AND INTERNATIONAL DIGEST

It has been a particularly unhappy experience for me to witness the changes in subject matter and focus in the "little" discussion of the last year. Some have taken a marked departure from excessive the established order of society along class lines, resulting in a new issue, which said of the new magazine: "Its predominant intellectual approach will be Marxist, and therefore a method of analysis, not of a body of dogma." The apparent trend in Politics today is toward the non-operational (and therefore mystical) eternal verities, universal values and ultimate truths. The sincere effort to draw failure of" philosophy" observable among many of the independent socialists who have seen through the fakery of manipulated culture and immediate Marxist, and Trotskyism are both relics of the past.

—Paul Mattick

The above Review appeared in Politics.

Essay on Socialist Theory

[Politics is the name of a monthly magazine edited and published in New York by Dwight Macdonald.]

SCIENCE AND Politics

A Materialist Analysis

The following Essay was started by a young sociologist in Chicago, and others collaborated in presenting it in the form it now appears. It was submitted to Dwight Macdonald for publication in Politics, but, we understand, it was rather contemptuously rejected; maybe, the criticism was too good, as it did not come from professional writers. The publication of it has been delayed, as it was first intended to appear in a New York magazine; as the publication of that periodical is delayed I have been given the green light to go ahead and print. Politics in the name of monthly magazine edited and published in New York by Dwight Macdonald.—Editor S.S.P.]

The second world war led to the further unfolding of State capitalism on a worldwide scale. The peculiarities of the various nations and their special situations within the world-power frame provided a great variety of developments toward State capitalism. The fact that State capitalism and fascism did not, and do not grow anywhere in a uniform manner provided Trotsky with the argument of the basic difference between bolshevism, fascism and capitalism plain and simple. This argument necessarily stresses superficialities of social development. In all essential aspects all three of these systems are identical, and represent only various stages of the same development—a development which aims at manipulating the masses of the population by dictatorial governments, in a more or less authoritarian fashion, in order to secure the government and the privileged social layers which support it and to enable those governments to participate in the international economy of today by preparing for war, waging war, and profiting by war.

Trotsky could not permit himself to recognize in Bolshevism one aspect of the world's true totalitarianism of fascism and world economy. As late as 1940 he held the view that Bolshevism prevented the rise of fascism in the West in 1932-1933. It should be long since been clear, however, that all that Lenin and Trotsky pointed in was the rise of a new-Marxian ideology for the fascist reconstruction of Russia. Because the Marxian ideology of Bolshevism merely served State capitalism ends, it, too, has been discredited. From any view that goes beyond the capitalist framework of Stalinism and Trotskyism are both relics of the past.

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L—SCIENTIFIC METHOD: A TOOL FOR RADICALS

During the war years we heard a great deal about scientific methods of the natural sciences on behalf of the war effort. The atomic bomb was the super-duper culmination of a whole series of military tools devised in Allied laboratories. People who disliked what went on at atomic foundations could not help but observe the service of the scientists, and some drew the inference that not only their works were serving the ruling classes, but that even the scientific method, the procedures of science, and the tools, the knowledge applied for ruling class purposes, is politically reactionary. If it is not explicitly reactionary it is so closely has it appeared to be intervened with the activities of the ruling classes that it could hardly be establishing a relationship and revolt against the status quo.

It is crucially important to draw a clear line between science and technology, method and its application. The same knowledge of natural phenomena can be used to make death-dealing explosives or to provide an unlimited source of energy for production. In science such a line can not be drawn, however, for reasons to be discussed below, the idea that the failure of the party to a part in the failure of science and society. In this way the idea that socialists can be implemented by a search for Absolute Truth. We suggest that accurate understandings of social processes are obtainable by empirical inquiry, despite the basis of this inquiry: the basis, of class analysis. And we will demonstrate how these can serve as a guide to action. It should be noted that the scientific radical behavior are separable matters; here our concern is solely with the former. In this article the attempt is made to show in outline, (1) The limits within our social development can be predicted in relation to the possibilities for an egalitarian socialist society; (2) possibilities for influencing the course of society; (3) some important types of deliberate intervention in social processes which radicals can undertake; (4) some of the important areas where knowledge is lacking. The analysis is presented in three sections. I First we outline the scientific method to political action; and some implications of the revolt among radicals is made. II In the second part we describe briefly some of the principal patterns of action among the major social classes which are relevant to socialist politics. III And there, we discuss specific uses for political action, based upon the preceding analysis, and contrast them with the obvious points of the "anti-Marxists" writing on the "New Roads series."

The above Review appeared in Politics.
Some Implications of the Search for Values:

The essayist's use of the word *values* here is not in its mathematical economic meaning, but rather in the sociological discussion of "New Roads"—the precise usefulness of codes of behavior, which leading to a more or less continuous change in social values. Values implicitly carries with it the rejection of an analytic, scientific approach to the problem of social change. It separates values from ways of living and makes them matters apart. If appealing to man's better nature will do the trick, then obviously there is no need for difficult and tedious analyses.

The primary meanings of "universal values" are institutions like the Catholic Church. The search for a credible way in which values can be found signs of the pressure put on an area where it can have no appreciable effect. Furthermore, the failure of human nature, in the sense of values, implicitly contradicts the rejection of an analytic, scientific approach to the problem of social change. It separates values from ways of living and makes them matters apart. If appealing to man's better nature will do the trick, then obviously there is no need for difficult and tedious analyses.

In short, the function of the searchers for absolute values is anti-status-quo, but so long as in effect they observe the actual (i.e., observable) ways of achieving a political situation (by turning attention from class structure and its consequences to direct symbols of their relevance to the material situation), then in function they serve but to bolster the existing social order.

For effective political work, the turn of events in the short run becomes of considerable importance. For a short-run analysis we need not a more intuitional commentary on Marx, and certainly not observationism, once the great refinement and elaboration of the mechanisms of historical process. It is clear that scientific method has shown itself the tool for the elucidation of processes and mechanisms in the natural sciences. To the question, can it be applied in the social sciences, if we reply, it is being applied in those areas where it is in the interests of the ruling class to promote a little of understanding.

It is systematically discouraged in areas where such understanding is not in the interests of the ruling class, or where the methods and categories of a scientific inquiry would undermine the function of a great part of social "theory" as apologetics for class society. (For example, pre-status-quo scientists are in effect in utilization of class categories.) For persons concerned with effective radical action, however, there are always the most detailed understanding of the historical process must be gained. What is the "direction of movement" of that group? How can the social attitude and actions of people be brought to bear on the tremendous energy available from atomic
fashion affect the business-directed technology and subsequently the social interaction. What are the determinants of the growing technical occupations? How can that influence the course of resistance and revolt? We submit the statement as follows: It is because the extent of understanding of various trends such as these is crucial in determining the course of political action, that scientific method finds its empirical justification as a tool for radical action.

The general character of scientific method, as applied in the natural sciences, has been elaborated by several writers in the brief discussion which follows. In the natural sciences, this does not mean that the data are derived from the relevant data for which there is no space here. Each section in the following sections cannot be shown here, the reader can find the interesting data in several major methodological criteria as the following: Are the data referred to, in the various categories in which they are categorized, operational (observable)? Is there a correlation between the given behavior and the social category that is most utilized, namely, classes in relation to means of production? Is there a mechanism involved (linear or referred) relating the given group (class) in its social situation and the resulting behavior of the group? Is there a correlation necessary for establishing causal connection. Does the generalization enable prediction of changes in our categories, and this is a test of its validity as an explanation of cause and effect.

II.—THE COURSE OF CLASS DEVELOPMENT

Basic to the discussion is the fact that whenever development of social-economic phenomena come in the wake of the productive changes, it will be the result of the reaction of the people to the changing conditions. If a country develops power relations among people, which we call fascism, it is, in the last analysis, not because Hitler or an upper class imposed upon them the people (by what power they could do so), but because the great bulk of the people accepted in such a way as to bring them about: not, of course, that they all had equal roles in this, but that the upper class moved toward greater bureaucratic control, and the mass of the people was sufficiently dependent on it (productively or culturally) to accept these moves, and so on. The very power, privilege, and wealth of a ruling class is describable as a system of accepted ways—ways which are accepted, for the most part unrecognizably, by almost every person in the population. When it comes to workers, who makes them submit to the prerequisites of the ruling class, except in the case of a class ruling by consent? The power of political leaders is only a token power, which can be used against individual deviants when the bulk of the population begins to oppose the acts of big police or of the government.

It is therefore of interest to ask what, within the framework of our categories, are the facts about the actions of the people, keeping in mind the particular historical situation in which the actions occur. In general, we will see that people do not act at all times, that they are not free agents who follow determinable whims, but that they act in conformity with traditions and ways, with temporary action for particular common types of social situation. Gradually different ways of acting arise, neither at necessity, nor by intent, but out of the difficulty of carrying out the accepted patterns in the face of changing conditions. Thus the Nazi "lives on" in several ways in the world today. If we go deeper, we will see that all actions, even when they are accelerated by adequate political power, are still in effect determined by the limitations of the society that is being acted upon.

The actions of the class in power are most fully recorded, and we can see how their actions gradually changed. The very change from competitive to monopoly pricing is an important factor in the evolution of economic control. In the example of monopoly pricing, we see that the economic form of the control changes and that this in turn may lead to a change in the political form of control. As business men followed this pattern, it was unavoidable that the organization of the capital should result. And as they continued in this pattern, under the changed "conditions of doing business" which accumulation yielded, it was unavoidable that even greater accumulations should result and that institutional patterns should change as well (e.g., the separation of ownership and control in business corporations). Through it all, business people have acted in the way which their culture set for them as the only way to act, and that was taken as natural and right by almost everyone else; to get maximum profit from employing workers and selling articles and to maintain their position of social control in one way or another.

II.—THE BIDDERS FOR POWER

If we leave out the office and store clerical work and the service occupations which do not differ from the broad working class in social power, income, and occupational patterns we are left with the one middle group of occupations which form the last large group of occupations. What is the opportunity for the opportunity to rise? These include: the persons with technical or scientific knowledge; the persons who make decisions in production (within the limits set by consideration of market demand and production costs); the persons who represent relations between the classes (by guarding the power and status quo of the business man, by controlling the workers, etc.); and the intellectual, the writers, artists, and the like, who all of them have a similar position in the middle class. These persons often have the power to play a role in the determination of policies, either through direct participation or through influence. A study of the type of work these people do, the opportunities for extending the type of work, or of its importance which are inherent in the increasing scale of capitalist production, is given by a study of dissatisfaction with capitalist social order and the dissatisfaction with the idea of a world without large numbers of people.
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III.—THE WORKING CLASS

We now consider some patterns of action of the bulk of the populace, the people who can have no thought of rising appreciably or of playing a leading part in present-day society. Despite differences between various occupational groups within the working class, the bulk of them have been similarly affected by many technological and social changes; the growing into large production units; the struggle against powerful employers who control much of society, instead of against the individual small boss of early industrial capitalism; the emergence of the government as mass employer or agent of the giant employers. Under these changing conditions, significant developments may be seen in working class action; the commonness of strikes and lockouts; the mass going down; managerial types of demands such as the U.A.W.'s "look at the books," and the New York Times Union's objection to sale of the municipal power plants; the spread of labor and nominally socialist electoral victories in pre-war and post-war Europe.

All developments of this type are, of
course, "within capitalism." Reformists quite naturally begin by the point where they hope that such actions can add up to a change of social power. On the other hand, radicals cannot afford to regard the changes in patterns which are already taking place, and cannot assume that they reveal nothing about the future political action of the working class. The result of these economic activities appears only if we analyze the component patterns of action. In these intra-capitalist developments workers are increasingly habituated to mass actions involving almost all the members of an occupation. Working class groups often cooperate with each other, as in sympathy strikes and refusal to sell. They have shown themselves able to hold out very long for their demands, and they have shown a widespread resentment of the boss and his class, which is expressed, for example, in strikes. They have shown a tendency to fight class relations in patterns and economic signs which have been transmitted from the past; to fight against private ownership of the instruments of production; to fight against the exclusion of individuals from working conditions; to fight for the production of a much broader sense of community. The existence of these attitudes and actions is undoubtedly compatible with present-day capitalism. But the elements of which they are made up include, together with their getting-along, implicit and explicit modes of resistance to the present relations of production. These modes change with the character of technology and of business patterns, and one on task of a radical is to be on our guard against this in our present-day occupations. To fight for their own conditions, for themselves. The hard-fought strikes and the considerable differences in social attitudes between workers and bosses suffice to reveal the class struggle and implicit consciousness. It is certainly not that the people do not understand these patterns of resistance, so retarded at present. It is not that the people do not resist, or do not work better conditions for themselves. The hard-fought strikes and the considerable differences in social attitudes between workers and bosses suffice to reveal the class struggle and implicit consciousness. It is certainly not that the people do not understand these patterns of resistance, so retarded at present. It is not that the people do not resist, or do not work better conditions for themselves. The hard-fought strikes and the considerable differences in social attitudes between workers and bosses suffice to reveal the class struggle and implicit consciousness. It is certainly not that the people do not understand these patterns of resistance, so retarded at present. It is not that the people do not resist, or do not work better conditions for themselves.

One of the principal tasks of the working class in business is to make the people accept the conditions of life in their work. One obstacle to the effective working of class revolution is the fact that the working class cannot command the whole of the society's economic system by itself. However, contrary to the usual expression, objective expressions are not "trivial" in a business relationship. The working class revolution is in the interests of the workers as a whole. When conditions change, the various social technical occupations to the working class becomes a question of prime importance.

Conditions which may move technical
SOUTHERN SOCIALIST REVIEW

WILL IT BE AU-REVOI?

With this issue the Southern Socialist International Direct relates a financial crisis. Funds are no longer available to meet current needs. The deficit on each issue being over $200, which, together with the failure to contact a young, vigorous Socialist to accept the position of manager, is a blow to the enterprise. The Socialist, whose health is breaking down through overwork, makes the position serious.

Unless we can increase our paid subscriptions, a number that will bear some portion of the cost of publication (at present paid subscriptions only total one-tenth of the number of copies mailed) we will not be able to surmount our difficulties.

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Direct Action, monthly, 2/6 per copy, published 927 West 39 Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Readers in Britain can now subscribe to the Russian Newsletter by notifying the above and sending remittance of 15/- for one year to Mr. H. E. C. Lakehouse, 5-6 Northwood Hall, London, N.S., England.


Workers Socialist, monthly, 5/- per year, organ of Workers' Socialist Party of U.S. Fifteen issues for $1, posted from 27 Dock Square, Boston S, Mass., U.S.A.

Socialist Comment, monthly, organ of S.P. of Australia, posted 2/6 per year, from P.O. Box 977, Melbourne, Australia.

Weekly People organ of Socialist Labor Party of U.S. Published by Labor News Co., 61 Cliff Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Socialist Review, monthly, organ of S.L.P. of Canada, 50 cents per year, 22 College Street, Toronto 2, Ont., Canada.


The Industrial Worker, official organ of L.W.W., U.S.A., 5 cents a copy, 25;50 a year, posted.

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