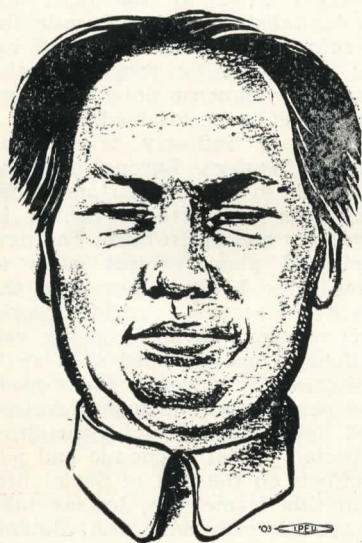


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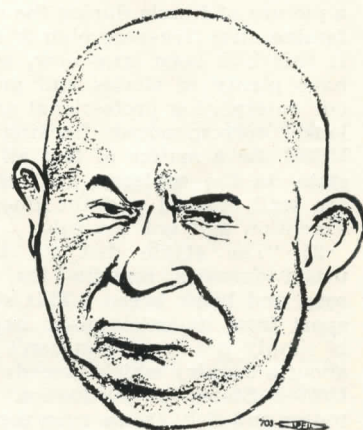
# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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# Correspondence

## Editor:

William F. Warde in his analysis of the draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the last issue of the *International Socialist Review* is definitely right in developing the thesis that even the attaining of its goals will not make the Soviet Union a country of abundance and the rule of one "monolithic" party is not compatible with the ideal of freedom.

Unfortunately, trying to stress his point, Warde falls into an extreme, painting a perverted, gloomy picture of Soviet life.

I fish at random some of the "pearls" contained in his article:

1) "There are endless time-wasting queues at the state stores for everything from dried fish to bread." Is this a picture of Russia during the civil war, famine, first five-year plan or of today? If this had been true now, we would have plenty of stories and pictures of our enterprising professional and "freelance" correspondents flocking into the USSR. As a matter of fact all of them state, to the contrary, that the stores are well stocked and the lines are an exception and not the rule.

2) "The staple diet for the most urban families remains tea, cabbage soup and black bread." This statement, apart from its nationalistic implication, is simply not true. You can't say that about a country which exceeds even the United States in production of milk, butter and fish, (some even per capita). The diet of the Soviet population, being inferior to the richest country in the world, the USA, is more or less on the level of many advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe.

3) "The quantity of most household conveniences are so restricted that even party members have put their names on waiting lists." Would it not be more appropriate for a theoretical article to give some data about the ever rising production of the consumption items in the USSR (instead of this impressionistic image of general want), which would show that their volume exceeds the manner of "the more favored," who according to Warde can buy those articles. Besides the information that there are special preferences on waiting lists for party members is a figment of imagination.

4) It was shocking to find in this article "news" from Odessa that the longshoremen there went on strike against shipping butter to Cuba under the slogan "Cuba si, butter no!" To begin with, the whole "news" is a canard and it is amazing that a mature Marxist theoretician should fall for such a naive story concocted by malicious capitalist "journalists." Especially, it is

ill-becoming at the same time to accuse the Soviet Union of a lack of internationalism and in trying to help Cuba in its shortage of fats caused by U.S. embargo. Does comrade Warde rather prefer the USSR should help the Cuban revolution by sending to them flaming r-r-revolutionary manifestoes?

5) "Thefts of state property occur at all grades of the social pyramid. Last year half the grain of the Ukraine remained unaccounted for!" The implication is that half of the Ukrainian crop was stolen, which is, of course, sheer nonsense. The picture of the Soviet Union as a country of thieves is a common stock-in-trade of our capitalist "theoreticians" who want in this way to show the impossibility of socialism as being supposedly against human "nature." To "generalize" in this way the thefts, which exist up to now in the USSR, instead of putting them in the right proportion, is to play the game of our capitalist adversaries.

6) Warde put in quotation a supposed declaration of Khrushchev in connection with the Berlin crisis about "our fight for recognition of our grandeur" as a proof of his "chauvinism." Does he not know that the quotation is taken not from Khrushchev's mouth but from the gossip of Western correspondents covering some night affair in Kremlin who never tried to give the Russian equivalent of the French word used by the present leader of the Fifth Republic? Is it the task of a Marxist magazine to borrow the poisoned arrows from the armory of our class enemies?

7) It is not correct also to attribute to Khrushchev the idea of surpassing even Stalin in his nationalistic arrogance of "socialism in one country" by "heralding the creation of communism in the same fatherland." The reading of the draft program and Khrushchev's speeches show that the new official Soviet line assuming the building of socialism already in the USSR (with which we can not agree) envisions the complete building of communism in all socialist countries simultaneously. This is rather a question of fine pure theory but Warde needs it to crown his own theory for condemning the "oligarchy" in the USSR for its "viciously reactionary and anti-socialist" character in "relation to the other states within the Soviet block."

The old-time Stalinist press used to excel in exaggerations, distortions and fabrication of stories to the detriment of the Soviet Union and the whole international workers' movement. Nowadays the capitalist press uses its best hacks to ridicule, deprecate and slander the Soviet Union in the pursuit of the cold-war policy. The duty of the

Marxist press consists not in imitating those "paragons" but in following its own course of presenting objectively the reality of the Soviet Union in the spirit of critical sympathy.

A. Binder  
New York City

## Editor:

My article disputed the basic premise of the new Russian Communist Party program that the Soviet Union, having already achieved socialism, is ready for the highest stage of communism. The collectivized planned economy has given the Soviet Union a dynamism superior to that of capitalism and directed it on the road to socialism. Contrary to Khrushchev's contention, it has not arrived there. To do so, its powers of production, its means of consumption, and the freedoms enjoyed by the people would have to equal and surpass the levels reached by the most advanced capitalist countries. Despite the recent reforms, the unprecedented industrial and scientific progress registered and the immense potential, these goals have yet to be attained.

Soviet heavy industry is pressing hard upon Western Europe and the United States in many departments but economy lags considerably behind in light industry and agriculture. The new program and plans project goals to overcome these backwardnesses in the next 10 or 20 years — provided world peace is assured. Soviet economy can unquestionably move ahead at a swift pace. Meanwhile, however, the disproportions persist and the underdevelopment of light industry and agriculture has important social, economic and political effects on the rest of Soviet life.

Within this framework, let me take up the specific criticisms of A. Binder.

1. **Queues:** Upon reconsideration, the sweeping statement comrade Binder objects to is exaggerated, misleading and should be corrected. The past 10 years have seen a considerable rise in Soviet living standards and these improvements are continuing. The Russian masses today enjoy better material conditions than at any time since the Revolution. But that is only one side of the situation.

Neither the quantity nor quality of the consumer goods available in the shops satisfy them or come close to the standards of Western Europe or North America. A competent observer, Harrison E. Salisbury, reported in the Feb. 5 *New York Times*, "there are periodic meat queues, milk shortages and egg famines." These are evidences of the regime's failure up to now to solve the agricultural problem. Many articles of common use are not regularly obtainable. The Soviet people suffer not only from inadequate production of consumers' goods but from an inefficient, slovenly system of distribution. These

(Continued on page 60)

# The Jackson Freedom Ride

by Fred Halstead

**W**HAT later became the Jackson Freedom Ride and Jail-in was originally planned in the New York office of the Congress of Racial Equality as a relatively modest undertaking. It was meant to test a 1955 Supreme Court decision against segregation in interstate transportation facilities.

A group of Negroes and whites left Washington, D.C. May 4, 1961 on a Trailways and a Greyhound bus, planning to take a direct route through seven Southern states to New Orleans. There, on May 17, the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, a Freedom Rally celebrating the end of the test was planned.

Though the twenty-two original Riders, most of them CORE leaders, were not prepared for what happened in Alabama, they did know they faced danger. In a similar test by CORE in 1947, called the Journey of Reconciliation, racists had threatened a riot, local police had arrested twelve testers and three of the men served thirty-day sentences on a Southern road gang.

But this time the testers clearly had Federal law on their side. James Farmer, CORE national director, wrote President Kennedy and officials of the bus companies, informing them of the planned test. The riders had resolved to test integration of seating, terminal eating facilities and rest rooms. If arrested by local police, they planned to reject bail and serve time in jail in protest.

En route from Washington they tested in Virginia and North Carolina — where sometimes they got served and sometimes they didn't. In Rock Hill, S.C., two Riders were pummeled by attackers but not seriously hurt. In Winnsboro, Henry Thomas, a Negro and James Peck a white were arrested when they sat together at the terminal lunch stand. They were released after a few hours and charges against them dropped.

The Riders had no trouble in Georgia, but when they phoned from Atlanta to Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, a militant Negro leader in Birmingham, they were told white racists were expected to mobilize at the station there. Their first hint that trouble was even closer came when the driver of the Greyhound bus stopped just outside of Anniston, Alabama and spoke briefly with another Greyhound driver going the other way.

In Anniston, the bus was surrounded by a mob armed with metal bars. Windows were broken and tires slashed before the police arrived and let the bus get out of town. But the mob piled into cars and pursued it.

About six miles out, one of the slashed tires went flat, the bus stopped, and the mob surrounded it. A fire bomb was thrown through a rear window. A newsman took pictures of the burning bus which were to arouse the attention of the world.

"It was incredible," said Freedom Rider Albert Bigelow, "the bus was filled with smoke and outside these hoodlums were shouting 'Heil Hitler' and 'Sieg Heil.'"

All the passengers escaped the fire; but some of the Freedom Riders were beaten as they alighted and the bus was completely destroyed. After police arrived again, the mob dispersed and the injured were treated. The Freedom Riders were taken on to Birmingham by ten volunteer auto drivers mobilized by Rev. Shuttlesworth.

The Trailways bus was running an hour behind the Greyhound. When it reached Anniston — and the news of the bus burning — the ordinary passengers got off, but the Freedom Riders stayed on. They were beaten and forced to the back of the bus by eight attackers who boarded in Anniston and took the front seats. Then the bus drove on to Birmingham.

"For the entire two-hour ride," reported Jim Peck,

"the hoodlums craned their necks to stare at us with looks of hatred."

Meanwhile at the bus station in Birmingham, a crowd of about thirty "heavy set men" had been waiting all day. Reporters — both local and national — knew what was coming. The Columbia Broadcasting Company even had its top man, Howard K. Smith, covering the scene. Every child in Birmingham knew that police chief "Bull" Connors' department was in collusion with the segregationists. CORE and local Negro groups had requested Federal protection.

But the Federal authorities did not provide it.

When the bus arrived, reported Smith, "the toughs grabbed the passengers into alleys and corridors pounding them with pipes, with key rings and with fists. One passenger was knocked down at my feet by twelve of the hoodlums and his face was beaten and kicked until it was a bloody pulp."

Then the police arrived and the attackers moved

down the street where, said Smith, "I watched some of them discussing their achievements of the day. That took place just under Police Commissioner Connors' window."

When asked later why he had placed no policemen at the station, Connors said too many were off duty because of the holiday. The date was May 14 — Mothers Day. Federal authorities offered no such excuse, but Attorney General Robert Kennedy promised to safeguard interstate passengers in the future.

The bruised and bandaged Freedom Riders showed up at the bus station the following morning for the next leg of the trip — to Montgomery. Drivers for both companies refused to take them out, and another mob began gathering. They decided to skip the bus trip and fly on to New Orleans to be there in time for the May 17 Rally.

After a harrowing wait of many hours at the airport, during which another large mob gathered and two flights were canceled because of a bomb-scare, the original group of CORE Freedom Riders finally took off, reaching New Orleans shortly after midnight on May 16.

The morning papers carried the story of how the Freedom Ride had been "stopped" in Birmingham.

But in Nashville, Tennessee, a young Negro woman, a student at Tennessee State who had transferred there from Chicago and had been active in the exceptionally militant Nashville student sit-in movement, decided the Rides would have to go on "or everything we have worked for is gone."

She was Diane Nash, a member of the leading committee of the Nashville student movement which had connections with the Nashville Christian Leadership Council and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The NCLC is for Nashville, what the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, is for the South as a whole. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was at that time simply a coordinating center for student sit-in groups at some 16 Southern Negro campuses. (SNCC now has a permanent office in Atlanta, and is in the forefront of the most militant mass struggles that have broken out in the South since mid-August, 1961. Its leaders are young Negroes, including Diane Nash, who is currently based in Jackson, Mississippi.)

The relationship between the Nashville student groups and the NCLC was described by David Halberstam in the June 22, 1961 *Reporter* as follows: "The Nashville sit-ins, for instance, were started by students, with the Nashville Christian Leadership Council moving in later. 'There was an agreement that the ministers would have some control over the movement and would be consulted,' a sympathetic observer has reported, 'but they had to agree to participate, to sit in, to be on call, to attend emergency meetings — and those kids have daily emergency meetings — to take the same risks and make the same sacrifices the kids did. This was the price for retaining their influence.'"

When Diane Nash began rallying the students to

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carry on the Freedom Ride which the CORE group had just been forced to temporarily abandon, an agent of the Federal Justice Department tried to talk her out of it. Halberstam reports the conversation: "The situation in Alabama was such, he said, that to go in at that point would be dangerous and irresponsible. 'It was like talking to a wall,' he remarked later. 'She didn't hear a word I said.'"

Following an all-day meeting in Nashville at which it was decided to continue the Ride, the Rev. Kelly Miller Smith of NCLC and ten students, Negro and white, headed for Birmingham. Diane Nash stayed behind, organizing support. Thus began the saga of "the Nashville Twelve."

When they reached the Greyhound station in Birmingham, the drivers refused to take buses out to Montgomery, where racist mobs were reported to be organizing. The students refused to leave the station, tying up the bus service. They were arrested there May 17, together with several supporters from Birmingham including the intrepid Rev. Shuttlesworth.

After over twenty-four hours in jail under "protective custody," several of the group were driven to the Tennessee border in an auto caravan led by Police Commissioner Connors himself, and dumped on the highway. The story is told that they walked across fields to another road, reached a phone and called Diane Nash in Nashville. She drove out, picked them up and they returned — on back roads to avoid police — to Birmingham.

It is a matter of record that they arrived back at the bus station around noon May 19, to the chagrin of all those who wanted the Ride to stop.

Joined by other students arriving from Nashville, they held the station down until Saturday morning, May 20 when the company finally provided a driver. The bus pulled out about 9:00 A.M. with twenty-one Nashville students aboard, under guard of the state highway patrol and officials of the U.S. Justice Department. The breach at Birmingham had been filled.

### **Attack in Montgomery**

The Riders were attacked in Montgomery by a mob of about three hundred whites who injured at least twenty persons before police stopped the riot. Most seriously beaten was Freedom Rider James Zwerg, a Southerner born and raised, and the only white male in the group.

That night was a night of car burnings, bomb threats and racist mobs in Montgomery. It was the night fifteen hundred people were marooned by a racist mob in the Ripley Street Baptist Church at a meeting addressed by Rev. Martin Luther King and James Farmer, who had returned from New Orleans.

It was the night Attorney General Robert Kennedy was finally forced to take specific action and call out the Federal marshals. Alabama's Governor Patterson also called out the state's national guard units. The Nashville students had made it clear that Patterson's former policy of allowing racist mobs to rage,

would not stop the Freedom Rides, and that Attorney General Kennedy was not going to be able to sweep the whole problem under the rug.

There followed three days of discussions and planning among all the major organizations involved in the Freedom Rides. Representatives of the NAACP, the SCLC, the Nashville student movement and CORE were there. At a private meeting, dominated by the Nashville students, the decision was made to continue into Mississippi, where Jackson was the next major stop.

The Freedom Ride had been transformed from a test by a single relatively small organization into a massive effort involving — each in its own way — all the major groups in the civil rights struggles, with a general call for volunteers from throughout the country.

On Wednesday, May 24, two Trailways buses pulled out of Montgomery under National Guard escort. Aboard were twenty-seven Freedom Riders, including the Nashville students and three of the original CORE group, James Farmer, Jean Lewis and Henry Thomas.

The buses drove — without a rest stop — straight to Jackson. There, all twenty-seven were arrested, charged not with violating the state's segregation laws, but with a "breach of the peace" statute. Mississippi's tactic would be to tie the Ride up in the courts. This would require, of course, that the Federal government not take decisive executive action against Mississippi's legal subterfuge.

On the same day, Attorney General Robert Kennedy made his public appeal for a "cooling off period," asking that the Freedom Rides be abandoned "until the present state of confusion and danger has passed and an atmosphere of reason and normalcy has been restored."

The request was denounced by leaders of every civil rights organization involved, including the NAACP. An editorial in the June 1 Afro-American summed up the general feeling: "If there were a series of bank robberies Mr. Kennedy would not dare ask the banks in any given section to close. He would see that they were given protection."

The first twenty-seven Jackson Riders were convicted May 26, given a six-month suspended sentence and a \$200 fine. To work out the fine would take sixty-seven days. Twenty-two Riders, including CORE national director James Farmer, refused to pay. The tactic of the movement would be to crowd the jails.

Thus began the first sustained and massive Jail-in in the United States since the free speech fights of the Industrial Workers of the World a half century ago.

Volunteers came from all parts of the country, passing as a rule through Montgomery from the East and New Orleans from the West. They often stopped briefly en route making contact with local anti-segregation groups — a profound experience.

"The girls I met in the CORE group there [New Orleans] were human beings such as I have never before met in my life. They live and breathe the movement," wrote Freedom Rider Mary Hamilton, in the pamphlet *Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves*.

Most of the Riders were not members of CORE, but

volunteered for the occasion. The historic continuity of past social struggles was not insignificant in this more or less spontaneous selection. This reporter, in interviews with over twenty veterans of the Jail-in asked the question: "What percentage of the Jackson Freedom Riders would you estimate had some sort of radical political background?" The average of the estimates was 50 percent.

Freedom Rider William Mahoney, a Negro student, described some of the types in the September issue of *Liberation*:

"My cellmate, a Negro worker, came because he had been chased home by white toughs once too often . . . On my right, in cell 12, was the son of a well-to-do business man who had come because it was his moral duty. His aim was to 'change the hearts of my persecutors through the sympathy and understanding to be gained by nonviolent resistance.' He spoke proudly of his father who had fought hard and 'made it,' and was constantly defending North America's economic and political system from the attacks made upon it by myself" and the man in the next cell.

About half the 322 persons arrested in Jackson were whites. Of the Negroes, some forty were from Mississippi itself, and many were veterans of the sit-in movement. Most were students or unemployed youngsters just out of school. About sixty of those who did time in jail were women.

After the first few bus and trainloads into Jackson, the Rides became routine and didn't make the headlines. Freedom Rider John Lowry, in a speech at Queens College last October, described one such experience as follows:

"Three of us, Elmer Brown, a Negro and Norma Matzkin and myself, who are white, left the Port Authority bus terminal in New York July 2. Our first sign of segregation was in Raleigh, N.C. where the facilities were integrated, but you could see the shadow of the letters 'white' over the entrance where the sign had been taken down.

"From somewhere in South Carolina on, we couldn't get served together, but we didn't make an issue out of it because we had been instructed not to do anything that might interfere with our getting to Montgomery safely, and on time.

"We arrived there early on the evening of July 3, were picked up at the station by Tom Gaither, a CORE representative, and driven to the home of Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the leaders of the famous Montgomery bus protest. We were told not to answer the phone or open the door because the Klan was harassing the house. The next day we attended a picnic at a farm outside town with a lot of local high school kids.

"On July 6 five others arrived from the Mid-west to join us for the trip to Jackson. One of them was Ike Reynolds, who had been on the bus that was burned at Anniston.

"We had a brief training period, including lectures by Gaither on the theory of non-violence. He emphasized the concept of an 'active state of love' toward those who might torment us. I remember that in the

discussions someone substituted the word 'compassion,' but Gaither insisted on 'love.'

"We also practiced 'socio drama' — a CORE technique of training by enacting a situation that might happen to us. We giggled at this but inwardly we took it seriously. The practice gave us some confidence.

"The eight of us went to the bus station in Montgomery, Friday evening, July 7. One, Bill Hansen, was not supposed to identify himself as a Freedom Rider so he could make a telephone call if something happened. But a reporter had been given a list of all eight of us and kept asking 'Where's Hansen?' It produced some tense moments at the station but the reporter finally shut up.

"The bus had a police escort out of Montgomery. I remember catching the eye of a white girl on the bus as I entered. She was about 18 and very pretty, and she gave me a big smile. After the word went around among the passengers that we were Freedom Riders, she turned in her seat and looked daggers at me.

"A white man about twenty-five said in a loud voice to Norma: 'I bet you've f—d a nigger too.'

"One passenger was particularly cordial to us. He was a Negro and said he had made several trips on buses with Freedom Riders. I don't know if he was an agent of some kind or what, but he gave us the impression that he made it a point to observe these trips.

"The bus stopped in Meridan, Mississippi, not far from the Alabama line. The town square was packed with people and police, even police-women. A big fat cop got aboard and announced: 'This is not a rest stop. Only those with tickets to Meridan can get off here.' Then he yelled out the window: 'We can't do anything. They're sitting segregated.' (We had been told to do this so we wouldn't get arrested before we got to Jackson.)

"A Negro woman passenger with an infant asked to get off to get milk for the baby. The cop said, 'I'll get it for you,' and he did. He didn't charge her for it, just handed it over and got quickly off the bus.

"I remember that as the bus pulled out I saw two boys about ten years old, one white, one Negro, on the edge of a fountain in front of the city hall. They were sitting together, talking, obviously friends.

"When we stopped at the station in Jackson, the bus driver — who had acted in a matter-of-fact and neutral manner throughout — said simply: 'There are Freedom Riders on this bus. Please let them off first.'"

### In Prison

They were quietly arrested in the station and sent to the Hinds county jail, then transferred to the maximum security unit at the State Penitentiary at Parchman. When the trucks in which they rode stopped at the prison walls, they could hear the singing of the other Freedom Riders inside. They were stripped, examined, questioned, given light underwear — their only clothes for the entire stay — and locked in cells.

They, and the hundreds of others, submitted to this under the impression that the hand of the Federal government would be forced, that a concrete victory —

not just another batch of court test cases or another unenforced ICC ruling — would result. Their hopes in this respect were not to be realized.

On June 16 a group of leaders of the organizations cooperating on the Freedom Rides had visited Attorney General Robert Kennedy at a private conference in Washington. "There are indications," said the June 17 *New York Times*, "that the Attorney General had told the leaders that he felt the demonstrations started last month had made a point but that nothing further could be gained by continuing the demonstrations."

The court was imposing stiffer sentences on the Riders. The tactic became, not to work out the fine, but for each Rider to stay as long as he chose, up to the time-limit for appeal — forty days — and then to post bail. CORE's finances were strained to the breaking point.

For the politically naive among the Riders, the implications of the process now unfolding were caught by Eugene V. Rostow in the June 22 *Reporter*: "For above all, the Freedom Riders bear witness to their faith in law — a faith we must not, dare not betray."

The faith in the present system of many a young man or woman was sorely tried by the solitary cells, "wrist breaker" handcuffs and the vaginal searches at Parchman Penitentiary.

But their faith in themselves and in the movement was strengthened and their understanding of the society in which they live deepened. As Freedom Rider Robert Martinson wrote in the Jan. 6 *Nation*: "The Riders were being trained by experts [prison guards]. How many thousands of young people are receiving similar educations in the South?"

"As for Kennedy's name — among the 'prisoners' it was a dirty word," said Freedom Rider Louise Inghram in *Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves*. She quotes a song they sang to the tune of *Frère Jacques*:

Brother Bob, Brother Bob.  
Are You Sleeping, Are You Sleeping?  
Freedom Riders waiting, Freedom Riders waiting,  
Enforce the law! Enforce the law!

### Performance of Leaders

There was discussion about the leadership of the movement. There was great respect for James Farmer, who spent the full thirty-nine days in jail, but enthusiasm for Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins was less widespread. Many thought they should have taken the Ride and gone to jail. Then, the argument went, the eyes of the world would have stayed on Jackson, Kennedy would be kept on the spot, and a concrete victory would result.

King is quoted in his own defense in the July 6 *Jet*: "I wanted to go. I don't believe in this business of leaders staying outside of jail. But my advisers on the SCLC board urged me not to. They said, 'you're still under six months' probation for that traffic sentence in Georgia. You'll be in jail eight months — two in Mississippi and six in Georgia. You'll be out of circulation too long and right in the midst of our voter registration drive. People will say you have absolutely

no regard for the law, that you are a publicity seeker with a martyr complex. What sort of example could you set going to jail for a traffic offense?" (The unprecedented long probation on the traffic offense was itself part of a concerted harassment by Georgia courts of Rev. King for his civil rights activities.)

By the time those arrested first were getting out of jail, the Ride was petering out. Superficially the net result would be a new ICC ruling requiring the removal of segregation signs in all terminals and a set of court cases against Mississippi's legal subterfuge. The more profound effects of the experience were revealed during a mid-August weekend in Jackson.

The court, in an attempt to further strain CORE's finances, ordered 189 of the Riders out on appeal to appear in Jackson on the same day, Monday, August 13, for arraignment.

There was a great feeling of anticipation among them as they arrived in Jackson that weekend, where most of them were put up on the campus of Tougaloo College. In prison, they had talked around walls, but often didn't see each other, so this was their first chance to meet a large group of fellow Freedom Riders face to face.

There was much talk, some argument, some planning. Representatives of the most militant sections of the movement were there talking up plans for future actions.

The mood of the weekend is summed up by what happened at a meeting of the defendants in the college chapel Sunday. The lawyers recommended that the defendants segregate themselves the next day in court to avoid complicating the issue. Objections were so strong a new meeting had to be called and the recommendation rescinded. The next day the courtroom was integrated.

Sunday night there was a mass meeting in the Masonic Temple in honor of the Freedom Riders. Several thousand persons, white and Negro, tried to get in the small hall, and they sat integrated. The first such gathering in Jackson, Mississippi in living memory.

In general, the Negro community of Jackson activated itself around the events of the Jail-in and a viable movement now exists there.

After the arraignment, veterans of the Jail-in went off to various places in the South, where they participated in, and often sparked the rash of militant mass actions which broke out in the South in the latter half of 1961, and which have brought the civil rights movement to the highest point in its history.

Some went to Nashville for more sit-ins. Some went to Monroe, N.C. in response to a call by Robert F. Williams. Some went to Albany, Georgia where over seven hundred demonstrating Negroes were arrested in December, and where a successful bus boycott is now in progress. Some went to McComb, Mississippi on a voters registration project, where they activated the local high-school students in a series of demonstrations — in the heart of the worst Jim Crow area of the country.

One of the original CORE Freedom Riders, B. Elton

(Continued on page 59)

# Moscow and the Chinese Revolution

by Murry Weiss and Bert Deck

**T**HE first explicit support of the Russian position versus the Chinese position in the current Sino-Soviet dispute has appeared in the U.S. over the signatures of the editors of the *Monthly Review*, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. On the other hand, those publications which usually reflect the views of the Communist Party, *The Worker* and *Political Affairs*, have yet to mention the existence of this conflict. Like Moscow, which factionally attacks the Chinese CP leaders by pretending that its main dispute is with — Albania, the American CP follows suit. It is, of course, impossible to begin a serious discussion of the Moscow-Peking debate if one persists in treating it as an “unfact.”

The *MR* editors have abandoned such evasions and have frankly entered this discussion, broadly speaking, as defenders of socialism and the Sino-Soviet bloc of nations. While defending Moscow against Peking, they support both against the imperialist cold war. Thus they obviously hold that a responsible public discussion of this major division in the “socialist” world will not provide aid or comfort for imperialism.

In their December 1961 issue, after a summarized description of the two positions, the editors write, “When it comes to their evaluation, we have no doubt whatever that the Russians are right and the Chinese wrong.” In the February 1962 issue the editors report that there was “more than the usual number of letters praising or criticizing” the editorial statement on this dispute and said:

“Further discussion would definitely be in order, but we think it can proceed fruitfully only if we can get a candid expression of the Chinese position, not from official sources but from some relatively detached observer who has studied the official materials with care and believes that the Chinese are right. So far we have not been able to find anyone who fits this description and is also willing to commit his views to paper. We will be looking.”

We certainly welcome the decision of the *Monthly Review* to open a discussion in its columns on this important question. We for our part have been urging, for some time, the need for at least a report on the Chinese CP viewpoint in the American radical press and the need for a discussion. Eleven years ago, in the December 25, 1950 *Militant*, George Breitman expressed the Trotskyist evaluation of the incipient struggle between the Chinese CP and the Kremlin as follows:

“Capitalist propaganda persists in depicting the Mao Tse-tung regime as a Chinese puppet of Stalin, but it must fly in the face of the facts to do so. The Chinese CP came to power without help from the Kremlin or the Soviet army, just as the Yugoslavs did, and it is therefore no more disposed than they were to blindly obey Stalin’s orders. Their [Peking’s] alliance with the Kremlin — as partners — will last only so long as they believe they are benefiting from it . . . If Stalin has his hands full maintaining ‘law and order’ in Eastern Europe, where Russian bayonets put his stooges in power, he will have a ten times harder job trying to regiment revolutionary Asia, which will decline

to surrender to anyone the independence it is winning with its own blood and muscle. But Stalin will seek sooner or later to impose his dictation because the nature of Stalinism does not permit any power within its sphere of influence to indefinitely retain independence of the Kremlin. That is why it is superficial reasoning to view the victories of the anti-imperialist movements as elements contributing to the permanent strengthening of Stalinism.”

**M**ORE recently, two years ago on May 9, 1960, *The Militant* editorially said:

“We have made clear that despite our thoroughgoing disagreement with the Chinese CP leaders on many questions, we believe they are absolutely right in their appraisal of the real policy of American imperialism. We think the Chinese have every right to be worried about a reactionary ‘summit’ deal behind closed doors at the expense of their country . . . In the meantime, the American Communist Party continues to remain silent about the position of the Chinese CP. The *Worker* and *Political Affairs* have not even reported the Chinese viewpoint let alone commented on it . . . It must also be noted that a similar silence has afflicted other radical publications like the *National Guardian* and the *Monthly Review*. Isn’t it high time that the debate be reported and frankly discussed in the American radical press?”

At this time we want to confine ourselves to preliminary comments on the view presented by the *Monthly Review* in the spirit of *beginning*, at last, what promises to become a thorough and fruitful discussion.

The *MR* editors have assessed the depth and intensity of the differences between the two regimes. “When division is publicly admitted,” they say, “it may therefore be taken as evidence that a crisis has long been building up and that no resolution is in sight.” The editors say that their “description of the Chinese and Soviet positions . . . should be enough to show that on a number of extremely important issues the gap between the views of the two powers is wide indeed. Moreover, these are not recondite ideological questions . . . They concern the analysis of the actual international situation with all its complexities and dangers. Above all, they lead to divergent and often sharply conflicting conceptions of the right policy for the socialist camp to follow.”

We share the view that the Moscow-Peking conflict is indubitably severe. We would add here, however, that the quantity of divergences and the qualitative depth of ideological differences signify a *historical crisis* within the workers states themselves, within the association of workers states in the Soviet orbit, within each of the Communist parties, and the world socialist movement at large.

The *MR* editors attempt an explanation of the divergences. More accurately, they seek the fundamental basis for the Chinese views. But they do not propose to uncover the social, historical and economic roots of the Russian posi-



tion since this position is believed to be realistic and flexible and therefore doesn't require probing into its understructure. Here is what is behind Peking's position, according to the MR:

"China's dogmatic leftism today would seem to be rooted in both the domestic and international situations which confront the country. Domestically, China is in what may be called a 'heroic' period of revolutionary construction, the inevitable tensions of which have been greatly aggravated by what appears to have been an almost unprecedented series of natural disasters affecting the country's crucially important agricultural economy. Such circumstances, by fostering a mood of revolutionary intransigence and militancy, always predispose to dogmatic leftism. China's unique international situation has not only worked in the same direction but also has imposed on the Chinese a special view of the world of the mid-twentieth century. The new China's experience with imperialism has been almost exclusively in the form of a malignantly hostile United States . . ."

**B**EFORE considering some of the historical roots of this struggle we must note that the editors' theory of an ultra-left domestic policy as the basis of an ultra-left foreign policy simply does not match up with the facts. Actually the Chinese leadership domestically has been moving away from adventures and ultra-leftism. In agriculture they have seriously retreated from the earlier "great leap" to communism and now are accommodating themselves more to the real situation on the countryside. Politically they have revived the "hundred flowers" campaign as an accommodation to the intellectuals. Whatever one may think of these more recent policies, concerning nothing less than the major economic and political problems, they can hardly be described as ultra-left.

But back to the real roots of the conflict.

### The Stalinist Monolith

"It should hardly be necessary to stress that the Soviet and Chinese positions are built on common Marxist foundations," writes the *Monthly Review*. This is inaccurate. It is far closer to truth to say that the original organizational and programmatic foundations of the Soviet and Chinese leaders was Stalinism.

There is no record of open political disagreement between the present leaders of the Soviet Union and China with Stalin while the latter was alive. All subscribed publicly to the dogmas of "socialism in one country," the "popular front," "collective security" and even "peaceful coexistence," — the political expressions of the Stalinist monolith. All submitted to the "cult of the individual," the organizational expression of the monolith.

The breakup of this Stalinist monolith since the second world war, provides the basic context for an evaluation of the Moscow-Peking dispute; it is the most important of its "roots," so to speak. What, therefore, was the nature of the Stalinist monolith and how is it being undermined?

The undemocratic aspect of the Communist parties arose as the product and instrument of the ruling, privileged, bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, during the period of the ebb of the Russian and international revolution. This bureaucracy, after destroying the institutions and traditions of the Russian revolutionary workers democracy, engulfed the system of world Communist parties and the Communist International itself; the enormous authority of the Russian Revolution and the power of the Soviet state apparatus made this take-over possible. This process rendered impotent the independent revolutionary capacity of these Communist parties and replaced revolutionary leaders with servile functionaries; the end result of this was a series of tragic defeats for the working class, which permitted the growth of fascism and the outbreak of the second world war.

**O**N THE other hand, the increasing barbarities of capitalism: fascism, colonial oppression, genocide, war, gave rise to revolutionary impulses which could not be contained within the Stalinist monolith, itself invaded by these impulses. While the Kremlin was capable of "pacifying" the proletariat of France, Italy and Greece, it could not restrain the masses of Yugoslavia and China; revolutionary breakthroughs occurred; the day of the unchallenged grip of the Soviet bureaucracy on Communist policy had passed; the interests of the working class were once again beginning to be expressed in the Communist movement.

The specific theory of Stalinism, the ideological incarnation of the Soviet bureaucratic caste, was the invention of Stalin himself: socialism in one country. And the *Monthly Review* has presented the gist of this theory in its formulation of the Soviet position in the current dispute:

"The best way to fight imperialism, contrary to the paper tiger view [reference to the alleged Peking position], is to negotiate, compromise, settle specific disputes as they arise — above all, avoid war and gain the necessary time for clear and convincing demonstration of the overwhelming superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system. As this superiority is driven home to the peoples of the world, the third camp will prove to be a mere way station on the road from imperialism to socialism and ultimately there will be mass desertions from the inner core of imperialism itself. In the meantime, a premature showdown could lead to a disaster for all concerned."

The specific and significant point of the theory of socialism in one country under Stalin and today under Khrushchev is not related to the need of a workers state to negotiate, trade, compromise and gain time as well as strive to gain overwhelming superiority. Here is the kernel of this theory: above all avoid the risk of socialist revolution against capitalism. It means not simply to avoid war and disastrous plunges into military adventures; no, it is the bureaucratic concept that the task of the Communist parties and allied movements is at all costs to avoid revolutionary showdowns. And the fact that the Chinese CP finally did not abide by this prescription is certainly one of the roots of the present conflict.

The early years (1925-27) were marked by the growth of a vast democratic revolution led by the Chinese bourgeoisie, its party, the Kuomintang, and its leading figure — General Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese proletariat led by the Communist Party was moving on the road of Bolshevism modeled on the October Revolution of 1917. The Chinese CP was independent of the national bourgeoisie; it possessed its own daily press. An armed proletariat in Shanghai was moving towards a showdown with the aim of completing the democratic revolution.

Cutting across this revolutionary development was the intervention of the Stalinist machine which imposed a "realistic" course upon the Chinese CP. According to Stalin, the next step toward socialism in China, a backward, colonial country unripe for a socialist revolution, was to be achieved through the collaboration of the Chinese proletariat and the bourgeoisie for an extended period.

The consequences of this policy foisted by the Russian bureaucracy on the Chinese CP were tragic. The Chinese CP in the face of an advance on Shanghai by Chiang Kai-shek, was ordered by Stalin to hail Chiang as a conquering revolutionary leader. While Stalin was honoring Chiang as a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Generalissimo was engaged in butchering the Chinese proletariat, just as the Trotskyist opposition had warned. The Central Committee of the Chinese CP in effect submitted to the monolithic control of Stalin, gave up its independence, its organization, its press; and above all, disarmed the working class. When Chiang entered Shanghai on April 12, 1927, tens of thousands of Communist workers perished. Following this betrayal, Stalin persisted in repeating this course in another round of

submission to the bourgeoisie, this time shifting to the "left" Kuomintang, led by Wan Chin Wei, with the same consequences: the arrests and massacres of Communist Party members in the bloody coup of July 14, 1927 in Hankow.

After these tragic defeats, Stalin veered from ultra-right opportunism to ultra-left adventurism by directing the Chinese CP to engage in continuous putschist uprisings. Finally, the abortive Canton uprising took place on December 11, 1927. It was crushed in fifty hours at the cost of 5,700 workers, among them, the best remaining revolutionary cadres.

**T**HE loss of the Chinese revolution in terms of casualties and demoralization is impossible to calculate. But despite these frightful consequences the Chinese revolution survived and eventually revived.

### Revolution Breaks Through

Stalin made a deal with the Western imperialists at Yalta in 1945, stipulating that the Chinese CP would accept a government coalition with Chiang Kai-shek giving the Generalissimo veto power, and thus refrain from the

## A Chinese Trotskyist Views The Moscow-Peking Debate

The following excerpts are translated from a pamphlet, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, by Chien Chuo, published by the Hi Yen Publishing Co. in Hong Kong. Though written in September 1960, when the Moscow-Peking conflict was far less advanced than it is now, Chien Chuo's analysis of the source and meaning of that conflict remains, we believe, of interest today. As can be seen, Chien Chuo, while a supporter of New China, is by no means an apologist for the Mao Tse-tung regime but a severe critic. This, we think, invests his pamphlet with particular significance.

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The latest views of the Chinese Communist party leaders on "peaceful coexistence," differing from Khrushchev's views and from their own pronouncements and deeds in the past, still do not thoroughly and honestly uphold the genuine Marxist-Leninist principles of international working-class solidarity. They are based, rather, on narrow nationalist interests and on the interests of the Chinese ruling bureaucratic strata.

Indeed, the CCP has not, at root, abandoned "peaceful coexistence" but pushes it forward in practice (for instance, with the nationalist leaders in Asia and Africa, such as in Burma). The CCP does not oppose all imperialists on principle but differentiates among them according to Stalinist criteria — at present they direct their opposition only at American imperialism. Because of Washington's steadfast refusal to "coexist" with China the CCP was compelled to put up this militant gesture. Hence the difference between the CCP leaders and Khrushchev is mainly one of method to be used for pushing forward "coexistence." The Chinese emphasize struggle while Khrushchev emphasizes peaceful parley. Should American imperialism feign acceptance of "peaceful coexistence," the CCP's tactics will undergo change.

Nevertheless, there are many progressive features to the CCP's current stand on "coexistence," and they de-

serve the support and welcome of revolutionary socialists. For example, the CCP leaders have exposed the U.S. government's policy of preparing for war while pretending to favor negotiations for peace. They have also restated Lenin's theory that imperialism is the root of war, proposed a vigorous struggle against American imperialism, and rejected extreme expressions of revisionism, counterposing to them citations from the authentic Leninist writings. But we should understand that only by overcoming basic errors — which the CCP has not done so far — can the CCP effectively fight against Khrushchev's extreme revisionism.

What induced the CCP to change its foreign policy? First, the aggravation of contradictions between the two big camps in the world today, and second, the increasing bankruptcy of the traditional Stalin-Khrushchev-Mao diplomacy.

After World War II, most imperialist countries emerged weakened from the holocaust, while a number of countries in Europe and Asia rose on the basis of socialist property forms. The contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems became primary, replacing the contradictions among the imperialist countries. The countries in the imperialist bloc are united for the sole purpose of destroying the socialist property forms. This has resulted in the expansion of armaments and the intensification of international conflicts. As revolutionary movements spread in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and as the imperialists have not yet completed their war preparations, Western political leaders are obliged to put on a peace-loving masquerade in order to try to paralyze the consciousness of the workers and peasants throughout the world. But thinking people are more and more aware of these facts. While Khrushchev and Eisenhower shook hands and toasted each other on the eve of the summit meeting in which

the former placed all his hopes, the latter's war preparations were being stepped up. Half a year later they exploded in the U-2 incident. There is thus a sharp contrast between the illusions about an international compromise and the actual preparations for war.

It is now clear to many people that to entertain illusions about an international compromise cannot stop war but only helps the imperialists to prepare for it. Threatened with the danger of war, the masses are indignant at the imperialists and dissatisfied with Khrushchev's policy of compromise. This trend is reflected within the CCP, forcing its leaders, for the sake of political self-preservation, to face up to the crisis . . . .

New China has always met with the most malignant hostility from American imperialism. Washington bolsters the fading political power of Chiang Kai-shek with arms, enabling him to maintain occupation of Taiwan and the other off-shore islands. It sent its army to China's border during the Korean War. It blockades China with an embargo and refuses to allow the People's Republic of China to be seated in the United Nations although the Peking regime is entitled to hold China's seat. This series of hostile acts by American imperialism has in turn produced more vigorous anti-American sentiment in China. The fact that Khrushchev tried to compromise with American imperialism, disregarding the interests of China, was like pouring kerosene on the Chinese people's smoldering anger. The emphatic manner in which the CCP denounces U.S. imperialism is the reflection of the sentiments prevalent among the Chinese people.

The growing revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America indicate that the world revolution is at high tide. Thus the conditions that gave rise to Stalin's conservative policy of "socialism in one country" have disappeared, and the policy fails to appeal to the Chinese people. The international situation favors a course of trying to force the capitalist countries, headed by American imperialism, to accept peaceful coexistence. In order to pursue such a course the CCP must adopt — or at least seem to adopt — a more left theory in order to win the support of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

New China was born on a very back-

“risk” of a socialist revolution; and, for this, Stalin would receive military agreements and the settling of post-war boundaries.

But there was one stumbling block: the Chinese CP refused to give up its own armed forces, the Red Army, in the course of its coalition attempts with Chiang Kai-shek. This key decision in turn enabled and even compelled the Chinese CP to stand at the head of a socialist revolution. (The same held true in essence for the Yugoslav CP during and after the second world war.) This historic event in 1949-50 completely upset the Stalinist perspective; namely,

ward economic foundation which had suffered from the destruction of a prolonged period of war. With the help of a superior social system China has recovered rapidly from the wounds of war and has greatly developed her productive powers. But having started from an extremely low level of productivity (much lower than Russia's in 1917), China is constantly faced with difficulties and needs constant international help for her socialist construction . . .

But, in fact, the help given by the Russian leaders to the Soviet-bloc countries, including to China, has been very limited. Take China for example. In a report entitled “Balance Sheet of the Ten Years’ Finance,” Li Shen-nin, chief of the Finance Department, stated, “The capital which is badly needed in economic construction has been, from the very beginning, dependent on internal accumulation except for a low-interest loan extended by Russia.” The Soviet leaders boast about how they have helped China build and reorganize heavy industry. But “only 113 out of the 166 big industrial projects mutually agreed upon to be built within the First Five Year Plan, were fully or partially completed at the end of 1958” [one year after the close of the plan period]. After that, the completion of 125 big industrial projects, mutually agreed upon to be built or enlarged, was put off until 1967. The important point is that the projects are all paid for according to the “barter formula” — that is by shipments of agricultural raw materials and finished-work products. China's exports to Russia increased three-and-a-half times from 1950 to 1958 and have reached 45 per cent of China's total exports.

We have not yet seen any official material disclosing unequal exchange between Russia and China. But judging from information revealed at the time of the Tito-Stalin split and from the accusation of unequal trade relations made against Russia by Poland's Gomułka four years ago — this accusation was published in the Peking People's Daily at the time — the same kind of unequal trade relations, though different in degree, might well obtain between Russia and China today. In addition the Chinese can never forget the removal by Russia of a great quantity of machinery from Northeast China immediately after World War II. It is very difficult not to grumble and be

that after World War II a stable peaceful coexistence of mutual assurances would prevail. The Kremlin banked on maintaining control of the CPs and revolutionary forces. This control would prevent revolutions and the capitalists in turn would promise not to attack the Soviet Union.

Stalin during World War II had no confidence whatever in the possibility of a socialist revolution. He particularly ordered the Chinese CP to avoid any head-on clash with Chiang Kai-shek. Granted the premise of a non-revolutionary perspective, Stalin's peaceful coexistence advice

disappointed about this stingy and even selfish “aid.” . . .

The above analysis and facts prove that the Sino-Russian dispute has great theoretical and political significance which discloses the following points:

First, the worker and peasant masses and the colonial peoples are rejecting the theory of “socialism in one country” and with it the diplomatic policy of “peaceful coexistence” compromises. These pressures have compelled the CCP, a practitioner of this policy, to gradually propose a different orientation.

Second, the crisis of the disintegration of Stalinism has developed from the small countries in Europe to the big countries of the East. This development, originating from the narrow nationalism of Stalinism and the conflict of national interests (especially bureaucratic interests), is irresistible. The attempt by Khrushchev to attain a position of ideological authority like that of Stalin's has proved hopeless due to Mao's challenge. The legend of monolithic ideology in the Stalinist world has disappeared forever.

Third, the following theories have been proved correct by events during the eleven years since the victory of the Chinese revolution: (a) Lenin's theory that to eliminate war it is necessary to eliminate capitalism by means of world revolution; (b) two main points in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution — namely, that the democratic revolution in economically backward countries develops uninterruptedly into a socialist one and that revolution in one country spreads uninterruptedly to other countries. The logic of revolutionary development has forced the CCP empirically to correct its past theory and policy. The replacement of the “New Democracy” slogans with a socialist program in 1953 demonstrated the first and main point of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. The dispute with Khrushchev and the current change in the external policy of the CCP is beginning to prove the second point of Trotsky's theory . . .

The sudden departure from China of large groups of Russian specialists and advisers indicates that relations between the two countries have deteriorated even further. The official reason for the departures — “completion of contracts” — hardly explains the facts. The “great leap forward” movement is continuing and the technical assist-

ance plan, mutually agreed upon, is far from fulfilled. There is no explanation for the departure of Russian personnel except that the relations between the two countries have become worse, as in the case of Yugoslavia and Russia before their split in 1948 . . .

Stalin thought that he could suppress a small country like Yugoslavia by smearing it politically, by economic punishment and by military threats. His plan was smashed to pieces. Khrushchev later admitted Stalin's errors on this score. Today, faced with American war-mongering, Khrushchev is unable to use Stalin's methods in dealing with a big country like China. Precisely because he knows this, Mao has displayed an unyielding attitude. He tries to force Khrushchev to make concessions, such as to offer China more material aid and a more equal position in the Soviet bloc. If the dispute can be adjusted in this direction, it will be hushed up.

According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the workers are the ruling class in a socialist country. They should enjoy full class democracy. All important ideological problems as well as external and internal policies should be discussed before them, because these issues have decisive significance in the development of their countries and of the whole world. If these problems are only discussed and decided by a few people, it is very difficult to avoid errors which will bring disaster. Therefore, both sides should openly publish the documents in the dispute. It is also necessary to publish all past documents such as those dealing with disputes within the Russian Communist party between 1920 and 1930. The masses will then be able to fully understand what is involved and think seriously about presenting their views. This will help the development and execution of policy.

The imperialists are elated about the Sino-Soviet dispute. But their attempts to take advantage of it will not succeed. Disputes between various sections of the working class leadership will never weaken the revolutionary movement. On the contrary, the re-establishment of a new revolutionary leadership with correct theory and practice will be helped by serious discussion and ideological struggle.

appeared "reasonable," "realistic" and "mature." But the Chinese thought otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Were the Russians right in opposing the Chinese socialist revolution? Or were the Chinese right? If the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie headed by Chiang had remained in power would this have strengthened a perspective of genuine peace or heighten the prospect of an imperialist drive for World War III? Since, in our opinion, the victory of the Chinese socialist revolution has been an enormous deterrent to World War III, we think it has considerable bearing on the roots of the present controversy about peaceful coexistence. And by the same token one's stand on the current Sino-Soviet dispute requires taking sides on the earlier dispute between the Chinese CP and Stalin over the question of revolution.

The Chinese revolution was a refutation of the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country, as were all the socialist revolutionary transformations during the post-war period. That is why these victories resulted in a crisis of the Stalinist conservative, narrow, national, bureaucratic policies; that is also why the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union itself endures a breakdown of equilibrium, de-Stalinization and finally, that is why this is all accompanied by the fragmentation, cracks and fissures in all components of the monolithic structure.

The current debates should properly be viewed against this theoretical and historical background. It is this background which explains the "unexpected" eruption of public disagreement. The Chinese lack of confidence in the Russians is not a momentary mood. It has been a long time coming. The beginning goes way back and the end is not yet in sight.

The cracking of the Stalinist monolith, a result and a cause of the Sino-Soviet conflict, has let loose a storm of political currents and cross-currents within the international working-class vanguard movements. New or previously suppressed points of view are getting a hearing; whole tendencies and even parties are shifting positions; new alliances are being forged. There is a very real struggle for ideas, methods and goals. This takes place as a contention of political tendencies leading eventually to the establishment of a new revolutionary leadership based on a new program. Such a world regroupment process has promoted a vigorous atmosphere of "bloom and contend," review and reevaluate, test and retest in the crucible of new revolutions.

The international communist vanguard originated in the Russian Bolshevik cadre. The great authority won by the Bolsheviks in their victory of 1917 permitted them to become the nucleus of a world organization of a new type.

**T**HE subsequent degeneration of the Russian Communist Party under Stalin strangled the Communist parties and the Communist International as an effective revolutionary weapon. Stalinism, however, produced its own opposites within the Communist parties; first, in the form of Trotskyism and more recently, new revolutionary socialist forces. The Left Opposition, or Trotskyism, arose in the nineteen-twenties as a defender and continuator of the traditions of Leninism against the onslaught of Stalinist reaction. In the decades of working class defeats caused in great measure by Stalinist policy, the Trotskyist movement succeeded in "remembering" October; thereby maintaining the historical thread of Marxist theory as it was expressed through the action of Lenin's party.

In the Forties and Fifties under completely altered conditions the new revolutionary forces have emerged through breaks with Stalinism, Social Democracy and bourgeois nationalism. These forces displayed no outward signs of

1. Isaac Deutscher in the London Observer, January 28, 1962, refers to the well-known break between the Chinese CP leaders and Stalin over the question of the revolution. In connection with the current dispute he wrote: "Is the quarrel then mainly over the 'wrong' done to Stalin posthumously? But Mao had been, throughout his career, in tacit conflict with Stalin — he seized power against Stalin's advice. After the Twentieth Congress he sought, with his 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom,' to out-do Khrushchev in de-Stalinization."

similarity or even direct relationship to the cadres of Trotskyism. They did not originate as self-conscious, ideological and theoretical oppositions to Stalinism, relating themselves to the classic revolutionary Left Opposition. The *de facto* anti-Stalinist, or non-Stalinist revolutionary formations began on the field of action, over differences of tactics and strategy.

But the course of history points to a fusion of the movements of Leninist continuity with today's newly aroused revolutionary forces. Although from different starting points, the Trotskyist program and the revolutionary forces breaking with Stalinism have an area of intersection. However, there is nothing in this process that is determined *a priori*: it is a central target of revolutionary will and revolutionary struggle.

### An Analogy

In general, every forward leap by the workers movement has witnessed a breakup within the leadership of the established organizations. In the U.S. in the Thirties, the mass upsurge by the working class split the AFL bureaucracy into two distinct wings. One group, led by John L. Lewis, accommodated themselves to the insurgents, even providing leadership to the movement that was eventually to form the CIO.

Although analogies are always limited, the present dispute between Mao and Khrushchev can be usefully compared to that fight between Lewis and Green: both cases involve a division in the top apparatus of a workers movement.

We support the Chinese in the same sense that the revolutionists of the Thirties supported Lewis. Support of Lewis was a way of manifesting identification with the semi-revolutionary wave he was riding. The great need of the moment was the organization of the industrial workers. Support to the CIO furthered that cause. While recognizing in Lewis' break with Green a significant contribution to the forward march of American labor, the revolutionists, at the same time, were aware that Lewis' action had outstripped his own consciousness: that he was not aware of the implications of what he had done, and most assuredly was not programatically prepared for the further requirements of the situation. In addition Lewis had not broken with his own privileged position. (In that regard he remained in the same category with Green.)

Thus, support to Lewis was "conditional," or "critical," which permitted the revolutionists to support and identify with the forward step of the masses in such a way as to allow them (at least in program) to go further than Lewis eventually was prepared to go. In a word, the revolutionists of the Thirties were supporters of Lewis without becoming "Lewisites."

**I**N A comparable manner today, we support Mao without being Maoists. To be more concrete: on the main theoretical questions in dispute between the Russians and the Chinese, we think the Chinese are correct. In addition, the Chinese leaders base themselves on revolutionary social strata aroused by 650 million people entering the arena of history. On the other hand, the Chinese leaders have yet to probe the source of their disagreement with the Kremlin, to ask the question: how is it that the leaders of the Soviet CP could arrive at such a treacherous position? The Chinese dissolve this problem in an abstract "revisionism" which becomes, in their theoretical structure, the original source of all evil. Were the Chinese courageously to undertake to answer this question, were they to dig behind the Khrushchev interpretation of peaceful coexistence and discover the very real material interests of a privileged bureaucracy — in the Soviet Union as in China; were they, in a word, to discover the essential source of Stalinism and *their own historic relationship to it*, then it would be possible to state with confidence that Maoism is the modern version of Bolshevism. Then it would be possible to assess more posi-

tively the Chinese CP claim to constitute the new international revolutionary leadership.

Will the Maoists have the capacity to continue the excellent progress they have been making in their break with Stalinism? Will they be able to proceed from their trenchant polemics against specific Stalinist theories to an understanding of Stalinism, *per se*, including the latter's role in the Chinese revolution itself? Only further experience can answer these questions. It is sufficient at this point to note that the success of the Chinese against the Russians in the current dispute is having beneficial effects: it further weakens the grip of the Khrushchev brand of Stalinism on important workers movements around the world in favor of revolutionary tendencies. The growth of the revolutionary tendencies by reflex action may in turn further the progressive development of the Maoist leadership.

The Moscow-Peking conflict constitutes a beginning, by no means final, stage in the process of international regroupment of the revolutionary movement. The victory of Peking at this stage would be, in our opinion, a significant step forward.

Every serious political analysis implies a prediction of the future. Understanding the dispute in the manner they do, the *MR* editors foresee that the solution to the current conflict will occur in the following manner:

"In general, it is only a change in the objective situation itself that undermines a dogmatic leftist position and leads to its abandonment. And this we believe will turn out to be true in the case of China, as it has in other cases in the past."

They, then, indicate the nature of the predicted change in the objective situation: "... China is now suffering from a severe case of dogmatic leftism. The disease will abate and eventually disappear, one would suppose, when China is admitted to its rightful place among the nations of the world, especially if this takes place against determined United States opposition; and when the internal situation in the country eases as the great efforts of socialist construction begin to yield their fruits."

This seems, at first, very much like begging the question. How China will be able to win "its rightful place among nations" is the subject of the disagreement. The fact of the matter is, however, the *MR* editors, as they themselves say, agree with Khrushchev on the question of world perspectives. They expect that Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence will be successful; that clever diplomacy will prevent the imperialists from launching World War III; and that, in the meantime, the Soviet bloc will increase in wealth and power, paralyzing all opposition by force of example. In such a manner China will gradually be moved out of her present isolated position into one of strength and "acceptance"; and the ideological divergences between Moscow and Peking will disappear as the Chinese recognize the folly of their infantile measles.

**A**S THE Chinese assert, the real perspective is the opposite of the one expected by the Russians. The growth of the revolutionary forces emerging from the second world war has by no means reached its peak. The recent victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba is but one more piece of evidence of this fact. The masses, in the imperialist sector, grinding under heavy poverty in most cases, inspired by the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, do not display any mood of quiet patience awaiting the miracles supposedly contained in Summit Diplomacy. On the other hand, the masses in the non-capitalist sector, their desires awakened by their own revolutionary victories, see in the imperialist domination of two-thirds of the globe an excruciating, therefore impermissible brake on their own progress.

The growth, since World War II, of Soviet-bloc industry is undeniable. But encouraging as this economic development is, it has been far outstripped by the swift rise of the revolutionary movement, which more immediately affects events. Looked at from this aspect, Khrushchev's pro-

gram is an appeal to the masses to restrain their revolutionary "impatience," keeping their demands and the tempo of their struggles in accord with the relatively slower tempo of Soviet industrial growth. The emergence of the Chinese position within the Soviet bloc indicates a mass sentiment to reject the Kremlin's go-slow prescription. Khrushchev will not succeed where Stalin failed.

All signs point to an epoch of increasing social tensions, violent eruptions, that is, an epoch of explosive class struggle leading to the victory of socialism throughout the world. There will be a "resolution" of the Moscow-Peking conflict on this variant as well. But in this context the Chinese position, rather than appearing as aberrations of one-sided leftists will seem to be the valid theoretical expression of the urgent needs and desires of the most underprivileged sectors of the world's population. The Kremlin position, of necessity by-passed in such a process, will appear for what it really is: the theoretical expression of, actually an apology for, the needs and desires of an economically privileged and conservatized sector of Soviet society.

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# My Reminiscences of Natalia Sedov Trotsky

by Constance Weissman

**M**Y REMINISCENCES of Natalia Sedov Trotsky cover the period since 1948, when we first went to visit her in Mexico.

I was rather nervous at the prospect of meeting a person who to me was a legendary, historical character. I had read Trotsky's *My Life* and knew of Natalia's role in the Russian Revolution.

Besides her extraordinary life as a revolutionist, there was the appalling fact of the tragedies that had befallen her. Her two sons killed, her husband assassinated, her life now in exile in a strange country — I felt inadequate to meet such a woman. I could not have believed at that time that we were to become friends.

At that time, the street in front of the stone fortress where Natalia lived and where Trotsky was murdered, was rough and unpaved. On one side of the street there were little huts belonging to poor Mexicans. The stone house is set behind a high wall, and cannot be seen from the street.

We rang the bell in a heavy metal door and were admitted. We walked through a beautiful garden, in the center of which was a startlingly white, stark tombstone on which a hammer and sickle were carved. A beautiful red flag flew bravely from a pole. It was a stunning monument set in the midst of a well-tended and perfectly laid out garden.

Natalia met us at the steps of the house. She was a little person, dressed in black, with white hair and a rather grim, serious expression. When I knew her better, I realized that her formality was an old-world courtesy of manner. For she never thought of herself as a famous person.

She was biased in advance in favor of anyone from the Trotskyist movement and deeply appreciated our visit.



Natalia Sedov Trotsky, 1882-1962

We entered a high-ceilinged stone room, containing a huge roll-top desk, book-cases and shelves with newspapers and reference works. We sat around a small wooden table on gaily painted Mexican chairs and there we talked. This was the first of the many, many visits, which always started with conversation around the little table.

After a while we were taken into a long, narrow dining room and Natalia brought in tea, which she made in a tiny pot, then poured hot water in each cup. With it we had a tough kind of jelly called membrilla, and bread. At tea time, Natalia relaxed and told us pleasant stories.

The truth of the matter is, in her

presence it was hard to remember that she had lost both her sons, that her husband had been assassinated and that she was living in exile.

Here was a woman who had no self-pity. It was extraordinary; especially, since many of her old friends who lived in New York would get very emotional about her plight, living in what they called "that horrible, cold house," and would weep at her lonely state.

It was true that the house was uncomfortable and cold, with only the most rudimentary bathrooms. And there was a time when she was alone, when Seva had to live at the university.

Once we were in Natalia's bedroom and I noticed a pearl revolver next to her bed. She laughed and said, "I don't think I could ever use it. But anyway, I just have it there." There was no hint of complaint. She seemed to find the revolver amusing.

In his *Diary*, Trotsky observes: "Natalia is fixing up our living quarters [this was in Norway — C.W.] How many times she has done this! There are no wardrobes here, and many other things are lacking. She is hammering nails in by herself, stringing cords, hanging things up and changing them around; the cords break; she sighs to herself and begins all over again. She is guided in this by two considerations: cleanliness and attractiveness. I remember with what heartfelt sympathy — almost tenderness — she told me in 1905 about a certain fellow prisoner, a common criminal, who had 'understood' cleanliness and helped N. to clean up their cell. How many 'furnishings' we have changed in 33 years of living together: a Geneva mansarde, flats in the working-class districts of Vienna and Paris, and the Kremlin and Arkhangelskoe, a peasant hut near Alma-Ata, a villa in Prinkipo, and much more

modest villas in France . . . N. has never been indifferent to her surroundings, but always *independent* of them. I easily 'let down' under difficult conditions: that is, become reconciled to the dirt and disorder around me, but Natalia — *never*. She raises every environment to a certain level of cleanliness and orderliness, and does not allow it to fall below that level. But how much energy, inventiveness, and vital forces it requires!"

It seemed to me that the greatest force in her life was her capacity for affection for comrades and friends. Here was where she suffered in Mexico, especially after the party here was no longer able to send comrades to live in the house with her. It was this desire to be with her own that gave her the prodigious energy she put forth in going twice to Europe and once to the U.S.

She suffered from a vascular condition which made her rather unsteady on her feet. But she always wore high wedge shoes and said she could never get used to low heels. Sometimes when she got up after sitting for a while, as on a car journey, she would stagger fearfully. But if you put out your arm to help her, she would say, "No. If I take your arm, what will I do when you are not here?"

She had a great deal of pride and did not think of herself as old. She told her age only once, as far as I know. Even Seva did not know her age. The one time she told it happened when we brought a little girl of six, daughter of a comrade, to visit her. The child asked her mother, "How old is Natalia?" Natalia asked what the child had said, for she did not understand English. The mother was quite embarrassed. "She wants to know how old you are," she said. Natalia laughed. "Tell her that I am 72." The little girl was relieved. "That's not old," she said. "My grandfather is 72."

For Natalia adored children. Once on a trip to Taxco, a tiny boy approached her and asked for a peso. Natalia sat right down on the curb between him and his even tinier sister and talked to them. She laughed and kidded with them and asked him why she should give him a peso. "Because it's Sunday," he replied. "Well then," said Natalia, "should I give every child a peso?"

"No, just me," he answered. Natalia laughed and gave him half a peso. You could see that children accepted her completely.

Often when we were in Mexico we took Natalia on trips outside of the city. We would plan to visit all the sights and at first, expected Natalia to stay in the hotel and rest. But when we got to the car, there would be Natalia waiting for us. She would scramble up the steep pyramids and scare us to death. She loved to walk up the mountains, too, and had more stamina than either of us. She loved the countryside and could become completely absorbed in her surroundings.

She was a botanist so well versed that she could recognize every plant. When we kept pressing her to let us do something for her, she finally asked us to take her to buy some black earth for her garden. Otherwise, it was always difficult to give her anything. It was she who gave.

We learned that she could not resist an appeal for help from a comrade, or as it usually was, from ex-comrades, and out of her meager funds would send them money.

Natalia greatly admired women who were athletes, who were strong and sturdy. We took her to see an Ingrid Bergman movie and she said the actress reminded her of the young women in Russia who were in revolt against the traditional manners. She said they wore plain peasant clothes, refused to make themselves beautiful and sometimes it seemed to her they were smoking *two* cigarettes at once. "How I loved those girls" she said.

When she came to New York in 1957 and stayed with us, it was a peculiar situation. Actually, she wanted to live in the U.S. because she was so isolated in Mexico. A string attached to the permission for the visit was for her to have a conversation with Rep. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee. She had been assured that there would be no publicity.

She honestly didn't believe that it would matter two pins what she said, because she did not think of herself as a world famous figure. We were very worried about her projected appearance, and tried to dissuade her. But if she didn't appear, it meant she had to return immediately to Mexico.

She arrived in the U.S. in very bad shape. The trip was a nightmare. Her plane ran into the edge of a hurricane and she was so sick that they thought she was going to die. They landed in the Midwest and tried to make her get off. She refused and arrived in exhausted condition. But after a while here in New York she revived and immediately took on the job of getting our backyard into shape. Every morning she would bundle up in a woolen wrapper and hat to dig and water the plants which she set in for us.

She was an ideal guest. She was always trying to do the dishes. Once, George said to her, "Natalia, we have a division of labor here," meaning that I cooked and he did the dishes. Natalia, said, "Yes, I know, Connie cooks and you eat."

Another time, when my mother-in-law was coming to visit, she did me a great favor. We had an invasion of giant cockroaches, and I found Natalia chasing them around the sink and squashing them. She whispered to me, "It will never do to have your mother-in-law see these."

Meantime, we tried to keep her whereabouts a secret because of the reporters who had already published

stories about her forthcoming testimony. One day she asked me, "Do you really think it makes any difference what I say?" I answered that I did indeed, because it would be a blow to the socialist movement. She was very upset because she did not want to go back to Mexico. She said, "What will I say when they ask me questions?" A leader of the SWP said, "Just say 'no.'"

And this is exactly what she did. She came back from the meeting with Walter's intermediary and said, "To everything I replied, 'nyet, nyet, nyet.'"

Then sadly she got ready to leave and within 24 hours she was ordered onto a plane to Mexico.

Of course, the best descriptions of Natalia are in Trotsky's *Diary*. I would like to close by quoting this paragraph by the Old Man:

"The depth and strength of a human character are defined by its moral reserves. People reveal themselves completely only when they are thrown out of the customary conditions of their life, for only then do they have to fall back on their reserves. Natalia and I have been together for almost 33 years (a third of a century!) and in tragic hours I am always amazed at the reserves of her character . . ."

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# Movement on the Right

Are the ultra-rightists merely troublesome crackpots or do they herald the growth of American Fascism? This writer's analysis suggests that the question must be differently posed

by Allen Taplin

**W**HAT springs to mind, as we look into the nature of the organizations of the reactionary right and into the reasons for their growth in the past few years, is the idea that we are seeing the development of a fascist movement in the United States. There seems to be general agreement on this point in the public press, and from most political viewpoints, including that of the President.

The more sophisticated observers note a *resurgence* of fascism in the the U.S. And this is more accurate. Fascism, in the sense of an extra-legal vigilanteism, of violence used against the working class, has always been a feature of our society.

It has appeared at various periods as the bed-sheeted nightriders of the Southern Ku Klux Klan; as local vigilante groups in the Southwest operating against attempts of the agricultural workers to form unions; and as Good Citizen Leagues in Northern industrial towns, created especially to prevent the organization of the mass production industries.

These were mainly local outfits, financed by local business interests and staffed by the small-business and backward working people, organized to accomplish specific jobs that the regular police and courts by themselves couldn't quite handle.

Later, in times of general social turmoil — in the thirties and late

forties — the U.S. produced more sophisticated organizations, styled on the European models: the organizations of Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, and others. And the early fifties produced the incipient fascist development of McCarthyism, in which the emphasis turned toward a witch-hunt against communism, against internal subversion.

While McCarthy never built an organization of his own he attracted to his banner dozens and hundreds of local fascist groups in search of a leader. Now, however, what accounts for this fascist type of movement in the form of the ultra-right today?

**W**HILE it is true that the U.S. is not racked by depression and social crisis, still, we have been living for well over a decade in a state of social tension — a very long period of ever-increasing social tension. This of course does not by itself create fascism, but it has prepared a rich soil for recruitment by the ultra-rightists.

Economic conditions have been generally good for a long period, for both business and those workers who are organized into unions, or in stable industries. But there are pressures that have acted to cause considerable dissatisfaction and a search for a way out by those affected.

One is the fairly rapid swing of

boom and recession, since World War II. There is in fact very little basic confidence in the stability of the economy. The question people ask, is not whether there will be another recession, but rather when will it hit and how bad will it be. And then, there is the impact of business rationalization, encompassing automation, mergers, a permanent farm crisis and permanent unemployment.

There is an intense pressure upon many layers of society. It hurts many middle-class layers in business and agriculture as hard or harder than it does some sections of the working class.

The one place that we can see a real social crisis is in the Negro struggle for civil rights. Since this struggle took on a national significance in the early nineteen fifties, it has grown steadily in scope and intensity, drawing in ever new layers throughout the nation, shaking up national politics, and giving a focus and purpose to the rebellious youth. In the South the Negro struggle has become a clear and present danger to the status quo. The very basis of the Southern way of life is in danger — the super-exploitation of the Negroes and poor whites, and the division and weakness of the working-class organizations there.

So it is no accident that the South is today one of the hotbeds of right wing sentiment and organization. And in its defense of racism, the



South provides not a little of the ideology of the reactionary Right.

**O**VER everything else there is the cold war and the growing feeling that the United States is losing this war. A strong emotion in a country that before Korea had never lost a foreign war, nor even suffered in one. The Right recognizes as well as any that, today, the crises of foreign lands are not really foreign; that the status quo at home depends upon the maintenance of the status quo abroad. Their difference with the Establishment — that is, that the danger is not so much foreign communism as it is internal communism — is not a reversion to isolationism. It is rather a difference in strategy on how to achieve their common aim: how to keep the working people of the world from taking over from the owning people of the world.

The established institutions and official ideology of our society are being rejected in ever-wider circles. Large numbers of people are moving to the left and to the right, and while there is no definitive polarization as yet, there is certainly a movement, and its outlines are clear.

The movement to the left is occurring mainly around the struggle for civil rights. Large numbers of young people are propelled today into action, and if they are not talking as much about politics and program as is the ultra-right, they are certainly doing more. The Right is doing a lot of talking. It is being built from the top down, so to speak, by the use of a lot of money, the spread of a lot of propaganda and the propagation of an ideology.

The fact that people have problems, that there are social tensions, is not of course enough to attract people to fascism. The fascists must have something to offer. It must claim to provide a solution. And even before this, the more ordinary political parties, social panaceas, and economic nostrums must have appeared as failures. For the program of fascism, violent, extreme, cruel, can only attract those who see no solutions elsewhere.

This process of disillusionment is occurring today in the rejection of liberalism. Though the Eisenhower

and Kennedy Administrations don't call themselves by this name, their policies are fundamentally the same as those of Roosevelt and Truman, and they are properly labeled together.

**A**SIDE from the government, the other big popular force that in the recent past has given leadership, both organizational and ideological, to masses of people, is the labor movement. But the labor movement is not doing much these days, and unfortunately it is in many eyes almost as tarnished as is the government. While politicians are popularly considered to be opportunist hypocrites, labor leaders are often thought of as corrupt gangsters.

As for the socialist movement, it's not reaching much of the population today.

So a turn to the right, away from liberalism, is occurring among many of the youth as in much of the middle class. Those who reject liberalism are being offered something by the propagandists of the Right. Just as the European fascists did, they offer mysticism, then demagoguery. Mysticism is provided to bind together the heterogeneous and often conflicting groups. Demagoguery is provided as a fake solution to real problems.

The mysticism of the European fascists largely revolved around the Cult of the Leader and the Cult of the Fatherland, and around the notion of the master-race. As their movements developed, other secondary mysticisms arose, giving special qualities to the youth, to war veterans, to the fascist martyrs.

Here in the U.S., men like Robert Welch of the John Birch Society, have developed a position on the "leader mystique" that is quite similar to that of the Nazis. But, of course, their leader has not yet arrived and so this particular cult has hardly gotten off the ground.

The big idea among the rightists today is the notion of "freedom." The word appears in the names of their organizations, in the titles of their books, in their slogans. A new biography of Barry Goldwater is even subtitled: "Freedom Is His Flight Plan." This is the positive side

of the mystique. What the rightists want is "freedom"! The negative side, what the rightists oppose, is "communism," and more precisely, internal communism, internal subversion and conspiracy. Here they are most virulent and most inclusive. The picture of the enemy that they conjure up is as sharp and realistic as the many enemies the Nazis produced for their followers: the Bolshevik menace, the international Jewish Bankers, and so on.

A corollary of the mystique of the enemy is the notion of traitors in high office. Their cry is that the Republic has been sold out, down with treason, with corruption, with opportunism in politics. It is easy for them to denounce all that is rotten in public life, and their distorted view of a corrupt Establishment is quite similar to that of the Nazis. Senator McCarthy's fascist demagoguery played on this central theme: We were sold out by "traitors," "dupes" and "egg-heads." We were betrayed by "perverts" in the State Department, and by the "twisted-thinking intellectuals [who] have taken over both the Democratic and Republican parties."

Robert Welch wrote his *Blue Book* between 1954 and 1958, before he organized the John Birch Society. In this book he tells his opinion of Eisenhower. This opinion, more than anything else, has gotten the publicity that has made the society the best-known of all the new right-wing organizations.

**H**ARD as it is to believe, Welch wrote that Eisenhower was a dedicated agent of the Communist Conspiracy, and that the chances were very strong that Milton Eisenhower was actually Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party. Those who want to be charitable may believe that the former president is following the CP out of political opportunism, but Welch thinks that his motivation is really ideological — that is, Eisenhower *believes* in communism, knowingly accepts and abides by Communist orders, and has consciously served the communist conspiracy for all his adult life.

Another person, Allen Dulles, the

ex-head of the Central Intelligence Agency, is also a communist agent according to Welch. As head of the CIA, Dulles was the most protected and untouchable supporter of communism in Washington, next to Eisenhower himself. One of the important things Dulles did for communism was to turn uncoun- ted millions of dollars over to Walter Reuther to promote communism in Europe — and he also gave a few millions to David Dubinsky and Jay Lovestone, who are admitted communists — but claim to be anti-Stalinist communists, Welch says.

And furthermore, according to Welch, if only McCarthy could have had his way he might have been able to show that the CIA is the most communist-infested of all our agencies of government.

Likewise the racist theories of the Nazis are among the oldest notions of the American fascists. Racism, anti-Semitism, hatred of foreigners, has always been a part of this American tradition. But the common attitude in the U.S. today on this question is much more liberal than it has ever been. Anti-Semitism doesn't make much headway any more, even though perhaps more of the fascist hate-sheets are devoted to this subject than to any other. Racism in the U.S. takes the form of a fight against the struggle for civil rights for Negroes. This job of spreading propaganda of white superiority has been taken over by the Southern wing of the ultra-right as their own specialty.

**D**EMAGOGY, as we have learned from the European experience, is also a necessary part of fascist propaganda. In order to give his followers something to fight for, Hitler had to make a show of anticapitalism and provide radical political programs, even to the point of calling his movement socialist. But fascism actually has no ideology of its own — no principles of its own. It dresses itself in whatever ideological costume appears most attractive, and caters to whatever the disaffected masses want to hear.

The socialist and anti-capitalist tradition is weak in the U.S. and the "radical" right does not use it now.

It has so far limited itself to such economic programs as the repeal of the income tax and the open shop. This shortage of radical social demagogy is due to the absence of any real social crisis today, and the absence of privation on the part of those to whom the Right appeals. Those who are dissatisfied with the government are more insecure than deprived, more worried about losing what they have than regaining something they have lost.

The period of full-blown fascist demagogy has not arrived — but with any real downturn in the economy we can expect to hear a lot of it, if the radical and labor movements default on their historic responsibility.

In general, our own native fascists don't match the European variety in the realm of theory. And though they may try to catch up, I don't expect they will ever quite make it. Intellectualism and a concern for theory is much more the

European tradition. Our own tradition, in all fields, is less theoretical, more pragmatic, even anti-intellectual.

But when it comes to know-how, the American is top dog. It is in the organized use of violence that the American fascists will probably make their major contributions. Right now the fascist use of extra-legal methods, of open violence, is common only in the South. But even there, they are on the defensive, in the larger sense. It is the Negro people, particularly the youth, and their allies, such as the Freedom Riders, that are on the offensive.

In a word then, we are not about to be overwhelmed by fascist gangs; but still, those gangs *are* being organized.

**W**HAT are the prospects for the growth of the ultra-right?

The current rightist movement is developing with a different relationship to the Establishment than did

## In Our Next Issue

### *An Over-all Evaluation of C. Wright Mills*

by William F. Warde



### *In Defense of Dialectical Materialism*

by Arne Swaback

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the McCarthyite clique. Whereas McCarthy operated inside the government and with early reactionary toleration and even some support from both Truman and Eisenhower, today's reactionary right is developing outside the government and in opposition to the hostility of the government.

Kennedy did not brush them aside as a bunch of crackpots, but felt compelled to answer their basic ideas. His essentially defensive line was that the danger of communism comes from without, not within, and that our official institutions, and not a man on horseback, are the best safeguards for the country.

Even more significantly, the Army forced General Walker to resign once his pro-Birch Society actions became a public scandal.

The major reason for all this is not the greater liberalism of Kennedy over Truman or Eisenhower. It is that Kennedy is following different tactics in his prosecution of the cold war. These liberal government policies are part of a main line of serving the immediate needs of Big Business through: 1) a further integration with the economies of the advanced European countries, carried out by means of ties to the European Common Market; 2) a continued exploitation of those colonial areas still dominated by the U.S., especially Latin-America, and a penetration into those few areas like the Congo that are newly accessible to American capital; and 3) a continued rationalization of American industry.

These policies depend on a social and political status quo — the maintenance of class peace at home and abroad. Here at home the Administration is still in luck. Its main opponent, the labor movement, is still no more than a potential threat. Overseas though, the government has a big problem. The colonial world is still in upheaval; it has been sixteen years since the war ended and the colonial revolutions haven't slowed down, much less stopped.

This is the government's big problem, the problem that must be solved right now, the problem that all the great debates have been about.

The official theory here is that it's all Russia's fault, that foreign com-

munist, not internal subversion, is our big problem. Despite all their other differences, this is agreed upon by all shades of respectable opinion, conservative to liberal.

Here, we know, the reactionary right disagrees.

**T**HE OTHER issue with the Right is whether or not the existing institutions — aside from their policies — are capable of dealing with the problems. Here is where the ultra-right appears most ludicrous, where it has been attacked the most, from liberals and conservatives alike. And here, in fact, is where a real difference between the Administration and its liberal critics does exist.

For the reality is that the Establishment is not only capable of dealing with internal subversion — especially since there is none, anyway — but it has already done away with most of the democratic prerogatives that the people once held. The new-style state apparatus that has grown up since Roosevelt's New Deal has variously been called the Military-Industrial Complex, the Juggernaut, the Garrison State, the Warfare State. A relatively small group of power élites has concentrated all real power into its hands, and all quite legally. This super-powerful government of Big Business is considered to be quite adequate to handle its interests.

American capitalism doesn't need fascism and Big Business is satisfied with its government. The economy is still doing fairly well; there is no social crisis. In short, there is no real need for fascism, and so there is no really important support for it in the ruling circles.

Not yet anyway.

**T**HERE are some new attitudes worth noting in the positions of both liberals and ordinary "respectable" conservatives toward the ultra-right.

For one, the reactionary Right is almost universally recognized to be fascist in character. Previously, especially in the late forties, it was one of the jobs of the socialists to convince the public that the racists and demagogues of those times were fas-

cists and a real threat. It was the same in the case of McCarthy.

This idea appears to be commonplace today. Respectable publications, from the *Nation* and *New Republic* through the *New York Times* and *Saturday Evening Post*, contain articles dealing not just with the crackpot fringe, but precisely with the fascist menace. Secondly, where the attitude used to be: "ignore them, don't give them publicity and they will wither and die," it is now common to read that "they must be exposed to the merciless glare of publicity — tell people what they really stand for and they will wither and die."

Of course, neither notion explains the problem nor deals with it. They both ignore the basic nature of fascism as a way of preserving capitalism when all other means have failed, a way involving the physical destruction of the organizations of the working class.

The publicity and open opposition the Right has received from both press and government can slow their growth today. At the same time it serves to toughen up those that are attracted to it, to make it somewhat more stable and less likely to lay down with the first sharp blow, as was largely the case with McCarthy's followers when the Establishment turned against him in 1954.

The groups on the right are going through something of a period of consolidation right now after their big publicity splash last year. Many of them have been looking toward General Walker as their long-sought man on horseback, the leader around whose person the entire reactionary Right could be mobilized. Recently he has been speaking at Americanism rallies. At the last one, (in Jackson, Mississippi, December 29), he called Vice-President Johnson, "a left-wing politician."

We can expect that the ultra-right will grow or shrink with the successes or defeats of the U.S. in the cold war, and it will grow noisier or quieter as the big money flows in or out of its pockets.

But whether the reactionary Right is headed for an immediate growth, or a slump, I think we can take it for granted that it has become a sinister threat in American politics.

# American Philosophy and the Labor Movement

by William F. Warde

**A** AMERICAN philosophy and the labor movement . . . How odd to couple these two together!" we can imagine eminent heads in both fields exclaiming. "What can they have in common?"

It must be acknowledged that at present they make an incongruous, even ludicrous, juxtaposition. To most professors philosophy has no special connection either with politics or the working class. Almost all union leaders believe the labor movement can get along very well without any philosophy. Here, as elsewhere, extremes meet. The labor bureaucrats have as little regard for philosophy as the university mandarins have for the labor movement.

They are equally narrow-minded. Philosophy is not a purely intellectual exercise dealing with some cuckoo land or locked up in the minds of Ph.D.'s. Its ideas reflect the world outlook, the material interests and the vital aims of diverse sections of society. It has a social function; its use and influence extend beyond college courses. Philosophies serve as tools of social forces and as weapons in the conflicts of contending classes. The labor movement can no more avoid being animated by some kind of general outlook, however crude and inadequate, than professors can remain totally detached from the social struggles swirling around them.

Yet up to now American philosophy and the labor movement have remained far apart. They inhabit different domains and exert no direct influence on each other.

Is this estrangement a fixed and permanent feature of American culture? Or is it the product of special and episodic historical conditions? To answer these questions let us first examine the evolution of the mass labor movement in the United States on its theoretical side, in its two main stages: the Gompers-Green era and the subsequent period of the CIO.

## Gompersism and Deweyism

One of the outstanding peculiarities of the American labor movement has been the immense disparity between its strength in industrial action and organization and its political and theoretical weakness compared to working class movements in other countries.

The American workers possess in full measure all the remarkable qualities which distinguish the American people and have been responsible for its colossal achievements. They radiate dynamic energy; they excel in the

sphere of sustained labor and collective organization for the execution of given tasks; they are ingenious, free of routinism, highly cultured in modern techniques. They have displayed these capacities not only in working for their bosses but also in the struggles which have created the largest and most powerful trade union structure in the world.

These magnificent traits can be counted upon to assert themselves even more forcefully in the decades ahead and will be the source of still greater accomplishments.

At the same time the development of American labor has suffered from a pronounced unevenness. The growth of its self-awareness as a distinct social force with a world-historical mission has not kept pace with its union organization. Its creativeness in collective thinking has limped far behind its achievements through direct action. Along with its precious positive features our labor movement has inherited the meagerness and immaturity in theoretical matters rooted in the national past.

This defect was crystallized in the craft unionism of the old American Federation of Labor. The original AFL leaders deliberately turned away from any general conceptions of social development and class relations. In his autobiography Samuel Gompers tells how he consciously rejected the Marxism he knew in his younger days as unsuited to American conditions.

The AFL heads scoffed not only at the ideas of socialism but at any philosophy; such highfalutin' matters were no business of organized labor. They lived from hand to mouth, from craft to craft, from contract to contract. The crude tenets of Gompers ("a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"; "reward your friends, punish your enemies") grew out of and corresponded to the primitive organizational setup and class collaborationist methods of the AFL. When Adolph Strasser, co-leader with Gompers of the Cigarmakers, was asked by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor what the ultimate objectives of AFL craft unionism were, he answered: "We have no ultimate ends. We are going on from day to day. We fight only for immediate objects, objects that can be realized in a few years."

**A**LTHOUGH the AFL leaders themselves felt no need for any theory to explain the role and aims of unionism, certain professors of the John L. Commons school of sociologists, centered at the University of Wisconsin, undertook to fabricate one for them. The Commons con-

ception of U.S. unionism was purely pragmatic in spirit. It fully justified the prevailing practices of the Gompers officialdom; found special virtues in them, and even extended them into the indefinite future. Craft unionism, these scholars declared, was the special form of unionism suited to our distinctive national conditions; industrial unionism was unrealistic, almost un-American. Collective bargaining, craft by craft, would bring about gradual improvement in labor's status and its recognition as an equal of capital. The narrow outlook of the AFL had much in common with the instrumentalist school of thought. Dewey's instrumentalism is the highest form of pragmatism.

Gompersism and Deweyism were kindred products of the same period in America's social evolution. The principal methods of instrumentalism corresponded on the top level of theory to the everyday practices and outlook of the craft union officials. To be sure, the two sprang from different social strata and did not march closely together. The one stemmed directly from the needs and views of liberal middle class intellectuals; the other came from the habits and interests of the union bureaucracy and the craft aristocracy. Although the former was more volatile and less hidebound than the latter, they converged in the nationally enclosed, opportunist, piecemeal nature of their common ideology.

This kinship has been pointed out by an especially qualified observer, Mark Starr, educational director of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union: "It would, of course, be a mistake to think that there has been a reciprocal interest and a wide conscious study of the philosophy of John Dewey in the ranks of American organized labor, or even in the workers' education section of its activities. However, there is something in common between the economic pragmatism of Samuel Gompers and the philosophic pragmatism of John Dewey. The approach of the American Federation of Labor in working out its theories in the light of daily practice is surely experimental. As a matter of fact, just as Dewey has been accused of having no organized body of thought, so the AFL has been accused of emphasizing rule-of-thumb methods to the exclusion of any understanding of ultimate goals." — "Organized Labor and the Dewey Philosophy" in *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom*, edited by Sidney Hook, 1950.

The two movements were alike not only in their methods of thought but in their underlying aims. Both sought to effect improvements for the lower classes step by step within the settled framework of capitalist institutions. This program of gradual reform necessarily involved accommodation to the political and social bases of capitalism and a deference to its governing bodies. At critical turning points (wars, sharp clashes between the industrialists and the workers) this attitude of compliance culminated in capitulation to the pressures of the ruling class. Despite recurrent tiffs, grumblings of protest and threats, both the union leaders and the philosophers, guided by pragmatism, remained loyal oppositionists to the capitalist regime.

The scorn for broad generalizations in historical and social questions was most conspicuous in the Gompers section of the labor movement. But it was an inescapable phenomenon of that entire era. Its prevalence, though in different forms, at the opposite end of the labor movement testified to its deep roots in the objective conditions of American life. Eugene Debs, the revolutionary socialist who was Gompers' life long, left-wing opponent, exemplified in his own way the low theoretical level characteristic of that time. Debs made his way from trade unionism to socialism by the blows he received through personal participation in the union organizing campaigns and class battles of the 1890's. He learned the real nature of capitalist chicanery and cruelty not so much from books as in the school of hard knocks. In this respect as in so many others, Debs was genuinely representative of the native laboring masses.

He became a thoroughgoing socialist — and a left-wing one. But, through no fault of his own, he never grew to

be a Marxist leader of the highest stature. As a self-educated worker-leader in the provincial America of his day, he could not acquire the theoretical equipment, training and insight vested in the outstanding figures of the great German and Russian schools of revolutionary socialism who stood at the crossroads of the world history of their time. As his best biographer, Ray Ginger notes: "In his entire life, he never made an important decision on the basis of theoretical study. The facts of his own life kicked him into every step; often he required more than one kick." — *The Bending Cross*, p. 19.

This weakness handicapped Debs at many points in his career: in the internal party controversies of the pre-war socialist movement, at the time of Wilson's intervention into the first world war, and finally, in the developments following the Russian Revolution which required a profound theoretical readjustment in the outlook of all socialists.

Debs shared this inadequacy with most of his generation, regardless of their special tendency or affiliation. Similar deficiencies in theory and program were stamped upon the militant ranks of migratory labor and the proletarian fighters of the IWW. They were to prove a decisive factor in the disintegration of this movement after the first world war and the Russian Revolution.

Engels, who closely followed the main events in the labor movement here during the last part of the nineteenth century, often emphasized these contradictory aspects of the American character: its strength in practical affairs coupled with its feebleness in theory. "Theoretical ignorance is the attribute of all young peoples," he wrote his friend Sorge in the United States, "but so is the speed of development in practice. Just as in England, so all abstractions count for nothing in America until they have been brought forward by factual necessity."

Engels expected that the harsh necessities of the class struggle and the resultant schooling of experience would in time stimulate the American workers through their vanguard to gain a clearer, more comprehensive insight into their historical destiny and enable them to overcome their traditional empiricism. Since his death in 1895, our labor movement has taken giant strides forward. But it must be said that, for all the advances made in its understanding, these have not kept pace with its organizational gains, and even less with its needs. The union movement is still, in Engels' words, "practically ahead of the whole world and theoretically still in its swaddling clothes."

## The Era of the CIO

The founders of the CIO in the mid-1930's discarded the craft union framework of the AFL — but they did not break with its fundamental ideology. At this great turning point the regenerated ranks of labor needed four major improvements to carry forward their battles for a better life against monopolist rule. These were: an up-to-date union structure in the basic industries; a mass political party to challenge the capitalist two-party system on a national, state and local level; a program, outlook and theory on a par with this higher stage in its own development and corresponding to this revolutionary age of transition from one social order to another; and finally, a leadership capable of applying that program in action.

Under CIO auspices American labor succeeded in realizing only the first and most pressing of these objectives. In the 1930's and 1940's it built powerful national unions in the key sectors of trustified industry. This has been the imperishable accomplishment of the CIO. But this higher grade of union organization was not extended and fortified by equivalent advances in the political practices, the social views or the theoretical knowledge of the union leadership.

Even though they captained a far more dynamic and highly developed movement, the general policies and ideological equipment of the top-ranking CIO leaders were little better than those of the old-line AFL bureaucrats.

John L. Lewis, the dominant figure in the formative stage of the CIO, carried over into the new movement the basic outlook he had absorbed in the old, so far as his conceptions of its role under capitalism was concerned. To be sure, sensing the stronger position of the organized working class, he demanded a bigger voice for labor within the existing system; this was symbolized by his desire to be nominated as Roosevelt's vice-president. But neither Lewis nor his successor, Philip Murray, seriously attempted to pass beyond the precincts of the two-party setup.

We have pointed out that, after organizing basic industry, labor's next urgent task was to cut loose from the capitalist parties and provide an independent medium for the expression of labor politics. Unlike the miner leaders Lewis and Murray, the auto workers' president, Walter Reuther, who came to head the CIO in the 1950's, was a direct product of the new stage in the labor movement. Originally a socialist, the younger man was familiar with a far wider range of ideas than his predecessors. Yet for all his flexibility he too has stubbornly resisted being pushed beyond the existing political limits.

**O**VER the years there have been repeated calls from the ranks of the auto workers and the CIO for an independent political policy. Time and again Reuther has sidestepped any commitment to a Labor Party. The debate on this issue held at the thirteenth UAW-CIO Convention in Cleveland in 1951 affords an excellent insight into the purely pragmatic character of his reasoning.

A minority had submitted a resolution urging the speedy formation of a Labor Party by the unions in preparation for the national elections in 1952. Reuther resisted this with the following arguments:

"We are all opposed to political hacks and we are all opposed to corruption and compromise; but it is not a matter of principle that is being debated here in these two resolutions. The division is not in principle, it is in strategy, in tactics, and that is the keynote to the future development of American political power with respect to the labor movement. I say if you pass the minority resolution you will feel noble, but you will not advance the political struggle to build labor's political power in America. Let us not be generals without an army."

Pragmatism differs from Marxism in its attitude toward principles. Although the ordinary pragmatist does not repudiate principles in general, he holds that they must be subordinated to the pursuit of immediate practical aims. Marxism teaches that correct class principles are practically necessary to attain class ends.

Analyzing Reuther's arguments in the light of these contrasting methods, we see that he first of all presents himself as a sturdy fellow who stands firmly upon principle. But then he denies that labor support to the political agencies of the capitalist class is a matter of principle. In reality, opposition to capitalist parties and policies is as vital a principle of working class conduct as opposition to company unions in industry.

The pragmatic Reuther claimed that nothing more was involved than purely practical considerations of strategy and tactics where, of course, objective facts, and not noble feelings, must decide the course to take. Although he claimed to be no compromiser or friend of corrupt politicians, his assessment of the prevailing situation compelled him to favor the continuation of the old policy of class collaboration and block the initiation of a Labor Party.

Thus this opponent of compromise in the abstract turned out to be the proponent of further shameful compromise with Democratic Party politics in the concrete case. While counterposing his "realism" to the "Utopian" Labor Party advocates, his opportunist maneuver displayed his contempt for principled conduct. Bureaucratic expediency, not working class principle, is his guide.

The irony is, that if Reuther had chosen the opposite course at that time, he would have gained more for labor even from the standpoint of *practical* politics. For the Republican Eisenhower defeated the liberal Democrat Stevenson. Had labor launched its own party in 1951-52, instead of supporting the Democrats and hanging around the anterooms of the capitalist politicians since that time, it would by now be in a stronger position even to make demands upon the older parties. Reuther's opportunistic stand, defended on pragmatic grounds, weakened labor's political position. The trouble with opportunism is that it results in missing so many opportunities.

By 1958 Reuther had become so conservative on this question that when AFL-CIO President George Meany rhetorically threatened the capitalist politicians with secession toward a Labor Party, Reuther repudiated the idea as un-American. If in 1951 it was merely premature, seven years later the proposal was dogmatically excluded.

## The Prospects of American Labor

The merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 opened up new possibilities of advancement for labor. So far its leaders have done little to realize them, even in the extension of union organization. They have certainly not raised the level of labor's thought.

Today, insofar as the official labor movement can be said to have any philosophy, it is wholly pragmatic, as it was in both the AFL and CIO phases of its formation. But pragmatism is not a working class philosophy. It is essentially the theory of middle class progressivism whose basic ideas did not pass beyond the limits of reforming the structure of capitalism. American labor has yet to develop a philosophy of its own; it has borrowed whatever generalizations it needed from the spokesmen for other segments of American society. Or rather, it has neither resisted nor rejected the influences of ideologies which run counter to its fundamental interests and real historical role.

How long will American labor continue to operate without a theory of its own or with inadequate ones taken from alien sources? The answer to this question depends on its prospects in the remaining decades of this century.

Seated comfortably in their padded armchairs, the labor executives proceed as though the establishment of industrial unionism was the last major upheaval between the corporations and the workers. Actually, the struggles of the 1930's were the first great step in a process which will have its sequel in a new upsurge of labor radicalism.

Organized labor is one of the two decisive forces in American society. The unions can maintain their present stability, and their leaders their conservatizing stranglehold, only so long as the capitalist system functions without severe shocks and serious crises. Thus the key to the future of American labor does not lie within itself but rather in the vicissitudes of U.S. capitalism.

But U.S. capitalism is itself subjected to the good or ill fortunes of international capitalism, of which it forms the most important part. So, in order to judge the prospects of the American working class, we must look outside the labor movement and even beyond the United States and examine the fundamental trends of world history in our time and the sweeping social changes emerging from them.

The predominant historical movement in the nineteenth century was the building up of capitalist society. Progressivism, Deweyism, Gompersism were manifestations in politics, philosophy and industry of reactions to this specific stage in the evolution of American and world capitalism. All these were products of the period when American capitalism, emerging from victory after the Civil War, was passing through its democratic, competitive, progressive youth to its reactionary monopolistic and imperialistic maturity while on the world arena capitalism climbed to the peak of its power.

**A**FTER the first world war and the Russian Revolution the further building of capitalism was first halted, than reversed. Its structure has been weakened by a series of revolutions which have established post-capitalist regimes in countries stretching from the Elbe River in Europe, to the Pacific Ocean, to ninety miles from home where a victorious socialist revolution pierced even the Western Hemisphere.

This world anti-capitalist revolution is the central tendency of our time. But its first phase has had a contradictory effect upon the position of U.S. capitalism. While the system to which it belongs has been falling back on a world-historical scale, U.S. capitalism has been gaining ground.

To be sure, these interlacing processes do not have equal weight. In the long run the advances of the American sector will not compensate for the losses suffered by the capitalist system as a whole. Not only must these in time react upon the United States and drag it down but the challenge from the Soviet bloc becomes ever greater.

The United States has been the prime beneficiary of the cataclysmic changes that have attended the first period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It has drawn into itself all the residual vitality of the enfeebled capitalist order and become preeminent in the imperialist camp. It is this temporarily favorable aspect of the world situation for the American ruling class which has most affected the lives of the American people and been responsible for the inner stability of monopolist rule.

But there is another side to this development. If the United States has been the undisputed victor in the competition among the imperialist nations, it is also a victim of the changed world situation. The totality of capitalist power is contracting while the strength of the anti-capitalist countries and forces is expanding. By having to extend its spheres of influence and control throughout the globe along with its military commitments, capitalist America has become inextricably involved in all the convulsions of a chronically sick social system. It has to rush to the rescue of every tottering reactionary relic from Batista to Chiang Kai-shek to Franco. The Truman Doctrine, the Korean War, the Eisenhower Middle East Doctrine, the Alliance for Progress, are so many milestones along this counter-revolutionary road.

After recovering from the upset of the crash of 1929, American capitalism has managed to maintain social stability on its home grounds for two decades. However, this stability, propped up and prolonged since 1940 by an artificial prosperity based upon military expenditures and inflation, remains precarious and has still to pass its severest tests.

The drive of the U.S. militarists and monopolists for world supremacy and their ever-deepening involvement in world affairs has far-reaching implications for the working people. The consequences of the cold war and the threat of hot ones affect all the main aspects of their lives from the tax bite on their weekly paychecks to the degree of their civil liberties. The State Department exerts intense pressure upon the labor leaders to go along with its foreign policies; they eagerly comply and force the ranks to conform. This does not in the least prevent the other arms of the capitalist government from passing and enforcing legislation injuring and endangering the unions (the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Acts.)

This changed situation confronts the labor movement with problems of unprecedented gravity and intricacy. However, its leaders are content to enjoy the ease of the moment without troubling themselves either about the dis-

contents in the ranks or the perils of the future. They remain unaware that any drastic revisions are called for in their outlook or methods. They are as oblivious to dangers ahead as canoers drifting toward rapids hidden around the bend.

**T**HE union tycoons pride themselves upon being in step with the times because they hire public relations experts, have chromium-plated offices and ride in Cadillacs. But their basic ideas about the world and the place and prospects of labor within it are as antiquated as the derby hat. Like all pragmatists, they are provincial and short-sighted. They complacently expect that trade union life will remain as it is indefinitely, and, whatever changes may be required, will be easily handled by their usual methods.

On one hand they assume that unionism will continue to roll along the same grooves as in the past. On the other hand they believe that America's future will be shaped along essentially different lines than those revolutionary events which have already upset capitalism in other parts of the world.

It is true that American history has had its peculiarities and will continue to do so. However, these exceptional features have not been great enough in the past to spare the American people from going through two revolutions, one in the eighteenth and the other in the nineteenth century, when capitalism was on the rise in North America. Indeed, these revolutions occurred as they did precisely because of the peculiarities in America's development.

So it appears even less likely that the present peculiarities will prevent this nation from being drawn into the revolutionary whirlpool of our age when nuclear energy, rockets and jet planes have compressed national boundaries and when economics, politics, military strategy and culture have a global character.

The labor movement needs a far better understanding of its role in American life and world affairs than it has. But it is unlikely to acquire this improved theory until another big shakeup in class relations occurs on the order of the crisis of the 1930's which brought the CIO into being. When the ranks are again roused into militant action and the fatcats are unseated, labor will begin to cast off its mental sluggishness and absorb new ideas.

The duty of socialists is to foresee this rebirth of mass radicalism and to prepare its advent by developing and disseminating the ideas of Marxism. They are the petrels flying ahead of the coming storm.

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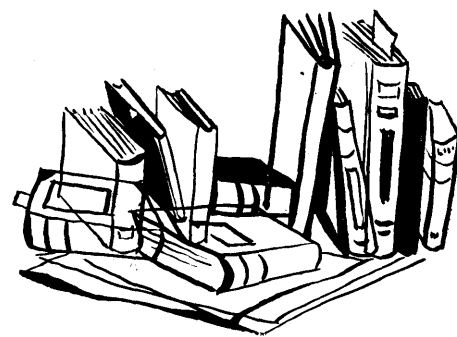
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## Black and White

by Nora Roberts

**THE BLACKS: A CLOWN SHOW**, by Jean Genet, translated by Bernard Fretchman. Grove Press, New York. 1960. 128 pp. \$1.75.

When whites write about Negroes, they are seldom able to cross the color bar to get a glimpse of reality. While the old stereotype of the bug-eyed, unintelligible Negro servant has nearly disappeared from literature, whites still, for the most part, confine their themes to the problems of interracial sex relations.

By contrast, Jean Genet, rightly considered among France's greatest living authors, is well aware of the revolutionary struggles of the Negro people throughout the world. But his play is not an attempt to comment on that struggle — to tell the Negroes what they should or should not do. Nor is the play meant to show Negroes in a more favorable light, to make them acceptable to whites. As a white man directing himself to a white audience, he does not presume to be a spokesman for the Negroes. He is more concerned with showing the whites what role they play in the relationship than he is in giving them some special message about the Negroes.

*The Blacks* centers around the interplay of myth and reality in Negro and white relations. To do this, the entire auditorium is utilized, not merely the stage. What takes place on stage is a farce, the "Clown Show." Its purpose is to prevent the whites from seeing what is going on backstage, where reality exists. The enemies, the whites, are the audience. This is perhaps one of the most shocking things about the play. Those who pay good money to take in an evening's entertainment, find they

must take part in the play, and worse yet, that they are the villains.

The "Clown Show" is strictly symbolic. A group of Negro actors have come to perform a play before a white audience. Five of these actors, wearing white masks, play a colonial court — a queen, her valet, a governor-general, a judge and a missionary-bishop. The rest play a troupe of actors about to re-enact a crime before this court.

In the "play" the Negroes portray Negroes in accordance with white prejudices. They are caricatures, dressed in evening clothes of extremely bad taste, repeating the common cliches, calling themselves "grown-up children." They explain that the crime, the rape of a young white woman, was motivated by pure cannibalistic instincts, with no feelings of love or desire. Their lines are "orchestrated" by a central director, and no one can doubt that this is a false picture of Negro emotions, based upon the great white myth. This is a play which, it is explained, goes on every night, symbolic of the act which Negroes perform every day when part of the white world.

Genet, however, is not simply showing up the false images whites have of Negroes and of themselves. Throughout the mock play, there is a definite impatience among the Blacks. They find it increasingly difficult to keep to the assigned lines. The "criminal" and his sweetheart, (Village and Virtue) especially find it hard to refrain from expressing their love for each other and must be admonished by the director. Village at one point states that as far as he is concerned, this is his last performance, as indeed it is.

After the re-enactment of the play the whites go off on a long trek to hunt the criminal. They arrive, drunk

and exhausted, in the heart of Africa. They are without the criminal and now aware that their rule cannot last long. Only the exact date of their denouement is not yet settled. The white queen and Felicity, an old Negro woman dressed in African garb, begin to debate whether the Blacks will fare any better when they take the power. A shot is heard back-stage.

The play is interrupted by a messenger from reality. The members of the court remove their masks and the entire group holds a joint meeting to hear the news. The actors are revealed as members of the revolutionary underground. The first traitor to the cause has been shot. A leader has been selected and is now on his way to gather forces. The revolution is under way. After all, states the messenger, "Our aim is not only to corrode and dissolve the idea they'd like us to have of them, we must also fight them in their actual persons, in their flesh and blood."

Now, when the actors finish their performance, they will not return to their places in the white world, but will take up their posts in the revolutionary movement. With the toppling of the white rule, they will have no more need to accept the farce so will not return to the stage. As a matter of fact, they do not now need to continue the evening's performance. But Archibald, the director, decides to continue, explaining: "As we could not allow the Whites to be present at a deliberation nor show them a drama that does not concern them, and as, in order to cover up, we have had to fabricate the only one that does concern them, we've got to finish this show and get rid of the judges . . ." "At last," adds the one who played the queen, "they'll know the only dramatic relationship we can



have with them." The court replaces the masks, and the "Clown Show" continues with the revised ending — the "whites" are killed!

Genet, himself, does not seem to comment on the revolution, either for or against it. He presents it simply to show what is behind the pretense — the hatred, the real feeling of the Negroes about the whites. Though not primarily class-conscious, it is nonetheless a real revolution. And what will come of it is indicated in the last scene.

Village and Virtue, the two lovers, stand apart from the action. Their roles as actors are over and they have already begun their new lives, free from white oppression. They are flirting as they have just really discovered their mutual love, can now give it expres-

sion for the first time. We will have to make up new forms of love, Virtue says. "At least, there's one sure thing, you won't be able to wind your fingers in my long golden hair."

This is an angry play, to be sure. But this is a totally different kind of theme from that of the frustration of the sensitive individual making his personal protest against a cold society. As a portrayal of social protest, *The Blacks* is a different kind of work from most of the "decadent" works, including those Genet himself produced previously. Let us hope it is a sign that the sensitive artists who feel the impasse of this society are beginning to find, and join up with, others in the world who share their anger, and are preparing to do something about it.

## Erich Fromm on Peaceful Coexistence

by Lynn Marcus

MAY MAN PREVAIL? by Erich Fromm, 252 pp., New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961, paperback, 95¢.

This is a poignant essay on the current world crisis, not to be confused with the usual "expert" trash flooding from the publishers, clearly written, occasionally scintillating with lucid passages of near-genius, but ultimately the pitiable and ineffable product of the author's own tragic social-reformist delusions. Despite its crippling limitations, it is a book to be read.

Erich Fromm the psychoanalyst has earned his reputation as one of a handful of authentic Freudians and one of the few first-class intellects in the social-reformist movements. It is Fromm who has done the most important practical scientific work of connecting Freud's "reality principle" with Marx's theory of knowledge. Through that research Fromm has freed psychoanalysis of certain supra-historical ontological fictions, by developing more thoroughly the conception of human character as historically specific to the material conditions of life as determined by social productive relations. The significance of Fromm's contributions is perhaps better appreciated if we note that Freud himself, despite his uncompromising commitment to the materialist conception of the objectivity of human knowledge, was subject on many particular points to an unhistorical perspective, falling prey to a certain phenomenological conception of some qualitative features of the human personality. Even so great an epigone of Freud as Theodor Reik has lately succumbed to some phenomenological metaphysics on similar grounds. Fromm has almost consistently based his work on the materialist

fundamental aspect of Freud's scientific genius, where most so-called Freudians have tended to emphasize Freud's weaknesses to the extent that much theoretical "Freudianism" today is extensively corrupted with behavioristic outlooks.

Fromm himself suffers from three serious shortcomings in his attempts to reconcile Freudian and Marxist materialism. We encounter all of these shortcomings at critical points in the essay under consideration here. First, he grasps dialectical conceptions only schematically. Secondly, he tends to substitute the notion of multiple factors for dialectical coherence of processes. Finally, and most fundamental, his attempt to come to agreement on democratic-socialism with the master-capitalist-class make him the frequent prey of delusions which no amount of his logic has enabled him to surmount.

Fromm's thesis is this: "... must the United States (and her Western allies) and the Soviet Union, and Communist China each pursue its present course to the bitter end, or can both sides anticipate certain changes and arrive at a solution that is historically possible and that, at the same time, offers optimal advantages to each bloc?" Fromm argues that there is a basis in common interest of the Soviets and the imperialists for such a "solution"; from the auspices of psychoanalytic practice he argues that the present course of the U.S. "elite" is a form of "semipathological" thinking, not in the interests of the U.S. ruling "elite." He proposes to educate the ruling "elite" on the true nature of their self-interest.

He puts it: "The United States is ... confronted with the following alternative: either a continued fight against communism together with the continuation of the arms race — hence the

probability of nuclear war — or a political understanding on the basis of the status quo with the Soviet Union, universal disarmament (with the inclusion of China), and the support of neutral democratic-socialist regimes in the colonial world." This would lead to a world of three blocks, according to Fromm: Soviet, U.S., and democratic-socialist neutrals under "Yugoslav-Indian leadership." He proposes a program consisting of, "1) Psychological disarmament . . .," "2) Massive economic aid . . . to the underdeveloped countries . . .," "3) Strengthening and reorganization of the United Nations in such a way . . ." This Fromm represents to be the indispensable "fundamental and authentic change" which alone will "save us."

He, the good psychoanalyst, reassures his palpably "paranoid" patient, the U.S. ruling "elite," that the Soviet leadership hasn't been revolutionary since 1923. Admittedly, the Soviet leaders still talk about Marxism and Leninism, Fromm correctly states, but it is essential to understand the difference between **ideas** conceived as principles of practice, and **ideology**. He writes: "The ideology serves to bind people together, and to make them submit to those who administer the proper use of the ideological ritual; it serves to rationalize and justify all irrationality and immorality that exist within a society." "The ideas of Marx were transformed into ideologies." Don't you see, Fromm asks his palpably paranoid patient. The Soviet regime is a conservative bureaucracy just as antagonistic to communist revolutionaries as you are. "**The internal structure of a regime determines its attitude toward revolutions.**" A conservative power has by its very nature no use for revolutionary movements abroad." He correctly demonstrates: "Those who claim that Stalin wanted to conquer the world for the Comintern could hardly answer the question why after the war, with armed and enthusiastic Communists in Italy and France, he did not issue the call for revolution and support it by an invasion of Russian troops; why, instead, he proclaimed a period of 'capitalist stabilization' and had the Communist Parties follow a policy of cooperation and a 'minimum program' which never had as its aim a Communist Revolution." He proceeds to quote the theses of Edward H. Carr, George Kennan, Isaac Deutscher, et al, to make a case to the effect that the Soviet bureaucracy is a managerial class, fundamentally conservative, etc. You don't realize how much you two have in common, Fromm says to his bourgeois client; you ought to get together, put aside your unfounded "semipathological," paranoid fears, and make a deal.

A great deal of Fromm's political argument is well-founded **from the phenomenological standpoint**; that is to say, it is superficial, unscientific, a mere describing of appearances without

serious grounding or analysis of the phenomena under consideration. For example, from the phenomenological standpoint, from a consideration of the political character, crimes, stupidities, conservatism, etc., of the Soviet leadership, it is possible to call it by all of the bad names in the book. But appearances are only forms; what is, we must ask, the content of these forms? What is the underlying historic process, the world process, which gives the Soviet Union and the bureaucracy their respective real, historic content?

Fromm proves easily that the present course of capitalist policy is not in the interests of the human race. He leaps rather carelessly from that to the assumption that the interests of the capitalist class coincide with the interests of the same human race. On this specious basis, he advances the suggestion that his bourgeois client is only "insane," slightly "paranoid," the victim of "semipathological forms of thinking." Fromm, therefore, has prepared this book, a kind of psychoanalysis by correspondence-course methods, to help cure his bourgeois patient of his unfortunate neurotic affliction.

Unfortunately, the capitalist class is not insane; its programs, its war economies, its bayonettings of colonial people, its eventual steps toward fascism,

etc., are all precisely in that class, unique self-interests. One does not establish the same criteria of sanity for the man-eating tiger and the members of the Indian village; if the tiger and the villager happen to have the same outlook, at least one of them is irreparably psychotic. The fact is that this class is facing a very probable social and economic crisis within a decade, and that the only hope of the capitalist class for its continued survival as a class is to establish the most brutal regimentation of the world with bayonets, gas ovens, or whatever other forms of oppression may be necessary to maintain a brutally accelerated rate of exploitation.

It is perhaps too easy to praise Fromm and too easy to damn him. On the one side, he has exhibited qualities sufficient for one of the great intellects of our age. He comes close to that mark frequently enough, but at each instant of decision, just as true greatness seems within his grasp, he turns back into the mire of social reformism. He sets out in the current essay to discover fundamental truths respecting the human condition and is convinced that he is actually proposing fundamental changes; yet, in practice, he is only a reformer, in a revolutionary age when reformism itself is a betrayal of the human species.

the subject of women, *Modern Woman, the Lost Sex*, in which he proposes laws prohibiting single women from working, thus forcing them into marriage!

The works of feminists are sincere, but often limited by a misunderstanding of the causes or nature of the dilemma. They often waste their energies insisting that women have been, and always were equal to men and trying vainly to document their claim. It is true that Bebel wrote a stirring protest against the treatment of women; Virginia Wolff also penned a moving plea to women writers to leave their parlors and write in broader arenas. But neither she nor he could tell them how they got into the par'or in the first place or how to get out of there.

But Simone de Beauvoir examines the problem from every conceivable aspect. The reader emerges with a knowledge of the nature of the problem, in a position to understand even the most despicable and backward aspects of womanhood. Mme. de Beauvoir does not either apologize for or champion women, but describes them as they are and reveals the historic origins of their predicament. Her basic viewpoint is that women, in all societies, and continuing into the present, have been the "other" rather than "another." Even when women have had prestige, it has often been in the negative sense, as symbols, as idols, as heroic mothers. The devastating effects this has had on women still has not caused them to consistently and concretely struggle against their invisible bondage.

Not content merely to do a complete study of the subject, this brilliant author attempts to analyze and criticize almost every major theory pertaining to women; Freud and his theories of women's basic longing to be men are refuted; Engels' theory of the matriarchy is partially disputed. Her challenge is not made in terms of ridiculing or total rejection, but rather from the point of view of a rigorous critique of these thinkers.

A careful study of the laws, myths, literature and economic reasons relating to woman's lot is presented in the first volume. The second volume covers women today; both serving to back up the author's portrayal of that subtle form of discrimination that creates a creature without projects of her own; a creature that has been and still largely is the mirror of men and the mirror of their ideas. A man's fondest projects are but a woman's hobbies; love and marriage and children become her projects, supported by the myths of maternal instinct and womanly role.

The independent woman, who instinctively or consciously shuns this role of "other" faces a terrible struggle. Often she turns to lesbianism, or woman-of-the-worldism, both negative approaches that defeat her entirely. Mme. de Beauvoir demonstrates this in careful chapters devoted to women in marriage, in love, in childhood, i.e., in

## Still a Man's World

by Hedda Grant

THE SECOND SEX. By Simone de Beauvoir.

Translated from the French and edited by H. M. Parshley. 705 pp. New York: Bantam Book, 1961. \$.95.

Although there are no segregationist laws in the State of New York, few people would deny that the Negro is subjected to unequal treatment; and that out of those inequalities in education, employment, housing, social status, etc., the Negro emerges less educated, in menial jobs and with less social status.

Though much subtler and ambivalent too, woman's struggle does take similar lines to the Negro struggle, except that women have not organized. They have identified instead with the various struggles of "their men." Thus the Negro woman must first battle white men and white women to attain her racial equality, before she can join with her white sisters to battle for her sex equality. Yet Simone de Beauvoir says, ". . . there are deep similarities between the situation of woman and that of the Negro. Both are being emancipated from a like paternalism and the former master class wishes to 'keep them in their place' . . ."

There are many people who would deny that in 1962, women are still the second sex. It is easy for Americans to see the crushing antifeminist laws and traditions of "backward countries" but in countries where women have the vote and the automobile, it is harder to see the subtle indignities that corrode and change even the basic character of women.

This is a task that Simone de Beauvoir pursues with great intensity in *The Second Sex*. It stands out as a brilliant pioneering effort among books written on the subject of women. There are available many earnest and scholarly works in specialized fields, i.e., women in history; biology of women; anthropology; feminist struggles, etc. There are also many books which attempt to mutilate any feeble effort on the part of women to become "at par" with the first sex. Usually written by men, often with the assistance of women (there are Uncle Toms in the second sex too), they urge the undefeated woman back to her kitchen, implore her to once again "be womanly" (like telling a Negro to keep his place and be a "good ducky"). Even the author of *America's Sixty Families*, Ferdinand Lundberg, wrote one of the most vicious pieces on

her many relationships; coming up with a total portrait that is hard to dispute.

It is true that the basic philosophy and much of the language of the book is existential. But existentialism is in flux; the terminology, easily translatable into ordinary words, seems uncontradictory to Marxist thinking; her concept of the "existent" easily translated to the concept of the total person who can only develop to full potential under democratic socialism. One may dispute Simone de Beauvoir's analysis of the original causes of woman's situation, but her description of the dilemma and her solution seem beyond genuine argumentation.

The author's perspective for the future, her assurances to the male world that real women with their own projects will make better friends, better lovers; her declaration of the need for an end to capitalism as the only permanent solution to the problem, and yet her insistence that the struggle must start now — all are in tune with revolutionary socialist thinking. But it is in the factual and careful presentation of many things that have been unclear to both men and women, that *The Second Sex* can be called a significant contribution, that belongs in the realm of "must" knowledge of every serious thinker.

## The Russians as People

by Carol Lawrence

RUSSIANS AS PEOPLE by Wright Miller. E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., N.Y., 1961, paperback edition; 202 pp. \$1.35.

This book is a lovely literary journey through Russia with a travelling companion both knowledgeable and perceptive, who is able to recreate the flavor of life in the USSR. Wright Miller is a free-lance writer who with the help of a Russian staff edited an English-language newspaper in Russia during World War II. He has also made prolonged visits to the country both before and since. A subtle and poetic writer, his impressionistic descriptions of Russian life are enriched by the comparisons he offers both to British life and to the many other countries which he has visited.

Miller in his own words has "tried in this book to write about the Russians as people not primarily as victims of communism or as enthusiasts for communism but as people different from ourselves who are only partly formed by communism and partly by the inescapable geography, history, manners, and morals and tastes and traditions which being Russians, they are born to."

What he writes is colored, of course, by the fact that he is a liberal Englishman, not a socialist. He measures Russian society by the goals and achievements of other industrial societies, never by the ideals of October. Nevertheless, *Russians As People* remains a charming book.

## Freedom Ride..

(Continued from page 39)

Cox, helped lead the demonstration of fifteen hundred Southern University Students in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the aftermath of which is still shaking that campus, the largest Negro university in the country.

Veterans of the Jackson Jail-in helped spark the mass sit-ins on Route 40 and on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Almost everywhere the struggle has taken a turn toward mass action, veterans of the Jackson Jail-in have been there, often in leading roles. A group of them even showed up on a picket line of low-paid hospital workers in New York City this January and played a role in turning the tide toward a victory for the union.

So what was the Jackson Freedom Ride and Jail-in? For the South, it was an event out of which a new cadre of young and militant Negro leaders took the initiative. For the country as a whole, it was a school and a convention for a part of the vanguard of the new generation of American youth, which will not be a silent or a frightened one.

## Socialism and Democracy

by James P. Cannon

In the same easy and highly readable style for which he is well known, Cannon makes clear the basic Marxist view on socialism and democracy. He says: "What is needed is not a propaganda device or trick, but a formulation on the issue as it really stands; and indeed as it has always stood with real socialists ever since the modern movement was first proclaimed 109 years ago." Cannon tells how the real view has suffered distortion and falsification by Stalinism, Social Democracy and the American ruling class. Send 15 cents for this attractive 21-page pamphlet.

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# Correspondence . .

(Continued from page 34)

are not the features of a socialist structure.

2. **Diet:** It is doubtful that the diet of the average Soviet citizen now equals that of Western Europe. Many observers say it does not match that of Czechoslovakia.

Moreover the menu of the masses cannot be judged solely from observations among the more prosperous layers in Moscow and Leningrad which are favored centers of distribution. The daily diet of tens of millions of low-paid workers in other places and of the peasants in the countryside must also be taken into consideration.

No slur was intended in taking black bread as a sign of a poor diet. It is nutritious, tasty and preferable, I believe, to the bleached white bread sold in the United States. However, both economists and the Russians themselves have traditionally viewed the availability of white wheat bread as an index and symbol of a higher status.

Prospects for immediate improvement in the food supply are darkened by the official plan fulfillment report for 1961 that discloses an absolute decline in meat production, a failure of the potato crop and a grain output ten million tons lower than in 1958.

3. **Waiting Lists:** The Soviet people still have to wait for many things (from two to five years for apartments and autos) and the more privileged and prosperous usually get them first. Low-income workers often cannot afford many of those articles which are generally available. Workers in the Lektorsky Auto Factory in Moscow, who are among the best-paid in the Soviet Union, do not as a rule buy the autos they make.

The dream of the young is to own a motorcycle. Maurice Hindus tells in *A House Without a Roof* about a conversation with a "beatnik" who complained: "Here you have to be high-born, son of a minister or a factory director or an honored worker before you can buy one, even if you have the money."

4. **Odessa Strike:** Since writing the article, some further information has been received on the 1961 strike in Odessa. According to *La Verite des Travailleurs* of Paris, the strike was not called against the shipment of butter to Cuba but to protest the victimization of two workers because they were Jewish. The difficulty of obtaining authentic information on these incidents testifies to the real atmosphere in the Soviet Union.

According to official mythology,

strikes, like anti-Semitism, cannot happen or be justified in a "socialist" state. Yet the Odessa workers did strike. This was not reported or discussed in the press. The causes and circumstances cannot be checked and verified from outside. These workers must have had prolonged and serious grievances to risk an action forbidden by the government, whatever its immediate provocation. The Soviet regime could cut off the dissemination of false rumors at the source if it were open and above-board. But its policy of secrecy concerning such events permits the circulation of misrepresentations and misunderstandings which harm the Soviet Union's reputation.

5. **Thefts:** Much of the information about embezzlements comes from Premier Khrushchev and the Soviet press which has published many reports of punishments for such practices. In order to fulfill statistical targets set by the plan — compulsory and often unrealistic — provincial and local party leaders as well as factory and collective farm managers deceived the state. Some falsified the origins of produce, slaughtered livestock to fill meat quotas, and bought butter in state shops presenting it as their own. Under conditions of scarcity and bureaucratic mismanagement, fixers, bribers, speculators, black-marketeters and other practitioners of illegal individual enrichment have flourished.

If a worker filches a piece of material or a tool from his plant which he needs and can't get in the shops, or a needy peasant appropriates some grain for his own use from the collective crop, their conduct may be reprehensible; but the reasons for it must be understood. Such action is not a slander upon the Russian people nor an indictment of socialism. It is the fruit of backwardness, poverty, lack of goods, inequalities and the absence of democratic control by the masses over their government and economic life.

If thievery is not widespread in high and low places why has the government been impelled to revive and apply the death penalty for economic crimes? Are its leaders simply sadistic individuals or are they trying to cope with a grave social-economic problem by impermissible methods?

6. **Khrushchev's Nationalism:** Like other statesmen, the Soviet Premier sometimes blurts out in private conversations opinions that are not reflected in official pronouncements. For example, at his villa on May 19, 1957 Khrushchev told the writers of Moscow that the Hungarian government did not have the sense to shoot a few of the insurgent writers of Budapest. Should the Russian writers refuse to toe the line and insist upon following this example, "my hand would not tremble," Khrushchev said. This threat was omitted from the published report of his speech.

But it is not necessary to rely upon

Khrushchev's informal utterances to prove his nationalist arrogance. These are discernible in his major policies.

Leave aside the Kremlin's mistreatment of national minorities within the USSR or the countries of Eastern Europe such as Hungary, and simply look at the present attitude toward Albania. In what respects is it better than Stalin's abuse of Yugoslavia after 1948? Hoxha's regime is detestable. But it is not much worse than Ulbricht's which Khrushchev upholds. The mighty Soviet regime is acting like a bully in using this small country as a whipping boy in its dispute with Peking.

7. **Communism in One Country:** The new program is not really based on the assumption that all the socialist countries will enter communism together but rather that the Soviet Union, having completed Socialism, will go forward at breakneck speed to the benefits of Communism before all the others.

Here is a key passage in Khrushchev's speech to the 22nd Congress on this point: "The building of Communism in our country is an integral part of the creation of a Communist society in the entire Socialist community. The successful development of the world system of Socialism opens up prospects for the transition of the Socialist countries to Communism at more or less the same time, within one and the same historical epoch. The world system of capitalism comes under the law of uneven economic and political development, leading to an aggravation of contradictions and an intensification of the rivalry between States. The world Socialist system is developing in accordance with diametrically opposite laws. It is marked by the steady and planned growth of the economy of each country, by the more rapid development of States that were economically backward under capitalism, and by all countries attaining the same general level of development."

In this vague perspective Khrushchev is very circumspect about the specific time and place to be occupied by other Soviet-bloc countries who will go over to Communism "within the same historical period." This is to be done in accord with his proposition that, unlike capitalism, which is subject to the law of uneven development, the world socialist system operates under the opposite law of even development. This assertion is false even in regard to the USSR itself where the development of heavy industry outstrips light industry and agriculture.

Planned economy does contain the potential of a balanced growth. But, singly or collectively, the workers states are still a considerable distance from its realization. The most flagrant case of unequal economic development involves the Soviet Union and China which today stand at opposite ends of the scale.

These internal contradictions are not the faults of the governments but the

inheritance of a backward past. But they cannot be overcome by denying their existence and importance under cover of an alleged new law of social development.

Khrushchev expects these unevennesses to be remedied through the accumulated economic successes of the Soviet Union, no matter what happens elsewhere in the meanwhile. Ironically, this perspective of building communism first and foremost within the USSR has already involved the accentuation rather than the diminution or elimination of the difficulties arising from these disparities.

This is most dramatically demonstrated by the growing split with China which has come so unexpectedly and remains incomprehensible to those Communists who rely upon official handouts for their information and explanations.

Despite assertions that no single country should have primacy, Khrushchev's insistence that Soviet requirements remain paramount at all costs is a big factor behind the widening breach with China. This same point is made by Salisbury. "In China they are living on 15 cents a day. Khrushchev talks about equalling the American standards of living in 20 years. Khrushchev's goals are just nonsense to present-day China."

They are, in fact, a deep-seated source of friction. Hard-pressed China is buying wheat from Canada and Australia. Why doesn't it obtain that wheat from the Soviet Union? If the answer is that the Soviet Union does not have wheat to spare, then its lack of this vital food commodity further shows how far the country falls short of a socialist abundance and how important

the resources of the world market can be.

But the trouble goes deeper than this. Just as Khrushchev doesn't permit the Chinese to enter and settle in Siberia which needs labor for its development, so his program proposes to elevate his own realm into "communism" regardless of China's needs. The Chinese leaders know and resent this.

Trotsky, following Marx and Lenin, long ago pointed out that these basic contradictions in the situation of the workers states can be overcome and their inherited unevennesses ironed out and eradicated only by taking the problems into the world arena for solution. Such a perspective and program would mean the pursuit of policies which facilitate the proletarian revolution in the highly industrialized capitalist nations. But this line runs counter to Khrushchev's whole course of "peaceful co-existence," not simply between nations with opposing social-economic structures which is necessary and desirable, but between the imperialist rulers and their own working classes.

In his report to the 22nd Congress Khrushchev virtually blanks out any possibilities in the next period of victorious working class struggle for supreme power in the capitalist strongholds. This perspective, which was an integral and indispensable part of Lenin's internationalism, is excluded from his outlook. In this respect he continues to follow in Stalin's footsteps.

The fundamental economic and political problems of the existing workers states in this Space Age cannot be resolved without access to the world productive forces which can be fully opened up only through further extension of the socialist revolution.

Neither socialism nor communism can be built within the narrow boundaries of a single country — or even of a group of underdeveloped countries. That requires the mutual aid and planned cooperation of all the major producing countries.

\* \* \*

I agree with A. Binder that the Marxist press should "present objectively the reality of the Soviet Union in a spirit of critical sympathy." To do so, Marxists must see and show all the contradictory aspects of Soviet reality. For example, the highly educated Soviet people are avid readers, possibly excelling the public of any other great nation. But it is also true that their writers still chafe under heavy constraints and they are not able to freely buy and read foreign publications. Both sides must be understood.

This applies to the contrast between Stalin's regime and that of his successor. Stalin's was the rule of the "Big Lie." Khrushchev's is the regime of the "Half-truth." His de-Stalinization measures are progressive and welcome, but limited and half-hearted. What the Soviet people are demanding is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. They want a thorough housecleaning.

They are not getting this from Khrushchev. That is why his partial, two-faced de-Stalinization will have to be consummated and completed by the phase of "de-Khrushchevization." There are more radical and honest forces at work among the Soviet people today which are not only exerting powerful pressures upon Khrushchev but will go beyond him in democratizing the Soviet Union along genuinely Leninist lines.

William F. Warde

## Books and Pamphlets on Cuba

<b>The Truth About Cuba</b> by Joseph Hansen ..... 25¢	<b>Sartre on Cuba</b> by Jean-Paul Sartre ..... 50¢	<b>Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution</b> by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy ..... \$3.50
<b>In Defense of the Cuban Revolution</b> — An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper by Joseph Hansen ..... 25¢	<b>Speech at the United Nations</b> by Fidel Castro ..... 25¢	<b>90 Miles from Home</b> by Warren Miller ..... 50¢
<b>Listen, Yankee</b> by C. Wright Mills ..... 50¢	<b>History Will Absolve Me</b> by Fidel Castro ..... \$1.00	<b>How Cuba Uprooted Race</b> Discrimination by Harry Ring 15¢
	<b>Fidel Castro Speaks to the</b> Children ..... 25¢	<b>The Theory of the Cuban Revolution</b> by Joseph Hansen ..... 25¢

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# Periodicals in Review

by Tim Wohlforth

## A Japanese Festival Float

An American psychologist, Robert Jay Lifton, gives us an interesting insight into current Japanese radical politics. In the course of his article "Youth in Postwar Japan" (*Daedalus*, Winter, 1962) he describes an interview with one of the radical leaders of the Zengakuren student organization. "A student leader (whom we shall call Sato) in his early twenties described to me the following dream: 'A student (political) demonstration is taking place. A long line of students moves rapidly along . . . then at the end of the line there seems to be a festival float which other students are pulling' . . . Sato emphasized that in his dream he was a bystander, standing apart from both the political demonstration and the festival-like activities. This he associated with his recent displacement from a position of leadership within the student movement (because of a factional struggle) and with his feelings that he had failed to live up to his obligations to colleagues and followers in the movement. One meaning he gave to the dream was his belief that the student movement, now in the hands of leaders whom he did not fully respect, might become weak and ineffectual, nothing more than a 'festival.'"

That Sato's dream symbolically stated a very real problem facing radicals in Japan can be seen clearly from a close study of the fine symposium, "Currents in Japanese Socialist Thought," featured in the Winter, 1962 issue of *New Politics*. It is clear from this symposium that militant workers and younger intellectuals in the immediate postwar period were attracted in great numbers to the Communist Party. While the Socialist Party receives a larger vote in elections and has the support of the dominant trade union organization (So-hoyo) it has a relatively small active membership (only .5% of total vote).

Over the past ten years large sections of the intelligentsia and significant numbers of workers have broken away from the CP because of the organization's conservative approach to Japanese politics. Even the centrist Socialist Party finds itself to the left of the CP. One of its leaders, Hiroo Wada, states in his contribution to the sym-

posium: "Our principal point of theoretical dispute with the Communist Party today concerns the question of what rules Japan, i.e. what is our principal adversary. The Socialist Party posits unequivocally that the principal contradiction confronting Japan now is that of monopoly capital, consequently that the revolution which we must carry out is a socialist revolution. In contrast to this, the Communist Party holds that the revolution facing Japan is a new democratic revolution against 'the two enemies, American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital,' and that for the achievement of socialism a second revolution will be needed." This two-stage theory leads the Communist Party to oppose any political actions in Japan which tend to break through capitalist confines, that tend to raise the question of socialism itself.

Many of the students who have been in the leadership of the powerful Zengakuren organization and a smaller but significant number of trade unionists have broken from the Communist Party because of this refusal to struggle directly for socialism. Needless to say these radicals see no alternative in right wing socialist opinion. Yoshihiko Seki of the Democratic Socialist Party writes in the symposium with the defeatist tone of a man who finds himself in a small minority. "Among Japanese intellectuals the number who are democratic socialist is small," he states, and "since before the war right wing socialists felt intellectually inferior to Marxists, very few attempted to take issue with them on theoretical grounds." Of course, the left wing Socialist Party is more attractive to these dissident CPers but its amorphousness and lack of a clearly worked out Marxist program lead these radicals to seek something more.

Many of the students have been turning towards Trotskyist ideas. Kenichi Koyama, a former president of Zengakuren, sums up the outlook of these former CPers: "It is our feeling that the entire history of the Russian Revolution and subsequent developments in the Soviet Union should be rewritten, elaborating on the lessons of the October Revolution, the views of Trotsky, Stalin's mistakes, the historical and social background which makes it possible for Stalinism to dominate Russia and the international Communist movement, analyzing the popular front in Spain, German Fascism, etc."

Along the same lines Ikutaro Shimizu, a well known Japanese intellectual of the older generation, comments: "There is a recognition that Trotsky was the first and greatest critic of Stalinism, and although the groups (oppositional formations of those who have left the CP-TW) have ideological differences, they share a common conviction that a rigorous and radical criticism of Stalinism must be undertaken in order to dissolve the sacrosanct aura in which the Communist Party is shrouded."

Of course the contributors to this

symposium are quick to make clear that, while there is widespread interest in Trotsky in Japanese radical circles, only a section of these dissidents have actually become Trotskyists. These include, Professor Lewis Feuer notes in his introduction, Shiokawa, who was president of the Zengakuren in 1958 and who became one of the organizers of the Revolutionary Communist League which is affiliated with the Fourth International.

Professor Feuer's introduction and Koyama's contribution give us some indication of why a number of these revolutionary students have thus far resisted becoming Trotskyists despite their complete rejection of Stalinism from a revolutionary point of view and their sympathy with Trotsky's ideas. Feuer states that Shiokawa felt that "only the residue of fear of Trotsky's name, derived from Zengakuren's Stalinist past, prevented the students from becoming Trotskyists." This may well have been true several years ago. However, in the interim, those young radicals who did not embrace Trotskyism fully are beginning to show the effect of being isolated from the Japanese working class. Some of these have expressed "Blanquist" sentiments, Feuer states. That is, they are seeking to replace the role of the working class in the revolutionary process with their own actions. "They are self-conscious representatives of the intellectual elite; disaffected by the passivity of the Japanese workers and farmers, they look to their own courage and intelligence to remake society," he states. It has been this trend which seems to have dominated in the Zengakuren leadership the last couple of years. The students have expressed this outlook by their sole reliance on demonstrations conducted without mass support from the working class as the means of revolutionary struggle. Perhaps this is what Sato had in mind in his dream when he referred to the transformation of these demonstrations into ritualistic festivals.

Other young intellectuals seem to be drifting in the direction of "New Leftism" — that is a tendency to be content with an intellectual circle existence rather than seeking to help in creating a party with serious roots in the working class. This mood seems to prevail, at least in part, in Koyama's contribution.

Professor Feuer notes that the Trotskyists in Japan have insisted that revolutionaries must concentrate on rooting themselves in the working class, insisting that only the working class can carry through the socialist revolution. The festival float can be no substitute for the revolutionary class and its struggle. Perhaps as political events unfold in Japan more of the young intellectuals will recognize their own weakness as an independent force.

Koyama concludes his article by stating, "When the revolutionary thought

of the 'New Left' begins to influence the mind of the Japanese working class, it will become a mighty power that will shake Japan and the world." But for this to happen the "New Leftists" will have to create, together with these workers, a common party based on a solid foundation of revolutionary Marxist thought and action. This is what Shiohara and his friends are seeking to do. Then Japan will do a bit more than shake — capitalism itself can be toppled.

\* \* \*

We simply cannot put down the Winter issue of *New Politics* without commenting on two other articles. Maximilian Rubel, who we gather is a prominent French scholar of Marxism, has written his "Notes on Marx's Conception of Democracy" as a defense of the following theses: "I would say that Marx was a revolutionary communist only in theory, while he was a bourgeois democrat in practice." In order to substantiate this theory, Rubel quotes, at length, excerpts from bourgeois democratic authors that Marx copied into his notebook while he was a student in Berlin in 1841. After devoting several pages to such impressively esoteric matter, Rubel sticks in one short, confusing paragraph summarizing Marx's analysis of the Paris Commune. It was precisely in his analysis of the Commune, which Marx wrote at the height of his political development, that he spelled out clearly his revolutionary approach in practice to the conception of democracy. And these academicians are supposed to be the ones that are "objective!"

Perhaps the strangest bedfellow of all those connected with *New Politics* is Paul Mattick. Mr. Mattick, who also writes for *Dissent*, contributes a warm defense of the views of Anton Pannekoek, the old ultra-left communist who was singled out in Lenin's *The Infantile Disorder of Left Communism*. Mattick fervently defends such concepts of Pannekoek's as his prohibition against work in the trade unions and his opposition to participation to parliaments. All that Mattick seems to share with other contributors of *New Politics* and *Dissent* is his rabid anti-Leninism. However this cement has bound together some quite disparate elements before.

## On and From the Youth

The current issue of *Studies on the Left* (Vol. II, No. 2) features a lengthy article by Daniel J. Stern, a young psychologist, titled "Defensive Reactions to Political Anxiety: The American Anti-Communist Liberal and the Invasion of Cuba." "The purposes of this essay," Stern informs us in the first sentence, "are: 1) to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the psychological aspects of ideology as it relates to social change, and 2) to illustrate the theoretical formulations with a sample case."

All this sounds quite impressive and it is followed by sections on "Conscious Suppression," "Denial," "Repression," "Dissociation or Isolation," "Rationalization," "Reaction Formation," "Displacement," "Projection," "Identification" and "Regression." After many pages of this, Stern finally gets to a very effective polemic against Theodore Draper on Cuba. The author simply states the relevant facts related to the invasion of Cuba and shows how Draper distorts or ignores these facts in order to support his liberal apologia for the U.S. Government's actions.

As a polemicist Stern has proven to be very effective, but exactly what this has to do with his lengthy psychological "theoretical framework" it is hard for us to see. We long for the day when *Studies on the Left* will print one, openly partisan, frankly polemical article — just one! We are not asking for much. That day will mark the emancipation of at least one section of young radical intellectuals from their own academic pretences.

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An older generation of professors devotes some 240 pages of a special issue of *Daedalus* (Winter, 1962) to an attempt to understand the younger generation under the general heading of "Youth: Change and Challenge." *Daedalus* is the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and is edited by some of the most prominent academicians in the country. One is forced to state, however, that one learns very little indeed about youth from this effort.

The problem of these authors seems to be that they try to analyze "youth in general" as part of "society in general." They end up on such an abstract plane that young people as part of a capitalist society divided into social classes and racial groups with specific problems do not seem to be real to these professors.

Talcott Parsons, the Harvard professor who has perhaps done more than any other single individual to turn sociology into an obscurantist cult, expresses most clearly the prevailing spirit of the contributors in his "Youth in the Context of American Society." Truly this is a contented man! He takes note of the fact that "American youth is in a ferment." But he is not worried. You see, American society is "doing reasonably well (as distinguished from outstandingly) in implementing these (its own-TW) values. Our society as a whole seems to remain committed to its essential mandate."

American youth, he feels, "expresses many dissatisfactions with the current state of society, some of which are fully justified, others are of a more dubious validity. Yet the general orientation appears to be, not a basic alienation, but an eagerness to learn, to accept higher orders of responsibility, and to 'fit,' not in the sense of passive conformity, but in the sense of their readiness to work

within the system, rather than in basic opposition to it."

Perhaps our professor has captured the mood of his students at Harvard, but is this a true picture of the feelings of the Negro youth in the South and in the Northern ghettos, of the young workers who find themselves frozen out of the labor market, of young Puerto Ricans in New York slums? This sociologist might do well to venture out of Harvard every now and then and get to know some of the people who make up the society he is studying.

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The current issue of *New Universities Thought* is featuring an interesting article on "Stock Ownership and the Control of Corporations" by Don Villarejo . . . The West Coast-based *Root and Branch* has come out with its first issue. It calls itself "an independent journal of politics and cultural criticism" and thus adds a literary element, missing from its competitors. Its first issue features Ferlinghetti's poetry as well as other literary contributions and political articles . . . Students at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, are publishing *The New Freedom*, a "bulletin of student social action." The emphasis here is on reportage of student activities rather than theoretical matter . . . Since most of these campus-based publications achieve only sporadic regional distribution we list their addresses and annual subscription rates: *Studies on the Left*, P.O. Box 2121, Madison 5, Wis., \$2.50; *New Universities Thought*, 5478 S. Woodlawn, Chicago 15, Ill., \$2; *Root and Branch*, Box 906, Berkeley 1, Calif., \$2.50; *The New Freedom*, Box 664, Ithaca, N.Y. \$1.

## Random Notes

Hidden in the back of a not particularly inspiring issue of *Partisan Review* (No. 5-6, 1961) is an interesting article, "The Cult of the Goldenarmed Oracle" by Don W. Kleine. Kleine notes the growing idolization of the dope addict by some of America's most talented writers and the popularity of their literary efforts among large sections of the middle classes. This trend finds its clearest expression in Jack Gelber's apologetic for narcotics, "The Connection." It is an interesting insight into the health of our society that those who flee from it in such a self-destructive nihilistic way as dope addiction are seen as the only ones who are "for real" . . . The January, 1962 *Liberation* includes a fine article, "Exiles at Home" by Martin Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer depicts graphically the complete feeling of isolation of the white integrationist in the South . . . A new monthly magazine in English, *Cuba*, is now being issued from Havana. It is quite interesting and we hope that it will continue to be published, as reliable information on Cuba is a rare thing in this country.

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