

workers and the middle class are useless drifting toward a national election without conscious efforts to promote the organization of a national Farmer-Labor party.

Moreover, the programs which have been described all center in provisions for mere compensation for insecurity. Except as they stimulate and coordinate organized action by workers in all occupations, they do not touch the essential elements of a program for security. Basically this calls for the development of a planned economy founded upon the maximum utilization of America's productive capacity.

It is clear that floods and dust storms are not "acts of God," but evidences of the ruthless exploitation of the forests under private ownership, and the pressure upon the farmer of debts, mortgages and the disproportion between agricultural and industrial prices, which force upon him the wasteful cultivation of the soil. The recovery figures quoted at the beginning of this article, with

the pitifully inadequate provision for construction of new homes and the low level of factory payrolls, compared with industrial production, are symptoms of problems which lie too deep for remedy through social insurance or relief. They are the evidence of inevitable chaos. They pose for professional workers and the middle class the need to study what is involved in a planned utilization of America's productive capacity.

The beginnings of planning for social security were made by a committee of professional workers and technicians, in preparation for the conference of the International Industrial Relations Institute held in New York in November, 1934. The results were published under the title *On Economic Planning*. The work was important as indicating the logical conclusions to be drawn from technicians' study of the reasons for the blocking of their own professions. As the result of the work of this group, the conclusion was drawn that only by assuming socialization of production could a planned

economy be envisaged as a reality for America.

It is time to rally professional workers once again to a many-sided analysis of the present maximum productive capacity of America, assuming as a prerequisite the socialization of all industrial processes. Such study is essential to supplement the immediate activity centering around social insurance and relief. Otherwise, the objective of security becomes an illusion. It is possible to conceive of stability based on low standards of living. Indeed, this is the program of fascism. Social security for America demands the maximum utilization of its productive capacity. As legislative programs for relief and social insurance have become more definite within the past few months, similar definiteness is needed in an analysis of the American economy and its potentialities. United action for social security in its real sense can command the alliance of all workers, and is indeed the basis for unity in America against both war and fascism.

Middle Class and War

MICHAEL GOLD

MANY of my generation, surely, will remember as vividly as I do a certain New Republic editorial which appeared soon after Woodrow Wilson had declared war on Germany. It was titled, "Who Willed the War?" and if the Museum of Capitalist Decadence is still functioning at Commonwealth College in Arkansas, I would recommend that they post this famous editorial in a conspicuous place in their Chamber of Intellectual Horrors.

Today a great many respectable Americans know and say openly that it was J. P. Morgan and other bankers who willed America's entry into the first world war. In 1917, however, only working-class Socialists, anarchists and I.W.W. were keen and bold enough to say this. Twenty years in Leavenworth was the reward usually received from the government for such untimely brilliance. The official theory then was that the American people had willed the war.

But The New Republic group of liberal intellectuals, led by Walter Lippmann, then suave young Harvard genius just embarking upon his remarkable career of opportunism, differed both with the Department of Justice theorists and the Marxians as to who had willed the war.

Soon after war was declared, and at a moment when all the pacifist and working-class anti-war groups were plunged in gloom and confusion, that famous New Republic editorial appeared. It was lyric in tone, a hymn of triumph; a long, collective editorial threw its collegiate mortarboard in the air and leaped joyously around the inspiring

conflagration of a world war. It crowed and sniggered, it was drunk with excitement, this manifesto of our best liberal minds; and it shocked the rest of us as much as if a respected grandmother were suddenly to turn public prostitute.

For The New Republic group, reflecting as they did the mind of thousands of college professors, businessmen, lawyers and other middle-class people, did not regard America's entrance into the war as a calamity, but as a glorious victory for justice and liberalism.

More than that; they esteemed it as a victory for their own liberal group, a demonstration that liberals ruled the nation. It was not the bankers who had willed the war, they said, nor had the American people willed it. No, they exulted fiercely, it was the small and chosen minority of *liberal intellectuals* who had willed the war!

Looking back more calmly at the period and trying to understand it without nausea and contempt, one sees that within certain limits, The New Republic was right. Capitalist interests cannot carry on a war, any more than they can set up a fascist regime, without first finding a mass base. Their fertile soil seems to be somewhere in the middle class, in war as in fascism and for much the same causes. But how can they win these middle-class masses? Bankers, as is notorious, have no brains out of their counting-houses. Furthermore, they are universally distrusted and must work under the rose. They need demagogues, ideologists, press agents to be their front-men. And they find these in sufficient plenty among the in-

tellectuals, sad to state; since certain intellectuals know the democratic shibboleths that win the mass and are therefore more effective than a conservative intellectual.

So one finds that "great" liberal, George Creel, heading America's propaganda bureau, with a large staff of certain intellectuals, including Ernest Poole, Norman Matson and others (they prided themselves on carrying Socialist cards and boring from within). It was these noble souls who spread the horrible atrocity lies that whipped up the war and lynch spirit of the American people. They entered government bureaus in Washington by the hundreds and wrote articles hailing the control by government over war materials as a step to socialism, much as Mussolini is now calling his own war preparations a form of socialism.

Yes, the liberal intellectuals flocked to war-time Washington enthusiastically, just as they did in the early days of the N.R.A.; there was much the same atmosphere of goofy optimism and opportunistic rationalization. And they succeeded in selling the war to the middle class.

These "liberal" intellectuals proved to be the bell-wethers who led the lower middle class into the war. Some of them even suffered delusions of grandeur and believed that they had "willed the war." One can grow indignant about them and it is true that they were and are a peculiarly venal, cowardly and will-less lot, on whom Randolph Bourne wrote a sufficient epitaph.

What I should like to examine for the moment, however, are the conditions that

make some middle-class people so susceptible to war-mongering by the trained-seal intellectuals. It is a universal phenomenon that can be observed in every land. The most striking example in recent history was seen in the early days of the Russian Revolution, in the bourgeois phase of Miliukov and Kerensky. During this period the Russian people were split into two camps; the capitalists, on one hand, were grouped in a strange united front with certain liberals and Socialist intellectuals, to demand that Russia go on with the imperialist war. On the other side were the workers and peasants, deeply and completely sick of the war. A minority of Socialist intellectuals and workers, headed by Lenin, had fought the war from its beginning and were finally given power by the Russian masses in order to end the war.

The capitalists and bankers would obviously have profited if Russia could have seized Constantinople and a sea-lane to Europe for trading and empire, but what could the liberal intellectuals have gained? Yet some among them shrieked at Lenin as a German spy and flocked into the White Guard armies to fight workers and peasants who refused to go on with the unholy war.

Another example, which I take from an interesting study by two careful and authoritative Soviet students, titled *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*.

The desperate militarism and imperialism of Japan is one of the major factors in the coming of a new world war. But who supports the bankers and generals of Japan in their mad nature; what is the mass base?

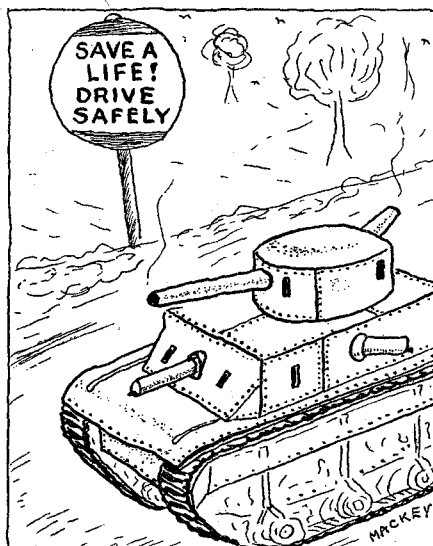
The mass base, quantitatively speaking [say Tanin and Yohan], that Japan's reactionary organizations have made for themselves has been among the city petty bourgeoisie: the owners of small shops, small tradespeople, artisans employing a few apprentices, clerks, petty officials and young officers coming from these milieux, students, representatives of the "free professions," etc.

It would be erroneous to think that the reactionary chauvinist organizations have complete sway over these elements, however—the revolution also has adherents in these circles. . . .

But the crisis, which works havoc in these strata of society and breeds hatred of finance capital along with fear of the revolution, impels large groups to take extreme positions. These intermediate strata, conservative in their ideology and looking backward rather than forward even when they feel present conditions to be intolerable, are fruitful soil for the reactionary demagogues.

There is no political stability here; there is only the tendency to fling themselves from one extreme to the other again and again. They are afraid of the militarists and the bureaucracy, but are an easy prey to the reactionary demagogues, because they are frightened by tales of the horrors they might expect from revolution and have allowed their heads to be turned by rainbow perspectives which await Japan when it seizes Manchuria, Shanghai, the Soviet Far East, etc. They believe faithfully there is no way out of their crisis but war and see in the army the only force—so eagerly awaited by them—which is "independent of finance capital" and at the same time capable of combating the social revolution.

Among the workers and the great mass of the



peasantry not a single one of the reactionary chauvinist organizations has succeeded in establishing anything like a base.

In other words, the crisis-crippled lower middle class of Japan has been led to believe, by army "Socialist" and Lippmann-like demagogues, that the Japanese army is something separate from Japanese finance-capitalism and that war and imperialist conquest will usher in a new paradise for them, better than anything that a revolution could bring them.

In an exchange of letters last year with Sigmund Freud on the causes of war, Albert Einstein said, among other things:

Is it possible to control man's mental evolution so as to make him proof against the psychoses of hate and destructiveness? Here I am thinking by no means only of the so-called uncultured masses. Experience shows that it is rather the so-called "intelligentsia" that is most apt to yield to these disastrous collective suggestions, since the intellectual has no contact with life in the raw, but encounters it in its easiest, synthetic form—upon the printed page.

Professor Einstein, like many worthy pacifists, here makes the mistake of regarding war as due only to psychological forces—as an animal atavism in human nature. No doubt this is an important factor in the conduct of wars, once they have been started by those who profit by them. But why do these same "atavistic" middle-class intelligentsia shudder so much at the "horror" of a revolution and rush so eagerly into a world war?

I think the answer is, that the lower middle class is led by the bell-wether demagogues to expect many advantages to itself from a war and none from a revolution.

In the first honeymoon stages of the war sections of the middle class are enthusiastic. Some of their sons fill the officer camps and savor the sweet illusion of power over the anonymous mass of working-class privates. There is always, too, a business boom during this period; prices rise, little factories are commandeered and earn enormous profits, all kinds of government jobs are opened to the middle-class jobless.

Finance capital needs the lower middle class badly during a war, as during the

establishment of a fascist regime, throws many a sop, both oratorical and to this large and important group.

But it is after the war that the pig must be paid and that the middle class wakes up to find that far from "making the world safe for democracy," or "making England land fit for heroes to live in," it has ruined itself.

The late world war resulted in an inflation in Germany that wiped out the lower middle class there as effectively as if French bombers had erased their cities. A world depression followed that created, in England, millions of the so-called "new poor," middle-class people robbed by finance capital of their savings and incomes. France, too, has felt the crisis; and Italy, Japan and America. What did our own lower middle class finally gain from our entry into the war? A soldier's bonus for some and a place on the relief rolls for most. Not even an unsuccessful revolution in America would have lowered the living standard of the lower middle class as did the late war.

Will things be as easy for the Wall Street bell-wethers as in the last crusade? No, I believe, for millions of lower middle-class people have become proletarianized during six years of the present crisis. They have become as cynical as most exploited workers have generally been about upper-class chauvinist rhetoric. A starving man doesn't leap to arms when a Wall Street bugler tells him to make the world safe for democracy. Instead, he is apt to growl, "Why in hell haven't you first made the world safe for me and my kind?"

Living in this inferno of unemployment, a deadly, gray, unheroic world of torture that kills as surely as any war, the American lower middle class is beginning to lose its fear of revolution. They know it is better than what is happening today in millions of American farms and tenement houses. Many of these people have lost all illusion of ever again making a bourgeois "career" for themselves. Even in such middle-class movements as the Townsend old-age plan, the Epic and Utopian movements, one finds a revolutionary-minded distrust of Wall Street and its government. No, the Walter Lippmanns will not find it so easy to "will" another war for this new American people, scarified and reformed as they are in the hellish flames of the crisis.

A people's revolution is the logical answer to the small clique of war-makers and fascists. But the lower middle class formerly feared such a revolution and this fear, disproved by the developments of the Soviet Union, has been the nose-ring by which this great class has been led by its financial masters into the horror of war and fascism.

Since the middle class has nothing to gain by another Wall Street war, and since it has learned to pick and fight its own wars. And it is learning and it will arm the Morgans and Lippmanns sooner or later.

The Minds of the Middle Class

LEWIS COREY

IS THERE a middle-class mind? There is, in the sense of general ideas. But within the formal acceptance and unity of those ideas are separate minds, determined by different class-economic groupings and interests. The general ideas may find a bewildering and conflicting variety of concrete forms of expression. It is the separate minds of the middle class that are decisive.

People who speak of the "mind" of the middle class stress the general ideas of the class. But most of those ideas are held by the great majority of Americans still under traditional influence. The "classless" ideal is especially emphasized: Americans are not class-conscious, there are no classes and the class struggle is a myth created by the Marxist imagination: hence fundamental social change must come from "classless" action and "national unity." Yet the people who preach those ideas contradict themselves: they speak of a classless America while insisting that there is a middle class (or classes) in between labor and capital which refuses allegiance to either. And they are, moreover, contradicted by American history and the economic set-up of today.

American consciousness has been strongly influenced by the classless ideal. But is the classless approach to American history productive of real understanding? Historians are increasingly, if in a mechanical and limited fashion, applying the class-approach to our history. The Founding Fathers were keenly aware of the existence of classes and class struggles, and they formulated policy accordingly. Was the American Revolution classless? It was a struggle of the colonial bourgeoisie against the British ruling-class, and the struggle was marked by conflicts among the colonial classes: upper and lower middle-class, farmers and artisans. Shays' Rebellion was a class revolt of small farmers against the dominant bourgeoisie. Jacksonian democracy rallied the Western farmers against the industrial, commercial and financial bourgeoisie. The Civil War was a class struggle of the Southern slaveholding class and the Northern bourgeoisie and Western farmers. Populism was an agrarian class-movement, partly supported by the workers and lower middle class in the towns. Unionism meant the emergence of labor as a class, and unions and strikes are a manifestation of class struggle.

It was in the name of classless democracy that the middle class waged some of the sharpest class struggles in American history. In spite of its classless mind, the middle class gave its own peculiar class twist to the general bourgeois ideals of liberty, equality and democracy, interpreting them in terms of widespread ownership of small productive property as independent means of livelihood.

The middle class, the independent small farmers and independent small enterprisers in the towns dominated the America of the 1820's. But the growth of industry converted the farmers into a constantly smaller proportion of the population, with the majority of them eventually becoming propertiless tenants and farm laborers. And industry itself was increasingly absorbed within the control of large-scale corporate enterprise. These developments were aggressively resisted by the middle class of small independent enterprisers, but resistance was overwhelmed by the on sweep of monopoly capitalism.

Under the impact of these economic changes the mind of the middle class began to change. It began to modify its ideals of economic and political individualism. It demanded limitation of free competition to help the small enterpriser and an increase of state power to realize the same end. It accepted state capitalism and imperialism. And, in addition, the mind of the middle class was split asunder by a change in the social-economic composition of the class. The dwindling remnants of small enterprisers clung to small property and its ideals, against monopoly, while an increasing majority of the middle class, the multiplying groups of salaried employes and professionals, had no economic stake in those ideals and in the struggle against monopoly. Separate minds began to develop and to clash.

Monopoly capitalism made the aspiration to ownership increasingly unrealizable and converted the majority of the American people into propertiless dependents on the property of a small minority: today, not much more than 15 percent of all persons gainfully occupied secure their livelihood wholly or mainly from the ownership of productive property. And monopoly capitalism has finally stratified classes (see table). Nearly three-fifths of the gainfully occupied are in the working class of wage-workers. The farmers are a small minority and half of them are propertiless. Only a small proportion of the middle class is composed of enterprisers, of businessmen and independent professionals; the great majority is composed of salaried employes, including salaried professionals.

Class	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Wage-Workers*.....	5,600,000	44.8	30,250,000	59.3
Farmers †	4,500,000	36.0	7,400,000	14.5
Middle Class **.....	2,300,000	18.4	13,000,000	25.5
Salaried	600,000	4.8	10,300,000	20.2
Enterprisers	1,700,000	13.6	2,700,000	5.3
Big Bourgeoisie	100,000	0.8	350,000	0.7

* Including hired farm laborers and salespeople in stores.

† Including laborers working on home farms.

** Middle class as usually and broadly defined, including all lower-salaried employes and professionals who are economically part of the working class.

Source: Lewis Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class*.

There is still, in the sense of general ideas, a middle-class mind. But the concrete

forces underlying those ideas create at least three "minds" in the middle class. There is the "mind" of the surviving independent enterprisers: they are, because of their relation to production, dominated by the idea of restoring, or at least preserving, the ownership of small productive property. There is the "mind" of the upper layers of salaried employes, mainly managerial: they are dependent on monopoly capitalism and accept and defend all its relations. And there is the "mind" of the masses of lower-salaried employes and professionals: it is dominated, within the limits of the old middle-class ideals, by their propertiless, dependent condition, their job consciousness and the performance of functional services.

The masses of lower-salaried employes and professionals are not economically part of the middle class, although they may think so because of tradition. They own no productive property, they must sell their labor power on the job (as much as the wage-worker) in order to live, and their earnings are at the proletarian level; the final destruction, by the depression of the 1930's, of their employment security and privileges has completely revealed that the masses of lower-salaried employes and professionals are a new proletariat. The old ideological lumber in their minds must be thrown out, for it was used to build a house in which they no longer live. As part of the working class, lower-salaried employes and professionals must form unions, engage in collective bargaining and in strikes, become one with the labor movement. The middle-class "mind," and there are "radicals" who accept this, deplores unionism and strikes; our answer is to broaden unionism and strikes to include lower-salaried employes and professionals, for that means the growing of an economic backbone. Alone, in the struggle to improve conditions on the job, the masses of lower-salaried employes and professionals are practically helpless; within the labor movement they can be a mighty power.

Destruction of the old middle-class America and transformation of the middle class itself are results of the change from the old economic individualism to the new economic collectivism. Industry today is dominated by collective forms of economic activity: individual enterprise is an anachronism, while all its social relations still prevail. Monopoly grows more and more powerful, the state performs more and more economic tasks to prevent the collapse of decaying capitalism. Collectivism is identified with the high productivity of industry, with its capacity to produce abundance, an abundance that threatens to strangle capitalism and must be "planfully" limited to protect capitalist profit: which means that capitalism has