

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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CUBA'S YEAR ONE

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CENTS

CORRESPONDENCE

Editor:

Since I took out my trial subscription a few months ago, from one of the Socialist Trailblazers, I have found your magazine to be very thought-provoking and worthy of careful study.

Fairly recently, however, I came across another publication. It was a book defending both the present U.S. government and the Eisenhower Administration, called *What We Are For* (Harpers, 1959).

I must admit that this latter publication has placed many of my former beliefs in serious doubt, though I have been unable to resolve many questions.

I am a student at Harvard, and I always try to get to the bottom of a question, no matter where this leads me — although, admittedly, this is not always the easiest course. I feel I have to do this, for if I try to push aside an idea without first satisfying myself of its error, it continues to reappear and haunt me.

I would be exceedingly grateful to you if you could analyze that book in the light of true socialism. If you could do this, perhaps I could set my conscience once again at ease.

Thank you very much, and please forgive me for burdening you with this problem. I send my best wishes to you.

D. C. M., Jr.
Newton Center, Mass.

Editor:

... If the ISR editors have finished chuckling (I think it was "happy" chuckling no less) maybe they will explain why in their editorial they so militantly have seized on the nomenclature "power elite" which is not ours and is intended by its proponents to oppose the Marxist conception about ruling class?

G. B.
Detroit, Mich.

Editor:

Upon reading your editorial, I was really shocked by the attitude you had taken. You have committed the tactless error of trying to tear down and insult or disgrace everything (or some of the things) that the American public holds near and dear and feels just and rightly about. Rather than attempting to show him the great advantages which lie in socialism.

Perhaps you should study more closely the now well established Labor party in England. It was established by settling the problems caused by capitalism

and never swerved from the policy of the government. Also I can't understand your loyalty to Soviet Russia; binding yourself to a dictatorship (of the proletariat) seems to me the worst possible blunder, as the situation now is you have given the word socialism a bad connotation, (it might be well if you changed the name completely).

A good topic for another editorial might be along the lines of the worker and automation, or the agricultural situation, etc. At any rate the policy of your magazine seems the most impossible thing I could imagine. Do you know that if you told anybody (common American) you were a socialist or labeled any plan one based on socialism, you might as well have told them you, or it, were anti-American, a spy, a killer, a red and the big bad wolf for that matter? Stop slinging mud and try and do something practical.

S. K.
Whitestone, N. Y.

Editor:

Find enclosed twenty-five cents for a copy of your pamphlet *Which Way for Labor—Democratic Party or Labor Party?* by Murry Weiss.

First, I should like to explain how I obtained a copy of *International Socialist Review*, Winter 1960 . . . The other day a member of our Union came by the store to visit me and he said he had read my letter [to the editor of a local paper] . . . and during the visit he told me about this magazine and he gave it to me.

Well when I noticed this advertisement about this pamphlet on a Labor Party it interested me very much because that is the very thing that I want to happen . . .

T. M. M.
Denver, Colo.

Editor:

Just a word of praise for the Winter 1960 issue of ISR. As a lover of history, I enjoyed immensely the article on John Brown.

You may like to know that when I finish reading ISR I mail it to a friend in Holland who likes it better than any other socialist publication.

Please send me the book — Eugene V. Debs — the Socialist Movement of His Time — Its Meaning for Today. 25 cents. Stamps enclosed for same.

P. C. H.
Louisville, Ky.

Editor:

... I just want to make a suggestion. You ought to print a subscription blank in every issue of ISR. You have one for a combination deal on page 16 of the Winter 1960 issue, but whether you have a combination offer or not, you should always carry a sub blank, not just to encourage some reader to subscribe but to induce a subscriber to send in a sub for a friend or acquaintance. By the way, do you have any sub forms printed up? You should send a few to the persons already on your list, including myself. I could use a few, and I know I would use a sub blank every time I saw one in the ISR. No harm in trying, anyhow. Think it over.

Midwestern reader
South Dakota

Editor:

Your last editorial states that "In Western Europe revolutionary working-class movements were prevented by the Stalinized Communist parties and the reformist Social-Democracy from finishing off capitalism at the end of World War II."

It seems to me that in order to justify this point of view you must answer the objection of the Communists that such an overturn at the end of the war would have meant the beginning of World War III. Moreover, the U.S. had a monopoly on the Atom bomb at that time.

We cannot irresponsibly call for "revolution everywhere" without considering that we are living in a world situation where revolution might mean the total destruction of all parties.

T. J.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor:

I liked Cannon's article on American radicalism. It was a truthful account of what happened in the thirties. He is dead right in his central point, "The radical movement of the thirties . . . has spent itself." I also go along with the proposition that "the main forces of the new movement of American Socialist radicalism have to come from a new generation."

What I'm dubious about is that the organized left today will be capable of attracting this new generation.

Cannon seems to think that the Socialist Workers Party can do this job. But I don't see any evidence that the SWP is attracting "the upcoming young rebels." I would like to believe that it was but, as I say, I'm dubious.

R. G.
Columbus, Ohio

The 1960 Elections

by Farrell Dobbs

WE ENTER the sixties amid changing political conditions that forecast the opening of a new and higher stage in the American class struggle. Events are pushing the unions away from support to capitalist political parties and toward the formation of an independent labor party.

This necessary turn in union policy, which the union bureaucrats can't block indefinitely, points in the direction of a fundamental showdown between labor and capital. Although labor is by far the stronger in potential class force, its victory in a showdown is not automatically assured. In the long run class political consciousness will be decisive in determining the outcome of the battle.

Today the capitalists have a big class advantage, stemming from policies consciously designed to serve their own interests at the expense of society as a

whole. Labor stands in an opposite position; it remains crippled by illusions that social progress can be made through collaboration with the enemy class. Despite growing necessity, the unions have failed to develop an independent class policy in industry and politics; and they have still to arrive at the anti-capitalist, pro-socialist outlook fundamental to a solution of society's basic problems. These class needs can be met only when the workers unseat the capitalist-minded union bureaucrats — in short, labor faces an increasingly acute crisis of leadership.

There exists within the general labor movement a revolutionary-socialist tendency capable of projecting the independent class policy the unions require. But this politically class-conscious section of labor has been thrust into isolation from the workers through a combined attack by the union bureaucrats and the capitalist witch hunters. Only now are favorable conditions developing for fusion of the revolutionary-socialist program with the mass power of the unions.

An opening step toward such a fusion can be taken through the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers party which is now getting under way. To understand why the SWP campaign holds promise of gains which will help to strengthen class political consciousness among the workers, let us examine the broad lines of social conflict developing on a world scale and the political repercussions that result within this country.

Across the globe peoples long subjected to imperialist exploitation are rising up against their oppressors. They want to develop their own industries in order to raise their standard of living. They are determined to free themselves from foreign interference and decide for themselves what economic and social order will best serve their needs. Their

search for the right answer impels them, erratic though the course may be, in the direction of socialism.

China has advanced along this road to the abolition of capitalist property relations and establishment of a workers state based on nationalization of the means of production and the introduction of planned economy. Earlier social overturns of a similar nature took place in Yugoslavia and across Eastern Europe. Together with the Soviet Union these workers states now encompass one-third the earth's surface and close to half of all humanity. Viewed in combination with the colonial rebels elsewhere in the world they constitute a formidable anti-imperialist force.

The power of the anti-imperialist forces is further strengthened by the great forward leap in Soviet scientific, technological and military potential. American imperialism no longer has the atomic monopoly and general military superiority with which it launched the cold war some fourteen years ago. A country that can send a rocket to the moon, as the Soviet Union has done, can also deliver rockets armed with hydrogen warheads against an imperialist aggressor anywhere on earth, including the United States.

These revolutionary advances on the world arena have brought a power stalemate which compels American imperialism to slow down its cold-war offensive and adjust its diplomatic policy to a temporary, uneasy truce in international relations. Although the imperialists try to use this act of tactical expediency to parade as peace lovers, they have actually made no basic change in their foreign policy; on the contrary, they are using the lull in the cold war to intensify their preparations for hot war.

The situation becomes doubly dangerous for world labor because imperialist political deceit is accompanied by Stalinist misrepresentation of the true state of affairs. Dressing up old-line Stalinist policy in new verbiage, the Kremlin bureaucrats call for universal disarmament, peaceful co-existence and friendly competition between rival social orders. They dangle this line before the insurgent world masses as a sure road to socialism by "gradual" means.

Reasonable though this approach may seem — and no matter how great a popular response it may evoke — the imperialists would never agree to such a course. The Stalinist bureaucrats understand this fact and they have shaped their real policy accordingly. What they actually aim for is a deal with imperialism to divide the world into spheres of influence with an agreement to maintain the status quo within each sphere. They are ready to help preserve capitalism outside the Soviet orbit in the hope this will enable them to save their own privileged position in the area where they now rule.

Stalinist policy runs directly counter to the needs of the masses in the capitalist sector of the world and it clashes with the democratic aspirations of people within the Soviet bloc countries. Workers' uprisings in 1956 against the Stalinist regimes in Poland and Hungary laid bare the basic antagonism between the ruling bureaucracy and the masses



Farrell Dobbs is the Socialist Workers party's candidate for President of the United States in the 1960 elections. He was the SWP presidential candidate in 1948, 1952 and 1956.

within the workers states. In crushing the Hungarian revolt the bureaucracy strengthened itself temporarily, but didn't win a permanent lease on life. The status quo can't be frozen indefinitely in the Soviet bloc countries; new political explosions will occur and they will cause repercussions throughout the world labor movement.

It is equally impossible to freeze the status quo for very long in the countries under capitalist rule. The very forces that have acted to compel a slowdown in the imperialist war drive are also operating to prevent any lasting social stability under capitalism. Although the world labor and colonial movements face a general crisis of leadership, this obstacle does not halt the struggles for social improvement. Mass action simply takes longer to gain enough momentum to break through the barriers and then it develops in distorted forms; but the masses keep asserting themselves.

These trends upset the schemes of American imperialism, making it more determined than ever to impose its will by all possible means, including war. The imperialist belligerence stems from social contradictions within the United States itself. Growth of the productive forces within the country threatens a deep crisis of over-production. There is increasing danger of a severe economic slump that would bring on catastrophic unemployment and lead to a social explosion at home, unless the capitalist class can expand its exploitation of peoples abroad.

But one-third of the world market has been closed to capitalist exploitation by extension of the Soviet bloc to China and Eastern Europe. Elsewhere lesser imperialist

rivals are stiffening their competition with American capitalism. In the one-time colonial preserves strong opposition to imperialist domination has developed; and in the case of Cuba a colonial revolt has flared up right on the United States' doorstep.

Instead of forging ahead toward unrestricted exploitation of the world, American imperialism finds its expansionist drive slowed down, if not turned back. Still determined to achieve its objectives, the capitalist ruling class is using the cold-war lull for an attack on American labor to safeguard capitalist privileges nationally and to get into a better position to drag the country into war.

Imperialist military adventures are not ruled out because of the horrible dangers in an atomic war. Truman risked atomic war when he plunged the country into the Korean conflict. Eisenhower had no compunction about the war risks involved in a military occupation of Lebanon. The bipartisan government at Washington continues the fantastic military buildup, quarreling only as to whether enough is being done. Generals and capitalist politicians openly advocate a policy of "limited" wars, disregarding the risk of triggering World War III.

Only the revolutionary advances abroad have prevented a general war so far. These limited advances have allowed a precious time for the extension of class-struggle opposition to imperialism; but peace can be assured only when the workers within the imperialist countries take independent class action against the imperialist warmakers.

An anti-war struggle of this kind can't be waged under the leadership of Stalinists, social democrats or union bureaucrats. In every case these misleaders of labor are shifting further to the right in their political line, abandoning any pretext of real socialist policies, if they ever had any. A new leadership must take the helm before labor can get started on the class-struggle road to peace.

In the United States the present capitalist attack on the unions begins to open the way for the rise of a leadership capable of projecting the policy labor needs. Changing economic and social conditions should help the process along.

Within the framework of a series of boom-recession cycles the country is drifting into economic decline. Even though a full-scale depression has not yet struck, the cyclical ups and downs in the economy are generating feelings of insecurity in the population. Many are being thrust directly into personal economic crisis by the persistent rise in chronic unemployment which is spreading across wider areas of production; government figures for January show that over four million are now jobless during boom times. The AFL-CIO predicts the present boom will slack off by July; and capitalist economists speak of a general economic slump by 1961. For workers this will mean a sharp rise in unemployment, in many cases so prolonged that jobless benefits will become exhausted.

Economically the workers are put in double jeopardy because of bureaucratic misleadership in the unions: they are hurt by the crisis trends under capitalism; and they have no independent class program to defend their interests. The politically-bankrupt union bureaucrats support the imperialist war policy and count on the arms program to provide jobs. They look to the capitalist government for social benefits through legislation and for help in collective bargaining with the bosses. To impose their false policy on the workers, they strangle union democracy and connive with the bosses to suppress so-called "wild-cat" strikes.

Changing times are now beginning to break up these well-established forms of bureaucratic control over the unions. The bosses don't intend to allow the class peace so necessary to the bureaucratic policy. They are resisting, not granting, concessions to labor; and the government is backing them up in what is rapidly becoming a general war against the unions.

The bosses are cutting production costs through automation, speedup and other devices intended both to squeeze more out of the workers on the job and to whittle down

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employment so far as they can. They resist wage demands and chip away at the escalator clauses pegged to the cost-of-living index; without resorting as yet to outright wage cuts, they put the workers in a position where rising prices and stiffening taxes eat into their purchasing power.

Union demands are met by counter-demands calculated to tear down long-established job conditions and to weaken union control generally. The bosses force strikes and drag them out in a war of attrition against labor. Strike insurance, professional scab agencies and direct government support to strikebreaking attacks are reappearing in new forms.

On the political front the bosses use their Democratic and Republican agents in government to hamstring the unions through anti-labor laws. They will probably go a little easy on demands for further laws until their stooges have got themselves re-elected in the fall. In the meantime they have the new Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law to work with; and among its many provisions hostile to labor this law clears the way for open FBI intervention in the unions. The future will see these imperialist political police attempting to give all of labor the same treatment they have been dealing out to radical workers all through the witch hunt.

The basic shift in capitalist tactics undermines the position of the union bureaucrats, discrediting their whole line based on "labor statesmanship." In the long steel strike — which clearly revealed the changing class relations — the union ranks were ahead of the leadership in giving battle to the bosses. They won a victory in the sense that the open corporation attack was halted temporarily. But the wage settlement was the poorest in years; the escalator clause was mangled; there was no reduction in hours without reduced pay to help safeguard employment; and the contract terms open the way for the McDonald bureaucracy to make "statesmanlike" concessions to the bosses on work rules.

This experience illustrates the widening gap between bureaucratic policy and the workers' needs; and the gap will become wider still when the next economic slump hits. Mass protests against unemployment reached a post-war high in the spring of 1959, a trend that forecasts an even greater outburst next time there are mass lay-offs. The fight for an effective union policy in industry will intensify, along with labor demands upon the government for meaningful social legislation. Life under capitalism will drive the workers toward class-struggle economic and political positions. In the long run the union bureaucrats won't be able to stop it; but they can and will continue to inhibit and distort the labor struggle.

At the present stage of developments the task for socialists remains primarily one of advancing a class-struggle program for labor. This will help union militants to clarify their thinking and prepare a sound programmatic basis for future action when the ranks decide to take union affairs into their own hands. In presenting their political analysis socialists should also pay close attention to developments in the mass movement as a whole.

Formation of the Negro Labor Council within the AFL-CIO implies action going beyond the announced aim to fight for equal rights in industry and democratic rights in the unions; it may serve to stimulate more effective union support to the general civil rights movement and thereby sharpen both the Negro struggle and the class struggle, particularly in the South. The outbreak of student demonstrations against Jim-Crow lunch counters in the South gives further impulse to mass action in the fight for equal rights; and it marks a shift of initiative toward younger Negroes capable of greater militancy.

Social ferment is increasing among youth on college campuses and in the high schools. Many are becoming rebellious against conditions under the capitalist two-party system. They are searching for a new political course and, though they have not yet become socialist-minded, they are willing to listen to socialist ideas.

Rising social tensions, generated by the twin threats of war and depression, are beginning to counteract conformist pressures long imposed by the witch hunt. People in many walks of life are asking searching political questions; they are thinking for themselves; and they begin to recognize the need to fight boldly to maintain freedom of thought, expression, association and action.

In addressing people newly interested in socialist ideas it will be well to keep in mind the political circumstances under which their thinking has been previously conditioned. Take, for example, a person who came of age after 1946. Throughout his adult life he has been subjected to an atmosphere of cold war, hot war and witch hunting. He has experienced or seen others experience periods of temporary economic hardship in times of slump; but he has at most, only hearsay knowledge of severe depression conditions.

A person in this position knows union life only under the domination of an iron-handed bureaucracy which preaches class peace, extols the virtues of capitalism and stifles democracy within the organization. He has little idea of the tremendous power inherent in the working class; and he has had virtually no access to a true, complete history of past labor struggles which would help him to understand that power.

To reach people who find themselves in this situation it will be helpful to start from the big concerns in their minds today and present the socialist answer to these problems in clear language and comprehensible terms; then go on from there to deal with even more basic political questions. By weaving in the class lessons to be drawn from world labor history, a sense of class power and a deeper knowledge of sound class principles can be developed.

Groundwork can be done in this way to get across a basic class-struggle program: formation of an independent labor party in opposition to the capitalist parties; labor support to the civil rights struggle and promotion of a political alliance between the unions and the minority peoples; an economic policy designed to serve labor's needs; a working class policy to defeat the imperialist war conspiracy and attain world peace; a program to establish workers' democracy throughout the world labor movement; a socialist perspective for the United States.

These are the lines along which the Socialist Workers party will conduct its presidential campaign. Vigorous efforts will be made to use every possible medium to reach people becoming interested in socialist ideas and draw them closer to the movement. This calls for a strong turnout of active socialist campaigners and equally strong financial support.

If socialist-minded people throughout the country back the SWP campaign to the best of their ability, 1960 can be made the best year for revolutionary socialism since the the cold war began.

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First Year of the Cuban Revolution

"If you are afraid, go get yourself a little dog" is a popular saying among the masses of Cuba, who are now confident they can change the world

by Henry Gitano

HAVANA, "one of the wickedest cities in the world," the "Monte Carlo of the Americas, a paradise of tropical joy," skyscrapers and luxurious mansions,—this tourist conception, never truly reflected Cuban life; for behind the romantic postcards sold for the benefit of visitors existed the very real misery of millions.

A survey by the Cuban Catholic Association in 1957, based on 2,500 rural families, found that 60% lived in huts with thatched palm roofs and bare dirt floors without running water or sanitary facilities of any sort. Kerosene lighting was used by 70%, with the remaining 30% having no illumination at all. Basic foods consisted of rice, beans and vegetables, with only 11% drinking milk, 4% eating meat, and 2% having eggs. The result was a caloric deficiency of 1,000 units daily.

These figures are substantiated by the Cuban government's own 1953 census. The census also showed that in rural dwellings, 96.5% had no refrigeration, 90.5% had neither tub nor shower and 85% had no inside or outside water piping.

Accentuating the poverty is the terrible insecurity. According to *Investment in Cuba*, a U.S. Department of Commerce study of July 1956:

"The specter of unemployment affects all thinking on labor . . . Some affirm that unemployment normally reaches a total of one million; others that it reaches a total of one and a half million; and even the conservative estimates range between 500,000 and 800,000." This in a country of 6,500,000 inhabitants. The "investment" study which is "basic information for U.S. businessmen" notes a "distinct improvement has occurred in recent years, however, in the atmosphere of labor-management rela-

tions." Alongside the Cuban government's role, "declining economic activities have also had an influence in moderating excessive demands." A starving people and a corrupt puppet dictatorship provide an ideal atmosphere for U.S. investors.

Robert Taber's competent study of "Castro's Cuba" in *The Nation*, Jan. 23, 1960, reviews the Island's history:

"From Cuba's founding as a Republic in 1903 until Dec. 31, 1958, when the Batista regime abruptly collapsed, the country was for every practical purpose a U.S. colony, captive both economically and politically . . . The greater part of its resources—sugar, mineral rights, public-utility concessions, cattle lands—were controlled by U.S. capital. In such circumstances, it can scarcely be doubted that the succession of rapacious professional politicians who ruled Cuba during most of the half-century or so of its republican existence were necessarily the caretakers of a vast amount of American, rather than Cuban, wealth. And whatever else he may have been, the dictator who fled to Santo Domingo on the first day of 1959 was one of these—a discredited, dispossessed custodian of the Yankee dollar."

Batista's overthrow marked not the end, but a beginning of a revolution which lashes out against imperialist domination. The power of this revolution can be best gauged by a sketch of the economic and social changes it has already accomplished.

"Those who work the land shall own it," says the Land Reform Law, which was enacted on May 17, 1959 abolishing latifundism (huge plantations). Land over 995 acres, or 3,300 acres if it is used for cattle, rice or sugar, is "intervened" (taken over by the government). The 1946 census showed that less than 1.5% owned 46% of all farm land. Landowners are to be indemnified with 20-year bonds carrying 4½% interest. Compensation is based on the owners evaluation for taxing purposes two years ago. So far over seven and a quarter million acres have been expropriated.

Article 43 states that "whenever possible the INRA (National Institute for Agrarian Reform) will promote agrarian cooperatives." To date, 485 cooperatives have been established. Article 64 is widely used to provide flexibility: "It is the interpretation of this Law that in case of doubt, the decision should be in favor of the person working the land."

The Law's objective is to break up the plantations and put the land to use growing diversified crops. Cuba has been importing thirty per cent of its food needs, according to *Fortune* magazine, September 1959. Co-ops are to be the vehicle for eradicating malnutrition, providing employment and saving hard currency for mechanization and industrialization. There is a central plan by INRA outlining production quotas and resources to be expanded in every zone.

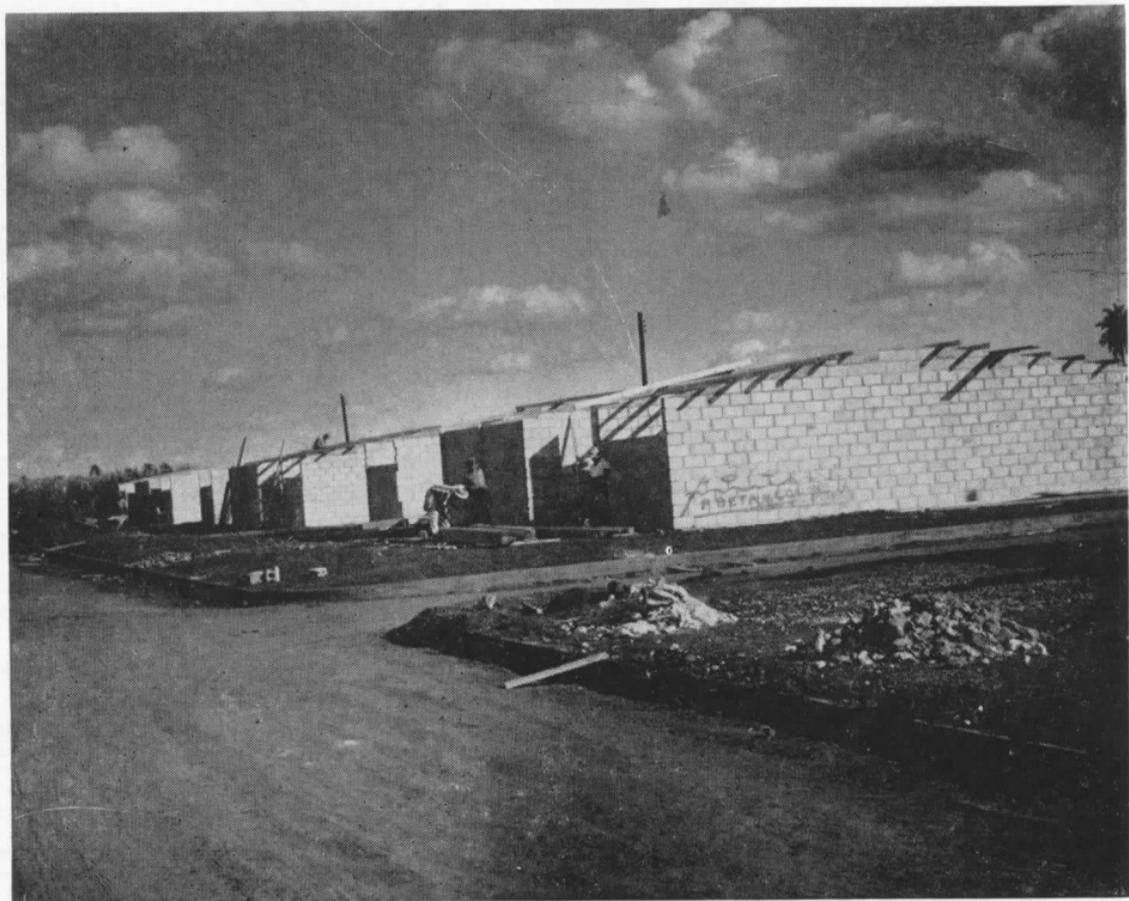
Chester Manly of the Chicago Tribune Press Service visited a co-op. "Los Pinos is an impressive, modern, large-scale agricultural operation . . . the first tomatoes produced there were coming in for boxing in a new packing plant for shipment to the U.S. Near the packing plant, work was in progress on a large maintenance station for the tractor and other modern equipment used . . . The farmers have no land of their own but will own and work the land collectively . . . INRA is starting to build houses for the farmers. We visited a small group of unfinished concrete block houses and a warehouse full of excellent roofing material made from cane fiber . . . INRA plans to build a canning factory at Los Pinos . . . Two thatched roof 'peoples stores' have been opened at Los Pinos, INRA also is building school houses and roads."

Alan Levy, *Louisville Courier-Journal* staff writer, wrote Jan. 2, 1960, "Everywhere in Cuba, INRA experts are putting the rich soil to its most efficient use. Property is methodically being taken from the exorbitantly rich and used for co-ops. In Manzanillo, my wife and I visited a fishing cooperative. The 250 fishermen were building their own homes with unlimited aid from soldiers

Henry Gitano, correspondent of "The Militant," recently returned from a seven-week tour of Cuba where he observed the profound changes taking place as a result of the Agrarian Reform.



TYPICAL PEASANT DWELLINGS UNDER BATISTA



**FARM-WORKERS HOUSING IN COOPERATIVE CUBA LIBRE BUILT
BY SOLDIERS AND WORKERS SINCE REVOLUTION**



TYPICAL PEASANT DWELLINGS UNDER BATISTA

and government architects. A small factory on the co-op was producing the blocks and bricks the fishermen needed. Other fishermen were building a fleet of modern fishing boats and a mother ship that will receive and distribute the fish that are caught." Nearly 3½ million acres of expropriated land has been turned over to co-ops.

World Wide 60, "Castro's Year of Power," NBC-TV Jan. 23, 1960 reported: "Everywhere a co-op is established a school springs up. It may be in a new building, or an old one, but it is formed . . . This is a cooperative tobacco farm in Pinar del Río Province. Tobacco is Cuba's second largest crop. This land now belongs to the workers . . . And these are new homes that have been built for the co-op workers. The same people who will live in these now live in thatched and palm-planked bohios. There are people in Cuba today moving into homes with plumbing who must be taught how to flush a toilet."

Alongside the agrarian reform, 700 other revolutionary decrees have given American millionaires the creeping jitters. One law authorizes the Labor Ministry to take over any business which discharges workers, goes bankrupt or has a serious labor dispute. Law 635 creates a Cuban Petroleum Institute which regulates the refining and marketing of petroleum products. It is working three shifts daily copying exploration data obtained by oil companies, whose files have been sealed and placed under armed guard. Other regulations confiscate all property that was stolen or belonged to Batista and his hench-

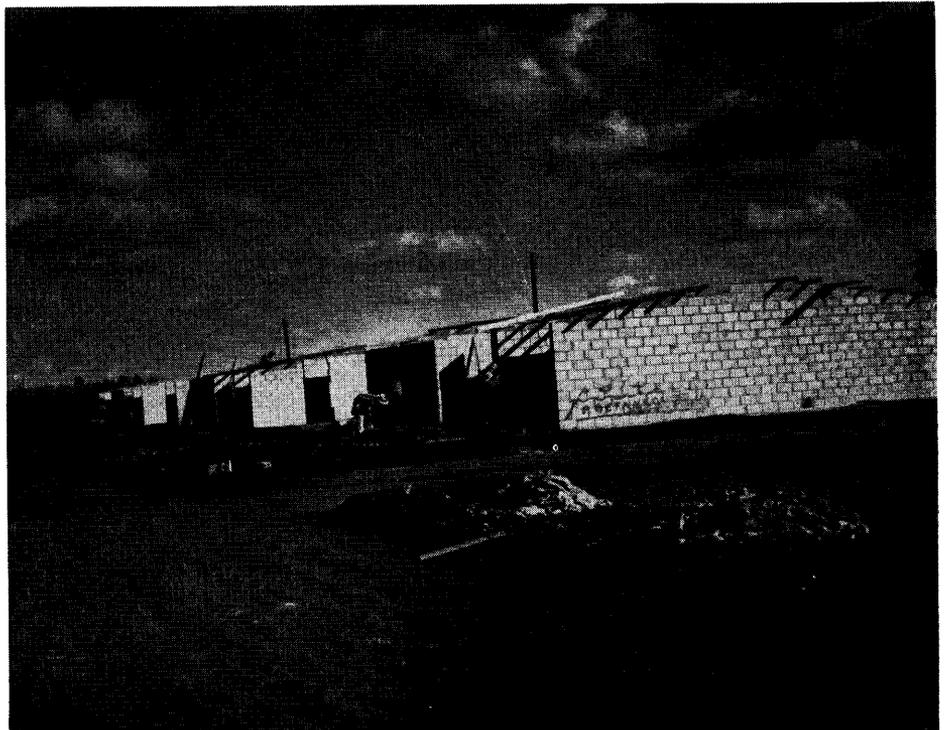
men. A ruling on Dec. 22, 1959 authorized the nationalization of all wealth belonging to persons convicted of counter-revolutionary activities or who leave Cuba to evade trial or conspire from abroad against the Revolution.

La Calle, a Cuban revolutionary daily noted Dec. 13, 1959, "The Cuban Revolution is something entirely different as revolutions come. Previously revolutions were a dime a dozen throughout Latin America, and meant nothing at all to the people, just one man replacing another." In previous revolutions after those who lost power made their rendezvous with stolen funds deposited in foreign banks, another new regime fell under Wall Street domination.

That explains the big smear in the American press and the threats by the U.S. government—the attempt of Cuba to rid itself of American economic exploitation might be emulated throughout Latin America. As the *New York Times* admitted on April 26, 1959, "If we didn't have Latin America on our side, our situation would be desperate. To be denied the products and markets of Latin America would reduce the U.S. to being a second-rate nation and cause a devastating reduction in our standard of living . . . Latin American raw materials are essential to our existence as a world power." Uncle Sam has a beard, but he is hardly a Santa Claus for Latin America.

Direct investments by the U.S. in Central and South America, increased from \$4.8 billion in 1950 to \$9.1 billion in 1957. In addition holdings of U.S. corporate stocks in the same area, increased from \$296,000,000 in 1950 to \$632,000,000 in 1957. In Cuba, direct U.S. investments increased from \$686,000,000 in 1952 to \$850,000,000 in 1957.

Cuba's note of Nov. 13, 1959 chal-



FARM-WORKERS HOUSING IN COOPERATIVE CUBA LIBRE BUILT BY SOLDIERS AND WORKERS SINCE REVOLUTION



FORMERLY AGRAMONTE FORTRESS NOW REBUILT AS EDUCATIONAL CENTER

lenged Washington's profession of philanthropic interest. "In the last ten years the balance of payments has been adverse to Cuba by more than a billion dollars . . . North American investments in Cuba have always been characterized by their extremely lucrative returns." In its editorial on the Cuban note, the Nov. 15 *New York Times* conceded that "some of the things Dr. Castro says certainly merit examination . . . We cannot ignore Dr. Castro's charge that investments in Cuba have given 'the Cuban economy a semi-colonial character.'"

The Revolutionary Government's note declared "its unvarying determination to carry out . . . a program of deep economic and social transformations in the interest of the Cuban people and, particularly its Agrarian Reform Program, which is indispensable for the industrial development, the social advancement and the consolidation of the democratic institutions of this country."

The Revolution is breaking the back of imperialist control and replacing it with an economy based on national planning.

INRA spent \$75,000,000 in 1959 and has a 1960 budget of \$156,000,000. Textile mills, charcoal co-ops, rice and sugar mills are being sponsored by INRA; also they are building boats in nationalized workshops for the fishermen co-ops. It has become the sole buying and selling agency for beans, potatoes, fruits, eggs, coffee and minerals in Cuba's largest province, Oriente. Electric rates have been reduced by 30%, public phone rates halved, medicines cut 20%; 800 miles of new roads built, 35 bridges constructed, 133,000 acres reforested by the army; \$400,000,000 of stolen property confiscated from Batista henchmen.

Ten thousand housing units have been completed, with a four-room apartment going to those earning under \$100 monthly. The cost is \$15.92, which is

not rent, but the monthly payment for buying the house. Rentals were slashed in half. Ten partially constructed hospitals and six thousand new classrooms were completed during eight months, including more rural schools than in the previous 56 years. Student enrollment mushroomed from 660,000 in 1958 to over 1,000,000 last year. The beaches have been opened up for the benefit of all the people. (Sources: Transcript, World Wide 60, NBC-TV. Jan. 22, 1960. *Revolucion* Jan. 1, 1960).

The *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1959 complains about the regime's "organizing cooperatives, financing and managing practically all the land in the island." It is the introduction of economic planning, the building and plowing to smash hunger and unemployment, the tractors and bulldozers working 22 hours a day for the benefit of the Cuban people, that Washington is aghast at.

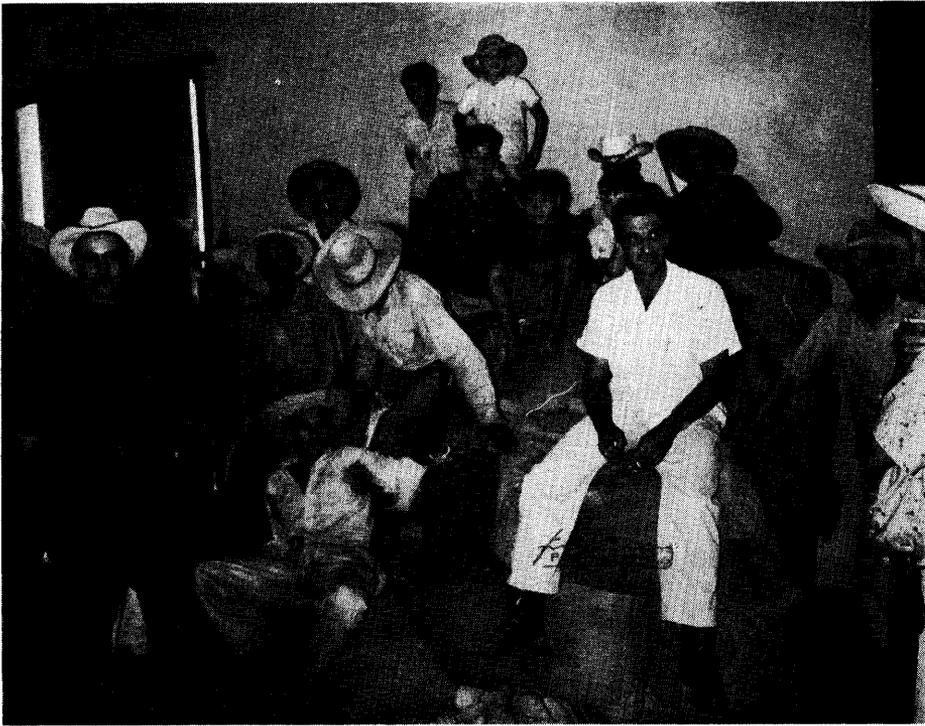
On Feb. 20, 1960, all private enterprise was placed under the revolutionary



FORMERLY AGRAMONTE FORTRESS NOW REBUILT AS EDUCATIONAL CENTER



MEETING OF RICE COOPERATIVE CAMILIO CIENFUEGOS IN MATANZAS PROVINCE. JORGE EGANA, INRA DELEGATE (SEATED AT RIGHT)



MEETING OF RICE COOPERATIVE CAMILIO CIENFUEGOS IN MATANZAS PROVINCE. JORGE EGANA, INRA DELEGATE (SEATED AT RIGHT)

government's direct control with a central planning board to "supervise and coordinate" in order to "rebuild the general economy of the country." Che Guevara, president of the National Bank, and part of the top leadership, hurled defiance at backers of "free enterprise" over Havana's Union Radio Feb. 5, 1960:

"During the past seven years Cuba has lost \$450 million in reserves, that is, more than nine times the reserves we held on Jan. 1, 1960 (reserves had dropped to \$49 million). This proves that we were paying out of the nation's reserves for the privilege of having a so-called free enterprise . . . That was free enterprise during Batista's time . . . This is why some time ago I said that we are not interested in free enterprise . . . Money cannot be given out indiscriminately. We serve the Cuban people and profits are invested in works beneficial to the nation . . . What the *Diario de la Marina* [Havana's leading reactionary daily] advises in its editorial, (that the country's policy must be an open economy) then, is that we continue with a type of colonial economy. They do not like the idea that the revolutionary government has cut its colonial links, both economically and politically."

The road from the victory of the bearded rebel army to Cuba's planned economy has been marked by conflict. In a cabinet shakeup last Nov. 25, Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara was named head of the National Bank, replacing Dr. Felipe Pazos. *The Times* of Havana reported Nov. 26: "The replacement of Pazos by Guevara came as a

stunning blow to businessmen and bankers."

Along with the shifting of Guevara, the Public Works Minister and the Minister for the Recovery of Stolen Properties were also replaced. The new Cabinet members are expected to give their fullest support to a high speed agrarian reform program with the National Bank saving hard currency for mechanization and industrialization; Public Works stepping up its pace in building roads to transport crops; Recovery of Stolen Properties working to make itself obsolete by transferring seized properties to the INRA. Previous to this the moderate Labor Minister had been replaced. The first president of the Republic Urrutia was forced out because he was too slow-moving and hesitant. Major Huber Matos was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment on Dec. 15, 1959 for attempting to utilize members of the Rebel Army against the Revolution. He had combined red-baiting with acts to slow down the agrarian reform.

Parallel with the shifting of power from middle class intellectuals who believed only in fighting dictatorship and making a place for themselves under the Cuban sun, to those who are presently speaking in the name of the workers and farmers, the 26th of July Movement has been relegated to minor importance: making toys for children who have none, collecting funds for arms and tractors. According to Tad Szulc in the *New York Times* Dec. 18, 1959, INRA "has become Cuba's most

important economic and political entity . . . On the provincial level, the 26th of July Movement has been replaced by the army and the INRA. This is a combination of supreme importance to Dr. Castro as he busily shifts the base of his national support from the middle class to peasants, workers and soldiers in what seems to be the prelude to a class struggle."

This shift towards building a new type of society results from the fact that the Cuban masses have been drawn into the revolutionary arena in ever greater number.

The Federation of Cuban Sugar Workers has trained and armed 55,000 sugar workers in the interior "to defend the sugar crop." About 300 Havana University students, including 80 girls, completed their military training last month with a climb up Cuba's highest mountain, the 6,569 feet Pico Turquino. The *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1960 reports "the sound of marching feet is echoing throughout Cuba . . . Students, workers and peasants are being trained and armed in every district of the Island . . . [they are] enthusiastically spending hours drilling. There are said to be about 35,000 militia members being trained in Havana."

On World Wide 60, Jan. 23, 1960 NBC-TV bemoaned that "one of the most frightening aspects of Castro's year of power is the people who are marching, not the least frightening is that they march voluntarily."

While the people are being armed, the Army is fighting for the Revolution with pick, shovel and tractor. This writer, on a recent visit to Cuba, saw soldiers building houses for farm workers, constructing roads, laying out drainage systems, reforesting the denuded land, farming on the co-ops; and building an entire school-city which when completed will accommodate 20,000 children from the Oriente mountain range, where illiteracy and poverty predominate.

Since soldiers work and the workers are armed, there is no need for military fortresses. R. Hart Phillips in her book, "*Cuba: Island of Paradox*," states that "Camp Columbia controls not only Havana but the entire island and the government." Today Columbia's name has been changed to "Liberty City" and its function has been reversed: from housing 30,000 soldiers of death it is being converted into a technical school. The fortress at Agramonte is already functioning as an educational complex. All the big army posts are being transformed into educational centers.

There are cooperatives where workers elect their own leadership. The Rebel Army does not salute. Committees from the cooperatives discuss their problems at INRA's regional headquarters, and plan together with INRA technicians how best to utilize the earth's potentialities. A worker at Bayamo, Norberto Pantoja, told this writer, "the

days that come will be good for us. Everything that is being done, is for our benefit." As he guided me through the countryside, everything was either "de nosotros" or "particular"; if it had been intervened, it was "ours," otherwise it was "private." Throughout Cuba, outside of the wealthy sections of Miramar and Varadero, the people identify the Revolution as theirs.

Castro has turned increasingly to the workers and peasants as the government is faced with counter-revolutionary opposition. Last Oct. 26, one million Cubans gathered on three days' notice after attacks by U.S. based planes. He drew class lines: "Because our Revolutionary Laws have an adverse effect on privileged classes inside Cuba and outside Cuba, they attack us . . . Since they know that civilians with military training could defend all they have won for themselves, the old privileged classes are allergic to everything that is implied by the military training of workers and farmers. On the other hand we believe that the best allies of the soldiers are the farmers and workers . . . We are their targets but it is the revolutionary reform program that they oppose."

Raul Castro, head of the armed forces, in attacking Matos said: "He speaks of a Revolution which satisfies all interests at the same time. This would not be a Revolution. How can anyone consider the exploiting latifundista the same as the exploited farmer?"

The real power in Cuba today resides in the workers and farmers who are armed and organized in cooperatives. The top leadership has been moving away from the vague middle class program of the July 26th Movement. The new organs of power are the army which works and the INRA which nationalizes and plans. The real top governing body appears to be the monthly INRA conferences where delegates from the twenty-seven zones meet with top government leaders, while INRA itself is fused with the army.

Where is the Revolution going? The social program of the Revolution has been hammered out on the run; Castro has, thus far, responded to the pressure of the oppressed for whom the overthrow of Batista was a mere prelude to independence from hunger and degradation which was brought to them with the compliments of American colonialism. Empirical actions have deepened the social revolution and dealt heavy blows to the imperialist control of the economy.

Today, the real power is in the hands of the armed revolutionary people, but this power remains to be consolidated by a necessary act. The top leaders have said that this government is of the workers, peasants and students; what remains to be done is to certify this reality, i.e., to make the mass revolutionary organizations the legal form of state power.

The masses had the power to bring the Revolution to its present stage, but they are not yet the supreme power; for their strength is not yet conscious and organized. What political form will replace the current de jure cabinet and de facto INRA conferences? An entirely new type of state apparatus is needed if the masses are to hold on to the power. All authority would have to pass to the revolutionary mass organizations, which elect their own representatives and forge their own program. Otherwise, the bourgeoisie can regroup, and take advantage of the vagueness of the "power" situation. Through some new parliamentarism the privileged classes will attempt to bypass the mass organizations and reestablish their former alliance with Yankee imperialism. *This will remain possible as long as the question of power remains vague and uncertified.*

We observe that there is, as yet, no working class party on the scene which is consciously preparing the mass movement for this decisive step. The discredited Communist party of Cuba abandoned its previous policy of support to Batista only to adopt a policy of unqualified acceptance of the status quo.

There are many happy conditions which would favor the working class in power. Cuba's soil is exceptionally fertile and level with a year around growing season. What imperialism was exploiting now offers opportunities for expanding and diversifying agriculture as well as utilizing the increased income to mechanize and industrialize.

The colonial revolutionary movement, the downtrodden of Africa and Asia asserting themselves gives the Cuban freedom fighters natural international allies.

THE world contest of the Soviet orbit in conflict against Western imperialism gives Cuba opportunities along the line of the February 1960 commercial agreement whereby the Soviet Union will buy 5,000,000 tons of sugar over a five year period and give Cuba a credit of \$100,000,000 for the purchase of Soviet agricultural and industrial machinery. This world contest also restrains the U.S. State Department and Pentagon, who must consider international repercussions. Just as the Negro children in Little Rock could find protection in the world's eyes focusing on them, so Cuba benefits from Washington's vulnerability compounded by its whole rapacious history in Latin America.

America's ruling class and its press representatives have threatened to cut Cuba's sugar quota, to reduce subsidies for Cuban sugar (which are provided to benefit the inefficient American sugar producers), to isolate Cuba through American economic and political influence in other Latin American nations. Washington has encouraged Cuban criminals by making the U.S.

an open house for them and their bombings with Florida-based planes; it has armed and befriended Latin American dictators while at the same time preventing Cuba from purchasing arms for its defense; it has attempted economic blackmail, sabre rattling and character assassination. But that is not the total picture. Castro's visit to the U.S. last year demonstrated the friendship of sections of the American people for Cuba's rebirth. The Negro press has given favorable treatment to the Revolution (*Pittsburgh Courier*: Why is it that "everybody is against Castro . . . but the people?"; *Chicago Defender*: "There is no racial discrimination in Cuba. That is a resounding and important declaration." *Cleveland Call Post*: "The Cuban people are shaping their democracy.") Vitriolic attacks by the American capitalist press have met with little success. Wall Street has realized that while Cuba's revolution has the backing of the people, direct intervention is not feasible, much as they would like to land Marines and launch an Army of Cuban Pacification. An imperialist-backed overturn, such as we saw in Guatemala, is not in the cards at present. The Guatemala coup was engineered successfully because the revolution had halted short of bold social and economic changes; the working masses had been restrained by the Stalinists from undertaking such revolutionary measures and as a result the people were in the background. The situation today is entirely different in Cuba. In Cuba the revolution is showing its enormous democratic sweep through the direct participation of the masses in a social transformation that has opened a new vision for the Cuban people. They will not easily be pushed into the background.

In Cuba there are signs proclaiming: "If you are fearful, go get yourself a little dog." This epitomizes Revolutionary Cuba. Millions of the poor and wretched who have been pushed around and exploited by Yankee imperialism have acquired tremendous self-confidence. This is the vitality of the men and women who are making a successful revolution, conscious of their strength, confident that they can change everything.

COMING

"The World of C. Wright Mills"

by

WILLIAM F. WARDE

Summer Issue

De Gaulle — a Lesser Evil?

You felt like "a bleating lamb ready for the slaughterhouse," said one French intellectual. It was easy to back the general; but how answer: What "if the fascist forces had been unleashed?"

by Shane Mage

ON MAY 13, 1958, a combination of Army officers and right-wing European residents seized control of Algeria. The insurrection of May 13 led directly to the overthrow of the Fourth French Republic. Charles de Gaulle took power as the "savior" of France.

On Jan. 25, 1960 history seemed to be repeating itself. Newspaper headlines screamed of an "uprising" in Algiers, with the French Army units stationed there acting in complicity with the rioting, armed civilians. But this time there was to be no Sixth Republic in the offing; the "colons" surrendered sullenly. What had made the difference — De Gaulle's "personality," or something more serious, more fundamental?

The context of the present tumultuous development of French politics is the effort of the Fifth Republic to liquidate the crushing heritage left to it by its predecessor. The Fourth Republic collapsed because of its inability to end the Algerian war, and the *coup de grace* was administered to it by a combination of fascists, gangsters, army officers, and ambitious politicians (many of the conspirators fitting into several or all of these categories.) The De Gaulle regime from its very inception has been faced with the continuation of the Algerian war and a *built in conspiracy* within itself. The "men of May 13," the representatives of the French "colons" who rule Algeria, have until now held positions of power on all levels of the state. The Prime Minister himself, Michel Debré, was implicated in an attempt to assassinate the commander-in-chief of the army in Algeria. As long as the fascist plotters kept their grip on the state apparatus, there could be no end to the Algerian war.

But the Fifth Republic *must* end the Algerian war, which costs France almost two billion dollars a year, blocking the further modernization of the French economy and military establishment, tying down the bulk of the French army, killing over 2,000 *French* soldiers a year,

and discrediting the De Gaulle regime in international politics. And it is equally clear that there is no military solution to be hoped for: the war can be ended only through negotiations with those in control of the armed struggle, the leaders of the "National Liberation Front" (FLN) who have formed the self-styled "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" (GPRA.)

At the start of the Algerian revolution the governments of the Fourth Republic refused to negotiate with the Algerian nationalists. At that time a socialist tendency, the "Algerian Nationalist Movement" (MNA) was predominant in the Algerian nationalist movement. Concessions to Algerian nationalism, *then*, would have opened the door to a socialist revolution in which French capitalism would not merely have lost control of the Algerian economy but would itself have been directly menaced.

During the past four years however, the FLN, led by former right-wing Algerian politicians like Ferhat Abbas and M'hasid Yazid, has been able to gain complete control of the Algerian resistance movement. The methods it has used to eliminate the MNA have been those of assassination and slander — but they have succeeded, thanks in large measure to all-out financial support from the Arab States and political support from the Stalinists and their fellow travelers who have always considered the MNA "semi-Trotskyist" and thus a major enemy. The victory of the FLN has meant safe bourgeois control of Algerian nationalism and thus dispelled the spectre of socialism.

De Gaulle, though he *used* the Algerian colons and their fascist friends to come to power, is not in the least bound to them. Under cover of "personal" rule, the Fifth Republic is the direct representative of the *decisive* sections of French capitalism. The Fourth Republic, was ruled by a parliament made up of representatives of all the special interests within French capital-

ism — from the sugar beet growers and moonshiners to the Algerian colons — who were very adept at rolling all the necessary logs to protect every special interest, no matter how backward or detrimental to the system as a whole. But De Gaulle, who has long been closely linked to the house of Rothschild, has formed an authoritarian and "technocratic" government in which the interests of the big banks and industrial corporations count for much more than the interests of small businessmen (whose representative, Antoine Pinay, was forced out of the government at the end of last year).

De Gaulle's colonial policy too, has been that of the "modern" sections of French capitalism. Well before his return to power De Gaulle had openly advocated a "liberal" colonial policy. Today the great imperialist countries: England, France, Belgium, the U.S.A., have understood that *colonialism* is an outlived, obsolete, and dangerous political form, giving rise to revolutionary movements. They have fully grasped the fact that *in the long run* the western powers can hold on to their present dependencies only in partnership with a native ruling class similarly interested in the preservation of capitalism. This partnership, of course, requires the political form of national independence. De Gaulle, since 1958, has laid the basis for the independence of France's entire African empire, from Mauretania to Madagascar. *De Gaulle's Algeria policy can be understood only as an integral part of his general colonial policy.*

But before this policy could be implemented De Gaulle had to get Algiers under control. The softening-up process went through several stages. Immediately after taking power De Gaulle made a triumphal trip through Algeria, assured the "colons" that he had understood them ("Je vous ai compris") echoed the slogan "Algerie Française"; then staged the completely falsified "referendum" of Sept. 28 in which

nearly 100% of the Algerian Moslems constitutionally voted "Oui" to the French Substitution.

In November 1958, having made these gestures to appease the Europeans of Algeria, De Gaulle turned to the FLN with an offer to negotiate "the peace of the brave." At that stage De Gaulle was not in sure enough command or under enough pressure to offer anything more definite, and although undercover negotiations took place (GPRA "Premier" Ferhat Abbas met French Foreign Minister Couvre de Murville in Lausanne, Switzerland) there was no end to the war.

In the summer of 1959 the French high command initiated the "Challe Plan" to concentrate the overwhelming power of the French army in the Kabylia mountains, stronghold of the FLN. Supposedly a new attempt to win the war, in reality the place was designed to persuade the cadre of the French army of the impossibility of a military solution.

Then on Sept. 16, 1959 De Gaulle made his key political move — the famous offer of "self-determination" to Algeria, followed on Nov. 10 by an appeal to the FLN leaders to come to Paris and negotiate the application of the self-determination. The response of the FLN was an acceptance "in principle" combined with a *seeming* rebuff — a negotiating committee was named consisting exclusively of prisoners in French jails! In reality this response had no other objective than to give De Gaulle more time to get full control of the French administration in Algiers, for under no conceivable circumstances could the FLN name a *genuine* negotiating mission excluding its political leader Ferhat Abbas and its military chieftain Krim Belkacem.

In December, two further developments fully set the stage for the dénouement in Algeria. In a speech at St. Louis de Senegal De Gaulle consecrated the independence of the Federation of Mali, the former "French West Africa." Only fifteen months had passed since Mali had gone from colonial status to "internal autonomy" — and now it was to be independent! How long could anyone expect Algeria to lag behind the far more backward countries of tropical Africa? At the same time, in Tripoli, the FLN after a three-week meeting reorganized its top leadership. Dropped were the leaders oriented toward Cairo or Peking — in full control remained the "Paris" and "Washington" factions.

De Gaulle could now move to the inevitable test of strength with Algiers. The decisive point was the semi-Fascist Gen. Massu, military commander in Algiers, darling of the local "ultras" — and well known political idiot. It was not hard to organize Massu's downfall: De Gaulle's representatives in Algeria,

commander-in-chief Challe and Special Delegate Delouvrier told the correspondent of a German newspaper that Massu might have some interesting things to say, that would be worth publishing. Massu, all unsuspecting, spoke his "mind," and soon the "Suddeutsche Zeitung" appeared quoting Massu as denouncing De Gaulle's self-determination policy and predicting that the Army would oppose any attempt to implement it. Before he knew what had hit him, Massu found himself under temporary arrest and whisked back to Paris.

The "uprising" that followed Massu's removal was no surprise to those members of De Gaulle's inner circle who in the previous weeks had been cited in the press as commenting on the desirability of "trouble" in Algiers in order to let De Gaulle take special powers (though he already had almost dictatorial powers) and put parliament to sleep for a year (though it could not have been said to be very awake in the first place). No doubt by pure coincidence, this was exactly what De Gaulle did once the "uprising" had been squelched.

An informative journalistic account by M. and S. Bromberger, of the overthrow of the Fourth Republic was entitled "The Thirteen Conspiracies of May 13." Behind the events of Jan. 24-30 this year there were also a large number of undercover plots — and this is perhaps the main reason why the true situation remained so mysterious for the first days, producing among many observers a panic fear of an all-out fascist coup.

In reality there were and still are, fascist conspiracies involving high army and police officers, aiming at the overthrow of the De Gaulle government. And although the Algiers "uprising" was the result, *not* of an attempted coup, but of a governmental provocation, it also became closely entangled with these conspiracies. It has since become clear that a serious attempt to overthrow De Gaulle was (and perhaps still is?) being planned for a precise date: the beginning of April when De Gaulle would be visiting this country and just before the arrival of Khrushchev on his visit to France. An insurrection in Algiers, whose main forces would be provided by the "Territorial Militia," the paratroop divisions, and the openly fascist political organizations (like the "French National Front" of the ex-brothel keeper Ortiz) was to coincide with a wave of anti-Khrushchev demonstrations to be organized in metropolitan France by the "Catholic Nationalist civic groups" of Georges Sauge. To "prevent civil war" the Army would be forced to take complete power under the patronage of a "respected" figure like Marshal Juin and set up a "Government of Public Safety" like that originally projected for May 13.

WHAT happened on Monday, January 25, was simply this: the essential arm of the insurrection, the "territorials," the Ortiz-Lagailarde fascists, had been thrown into action some two months too soon. The political preparation was not accomplished, the French fascists were unready for action, the army officers had not established a plan to unite their action to that of the Algiers "ultras." But there they were, behind the barricades, blood had been shed, and De Gaulle had instantly denounced their "evil blow against France."

In this situation the organizers of the plot had only two real choices: to accelerate everything and move immediately to a coup, or to cut their losses, liquidate the adventure as quickly and cheaply as possible.

The first alternative, however, was manifestly impossible. The "Army" in a capitalist state is *never* an independent and homogeneous social force, still less is it the plaything of a few extremist officers, no matter how highly placed. *It is the decisive instrument of rule for the capitalist class and can never be permitted to escape from the hands of that class.* Of all modern armies, the French army in thirteen years of uninterrupted counter-revolutionary war in the jungles of Indo-China and the mountains of Algeria has become an "ideal" breeding ground for all forms of fascist ideology. Nevertheless, even in May 1958 the Army *command* was willing to side with the insurrection only after De Gaulle had covered it with his full authority, and it threw its full weight into the balance only when it became clear that French capitalism was turning to De Gaulle, and then it was under pressure of a mass movement of the European population of Algeria and faced with an inept and discredited government in Paris.

In January 1960, however, the situation had basically changed. Lagailarde and Ortiz did *not* speak for the mass of Europeans in Algiers. Their demonstrations rallied only 15-20,000 activists. The rest remained passive, and participated in the general strike at the points of the guns of the "Territorial Militia." More important, vastly more important, the big capitalists in France are solidly behind De Gaulle and, *above all*, behind his Algeria policy. The inescapable conclusion for the fascist core of army officers was that an open coup would mean their isolation *within* the army and a speedy disaster.

But the alternative — submission to De Gaulle — was also decidedly unattractive. By his removal of Massu and his "evil blow" statement De Gaulle was clearly moving for the first time to get thorough control of the Algiers army. Would not an easy victory strengthen his hand and complete the demoralization of the "activists?" Thus, although totally unprepared for a coup,

the officer-conspirators were unwilling to submit: they sought a way out through pressure and passive resistance. The idea was crude and direct: instead of obeying orders to disperse the "insurgents" the paratroop garrison of Algiers fraternized with them while their officers "warned" Paris that the "rebellion" would be ended only if De Gaulle abandoned his self-determination policy and generally capitulated to them.

This, of course, was pure bluff in the absence of any intention to stage a coup—and De Gaulle was in position to call it at any moment. Though he waited for five days to do so, (partly, no doubt, to consolidate his command of the "loyal" army units, but also to heighten the theatrical effect) when De Gaulle in his speech on Friday, Jan. 29 stated his definitive refusal to compromise and ordered reliable forces from the "front" to take over from the paratroops in Algiers the "revolt" was as good as over. After swearing to die to the last man (and woman and child, whose bodies the heroes had asked to be added to their barricades) for "Algerie Française," the "insurgents" surrendered meekly and ingloriously.

In a quick follow up, some of the most notorious Army fascists, notably Colonels Godard and Bigeard and General Faure, were removed from their posts. The "Territorial Militia" was ordered dissolved.

Alain de Serigny, publisher of L'Echo d'Alger, and spokesman for the most ultra of ultra-colonialists, was arrested for his part in the conspiracy. French fascist leader Jacques Soustelle was fired from his cabinet position (Minister of the Sahara and Atomic Energy). Overall responsibility for Algeria was given to the new Minister of Armed Forces Pierre Messmer, who as High Commissioner in West Africa, had just proved his qualifications for the Algeria job by his preparation of the independence of Mali.

In sum, the diametric difference in the results of May 13 and Jan. 25 was not at all the consequence of a fortuitous factor, the personality of De Gaulle, however large a part the De Gaulle myth may have played. The essential difference is that the weak Fourth Republic was incapable of carrying through an effective policy in Algeria while holding the workers in check—and that in the person of De Gaulle there was an alternative available. The Fifth Republic is perfectly capable of finding a capitalist solution to the Algerian war, has more than proven its ability to control the working class, and there is no apparent alternative.

Failure to understand this basic point contributed powerfully to the ideological bankruptcy and political confusion displayed (during the January crisis) by virtually all sections of the French radical movement which, panic stricken by the "Fascist menace," fled desperately to De Gaulle as the only savior.

This behavior was all that could be expected from the Communist and Socialist parties which in their own respective ways had become supporters of De Gaulle after destroying the chance to resist his seizure of power. But left-wing socialists too shared in the flight. The editorial of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber in L'Expres of Jan. 28 is a perfect illustration of this.

Servan-Schreiber begins by recalling De Gaulle's direct responsibility in perpetuating the "built-in conspiracy" he inherited from May 13. He then poses, as a first step, the question "should we support De Gaulle?" and responds, "The answer is as clear, as simple, as it was in May 1958 concerning M. Pflimlin. There is the present and there is the future." For the future he wishes to maintain a principled opposition to the De Gaulles and Pflimlins and the capitalist system they represent. But the present? There he has no choice but to support the lesser evil, Pflimlin against De Gaulle, De Gaulle against Lagailarde.

BUT is the answer that simple? Servan-Schreiber must immediately come to grips with the complete failure of Pflimlin. On that score he has no illusions: to stop De Gaulle it would have been necessary to call on the working class, to form armed workers militias; and the bourgeoisie was prepared to face "anything but that! Reach agreement with De Gaulle, compromise with Massu and Salan, that at least would preserve the social order, avoid any great upheaval. But to appeal to the people meant disorder, adventure, who knows? The Popular Front." Note, in passing, how even the most "leftist" of French socialists, whether in the PSA or the UGS, refer to the *Popular Front* as to the ultimate in revolutionary action. Even though Servan-Schreiber and Bourdet (unlike the Stalinists) are at times capable of an abstractly correct analysis of the failure of two "Popular Fronts" in the last twenty-five years, in practice the Popular Front remains their political horizon.

Servan-Schreiber's argument lands him in a hopeless contradiction: if indeed the capitalist government is bound to capitulate since it cannot mobilize the working class against its own army, what can be achieved by giving political support to it, except to lull the workers and thus aid in the victory of the "greater evil?" And if the government can master the rebellion without calling on the workers, because it retains the confidence of the decisive sectors of the capitalist class, then again what is gained by supporting it in the "present" except to disorient the workers and undermine your own "principled" opposition for the "future?"

But this does not in the least imply indifference about various possible governments on the pretext that all are capitalist. The replacement of Pflimlin

by De Gaulle was a grave defeat for the French workers: that of De Gaulle by a front man for the thugs Ortiz, Lagailarde, etc., would be a complete disaster. There is an answer to the dilemma of "how to defend a capitalist government that is certain to capitulate to a military coup" and it is not a complicated one: *the independent self-mobilization of the working class*. The action of the Russian workers in August 1917 against the Kornilov insurrection, that of the German workers in 1920 against the Kapp Putsch, are only two of the many historical examples.

In his own way Servan-Schreiber is aware of this. At the moment of crisis he could only plead to De Gaulle to "choose" to resist, but a week later he looked back—and what he saw filled him with panic: "It was not De Gaulle who yielded before the blow from Algiers, it was we.

"I do not speak symbolically of 'we the left' or 'we the democrats.' I say very precisely, very concretely: you, myself . . . Were you immediately contacted, mobilized, made active and effective by a democratic organization of your choice (party, union, defense committee, etc)? Were you in contact with friends, comrades, colleagues in order to act? . . .

"You and I, and everyone else were posing the questions: *What will De Gaulle say? What will De Gaulle do?*

"But not the question: *What will I myself do tomorrow morning?*"

"If the fascist forces had really been unleashed this time how would you have defended yourselves, how would you have grouped yourselves, how would you have armed yourselves? And if you cannot answer these questions . . . you were a bleating lamb ready for the slaughterhouse."

The passivity of the French workers, in large part caused by their stunning defeat of May 1958, is however, not to be counteracted by support to De Gaulle, even only in the "present." Panic, even if it makes some things stand out more clearly, is a bad guide to policy. De Gaulle is now moving to end the Algerian war, to remove the threat of a fascist coup: but he is doing this solely on a capitalist basis.

Peace in Algeria on the basis of a deal between De Gaulle and Ferhat Abbas, whether or not Algeria becomes nominally independent, would symbolize the failure of the Algerian revolution, and could not satisfy the Algerian masses since the land and resources of their country would remain in French hands.

In France, the De Gaulle regime is likely to become even more authoritarian, to move still further to the right. Revolutionary socialists cannot give an iota of political support to De Gaulle or to the leaders of the FLN. The path to socialism in France lies in resolute opposition to the "strong state" of De Gaulle.

Africa's Bid for Freedom

Will the West "lose" Africa the way it "lost" China? Expert capitalist observers are haunted by this question. They have good reason to worry

by Frances James

THE "revolution of rising expectations" in sub-Sahara Africa has startled the world with its speed and scope. Within the last four years seven African countries have acquired formal independence status. The enormous energy released by Negro Africa's fight for independence has rocketed the "dark continent" into the brilliant orbit of the mid-twentieth century's anti-imperialist movement.

Arab North Africa has long been seething with wars for national independence; the Middle East is a whirlpool of anti-colonialist revolution; all of Asia, and indeed the entire world, has been struck with admiration and awe by the giant socialist revolution of 600 million people in New China; now Cuba has taken the road of revolution against the U.S. capitalist colossus and kindled new hope and self-confidence among the oppressed colonial people throughout Latin America.

No wonder gloom and foreboding characterize the mood of Western capitalist spokesmen as they observe the turbulent African scene. "Can it be that Africa is going the way of China?" they ask. The question is highly pertinent.

What has brought about this change in sub-Sahara Africa? And what chance do the African people have to realize their hopes and expectations?

The political awakening of Negro Africa, first of all, is conditioned by the economic boom of the last two decades. This boom has transformed the economic and social structure of a large part of the continent at an almost unbelievable rate. The extent of the change is indicated by the fact that in the post-War II years exports from these countries have increased on the average of four to five times their pre-war level. The investment of foreign capital in the last ten-year period reached almost six billion dollars. This is approximately equivalent to the total foreign capital investment in sub-Sahara Africa in a period of seventy years—from the discovery of the Kimberly diamond mine in 1871 up to the second world war. (*London Economist*, Dec. 13, 1958.)

Economic expansion in the Union of South Africa set the impressive record of nearly tripling its industrial production and more than doubling total national output of goods and services in the first post-war decade. In the Belgian Congo there were only 4,200 industrial enterprises in 1947. Ten years later there were 21,000. Kenya petroleum consumption between 1950 and 1957 rose by 500 per cent and consumption of electric power rose by 1,600 per cent. Hydroelectrical projects of enormous capacity are planned or are already under construction in almost every part of the continent.

The construction of dams, of course, is designed primarily to increase production of raw materials for export: rubber, cocoa, cotton, peanuts, etc. But it also affects subsistence farming on lands "reserved" for the African peoples. *Africa Digest* (London) reports that in Kenya (where production of cash crops on "reserved" lands was prohibited until only recently) "there has been something like an agrarian revolution." In one province scattered holdings have been consolidated "as a model for others . . ."

Modernization of agricultural methods in Southern Rhodesia's African farms has resulted in production of eight to fifteen bags of grain per acre where previously only two to three were produced. The production per acre on the European farms averages only four to six bags.

Modernization filters down into the most remote villages. Progressive chiefs begin to seek ways and means of putting running water and electric lights in village housing units. The economic boom brings with it the African's desire and his constantly more forceful demand for a greater share in the continent's wealth.

By far the most important product of Africa's boom, however, is the growth of the working class — a social force that could unite the people and resolutely lead the revolution to its logical goal — the establishment of a Pan-African Socialist United States.

The demand for labor in the cities combined with the expectation, espe-

cially among the younger generation, of educational and cultural advancement, has resulted in an enormous population shift. The size of the major towns in Northern Rhodesia, for example, was doubled from 1948 to 1950. John Gunther in 1957 estimated that forty million rural inhabitants were moving away from "tribalism" toward urbanization.

This growing proletarian force, living in terrible poverty, suffering discrimination and filled with hatred for the white-supremacist rulers, possesses some unique qualities. Foremost among these is its migratory character.

Migrant labor is established by forcing the African into "native reserves," then demanding he carry a pass in order to leave the reserve, work in mines, on white settlers' farms or in industrial centers. This is true even of the largest urban centers and in the technically more advanced areas in Kenya, the Union of South Africa, the mining areas of the Central African Federation and the Belgian Congo.

In Leopoldville only about twenty-one per cent of the working population has broken with rural and tribal ties and is considered permanently city dwelling. In the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia only sixty-five per cent of the workers have their families living with them.

This semi-slave status of the African worker was designed to prevent organized resistance to the intense exploitation practiced by the white rulers. And for a time it had its effect. But today the situation is altering. Workers with experience in union and political struggles periodically return to their villages bringing with them the new ideas of militant freedom struggle.

Despite the difficulty of organizing migrant labor and despite the added difficulty of a segregationist policy of the official union movement, African unions have grown to an estimated one-half million members.

Moreover, the very nature of the workers' problems — government-enforced color bars, legal limitations on job upgrading, etc. — have compelled the unions to face political questions from the outset. This is why leaders

of the trade unions, like Tom Mboya, head of the Kenya Trade Union Federation, become leaders of the Pan-African independence movement.

AFRICA'S industrial development was accelerated enormously by the war economy of the West. The economic and social impact of this process, combined with the influence of the colonial revolution at large, aroused hope and expectation among Africans that they too could build a new life and reap some of the benefits of industrialization. These hopes, however, cannot be realized without uprooting the whole system of colonialism and returning Africa to the Africans. Thus the fight for genuine independence. Thus the revolution of rising expectations. And thus Western capital has acted as the unwitting agent of its own downfall in Africa.

The British, in their east and west African colonies, have long followed a policy of concessions to the rising independence movement to which the name has been attached: "Gradual Self Rule." This policy permits, when the demand is strong enough, formal independence without loss of capital to British interests. British diplomats have explained that the secret of success of this policy is to "give before the giving is demanded." Today, there is not a single British colony that is not already "demanding."

The French held to the "French Union" policy with all power concentrated in the Paris government. Last year the pressure of the colonial revolution forced a change in policy to the concept of autonomous republics within a "French Community." Threat of withdrawal of all economic aid, arms, police protection, technicians, etc., if a country voted "non" to remaining within the Community kept all territories except Guinea within French control. Already, less than a year later, in the French colony of Dahomey, African political leader M. Apithy's party passed a motion demanding independence in 1960 and urging a referendum to consult the electorate, and the Mali Government has made an official demand for independence as soon as possible.

In the Belgian Congo the political movement of the Africans in Leopoldville last January forced an end to the old policy of Belgian "paternalism" and moves toward future self-rule were conceded. So-called "riots" and increased political debate, organization and conflict throughout the Belgian Congo have now won a promise of independence and immediate self-rule.

Imperialist attempts to control Africa through concessions runs immediately counter to the wishes of the white settlers (colons) and mining interests. They, being a small minority holding political power over Africa's millions,

know full well that concessions often sow the seeds of bolder demands. Even the most elementary bourgeois democratic rights would mean the complete isolation and ultimate ruin of the colons. They fear the mass of the African people and can conceive of protecting their privileges only through terror. The political and military strength of the colons in sub-Sahara Africa lies in the Union of South Africa where "apartheid" (complete segregation) policy is projected as the white man's answer to African expectations.

Increased colon power as an answer to the Freedom movement is pushing upward from the Union of South Africa through East Africa and the Central Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The colon power is attempting to destroy the African movement of Nyasaland through arrest of its leaders (Dr. Banda and 500 others are now in prison). Britain sent troops to back up the colons in the "emergency" of last year.

The United States, with its "dollar diplomacy," i.e., economic control combined with the granting of formal political independence, presents itself more than any other single or combined power, as the "new" liberal imperialism. Last year a special sub-division of the U.S. State Department was set up to handle African Affairs with Assistant Secretary of State Joseph C. Satterthwaite in charge. Official policy toward the Independence movement was stated by him as follows:

"Insofar as these objectives are progressive, just, and constructive, insofar as the methods employed to achieve the objectives are nonviolent and equitable, our attitude — in accordance with our national history, character, tradition — should obviously be one of sympathy and support." (State Department press release, Oct. 8, 1958.)

Even such guarded words as these have brought a protest from European powers and accusations that the U.S. is encouraging the nationalist movement.

Underlying the "free world" problems of political control lie the economic difficulties of the boom-recession cycle of capitalism. The "slump" of 1957 resulted in a ten per cent average drop in raw material prices on the world market. The loss to Africa due to the drop is estimated to exceed the total of U.S. and USSR aid to Africa for the last five years. Copper production in the Belgian Congo fell by fifty per cent, resulting in mass unemployment in Leopoldville.

The consequence of periodic recessions is by no means the sole economic problem facing capitalism in its drive to "contain" the African revolution. Capital, in the form of government loans and private investment for industrial and development projects is seen by the "free world" colonial "experts" as the only hope of maintaining political control. Yet in areas where the revolu-

tion rises to the heat of open conflict, capital tends to move out. This happened in the Central African Federation when the "emergency" was declared and in the Belgian Congo concurrent with the strike wave and "riots" of January 1958.

Still another problem for imperialism is the growing influence of the Soviet Union and China in Africa. The politically conscious forces in the independence movement are wary of the Kremlin and this is not due entirely to their pro-American illusions. Many of them recall with bitterness the exhortations of Moscow to support the imperialist democracies in World War II. They are still waiting for a little of this democracy for Africa.

What the African leaders see immediately, however, is the contrast between the role of the USSR in supporting UN recommendations on the racial situation in South Africa and West Africa and the U.S. abstaining from voting until recently. Moreover, the Soviet Union has loaned money to the independent African states totaling approximately the same as the U.S. loans at about half the interest rate.

The unfavorable situation confronting the U.S.-dominated cold-war bloc has compelled it to "moderate" its tactics. Premature attempts at solving problems by purely military means and naked terror have been curbed. This tactical shift is of course closely linked to the objective of gaining a new foothold for imperialism by the use of two familiar devices:

(a) Split and atomize the movement and paralyze its capacity to act against the common foe. (b) Gain control over sections of the leadership by means of economic pressure, bribery, threats, concessions, blackmail and playing off one segment against another.

THESE imperialist calculations have the following basis in reality: The African people are divided and fragmented along religious, tribal, cultural and linguistic lines. Over 700 languages exist on the continent. Divide and rule has been the age-old policy of the colonial powers. They have allotted powers in the "reserves" or labor contracts in the ports and mines to hand-picked tribal leaders or chiefs. They fostered tribal loyalties and made these loyalties economically significant. Behind "tribal" riots reported in the news lie many jurisdictional disputes over work opportunities, land tenure and other economic issues. All these conflicts are continuously sharpened and encouraged by the white rulers.

Another factor that favors the success of the "new" imperialist policy is the limited bourgeois and reformist program and outlook of the present leadership of the independence movement. This weakness is strikingly expressed in the illusion that a formally "neutral"

but in reality pro-American orientation in the cold war can serve the cause of the African freedom movement. Understandably, the African leaders want the aid of Western capital to help in the industrialization and modernization projects. The idea, however, that such capital can be secured by commitments to line up with the cold-war bloc is, of course, a deadly trap which the capitalist West has adroitly sprung on many occasions.

While these factors are not to be underestimated and constitute a grave danger to the success of the struggle, there are important reasons why the independence movement resists atomization and will not easily lend itself to piecemeal destruction. There are also reasons why the movement is forced by the logic of its development to overcome the limitations imposed by its bourgeois reformist program and leadership.

As we pointed out, the economic exploitation of Africa by Western capital has had consequences far beyond what the capitalist intended. The growth of industry, the proletarianization and urbanization of large sections of the population have served to enhance the interdependence of all areas of the continent. Thus the independence movement tends from its earliest manifestations to acquire a continent-wide scope and perspective.

Here we witness not a mere historical repetition of the old "nationalism" that shaped the modern countries of Europe in the course of their bourgeois revolutions. In the concrete circumstances of the combined historical development of Africa, the tasks of the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be solved in the middle of the twentieth century. In the light of the world pressures imposed on Africa, as well as the peculiarities of the African national problem itself, the solution of these tasks requires an all-continental scope.

The economic and technological problems the newly formed independent African states must face, illustrate this conclusion. Take the hydroelectric plant projected for the Volta River in Ghana. It would supply power to Ghana, Togoland, Nigeria and the French community countries of Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic. The plant on the Congo river will supply parts of the Belgian Congo, Angola and the French equatorial countries. The problems of one-crop economies — coffee in Kenya, cotton in Uganda, cocoa in Ghana — cannot be solved by diversifying crops and developing internal markets within the narrow limits of each separate country. Economic cooperation in broad areas is a technological necessity. Already technical assistance programs exist in several areas. Ghana-Guinea being a significant case among the newly independent states.

In the eighteen-seventies when the European powers staked out their colonial domains in Africa, no concern was given to the social and political problems of the African people. Land tenure, language, tribal structure, religious groups, etc., were all ignored by the European land grabbers and are still ignored by them when labor needs have to be met in mines and on plantations. For example, the Bakango people at the mouth of the Congo River were arbitrarily divided into territories controlled by French, German, Belgian and British powers. Thus a narrow, "nationalist" struggle, such as the struggles that established the present national boundaries in Western Europe, is not at all congruent with the freedom and independence aspirations of the Bakango people who live in five separate countries.

The growth of a pan-African concept is reinforced by the fact that European capital dominates the entire area. The African miner sees little difference between Belgian capital in the Congo or British capital in the Rhodesias and the African peasant gets the same vile treatment from European farmers whether on British cotton plantations in Uganda or on Portuguese peanut farms in Mozambique. They all represent European exploitation of African natural resources and labor power for the benefit of foreign capitalists.

As modernization and urbanization preceded the African National Congress movement sprang up around issues of education, work passes and voting rights. The leadership of these Congress organizations, in their early stages, came primarily from the tribal elders, chiefs, the educated elite and others who served the interests of colonial powers as a rule.

Today, when independence has become the dominant and immediate issue, it is the leaders with a pan-African outlook that are winning quite rapidly a dominant position in the Congress movement, the trade unions and in all African political organizations. The Accra Conference of 1958 and the permanent organization of the All African People's Conference demonstrated that the initiative and the leadership in the immediate future lie in the hands of pan-African leaders such as Dr. K. Nkrumah of Ghana, Tom Mboya of Kenya, Touré of Guinea, Dr. Banda of Nyasaland, etc.

What is most important, however, is not the momentary composition of the leadership but the debates over program that are seething in the whole politically active mass of the population.

Last year the African Congress movement in Northern Rhodesia split over the question of militant mass action *versus* the passive-resistance methods of the old National Congress. Those supporting the use of violence when necessary in the struggle for freedom

formed the Zambesia National Congress which was almost immediately suppressed only to reappear as the United Independence party. This party has just fused with a new split-off from the old Congress movement to form the United People's party which demands "secession of Northern Rhodesia from the Federation and self-government for Northern Rhodesia now by Africans."

THE issue of international trade-union affiliation (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, dominated by the cold-war bloc, *versus* World Federation of Trade Unions, supported by the Soviet bloc, or "neutrality") broke into open conflict last May when Mboya called a conference in Lagos, Nigeria, to form the first All-Africa ICFTU organization. It was attended by union leaders from twenty-one countries. K. Nkrumah who supported trade-union neutralism, countered with the calling of a trade-union conference in Ghana at the same time. This conference had delegates only from Guinea, Morocco and the United Arab Republic.

These programmatic and organizational clashes reflect the strivings of the African independence movement to achieve clarity in its concept of where the struggle is going and how it is going to get there. The concept of pan-Africanism, so overwhelmingly dictated by the course of Africa's historical development, still leaves open the questions: What class in African society can realize a continent-wide organization of the economic struggle to industrialize and modernize? Can such a struggle be led to victory by any group that isn't ready to break with the capitalist exploiters internationally and take the road of building a planned socialist economy in Africa?

Those who would reject the socialist road for Africa on the grounds that Western capital is required to make progress, fail to take some weighty facts into account. Western capital cannot be obtained by political subservience to Western capitalism without accepting exploitation.

On the other hand, if through the promising development of the African working class, a Marxist program and leadership can be forged that will take the road of socialist revolution — that would indeed contribute immensely to solving the problem of Western aid. The African revolution, taking the Chinese path of expelling imperialism and overthrowing the exploiters, would strike a mighty blow at world capitalism. It would speed the day when the British, French, Belgian and American workers would establish their own power and thereby form an economic and political alliance with Africa and with all the oppressed to build a world socialist society.

Case History of an Experiment

Why did "American Socialist" fold up? It could be charged to a failure of nerve. But closer study yields some instructive lessons

by Murry Weiss

AFTER six years of publication, the *American Socialist*, a monthly magazine which made considerable impression in radical and student circles when it first appeared, announced December 1959, "This is our last issue." In a statement to their readers the editors admitted that the decision to close up shop "stems from more than just financial difficulties."

What then were their political reasons? The editors of the *American Socialist* felt that the promise of a favorable regroupment among radical forces in the U.S. had not been realized. In the absence of a radical upsurge, they explained, they never thought that a regroupment would result in a new socialist party. But they did hope "that it might be possible to start a modest educational society outlining a body of ideas and approaches for a New Left if enough of the old radicals took the cure, rid themselves of their past misconceptions, derelictions, and bad habits, and grew up to understand the requirements of the epoch." This was an illusion, they conclude, "In retrospect, we can see that the regroupment discussion of several years ago had no chance. The decay had gone too far, and the atmosphere in the country was too forbidding to encourage a new beginning."

So what should be done now? The prospects appear dispiriting. "There are a number of possibilities open to us to overcome our difficulties, but these add up to converting ourselves into still another messianic sectlet. We have rejected such a course in the past and we do so now." Has the *American Socialist* then nothing further to say? It seems not. "We have already exceeded the life-span for non-institutional 'little magazines' in this country and the time has now clearly come to close up this particular venture."

What of other publications or other currents in the radical movement? Should readers of the *American Socialist* turn to any of these? The editors seem embarrassed. They say that the socialist

movement must make "fresh investigations" into many questions including "a number of classic socialist assumptions [not identified]. But we never believed—we do not believe now—that the Kremlin or the State Department were the best mentors, overtly or covertly, wholly or partially, for these researches." Interpreting this Aesopian language, we take this as advice to stay away from both the Communist party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

What of the Socialist Workers party and the Trotskyist movement generally? You would never guess from reading the *American Socialist* that editors Bert Cochran, Harry Braverman and J. Geller had spent the greater part of their adult life in the Trotskyist movement, breaking from it only in 1954. Do they finally draw some kind of balance sheet on this experience in the final issue of the magazine they founded? No. They conclude their experiment as they began it—without an explanation, without a programmatic accounting. Like fleeting, ghostlike birds of passage one could say of them: "From nothing, through nothing, to nothing."

Cochran, Braverman and Geller thus end their magazine experiment with ideological bankruptcy. Although they gratuitously include the whole socialist movement in this, they are really only speaking for themselves. To indict the movement as a whole, it is necessary to do more than assert; it is necessary to discuss points of disagreement, to attempt to prove one's contentions. In other words, it is necessary to engage in ideological struggle.

But this is exactly what the three editors have always refused to do, avoiding controversy by assuming a blasé manner: It is all too, too wearisome to squabble about ancient issues that interest no one but devotees of sectlets.

With all its appeal for the tired and the demoralized, such posturing signifies the abandonment not simply of Marxism but of all science, all method

and all efforts to test contending programs in the laboratory of experience.

Is this criticism too harsh? In defense of Cochran, Braverman and Geller it can be argued that in their final statement they profess optimism about the prospects of the sixties. "From a number of signs," they say, "it would appear that the tensions which have built up in our society will lead to a new burst of political creativity in the coming decade." We agree with that forecast. But for Marxists the next question is how should we prepare for the new upsurge? How can we help transmit to the young socialists of the sixties the precious lessons of more than a century of Marxism? Don't such tasks call for organized Marxist activity, even if it is reduced to the bare essential of running a mimeograph?

The editorial trio apparently thought of this—and excluded it: "Of course, the Left is by now too shrunken to permit *any continuity* between the movements of the thirties and any manifestations in the sixties." (Our emphasis.) What does this mean? If there is no possibility of any continuity between the radical movement of the thirties and the coming movement of the sixties, then the next generation, which will undoubtedly be called upon to solve fateful problems, will be left hanging by itself; it will be excluded from the benefits of learning from the experience of the generation of the thirties, in both their positive and negative aspects.

THEY are condemned to start from scratch in considering such mighty questions as the failure of the working class parties to stop the rise of fascism in Europe; the failure of the labor movement to prevent World War II; the liquidation of the revolutionary-socialist parties into class-collaborationist popular fronts in Europe; the

rise of a bureaucratic dictatorial regime in the Soviet Union; the stifling of all independence and revolutionary integrity of the Communist parties of the world by the Kremlin; the successive betrayals of reformist Social Democracy; the decimation of radicalism in America due to supporting capitalist parties; the defeat of the militant and radical wing of the American trade-union movement and the rise of the present labor bureaucracy . . .

If the Marxist movement today does not do everything in its power to transmit such lessons, then it is indeed bankrupt. And if one argues that there's nothing wrong with Marxism but no humans in this country exist capable of giving continuity to its body of thought, as Cochran does, it comes to the same thing. A theory that resembles some "truth" of the spirit world, unconnected with any living tendency, is hardly a useful guide to action.

WHY accept such a nihilistic diagnosis? It is not related to social reality but to emotional collapse. The editors express despair at the incapacity of the "old radicals" to rid themselves of their past "misconceptions, derelictions, and bad habits," their inability to grow up "to understand the requirements of the epoch." Wouldn't a Marxist begin by explaining such phenomena in order to overcome them? Precisely what were these "misconceptions, derelictions and bad habits?" In what way did the old generation fail to understand the "requirements of the epoch"? And what are these requirements?

The American radical movement showed great promise at the beginning of the century; it became a powerful force among industrial workers in the thirties; then it suffered rout and demoralization in the fifties. How did the misconceptions and derelictions (not to speak of bad habits) lead to this? Aren't the youth entitled to this wisdom?

If the movement of the coming decade is to succeed where the movement of the thirties failed, such questions must be answered by the Marxists. This will be demanded by young militants who will enter the ranks in the years to come.

For the knowledge-hungry youth turning to socialism this work of Marxism provides indispensable answers to their urgent questions. But the youth will not find even a hint to the answers in the *American Socialist*. The editors abandoned their project, bitterly skeptical, disillusioned, without anything to say to the future.

If this were merely the default of a few individuals, the subject would hardly be worth pursuing. But there is much more involved. Important lessons can be learned from the evolution of the group that launched the *American Socialist*. This evolution is itself

a part, of the story of the decline of the American radicalism in the fifties. To understand the main features of this group and what made them act as they did is therefore part of the preparation for the future we have been talking about.

In essence Cochran and his followers broke from the Socialist Workers party in 1954 over the concept and role of a Leninist party.

The American Trotskyist movement was founded in 1928 as part of the international struggle begun by Lenin and Trotsky against the rise of Stalinism. The bureaucratic caste that arose in the Soviet Union displaced democratic workers rule. In other countries the Communist parties were reduced to servile appendages of the Kremlin. Consequently, they were unable to measure up to their tasks in one revolutionary situation after another.

The Leninist tendency, led by Leon Trotsky, carried on the chore of expounding the theories of Marxism and Leninism against the systematic revisionism of the Stalinists and their unending falsification, slander, frame-ups, and murder. In every crucial situation in the world the cadre of Leninists, called "Trotskyists" by the Soviet bureaucrats, fought for revolutionary-socialist policies and painstakingly analyzed the causes of the defeats resulting from the Stalinization of the Communist parties.

This work was carried on first by the Left Opposition, which sought to reform the Communist parties, and then the Fourth International, which was founded after the Third International and the Communist parties adhering to it had lost all elementary revolutionary reflexes. The historical significance of this was the maintenance of the continuity of Marxism throughout the period of Stalinist reaction. The new generation that came to radicalism found intact the most advanced scientific theory of the class struggle. Without this, Stalinism would have succeeded not only in blighting the first workers state with a police regime and in wrecking many promising revolutionary opportunities, but in burying the socialist "memory" of the working class for decades to come.

THE single most important precept of Marxism rescued from Stalinist revisionism is the need for an independent party of the working class. Lenin devoted his life to advancing and refining this principle, bequeathing a rich legacy to subsequent generations. Lenin's key thought was that the party is the concrete manifestation of the program and the indispensable agency for giving it life. Marxism would be palatable to many dilettantes and dabblers in radicalism if it weren't so insistent upon converting its program into an organized

working-class political struggle against the parties of the rich and the middle class.

The American Trotskyist movement from the outset fought for this Leninist view. In 1940 a petty-bourgeois opposition, reflecting the pressure of the oncoming war, sought to persuade the party to give up unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. The debate then also turned on the Leninist concept of the party. The anti-Leninist faction headed by James Burnham and Max Shachtman felt itself "imprisoned" the moment it sought to reduce key principles to mere phrases — good for times of peace but not so good in war.

Cochran and the other editors of the *American Socialist* were reared in the Leninist school and played a considerable role in building the Socialist Workers party and defending its basic principles. They were an integral part of the Trotskyist cadre shaped in hard struggles such as the one against the Shachtman-Burnham deserters. Their break, beginning in 1952, with the program, theory and tradition of the SWP understandably resulted in a severe internal struggle.

The Cochran group did not, of course, commence with an open declaration against Marxism and against the Leninist concept of the party. As Rosa Luxemburg observed in 1899 in her instructive essay against the reformist revisionism of Eduard Bernstein:

"To expect an opposition against scientific socialism, at its very beginning, to express itself clearly, fully and to the last consequence on the subject of its real content; to expect it to deny openly and bluntly the theoretic basis of Social Democracy [Marxism] — would amount to underrating the power of scientific socialism. Today he who wants to pass as a socialist, and at the same time would declare war on Marxian doctrine, the most stupendous product of the human mind in the century, must begin with involuntary esteem for Marx. He must begin by acknowledging himself to be his disciple, by seeking in Marx's own teachings the points of support for an attack on the latter, while he represents this attack as a further development of Marxian doctrine. On this account, we must, unconcerned by its outer forms, pick out the sheathed kernel of Bernstein's theory." (Reform or Revolution?)

The revisionists of the Cochran group ran true to form in this respect. For some time they held to ambiguous formulas with double meanings which could be read different ways by different people. In the Socialist Workers party a minority is guaranteed full opportunity to present its views but the Cochranites were slow to spell out their thinking.

When they finally made their position more or less clear it went as follows: Trotskyism was all right in its time but the events of the postwar world have

upset the old Trotskyist conceptions. The Stalinists were able to lead a revolution in China, they argued. In Eastern Europe the Kremlin initiated a bureaucratically rigged social revolution. With Stalin's death, Malenkov and the other heirs of the dictator turned toward democratic reforms. Here in the U.S. the Reuther wing of the labor officialdom is to the left of the workers in some respects. Now if revolutions, however distorted, can be led by Stalinists and without a Marxist program, and some labor bureaucrats are quite leftist, who are we to say that it can't happen that way right here in America? Then what's the point of insisting on the need for a Leninist combat party? Why make sacrifices for socialist ideals? Why go through the ordeal of election campaigns with limited forces? Why put time and energy in party-building projects?

To understand this mood it is helpful to recall the social pressures at the time. The Korean War was still on. The McCarthyite witch hunt was mounting in fury. The trade-union bureaucracy had been transformed into a direct agency of the cold war and was collaborating with the FBI in hounding radicals out of the plants and unions. Less dramatic, perhaps, but profoundly important in its effects was the transformation taking place in what had formerly been the most militant and advanced section of the American working class.

A DOZEN years of war and armaments boom substantially changed the economic position and political outlook of the militant industrial workers of the thirties. This was supplemented by the cold-war hysteria. The normal influx of youth into the radical movement was reduced to a trickle. These were rough years for a revolutionary party, rough on the nerves, rough on staying power and on the composition of the membership. The Cochran faction in the last analysis reflected this heavy pressure by falling into a mood of despondency and inclination to give up what seemed like a lost cause.

It might appear that the developments of this period elsewhere in the world should have offset the pressures bearing down on American radicals. The Chinese revolution had gained a sweeping victory against imperialism and its native supporters; in Korea its forces had held back the world's most powerful imperialist army; in Eastern Europe capitalism had been replaced by workers states even if via military-bureaucratic action and without the independent revolutionary struggle of the masses. In Western Europe powerful mass Communist and Socialist parties and trade unions still existed although capitalism had succeeded in regaining relative stability. Situations like the

general strike in France in the summer of 1953 indicated the workers' urge to struggle.

Yet, through doctrinaire reasoning, the Cochran group responded to these encouraging international developments in a pessimistic and demoralized way. Instead of seeing in these world revolutionary advances, whatever their form, a source of fresh confidence and inspiration, a verification of the theory of Marxism, they became disoriented. The revolutionary advances took place without first settling accounts with Stalinism. Therefore, they argued, Trotskyism (or "the old Trotskyism") had to be "junked" and everything rethought from the beginning. As if Marxist analysis could be reduced to a simple logical sequence and its power judged on how perfectly this sequence fitted the actual history of the destruction of Stalinism!

Instead of seeing the revolutionary advances as a premise for further progress of the international socialist movement and therefore as a prelude to the most profound crisis of Stalinism, they took the momentary appearance for the whole reality. The Communist parties in China, Yugoslavia, etc., stood at the head of the movement, they reasoned. Therefore, this brought into question the need for Leninist-type revolutionary parties in bringing about a successful revolutionary change.

The consequences of such reasoning — or, better, such emotional reaction — could not but be devastating to a disheartened group in the U.S. If Stalinism, or labor bureaucracies in general, can act as the prime agencies of social change, why bother to build a Leninist party in the U.S.? Every effort involving party building became intolerably burdensome to them.

A section of the Cochran group was composed of trade unionists who had experienced in their own way some wear and tear. Beginning as militants devoted to the socialist cause, these unionists had become isolated and softened with prosperity until they came to feel that nothing "real" or tangible was left in the Marxist program. They were ripe for systematic adaptation to the "reality" in the labor movement; that is, to the powerful bureaucratic machines that proscribe organized socialist activity.

In this the Cochran group was hardly guilty of innovation. During the rise of the CIO almost every section of the radical movement was ridden with the opportunist disease of finding new virtues in the labor bureaucracy or the equally fatal sectarian disease of "rejecting" the CIO because it was headed by the bureaucracy. The American Trotskyist movement, however, retained its Marxist balance. It stressed the dual character of the development — the enormous progressive significance of the appearance of industrial unionism and the new ground for struggle it gave

against the regrouped and reinforced labor bureaucracy. The Trotskyists saw the CIO as the auspicious beginning of the mass radicalization of the American workers, requiring more than ever a revolutionary left wing and continuous struggle against the capitalist-minded labor bureaucracy.

The Cochran group was familiar with this. Some of them were organizers during the rise of the CIO. But they seemed to suffer from amnesia. They looked at world phenomenon comparable in its main lines to their own experience as if it were utterly without precedent. This reaction to the big world events, which was really a way of caving in to isolation and prosperity-reaction resulted in a pell mell flight from Marxism, a new and awed attitude towards entrenched bureaucracies and a general throwing overboard of principles, program and — above all — "tradition."

Unfortunately, this is still not the whole story. Marxists are capable of withstanding pressures greater than these. To suffer such precipitous collapse one more impulsion was required: authoritative backing from within the Trotskyist movement itself. This they received from a most unexpected source, a source that should have remained firmly against them, the group in the European Trotskyist movement in charge of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

This was an important test of the world Trotskyist movement since the assassination of its founder. The challenge of the Cochran group to the basic ideas of Trotskyism raised a question of international importance: does the Trotskyist movement represent the continuity of Leninism? Were the cadres assembled by Trotsky capable of carrying on the work after his death? History has answered these questions in the affirmative, we believe, but the answers were not given without struggles.

In response to the new world developments since World War II, the group of Trotskyists entrusted with the grave responsibility of co-ordinating the international efforts of the Trotskyist movement, began to see "new features" in Stalinism, not in the sense of its decay but in its possibly playing a progressive role under certain circumstances. Ordinarily such new opinions in the Fourth International and organizations like the Socialist Workers party which sympathize with it are submitted to rigorous and fully democratic discussion. In the process differences are generally resolved without too much difficulty. However, the incipient conciliationism towards Stalinism displayed by this European Trotskyist group, which was headed by Michel Pablo, greatly encouraged such groups as the Cochranites. On top of this Pablo used his formal authority as secretary to en-

courage and inspire the Cochran group to more vigorous action along the course it had taken.

UNDoubtedly Pablo regarded Cochran with some hopes in 1954 as a possible American protagonist. Cochran, however, wasn't interested in any subtle revisions of the Trotskyist program, once he had launched his faction on a course of split. He wasn't interested in conciliation with Stalinism. As subsequent events showed, Cochran was moving away from Marxism without any intention of taking it stage by stage in the manner described by Rosa Luxemburg. But while he was forming his faction he was not averse to using the authority of Pablo for the moment to pick up support from Trotskyist workers in the U.S. intensely devoted to the concept of internationalism. In fact, he couldn't have taken many of them with him in his break from the Socialist Workers party without this assistance from Pablo. Under fire from the SWP majority, Cochran needed the cover and direct assistance supplied by Pablo.

This is the bitter truth about what happened. It is a tragic irony that immediately after the split, the Cochran group was designated by the Pablo leadership as the "official Trotskyists" in the United States. This probably gave the Cochran group some amusement. They shortly explained to their European allies that they hadn't the slightest intention of playing such a game and in fact weren't much interested in further correspondence.

While we are on the point, we might add that Pablo's role in encouraging this kind of a split-off from the Marxist movement in the U.S. was reproduced in both France and England. The startling shift of the Lawrence group in England and the Mestre group in France from Trotskyism to Stalinism demonstrated that when a revisionist tendency is in flight from revolutionary socialism, it is unwise to take surface adherence to the phrases of Marxism for good coin. And it is fatal to provide such groups with the cover of subtle arguments to facilitate their transition to the camp of anti-Marxism, as Pablo did.

Pablo and his group did not follow Cochran. Undoubtedly they were even surprised by its "sudden" evolution to anti-Trotskyism. This did not say much for the capacity of these leaders to foresee and to prepare — and not to persist in repeating the same mistake because of prestige considerations.

Six months following the split of the Cochran group from the SWP, Harry Braverman, one of its leaders, summed up its "achievements" in a speech published in the June 1954 *Educator*, a mimeographed publication. Braverman said: "We carried through the split and re-formed our ranks in excellent order. We remained just about 100% solid." The

major accomplishment, according to Braverman, in addition to the launching of the *American Socialist* was "the decision not to conduct a polemic with the the SWP."

This curious accomplishment meant a refusal to explain to militant workers, or anyone else, why they left the SWP, what the issues in dispute were, and on what program they now stood. The reason Braverman gave for such a suicidal political course was that "the Trotskyist movement had wasted away so badly that there was absolutely no periphery—I repeat and underline—*absolutely no circle of sympathetic opinion* before whom we had to wrestle with them. Second, the point of view against which we would be polemicizing is not a natural growth representing a trend of opinion in the U.S., but a hothouse product of sectarianism, and as such entirely without interest for any part of American labor or radical circles, and by that I mean *any* part . . ."

The empirical facts provided some justification for Braverman's explanation of why the *American Socialist* group decided to make an anonymous entry on the stage of radical publications. His description of the SWP periphery at that time is not greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, the decision was a fatal mistake and expressed in its way the basic defect of the group which foredoomed it to impotence.

Any political group which conceals its programmatic origins (for whatever reason, be it "shrewd" tactical duplicity, or the claim that no one is interested) has broken with the most elementary requirements of Marxism. Once the discipline of programmatic accounting is tossed aside, a group becomes highly vulnerable to impressionism, moods-of-the-moment, personal caprice and arbitrary regimes.

Laboratory proof of this is offered by the experience of the *American Socialist* group. Having launched themselves as a group solidly agreed on acting like political amnesiacs unable to remember where they came from, the "100% solid" very soon discovered they had disagreements. Did they then engage in a serious internal discussion allowing each point of view full rights of expression, as they were accustomed to in the SWP? Of course not! That would have been reverting to the habits of sectarianism. Instead Cochran simply struck the names of the dissident editors, including George Clarke and Mike Zaslow, off the masthead, and threw a large majority of the New York membership out of the organization. That's living, nonsectarian politics! This split, too, was not reported or explained to anyone.

The Socialist Workers party, meanwhile, repaired the breach left by the desertion. Younger members moved forward into positions of responsibility and leadership. A few retrenchments had to be made but all the party institutions

were saved. Despite the witch hunt, new recruits joined. By 1956 the party was able to swing into the presidential election campaign in effective fashion.

In that same year came a test that was to prove decisive in the further development of both the *American Socialist* group and the Socialist Workers party, if not every tendency in the American radical movement. This was the regroupment opportunity.

The faction led by Cochran made much of its eagerness to influence the radical movement and its know-how in accomplishing this aim in contrast to the "old" Trotskyists who were much too rigid, inflexible and altogether too dead to play any role in this. However, when the great shakeup of the American radical movement came, following Khrushchev's famous revelations and smashing of the Stalin cult, it was the SWP that moved into the crisis, mapped out a flexible policy, began joint discussions and common actions and — this is now admitted by the SWP's worst enemies — emerged from the regroupment process as the only gainer in relation to either the radical movement or new forces.

The capacity of a Marxist movement to inspire a new generation of radical youth is a decisive measure of its freshness, vigor and determination. Beginning with 1956 it was the SWP alone of all the radical groups that attracted a dynamic youth movement genuinely interested in revolutionary socialist politics and participation in the struggles of young people both North and South, Negro and white.

THE *American Socialist* group, in contrast, displayed the obverse side of organic opportunism during the regroupment period; namely, sectarian aloofness, snobbishness, a you-come-to-us-or-else attitude, and, finally, an Olympian pronouncement on the eve of the big shakeup that everyone's bankruptcy barred anything coming of the whole turmoil. The Cochran group proved utterly incapable of building a youth following — and it must be admitted that if good journalism is sufficient they had every chance to succeed at it. The *American Socialist* was well written and well illustrated. It published informative articles that took a general socialist point of view. But it had no theoretically grounded program and therefore no plan to organize a serious movement. Thus it could not really inspire new converts to socialism to work for the goals that inspired past generations of socialists.

In the same conference, six months following their split, the Cochran group adopted a resolution, "Our Orientation." (This was never publicly distributed.) "Our purpose," the resolution reads, "is to bring our ideas into the mass movement, and to gradually raise the con-

sciousness of the ranks to the historic tasks. But the last thing in the world we should attempt is to inculcate the ranks with the necessity of adopting our specific traditions, and impressing upon them the truth of all the evaluations and proposals broached by Trotsky from 1923 on."

All this sounds very broadminded and realistic. In the atmosphere of the prosperity-crazed, McCarthyized, hysteria-ridden U.S. it gave the impression of having one's feet planted solidly a good distance from immature sectarian nonsense. On closer examination you get a different impression. After all, what are these "evaluations and proposals broached by Trotsky from 1923 on"? They happen to be nothing less than the systematic exposition of the Marxist class-struggle policy for every situation of major importance in the international workers' movement for more than a quarter of a century. They happen to be also the Marxist evaluation of the causes for some major catastrophes such as the working class falling victim to fascism, to pauperizing depressions, and a second world war.

All this is dismissed as simply outward trappings, inner-group jargon, family circle memories and old grudges lingering from ancient factional squabbles! But in the regroupment test this absence of theory proved fatal. On the other hand the doctrines, methods and theory to which the SWP adhered gave another indication of how practical they really are.

In their despairing "Statement to Readers," the editors of *American Socialist* dolefully express the feeling that what is happening in the radical movement across the Atlantic in Britain is much superior to what is happening in the U.S. "What has been done in Britain in the past two years," they say, "was not and could not be duplicated here." We don't know specifically what the editors regard as hopeful in Britain. But they are right in concluding that real progress is being made there. This, however, is a result of following the very course they turned their backs on.

In Britain during the past two years a major group of highly qualified intellectuals and workers in the mass movement broke away from the Communist party. The break was programmatic, entailing thorough review and study of the very "Stalin-Trotsky dispute" which Cochran and his collaborators put in the same category as the Dempsey-Tunney fight. Among those in Britain who have broken definitively with Stalinism there has been impressive ideological ferment. A significant group, having studied the programmatic issues to the end, turned toward fusion with the British Trotskyists. This resulted in formation of the Socialist Labor League, a group within the Labor party and the unions dedicated to advancing the Marxist view.

As an organizing center of both class-struggle action by militant unionists and

theoretical struggle for Marxism, the SLL has been selected as a target for witch-hunting. The British capitalist press and the right-wing trade-union bureaucrats are displaying the keenest alarm over the fact that the SLL has become an inspiring and attractive force for radical youth, for trade-union militants, for the entire left wing in the Labor party. The SLL is in the forefront of every struggle to unite workers, students and intellectuals in the fight against British imperialism, for withdrawing British troops from every part of the world, for ending the H-bomb tests, strengthening the socialist program of the Labor party and defeating the right wing's attempt to scuttle the party's stand in favor of public ownership.

The SLL is taking the lead in the fight for full democracy in the unions, the Labor party and in every aspect of British life. The SLL has shown its fighting mettle in beating back racist attempts to whip up a lynch movement against Negro workers in London.

Where did this magnificent movement come from? It is obviously without a trace of sectarianism or disdainful aloofness from the actual movement and life of the working class. It is popular, energetic and colorful in its public appeal.

The real secret of the strength of the SLL is in its concern for the theoretical basis of socialism, its "preoccupation," if you please, with the "old disputes" and its rejection of every attempt at lightminded improvisation in the field of principle. This is true of the SLL and its leadership as a whole, both those who came recently from the Communist party as well as the older Trotskyist cadre.

The British Trotskyists prepared for the opening of the kind of opportunities prevalent in their country today and that will surely confront us in the U.S. tomorrow, by struggling against their

own Cochran faction, the Lawrence group, back in 1953. They faced the same problem as the American Trotskyists in coping with destructive factional intervention on the part of Pablo. They, too, had to overcome the effects of a split that was unnecessarily deep due to Pablo's influence. Their success in overcoming the internal dispute in a principled way, in strict accordance with Leninist tradition, is what prepared them to play their magnificent role today.*

Historically England "mirrors" the future of the United States. Marxists have long felt that the American trade unions will eventually follow the British example and organize a Labor party. The differences between the U.S. and Britain assure that such a development will most likely occur at a far swifter tempo and depth in this country than it did across the Atlantic. We hope that when this time arrives—and it can be relatively soon—the Socialist Workers party will prove itself capable of living up to the Marxist traditions as well as the British Trotskyists have. To put such ventures as the *American Socialist* under the microscope, as we have tried to do in this post-mortem, is part of the necessary preparation.

* Pablo has not displayed precociousness in learning. He has persisted in sniping at the British Trotskyists despite all their successes, as if he were still fighting the battle of 1953-54 and had hopes of turning up another Cochran. In the witch-hunting attack on the Socialist Labor League, Pablo has failed, up to this time at least, to take a public stand in defense of the victims. This was not due to lack of time, for he has busied himself with getting in touch with the few intellectuals who buckled under the pressure. He has even gone so far as to defend members of the Labor party who took an equivocal stand on the witch-hunt attack against the Socialist Labor League. It is difficult to see what advantage he sees in this for his faction in the Fourth International. It would seem more practical, and certainly a lot more principled, for a leading member of the Fourth International, whatever faction he belongs to, to make clear which side of the picket line he stands on, above all where Trotskyism is the principal target.

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The Fate of Dewey's Theories

Conservatives blame the noted educator for America's lag in space rocketry. Are they right? A socialist examination of Dewey's theories in practice suggests the correct answer

by William F. Warde

DEWHEY went wrong, not in what he proposed for the school itself, but in his lack of understanding of the forces at work in American society and of the real relations between the educational and the economic systems, under capitalist rule.

For Dewey, education was to be the principal means for correcting economic evils and attaining progressive political ends. The school system was to serve as the major institution for carrying the democratic processes initiated by the founding fathers to their logical conclusion. He fervently believed in Emerson's prophecy: "Efficient universal education . . . is the mother of national prosperity . . . We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education."

The transformed schools would remake American society in two ways. First, by bringing forth the most desirable attitudes in the student body, experimental education would create new generations of inquiring, equalitarian-minded, scientifically oriented individuals. These in turn would intervene in the solution of social, economic and political problems and remodel our culture after the pattern of their school training and experiences.

Progressive teachers would thereby become the leaders of social advancement. By their guidance of the youth and their partnership with the parents in Parent-Teachers Associations, they would convert the school into a central powerhouse of democratic doctrine which would enlighten and energize the community and eventually the nation.

"Education," Dewey declared in *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897), "is the fundamental method of social progress and reform." This key proposition exposes the fundamental flaw in his position. He assumed that his aims of democratic education could either be harmonized with those of the capitalist regime or, wherever these came into conflict, the democratized schools, their supporters and graduates would prevail against the forces of reaction. He staked the whole fate of progressive education and the future of American life on this assumption.

In reality, the kind of education he urged went counter to the dominant traits and trends of capitalist development.

The modes of life and learning inside the schools were

at variance with the realities of the business civilization outside. Dewey was aware that the school provided only a fraction of the social influences at work upon the child's development, and usually not the most decisive ones. The emotional responses, behavior and standards of city children are shaped far more by circumstances in the home and family, the neighborhood and the streets, by the social level they occupy, and by the media of commercialized mass culture than by the classroom. James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* and Richard Wright's *Black Boy* present two extreme cases of this predominance of the external environment over the school. But processes similar to those depicted by these realistic novelists for Chicago's South Side go on in some measure among all parts of the juvenile population.

The spotlight has been thrown on the "Blackboard Jungles." But children made miserable, resentful and rebellious by poverty, malnutrition, discrimination, and lack of recreational facilities, are only the most obvious victims of the capitalist environment. The sharp contrasts between the intellectual habits, moral values and code of conduct instilled in the schools and what they experience around them generate deep uncertainty, confusion and frustration among growing children in all walks of American life.

If children are treated as equals at school, they encounter many gradations of poverty and wealth outside. If students are taught to be mutually helpful, considerate and cooperative, the first commandment of the acquisitive and competitive world around them is "look out for number one." Teachers prate about decency and kindness while the TV, movies and comic books glorify crime, brutality and violence. Honesty may be the best policy — but what about the fixed TV quizzes?

HOW can education proceed with serenity and security when fears and rumors of war and H-bomb annihilation are ever-present? And the more enjoyable learning is made in progressive schools, the more intolerable is the monotony and drudgery of factory and office occupations afterwards.

"A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his full stature. An environment in which some are practically enslaved, degraded, and limited will always react to create conditions that prevent the full development even of those who fancy they enjoy complete freedom for unhindered growth," Dewey wrote. The virtues of progressive education were counteracted and corroded by the evils of the capitalist environment.

The liberal thinkers of the Progressive school found themselves in a dilemma whenever they bumped up against

This is the second of two articles. The first was published in our Winter 1960 issue and dealt with the main features of John Dewey's theories of education. The author showed how the Progressive movement in the field of child education resulted from the rise of industrial capitalism. The entire social structure and cultural pattern of the colonial period was destroyed and the theory and practice of education had to be revamped. The Progressive movement was an attempt of enlightened elements of the middle class to meet the new social problems with a democratic educational system that would have profound effects in creating a rational and harmonious social order. The article concluded with the question: Why haven't Dewey's theories been realized in practice? And why have they become a favorite target of reaction today?

these realities of capitalist life. On the one hand, they opposed any indoctrination in the schools. As advocates of "the open mind," they said that children should not have any preconceptions imposed upon them by their elders but should be encouraged to inquire freely and arrive at their own conclusions.

It was an enigma how neutral and impartial teachers in neutral and impartial schools were to produce progressive-minded students. After all, the "free intelligence" they hoped to cultivate did not operate in a void or in a society where everyone shared "a common knowledge, a common worth or a common destiny," as Dewey put it. Progressive education had to make its way in a society torn by antagonistic class interests. The disciples of Dewey could not in fact adhere to their angelic impartiality if they wished to further the cause of progressive education. The progressive educationists were in a small minority pitted against a majority of teachers with orthodox views not only on education but on most other matters. If they were not to be rendered impotent by conservatism, the Deweyites were forced to cast aside their assumed neutrality on disputed issues and lead their students along the path of liberalism.

Even their efforts to obtain reforms within the confines of capitalism stirred up fierce resistance from the business interests who insisted that the schools serve aims geared into the operations of capitalist enterprise. Businessmen wanted docile and trained personnel for their offices and factories and voting sheep for their parties. They did not need independent, critical-minded individuals but standardized units who could function as interchangeable parts in their organizations.

They could no more tolerate free discussion and unhindered consideration of social and political questions in the classrooms than they could in the country at large. Teachers with unorthodox views were liable to infect the younger generation.

IN THE 1920's Upton Sinclair wrote *The Goslings* and *The Goose-Step* which showed how subservience to Big Business was bred and enforced in the schools. In the early 1930's the more respectable Commission on Social Studies in the Schools subsidized a study of freedom of teaching since the first world war by the prominent American historian Howard K. Beale.

Here are some of his findings: School administrators were usually unsympathetic to the inquiry. They "are not interested in freedom." Many teachers "care nothing about freedom or a study of freedom and want only to draw their salaries with as little effort as possible . . . The multiplicity of examples of fears of teachers about supplying facts is in itself eloquent testimony of the lack of freedom in the schools."

In conclusion, Beale exclaimed: "Can teachers who are cringing, obedient 'hired men,' cowards, and hypocrites create citizens of courage and integrity? As the writer completes this study, he is appalled by the extent to which American teachers are dominated by cowardice and hypocrisy. There are admirable exceptions. Yet almost universally teachers teach not what they would like, but only so much of it as they dare."

This was said at the height of the New Deal when teachers had much more latitude in expressing liberal and even radical opinions than they have enjoyed since. Over the past twenty-five years the area of freedom has appallingly contracted. Today public school and college teachers, bedeviled by conformism, loyalty tests, and witch-hunts, are the most timid, vulnerable and terrorized section of the middle-class intellectuals.

The situation of social studies teachers in the secondary schools had grown so untenably oppressive that in 1954 the noted sociologist David Riesman proposed "that social studies be abandoned in the public schools, since they could not, without more protection for the teachers, be taught with any candor or vigor . . ." — *Contrast and Variety in Amer-*

ican Education, pp. 127-128. The remnants of his own liberal conscience prompted Professor Riesman to remark that "John Dewey, with his orientation towards problem-solving as the principal basis of thought, and towards the school as a factor in the life of the community, would probably have regarded my view as an unwarranted concession to reaction." So it was. But the fact that the suggestion was put forward in earnest indicates how much the capitalist steamroller has succeeded in flattening out the spirit of inquiry and the progressive's will to struggle.

The "cowardice and hypocrisy" which so disturbed Professor Beale has been saddled upon the teachers by the actual overlords of their profession. State control once meant liberating education from religious control; it now means subordinating education to the upper classes who dominate the government, determine the school budget and police its personnel. In 1922 the *Brooklyn Eagle* asked: "Why should public money be employed to produce teachers disposed to break the established order rather than sustain it?" The representatives of the money masters take care to insure that the hand that writes the teachers' paychecks is the hand that rules the schools.

"Perhaps the most dangerous, because the most general and most subtle, control over teachers is that exercised by business," reported Beale. "Businessmen . . . dominate most boards of school trustees whether private or public . . . Business's chief interest in the schools is the indoctrination of pupils and teachers with concepts that will silence criticism of business and its methods and insure large profits for the future. Reforms, which might limit its profits, must never be discussed in the schools . . . Men are so used to confusing their own desires with fine principles that most men seeking to control the schools in order to protect their business probably have really convinced themselves that this is an act of pure public service," he ironically comments.

Business, big or little, directly or indirectly, has the economic, political and propaganda power to exercise a veto over the whole realm of American education. For Dewey the schools came first, but education for the masses has no such priority for the plutocracy. During the depression businessmen slashed educational appropriations and crippled the schools to save their own pocketbooks. Nowadays, during the Big Boom, Congress passes a \$40-billion program for building highways because the Defense Department, steel, cement, auto and oil corporations were behind it and then turns down any appropriation for school construction. Federal appropriations for education are at the bottom of a budget of which two-thirds go for military purposes. Evidently guided missiles with atomic warheads are more important for capitalist survival than students who might have critical minds.

Dewey looked to the educational system to lift American culture, like a giant crane, to ever greater heights and lead the American people to a wider democracy, step by step, generation by generation. But the level of education cannot be higher than the surrounding social structures permit. Dewey loaded onto the institution of education more than it could be expected to bear. The forward movement imparted by his ideas proved considerably weaker than the backward pressures of the monopolist regime which kept dragging education down to its own level.

SO IT was that the progressive crusade registered such meager and disappointing results over the past half century. Today the exhilarating experimental élan of the early years has evaporated. About as much of the progressive proposals as can be accommodated to the status quo has been incorporated into current public school practice. But the movement itself appears afflicted with hardening of the arteries, like the rest of contemporary liberalism. Enlightened educators are asking in bewilderment: where do we go from here?

The evolution of the strictly experimental schools has

been exceedingly ironic. These laboratory schools were to serve as pilot plants where new methods would be evolved and tested and the ideals of progressivism would flourish. Instead they have become private precincts of a narrowing cult, almost exclusively patronized by the offspring of well-to-do parents dissatisfied with the public schools. They have not come closer to the community and the workaday world, as Dewey projected, but grown more isolated and turned back upon themselves.

Professor Harold Rugg of New York University, himself a leading light among the progressive educationists, detected this retrograde tendency some time ago: "From 1942 to 1945 I spent forty-odd days in a score of older progressive schools, choosing principally those that had the advantage of many years of uninterrupted experiment under fairly continuous administration," he wrote in *Foundations of American Education*, pp. 19-21. "I saw some good teachers in action — occasionally true artist-teachers — who respected their young people as Persons and carried on their groups as societies of equals. I saw them reflecting the American psychology of freedom and action — the young people free to move about and talk, and each one expected to speak of what he sees in his own unique way . . . Their climate of opinion was marked by a spirit of inquiry rather than of dogmatism; teachers sent young people to sources and put responsibility on them for organizing material and for facing issues. Thus the old dissectional atomism of the mechanical school had largely disappeared and young people were being offered a program in which total jobs, total enterprises, could be confronted and to which each could bring as much of himself as possible. In psychological terms this was no mean achievement . . .

"But . . . something seemed to be missing in these schools. A strange aloofness from society seemed to mark them . . . They seemed afraid of forthright realistic dealings with the actual conditions of their local communities; certainly they dodged most of the major controversial issues of the day . . . After fifty years of creative study and innovation our people had found no effective way to incorporate youth into the actual design and operation of society; they are still regarded as onlookers, as observers, — and unofficial at that. This revealed itself clearly in the inability of the schools — except in two of those I have seen, where an excellent program is under way — to engage the young people in socially useful work which is significant in their personal lives."

* * *

At the bottom of Dewey's naive and almost magical belief in the omnipotence of education in relation to the rest of social life was the implicit and unexamined assumption that progressive education could find everything necessary to realize its aims within the existing social system. He shared this outlook with the entire Populist-Progressive mass movement which tried in vain to smash the stranglehold of the monopolies upon American life, on the assumption that it could manage capitalism more fairly than the capitalists.

Dewey's exaltation of education as the prime solver of social problems was a direct translation into general theory of the aspirations of the rising middle classes who looked to the education of the younger generation as the justification of their own struggles and sacrifices and as the guarantor of progress. The immigrants envisaged their sons becoming lawyers, doctors, dentists, professors or successful business men — and their daughters marrying such prizes — achieving higher social status along with financial security. The native-born workers likewise cherished the hope that education would enable their children to raise themselves out of the working class.

The specific demand for the innovations of progressive education came, however, mostly from middle class intellectual circles who were not very radical in their political outlook but were keenly cognizant of the deficiencies of traditional schooling. "These (Progressive) schools were

'protest' schools, expressions of the parents' rebellion against the regimentation of childhood," writes Rugg. "They were formed in the years of the nation-wide shift from the conventional practices and allegiances of the nineteenth century to the new ones of the twentieth. The parents were themselves caught in a period of rebellion against the old ways of living and of hectic attempts to improvise new ones. It was natural that this same spirit of revolt and improvisation should mark the work of these schools in these first years. It was in the spirit of 'Try anything once and see if it works.' I recall dozens of times when that phrase was bandied about in the early days of the Lincoln School. It was educational innovation — not thought out, designed experiment."

* * *

Disappointment with the fruits of progressive experimentation is one of the factors in the present widely discussed "crisis of American education." Conservative spokesmen are exploiting its shortcomings to discredit the entire venture of progressivism. The attacks of the anti-progressives have increased in intensity over the cold-war period.

They have made Deweyism the scapegoat for all the failures of the educational system. Johnny, they cry, isn't taught to read, spell or figure. The schools are too full of "frills and fads." Deweyism is almost un-American and the abettor of "a crawling socialism."

It may be true that here and there overindulgent teachers have placed too little emphasis upon the acquisition of the elementary tools of culture and that this unbalance in the curriculum needs correction. Dewey himself never slighted the importance of the formal elements in instruction but simply insisted that they serve the more informal activities in a rounded educational development.

THE right-wing critics, however, want to do more than correct one-sidednesses. They aim to wipe out the "new-fangled notions" and go back to the old-fashioned ways. They urge a revival of the classical curriculum through "The Great Books," the institution of more discipline and uniformity, the reinstatement of the 3 R's as the core of primary instruction, the inculcation of religion and moral lessons. Their prescriptions would not only sweep away the advances made under progressive tutelage. They would shift the responsibility for the failures of American education from the capitalist culprits to the liberal educators who did their best to improve the schools.

American education cannot "go back where it came from," either to the obsolete traditional methods or to the Utopian premises of the original progressives. It has to move to higher ground, taking off from the ideas and achievements of Dewey's school.

"To educate on the basis of past surroundings is like adapting an organism to an environment which no longer exists. The individual is stultified, if not disintegrated; and the course of progress is blocked," Dewey once wrote. Those in quest of a fresh approach to the problems of American education should heed these words.

The conditions which confront the present generation are vastly different from those at the beginning of the century when Dewey first put forward his ideas. The change-over from colonial and rural to urban and industrial life which so preoccupied him has not only been completed; the countryside itself has become modernized and mechanized. The mighty influences of corporate wealth, the rise of organized labor, and the contest between these two giant social forces dominate our national life, including that of the middle classes wedged in between them. The world arena is the stage of a prolonged struggle for supremacy between a capitalism in retreat and the advancing forces of socialism.

The old social fabric is rotting and collapsing and a new one is being woven before our eyes. Any theory of educa-

tion which refused to take these fundamental features of our era as its starting point would be divorced at its root from social reality and sterilized at its source. Dewey maintained that education must be socially and practically useful — and what is more useful than a correct understanding of the economic and class forces operating around us and their effects upon the educational process?

Dewey himself learned from the experiences of the Progressive movement and drew certain conclusions from them. In the thirties he came to recognize that the schools in and of themselves could not be the prime instrument of social change. "It is unrealistic, in my opinion," he then wrote, "that the schools can be a *main* agency in producing the intellectual and moral changes, the changes in attitudes and disposition of thought and purpose which are necessary for the creation of a new social order. Any such view ignores the constant operation of powerful forces outside the school which shape mind and character. It ignores the fact that school education is but one educational agency out of many, and at the best is in some respects a minor educational force." — *Social Frontier*, May 1937.

He advocated that progressive education associate more closely with the labor movement. He had earlier taken the initiative in organizing the teaching body into unions and was one of the founders of the American Federation of Teachers. He called upon teachers to "ally themselves with their friends against their common foe, the privileged class, and in the alliance develop the character, skill and intelligence that are necessary to make a democratic social order a fact."

UNDER the impact of the Great Depression he took the further step of proclaiming his belief in socialism. His socialism was of the Norman Thomas type: a vague ideal of justice, equality and democracy which would ensure the material welfare of everyone in the community and the spiritual self-realization of the individual. It hovered on the borderline of liberalism and socialism.

He rejected scientific socialism which taught that the independent struggle of the working class for power was the only way to abolish privilege and parasitism and achieve real democracy. This cut straight across his own middle-class, "superclass" outlook. Neither in his politics nor his educational theory would Dewey admit that the differences between capital and labor could be deep and irreconcilable. He tried to prevail upon both capital and labor to subordinate any specific class interests to some more comprehensive national interests, hoping that intelligent, forward-looking members of all social strata could and would unite in a common endeavor to democratize America.

Some of his left-wing followers abandoned the original injunction of the progressive educators that the teacher and the school should abstain from taking sides on controversial issues and openly proclaimed the need for active alignment with the forces working for a new social order. Among these was Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College who wrote a book in 1932 with the challenging title: *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*

More recently a tendency called Reconstructionism, headed by Theodore Brameld of New York University, has come forward. It stresses the duty of educators to prepare students for a voluntarily planned society. However, its theoreticians disagree on what this new society is to be like and how it is to be attained.

One thing is certain. The big business masters of America know what they want: schools which serve their "free enterprise" profit system. Their opponents ought to be equally clear about what kind of replacement is required for a suitable education in this modern world.

Horace Greeley, the radical editor of the N. Y. Tribune before the Civil War, wrote in his *Hints Toward Reforms*: "Before Education can become what it should be and must be, we must reform the Social Life whence it proceeds, whither it tends." Dewey and his fellow progressives tackled

the problem from the other end. They tried to reform the educational system before and without effecting a thoroughgoing reorganization of the social system. Consequently their experimentation did not yield the promised results.

Looking back in 1956 to the hopes expressed by Dewey in 1899 that the schools would remake society, Professor Riesman observed that the opposite had come about. The schools and colleges had become so pressed into conformity that they could no longer act as a countervailing force against the predominant trends of their environment.

Does Dewey's vision of democratically functioning schools in a free and equal society have to be given up, as reactionaries demand and despairing liberals fear? The guiding principles of his educational policy remain the most viable cultural creation of the defunct Progressive movement. Their admirable objectives cannot be achieved within the framework of an increasingly monopolistic, militaristic and despotic capitalism. But they can be realized under a workers' democracy such as the socialist movement aspires to build.

To link the future of progressive education with the prospects of socialist revolution in the United States is almost as repugnant to our liberals as to the conservatives who combat them. They hope to gather the harvest in the field of education without first ploughing up the social soil.

And yet American history shows how much a successful revolution of the people can do for educational progress. The First American Revolution made possible free universal public education in this country. The Civil War cleared the way for the rapid expansion of the public schools and shattered the Southern slave stronghold of illiteracy and backwardness, even though integration has still to be won in its public schools over seventy-five years later.

Immediately present, however, is the Russian example dramatized by the launching of Sputniks and Luniks. Here is the most spectacular illustration of the tremendous impulsion revolution can give to education in backward countries.

AMERICANS regard themselves as the most advanced nation on earth. This cocksureness has suddenly been put in doubt. The complacent rulers of the country have been jolted into the realization that they have fallen behind the Soviet Union in military and space technology. Admiral Hyman Rickover and others bitterly blame Dewey's philosophy for the failure of the schools to produce enough technical and scientific personnel to keep up with the Soviet rocketeers.

But the challenge of Soviet education ought to convey a quite different message to the American people than it does to the monopolists and militarists who are primarily concerned about preparing for World War III. It is a forceful warning that our schools are far from fulfilling their function of preparing the youth for this age of nuclear energy, space exploration, automation — and the transition from capitalism to socialism.

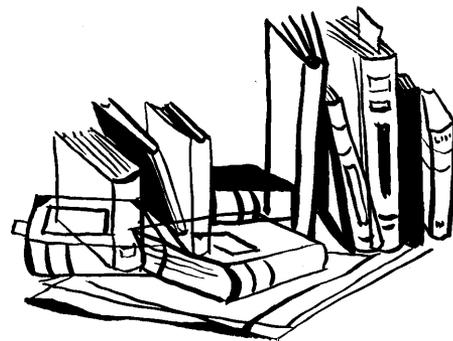
"In America we have built many wonderful school buildings, and we have put more of our teenagers in the custodial care of the high school than has any society in history," says Edward U. Condon, past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. "Nevertheless we have an uneasy feeling that this enormous educational apparatus is not doing as much as we feel it ought to do. Too large a proportion of our high school graduates are unable to read and write English; almost none have a mastery of any foreign language; the overwhelming majority are quite illiterate about mathematical reasoning and are ill at ease even with arithmetic; very few have any disciplined grounding in the basic principles of any science."

But the most alarming educational lag is not in the natural sciences, as Admiral Rickover and Professor Condon state. It is in the social sciences. Marxism and socialism,

(Continued on page 61)

A Short Glimpse of the Long View

by Bert Deck



THE LONG VIEW OF HISTORY, by William F. Warde. Pioneer Publishers, New York City. 1960. 64 pp. 35 cents.

These lectures were originally given by William F. Warde at the West Coast Camp in September, 1955. The publishers should be commended for reprinting them in their remarkable Pioneer Pocket Library series.

At first glance it would seem that the author had set himself an impossible task:

"I propose first to trace the main line of human development from our remote animal ancestors to the present when mankind has become lord of the earth but not yet master of his own creations, above all of his own social system. After that, I will deal with the central course of evolution in that specific segment of society which occupies the bulk of North America and represents the most developed form of capitalist society."

From the first vertebrates to the coming American labor party is the scope of this essay by William F. Warde, who is no stranger to readers of the *International Socialist Review*. The boldness of this venture would, in any case, deserve "A" for effort; but happily, the results match the daring of purpose.

Warde was part of that promising group of young intellectuals who, in the early thirties, attempted to break through the ideological restrictions of American pragmatism and achieve the Marxist "long view of history." The group included such notables as Sidney Hook, James Burnham, Dwight MacDonald, Vincent Sheean and others of that calibre. However the rise of the Stalinist dictatorship in the USSR, the approach of World War II, the working class defeats and the fascist victories, demoralized and routed almost the entire group. Each of them, in his own way, "rediscovered" the more primitive method of pragmatism in the ideolog-

ical sphere and thereby a political road back to support of American capitalism. Warde, alone of the whole group, went on to absorb fully the Marxist approach to social reality and is able to bring to a new generation the valid achievements of a previous period of intellectual upsurge in the United States.

"Many people," the author notes, "became frightened by the immensity of the tasks, or crushed by adversity to the point of losing their moral and intellectual backbones, and losing sight of the main line of social evolution . . . This 'lost generation' has forgotten, if they ever learned, the supreme lesson of both world history and American history. This is that the forces making for the advancement of mankind have overcome the most formidable obstacles and won out in the end."

The anti-scientific view presents history as a mish-mash of unrelated accidents. Those holding this view may accept lawful progression or ascent in natural history, but deny it for social history. The social, material source of this denial of science is quite apparent. It would be impossible to maintain "that the established capitalist regime in the United States embodies the highest attainable mode of life and an unsurpassable type of social organization" if all of history disclosed but one absolute: the law of continuous change and progression to ever higher stages of social organization.

The idea, that American capitalism is the happy final chapter of human history, is but a repetition of the prejudice prevalent in both feudal and slave societies. Without a scientific or "long view" of history it is impossible for peoples at a given stage of culture to relate their past with their future; thus they accept their present as given and unchanging.

History not only shows that mankind has moved upward from level to level but also indicates that there is a dis-

cernible pattern which describes the manner of that movement; an extended period of slow evolutionary progress accompanied by a growth of internal contradictions; the development of an irreconcilable conflict between the forces striving for a higher level and those which wish to hold society back; the victory of the progressive forces through a revolutionary "leap" shattering the old social structure and the reconstruction of the social organization on a new and higher plane.

There have been three such "leaps" in human history since the advent of civilization: from slavery to feudalism; from feudalism to capitalism; and now, we are participating in the most significant leap of all, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

American history shows the same lawfulness, the same logical relationships between its various stages.

We have already experienced two revolutionary leaps forward: the War for Independence and the War Between the States. Each of these cataclysmic events was the end product of an evolutionary accumulation of irrepressible internal conflicts. Each permitted a social reorganization which allowed for a more rapid growth of the productive forces. Each in turn set the stage for a new and higher struggle which prepared for the subsequent development.

The "long view" dictates that an understanding of American society today requires that we analyze its contradictory aspects and seek in them the main spring for the next leap forward. Any other approach means to turn one's back on history, on science, on reason itself.

Marxism has not only the distinction of applying scientific method to the study of all human history but it uncovered the internal mechanism in modern society which is preparing the evolution of man on to the higher stage of

socialism: the class struggle between the working class and its direct opposite, the capitalist class.

Warde places our contemporary history in an international context. "The movement for the advancement of capitalism which dominated world history from the 16th to the 19th century has been succeeded by the anti-capitalist movement of the socialist working class in the 20th century. This is the central line of world social development in our time."

After noting the growing strength of the American labor movement the author concludes, "Reviewing this country's history from 1876 to 1955, to-

gether with the rate of growth of the working class movement on a world scale, the balance of forces has been steadily shifting, despite all oscillations, more and more toward the side of the working class power. Nothing whatsoever, including imperialist war, the Taft-Hartley Act, McCarthyism, have been able to stop this basic momentum of the U.S. labor movement."

We can expect that this evolutionary process will, as before, culminate in a revolutionary "leap." And, as before, the leap will come totally unexpected to most. "The Long View of History" demonstrates that a socialist America is not so distant as it might appear.

probably the biggest single factor in the loss of Communist Party influence in the Negro vanguard.

The influence of non-capitalist ideas in individuals such as A. Philip Randolph, Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois are treated as aberrations rather than as serious factors in the development of their thought and expression as leaders.

He gives no serious consideration to the ideological struggles in which the vanguard was involved. "They disagreed . . . about the wisdom of working through political parties, about establishing an independent Negro abolitionist press, and even about the pace of the campaign . . . Indeed the propensity for divisions in its leadership, combined with apparently irreconcilable wranglings over ideologies, had already exhibited itself in Negro America before the Civil War."

No mention is made of the wealth of evidence which exists in the written record of the challenge by the Negro vanguard to the author's basic thesis: the essential health of the American democratic tradition.

His dismissal of the ideological differences in the vanguard as "wrangling" and a "propensity for divisions" is quite significant: Either Bardolph discounts the capacity of Negro leaders to think independently, since ideological differences are certainly present among white leaders also; or, as is more likely, the author has a limited capacity for understanding and dealing with ideological questions generally.

Nevertheless, the volume of reading, discussion and thought on the question by Bardolph does result in some interesting contributions to an understanding of the Negro problem in the United States.

For example, his examination of the origin and role of the Negro Christian church notes the reasons that many Negro leaders in the past as well as today have been ministers. Negro church leaders, unlike isolated leaders in the professions, education, art and two-party politics, had more direct ties with and opportunities to win support from a mass base. The Negro church afforded opportunities for development of talents, barred elsewhere by race discrimination.

A noted forerunner of Bardolph in the study of the vanguard, George Plekhanov, wrote in *The Role of the Individual in History*:

"A great man is great not because his personal qualities give individual features to great historical events, but because he possesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the great social needs of his time, needs which arose as a result of general and particular causes. Carlyle, in his well-known book on heroes and hero-worship, calls great men beginners. This is a very apt description. A great man is precisely a beginner because he sees

Movers and Shakers of History

by Jean Blake

THE NEGRO VANGUARD, by Richard Bardolph. Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York. 1959. 388 pp. \$6.95.

Richard Bardolph, a professor at the Women's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, recipient of Ford and Guggenheim Foundation fellowships, and author of articles and book reviews in many professional historical journals, wrote this book because, as he says:

"The time has come to lodge the Negro movers and shakers of American social history more firmly in the record, and to assemble, while they may still be discovered, the scattered and elusive facts about their social origins."

His criterion for selecting his list of persons included in the Negro vanguard is candidly stated in his Prologue: "I have been at great pains to minimize my subjective judgments, for I have tried to assemble a list of those persons who appear most prominently in the written historical record." His theme is that the central tendency in the evolution of the Negro, like the rest of American society, has been the "development of an order in which status was determined by achievement, not ascribed by birth or caste."

Bardolph proceeds as follows: He lists the most celebrated Negroes in U.S. history chronologically for three periods — 1770 to 1900, 1900 to 1936 and 1936 to 1959 — divided into categories: religious leaders, educators, artists and entertainers, business and professionals, etc. He makes some generalizations about "their family backgrounds, their early economic and community environment, educational influences; the role of accident, sources of motivation, the importance of contacts with sympathetic

whites and prominent Negroes upon their development; local and regional advantages and, so far as the data permit, some tentative conclusions about the development of the selective mechanisms and social climate that favored their rise."

He then examines briefly a few of the most typical according to his criteria, and one or two of the exceptions "that prove the rule."

The author concludes that in the early period such factors as family, acceptability to whites, degree of whiteness, economic advantages, etc., tended to determine status and emergence as leaders, but changing conditions have made the decisive factor individual ability since opportunities are no longer limited by race.

The "message" of the book, which the publishers quote on the jacket, is "a testament of hope, a reaffirmation of the writer's belief in the essential health of the American democratic tradition."

The author's selection of evidence to support this thesis, fails, therefore, to go beneath the surface of the birth, education and occupation and connections with whites or other Negro leaders.

He ignores completely the developments in the class struggle and the actions of the masses, even the Negro masses, as the framework within which leaders emerge. He mentions only incidentally a few fragmentary highlights, like the Montgomery bus boycott, the March on Washington movement and some statistics on population composition changes. And he fails even to mention the monumental conflict within the Negro movement during World War II over the policy of subordination of the Negro struggle to the war effort —

further than others. He solves the scientific problems brought up by the preceding process of intellectual development of society; he points to the new social needs created by the preceding development of social relationships; he takes the initiative in satisfying these needs."

Bardolph shows some intimation of this view in his Prologue where he states: "Especially important is the distinguished Negro's place in current discussions of the race's capacity for first-

class citizenship, at a time when the resolution of the American Dilemma is our major domestic preoccupation, and when all our people need, as never before, the knowledge and insights that inform sound judgment and prudent decisions."

But an analysis of Negro leaders that fails to examine their ideas and the class-struggle context which gave rise to these ideas can provide only a limited understanding of the role of the Negro vanguard.

time was in the mushrooming railroad industry. The railroad barons spread their greedy tentacles over the whole of American economic life. They swindled the investor, squeezed the farmer and trampled on the worker.

The American capitalist class, engaged in the bloody process of primitive accumulation, were insatiable in their greed and merciless in their disregard of the most elementary human rights. Beginning with the economic crash in 1873 the railroad tycoons repeatedly slashed wages and worsened conditions to maintain a high rate of dividend payments on generously watered stock. The rest of the employers followed suit.

The author records that: "By late 1873 even skilled craftsmen could be hired for board alone." When the railroad bosses announced another ten per cent cut for June 1, 1877, it was more than flesh and blood could stand. A spontaneous strike movement erupted and soon swept through all the major railroad centers. Police, special deputies, company thugs, vigilantes, militia and finally federal troops, were called upon to smash the strike. Lacking organization and leadership the strike was broken.

From an historical point of view the 1877 strike movement established a number of memorable firsts. It was the first strike to achieve national scope; the first in which federal troops were used as strikebreakers; the first in which the anti-labor injunction was introduced as a strikebreaking weapon. Despite the author's bias the book contains much factual material of interest to the student of American labor struggles.

Class Struggle — American Style

by Tom Kerry

1877: YEAR OF VIOLENCE, by Robert V. Bruce. Bobbs-Merrill, New York City. 384 pp. \$5.00.

According to the publisher's blurb, the author spent "over two years of intensive research and a year and a half of writing," to complete this book. He should be commended for the research. The facts speak more eloquently than the author whose understanding of the events is shallow and whose interpretation is colored by a definite class bias.

The class prejudice of the author is most marked in the use of a derogatory terminology. Contrast, for example, the sensitivity of labor historian Samuel Yellen who wrote in his introduction to his book: *American Labor Struggles*, "except in a few instances, I have used the word 'crowd' rather than 'mob' because of the dubious application of the latter by newspapers." With Bruce it's the other way around.

In his summary chapter, Bruce projects his interpretation of the 1877 events onto the railroad strike of 1894, and says "With the outbreak of the Pullman Strike in 1894, memories of '77 came rushing back. Many of the old ingredients were there: railroaders on strike in twenty-seven states and territories; a call for a general strike at Chicago; tramps, hoodlums, depression unemployed and teenagers stirring up trouble; fine July weather bringing out crowds; dozens killed in rioting."

It is from this kind of an amalgam that the author derives the title of his book which comes enclosed in a lurid dust jacket depicting a raging conflagration with figures of the "mob" dancing about in the flames. The year 1877 was indeed a year of violence — of frightful, murderous violence, directed against the working people by the minions of capital; and of workers goaded beyond endurance to militant resistance.

With the end of the civil war the Northern capitalists set out to garner the fruits of victory. There was an entire

rich continent to ravage and they set about systematically to pillage and plunder its wealth. Some of America's greatest family fortunes — Rockefeller, Morgan, Vanderbilt, etc., etc., — date from that era. The stockjobbers, land-grabbers and money changers bought up city officials and state legislatures; they named Governors, Congressmen and Senators; the federal government in Washington was at their beck and call.

In 1876 the northern capitalist class, ruling through the Republican party, betrayed the Negroes in the South and terminated Reconstruction for a deal with the Democrats which landed Hayes in the office of U.S. president. The greatest concentration of capital at the

Cabin'd, Cribb'd, Confined!

by Constance F. Weissman

MEMOIRS OF A DUTIFUL DAUGHTER, by Simone de Beauvoir. The World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York. 1959. 382 pp. \$5.

"I was and I would always remain, my own master," writes Simone de Beauvoir about her childhood. Born in Paris in 1908, her childhood was happy and secure. "Sheltered, petted and constantly entertained by the endless novelty of life, I was a madly gay little girl." Yet in her twenties, she was to write in her diaries, from which she reconstructed her autobiography, "I was cabin'd, cribb'd, confined! I felt suffocated, I was eating my heart out, I wanted to hammer my head against those prison walls."

While later gaining fame as a champion of women (*The Second Sex*) she never resented being a girl. She enjoyed her position as the older daughter in a middle-class family, secure in her Roman Catholic faith which protected her from fear of death as a child, and convinced her of her immortality.

In the bourgeois environment, in which the family belonged, the contradiction between religion and patriotism put national values before Catholic virtues. "At an early age I was indoctrinated . . . to make a clear distinction between God and Caesar and to render unto each his due; all the same, it was most disconcerting to find that Caesar always got the better of God."

She decided that religion was for purely spiritual matters.

She received a shock at confession when the priest to whom she was confessing her spiritual "sins" interrupted with a scolding about her behavior in school. "I gazed with horror upon the impostor whom for years I had taken as the representative of God on earth; it was as if he had suddenly tucked up his cassock and revealed the skirts of one of the religious bigots; his priest's robe was only a disguise; it covered an old busybody who fed on gossip."

Even when she became a university student she dared not tell her parents that she had been an atheist for many years. Actually her intellectual break with the church was of little help in mitigating her own confusion and despair in growing to maturity. Although a brilliant student at the university, so imbued was she with Catholic restraints and inhibitions that she was prevented from any participation in student activi-

ties, or even interest in the people around her, in the world at large, in politics, or especially any relationship with men. Having logically fought out the battle against religion and her family, she still had to learn how to participate in the world as a free person, not one bound by the invisible bonds of bourgeois-Catholic conditioning.

Fortunately for her, her father lost his money. Because she would have no dowry and hence could not marry in bourgeois French circles, the only alternative was to be educated to make a living. Her brilliance finally brought her into the circle around Jean Paul Sartre.

The author was later to become a radical. One of the interesting anecdotes in a book filled with illustrations of honesty in self-evaluation is about her meeting with Simone Weil, who told her, "in no uncertain tones that only one thing mattered in the world today:

the Revolution which would feed all the starving people on the earth. I retorted no less peremptorily, that the problem was not to make men happy, but to find the reason for their existence. She looked me up and down: 'It's easy to see you've never gone hungry,' she snapped . . . I realized that she had classified me as a 'high-minded little bourgeoisie,' and this annoyed me . . . I believed that I had freed myself from the bonds of my class . . ."

Americans are surprised to find in French literature that many of the heroes and heroines are radicals; however *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* tells the story of another aspect of French life: the steeping of the young in conservative property-preserving precepts of behavior.

How one woman freed herself in a mighty struggle, told in a rapid, compressed, highly readable style with great honesty and without self-pity, makes an absorbing book.

...The Fate of Dewey's Theories

(Continued from page 57)

which in one form or another are taken as guides by the majority of mankind today, are taboo in our schools. School-children and college students are not given a fair chance to learn the fundamental facts about the profit system and class society they live in and little objective information about the socialist alternative to it. They are as much the victims of obscurantism in this vital field of knowledge as the students of feudal times who were forbidden by the Church and State to inquire into the discoveries and teachings of the new physical science.

The Soviet educational system and its methods need not be taken as a model for uncritical emulation. It has accomplished great things in liquidating illiteracy, spreading culture, training professional, technical and scientific workers. But it remains regimented, formalized and authoritarian.

Between 1923 and 1933 Dewey's experimentalism considerably influenced the Soviet schools through the Commissar of Education Lunacharsky. These innovations were uprooted under Stalin. By the late thirties school uniforms, strict teacher control, formal pupil-teacher relations and formal classroom procedures, organization and discipline were reintroduced and persist to this day.

DESPITE this retrogression in educational methods, the impetuous advances of Soviet education offer an anticipation of the immense opportunities that could be opened up for educational progress under a socialist government in the rich United States.

The younger generation would be treated as the most precious of social assets and from infancy to maturity its needs would receive the highest priority. Freed of the crushing burdens of the military budget and the restrictions of profiteering, the government of the working people could allot all the resources and human energies required for a vastly expanded educational program. This would be a keystone of its economic and cultural planning.

The work of the head would be united with the work of the hand from the start of the educational process. The

curriculum would aim to give children such a grasp of science, technology and the productive processes that they could take their places without difficulty as active citizen-producers of a cooperative community. And there would be plenty of places for them to fill which would develop the powers and skills they acquired in school.

Experiments in teaching techniques would be systematically encouraged and improvements adopted as speedily as possible. The schools, not the advertisers and private monopolies, would be the first beneficiaries of new technical devices like television. Unharrassed by overwork and anxieties, fathers and mothers would have the time, energy and inclination to participate with their children as partners in their educational progress.

The ideal of democratic schools serving a democratic society, which inspired Dewey's philosophy of education — schools where scientifically formed and informed intelligence promotes freedom, equality and progress — would then become the guide to everyday practice .

Negroes on the March

— A Frenchman's Report on the
American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

\$1.50 (cloth)

\$1.00 (paper)

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

Periodicals in Review

by Tim Wohlforth

FROM OUT OF THE ACADEMY

The intellectual resources of the radical movement in this country are not very large. Intellectuals that are active radicals have many pressing demands on them and little time for scholarly pursuit. There are some radical and semi-radical intellectuals who are so situated in the universities that they are able to devote themselves more fully to scholarly pursuit. While most of their work has limitations, almost all of it has value. The Marxist movement should utilize what is valuable in this work in order to add to its understanding of the modern world.

It is with this view in mind that we approach *Studies on the Left*, a scholarly journal published by radical graduate students largely from the University of Wisconsin. (See the February *Young Socialist* for a discussion of the strength and weaknesses of this publication.)

By far the most important article in this new journal is, "From New Deal to New Frontiers: 1937-1941" by Lloyd Gardner. The author contends that "when the recession of 1937-1938 struck down the superficial progress of the New Deal," the Roosevelt Administration, "forsook viable domestic remedies and readied itself for the pursuit . . . of world frontiers as its solution to the crisis of the 1930's." In other words when Roosevelt was unable to save the capitalist system through domestic reform he turned to world economic domination. Among the foremost advocates of a turn to what we socialists call imperialism was none other than Henry A. Wallace, according to Gardner.

This search for foreign markets brought the New Deal into sharp conflict with the Axis powers who were attempting to establish economic footholds in Latin America and to freeze out American interests in Europe and Asia. Gardner quotes the Henry Wallace of this period: "I think we ought to face the fact that with Hitler controlling the exports, imports and exchanges, it is impossible to get an adequate flow of exports from the United States." Gardner concludes from this: "Could there be any doubt that the Administration and the business community would accept self-containment unless it was forced on the United

States by an Axis victory? Surely this was part of the reason why Great Britain's cause was 'our' cause in the war"

Gardner brilliantly sums up the economic forces which brought an end to the Great Depression but only at the cost of embroiling the U.S. and the world into another colossal war:

"American leaders had to face German and Japanese opposition to their goals . . . There is no attempt to state here that the New Deal wanted or promoted American entrance into the Second World War. Instead the evidence shows that Administration leaders tried to convince the Axis powers that 'liberal' trade programs and the Open Door were more productive of international well-being than Axis bi-lateralism. But the New Deal would not back down in the face of threats to liberal trade and the Open Door. Thus the clash became inevitable."

This confirms the revolutionary socialist view of World War II as an imperialist war flowing out of economic rivalry. Needless to say the author's reservation that the U.S. did not want war is not important for no country ever wants war. Each country would prefer for the enemy to peacefully bow out and allow it to dominate the world. But, since the enemy wishes the same of it, "the clash became inevitable."

THE KHRUSHCHEV IKE LIKES

It is difficult to get from the press—left or right—a realistic picture of the Soviet Union and the role of the Khrushchev regime's policy in world affairs. The capitalist press, liberal, conservative and reactionary, invariably conjures up the image of a Red Ogre aiming at enslaving the world through a Kremlin-directed world revolution. The social democrats repeat the Red Ogre myth of the capitalist press, adding only a bit of friendly advice to the U. S. State Department on how to combat the Ogre more effectively. The Communist party presents us with an idyllic picture of a Soviet policy which at one and the same time champions socialism and wins the warm friendship of the worst enemies of socialism.

Isaac Deutscher in the Jan. 21 issue of *Reporter*, ignores both myths and considers the actual role of Khrushchev's line in world politics.

Deutscher's thesis is that under the slogan, "we are fighting for the preservation of the international status quo," the Stalinist movement everywhere is being tamed to the needs of the *detente* with the West. In Italy, he notes, the CP greeted President Eisenhower with the chant, "We too like Ike" and the Communist parties of the other Western European countries followed suit.

Even more disastrous was the impact of Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence

line in the Middle East. Describing Iraq, where the CP stood within inches of establishing worker's power, Deutscher says, "In the summer, the Communist offensive was suddenly called off—on urgent demands from Moscow, where reports about the rising revolutionary temperature of Iraq had caused alarm. Khrushchev refused to countenance a Communist upheaval in Baghdad—he feared that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean, set the Middle East aflame and wreck his policy of peaceful coexistence." Khrushchev accomplished this switch in the Iraq CP line by direct intervention. "A bill of indictment against the Iraqi Communist leaders was drawn up in Moscow and the Party was ordered not merely to make its peace with Kassem but to surrender unconditionally with only a minimum of face saving . . . Since the far-off days in the middle 1920's when Stalin ordered the Chinese Communists to serve as the 'Koumintang's coolies,' no Communist Party has ever been exposed to quite as abject a humiliation."

The general outline of this development was sketched by Shane Mage in his article, "Will Another Deal at the Summit Bring World Peace?" in the Summer 1959 issue of the *Young Socialist*. In this article, written prior to the events Deutscher describes, Mage said: "For the sake of 'coexistence' Khrushchev agreed to use the CP of Iraq to contain the Arab revolution within capitalist limits."

Part of this same pattern, Deutscher points out, is Khrushchev's support to De Gaulle's Algerian policy, a view which with great difficulty Thorez forced upon the French CP. Also significant was Khrushchev's refusal to support China in its border dispute with India even though the latter country has been acting more and more as a U. S. tool.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking contribution of Deutscher in this article is his view of China's reaction to the Khrushchev-Eisenhower love-match. Peking feels, "that in pursuing his summit diplomacy Khrushchev has been needlessly sacrificing revolution in Asia and had come close to betraying proletarian internationalism," according to Deutscher. In concluding, Deutscher strikes an interesting historical note: "In all these differences there is stuff for a grave controversy in which one may see reproduced, in a new context, some of the motifs of the Trotsky-Stalin controversy of the 1920's."

In this historic struggle Trotsky urged that the USSR continue the policy it conducted under Lenin of supporting the coming to power of the working class in other lands. The victory of the workers in Western Europe was important, he felt, not only in itself but as a solution for the isolation and economic backwardness of Russia.

Stalin, by contrast, formulated his

"socialism in one country" thesis. He subordinated the Communist parties in all countries to the diplomatic maneuvers of the USSR through which he sought, in vain, to establish "peaceful coexistence." This is still the fundamental issue facing the Communist movement: should socialists struggle seriously for socialism or should they prop up the existing capitalist regimes hoping that these regimes will be "friendly" to the USSR? It is to Deutscher's credit that he spotlights these issues in a journal which is widely read.

MAINSTREAM ON THE BLOCK

It now seems clear that the Communist party has decided to axe *Mainstream*. Mike Newberry declares in the Jan. 3 issue of the *Worker*, "The progressive movement is hardly now large enough to support such a rarefied, specialized magazine, not at this time." The reasons for the CP's campaign against *Mainstream* and the way in which it has been conducted give us an insight into the relationship between Stalinism and culture. What is especially interesting is that this relationship seems to be as true of a little isolated Communist party in the world's most powerful capitalist nation as it is of Stalinism in power.

It all began with a love poem titled "Morning Departure" by Hershel Horn which appeared in the July *Mainstream*. Mike Gold, *Worker* and *People's World* columnist, utilized this poem to launch a hatchet job on *Mainstream* for printing "unintelligible, irrational, deathly stuff, the metaphysics of an expiring class." *Mainstream*, seeing in Gold's attack an attack against the whole publication, printed in its October issue a stirring answer to Gold, "Hands Off the Imagination" by John Condell. Condell attacks Gold's ruminations as being "nothing but a barrage of reactionary infantile leftisms." (See "Clean Up That Poetry" by L. P. Wheeler in the January 11, 1960 *Militant* for a good running commentary on the controversy.)

It soon became clear that Gold's attack was officially inspired by the CP, for suddenly the *Worker* opened its pages to the controversy and, through the agency of Mike Newberry, "defends" *Mainstream* only to open an even more sinister attack, putting into question the whole character of the magazine and suggesting that it is a luxury today. It is clear that the CP, to the extent that it is able, is now proceeding to deal with *Mainstream* as they did with the *Daily Worker*—let it die of financial strangulation (a process which they helped organize) and then replace it with a completely tamed creature of their own.

But the Gold-*Mainstream* controversy brings to mind other memories: the rebellion of the intellectuals—their de-

mand for "Hands Off the Imagination"—which provided the spark for the Hungarian Revolution. The crushing of the Revolution in Hungary and its ebb in Poland was accompanied by reinstatement of thought policing of culture—although not as thoroughly as preceding the Revolution.

The reorganization of the shattered and reduced American CP by the Stalinist old guard is also being accompanied by a policing of the artists; and this is the meaning of the anti-*Mainstream* move. We understand why an authoritarian regime in power which rules in the interests of a privileged bureaucracy cannot tolerate free expression anywhere—even in the field of poetry. What we learn from the *Mainstream* controversy is that a Stalinized party out of power which does not determine its own policies, but slavishly support those of the Soviet bureaucracy, likewise cannot tolerate free inquiry within its ranks or periphery. Only those who determine their own policies and are not alien to the working class have nothing to fear from free inquiry in the arts or any other field.

We will hate to see *Mainstream* go—even with all its weaknesses. The radical movement is too culturally starved to blithely allow any cultural institution to be destroyed. Possibly others feel likewise and the CP will not be able to accomplish its goal.

THE CRUSADER

Evelyn Sell, a frequent contributor to the *International Socialist Review*, has been following *The Crusader*, a small mimeographed newsletter published weekly in Monroe, North Carolina, by Robert F. Williams. Evelyn sent us the following comments on this interesting publication along with some typical extracts from it:

"The past decade presented a bleak terrain to many American radicals and militants. During this same past decade, however, the militancy of the Southern Negroes stood out as an inspiring and instructive exception to the general rule of hesitancy and fear.

"*The Crusader* is of particular value to those removed from the actual social battlefields in the South who want to get a feel of what is going on in the minds and lives of the front line combatants. The thirty-five year old Williams brings to its pages the lessons taught him as a Negro born and bred in the South, as a Marine, as a Detroit auto worker and as a president of a local NAACP branch."

Here are some typical quotations culled from several issues of the *Crusader*:

On U.S. Foreign Policy: "We see by the papers that Red China has been barred from the universal, respectable, august body called the United Nations . . . They say exponents of the land of Mack Parker and Emmett Till called

the Chinese, 'murderers,' and all sorts of other dirty names in public . . . The quickest way for the Chinese Reds to be accepted at the U.N. is for her to become as potent a mass murderer as the pious Christian nation that first used the ghastly atom bomb against mankind."

On Political Action: "When will the average Negro wake up to the fact the two party system is a farce? In the realm of civil rights and social justice the two party lines are the same . . . The Negro must transform his vote into a new independent political force . . . If the two major parties want our votes, we must demand that they earn them."

On the Labor Movement: "The only avenue to a higher standard of living in the South is labor unions . . . It is time for labor to roll up its sleeves and enter the arena of combat politics . . . The labor movement as a whole has nothing to lose by establishing a labor party and entering its own slate of candidates . . ."

On Colonial Revolutions: "Oppressed peoples everywhere are demanding human dignity and the right of self-determination. The darker colonials are moving toward freedom. The American Negro must identify himself with the new world order . . . Any struggle anywhere in the world for freedom is related to the American Negro's struggle for human dignity. The fight in Africa, Cuba, South America and Asia is one and the same fight."

RANDOM NOTES

The *Nation* continues to be the most stimulating liberal periodical published in this country. We read Ira Wolfert's "Monster in the Mine" in the Jan. 2, 1960 issue and the story still haunts us. Here is a realistic, well-written, moving bit of fiction which makes abstract terms like "automation" breathe with life . . . The Winter 1960 issue of *Anvil* is no longer missing in action. The last issue of this sporadic annual was Winter 1959. Interestingly, this publication, an unofficial organ of the Young People's Socialist League, calls itself "a student socialist magazine." The current issue does not contain a single article written by a student—or for that matter anyone under 30. The only socialist article in the magazine is "The Two Souls of Socialism" by Hal Draper, a rather good attack on the "socialism from on top" viewpoint, e.g., those who run the party Draper belongs to . . . *Venture*, a rather obscure publication of the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) came across our desk recently. It is put out by graduate students who seem to be more preoccupied with "fighting Communism" than even the State Department is. If you are interested in a junior *New Leader* this is your meat.

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