socialist movements, left came to mean greater emphasis on communitarianism and equality, on the state as an instrument of reform. The right, linked to defensive establishments, has, particularly since World War II, been identified with opposition to government intervention. The rise of Green parties in Western Europe is merely one indication that the contest between these two orientations has not ended. The United States, without a viable Green party, appears as different from Western Europe as ever.

NOTES

1. An Exceptional Nation


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11. Ibid., pp. 58, 102.

12. Ibid., p. 77.

13. Ibid., pp. 78-79.


23. For a detailed analysis of the differences and similarities between the United States and Canada, see Seymour Martin Lipset, Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada (New York: Routledge, 1990).


31. Engels to Sorge, February 8, 1890, in Selected Correspondence, p. 467.
32. Engels to Sorge, December 31, 1892, in ibid., p. 501.
39. Bell, Marxian Socialism, pp. 118-120, 160-162; Davis, Prisoners of the American Dream, p. 15.
47. Ibid., p. 777. Harvey Klehr has pointed out that elsewhere in Capital, Marx maintained that needs were culturally determined, so that the wages paid to workers would vary from area to area, depending on historical factors. Unlike the price of other commodities, the price of labor-power had a historical component." Klehr also notes that Marx's discussion of the relevance of such factors "suggests that American wages might always remain higher and satisfy more needs than those paid in Europe." Harvey Klehr, "Marxist Theory in Search of America," Journal of Politics 35 (May 1973), p. 319.
51. Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky, June 3, 1886, in Selected Correspondence, p. 449.
52. Translated by Michael Harrington in Socialism, p. 115.
54. Sombart, Why Is There No Socialism.
55. Ibid., pp. 97, 109-117.
57. Wells, Future in America, pp. 105-106.
60. Harrington, Socialism, pp. 130-131.
63. Wells, Future in America, pp. 72-76.
64. See Davis, Prisoners of the American Dream, pp. 21-29, for an analysis of their effect on class organizations.
66. Engels to Schliiter, March 30, 1892 in Selected Correspondence, pp. 496-497.
69. Flacks, Making History, p. 99. Flacks describes Americanism as a "new vision," but goes on to stress the importance of the ideological components of that vision.
70. Lipset, American Exceptionalism, p. 18-19, 288-292.

72. Samson, Toward a United Front, pp. 16-17 (emphasis in original).


74. Ibid.


78. Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, in Letters to Americans, p. 163.


82. Bell, Martian Socialism in the United States, pp. 9-10.

83. Harrington, Socialism, p. 122. See also Bell, Martian Socialism. Bell argues that the American Socialist party's continual refusal to compromise its principles destroyed its chances of influence.


86. Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, Selected Correspondence, pp. 449-450.

87. Engels to Sorge, May 12, 1894, in Letters to Americans, p. 263.


92. Moore, European Socialists, p. 110.


96. Ibid., pp. 139-140.

97. Beer, Fifty Years, p. 113.

98. Sombart, Why Is There No Socialism, pp. 50-51.


104. Engels to Sorge, January 6, 1892, Letters to Americans, p. 239 (emphasis in original).


107. Ibid., p. 5.


111. Ibid., p. 113.

112. Ibid., p. 164.


114. Perlman, A Theory, pp. 165-166.

115. Ibid., pp. 168-169.


2. The American Party System


2. The one exception to this, the replacement of the Whigs by the Republican party, resulted because the Whigs split over the slavery issue, and their northern cohorts, together with third-party abolitionists and Free-Soilers, reassembled under a new label.

3. Theodore Roosevelt secured 27 percent in 1912, but this resulted from a split in the Republican party.


5. The implications of the existing plurality electoral system can be gauged by imagining what might happen under a proportional system if a party's legislative representation mirrors its share of the vote. Under a proportional system the two major parties might easily be replaced by a variety of smaller, more clearly defined parties representing farmers, trade unionists, southern racists, conservatives, liberals, and socialists. Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill once commented that under proportional representation, his party would probably split five ways.

6. La Guardia was elected to Congress in 1924 on the Socialist ticket, though he sat as a Republican.

7. In Australia, a simple plurality electoral system was replaced by the alternative vote system in 1918.


27. Hattam’s evidence for the hypothesis that the American Federation of Labor turned away from its legislative agenda because of resistance from the courts is based on an exhaustive compilation of statements to this effect by labor leaders. However, leaders of the AFL in their speeches and writings referred to a variety of reasons for their support of business unionism, including fear of political divisions among workers, their belief that legislation of working conditions would weaken unions as organizations, and their generalized antistatist orientations.

The most striking reference to the courts in Hattam’s account is the chapter in Samuel Gompers’ autobiography in which he describes his early years in the New York Cigar Makers’ Local 144 and the lessons he learned about the difficulty of legislating working conditions (and the relative advantage of collective bargaining) when hard-won legislation prohibiting tenement cigar production was blocked by the New York Court of Appeals in 1884. But Gompers related several reasons for his voluntarist convictions, one of which was his perception of perfidy among socialists, a lesson which was also drawn from the tenement legislation episode (see Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography [New York: Dutton, 1925], vol. 1, p. 191), and another of which was his growing disbelief in the value of party-political activity, revealed tellingly in his disappointment with Henry George’s 1888 campaign for mayor of New York; see Gerald N. Grob, Workers and Utopia: A Study of the Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900 (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 164-165. In his toughest battles with those who wished to pursue a partisan political strategy, Gompers focused far more on its divisive effects than on the role of courts in making such a strategy impractical. For example, in 1894, addressing the only convention of the American Federation of Labor in which he was turned out of the office of president of the organization, Gompers related a series of legislative initiatives taken by the AFL on immigration, government ownership, seamen’s working conditions, a presidential commission on industry, and an eight-hour day for women and children, but criticized heavily the political program for independent labor representation on the grounds that “if our organization is committed to it, [this] will unquestionably prevent many sterling national trade unions from joining our ranks to do battle with us to attain first things first... During the past year the trade unions in many localities plunged into the political arena by nominating their candidates for public office, and sad as it may be to record, it is nevertheless true that in each one of these localities politically they were defeated and the trade union movement more or less divided and disrupted.” Report of Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 14. In explaining the general orientation of the American labor movement before the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914 (published as two articles in the American Federationist 7 [July 1914], pp. 537-548; 8 [August 1914], pp. 621-635), Gompers made a brief plea for restricting the power of judges to nullify laws, but returned time and time again to the theme of union and worker autonomy from the state in defending business unionism.


29. The Australian Labor party was more reformist, more closely tied to labor unions, and in its early years more racist than the American Socialist party, while the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was more agrarian in orientation. However, it is difficult to see how such differences can save the federalism thesis. The argument that the American Socialist party failed because it was too radical (a hypothesis taken up in Chapter 5) raises a different set of issues. We do not need an explanation couched in American exceptionalism to explain the failure of Marxian socialism across western society.


32. In the United States, left third parties backed by socialists won office in Minnesota and Wisconsin, but then had to make a presidential choice in national elections, as Canadian parties did not.


34. Ibid., p. 127.


46. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

47. This factor was recognized by John Commons and Selig Perlman as a criti-
to surmount the fear that their own successes would contribute to the electoral success of the more conservative major party nominees. An article in the New York Working Man's Advocate of November 3, 1832, observed that by nominating their own candidate they would "risk the election of Jackson by dividing the vote." Quoted in Sumner, "Citizenship," pp. 269-270. The newspaper went on to endorse Jackson and Van Buren.

56. Selig Perlman argued along these lines that American unionists rejected an independent labor party because they "grasped the definite limitations of the political instrument under the American Constitution and under American conditions of political life." Perlman, Theory, pp. 201-202.


60. Mackay, Progressive Movement, p. 250.


63. Ibid., p. 38.

64. Ibid., p. 137; pp. 185-188; p. 257; pp. 191-192.


70. By 1940 the Socialist vote had fallen to 116,514. See Petersen, Statistical History, p. 97.


77. Early in 1935, President Roosevelt "actually used the phrase 'steal Long's thunder'" in a conversation with Raymond Moley and others: Moley, After Seven Years (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939), p. 351.


79. Ibid., p. 328.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., p. 329.

82. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, p. 151.

83. On interpretations of the passage of the Wagner Act see the work of Theda...

84. Moley, After Seven Years, p. 351.
85. See, for example, George H. Mayer, The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), pp. 240-241.
88. Schlesinger, Age of Roosevelt, p. 592.
89. Prior to 1935, the Communists had engaged in a policy of independent political action. From 1935 on, however, under the slogan of the Popular Front, Communist policy underwent a transformation. The Communists made efforts to work "under the New Deal umbrella in both the Democratic party and the Washington bureaucracy." Derber and Young, Labor and the New Deal, p. 128.
91. Ibid.
94. Ickes, Secret Diary, p. 654.
96. Walter White, former president of the NAACP, reported that President Roosevelt expressly admitted this policy to him in a private discussion at the White House. Roosevelt told White, "I did not choose the tools with which I must work." Frank Freidel, Franklin D. Roosevelt (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952), pp. 86, 71-103; Walter White, A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White (New York: Viking Press, 1948), pp. 168-169. Nevertheless, Mr. White, according to his own account, remained committed to the president for years to come, primarily because of Eleanor Roosevelt's involvement in the cause.

3. The Split Between Unions and the Socialist Party

1. The best pre-World War I result for an explicitly socialist party before World War I in Britain was 1 percent of the national vote-less than fifty thousand votes-for the Independent Labour party in 1895. The Social Democratic Federation, the leading Marxist party in Britain, never received more than 1 percent of the vote in any individual constituency.

2. The Australian Socialist party had some strength in Sydney, but it received a tiny share in national elections. After 1907 the party gave up the electoral ghost and decided on a syndicalist strategy focusing on the trade unions. In New Zealand, the socialists realized that they were not strong enough to fight elections on their own and turned to working within the Labour party.


5. The comparative history of union organization in western societies has yet to be written. Clearly, the story is characterized by path dependence, for once a particular form of unionism has been established it constrains future development. Partial analyses are Gary Marks, Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United

18. A question that arises directly from our analysis is why exclusive unionism was stronger relative to inclusive unionism in the United States than elsewhere. To answer this would demand detailed comparative study that would take us beyond scope of this book. The following hypotheses appear to us plausible enough to warrant empirical investigation:

- The greater the dislocation in the relevant features of the political, economic, and social environment facing unions (e.g., as measured by political and constitutional continuity, rate of industrialization, geographical mobility of labor), the greater the role of inclusive unions in a country's labor movement. Conversely, the greater the political, economic, and social continuity, the greater the predominance of older exclusive unions.
- The greater the heterogeneity of a country's labor force and economy, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The earlier industrialization, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The earlier establishment of the labor movement relative to the establishment of a socialist party, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The greater the legal constraints on mass industrial action and the weaker the legal constraints on rules that constrict the supply of labor into an occupation, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions. This argument is made by William E. Forbath, Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- The greater the organizational cohesion of employers in the society, the greater the predominance of inclusive unions.

19. The percentages are based on data provided in Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Trades Union Congress, 1899, and Report of Proceedings at the Forty-sixth Annual Trades Union Congress, 1913. For 1899, the following are included as exclusive unions (membership rounded to the nearest hundred): Dock Labourers (12,000); Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Labourers (10,000); Gas Workers and General Labourers (45,000); National Amalgamated Union (21,600); Miners’ Federation (82,100); Weavers (182,800); Postmen (42,600).

20. A list of affiliated unions is provided in the Report of the First Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee, Manchester, February 1901.

21. Taff Vale, which found unions liable for costs imposed on employers through strikes, convinced even the most politically cautious unions that they had to gain


23. Ibid., pp. 91-92.

24. Ibid., p. 90. Sharon Reitman constrasts the political orientations of the UMWA and the Western Federation of Miners in the years around the turn of the twentieth century. Her assertion that "after the 1897 strike, the UMWA turned its attention away from political change and concentrated instead on working with employers to stabilize competition and increase wages" (p. 215) is at odds with the research of Laslett and others. However, her main contention, that the WFM was the more radical of the two unions, and that this reflected its experience of particularly intense political repression, is consistent with the argument being made here. Sharon Reitman, "The Politics of the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America: Uneven Development, Industry Structure, and Class Struggle," in Scott G. McNall, Rhonda F. Levine, and Rick Fantasia, eds., Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991).


27. Archer, "Why Is There No Labor Party?"


29. Ibid., p. 114.


32. Ibid., p. 113.

33. This applies also to the AFL's attempt to limit immigration, for antipathy to immigration was founded on the belief that it would swell the labor supply and thereby threaten standards.

34. Ibid., pp. 175-176.


40. Henry Pelling, America and the British Left (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1956), p. 63. Leon Fink observes that "the momentum of the 1880s was great. Indeed, examined both at the level of working-class organization and industrial militancy, a European visitor might understandably expect the most to happen here first. At the political level, as well, American workers were in certain respects relatively advanced." Leon Fink, Workingmen's Democracy, p. 229.


Immigrants and Socialism: Double-Edged Effects


9. Engels to Sorge, December 2, 1893, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895 (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p. 258. Max Beer, an Austrian socialist who spent three years around the turn of the century in the United States, made a similar point: “Even when the time is ripe for a Socialist movement, it can only produce one when the working people form a certain cultural unity, that is, when they have a common language, a common history, a common mode of life. This is the case in Europe, but not in the United States. Its factories, mines, farms, and the organizations based on them are composite bodies, containing the most heterogeneous elements, and lacking stability and the sentiment of solidarity.” Max Beer, Fifty Years of International Socialism (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935), pp. 112-115.


12. Ignatiev, How the Irish Became White, ch. 4.

13. The consequences of the internal stratification of the American working class for socialist support are discussed in Davis, Prisoners, pp. 16-40. Also see K. Gerald Marsden, Patriotic Societies and American Labor: The American Protective Association in Wisconsin,” Wisconsin Magazine of History 41 (Summer 1958), for a discussion of the intermixture of nativism and anti-Catholicism in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

14. Walter MacArthur, a leading West Coast unionist, stated in the 1894 AFL convention debate on the political program: “I am in favor of political action. What bothers me is how to do it. I am satisfied that we cannot do it as trade unionists and preserve the efficiency of the trades union. It is all very well to cite our British brethren on the subject, but the illustrations are irrelevant, immaterial… In San Francisco we have all nationalities in our unions, men who will stand together to a unit on wages and conditions generally in every craft, but if you mix politics, even a suspicion of them, the specter of disintegration arises right there and stays there.” A Verbatim of the Discussion on the Political Program at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 14-15, 1894 (New York: Freytag Press, 1895), p. 6. Speeches by AFL delegates at TUC congresses and by TUC delegates at AFL conventions provide an interesting commentary on differences of perception in the two countries. In a speech before the 1902 TUC congress, P. Dolan, an AFL dele-
gate from the miners, pointed out: "There was one thing, however, in which America had to give Great Britain best—that was with regard to the Parliamentary representative of Labour. So far, they had totally failed in that direction. They possessed the franchise fully enough, but did not use it in the right way. The Democrats and Republicans adhered to their parties as closely as to their religion.... Many of us think it just as easy to get the most bigoted Roman Catholic and Protestant to kneel down at the same altar to pray as to get the workers to vote together." See Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Trade Unions Congress. 1902, p. 61.


18. John Commons argued that even if the resistance of native workers was overcome, the potential for class solidarity would continue to be undermined by cultural divisions. John R. Commons, "Is Class Conflict in America Growing and Is It Inevitable?" American Journal of Sociology 8 (May 1908), p. 762.


20. Samuel Gompers and Herman Gutstadt, Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood vs. Asiatic Coolieism: Which Shall Survive? (San Francisco: American Federation of Labor, 1902). Ann Archer makes the interesting point that while racial hostility was divisive in the United States, it was inclusive in Australia: "In Australia, hostility towards Chinese and Melanesian immigrants helped to consolidate the new unions by providing them with, a popular rallying cry which enabled them to mobilise cross-class support. Racial hostility also helped to consolidate the fledgling Labor party by enabling it to reinforce its credentials as a national party and to appeal beyond the working class to small farmers and the urban middle class. In the United States, by contrast, hostility towards Chinese immigrants and blacks melded with an earlier tradition of ethno-religious nativism to produce a new racial nativism which set the old immigrants from northern and western Europe against the new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe." Ann Archer, "Why Is There No Labor Party? Class and Race in the United States and Australia," in Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, eds., American Exceptionalism? U.S. Working Class Formation in an International Context (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997). On the issue of race and American socialism, see also Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" History Workshop Journal 17 (1984); Roger M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," American Political Science Review 87 (September 1993); Mink, Old Labor and New Immigrants, pp. 71-121; Ralph Mann, "Community, Change and Caucasian Attitudes Towards the Chinese," in Milton Cantor, ed., American Working Class Culture (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 397-419; Susan Olzak, "Labor Unrest, Immigration, and Ethnic Conflict in Urban America, 1880-1914," American Journal of Sociology 94 (May 1989), pp. 1303-1333 (Olzak’s research suggests that the growth of unionism coincided with anti-black activity, pp. 1328-1329); and Michael Goldfield, "Class, Race, and Politics in the United States: White Supremacy as the Main Explanation for the Peculiarities of American Politics from Colonial Times to the Present," Research in Political Economy 12 (1990), pp. 83-127. Goldfield goes further than any of the other commentators on race and identifies white supremacy as the principal factor that ensured there would be no socialist success in the United States.


31. Ibid., p. 231.


34. Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties, p. 324.


41. Buhle, Marxism in the United States, pp. 51-56.

42. Report by Daniel De Leon to the Zurich Congress in The People, June 8, 1893, p. 1.

43. This ecological analysis uses county data, which is the only comparative source of data available. Conclusions drawn from these data for individual voting must be tentative, for they assume the absence of countervailing community effects. The proportion of immigrants from a particular country in a county may be a proxy for economic/social variables that we cannot measure separately, yet which help explain the associations we find. For more details, see Gary Marks and Matthew Burbank, “Immigrant Support for the American Socialist Party, 1912 and 1920,” Social Science History 14 (Summer 1990), pp. 175-202.


47. For details on the decline of German dominance in socialism, see Buhle, Marxism in the United States, pp. 44-45.


51. Ibid., pp. 236-252.
53. Paul Buhle, "Themes in American Jewish Radicalism," in Buhle and Georgakas, eds., Immigrant Left, pp. 46-49, 78; Irwin Yellowitz, "Jewish Immigrants and the American Labor Movement, 1900-1920," American Jewish History (1981), pp. 188-217. In his study of Jewish radicalism, Arthur Liebman concludes that "in terms of proportion, the Jewish battling on behalf of socialism was perhaps exceeded only by that of the German-Americans and the Finnish-Americans."
56. Census data do not categorize immigrants by religion. Of over 1.6 million immigrants classified as "Russian in 1910, 52.3 percent reported Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue while only 2.5 percent reported Russian as their native language (in addition, 26.1 percent reported Polish, 8.6 percent Lithuanian or Lettish, and 7.6 percent German).
57. Neither New York nor the Bronx is an "influential" case in this analysis using the DFITS measure discussed by Kenneth A. Bollen and Robert W. Jackman, "Regression Diagnostics: An Expository Treatment of Outliers and Influential Cases," Sociological Methods and Research 13 (May 1985), pp. 510-542. When we exclude New York (1912) and New York and the Bronx (1920) from the analysis, the coefficients for the proportion of Russian immigrants change only slightly.
60. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society, pp. 577, 571.
62. "In the process of immigration to America, many of the Russian Jews brought with them the political skills, organizational forms, and memories that emerged from their experience or association with the Jewish Left. These were the people who proved to be the major base and architects of a Jewish Left in America," Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 134.
64. Joseph Barton, Peasants and Strangers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 27-36; Fenton, Immigrants and Unions, pp. 1-30. See also Irving Howe, Socialism and America (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), pp. 124-129. Howe notes that after the Italians, Eastern Europeans had the highest rate of return to their homelands, although there were few Jews among them.
65. See Michael Miller Topp, "The Italian-American Left: Transnationalism and the Quest for Unity," in Buhle and Georgakas, eds., Immigrant Left, pp. 119-126. Paul Buhle, writing about Italians, notes: "Hunger riots, landowners' leagues, rural fasci and other forms of 'primitive rebellion' flared up repeatedly and were repressed with great bloodshed. The main activists in these riots, the contadini (agricultural workers), combined an unabashed hatred for the rich with elements of fatalism. Confronted by the hundreds of thousands to poverty within the 'rural cities,' by and large illiterate, they remained loyal to the traditions of family unity, village provincialism, and superstition (as opposed to institutionalized religion). As a result, the socialists made few inroads into the south. And it was this region which provided the bulk of immigrants to the United States."
67. Reino Kero found that the right-wing papers' supporters were from the two northern provinces, Vaasa and Oulu, in which the Finnish socialists were relatively weak. Conversely, the population which came from the more radicalized sections of southern and eastern Finland "contributed relatively more material to
tries in which Finns were numerous. See Al Gedicks, "Ethnicity, Class Solidarity, was strengthened by the close-knit, often geographically isolated occupational the strong common traditions symbolized in the communal buildings where they came together to eat, talk, and share their leisure time. In recognition of the communal basis of Finnish radicalism, the resulting socialist movement is aptly termed "hall socialism." The organizational capacity engendered by hall socialism was strengthened by the close-knit, often geographically isolated occupational communities formed by Finns in the copper-mining and lumber industries, industries in which Finns were numerous. See Al Gedicks, "Ethnicity, Class Solidarity, and Labor Radicalism Among Finnish Immigrants in Michigan Copper Country," Politics and Society 7 (1977), pp. 127-156.


69. Abstract of Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, p. 204.

70. The Census does not provide the number of Finnish immigrants at the county level, but only Scandinavians. The coefficient reported in the appendix to this chapter includes Danes, Norwegians, and Swedish, all of whom where less ardent supporters of socialism than were the Finns.


72. Ibid., p. 326.


76. Glazer, Social Basis of American Communism, p. 25.


78. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

79. Ibid., p. 95.


84. Ibid., p. 159.


87. Rosenblum, Immigrant Workers, p. 79.


90. Hillquit, History of Socialism, pp. 139-140.

91. Harrington, Socialism, p. 132.


104. Ibid., p. 298.


110. Ibid., p. 172.


116. Ibid., p. 171.


124. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 36.


126. Ibid., p. 230.

127. As Marc Karson stresses: "Catholics engaged in this [antisocialist] task during a period when American trade unionism, still in its infancy, was developing its institutional traditions. Like all traditions, these would prevail during future generations and tend to become almost conditioned responses. Furthermore, this period also began as one in which the socialist movement seemed on the threshold of becoming a major American political force.... Catholicism could take partial credit for the political philosophy and policies of the federation, for socialism's weakness in the trade union movement, and the absence of a labor party in the United States." Karson, "Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions," pp. 528-535. In so commenting, Karson reiterated the conclusion of the first labor historian to deal extensively with the issue, David Saposs, who stated unequivocally that "Catholic domination has more than any other factor made the American Federation of Labor safe for capitalism and a violent opponent of socialism." Saposs, "Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," p. 298. See also Cole, *Second International*, p. 77.


131. As Gerald Friedberg reports: "The convention thus took a position permitting whatever degree of restriction or exclusion Socialists might want, while preserving the spirit of righteousness with a phrase rejecting exclusion because of race alone." Friedberg concludes that opposition to the Hillquit motion "came mainly from those who wanted still greater restriction without what members of all factions viewed as an evasion." Gerald Friedberg, *Marxism in the United States: John
132. For circulation figures, see Weinstein, Decline of Socialism, p. 90.
135. Quoted in Leinenweber, “Immigration and the Decline,” p. 172. In 1912, the year the party received its highest presidential vote, the official Socialist Campaign Book contained material written by party leader Robert Russell, which discussed the “dangers” flowing from immigration, including what “seem the most important, the likelihood of race annihilation and the possible degeneration of even the succeeding American type.” Ibid., p. 128.
136. Kipnis, American Socialist Movement, p. 278.
137. Robert Alexander, “Splinter Groups in American Radical Politics,” Social Research 20 (Autumn 1953), pp. 308-309. See his detailed discussion of the Socialist party’s attention to foreign events, p. 309. The alienation and isolation of the earliest socialist movements from mainstream politics has frequently been attributed to the predominance of foreign immigrants among their membership. Samuel Bernstein, in his analysis of the First International in America, explains the failure of the International Workingman’s Association to establish itself as part of the labor movement as resulting from the isolation of its foreign immigrant supporters from other workers. He does so in terms which could also be applied to its successor, the Socialist Labor party: “The foreign elements in the organization...lived apart from the American workers, spoke their native tongues and claimed the superiority of their imported cultures. The most culpable were the Germans who at times behaved towards Americans like Prussian schoolmasters.” Samuel Bernstein, The First International in America (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1962), p. 193.
138. Laslett, Labor and the Left, p. 4.
141. Glazer, Social Basis of American Communism, p. 28; Shannon, Socialist Party of America, pp. 77-78.
146. Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, p. 242.

5. Sectarians vs. Reformists: Were Socialists Undermined by Their Own Strategy?


3. Engels to Sorge, May 12, 1894, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Letters to the Editor.


9. Ibid., pp. 311-326.


11. Dick, Labor and Socialism, p. 31.

12. Ibid., p. 31.

13. Quoted in Reed, Labor Philosophy, p. 102.


15. Gompers, Seventy Years, p. 388.


23. Laslett, Labor and the Left.


26. Quoted in Dick, Labor and Socialism in America, p. 65.


29. Kipnis, American Socialist Movement, p. 125.

30. Ibid., p. 126.


32. Kipnis, American Socialist Movement, p. 126.
34. Ibid., p. 213.
36. Ibid., p. 203.
38. Ibid., p. 126.
40. Ibid., p. 203.
41. Ibid., p. 126.
52. Ibid., p. 319.
54. Ibid., pp. 356-357.
57. Weinstein, Decline of Socialism, p. 112.
59. These cases are drawn from Judd, Socialist Cities, pp. 134-136.
60. Ibid., p. 135.
61. Ibid., p. 139.
62. Weinstein, Decline of Socialism, p. 110.
63. Quoted in ibid., p. 112.
67. Ibid., pp. 138-142.
68. Ibid., p. 164.
72. Morlan, Political Prairie Fire, pp. 237-238.
73. Ibid., p. 224.
75. Morlan, Political Prairie Fire, p. 277.
76. Ibid., pp. 200-202.
79. Ibid., p. 345.
80. Ibid., p. 346.
82. Quoted in ibid., p. 212; Seyler, “Rise and Decline,” p. 425.


91. Ibid., p. 304.


94. Bell, Marxian Socialism, p. 102. David Shannon has pointed out that "the strong European socialist parties had as the basis of their strength the trade unions, which were generally pro-war, and these parties had to compromise their principles to retain their labor support. If the American Socialists ... had possessed a comparable labor strength . . . they too might have not been so militantly antiwar." Shannon, Socialist Party, p. 98. See also Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties, p. 307.

95. Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism, pp. 47-49.


97. Howe, Socialism and America, p. 44.


101. Ibid., pp. 149-152.


103. Gavett, Development of the Labor Movement, pp. 130, 128.

104. Quoted in Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 342. Hoan regretted and privately opposed the party's militant antiwar program and avoided endorsing it publicly. As mayor, he cooperated with the draft registration program, and he served as cochairman of the local defense council. In the latter role, he pressed for "laws against profiteering and aid in raising wages of substandard income groups." Ibid., pp. 345-346.


108. Ibid., p. 171.


111. Ibid., p. 159.

112. Ibid., p. 115.


114. Ibid., p. 326.


126. Weinstein, Decline of Socialism, p. 27.


2. Ibid., pp. 127-128.

3. Ibid., p. 80.

4. Ibid., p. 90.

5. Ibid., p. 91-92.

6. Ibid., p. 204.

7. Ibid., p. 205.

8. Ibid., p. 206.

9. Ibid., p. 207.

10. Ibid., p. 208.

11. Ibid., p. 209.


13. Ibid., p. 211.


15. Ibid., p. 213.

16. Ibid., p. 214.

17. Ibid., p. 215.

18. Ibid., p. 216.


20. Ibid., p. 218.


22. Ibid., p. 220.

23. Ibid., p. 221.

24. Ibid., p. 222.

25. Ibid., p. 223.

26. Ibid., p. 224.

27. Ibid., p. 225.

28. Ibid., p. 226.

29. Ibid., p. 227.

30. Ibid., p. 228.

31. Ibid., p. 229.

32. Ibid., p. 230.

33. Ibid., p. 231.

34. Ibid., p. 232.

35. Ibid., p. 233.

36. Ibid., p. 234.

37. Ibid., p. 235.

38. Ibid., p. 236.

39. Ibid., p. 237.

40. Ibid., p. 238.

41. Ibid., p. 239.

42. Ibid., p. 240.

43. Ibid., p. 241.

44. Ibid., p. 242.

45. Ibid., p. 243.

46. Ibid., p. 244.

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64. Ibid., p. 262.

65. Ibid., p. 263.

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68. Ibid., p. 266.

69. Ibid., p. 267.

70. Ibid., p. 268.

71. Ibid., p. 269.

72. Ibid., p. 270.

73. Ibid., p. 271.

74. Ibid., p. 272.

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76. Ibid., p. 274.

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78. Ibid., p. 276.

79. Ibid., p. 277.

80. Ibid., p. 278.

81. Ibid., p. 279.

82. Ibid., p. 280.

83. Ibid., p. 281.

84. Ibid., p. 282.

85. Ibid., p. 283.

86. Ibid., p. 284.

87. Ibid., p. 285.

88. Ibid., p. 286.

89. Ibid., p. 287.

90. Ibid., p. 288.

91. Ibid., p. 289.

92. Ibid., p. 290.

93. Ibid., p. 291.

94. Ibid., p. 292.

95. Ibid., p. 293.

96. Ibid., p. 294.

97. Ibid., p. 295.

98. Ibid., p. 296.

99. Ibid., p. 297.

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101. Ibid., p. 299.

102. Ibid., p. 300.

103. Ibid., p. 301.

104. Ibid., p. 302.

105. Ibid., p. 303.

106. Ibid., p. 304.

107. Ibid., p. 305.

108. Ibid., p. 306.


110. Ibid., p. 308.

111. Ibid., p. 309.

112. Ibid., p. 310.

113. Ibid., p. 311.

114. Ibid., p. 312.

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116. Ibid., p. 314.

117. Ibid., p. 315.

118. Ibid., p. 316.

119. Ibid., p. 317.

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121. Ibid., p. 319.

122. Ibid., p. 320.

123. Ibid., p. 321.

124. Ibid., p. 322.

125. Ibid., p. 323.

126. Ibid., p. 324.

127. Ibid., p. 325.

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129. Ibid., p. 327.

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131. Ibid., p. 329.

132. Ibid., p. 330.

133. Ibid., p. 331.

134. Ibid., p. 332.

135. Ibid., p. 333.

136. Ibid., p. 334.

137. Ibid., p. 335.

138. Ibid., p. 336.

139. Ibid., p. 337.

140. Ibid., p. 338.

141. Ibid., p. 339.

142. Ibid., p. 340.

143. Ibid., p. 341.

144. Ibid., p. 342.

145. Ibid., p. 343.

146. Ibid., p. 344.

147. Ibid., p. 345.

148. Ibid., p. 346.

149. Ibid., p. 347.

150. Ibid., p. 348.

151. Ibid., p. 349.

152. Ibid., p. 350.

153. Ibid., p. 351.

154. Ibid., p. 352.

155. Ibid., p. 353.

156. Ibid., p. 354.

157. Ibid., p. 355.

158. Ibid., p. 356.

159. Ibid., p. 357.

160. Ibid., p. 358.


18. Johnpoll, Pacifist’s Progress, p. 125; McGreen, “Norman Thomas,” p. 130.


56. See David Sapos, *Communism in American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960); Carter, "Pressure from the Left," pp. 11-14. Edward Flynn has described the origin of the American Labor party as follows: "President Roosevelt with Jim Farley and myself, brought the American Labor Party into being. It was entirely Roosevelt's suggestion. Farley and I never believed in it very much, but he felt at the time-and it is true today—that there were many people who believed in what Roosevelt stood for but who, for some reason or another...would not join the Democratic party. If another party were created, you could bring these people into it actively. That was really why it was created...Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky played a great part in it and we couldn't have formed the party without them. They were the nucleus. These and other people were names but the voting strength was from the unions that were controlled by Dubinsky and Hillman. At that time both of those unions were rather leftist-more so than the Democratic party. There again it would attract a great many more who would...vote for Roosevelt who might not have voted at all." Edward Flynn, "The Reminiscences of Edward J. Flynn" (Interview by Owen bombard, March 1950, Oral History Project, Butler Library, Columbia University), quoted in Carter, "Pressure from the Left," pp. 13-14.
88. Ibid., p. 217.
98. Ibid., p. 225.
106. Frank S. Meyer, *The Moulding of Communists* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), p. 105. The FBI has estimated that 700,000 different individuals actually have been party members. See Morris L. Ernst and David Loth, *Report on the American Communist* (New York: Henry Holt, 1952), p. 14; Howe and Coser, *American Communist Party*, p. 529. The sources of this rapid turnover in membership have been analyzed by former party leader George Charney: "We always suffered from severe fluctuation.... Most recruits were attracted to the party on the basis of a particular issue, ... and there they found our ways beyond understanding. The individual was lost in the myriad of tasks imposed on the branch,' the atmosphere was too unfamiliar and congested, and he gradually drifted away. It was difficult to relate the issues to the overall aim of the party, to socialism. This was achieved more effectively in middle-class areas than in the working-class sections of the movement." George Charney, *A Long Journey* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), p. 116. See also Meyer, *Moulding of Communists*, p. 105.
111. Ibid., p. 114.
116. Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 36-37. For further detail on the way Communists were welcomed by leaders of both major parties, also see Browder, "American Communist Party."


8. Cited in Preston, Aliens and Dissenters, p. 44.

9. Ibid., p. 44.


NOTES TO PAGES 245-247

39. Ibid.
43. Ibid., pp. 143-145.

NOTES TO PAGES 248-251

47. Goldstein, *Political Repression,* p. 112.
48. Ibid., pp. 146-148.
64. Burbank, When Farmers Voted Red, p. 111. See also Meredith, "Socialist Party in
Oklahoma," p. 165.
65. Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, p. 325; Meredith, "Socialist Party of
66. Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, p. 324.
68. The Socialists were also linked with "the epidemic of bank robberies," which
swept part of Oklahoma in 1914. The best-known outlaw actually announced via
the Socialist Appeal to Reason that "many of the bankers he victimized were in the
robery business too." Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, pp. 339-342. See also
Burbank, When Farmers Voted Red, pp. 137-144.
69. Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, p. 355. See also Meredith, "Socialist Party in
71. Ameringer, If We Don't Weaken, pp. 347-355; Green, Grass-Roots Socialism,
pp. 355-361; David A. Shannon, The Socialist Party of America (Chicago:
193-194.
73. Ameringer, If We Don't Weaken, p. 355; Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, p. 368;
74. Ameringer, If We Don't Weaken, pp. 356-358; Meredith, "Socialist Party in
75. Green, Grass-Roots Socialism, p. 346.
76. Weinstein, Decline of Socialism, p. 161.
77. David Montgomery, "Nationalism, American Patriotism, and Class
Consciousness among Immigrant Workers in the United States in the Epoch of
World War I," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working-
78. Theodore Draper, The Roots of American Communism (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee,
79. Nathan Glazer, The Social Basis of American Communism (Westport, Conn.:
80. Stetler, Socialist Movement, p. 38. See also Pratt, "Reading Socialist
Experience," pp. 56-57.
81. Carol Jenson, "Loyalty as a Political Weapon: The 1918 Campaign in
82. Robert L. Morlan, Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922
83. Ibid., pp. 266-267.
84. Ibid., p. 269.
160-161.
86. Morlan, Political Prairie Fire, pp. 159, 180, 201.
87. Ibid., pp. 157-158. See also Bruce L. Larson, Lindbergh of Minnesota (New
88. Millard L. Gierske, Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), p. 31.
89. This is the title of ch. 8 of Morlan, Political Prairie Fire, pp. 152-182.
90. Theodore Saloutos, "The Expansion and Decline of the Non-Partisan League
in the Western Middle West, 1917-1921," Agricultural History 20 (October 1946),
pp. 235-252.
91. Bell, Maxian Socialism, p. 134.
92. John H. M. Laslett, "Social Scientists View the Problem," in John H. M.
Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of
52-53. See also Bell, Maxian Socialism, pp. 48-49, 52-54.
93. Norman Thomas, "Reflections of an Old Campaigner," Commonwealth 41
(December 22, 1944), p. 247.
94. This material is taken from Seymour Martin Lipset, American

8. The End of Political Exceptionalism?

1. In recent decades, the older and tiny Socialist Labor party has put forward a
presidential ticket on the ballot in a few states.
2. For recent discussions of American radicalism that identify American excep-
tionalism with the absence of socialism, see Kim Voss, The Making of American
Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century
(Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Rick Halpern and Jonathan
3. "An Address to the Working-Men of New England ... ," Boston, 1832; quoted
in Leon Fink, In Search of the Working Class: Essays in American Labor History
4. On American working-class republicanism, see Sean Wilentz, Chants
Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850
(New York: Princeton University Press, 1984); B. H. Moss, "Republican Socialism
and the Making of the Working Class in Britain, France, and the United States: A
Critique of Thompsonian Culturalism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993), pp. 390-413. Bernard Moss makes the point that American republican
ism was "federalist and property oriented" (p. 412); it was therefore no substitute for socialism. On the paradoxical consequences of individualism see Melvyn Dubofsky, *The State and Labor in Modern America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 235f.


6. Depending on where one draws the line, Britain and Norway might both fit into this category of societies. Both cases reinforce the conclusions we draw.

7. For a convincing argument along similar lines see Michael Kazin, "The Agony and Romance of the American Left,” *American Historical Review* 100 (December 1995), pp. 1480-1512.


10. Mary Nolan, "Against Exceptionalisms," *American Historical Review* 102 (June 1997), p. 769-774. Nolan writes: "Arguments about American exceptionalism invariably culminate in the proud conclusion that America had no socialism. Such a sweeping and negative formulation hardly captures the complex nature of class politics and class consciousness in the United States. It ignores the high degree of state and employer violence and coercion and is silent on racial conflict. Of greater importance, such an assertion assumes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a monolithically class-conscious Europe, with strong socialist trade unions and political parties in contrast to an America of business unionism and two-party machine politics" (p. 771). For a nuanced overview of cr


12. See Chapter 5 for an extended discussion.


14. Michael Kazin argues that "the replacement of 'Why no socialism?' with Look at all the republicanism!' had its costs. The term itself was impossibly fuzzy; any concept that supposedly united James Madison, Terence Powderly, and millions of small farmers explained very little about political conflict; indeed it risked replicating, albeit under another name and for different purposes, the Hartzian concept of a dominant ideological tradition that New Left intellectuals had originally set out to demolish.... In the end, the intellectual vogue did little to clarify how and why socialism, as theory and tentative practice, had proved so unpopular on American soil." Michael Kazin, "Agony and Romance of the American Left," pp. 1500-1501.


17. Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 17 (Spring 1984), pp. 57-80; Foner’s emphasis. See also Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches*.


19. The implications of the American example were appreciated by Louis Corey (see pp. 18-19).


30. Francis Castles, Rolf Gerritsen, and Jack Vowles, *The Great Experiment: Labour Parties and Public Policy Transformation in Australia and New Zealand* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), pp. 212ff. There has been scant evidence of a corresponding decline in welfare commitment on the part of labor governments in these countries. Generally speaking, the shift away from social democracy is most evident in opposition to state ownership of industry and support for market competition and least evident in health care and social welfare.

31. We use the term "labor parties" to refer to the New Zealand Labour party and the Australian Labor party.


33. This is to extend the idea elaborated in Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation and American Exceptionalism, Yet Again," that "working class formation has been shaped by the organization of state-society transactions," which has in turn "been affected by the agency of working-class people" (p. 53).

34. The NDP was in office in Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1964, from 1971 to 1982, and again from the late 1980s to the present, in British Columbia from 1972 to 1976 and during the 1980s and 1990s, in Manitoba from 1967 to 1977 and from 1981 to 1986, and in Ontario from 1990 to 1995.


37. Japan is the only developed democracy, apart from the United States, not to provide child support.


40. The figure for African-Americans is 26.5 percent, down from 29 percent in 1995, which was the first time in the nation's history that the poverty rate for African-Americans dropped below 30 percent. <www.census.gov/hhes/poverty/bistpov/hstpo3(1997-98).pdf> (accessed September 28, 1999). Other racial groups and other categories have not fared so well in relative terms. For example, the proportion of people under eighteen below the official poverty level in 1997 was 19.9 percent, less than the peak of the 1990s (22.7 percent in 1993), but well above the lowest point of the 1970s (15.1 percent in 1972). The definition of poverty used in the U.S. Census is based on annually updated thresholds that take into account family size. See U.S. Bureau of Census, "Current Population Reports," in *Money and Income in the United States: 1997* (with separate data on valuation of non cash benefits) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), pp. 60-200.


42. The causal connection between social democratic governance and level of union organization is substantiated in Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). His argument is parallel to that in this chapter: working-class parties in government can insulate labor movements from competitive market pressures.


44. All correlations are significant at the 0.1 level except for that with Gini coefficients, which is significant at the 0.05 level.

45. All correlations are significant at the 0.1 level except for those with total taxes and Gini coefficients, which are significant at the 0.05 level.


53. This in turn depends on the extent to which government is insulated from those constituencies, as discussed below. *Ibid.*


55. “A Survey of the World Economy: The Future of the State,” *Economist*, September 20, 1997, p. 8. Countries included in these data are Austria (from 1920), Belgium (from 1960), Britain, Canada (from 1920), France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.


