primarily interested in scientific research in botany, chemistry and physiology and felt no inclination toward medical work..... Was influenced by Goethe's essay "Die Natur", however, and thus embarked on a medical curriculum.

In college, he met with anti-semitism and he believes the experience prepared him for later isolation without defeat.

Became a doctor in 1881. Wanted to continue with research work, but financial considerations compelled him to become a clinical neurologist instead.

In 1884, a Viennese physician, Dr. Breuer, related to him an extraordinary experience in which symptoms of hysteria in one of his patients, a young girl, were cured by getting the patient to revollect while in a state of hypnosis the circumstances of their origin and to express the emotions accompanying the origin.

This treatment by hypnosis, called "cathartic", was the starting point of what later became psycho-analysis. Freud was impressed, went to Paris in 1885 to study for a year under the great neurologist, Charcot, and to continue with the revolutionary step of investigating hysteria from a psychological point of view.

Freud met much disapproval and opposition. Worked alone. Published important works on neurology, but suffered for his interest in clinical psychology.

In 1893, he persuaded Breuer to publish his remarkable case and to collaborate with him in a book Studien Uber Hysterie. Partnership dissolved after a year and Freud went on alone taking the decisive step of replacing hypnosis as a means of reviving buried memories with a method of "free association", a psychoanalytic method.