It has been a particularly unhappy experience for me to witness the changes in subject matter and focal concern in Trotsky's writing. For the last year, there has been a marked departure from the establishment of order of society among the leftist press in the new issue, which said of the new magazine: "Its predominant intellectual approach will be Marxist, subject to the 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. There is apparent a new failure of nerve observable among many of the independent leftists who have in the past withstood the pressures of acquiescence to class society, whether capitalist or Bolshevik, who have seen through the fakery of manipulated culture and international economy by preparing for war, waging war, and profiting from it.

Trotsky could not permit himself to recognize in Bolshevikism an aspect of the world-wide trend toward fascism in the world economy. As late as 1930 he held the view that Bolshevism prevented the rise of fascism in the world. It is not so. The political situation in the world today forces the thinking radical to a reconsideration of the assumption that capitalism is the root of fascism. It is to the utter destruction of the myth of the "natural" and "necessary" development of capitalism. The apparent entrenchment of capitalist-fascist ruling classes, and of the Soviet bureaucracy, is not in the condition of the United States and Russia (with England already an advanced stage) as yet to be able to grow apart from the rest of the world, and the fast growing competition between them is clear for the world as a whole. Science is the tool provided of the greatest power that ever in the hands of the ruling class. Nevertheless, the great strides in technology, making available tremendous sources of energy and, therefore, of potential material plenty for everyone, accentuate the contradictions of class society. It is no longer possible to think in terms of a return to the status quo ante. The current flight from a rational and radical approach to society, into the abyss of the root of the problem, via reform or via religion, derives in part at least, from the feeling of impotence in the face of these historical developments, and from the evidence of the failure of Stalinism and of Trotskyism. And we similarly reject the idea that socialist politics can be implemented by "teaching for Absolute Truth." We suggest that accurate understandings of social processes are obtainable by empirical inquiry: derived on the basis of class analysis. And we will demonstrate how these can serve as a guide to political action. It should be noted that the scientific radical behavior is 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 which the development of social development can be predicted in relation to the possibilities for an egalitarian socialist society; (2) possibilities for influencing the course of class political development; (3) some important types of deliberate intervention in social processes which radicals can undertake; (4) some of the major importances of where knowledge is lacking. The analysis is presented in three sections. 1) First we describe briefly some of the principal patterns of action among the major social classes which are relevant to socialist prospects. 2) In the second part we describe briefly some of the principal patterns of action among the major social classes which are relevant to socialist prospects. 3) And thirdly, we discuss specific ways for political action based upon the preceding analysis, and contrast them with the obstructing notions of the anticlass potency in the writing of the 'New Road' series.

L—SCIENTIFIC METHOD: A TOOL FOR RADICALS

During the war years we heard a great deal about the "super" civilization and the "total" society rendered by the natural scientists on behalf of the war effort. The atomic bomb was the super-expensive culmination of a whole series of military tools developed in Allied laboratories. People who disliked war and the foundations of it could not help but observe the service of the scientists, and some even agreed that it was not consistent with the war's work were serving the ruling classes. But that even the scientific method, the procedures of scientists, could develop the knowledge applied for ruling class purposes, is politically reactionary. It is not explicitly reactionary, but so closely has it appeared to be intertwined with the activities of the ruling classes that it could hardly be established to a reasonable level 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 any view that goes beyond the capitalistic system, Stalinism 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 nuclear physicist 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.F.R]
Some Implications of the Search for Values:

The essayist’s use of the word values is not in its mathematical economic meaning, but rather in the more general sense of “New Roads”--the precise usefulness of codes of behavior, which, leading to emotional changes, may perpetuate social change. Hence, this essay is about metaphors to new or changed codes of behavior, i.e., engendering a revolutionary change in the society.

It is well substantiated that the values, or codes of behavior, of individuals vary with the social environment in which they live. Thus, codes of behavior may be shown to differ for different societies, for different groups (especially different occupational groups or classes) in our society at a given time. While there are always individual deviations, one may observe and measure the statistical correlations of values as represented by the activity of people, the class system, the party needling, the talking and writing, and the occurrence of personal experiences and public events, that actually bring about the new values.

The usefulness of the scientific investigations, such as that conducted by Marx, is to tell what actions, among what parts of the population, will fit in with the changing economic arrangements as to be effective in social action. The scope of sociologically directed action is particularly great because in periods of changing economic conditions, there are present both conservative and resistant-progressive values. It is the task of those who, in this situation, accept the codes as a whole to come to the realization of the need of change, direct non-logical rationalized reformation toward the development of new codes of behavior.

This is very different from the conception that one can change people’s metaphors to new or changed codes of behavior by appealing to them to bring on, or by means of discussing what the codes they "should" have. Such a conception leads to all of political impotence, because the pressure is put on an area where it can have no appreciable effect. Furthermore, thinking in terms of superstructure of 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 natures will do the trick, then obviously there is no need for difficult and tedious analyses. If one can admit that in this society the upholders of "universal values" are institutions like the Catholic Church, the ex-Marketeer, touting up in New York, who finds himself in strange company. The rejection of scientific method as a tool in the study of society leads to obscurantism, to metaphysics, and willily-nilly to religion.

Most significant of all, it must be noted that regardless of the intentions, rejections of an empirical, scientific procedure in favor of absolutist and obscenarian conceptions, leads, in effect, because of its political impotence, to the “social organization of society.” (Very much of the directly-status quo supporters of our society rests on such conceptions: America, for all its faults, is a Democracy, and the Church belongs to all men; everyone has a chance; the best man succeeds."

The personal motivations of the searchers for absolute values, anti-status-quo, but so long as in effect they observe the actual (i.e., observable) ways of acting, will be more or less political situation (by turning attention from class structure and its consciousness to the abstract symbolic values, to the relevance to the material situation), then in function they serve but to bolster the system.

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 inductive commentary on Marx, and certainly not an absolute-conception, but rather, a greater refinement and elaboration of the mechanisms of historical process.

It is clear that scientific method has elsewhere 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 prevent vast amounts 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 foundations of a great part of social "theory" as apologetics for class society. (For example, pro-status-quo scientists are inclined in utilization of class categories.) For persons concerned with effective radical action, however, there are alternative. If it were possible to have the detailed understanding of the historical process must be gained. What is the "direction of development" for the major-class groups? How can the social attitude and actions of people be influenced by the tremendous energy available from atomic
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We no longer find ourselves in a world of sharp breaks and uncalculated risks, but in one of relative regularity and continuity.

What follows is no foolhardy attempt to predict the precise class relations of our society to-day, or to predict in particular the changes which are on the way. It is, rather, a study of the possible social evolution if the process of political action is understood and described, and the approximate description of class relations, selecting those changes which seem to be of greatest interest to the problem of defining our road in politics. By pointing out the division between bureaucratic and productive corporations in the middle class, and the lack of productive independence on the part of the pure working class, the survey that follows may roughly indicate the limits of political action open to us. In any case, it is only with the aid of surveys of this kind that effective measures of political resistance can be set.

I.—The Clash in Power

The actions of the class in power are most fully recorded, and we can see how their actions gradually changed. The very change from competitiveness to monopoly pricing in the modern economy of economic control derives from the continued carrying out by business men of their patterns of action, which in turn shaped their political behavior.

As businessmen followed this pattern, it was unavoidable that this acceleration should result. As they continued in this pattern, under the changed "conditions of doing business," which accumulation yielded, it was unavoidable that even greater accelerations 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 clerks and every unskilled or lower middle-class occupation which do not differ from the broad working class in social power, income, and occupational patterns, we find in the remnants of the middle class a group of occupations which form the last vestige of competitive, individualistic society. It is impossible to discuss these as independent units of investigation and to discover what their future historical role may be.

However, what are total wage states, State economies, and so on? They are all nations' general economic systems in terms of human activity. They all represent acts initiated by some people, fostered by others, undermined by yet others, and so on. If we investigate what each of the groups involved in the processes of change and those who are against wars and so on, we find that their several actions are not merely new developments, but the combined results of various patterns of action changed only (as far as one can determine) by changed conditions and by changes in the pattern of action of the other social groups. When we talk in these terms, we no longer find ourselves in a world of rigid breaks and uncalculated risks, but in one of relative regularity and continuity.
These are often aimed at the planlessness of capitalism, the inefficiency evidenced both in poverty-amid-plenty, and in the non-utilisation of present scientific knowledge, the dog-in-a-dog character of this society, the lack of personalisation and the insufficient importance in society of their own occupation, type of training. Some of these dissatisfactions met within the social-economic relations of a profit-making ruling class; and those who are disturbed private by their own exclusion from the most groups can be calculated to best rise into them. This group included many of the New Dealers who wanted planned economy at home with continuation of private property and profitability, and who support the inter-class co-operation leading to world wars.

More important, however, for the present discussion is the satisfaction that imply rejection of competitive profit-making. (E.g., the resentments against development policies which may well be cruelty, and even the lack of human fraternity in this society.) Two aspects of these resentments are of interest to us here. First, they conform with the direction in which the patterns of action of the business class are gradually changing, and would make possible a greater utilisation of material resources than the present system would permit with the same technological knowledge. Second, these attitudes do not, for the most part, express an interest in a new structure; they could be satisfied by an efficiently operated bureaucracy. It is quite important, though hardly surprising, that the class which can conduct a bureaucracy expresses ideals which could be satisfied by that very social structure.

Persons committed to these satisfactions may feel themselves sincerely anti-capitalist, but there are several lines of action open to them. 1) They may compete for control of the government apparatus, with the aid of those sections of big business which are prepared to accept a more planned economy, with a more direct government-business interrelation so that the bureaucracy may take place in some of the western capitals. 2) They may seek power with support from parts of the labor class (those most to gain from immediate state centralization) and parts of the industrial groups (those having certain occupational or personality features). Such are, for example, the camp of technocrats. 3) These middle-class anti-capitalists may form a "popular-front" with working class people. The ideology of such a class collaboration would express the common anti-capitalism of both groups, but would not contain a fundamental opposition to all class hierarchies and to structural inequalities. This type of middle-class-working-class co-operation, leading essentially to the establishment of a new social inequality, would make use of such capitalist techniques as appeal to the middle-class interest in profit, etc.

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The development of a large technique group is only beginning. However, so important a role do they play in production that we present here a series of tentative hypotheses concerning the possible relation of parts of the technique group with the ruling class. Clearly, the whole field requires considerable investigation. By technical means we mean the whole range of occupations, other than simple machine-tending, which are essential to the production of technology. It is assumed that in relation to degree of control over their work these are the precarious status, and the different relation of parts of the technique group with the ruling class. The assumption that a great many of the productionally necessary technicians will occupy the same status, or classes, to distinguish the technicians from the managers (the latter including, for example, advertisers, personnel workers, salesmen and prison managers). It may be that the managers are those who deal primarily with personal relationships, while technicians' work is primarily with material and machines.

In the coming development of our society, the bulk of technical people may well find themselves political allies of the workers, unable to grow into a new ruling class by themselves. To make common cause with the working masses, with comparable objectives to capitalist organizations. And with comparable ideology for a future society. But such collaboration cannot seriously develop on the basis of self-sacrificing idealism. It will not develop from the scientists whose hearts bleed for the poor workers, but from those whose defense of their occupational and individual interests makes allies of the workers. It may be that, for example, to blame scientists for working on the atomic bomb, since before the government showed the physicists had no occupational reason for refusing to work on it. Occupational groups or classes are not known to have deviated from their accepted ways and work in society for the sake of some other group of humanity. The accepted ways may make them act for their own good, or in the interest of the economic advancement and security of life. These deviations occur when their security and well-being come into conflict with business morality. It is not surprising in the case of the atomic scientists. The importance of the atom bomb in relation to the scientists' social situation is such that they have now been subjected to greater occupational control and deprivation by the ruling class.

The position of many people in the technical occupations is in certain respects similar to that of the working class as a whole: in the productive process, most of them have little administrative or coercive power over other workers (only a few participate in business management); their share in the goods of society, while more than the workers, is hardly enough to engender, in most of them, any great affection for the ruling classes.

If we make certain assumptions about the social relations, the occupational status of many technicians becomes fairly similar to that of the working class. The fact that such people may be expected to form a group that will probably be reflected in a growing coincidence of social attitudes in the two groups, and could be experimentally determined. If such a merging does occur, then a crucial requirement for the eventual classless organization of society will have been met. This is a technological requirement.

It means that there is a fundamental productive development between the two, groups necessary for the operation of the productive technology. However, we have still to consider the social relations requirements. How would a society dominated by these groups be administered?

If the inter-personal relations of status, coercive authority, and so on are the necessary conditions for the productive technology, then the technology itself includes an agitational society; and the various components that are not appear inseparable. Given such an assumption, the only way to avoid totalitarianism. Back to hardcrass, if not to roots-and-berrics. Such an approach is not acceptable in the current popular and even scholarly treatment of the subject of bureaucracy. Among the persons involved. The same output may be achieved with various kinds of social relations among the persons involved.

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 the 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 productive 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 mass strikes, the turnaway of the working class, managerial types of demands such as the U.A.W.'s "look at the books;" and the New York Times Union's section 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
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Various acts of the ruling class may affect the growing rejection of all rule culture and the actions to which it gives rise. The effect of wars, State intervention, and the activities of early capitalist economic institutions in the 19th century on capitalism, cannot be evaluated as yet. There is still much popular dissatisfaction and awareness of injustices; but there is nothing in them that can halt or reverse the process which leads to these dissatisfaction and awareness of injustices. The State vs. the Individual may be a new departure in economic forms—but not fundamentally in patterns of social action. For the State is not an impersonal force countering against people, but rather a special case of interpersonal relations among the people—rulers, workers, etc.—that exist in a country. A government is no more than a collection of people that let it be, can be forced to accept.

The development of more or less planned class manipulation and culture and personalities may or may not have effect. There is no reason, however, to say that such techniques of the Brave New World and their associated trickery into unreasoning conditioned animals who never calculate their own material interests, is not something that seems improbable, but the effective exclusions of hedonistic reason.

Before leaving the subject of the course of class action, notice ought to be taken of a problem of great importance.

The question "why have masses not become socialist?" is answerable in terms of dissatisfaction with the growing resistance, among producers, to the relations of class. The culture of the status quo is a deterrent and a repressor, and this pressure from becoming aware of the system of relations and from acting adequately against it. However, the fact that the masses have not become socialist is seen to be due to the fact that they may not; the direction of development gives ground for black despair.

The failure of the unions and other local parties, too, can not be used as an argument against the development pictured here. True, the parties express a disposition to various features of capitalism. They are not the sole measure of that opposition, for their nature and methods are also part of the current structure and express its influence. They are built on lines of leadership and authority, contain machines or insider-groups, call on the masses to follow them, and so on. At times when their own development and the conjugation of outside circumstances lead workers to mass action, the workers may act through leftist parties (as they did in Germany in 1919). But when the necessary period passes from the party: quite pragmatically, they may have used the party when they needed an organized discussion, but they came primarily for the action, not for the resistant expression afforded by the party. But if between periods of activism, the tendency to stay with the party is relatively greater among the anarchists, the petit bourgeois,

conditions toward a working class status are now only developing. Furthermore, at the present stage, the working class as a whole, and the technicians have the know-how and tentative blueprints for deciding what to produce and to what extent in order to produce and distribute production, and all the structural relations of the working class. The rest of these economic activities appears only if we analyze the component patterns of action. In these three capitalist developments workers are increasingly habituated to mass actions involving almost all the members of an enterprise. Working class groups often cooperate with each other, as in sympathy strikes and refusal to work. They have shown themselves able to hold out very long for their demands, and they have forced the managers and directors to react. They have imposed widespread recognition of the boss and his class, which is expressed, for example, in industrial codes, beliefs and patterns which are departures from the attitudes which capitalist culture sought to inculcate among workers. It is in the new attitudes and the new patterns of action, which developed out of the long years of business rule, that the working class tries to foster in all ways. These are the new cultural features of a class society. The values of religion, the new religious reliance upon leaders and the devolution of one's own importance in society; the assumption of the status of a class position, the new social identification among workers and technicians; the new patterns of production, and in the implications of the U.A.W.'s demand for "a look at the books." We, too, can make production decisions.

The other brake on working class resistance to capitalist conditions is their acceptance of the underlying attitudes and patterns of action which developed out of the long years of business rule, and which they have learned to tolerate and to adapt to. While these are the different cultural features of a class society, the working class leaders who are trained,—they are even now ready to oppose. For the subtler and more ideological features of our culture are maintained with the more obvious and economic features of production. If a worker feels that if is rightful, or if he never occurs to him that he and his fellows could get along without the capitalist government and the whole boss class, his class actions will necessarily be limited; he may strike for better pay, but he will hardly carry out a revolution.

As we have seen, the development of working class action is not only a matter of its relations to production and to the other classes, but also of its reaction to the situation of the culture of class rule. It may be expected that working class dissatisfaction bringing about this awareness of the contradictions between their practical interests and their accepted beliefs and attitudes, leading to a recognition of the unimportance of these to them, or the fraudulence character, of these beliefs and attitudes. As such recognitions grow, and as the workers (and technicians) rationalize to themselves their broadening opposition to the system and bourgeoisie relations, it is to be expected that the masses may develop into a general breakdown of mutual understanding and respect for one another's point of view. This situation, which was developing in pre-Nazi Europe, is the primary task of changing the patterns of social action.

Conditions which may move technical
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WILL IT BE AU-REVOLI?

With this issue the Southern Socialist International Direct Issues a financial crisis. Funds are no longer available to meet current needs. The deficit on existing issues being over $25, together with the failure to contact a young, vigorous Socialist to accept the position of manager, and so revive J. D. Paxson, whose health is breaking down through overwork, makes the position serious.

Unless we can increase our paid subscriptions to a number that will bear some fair portion of the cost of publication (at present paid subscriptions only 1/10th of the number of copies mailed) we will not be able to surmount our difficulties.

Please, readers, send us a paid subscription and get subs. from your friends and fellow-workers.

In the meantime we will gladly receive donations towards Cost of Printing.

NECESSARY READING

The Russian State Party Newsletter on Contemporary Communion.

Kollontai, "Of the road of 1922," 219 West 80 Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Readers in Britain can now subscribe to the Russian State party, by notifying the above and sending remittance of 15p for one year to Mr. H. Busiek, 3-6 Northwood Hall, London, N.I., England.

Pfreundt, free mail, 6p per year, posted, from the Freedom Press, 20 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I England.


Western Socialist, monthly, 5/-, organ of Workers' Socialist Party of U.S. Fifteen issues for $1, posted from 27 Dock Square, Boston 8, Mass., U.S.A.

Socialist Comment, monthly, organ of S.P. of Australia, posted, 2/6 per year, from P. O. Box 5880, Melbourne, Aus-

tralia.


Socialist Review, monthly, organ of S.L.P. of Canada, 50 cents for one year, 25 College Street, Toronto 2, Ont., Canada.


The Industrial Worker, official organ of L.W.W., U.S.A., 5 cents a copy, 30 cents a year, posted.

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