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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

James P. Cannon

Socialism and Democracy

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To the South



Cannon
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After Investigating

Among the items that have reached our desk since last issue, we would like to single out a circular signed by George Larrabee, Organizational Chairman of the National Committee for a United Socialist Alliance, which is headed by the Rev. Hugh Weston of Boston.

Larrabee, who is deeply interested in the regroupment of socialist forces in America, says that as a young worker of twenty-three, he became engaged in the unity movement among radical youth rather than in the adult movement after recently leaving Boston and coming to New York.

He reports encouraging developments in America's largest city. The Left Wing Caucus of the Young Socialist League, together with youth around the Socialist Workers party and sympathizers of *The American Socialist* have organized the Young Socialist Forum. Its first public discussions "have been highly successful, attracting youth of myriad tendencies, LYLers [Labor Youth League] and even some just becoming interested in the issue of socialism."

He urges "unstinting support" for the Young Socialist Forum and asks those who are interested to write Tim Wohlforth, 305 E. 21st. St., New York City.

"On the adult plane of the Left regroupment question," Larrabee continues, "since I have been in New York I have been more and more drawn towards the idea of building unity around some one of the existing parties, one with a clear and honest program, with a serious and determined policy, rather than a mere plea for unity in the abstract, on a vague and programless call for unity. We have just about passed the stage where we have to call for a discussion of unity . . . those who have made up their minds for or against it by and large are not going to change. So now the questions of who we can actually unite with, rather than who we WANT to unite with, have come to the fore, and on what basis, on what principles."

In Larrabee's opinion a radical party is needed, "made up of several similar groupings, in the democratic American tradition, but completely united on the important questions that really count."

The tradition Larrabee would like to see embodied in the new party begins with Thomas Paine, Sam Adams, Jefferson and Lincoln, includes Marx, Engels and Lenin, and ends with Debs, Luxemburg and Trotsky. "For guidance in 1957 we should look

to the modern adherents of Lenin and Trotsky and investigate the ideas of such anti-Stalinist (anti-bureaucratic degeneration) Communists and Left Socialists as George Lukacs (Hungary, now in exile within the Soviet orbit) and Wolfgang Harich (Communist professor imprisoned by the East German regime) and Milovan Djilas of Yugoslavia, whose new book *The New Class* is being falsely hailed as a work against Communism." Larrabee declares that he "might not agree on everything with them" and that "all such theorists and leaders who have recently broken with Stalinism (or Rightist Socialism, for that matter) should be measured against those ORIGINAL Bolsheviks who stood up against Stalin while at the same time refusing to capitulate to the Right, the Trotskyites."

To Larrabee, Peter Fryer, "who broke with Stalinism in the midst of the Hungarian revolt as a *Daily Worker* reporter in that country . . . symbolizes the world-wide coming together of principled Left Socialists with Communists and Soviet sympathizers breaking with Stalinism, taking up the banner so long upheld by a comparative handful of isolated and vilified Trotskyites."

After investigating, Larrabee says that he changed his mind about the Socialist Workers party, which represents the Trotskyist viewpoint in America. "I previously regarded the SWP as a hidebound, dogmatic, moss-grown and sterile little sect, but I have changed my views on it, and can see that between the pro-Democratic Party Stalinist-dominated sect called the Communist Party and the respectability-seeking reformists called the ISL and SP-SDF, it is the only clear-cut and substantial party worth rallying to."

Larrabee urges "all socialists who are honest with themselves to seriously take up and study the literature of the Trotskyist movement if they would like to make genuine contributions to the unity process and the creating of an eventual mass party of Socialism. I do not say this as a Trotskyite myself, for . . . I have not had the opportunity to study the vast works of Trotsky as I would like to.

"I have merely been able to read a little and talk with members of the Socialist Workers party enough to become certain that here we have the opportunity to find the answers to many burning questions and that here we have serious-minded and dedicated people to work with toward common goals. SWP members are sincere and devoted people with firm ideas, not being marked by cynicism and 'sophistication' that we find in other socialist circles, not concerning themselves with clever schemes for 'advancing' Socialism via Norman Thomas and the Democratic party, quiet Fabian societies or other allegedly 'realistic' methods."

"For further clarification on these questions, I suggest that you read 'How to Build an Anti-Monopoly Coalition' in the summer issue of the *International Socialist Review* . . . The article begins . . . with William F. Warde's 'The Rise and Fall of Pro-

(Continued on Page 135)

Weren't Prepared

At a Boy Scout celebration organized by the Moroccan Ministry of Youth and Sports in the Atlas Mountains of North Africa in July, the U.S. contingent aroused doubts about how well they had applied their motto "Be Prepared" before setting out for the encampment.

The two dozen young Scouts, in the charge of six officials of the U.S. Armed Forces, ran into hazards they might have avoided with more forethought. As a consequence they had to pull out early, leaving the field to the British, Tunisian, Iraqi, Iranian and Algerian Scouts and Spanish Falange Youth.

"The major complaint of their adult leaders," reports the July 21 *New York Times*, "was that the crusty bread distributed to the Scouts was not wrapped in wax paper. It was not sliced, either."

Each day the Moroccan government handed out fresh meat, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, bread, butter, tea, soft drinks and American-processed cheese in American cans. "But the American Scout leaders were distressed—the meat did not bear the 'U.S. Inspected' stamp."

The Moroccan government, attempting to do a good turn for the American Boy Scouts in their unexpected plight, gave them special funds to buy their own foods, "and trucks from the United States military commissaries began rolling into the

Atlas Mountains with wrapped bread and the canned nourishment that the Scout leaders knew how to cope with."

While Operation Rescue was going on, however, the descendants of Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett ran into another unforeseen difficulty. The Armed Forces "did not think to provide a single leader who could speak French, let alone Arabic."

One of the Scouts, who had attended a French school, acted as interpreter but "when he was not on hand the Americans were isolated." So they "stayed very much to themselves in their little sub-camp and withdrew from group activities."

The Scouts were well prepared, it seems, in only one respect. When the Moroccans offered their guests the services of three physicians trained in French faculties of medicine, they were firmly turned down. "One American leader from Europe was said to have told the boys to pay no attention to the foreign doctors, saying he had a course in first aid and would take care of everything."

The Boy Scouts of France seem to have come closer to the "Be Prepared" ideal of Scouting. They did not attend at all. "Political reasons" were given for their refusal to participate in the jamboree: "The Algerian Scouts," says the *Times*, "carried the rebel flag of the National Liberation Front."

Editorial

Bigger than the Bomb

SINCE its first issue in 1945, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has carried a single picture on its cover—the hands of a clock pointing to a few minutes before twelve. The editors have preoccupied themselves with this theme—the hour grows short for humanity to make the fateful decision, either to bring atomic energy under rational control or see the earth itself converted into a radioactive desert.

The influence of the *Bulletin* has been considerable in breaking through the official government policy of discounting the fearful implications of atomic war. Today's growing movement against even testing atomic weapons because of the dangers of radioactive pollution can be traced back to the warnings which this public-spirited magazine has repeated over and over again with all the knowledge and authority at its command.

However, on the strictly political question of how to end the threat of war and bring enduring peace to the world, the *Bulletin* has spoken with less sureness. Three articles in the May and June issues illustrate this with particular force.

Edward Teller, who hatched the H-bomb, offers little hope. In "The Nature of Nuclear Warfare," he approves the cheapness of nuclear material over TNT, argues for it as more "effective," denies that it is less "moral" than "outmoded" arms, and calls for construction of a striking force built wholly around nuclear weapons.

In an all-out war, Teller sees industrial America leveled to the ground. But victory will be won through hiding out in "deep underground shelters" where "food surpluses" will have been stored "in such a way that . . . we still could feed our population for, let us say, two years. In two years we would have had time enough to find out where food can be grown again."

According to Teller, "Russia, struggling to build up an industrial civilization, cannot do the same thing. Her agricultural supplies are scarce."

Coming after such a vision of "victory" through decimating the globe, Teller's "feeling" that an atomic

war "will never come" does not carry much conviction. Equally unconvincing are his vague assertions about the need for "international law and order."

Max Born's article, "Man and the Atom," is much more worthy of a leading scientist. The founder of modern physics holds that the unlocking of the secret of atomic energy was inevitable; the war simply hastened things. But the "horrible decision" to drop two bombs "on densely populated Japanese cities" was a "big crime" that cannot be justified "by the statement that we are accustomed to committing many smaller crimes."

Born does not blame the scientists personally for their research that made the bomb possible, nor Truman for his decision to use it. "What we are concerned with," in Born's view, "is collective guilt, the decay of our ethical consciousness, for which we are all to blame, myself included—though I have had nothing to do with the development of nuclear physics."

The solution, Born feels, is a return to the "great religions." This would make possible "the renunciation of force in the pursuit of political aims."

We can share Born's confidence that mankind will ultimately prove to be bigger than the bomb. But his trust in the willingness of the modern Romans to "take the teaching of Christ seriously" betrays an unfortunate lack of awareness, or appreciation, of the lessons of political history and the economic drives impelling imperialism toward expansion.

Eugene Rabinowitch, editor of the *Bulletin*, seeks to come closer to political realities. In "The Frozen Map" he considers the argument that "a large-scale nuclear war between the major powers has been made effectively impossible by the capacity of both camps for mutual nuclear destruction" although "local conflicts" might still break out.

This contention, he holds, has already been disproved by the decision of the British government "to concentrate on an all-out development of large nuclear deterrent weapons."

In making the decision, the government admitted

that the British Isles are indefensible against destruction by modern scientific weapons and that all that can be hoped for if war occurs is "retaliation." In Rabinowitch's opinion, similar frankness is called for on the part of the American and Soviet governments.

If the trend toward stockpiling atomic weapons continues, as it most likely will, the result will be "well-hidden, ever ready on-the-trigger bases scattered throughout an otherwise practically unprotected country, whose major population and industry centers will remain at the mercy of an aggressor."

"This is a prospect," continues the editor of the *Bulletin*, "which some military thinkers (and some scientists) contemplate not only with equanimity, but even with eager anticipation. They think that this will represent the closest approach to stable, permanent peace mankind has known (or is likely to know in the foreseeable future)."

Rabinowitch strongly disagrees with this "optimism." He thinks it would mean "at best, only a breathing spell — a limited period of uneasy peace. . ." A "peace structure" might be erected in this period, but the logic of military technology is toward "the ultimate nuclear stalemate."

"It would be naive to hope that this trend could be arrested or reversed by a cleverly contrived agreement on the limitation of nuclear armaments, by the institution of aerial surveys to detect preparations for aggres-

sion, or by any other practically conceivable outcome of the disarmament negotiations in the U.N."

Boundaries of national states or spheres of interest could no longer be adjusted, for the "political corollary of this military stalemate will be the freezing of the existing political boundaries."

As Rabinowitch puts it: "Only an internal revolution in the very center of one of the imperial powers — causing a temporary 'melting' of the frozen political structure of the empire — could then permit a local change in political allegiance without a major military catastrophe."

In this "frozen world" the present political divisions "may have to stand indefinitely." No matter what the inequities, or the feelings of the people involved, "the supreme interest of mankind requires that from now on, no territorial injustice be corrected by violent means."

How long would the nuclear stalemate last? "It is hardly necessary to repeat here," continues Rabinowitch, "that, in the long run, a frozen political map of the world will be no more a guarantee against an ultimate outbreak of international violence than a permanently frozen division of wealth between individuals and classes would be a guarantee against violent revolutions."

In view of this evaluation, "what should one think of hopes so widely pinned now on disarmament negotiations?" Rabinowitch's answer is that "All they can promise. . . is the reduction of armies or navies which are unessential from the point of view of deterrence — and perhaps some arrangement which would make sudden aggression less likely." Perhaps international control mechanisms might be set up that would have some use.

"What all these 'disarmament' arrangements will not mean is a substantial change in the capacity of nations for mutual nuclear destruction — a threat under which mankind is living now, and will live for years to come — until it fully learns the political lessons of the atomic age."

An agreement might be reached on ending the atomic tests, and this would undoubtedly be a step forward; "but if our general interpretation of the world situation is correct, it would be a dangerous self-deception to hope that a standstill agreement on the development of new atomic weapons is likely to become a first step toward the dismantling of the terror establishments of the rival camps. . ."

The editor of the influential *Bulletin* ends by scolding the argument "that we should not emphasize the futility of hopes for permanent peace based on the kind of disarmament which is possible in the framework of the present world system of sovereign nations. . ." He counts himself among those who "are inclined to consider the task of educating mankind to the necessity of a world political moral renewal to match the current revolution in science and technology the most important public obligation of scientists — and of all others who are fully aware of the extent of this revolution."

Rabinowitch's views are no doubt shared by many scientists today who are coming more and more to see

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that only a deep-going political solution can end the crisis brought on by the threat of nuclear war. The recognition of the dangerous deceptions that can accompany an *uncritical* campaign for disarmament is, in our opinion, an encouraging development in realistic political thinking. Where we think the approach leaves much to be desired is in appealing to the high-placed military and political figures instead of the working people. This strikes us as seeking salvation in a blind alley. Perhaps the scientists feel this, too, and that is why they are so pessimistic about the future.

People are bigger than the bomb; that is, the working people are. They are the real power in the modern world, and they are easily capable of exercising that power, given the right conditions. Through socialism, as Einstein, one of the founders of the *Bulletin*, recommended, they can build a world of permanent peace.

The attempts of the Kremlin bureaucrats to freeze their political structure of special privilege will not

succeed. The revolts in East Germany, Poland and Hungary are symptoms of the resumption of the working-class struggle for socialism in this section of the world. In Western Europe, where the vision of socialism was born, only American dollars still prop up a capitalism battered by two world wars, fascism, depressions and the Soviet victory. The attempts of the old imperialist powers to freeze the colonial freedom movements are likewise doomed in face of the "melting" process initiated by the tens of millions of human beings in these areas who want socialism.

As for America, we can look back at two previous attempts to freeze the political map. They were answered in 1776 and 1861. We have every reason for believing that the present generation can do as well in keeping America from getting frozen in a system where the threat of H-bomb annihilation is the cardinal fact of life. The pressure today to end the nuclear tests is a step in that direction.

Signs of a Thaw

THE VICTORY of the Democratic candidate over the Republican in the Wisconsin senatorial election in August is one more sign of the beginning of a significant change in the political atmosphere of the United States. There were some special circumstances, such as the split in the Republican ranks, which enabled Proxmire to beat Kohler by so sizeable a majority. But this division between the conservative die-hards and the moderates among the Republicans was itself a reflection of the same tendencies which swept Proxmire into office.

The outstanding political fact is that McCarthy, the mortal embodiment of extreme reaction, has been replaced by a figure backed by the union officialdom. The symbolism of this shift was dramatized by Proxmire when immediately after his election he went to the factory gates to thank the workers for their support. To be sure, the workers will get little else in return for their votes.

Beginning with Truman's infamous "loyalty" purge in 1947, this country became encased in a glacier-like reaction that felt endlessly oppressive. In foreign affairs the bipartisan warriors of U.S. imperialism waged their cold war in all parts of the globe until it flared into the hot war in Korea and threatened to extend into Indo-China, China and the Middle East. At home, with McCarthy in the lead, the witch-hunters combed the land, ferreting out "subversive" individuals and ideas and finding them even at the top of the Democratic Administration.

The material underpinning for this prolonged shift in the direction of police dictatorship was the postwar boom which, with minor fluctuations, kept mounting

until it touched the heights after 1954. This combination of rabid political reaction and artificially sustained prosperity gave social stability to the capitalist regime. With the help of the policies imposed by labor's officialdom, it reduced the independent political activity of the working masses to a minimum.

There were, of course, signs of deep uneasiness among the American people, particularly over the drift toward atomic war. This pressure — plus the stiff resistance of the Asian peoples — was sufficient to help persuade Eisenhower to end the ill-conceived adventure in Korea. However, in the absence of a strong political lead from the labor movement, the underlying dissatisfaction had the paradoxical result for a time of helping the witch-hunters.

The shelving of McCarthy in 1954 indicated that this phase had passed. Along with this the Negro people succeeded in bringing their grievances to national attention as they began striking a new note of militancy and determination in their long struggle for equality. They won a concession from the Supreme Court, the decision on integration in the schools, and this gave fresh impetus to their movement, a development that did not help the witch-hunters.

The change in climate has now been signaled by the recent liberal decisions of the Supreme Court in cases involving alleged "subversives" which have served to further check the aggressiveness of the witch-hunters. The fact that Congress has finally been compelled to consider a civil-rights measure, even though the bill passed is a toothless one, is another sign of the change in political weather. Finally, the agitation for suspension of nuclear weapon tests has grown so powerful

that the White House has had to take note of it and soften its stance somewhat at the London disarmament conference.

Concomitant with the most recent political shifts are the warning indications of impending trouble in the economic outlook. The most authoritative business journals say the crest of the boom has been passed. Businessmen and economists are disturbed by the fact that, since January, industry's backlog of unfilled orders has been declining and new orders are fewer. Pockets of unemployment are appearing in aircraft, auto and other soft spots in the economy.

There has been no improvement in agriculture; the spread between prices of farm commodities and manufactured goods, which has been stretching the small farmers on a rack, continues to widen. Actually the unfavorable relationship between the prices of farm commodities and manufactured goods has been one of the principal factors in sustaining the industrial boom although it injures the farmer by reducing his share of the national income and thus weakens the economy in the long run.

These unfavorable economic prospects were reflected in the break of the stock market where points have dropped sharply since July 16.

Meanwhile the scourge of inflation is worse than ever. Living costs touched new highs in August for the eleventh successive month. The incomes of the working people are tending to lag in the race with soaring prices. Despite wage increases, the real income of the workers for the second quarter of 1957 registered a decline from last year.

Discontent over high prices, bitterness in farm areas over decreased income, the growing feeling of insecurity and uneasiness about the future, and anger against the Eisenhower Administration for its failure to relieve the situation were prime factors behind the Democratic triumph in Wisconsin.

If these economic trends broaden and deepen in the months ahead — and there seem to be no compelling reasons to believe that they will not continue to operate

Read the Truth About Hungary

They told him to keep his "mouth shut" about what he saw.

But Peter Fryer had to speak out. He resigned from the London Daily Worker and gave the labor movement the most stirring eyewitness account of the uprising in Hungary that has yet been published.

Read *Hungarian Tragedy* by Peter Fryer \$1.

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Pl., N.Y.

— then they presage a definite upset in the existing balance of class forces. Further undermining of the confidence of the monopolists and their representatives in their own economic prospects would have its symmetrical manifestation in a rise in the dissatisfaction among the workers, farmers and middle classes and an awakening from their previous political lethargy.

The first effects of a shift in national politics would be a strengthening of the Democrats at the expense of the Republicans and the liberal tendencies in both parties to the detriment of the ultra-conservatives. By itself the strengthening of the so-called liberal Democrats might not seem too encouraging. The United States was taken into World War I and II by liberal Democratic Presidents. The current cold war was begun under the Democrats as was the witch-hunt. And it was the "friend of labor" Truman who plunged America into the civil war in Korea without even consulting Congress, still less the people.

Moreover, the change in political climate began under the Republicans. It was under a Republican Administration that the Korean war was ended, McCarthy taken from the center of the stage, favorable Supreme Court decisions made on the witch-hunt cases and segregation in the schools, and civil-rights legislation considered in the Senate without a filibuster.

In the present case, however, a shift toward the Democrats and the liberals in both parties would indicate the beginning of a leftward movement among the masses. That embryonic shift away from extreme capitalist reaction is what is important, not the liberal shadows this movement casts on the screen of Congress in the first stage. Things would not end there. Ultimately the changes could not be kept within the confines of the two-party system.

It would, of course, be a mistake to exaggerate the actual degree of change at present. The fear of imminent war has receded — but the threat of a new outbreak on the Korean model is inherent in the world situation. The most extreme expressions of the witch-hunt have been curbed — but the witch-hunt machinery has not been dismantled and remains ready for use. Economic activity seems to have passed its peak, but it still remains on a high plateau. Republicans and Democrats may squabble over details, but the bipartisan foreign policy and the astronomical war budget are unchanged. And the labor leaders show no inclination to end their subservience to the capitalist politicians even though these politicians are proceeding with a senatorial inquisition against the unions.

Before the mass movement can turn in the direction of independent political action and go to work building a labor party there will have to be a decisive change in the national picture. The forces of American radicalism and socialism now have the task of preparing themselves for such a turn. After the years of passivity, "loyalty" purges, thought control, and government inquisitions, we can take heart from the fact that the glacier is melting and new opportunities are appearing. The long freeze of the McCarthy era seems about over.

Socialism and Democracy

Is socialism a form of totalitarianism? A study of the views of the pioneer socialists reveals what they really taught and believed about democracy

by James P. Cannon

Comrades, I am glad to be here with you today, and to accept your invitation to speak on Socialism and Democracy. It is a most timely subject, and in the discussion of socialist regroupment it takes first place. Before we can make real headway in the discussion of other important parts of the program, we have to find agreement on what we mean by socialism and what we mean by democracy, and how they are related to each other, and what we are going to say to the American workers about them.

Strange as it may seem, an agreement on these two simple, elementary points, as experience has already demonstrated, will not be arrived at easily. The confusion and demoralization created by Stalinism, and the successful exploitation of this confusion by the ruling capitalists of this country, and all their agents and apologists, still hangs heavily over all sections of the workers movement. We have to recognize that. Even in the ranks of people who call themselves socialists, we encounter a wide variety of understandings and misunderstandings about the real meaning of those simple terms, socialism and democracy. And in the great ranks of the American working class, the fog of misunderstanding and confusion is even thicker. All this makes the clarification of these questions a problem of burning importance and immediacy. In fact, it is first on the agenda in all circles of the radical movement.

The widespread misunderstanding and confusion about socialism and democracy has profound causes. These causes must be frankly stated and examined before they can be removed. And we must undertake to remove them, if we are to try in earnest to get to the root of the problem.

Shakespeare's Mark Antony reminded us that evil quite often outlives its authors. That is true in the present case also. Stalin is dead; but the crippling influence of Stalinism on the minds of a whole generation of people who considered themselves socialists or communists, lives after Stalin. This is testified to most

This speech was given at the West Coast Vacation School, September 1, 1957.

eloquently by those members and fellow-travelers of the Communist party who have formally disavowed Stalinism since the Twentieth Congress, while retaining some of its most perverted conceptions and definitions.

Socialism, in the old days that I can recall, was often called the society of the free and equal, and democracy was defined as the rule of the people. These simple definitions still ring true to me, as they did when I first heard them many years ago. But in later years we have heard different definitions which are far less attractive. These same people whom I have mentioned — leaders of the Communist party and fellow-travelers, who have sworn off Stalin without really changing any of the Stalinist ideas they assimilated — still blandly describe the state of affairs in the Soviet Union, with all its most exaggerated social and economic inequality, ruled over by the barbarous dictatorship of a privileged minority, as a form of "socialism." And they still manage to say with straight faces that the hideous police regimes in the satellite countries, propped up by Russian military force, are some kind of "People's Democracies."

When such people say it would be a fine idea for all of us to get together in the struggle for socialism and democracy, it seems to me it would be appropriate to ask them, by way of preliminary inquiry: "Just what do you mean by socialism, and what do you mean by democracy? Do you mean what Marx and Engels and Lenin said? Or do you mean what Stalin did?" They are not the same thing, as can be easily proved, and it is necessary to choose between one set of definitions and the other.

This confusion of terminology has recently been illustrated by an article of Howard Fast, the well-known writer who was once awarded the Stalin Prize. For a long time Fast supported what he called "socialism" in the Soviet Union with his eyes shut. And then Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress and other revelations following that, opened Fast's eyes, and he doesn't like what he sees. That is to his credit. But he still calls it "socialism." In an article in *Masses and Mainstream* he describes what he had found out about this peculiar "socialism" that had prevailed in

the Soviet Union under Stalin and still prevails under Stalin's successors.

This is what Howard Fast said: "In Russia, we have socialism without democracy. We have socialism without trial by jury, habeas corpus or . . . protection against the abuse of confession by torture. We have socialism without civil liberty. . . . We have socialism without public avenues of protest. We have socialism without equality for minorities. We have socialism without any right of free artistic creation. In so many words, we have socialism without morality."

These are the words of Howard Fast. I agree with everything he says there, except the preface he gives to all his qualifications — that we have "socialism" without this and that, we have "socialism" without any of the features that a socialist society was supposed to have in the conceptions of the movement before Stalinism. It is as though Fast has discovered different varieties of socialism. Like mushrooms. You go out and pick the right kind and you can cook a tasty dish. But if you gather up the kind commonly known as toadstools and call them mushrooms, you will poison yourself. Stalinist "socialism" is about as close to the real thing as a toadstool is to an edible mushroom.

Now, of course, the Stalinists and their apologists have not created all the confusion in this country about the meaning of socialism, at least not directly. At every step for thirty years the Stalinist work of befuddlement and demoralization, of debasing words into their opposite meanings, has been supported by reciprocal action of the same kind by the ruling capitalists and their apologists. They have never failed to take the Stalinists at their word, and to point to the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, with all of its horrors, and to say: "That is socialism. The American way of life is better."

It is these people who have given us, as their contribution to sowing confusion in the minds of people, the delightful definition of the capitalist sector of the globe, where the many toil in poverty for the benefit of the few, as "the free world." And they describe the United States, where the workers have a right to vote every four years, if they don't move around too much, but have no say about the control of the shop and the factory; where all the means of mass information and communication are monopolized by a few — they describe all that as the ideal democracy for which the workers should gladly fight and die.

It is true that Stalinism has been the primary cause of the demoralization of a whole generation of American *radical* workers. There is no question of that. But the role of Stalinism in prejudicing the great American working class, against socialism, and inducing them to accept the counterfeit democracy of American capitalism as the lesser evil, has been mainly indirect. The active role in this miseducation and befuddlement has been played by the American ruling minority, through all their monopolized means of communication and information.

They have cynically accepted the Stalinist definition, and have obligingly advertised the Soviet Union, with

its grinding poverty and glaring inequality; with its ubiquitous police terror, frame-ups, mass murders and slave-labor camps, as a "socialist" order of society. They have utilized the crimes of Stalinism to prejudice the American workers against the very name of socialism. And worst of all, comrades, we have to recognize that this campaign has been widely successful, and that we have to pay for it. We cannot build a strong socialist movement in this country until we overcome this confusion in the minds of the American workers about the real meaning of socialism.

This game of confusing and misrepresenting has been facilitated for the capitalists, and aided to a considerable extent, by the Social Democrats and the labor bureaucracy, who are themselves privileged beneficiaries of the American system, and who give a socialist and labor coloring to the defense of American "democracy." In addition to all that, we have to recognize that in this country, more than any other in the world, the tremendous pressures of imperialist prosperity and power and the witch-hunt persecution, have deeply affected the thinking of many people who call themselves radicals or ex-radicals. These powerful pressures have brought many of them to a reconciliation with capitalist society and to the defense of capitalist democracy, if not as a paradise at least as a lesser evil, and the best that can be hoped for.

There is no doubt that this drumfire of bourgeois propaganda, supplemented by the universal revulsion against Stalinism, has profoundly affected the sentiments of the American working class, including the bulk of its most progressive and militant and potentially revolutionary sectors.

After all that has happened in the past quarter of a century, the American workers have become more acutely sensitive than ever before to the value and importance of democratic rights. That, in my opinion, is the progressive side of their reaction, which we should fully share. The horrors of fascism, as they were revealed in the thirties, and which were never dreamed of by the socialists in the old days; and the no less monstrous crimes of Stalinism, which became public knowledge later — all this has inspired a fear and hatred of any kind of dictatorship in the minds of the American working class. And to the extent that the Stalinist dictatorship in Russia has been identified with the name of socialism, and that this identification has been taken as a matter of course, the American workers have been prejudiced against socialism.

That's the bitter truth, and it must be looked straight in the face. This barrier to the expansion and development of the American socialist movement will not be overcome, and even a regroupment of the woefully limited forces of those who at present consider themselves socialists, will yield but little fruit, unless and until we find a way to break down this misunderstanding and prejudice against socialism, and convince at least the more advanced American workers that we socialists are the most aggressive and consistent advocates of democracy in all fields; and that, in fact, we are com-

pletely devoted to the idea that socialism cannot be realized otherwise than by democracy.

The socialist movement in America will not advance again significantly until it regains the initiative and takes the offensive against capitalism, and all its agents in the labor movement, precisely on the issue of democracy. What is needed is not a propaganda device or trick, but a formulation of 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. For this counter-offensive against bourgeois propaganda, we do not need to look for new formula-



tions. Our task, as socialists living and fighting in this day and hour, is simply to restate what socialism and democracy meant to the founders of our movement, and to all the authentic disciples who followed them; to bring their formulations up to date and apply them to present conditions in the United States.

This restatement of basic aims and principles cannot wait; it is, in fact, the burning necessity of the hour. There is no room for misunderstanding among us as to what such a restatement of our position means and requires. It requires a clean break with all Stalinist and Social Democratic perversions and distortions of the real meaning of socialism and democracy, and their relation to each other, and a return to the original formulations and definitions. Nothing short of this will do.

* * *

The authentic socialist movement, as it was conceived by its founders and as it has developed over the past century, has been the most democratic movement in all history. No formulation of this question can improve on the classic statement of the *Communist Manifesto*, with which modern scientific socialism was proclaimed to the world in 1848. The *Communist Manifesto* said:

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."

The authors of the *Communist Manifesto* linked socialism and democracy together as end and means. The "self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority" cannot be anything else but democratic, if we understand by "democracy" the rule of the people, the majority. The Stalinist claim that the task of reconstruct-

ing society on a socialist basis can be farmed out to a privileged and uncontrolled bureaucracy, while the workers remain without voice or vote in the process—is just as foreign to the thoughts of Marx and Engels, and of all their true disciples, as the reformist idea that socialism can be handed down to the workers by degrees, by the capitalists who exploit them.

All such fantastic conceptions were answered in advance by the reiterated statement of Marx and Engels that "the emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves." That is the language of Marx and Engels—"the task of the workers themselves." That was just another way of saying—that the socialist reorganization of society requires a workers revolution. Such a revolution is unthinkable without the active participation of the majority of the working class, which is itself the big majority of the population. Nothing could be more democratic than that.

Moreover, the great teachers did not limit the democratic action of the working class to the overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy. They defined democracy as the form of governmental rule in the transition period between capitalism and socialism. It is explicitly stated in the *Communist Manifesto*—and I wonder how many people have forgotten this in recent years: "The first step," said the *Manifesto*, "in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy."

That is the way Marx and Engels formulated the first aim of the revolution—to make the workers the ruling class, to establish democracy, which, in their view, is the same thing. From this precise formulation it is clear that Marx and Engels did not consider the limited formal democracy under capitalism, which screens the exploitation and the rule of the great majority by the few, as real democracy. In order to have real democracy, the workers must become the "ruling class." Only the revolution which replaces the class rule of the capitalists by the class rule of the workers can really "establish democracy," not in fiction but in fact. So said Marx and Engels.

They never taught that the simple nationalization of the forces of production signified the establishment of socialism. That's not stated by Marx and Engels anywhere. The nationalization only lays the economic foundations for the transition to socialism. Still less could they have sanctioned, even if they had been able to imagine, the monstrous idea that socialism could be realized without freedom and without equality; that nationalized production and planned economy, controlled by a ruthless police dictatorship, complete with prisons, torture chambers and forced-labor camps, could be designated as a "socialist" society. That unspeakable perversion and contradiction of terms belongs to the Stalinists and their apologists.

All the great Marxists defined socialism as a classless society—with abundance, freedom and equality for all; a society in which there would be no state, not even a democratic workers' state, to say nothing of a

state in the monstrous form of a bureaucratic dictatorship of a privileged minority.

The Soviet Union today is a transitional order of society in which the bureaucratic dictatorship of a privileged minority, far from serving as the agency to bridge the transition to socialism stands as an obstacle to harmonious development in that direction. In the view of Marx and Engels, and of Lenin and Trotsky who came after them, the transition from capitalism to the classless society of socialism could only be carried out by an ever-expanding democracy, involving the masses of the workers more and more in all phases of social life, by direct participation and control.

And, in the course of further progressive development in all fields, as Lenin expressed it, even this democracy, this workers' democracy, as a form of class rule, will outlive itself. Lenin said: "Democracy will gradually change and become a habit, and finally wither away," since democracy itself, properly understood, is a form of state, that is, an instrument of class rule, for which there will be no need and no place in the classless socialist society.

Forecasting the socialist future, the *Communist Manifesto* said: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association." Mark that, "an association," not a state — "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Trotsky said the same thing in other words when he spoke of socialism as "a pure and limpid social system which is accommodated to the self government of the toilers . . . and uninterrupted growth of universal equality — all sided flowering of human personality . . . unselfish honest and human relations between human beings."

The bloody abomination of Stalinism cannot be passed off as a substitute for this picture of the socialist future, and the democratic transition period leading up to it, as it was drawn by the great Marxists.

And I say we will not put the socialist movement of this country on the right track, and restore its rightful appeal to the best sentiments of the working class of this country, and above all to the young, until we begin to call socialism by its right name as the great teachers did. Until we make it clear that we stand for an ever-expanding workers' democracy, as the only road to socialism. Until we root out every vestige of Stalinist perversion and corruption of the meaning of socialism and democracy, and restate the thoughts and formulations of the authentic Marxist teachers.

* * *

But the Stalinist definitions of socialism and democracy are not the only perversions that have to be rejected before we can find a sound basis for the regroupment of socialist forces in the United States. The definitions of the Social Democrats of all hues and gradations are just as false. And in this country they are a still more formidable obstacle, because they have

deeper roots, and they are tolerantly nourished by the ruling class itself.

The liberals, the Social Democrats and the bureaucratic bosses of the American trade unions are red-hot supporters of "democracy." At least that is what they say. And they strive to herd the workers into the imperialist war camp under the general slogan of "Democracy versus Dictatorship." That is their slippery and consciously deceptive substitute for the real "irrepressible conflict" of our age, the conflict between capitalism and socialism. They speak of democracy as something that stands by itself, above the classes and the class struggle, and not as the form of rule of one class over another.

Lenin put his finger on this misrepresentation of reality in his polemic against Kautsky. Lenin said: "A liberal naturally speaks of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'for what class?' Everyone knows, for instance (and Kautsky the 'historian' knows it too), that rebellions, or even strong ferment, among the slaves in antiquity at once revealed the fact that the state of antiquity was essentially a *dictatorship of the slave-owners*. Did this dictatorship abolish democracy *among*, and *for*, the slaveowners? Everybody knows that it did not."

Capitalism under any kind of government, whether bourgeois democracy, or fascism or a military police state — under any kind of government, capitalism is a system of minority rule, and the principal beneficiaries of capitalist democracy are the small minority of exploiting capitalists, scarcely less so than the slave-owners of ancient times were the actual rulers and the real beneficiaries of the Athenian democracy.

To be sure, the workers, in the United States have a right to vote periodically for one of two sets of candidates selected for them by the two capitalist parties. And if they can dodge the witch-hunters, they can exercise the right of free speech and free press. But this formal right of free speech and free press is outweighed rather heavily by the inconvenient circumstance that the small capitalist minority happens to enjoy a complete monopoly of ownership and control of all the big presses, and of television and radio, and of all other means of communication and information.

We who oppose the capitalist regime have a right to nominate our own candidates, if we're not arrested under the Smith Act before we get to the city clerk's office, and if we can comply with the laws that deliberately restrict the rights of minority parties. That is easier said than done in this country of democratic capitalism. In one state after another, no matter how many petitions you circulate, you can't comply with the regulations and you can't get on the ballot. This is the state of affairs in California, Ohio, Illinois, and an increasing number of other states. And if you succeed in complying with all the technicalities, as we did last year in New York, they just simply rule you out anyhow if it is not convenient to have a minority party on the ballot. But outside of all these and other diffi-

culties and restrictions, we have free elections and full democracy.

It is true that the Negro people in the United States, ninety-four years after the Emancipation Proclamation, are still fighting for the right to vote in the South; and for the right to take a vacant seat on a public bus; or to send their children to a tax-supported public school, and things of that kind — which you may call restrictions of democracy in the United States.

But even so, with all that, a little democracy is better than none. We socialists have never denied that. And after the experiences of fascism and McCarthyism, and of military and police dictatorships in many parts of the world, and of the horrors of Stalinism, we have all the more reason to value every democratic provision for the protection of human rights and human dignity; to fight for more democracy, not less.

Socialists should not argue with the American worker when he says he wants democracy and doesn't want to be ruled by a dictatorship. Rather we should recognize that his demand for human rights and democratic guarantees, now and in the future, is in itself progressive. The socialist task is not to deny democracy but to expand it and make it more complete. That is the true socialist tradition. The Marxists, throughout the century-long history of our movement, have always valued and defended bourgeois democratic rights, restricted as they were; and have utilized them for the education and organization of the workers in the struggle to establish full democracy by abolishing the capitalist rule altogether.

The right of union organization is a precious right, a democratic right, but it was not "given" to the workers in the United States. It took the mighty and irresistible labor upheaval of the thirties, culminated by the great sit-down strikes — a semi-revolution of the American workers — to establish in reality the right of union organization in mass production industry.

And yet today — I am still speaking under the heading of democracy — twenty years after the sit-down strikes firmly established the auto worker's union, the automobile industry is still privately owned and ruled by a dictatorship of financial sharks. The auto workers have neither voice nor vote in the management of the industry which they have created, nor in regulating the speed of the assembly line which consumes their lives. Full control of production in auto and steel and everywhere, according to the specific terms of the union contract, is still the exclusive prerogative of "management," that is, of the absentee owners who contribute nothing to the production of automobiles, or steel or anything else.

What's democratic about that? The claim that we have an almost perfect democracy in this country doesn't stand up against the fact that the workers have no democratic rights in industry at all, as far as regulating production is concerned; that these rights are exclusively reserved for the parasitic owners who never see the inside of a factory.

In the old days, the agitators of the Socialist party

Weather Report

"In the United States, throughout the entire thirty-year period prior to mid-1945, no single year on record reported more than 173 tornadoes. After 1945, six successive years averaged 264 tornadoes each, with 1951 reporting 300, and 1953 reporting 395. It is probably too early to determine whether these comparisons are merely a statistical coincidence. Nevertheless, according to the record, there has been a marked increase in both the number and the severity of such storms since the atomic experiments."

—Robert R. Doane in *World Balance Sheet*, p. 75.

and the IWW — who were real democrats — used to give a shorthand definition of socialism as "industrial democracy." I don't know how many of you have heard that. It was a common expression: "industrial democracy," the extension of democracy to industry, the democratic control of industry by the workers themselves, with private ownership eliminated. That socialist demand for real democracy was taken for granted in the time of Debs and Haywood, when the American socialist movement was still young and uncorrupted.

You never hear a "democratic" labor leader say anything like that today. The defense of "democracy" by the Social Democrats and the labor bureaucrats always turns out in practise to be a defense of "democratic" capitalism, or as Beck and McDonald call it, "peoples' capitalism." And I admit they have a certain stake in it, and a certain justification for defending it, as far as their personal interests are concerned.

And always, in time of crisis, these Social Democrats and labor leaders, who talk about democracy all the time, as against dictatorship in the "socialist countries," as they call them — in time of crisis, they easily excuse and defend all kinds of violations of even this limited bourgeois democracy. They are far more tolerant of lapses from the formal rules of democracy by the capitalists than by the workers. They demand that the class struggle of the workers against the exploiters be conducted by the formal rules of bourgeois democracy, at all stages of its development — up to and including the stage of social transformation and the defense of the new society against attempts at capitalist restoration. They say it has to be strictly "democratic"

the way. No emergency measures are tolerated: everything must be strictly and formally democratic, according to the rules laid down by the capitalist minority. They burn incense to democracy as an immutable principle, an abstraction standing above the social antagonisms.

But when the capitalist class, in its struggle for self-preservation, cuts corners around its own professed democratic principles, the liberals, the Social Democrats

and the labor skates have a way of winking, or looking the other way, or finding excuses for it.

For example, they do not protest when the American imperialists wage war according to the rules of war, which are not quite the same thing as the rules of "democracy." When the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it never occurred to these professional democrats to demand a referendum of the noncombatant residents of these doomed cities as to how they felt about it. The most they could offer, these democrats, after this ghastly fact, the most abominable atrocity in all history — the bombing of a defenseless civilian population and the wiping out of whole cities of men, women and children — the best these liberals, labor fakery and Social Democratic defenders of American democracy could offer was the plaintive bleat of Norman Thomas. You know, he was supporting the war, naturally, being a Social Democrat. But Norman Thomas rose up after Nagasaki and Hiroshima were wiped off the face of the earth and said the bombs should not have been dropped "without warning." The others said nothing.

These professional democrats have no objection to the authoritarian rule of the military forces of the capitalist state, which deprives the rank-and-file soldiers of all democratic rights in life and death matters, including the right to elect their own officers. The dictatorial rule of MacArthur in Japan, who acted as a czar over a whole conquered country, was never questioned by these professional opponents of all other dictators. They are against the dictators in the Kremlin, but the dictator in Japan — that was a horse of another color. All that, you see, concerns war; and nothing, not even the sacred principles of "democracy," can be allowed to stand in the way of the victory of the American imperialists in the war, and the cinching up of the victory afterward in the occupation.

But in the class struggle of the workers against the capitalists to transform society, which is the fiercest war of all, and in the transition period after the victory of the workers — the professional democrats demand that the formal rules of bourgeois democracy, as defined by the minority of exploiters, be scrupulously observed at every step. No emergency measures are allowed.

By these different responses in different situations of a class nature, the professional democrats simply show that their class bias determines their judgment in each case, and show at the same time that their professed devotion to the rules of formal democracy, at all times and under all conditions, is a fraud.

And when it comes to the administration of workers' organizations under their control, the Social Democrats and the reformist labor leaders pay very little respect to their own professed democratic principles. The trade unions in the United States today, as you all know, are administered and controlled by little cliques of richly privileged bureaucrats who use the union machinery, and the union funds, and a private army

of goon squads, and — whenever necessary — the help of the employers and the government — to keep their own "party" in control of the unions and to suppress and beat down any attempt of the rank and file to form an opposition "party" to put up an opposition slate. And yet, without freedom of association and organization, without the right to form groups and parties of different tendencies, there is and can be no real democracy anywhere.

In practice, the American labor bureaucrats, who piously demand democracy in the one-party totalitarian domain of Stalinism, come as close as they can to maintaining a total one-party rule in their own domain. Kipling said: "The colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin." The Stalinist bureaucrats in Russia and the trade-union bureaucrats in the United States are not sisters, but they are much more alike than different. They are essentially of the same breed, a privileged caste dominated above all by motives of self-benefit and self-preservation at the expense of the workers and against the workers.

The privileged bureaucratic caste everywhere is the most formidable obstacle to democracy and socialism. The struggle of the working class in both sections of the now divided world has become, in the most profound meaning of the term, a struggle against the usurping privileged bureaucracy.

In the Soviet Union it is a struggle to restore the genuine workers' democracy established by the revolution of 1917. Workers' democracy has become a burning necessity to assure the harmonious transition to socialism. That is the meaning of the political revolution, against the bureaucracy, now developing throughout the whole Soviet sphere, which every socialist worthy of the name unreservedly supports. There is no sense in talking about regroupment with people who don't agree on that, on defense and support of the Soviet workers against the Soviet bureaucrats.

In the United States the struggle for workers' democracy is pre-eminently a struggle of the rank and file to gain democratic control of their own organizations. That is the necessary condition to prepare the final struggle to abolish capitalism and "establish democracy" in the country as a whole. No party in this country has a right to call itself socialist, unless it stands four-square for the rank-and-file workers of the United States against the bureaucrats.

In my opinion, effective and principled regroupment of socialist forces requires full agreement on these two points. That is the necessary starting point. Capitalism does not survive by its own strength as a social system, but by its influence within the workers' movement, reflected and expressed by the labor aristocracy and the bureaucracy. So the fight for workers' democracy is inseparable from the fight for socialism, and the condition for its victory. Workers' democracy is the only road to socialism, here in the United States and everywhere else, all the way from Moscow to Los Angeles and from here to Budapest.

CONGRESS BOWS TO THE SOUTH

For the first time since Reconstruction days Congress passed legislation on voting rights of Negroes. But are Republicans and Democrats really interested in the struggle for equality?

by Lois Saunders

I.

WHAT has been called the "saddest day in the history of the Senate" brought jubilation to the South, a measure of disappointment to the Republican Administration and its Big Business backers, and disillusionment and bitterness to this country's 15,000,000 Negroes.

Following a month of debate, the Senate voted 51-42 to tack a "jury trial" amendment onto the Civil Rights bill. This was the final, crippling blow to the measure, which had already been mutilated by previous amendments.

In the bill finally signed into law, the jury-trial amendment was modified to return a minimum of control to Federal judges where voting rights are violated, but the Senate action on August 2, "Black Friday," saw the South triumphant as Northern liberals traded away Negro rights in the interests of political expediency.

After adding the jury-trial provision, the South added another amendment, prohibiting a Federal commission envisaged in the bill from using unpaid volunteer assistants from such organizations as the White Citizens Council and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In this gratuitous insult, the Senators equated the long-established, thoroughly respectable, always legal organization of the Negro people, the NAACP, with the White Citizens Councils, blood brothers of the Ku Klux Klan, which whip up race hatred, organize retaliation against Negroes who seek their rights, and flout the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Significantly, in the lengthy jockeying for advantage which passed as deliberations, the authentic voice of

the Negro was lacking. No Negro was heard on the floor of the Senate, there to demand redress for the deep wrongs inflicted upon his people; for in the United States, the "fountainhead of democracy," approximately one-tenth of the citizens, the Negroes, are without representation in the upper house of Congress.

With the Negroes voiceless, the white Senators, the "friends" of the Negroes, cynically sold them out to their avowed enemies. The bill, which was at best a half-hearted attempt to arrive at a compromise on the country's most shameful, most embarrassing and most explosive internal problem, was so flattened by the Senate steamroller that it emerged a virtually worthless piece of legislation.

Throughout the sorry spectacle, the Negro's "friends" stumbled over each other in their haste to propose — and to vote for — disgraceful compromises designed to placate the Southerners.

The first of the crippling amendments, passed by unanimous consent, was one killing the provision that would have empowered the President to use Federal troops if necessary to safeguard the civil rights of Negroes. Next to be lopped off was the entire third section of the bill, which gave the Attorney General power to go directly to Federal courts to get injunctions against persons threatening a violation of any civil right, including the right to integration in schools, public facilities and transportation, as well as the right to vote.

At this point the bill was so narrowed that it dealt only with the right to vote. Section IV, which contained the last meaningful proposals still remaining in the bill, would have given the Attorney General authority to obtain injunctions to prevent viola-

tions of voting rights, with the authority to enforce orders resting with the judge. Even Eastland and Russell were not brash enough at this late date to hold that Negroes should not be protected — in theory, that is — in the right to vote. They, therefore, attacked this provision indirectly, by means of the jury-trial amendment.

Defended hypocritically as an attempt to protect and extend civil rights, it was designed to make sure that any whites who prevented Negroes from voting would go scot free.

In general, the democratic right to a trial by jury seems a reasonable safeguard of the individual against arbitrary acts on the part of a judge. In the particular case, however, inclusion of the jury-trial provision means that the Southern Negro will be deprived of the right to vote in the future as he has been in the past. Under the original bill the Federal government could ask a Federal judge for an injunction against a registrar who refused to register Negroes. If the registrar failed to obey the injunction he would be guilty of civil contempt. If he continued to refuse until registration was closed and the Negro had been deprived of the possibility of voting, the character of the contempt would change from civil to criminal.

Federal judges habitually take a serious attitude towards disobedience of their orders, and the registrar who came before a Federal judge on such a criminal contempt charge would stand a good chance of being convicted and sentenced. If he came before an all-white Southern jury, the probability is he would not only be freed, but would be hailed as a hero as well.

The net result, then, is that the registrar will continue to discrimi-

nate and the Negroes will continue to be denied the right to vote.

In an attempt to gain liberal and labor support, the Southerners broadened the amendment to provide for trial by jury in all criminal contempt cases, not just those involving the right to vote. [In the final House-Senate compromise this provision was narrowed to apply only to voting rights.] The trick was too transparent even for George Meany or Walter Reuther, who continued to oppose the jury amendment, though without any thundering condemnation of it.

But John L. Lewis, probably still smarting from memory of the stiff penalties levied against the United Mine Workers during the Korean War and World War II, fell for the Southerners' hoax. He issued a statement endorsing the jury-trial proposal.

This was the cue for Senator Chapman Revercomb (Rep.) who, sensitive to what he chose to interpret as the will of the numerous West Virginia miners, promptly swung over to the side of the Southerners.

Joining in the rush were Northern Democrats who have long been supported by Negroes as "friends." Among these were Senators O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Anderson and Chavez (himself a member of an oppressed minority) of New Mexico, Mansfield of Montana, Green of Rhode Island and Kennedy of Massachusetts. Kennedy, loudly touted

as Democratic presidential timber, had told reporters that he was in favor of the right-to-vote section of the original bill. But in behind-the-scenes conversations, he was apparently reminded that it was the South which had supported his candidacy for the vice-presidential nomination in the early ballots at the Democratic National Convention in 1956, and that the South would not take kindly to any presidential candidate who rejected the jury-trial amendment. Kennedy saw the light. He, too, switched his vote. Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, running-mate of Adlai Stevenson in the 1956 presidential election and considered again in the running for 1960, was another who climbed on the South's band wagon.

At no time during the debate did any of the bill's "defenders" do that which would have been automatic for a Negro or any other person seriously concerned for the Negro's welfare: launch a counterattack against the South. Instead, they let the Southerners choose the battleground, and permitted the discussions to revolve around a series of secondary issues, such as the danger of Federal troops again "marching through Georgia," the legal technicalities of the difference between civil and criminal injunctions and the phony issue of the threat to the democratic tradition of trial by jury.

Absent from the debate was the central question at issue—the hard

and incontrovertible fact that Negroes in the South are systematically deprived of basic rights guaranteed them by the Constitution. Defenders of the bill were too polite to mention any of the hundreds of documented cases which show the extent to which the Negro is disfranchised. In the seven Southern States of the Deep South, plus a section of Texas, the potential Negro vote is 3,750,000. Of these, only 850,000 or 23 per cent are permitted to register, with far fewer actually voting. In Mississippi only four per cent of the Negroes are registered. Every type of trickery is used to keep Negro names off the voting rolls, from the poll tax, through delaying tactics, literacy tests, inability to locate the registration books and civics tests, to obscure questions on Constitutional provisions.

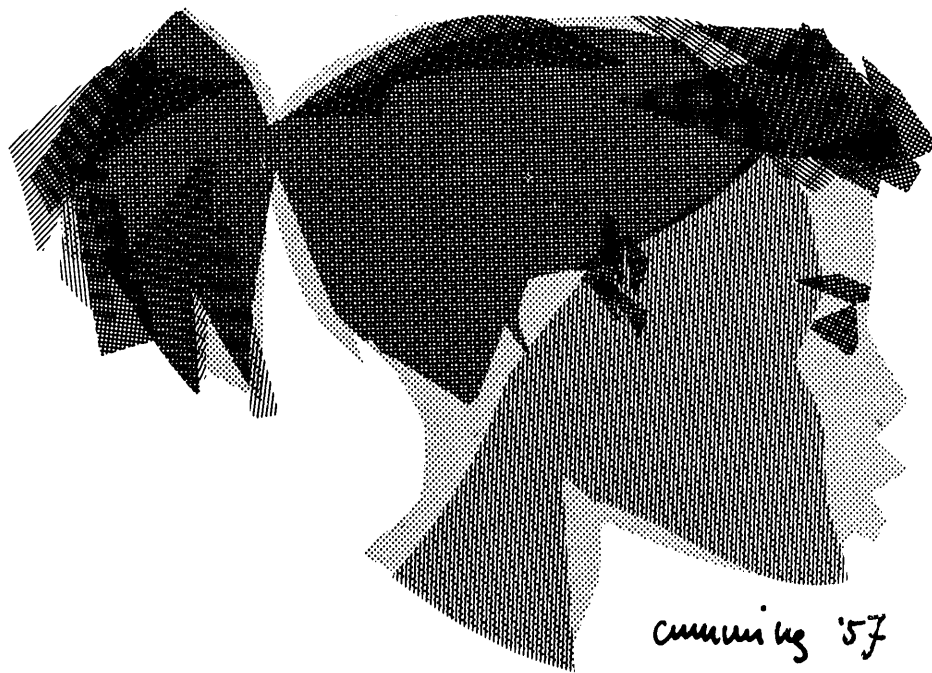
Some of this information was inserted into the *Congressional Record* during the last hours of debate, when it could do no possible good, but it was never brought out on the floor.

Also kept discreetly in the background were the ghosts of Negro martyrs who had been murdered because they tried to encourage other Negroes to vote, such as Harry T. Moore and his wife, Harriet, who were bombed in Florida; or the Rev. George Lee who was shot to death in Mississippi. Their names were not mentioned.

No Negro Senator, had there been such—at least no Negro Senator who had not been swayed by party pressure — would have permitted the Senators to exclude these matters from the debate. But, as already noted, in the deliberations concerning their basic rights, the voice of the Negro was barred from the floor of the Senate.

Absent also was the voice of labor, whose leaders have abdicated the right to independent representation, preferring instead to rely upon the Democratic party with its powerful Dixiecrat wing. Labor leaders, together with the Communist party, which follows the same course, will have a hard time in the months to come trying to justify to Negroes their policy of supporting the Democrats.

The union bureaucrats, as a matter of fact, are to a large measure responsible for the present impasse in race relations in the South. The Negroes have demonstrated time and again in recent years their determina-



Cummings '57

tion to gain their rights. They have looked to the white workers for assistance. But they have looked in vain, though there have been a few notable exceptions, such as the Packinghouse Workers. The unity of white workers and Negroes would compel concessions from the white supremacists. It would also pave the way for unionization of the South. But championing of the Civil Rights struggle by the union heads would bring them into collision with the Southern wing of the Democratic party. This does not fit in with the political aims of Walter Reuther and the other labor leaders. They elected, therefore, to duck the civil rights fight, as well as the fight for unionization of the South.

II.

Through the misty haze of endless verbiage, as the Senators huffed and puffed and concluded their horse trades, certain of the underlying currents in the crisscross of race relations in this country began to reveal themselves.

Apparent to everyone was the angling for political advantage at the polls by both Republicans and Democrats. So open was this that it seemed to some observers that the only reason the Administration had proposed the bill or maneuvered it to the floor of the Senate was because the Republicans were attempting to extend the gains they had made in tearing away Negro allegiance from the Democrats in 1952 and 1956.

Not so apparent, but nonetheless a factor, was the attitude of Big Business. The financial and industrial rulers of the country—such as U.S. Steel, Standard Oil and the giant of them all, DuPont and its subsidiaries, including General Motors—find race relations in the South today an obstacle to their interests and plans.

The Republican Administration is the preferred political spokesman of this small ruling group. It is therefore no accident that the Civil Rights bill was proposed and backed by the Eisenhower Administration. Nor is it any accident that the Senator William F. Knowland, right-wing Republican, with one eye cocked toward the governor's mansion in Sacramento and the other ogling the White House in Washington, emerged as the bill's most consistent protagonist. It was he who brought the House bill to

the floor, by-passing the Senate Judiciary Committee which had had a similar measure bottled up for six months, and who piloted it during its course through the Senate.

Vice President Richard Nixon, top runner among the Republican 1960 presidential hopefuls, was also instrumental, as presiding officer, in bringing the bill to the floor and in pressing for its passage.

Wall Street, naturally, has no intention of launching a crusade on behalf of the Negro. It is not concerned with such abstract values as morality or justice, or civil and democratic rights. Nevertheless, for the furtherance of its own policies, the evidence indicates it would like to hit upon some formula to get rid of the most repugnant aspect of civil-rights violations.

President Eisenhower, with his vacillating and fumbling defense of the bill, finally taking a stand only against the jury-trial amendment, mirrors the attitude of the country's capitalist rulers. Curbing Southern excesses is dictated by present national and world conditions, but President Eisenhower would like to have this accomplished as painlessly as possible, without unduly upsetting his friends, the fine "gentlemen" of the South.

The reasons why Negroes seek a Civil Rights bill are self-evident. They see such a bill as a valuable aid in their drive for full equality. They want the rights of which they are deprived by trickery and terror. They want the right to an education, the right to a job, the right to vote, the right to live where they please, the right to participate to the fullest in every phase of contemporary life unhampered by crippling restrictions which place them in the category of pariahs and untouchables. They want what everybody else wants—recognition and acceptance. They ask no special favors. They seek merely the removal of special, cruel handicaps. They ask, in sum, that "dignity of the individual" about which the ideologists of American capitalism are so fond of boasting.

The reasons why Big Business prefers to eliminate the most awkward features of Jim Crow rule have been developing since the close of World War II. If Wall Street's shift in attitude seems strange, we should recall the sharp changes in the attitude of Northern capitalists towards the Negro during and after the Civil War. Lincoln, representing America's capi-



talist interests, freed the slaves as a means of ensuring the victory of the North. A decade later, having crushed the rebellion, Northern capitalists became preoccupied with expansion to the West and by the turn of the century they were eyeing China and other Asiatic countries. In the Hayes compromise of 1876, the North pulled Federal troops out of the conquered South and gave Southerners a free hand to take back from the Negro those privileges and rights granted by Constitutional Amendments XIII, XIV and XV, enacted at the close of the Civil War. The North's attitude was formalized in the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of the Supreme Court in 1896 which sanctioned the "separate-but-equal" doctrine and ushered in an era of renewed terror against Negroes.

The interest manifested today by Big Business in the affairs of the Deep South is in accord with another decision of the Supreme Court, the school integration decision of May, 1954, which overturned the separate-but-equal doctrine and which, together with its 1955 ruling, ordered the South to get on with the business of integration "with all deliberate speed."

In the slightly more than half century between these two decisions, the world has changed greatly, and the needs and interests of American capitalism have changed correspondingly. The West, so tempting in 1876, has long been dominated by Eastern capital. The Far East, and especially China, was lost to American exploitation when Chiang Kai-shek fled before the armies of Mao Tse-tung in 1949. Today with approximately

one-third of the world excluded from the capitalist sphere, American financial interests are in search of new possibilities for expansion. The industrial and financial giants are faced with the paradox of an enormous productive capacity, increased in recent years by automation, plus large amounts of idle capital, at the same time that markets and possibilities for profitable investment abroad have been shrinking.

It is under these conditions that Big Business has taken a new long look at the South. Here is a new frontier, a sizeable, backward area where new capital can be invested and where there is a big reservoir of cheap, unorganized labor. How cheap can be gauged from a glance at income statistics. In Mississippi in 1949, for instance, 77.3 per cent of the Negroes had an annual income of less than \$1,500, according to figures based on the 1950 U.S. Census records. In the North, 45.7 per cent of the Negroes were in that economic group, but in the North Negroes accounted for only a small percentage of the population, whereas in Mississippi they were slightly less than half of the population of the State. Likewise, the median income of Negroes in Southern cities for the same year was \$861 as against \$1,665 in Northern cities.

Were more Southern Negroes employable in factories, industrialists could well afford to give them on-the-job training and pay them a wage higher than they are now getting but still well below union wages in the North. Taking advantage of the tax-free provisions offered in many sections of the South, the industrialists could erect new streamlined factories and manufacture their products at a far lower cost than in the unionized North. In addition, competition from the newly industrialized, open-shop South would tend to force down Northern wages and further weaken the unions.

Why, then, has there not been a greater rush of Northern capital into the South? Instead of such a development, there appears to be a reluctance on the part of Big Business to invest heavily in the area. That reluctance, in turn, seems to have a close correlation with the intensity of Jim Crow rule and the existence of the plantation system. To refer again to Mississippi, Negro incomes in that State are low, illiteracy is high and, as mentioned above, only four per

Playing With Matches

"It is presumed that Russia, as well as the western powers, would like to avoid a world-engulfing atomic holocaust and will make determined efforts to that end. However, the belief that any East-West atomic conflict would lead to total devastation is giving way here to the idea that the existence of small nuclear weapons will make a limited military clash, or 'brush fire' conflict, entirely conceivable in the coming years." — Aug. 10 Associated Press dispatch from Washington.

cent of the State's Negroes are permitted to vote. Negroes have few rights in Mississippi that a white man must respect. Although some industries have fled to the South, not many of them have selected Mississippi as the site for their new operations. In 1940 in the entire State there were only 56,782 workers engaged in manufacturing out of a total population of 2,183,796. By 1955 the number had grown to only 105,000. (Mississippi's population in 1950 had declined to 2,178,914.)

It seems apparent from this low level of industrialization that some factors necessary to attract capital are absent. One of those factors is the rawness of the labor supply. Industry must have workers readily available who possess at least a basic education sufficient to enable them to read and write, and enough familiarity with machines to make it possible to train them for work on the assembly line.

A Negro sharecropper, illiterate and unskilled, is only a potential candidate for industrial labor. That is all he will be so long as his life is lived in the cotton fields and his education limited to a few years' attendance at sub-standard segregated schools. Thus the tight Jim Crow fetters that bind the Negro also retard industrialization.

If economic factors today favor a modification in the Jim Crow pattern, political pressures point even more powerfully in the same direction. These stem from the revolutionary ferment and upheavals American imperialism faces aboard in its drive for world power and from the mounting insistence of the Negro people at home for equality.

Southern treatment of the Negro has become a liability in the carry-

ing out of American foreign policy. The people of Africa and Asia are keenly sensitive to capitalist America's treatment of its Negro minority. The State Department finds it increasingly difficult to explain away such incidents as the kidnaping and lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi, the barring of Autherine Lucy, to the accompaniment of violence, from the University of Alabama, or the refusal of a Texas airport cafe manager to serve an Indian Ambassador except on a segregated basis.

The sending of Vice President Nixon to Ghana as a special representative of the President when that West African country celebrated its independence from England last spring is one indication of how seriously concerned the State Department is with the attitudes of non-white people.

At home the South's stiff repressive laws and its anti-Negro violence add fuel to an already explosive situation. Despite the peculiar Southern methods and the spreading aggressions of the White Citizens Councils, the Negro is no longer docile. He is demanding his rights. He took those demands directly to Washington in the Prayer Pilgrimage May 17. The rise of a new national political consciousness on the part of the Negro, as signified by that demonstration, was noted by the Administration and by Wall Street. Faced with pressure from the Negro, Big Business recognizes the need for timely concessions to lessen the danger of serious political convulsions.

Hence the fatuous and threadbare contentions of the South and the South's use of open violence as a method of rule appear outmoded to Wall Street. The new conditions call for new methods. The North, for the most part, has done away with discriminatory laws, but has found many devious means of keeping Negroes separate and apart and in an inferior position. When court enforcement of restrictive covenants was outlawed, the North fell back on other methods to "discourage" Negroes from moving into "white" residential areas, and continues to maintain de facto ghettos with their accompanying all-Negro schools and other public facilities. By gerrymandering political districts, it has kept Negro representation in legislative bodies down to a trickle. By "selective" hiring practices it has controlled

the volume and advancement of Negro labor.

Why can't the South do likewise? It seems logical, simple, desirable—to Big Business. The trouble is that it means the doom of the white South's "way of life," its sharecropper plantation system, its "right" to overwork, underpay, abuse and terrorize the millions of Negroes it still tries to keep in the status of semi-slaves. The exhibition just witnessed in the Senate gives eloquent testimony to the power of that "way of life," and to the tenacity with which Southerners will defend it.

The Southern Senators challenged the power of their adversaries and won a resounding victory. But that victory—in face of the rising militancy of the Negroes — may well prove the prelude to their defeat.

III.

The gutting of the Civil Rights bill was a hard blow for the leaders of the Negro people. It was far more than a defeat on a single issue, even on one of such overwhelming importance. It marked a pitiless exposure of the futility of the policy on which they had based their actions for decades. The NAACP leaders had adopted as their own the political credo of Samuel Gompers, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." An independent political course was beyond them.

There could not have been devised a more devastating display of the ineptness of the NAACP policy than the defection, one by one, of the liberal "friends" the NAACP had so carefully cultivated for so long. Following the vote on the jury-trial amendment, the NAACP leaders acted as if they were stunned. President Eisenhower was more outspoken against the Senate action than was Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP.

As the debate opened, the Negro leaders seemed confident that at last, for the first time since Reconstruction, Congress would pass a meaningful, if somewhat weak, Civil Rights bill. It would signal a new day for the NAACP itself. It would signal the beginning of a new day for the Negro people of the South. It would prove that the policies of the NAACP had been correct.

The NAACP leaders had placed their reliance on their "liberal" friends in Congress. To this they had attempted to subordinate all

other activity, with the single exception of the continuing court tests of denials of civil rights. Where other forms of struggle emerged, they did so outside the orbit of the NAACP.

The Association was at great pains to weed out from the local leadership in its many branches any individuals who might conceivably be tainted with a suspicion of being "radicals" or "Communists." To prevent mass demonstrations which could somehow get out of hand, it developed the technique of the dignified and limited—and ineffective—"leadership conferences," which periodically undertook to visit state and national Representatives and Senators, to try to persuade them of the justice of voting for Negro rights.

The NAACP was even chary of giving its approval to the mass bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. It was not until June of this year, after he had been acclaimed by many other organizations and had proved beyond doubt that he was the Negro people's outstanding figure, that the NAACP awarded the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the boycott, its highest medal, the Spingarn award.

When, as a result of the pressure from Negroes of the South, coupled with the refusal of President Eisenhower to speak out against bombings and other atrocities, the Negro leaders, including the NAACP, were virtually pushed into a demonstration at the nation's capital, they again did everything possible to keep that demonstration under tight control. It was not to be a "March on Washington," the NAACP insisted, but a "Prayer Pilgrimage." Perhaps hundreds of thousands of Negroes and whites could have been mobilized for the Washington demonstration. The leaders seemed frightened at such a prospect.

The first thing the Rev. King did when he arrived in Washington was to call a press conference, through which he made clear to the nation and to the 30,000 people who had assembled for the pilgrimage that there was absolutely — he was emphatic — absolutely no intention of visiting any Congressmen or Senators, no thought of picketing the White House, no plan to engage in any type of political activity whatsoever. It was in the nature of an official edict. The Rev. King indicated that it would be "Communists," and only "Communists," who would insist upon such methods of direct

pressure. The demonstration, he maintained, was to be strictly a peaceful, prayerful supplication.

The insistent plea in his prepared speech at the Lincoln Memorial the following day was an appeal for the right to vote. The Rev. King studiously ignored the question on everyone's mind: Vote for whom and for which party? The appeal for the right to vote has tremendous emotional attraction for people deprived of that right. But in the politics of the South, the right to vote, important as it is, confers on the Negro only the right to cast his ballot for one race-baiter as against another—so long as the choice remains between the candidates of the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

The many thousands gathered before the Lincoln Memorial gave their leader, the Rev. King, an overwhelming ovation. But they had also greeted with undisguised enthusiasm the proposal made just a few minutes earlier by Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York for a "third political force led, for the time being, by the Negro clergy," and opposed to both the Democrats and the Republicans. The two policies were sharply counterposed in essence, if not in words: obtain the right to vote, and use the ballot to support Democrats or Republicans; or, obtain the right to vote, so that you can break with both existing capitalist parties and establish a new independent political party, dedicated to the interests of the Negro and other workers.

Which course will the Negro leaders and the Negro people follow?

In the final reckoning, as witnessed in the Senate debate, the patient efforts over the years on the part of the NAACP proved a failure. The capitalist "liberals" showed themselves to be friends who desert when they face the test. The exposure of these "friends," so glaring that few could fail to recognize it, is the single healthy and hopeful aspect of the great debacle.

The end of a deeply held political illusion can serve as the beginning of the next long step forward.

The Negro people will not accept the Senate defeat, bow their heads and let the old order continue. Behind them is the Montgomery bus boycott. Behind them also is the Prayer Pilgrimage. Ahead lies the continuing fight for equality until victory is won.

NEW STAGE FOR THE YOUTH

Socialist-minded youth are moving ahead in the regroupment of forces. Can they achieve a durable, united organization?

by James Robertson

SINCE its inception as an organized force, the radical youth movement in the United States has gone through two major stages of development. First came the wrenching away of the socialist youth from the old Socialist party under the impact of the World War I, the Russian Revolution and the formation of the Communist International. These constituted the basis of the Communist party youth movement in the twenties. Second came a turning away from the Comintern as Stalinism moved to the fore. The Spartacus Youth League, founded by the American followers of Leon Trotsky, was a point of attraction, while larger numbers of youthful militants went to the revived Young People's Socialist League.

The most active elements in these two organizations merged and affiliated to the Socialist Workers party. But this promising development gave way under the impact of World War II and the factional struggle that broke out in the SWP over the question of defense of the Soviet Union.

The postwar period up to the death of Stalin, the Khrushchev revelations and the East European revolts and uprisings saw little socialist activity and organization among the youth. The socialist youth groups were small and largely ineffectual; Communist party work in the youth field in terms of education and activity was a kind of middle-class liberalism compound-

James Robertson, a well-known youth leader of the Bay Area, has offered this article as a contribution to the discussion of regroupment among the socialist youth. We welcome expression of the views of others who are interested in this important question.

ed by subservience to the dictates and interests of the Russian Stalinist state machine.

Today the radical youth movement stands at the threshold of a new stage of development, one of great importance and opportunity for the revolutionary socialist movement. It is now possible to create a new pool of potential Marxist leadership among the American youth. What we do in the immediate future can set the tone and pattern for a whole period.

Conditions are favorable for a renaissance of a propagandistic radical youth movement. The witch-hunt has receded, murmurings are apparent in the economy, developing antagonisms are visible between the rank and file and the hidebound trade-union bureaucracy, the East European class struggles have had an impact as has the latest round in the colonial struggle against imperialism.

Against this background the principal fact is the dissolution of the (Stalinist) Labor Youth League. Only a few years ago this organization still had as many as 5,000 members. Now it has fallen to pieces — a direct consequence not of domestic events but of Khrushchev's revelations and the massive struggles in the Soviet bloc which showed the workers of East Germany, Poland and Hungary pitted against the Stalinist regimes. Having no independent roots in the American class struggle, the Labor Youth League existed by ideas alone, with a certain amount of bureaucratic glue to hold them together. The enormous discrepancy between the avowed aims of the Labor Youth League and the practice of its principal heroes, such as Stalin, was too great a contradiction to be bridged.

The formation disintegrated and ordered its own dissolution.

This was accompanied by a breakdown of the long-existing hostility of former LYL members toward other radical youth organizations. Among these in turn, as among the organizations of older people, it became generally recognized that a regroupment of forces was in order and that this could be reached only through friendly discussion over programmatic questions, no matter how sharp the differences over particular proposed answers to the common problems faced by the working people. The forum movement started up around the country and various broad and loose clubs appeared, providing a platform for speakers representing various tendencies. The interest in this development has been particularly high among the radical-minded youth.

Within the general flux, of course, some of the older people have refused to recognize that they were faced with new tasks and new opportunities. Among the more notable of these is the Socialist Labor party, an encrusted organization that remains decades behind the times.

Because the turn was not due to a rising class struggle in this country that might have brought tens of thousands of new people into action in a massive way, the issues have primarily revolved around an ideological assessment affecting a relatively thin stream of younger people. Among these, however, the ferment has been profound.

A great shattering of illusions about Stalinism has occurred. In contrast to those in the Communist party and its periphery, who were led to believe that today's leadership of

the Soviet Union represents the socialist ideal, are those who felt they had to reject everything associated with the Soviet Union, even socialism itself. Seeing Russia as a horrible, totalitarian monstrosity, where the workers are turned into dehumanized slaves and brutes and all class-consciousness is eradicated, they felt it better to stick with John Foster Dulles. The feeling is well expressed in George Orwell's novel *1984* — the hopelessness of everything in face of such phenomena as Stalinism. For many youths in the Social Democratic and liberal movements, this illusion, too, has been shattered. The actions of the workers in East Europe have demonstrated that the working class can move and exert its pressure despite Stalinism. The dual shake-up in thinking has shown that the old order is dead — a new movement is required in the youth field.

The actual process of regroupment, naturally, has not been straightforward. A number of alternatives have been advanced on what to do.

The simplest is "stand-patism." The hope is to ride out the storm. The attempt to wish away the present is characteristic of those who really have nothing to offer. The Socialist party, for example, having finally achieved re-unification with the Social Democratic Federation, responded to the regroupment process by urging everybody to join them. This is nice of them, but not well calculated to meet the challenge of the big change that has occurred. The SP-SDF leaders recognize that something peculiar called the forum movement has developed, but they are so far removed from reality that they actually believe Khrushchev's revelations were part of a plot aimed at sucking in the Socialist party.

Those who are under the illusion that the Socialist party represents a hope for the future should make it a practice to read the *Socialist Call* more attentively, for it reveals what a thoroughly hidebound, ossified and miserable grouping this really is.

The Communist party likewise takes a "stand-pat" position. Of course they are progressively losing their following of youth, but they still hope to ride things out. If they

no longer label opposing tendencies as "fascist agents," they nevertheless regard them as irrelevant. As in the case of the Socialist party, this represents a complete loss of touch with reality. At one time the CP was a formidable barrier to the socialist movement. But that's not true any longer. The former strength of the Communist party remains today only as an illusion among some of its followers, who begin to sit in little rooms, isolated from the social process.

Another tendency, the one grouped around the *Monthly Review*, while not numerically significant perhaps, carries considerable ideological weight, especially among those who have retreated from the Communist party zone. This tendency, too, has clearly indicated its lack of interest in community relations or discussion with other tendencies. In reply to an invitation to participate in the forum initiated by A. J. Muste, Paul M. Sweezy, one of the editors of the *Monthly Review*, declined, suggesting that others should follow his course of abstention.

Such rigidity, having much in common with the sectarian ossification of thought most clearly represented by the Socialist Labor party, was, of course, to be expected among some of the radical currents in abrupt turns of this kind. In other groups underlying instabilities rose to the surface. This was especially true of the one nationally established youth organization outside of the Labor Youth League; that is, the Young Socialist League, which is more or less affiliated to the Independent Socialist League.

The Young Socialist League had the possibility, perhaps, of becoming the nucleus for a new independent youth movement. But it has undergone an internal crisis. The right wing, tailing after the Shachtmanite leadership of the Independent Socialist League, which proposes to become part of the Socialist party, is preparing to enter the Young People's Socialist League on any terms whatever; and the left wing, resisting this course, has its attention centered on the problem of bringing together the elements really capable of building a new youth movement.

The possibility of achieving a regroupment around a broad common denominator of militant socialist activities is very attractive to segments in the youth field of the most diverse political background. For example, in the Bay Area, with which I am most familiar, we in the left wing of the Young Socialist League have met with a most friendly response from many young people who generally regard the *National Guardian* as their paper. On a nation-wide scale, the forum movement has given impetus to these get-together tendencies. At the present stage, exploratory discussions are going on about political minimums and organizational forms. These are occurring among the left wing of the Young Socialist League, young people in and around the Socialist Workers party, some of the youth supporters of *The American Socialist*, sympathizers of the *National Guardian*, former members of the defunct Labor Youth League, and just plain independents and youth first coming to radical politics.

This is quite a list. If anyone had suggested two years ago that there was a possibility of a united youth organization with such components, it would have been taken as prima facie evidence for certifiable insanity. This in itself shows what an enormous wrenching we've gone through in the youth field in this country.

All these young people taken together are an impressive force — at least potentially. The various tendencies are not negotiating as crystallized national formations. They are found in varying proportions in a whole series of clubs and local groups in youth forums and the like across the country. In New York, for instance, the Young Socialist Forum has a good-sized contingent sympathetic to the views of the Socialist Workers party as well as left-wing members of the Young Socialist League. In Philadelphia the proportion of former members of the Labor Youth League is larger. In Chicago the tendencies are spread more evenly. The Minneapolis club has mainly an *American Socialist* complexion. In Detroit it is Socialist Workers. In the Bay Area several groupings have appeared besides the left-wing caucus of the Young Socialist League, among

them the Mark Twain Club which came out of the Labor Youth League. In Los Angeles, Socialist Workers partisans have done much toward getting a united group independent of all parties. These main areas indicate what is happening nationally.

It is important to understand that the desire for unity, the desire to reverse the fragmentation of the radical movement, is not sufficient in and of itself to bring about a healthy unification. The basis for unity requires the fullest and most careful consideration. Here, by way of preliminary, it might be well to indicate a difference in attitude that is important for those coming from the Labor Youth League and those from a background such as the Young Socialist League.

Former LYL members, used to an organization numbering in the thousands that suddenly went to smash, feel that a terrible vacuum has been created in the socialist youth field. Large numbers quit completely after the Khrushchev revelations. Others who did not renounce their socialist views feel dispirited and demoralized. We of the YSL on the contrary saw the self-demolition of the LYL as a progressive development, since it removed a big barrier. True, it involved the loss of a good number of young people from the radical movement; but it opened the possibility of a new beginning since it broke the monopoly of a false program and a false control in the American youth field.

The question of program once again asserted its predominance over mere numbers. After all, of what use is an organization, no matter how large, if its purposes run counter to the interests of socialism? The end of the Stalin cult and the confirmation of the crimes and betrayals charged against Stalin's rule was a most healthy development. Now we are able to discuss in an atmosphere free of the vilification with which the Labor Youth League customarily responded to issues raised by its opponents.

The elements of a new youth movement that must be considered in their interrelationship are, first, its independence, secondly, its broadness;

Crime Still Won't Pay

Don't try to use an atomic blast to burn off your fingerprints. It won't work. That's the conclusion to be drawn from a study reported by the *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*.

The before-and-after study, made by a technician of the National Police Agency, Tokyo, demonstrated that the fingerprints of victims were not altered by the Hiroshima atomic bomb explosion.

A difficulty in making the comparison was lack of fingerprinted persons. "Most of the criminals in the Hiroshima Penitentiary or police stations in the city had been killed by the explosion."

However, two ex-convicts were found. "One had been about a mile and a quarter from ground zero at the time and the other only 1,000 feet away. In neither criminal was there any change in the fingerprint patterns."

As controls, to make the study strictly scientific, two police officers were used. Their hands had been badly injured in the explosion, but like the two criminals, their fingerprints "had not been changed or obliterated" by either the searing heat or the radiation.

thirdly, its militancy. These must be combined in such a way as to lead to an effective and democratic movement of young socialists, and at such a tempo as to maximize the opportunities at hand.

To avoid leaving these as just words, it is necessary to specify our meanings. By independence I mean free from the organizational control of specific parties, that is, groupings adhering to fully formulated political programs. It is true that there is a long-term instability in "independence" of the youth, since people grow up, and in growing up they settle on a political program. After debate, experience and participation in political activities, the most independent youth movement will eventually reach an outlook more or less parallel to one or another of the various parties.

Right now, however, a little bit of youth "vanguardism" in political matters is a desirable thing. Because of the more rapid break down of old organizational ties in the youth field — a kind of running ahead of the general socialist field — any seeking after adult link-ups would have to be with groups as they were rather

than as they will be. The regroupment process is reaching maturity more rapidly among the youth than among the adults. Thus there exists a considerable discrepancy in developments in the two areas. Gradually the adult level will pull parallel and that may raise problems, but that is for the future.

Another important consideration in favor of independence is that one of the legacies of Stalinism is an exceptionally suspicious attitude among young people who have been in politics. A great many — and by no means the least worthy — former members of the Labor Youth League want no part whatsoever of subordinating themselves to adult groups. This antagonism toward the older generation in general is a result of the specific experiences of these youth with Stalinist practices.

In addition to this a good many young people who want to participate in a new youth movement look toward definite adult organizations or periodicals. Any enclosing and narrowing down of the youth movement would simply chop them off.

From the considerations regarding independence, I think it follows directly that the new youth movement must seek an extremely broad scope. Maximum diversity within a basic common denominator is, moreover, a really precious asset, in my opinion, because it brings into play a great deal of experience, bodies of knowledge and insight from different tendencies. Speaking from personal experience, the Bay Area YSL has been labelled as a bunch of "hard-boiled Bolsheviks" and also as an "all-inclusive political zoo." We drew no line against anarchists, social democrats, sectarians, or those with illusions about the Soviet Union, yet we engaged in a good deal of militant action. The lesson we drew from it is the need not merely for tolerance but for genuine interest in the ideas of others, their contributions, and mutual exploration of views, while at the same time placing a lot of emphasis on militant activity without, however, using a disciplinary whip in any fashion or making any kind of attempt at compulsion.

It so happens that about ninety-eight percent of the activity that a

youth organization might undertake is in any case of the type an extremely broad range of tendencies can subscribe to. Differences that could appear through participation in working-class struggles are not very great at present.

However, there are certain limitations to broadness. The main one, I think, is the political hostility of groups that are opposed to an independent youth organization. Among these are the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist Labor party, the Shachtmanite ISL and so on. Yet even here there will be individual members who might like to participate. Even a member of the Young Democrats might like to see for himself what an organization with socialist aims offers. You don't treat such seventeen-year-olds,

who want to argue for Stevenson, like aged betrayers of the working class. The opportunity should be open for them to develop into Marxists. On the other hand there are groups in this country who proclaim their Marxism to be second to none yet who would refuse to touch an independent socialist youth organization with a ten-foot pole. In practice the question of just how broad "broad" is will be determined by the attitudes of those who wish or don't wish to participate.

As for militancy, this can be a cloudy word. It should be sufficient, it seems to me, to classify an organization as militant if it seeks to take a genuinely socialist position on issues as they arise, to decide on practical steps and to discuss in comradely fashion the various theoretical rami-

fications. Aside from what it means in programmatic implications, militancy involves a conscious attempt to break with the study-group habits of withdrawn young people and to undertake actions energetically, with a great deal of commitment.

In conclusion I would like to stress the urgency of youth regroupment. The breaking of the Stalinist grip in the American youth field has opened opportunities not seen for decades. But these opportunities will not remain indefinitely. They can be dissipated, leaving the arena free for backward or even reactionary tendencies. On the other hand, resolute action can signify the early appearance of a new socialist youth movement in America with a great future before it in the coming period of working-class radicalization.

THE ARTIST'S PROSPECTS

In both the Soviet bloc and the capitalist world, artists find themselves fettered by economic and political forces. Does socialism offer the road to freedom of expression?

by Trent Hutter

WHAT will the artist's position be in a normal workers state and later in the classless socialist society?

He will, of course, like everyone else be assured material security. He will not have to worry about his daily bread. He will be provided with all the facilities he needs; for it is a vicious bourgeois myth that poverty stimulates the artist. It is true that starving artists have produced masterworks—and died of tuberculosis in their twenties or thirties. But it is equally true that relatively well-to-do artists have produced masterworks

Trent Hutter's specialty is the stage and screen. Here he expresses some of his views on issues of wider interest. What are your opinions on the relation between art and socialism? We invite discussion.

of no less value—and continued to do so till the age of 80; Goethe, for example, or Verdi.

But how free will the artist be in a workers democracy? Will he be able to say what he thinks? Or will he have to defend a certain political line or at least an official ideology?

The Stalinist humiliation of the artist, the totalitarian muzzle, is not typical of socialism but stems from forces alien to socialism. Under the Stalinist bureaucracy the artist enjoys many material comforts and privileges so long as he follows the official political and artistic line. But this condition puts the artist in a straitjacket. Even if the bureaucracy has somewhat loosened the fetters since Stalin's death, the situation does not seem to have changed basically. So far, painting, sculpture, literature are, with only a few exceptions, in a sad state in the Stalinist-

dominated countries. Only in the field of music where even in the Stalin era some remarkable compositions were produced despite Stalin, has bureaucratic control been notably relaxed since the dictator's death.

Totalitarian dictatorship and its official academism inevitably stifle artistic creativeness. The artist does not always resent being told what to paint; for instance, if the commission is within his competence. But he should not be told how to paint it. With the possible exception of poets and novelists, who prefer to choose their subject matter, artists generally are glad to get orders for important works that challenge their imagination and creative thought; but nothing can be more demoralizing for the artist than an enforced official style corresponding to the vulgar taste of bureaucrats and their reactionary politics—a style he has to

follow no matter how he feels about it.

The Soviet Union's ruling caste is as reactionary in its domination of the arts as in its politics. The bureaucratic mind hates originality. In art as in politics they oppose innovating ideas, any spontaneous move of the human personality. The official Soviet style is heavily conservative, unoriginal, unimaginative. Paintings looking like color photographs glorify the bureaucracy's doings and other "patriotic" themes. Statues look as if they were mass-produced. (The impressive Soviet monument in East Berlin is one of the rare exceptions.) Aside from some movie versions of operas, operatic excerpts, ballets, fairy tales and some cartoons, Soviet motion pictures have been low artistically and intellectually, especially since the leading movie makers of the revolutionary era ceased to work or had to stop making the kind of movies they liked. Russia's contribution to world literature has been far less under Stalinism than under Czarism.

A socialist art policy can only be a policy of freedom. In a normal workers state there would be no question of forcing the artist to express certain ideas or apply a certain style. Great art cannot be created in an intellectual and political straitjacket. If the workers state is interested in cultural as well as in social progress, it has to protect the artist's freedom. And the workers state ought to favor all forms of cultural development, since its aim is to open a way to a better, happier life for all.

In a normal workers state such as we can expect in America the artist will have a much more important role to play than he does today under capitalism. But let it be clearly understood that if he is to create great works of art, he must be able to follow his own intentions, feelings, intuitions and ideas, without any fear of the policeman or some bureaucratic organism. Freedom from want, freedom from both totalitarian and commercial capitalist interference — these are the two decisive freedoms the democratic workers state has to offer the artist.

Someone might ask, "What if the artist, whom the workers state supports and whom it lets freely express himself, turns against the workers state, criticizing or attacking socialism?"

Is this really a big problem? First of all, many artists will be attracted

by socialism, genuine socialism, once they understand what it means and realize that it is the only solution for the artist, too. If some of them should criticize one or another aspect of a workers state, there would certainly be no harm in this. A workers democracy must not be afraid of criticism, of discussion, of clarification. It has more to gain than to lose by freedom of expression. It can even afford to tolerate frankly hostile artists because, on the whole, it will immensely benefit from a free and genuine art, and this advantage will outweigh by far any embarrassment arising from the freedom of ideological enemies.

In fact, these hostile voices—and we trust they will not be too numerous—present a challenge which is quite healthy and which can strengthen the ideological basis of the workers state, since the socialist idea, the Marxist method, will become increasingly clearer to the proletariat through a lively discussion, through the spirited defense of socialism against talented but uncomprehending opponents. Only recently even Mao Tse-tung felt compelled to admit the stimulating effect of ideological opposition in overcoming the stagnation of cultural life and the ossification of thought.

Artist's Function in Society

Even those twentieth century artists who do not—or do not yet—consciously reject capitalism frequently feel unhappy and frustrated in capitalist society. And even some of those few who have been able to make a fortune actually do reject capitalism.

Somerset Maugham, the great British writer and probably one of the most wealthy literary giants, came out for socialism in his book *The Summing Up*. The late George Bernard Shaw was ideologically confused up to the point of strongly flirting with Stalinism; but at any rate the brilliant playwright definitely was not in agreement with capitalism. The same is true of the painter Pablo Picasso. The late Thomas Mann, one of the twentieth century's most important novelists, always insisted on making plain his roots in bourgeois culture—the culture of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie; he was certainly no revolutionist, yet he openly advocated social reform in the last ten or fifteen years of his

life. If some of the most successful artists have severely criticized capitalism, how much more must the less successful artist, suffering from its monstrosity, feel inclined to turn toward something better!

While there are well-to-do artists, it is difficult for the majority to make a living as artists and remain intellectually and creatively independent without any concessions to commercial requirements. In the capitalist world the artist is mainly an ornament. He has no organic function to fulfill in this society unless he sells his talent as a "commercial artist," professional propagandist or other servant of the business world. The "independent" artist is often exploited in a most shameless way by art dealers, publishers, agents and intermediaries of various kinds. In capitalist society there is room for only some of the living artists, and this spells hardships, sometimes despair for the others.

It has not always been this way. Throughout the Middle Ages the artist — practically every artist — served a feudal lord, a community or the Church. If he served his community or the Church he had a clearly defined place and function in society. He was considered a superior craftsman; there was nearly always enough work for him; and he was assured of a living even though a modest one. This does not mean that the artist's position at the courts of seventeenth and eighteenth century princes was ideal; frequently they considered him a superior kind of lackey. (This is exactly how the Prince-Bishop of Salzburg looked at the young Mozart.) But today the "free" artist in bourgeois-capitalist society is basically homeless, faced with the fact that the more successful work of art tends to become an object of financial speculation.*

*The following anecdote is fairly indicative of this capitalist way of looking at art: A wealthy man purchased a French impressionist painting and made sure he got the testimony of several experts to confirm its authenticity. When he came home with these documents and put them in his safe, his wife asked, "Where is the painting?" "Oh, the painting," he said. "I forgot it."

This "art collector" really only cared for the papers establishing "his" painting's material value, its convertibility into real estate or shares of stock; insofar as the artistic value of the painting was concerned, his "lapse of memory" shows that he rated it unimportant and uninteresting.

Thomas Mann, who as noted above, identified himself with the nineteenth and early twentieth century bourgeois milieu, stressed in several novels and short stories the loneliness of the artist in bourgeois society, the deep gulf separating the artist from the bourgeoisie whether he wants it or not. He was obsessed with this vital problem of the modern artist. He was also a most astute observer of the bourgeoisie, whose decadence he did not fail to notice.

Socialism aims at a better, more dignified life for everybody and, springing from this, a new, more rounded type of man. It is obvious that art and the artist have a big role to play in this. In the workers state the artist will not be a mere ornament but an organic necessity.

In the classless society of the future a new integration of art and society will be realized, of a far higher type than was achieved in the Greek or the medieval city. The alienation of the artist from the ruling power in society will become diminished and eventually eliminated as the artist comes closer to the people, their requirements, feelings and outlook.

On the other hand, the people themselves, freed from the shackles of incessant and dull labor, will be able to use their leisure and even devote their working hours to satisfying their creative capacities and indulging their artistic inclinations both as producers and consumers.

The artist will not be a maker of Stalinist icons or a hack, subservient to an all-powerful bureaucracy. He will be free to follow his inner voice; for this is the preliminary condition of artistic creation.

But will not the artist have to help spread the idea of socialism, explaining the times he lives in, guiding or trying to guide his public?

The free development of any style in art does not include a prohibition against an artist facing the problems of man in our time. But the artist must be allowed to deal with these problems in his own way. He is not and cannot be a teacher in the exact and narrow sense of the term. Nor can his work be a mere piece of political or ideological propaganda if it is to be a work of art. Political propaganda is the task of the political militant. The artist can be a militant, even a political militant. It is good when he is. But aside from political cartoons and posters, a work of art cannot be simply painted or versified

Webster's as a Mirror

Henry R. Luce's remarks on "The Character of the Businessman" at a recent international conference of 1,800 businessmen were considered of sufficient inspirational significance to the business world, apparently, to deserve reprinting in the August issue of the lush (\$1.25) *Fortune* magazine of which Luce is Editor-in-Chief. Among the tycoon's personal anecdotes, we liked the following:

"Perhaps the first thing to be said is that, at most times and places, the businessman has not been an attractive figure. The word 'bourgeois' springs to mind. I was shocked the other day when I looked up the meaning of the word in Webster's dictionary. Let me say that I consider myself a bourgeois. And here is what I read about myself in Webster's dictionary: "*Bourgeois*: 1. Characteristic of the middle class. Hence: *a* Engrossed in material things; Philistine; often, conservative; hidebound. *b* *Colloq.* Common; boorish; stupid. *c* Capitalistic."

"A shock indeed: to look into the mirror of a dictionary and find such an ugly face. I and my ancestors and nearly everyone I know in America—what are we? We are bourgeois and hence 'engrossed in material things, hidebound, common, boorish, stupid, capitalistic.' Now, if I had read that in a Communist manifesto, I would have paid no attention. But there is that dreadful, ugly portrait of a businessman right in an American dictionary.

"In my dismay I rushed like a wounded child to the scholars. How could this be?

I had been proud of my bourgeois ancestors. Was it not they who overthrew feudalism, formed the great nation-states of Europe under kings and emperors, and then overthrew the kings and emperors when kings and emperors stood in the way of human progress? Were not the burghers identified for five hundred years — in France, in Holland, and elsewhere — with the rise of the cities and their civilization, with parliamentary rule, with liberty under law, with exploration and discovery, with science and literacy?"

The scholars came to the "rescue" of the wounded and dismayed member of the Morgan circle, evidently just in time for the speech, and he learned from them, particularly the French Dominican Father Bruckberger, "that it was indeed Communists—Karl Marx himself and the Communist Manifesto—that finally made 'bourgeois' a dirty, stinking word."

Besides that, the word "bourgeois" has, according to evidence gathered by the scholarly Catholic Father, an opposite meaning for Europeans and Americans because of "just about the deepest difference" in experiences the past three centuries.

"And, of course, in America we do not actually use the word 'bourgeois'—except in little literary reviews; in America we say 'middle class.' We are a middle-class country. We have always tended to be that—and now at last we are. We are a middle-class, that is to say a classless, country."

politics. If it is—and the Stalinists as well as the fascists have engaged in this—it is not art. It gives no artistic pleasure, no feeling of life-enhancement.

In other words, as Somerset Maugham has pointed out, a "philosophical" novel has no value if it is not, in the first place, a good novel which gives us pleasure. A bad novel with a good ideology is worthless and useless because it is boring, while a good novel can be exciting reading despite the ideas of its author. Such a novel is not worthless; for a fascinating picture of a certain society, of certain true-to-life characters indirectly "teaches" us much more about life and the condition of man—even if the author's ideological or political conclusions are erroneous—than an idea that has been draped in an uninteresting story with synthetic figures, thereby turning out to be neither clear political nor philosophical theory nor a work of art. Balzac

was a reactionary, a royalist; yet he was one of the best observers of the early nineteenth century bourgeoisie; many of his novels remain excitingly alive to this day. Who will have the courage and patience to read the novels of the Stalinist hacks 120 years from now?

It is true that excellent novels and plays have been written about politics and politicians; but in the first place they are good novels and plays, not books on political theory. If we want to learn about Marxism we turn to the books of the great teachers of Marxism, not to any novel. A revolutionary play or movie, or a revolutionary novel—if it rises to the height of a genuine work of art—does not replace political and ideological or sociological theory. It does what the theoretical books can hardly do. It communicates a certain experience of life in our era, of its human beings, their emotions, their tragedies and comedies, cowardice and heroism,

mixed actions and feelings, the terrible, the ridiculous and the beautiful things, the failures and hopes. Life is made more intense for us—even if only for a limited time; we feel more vividly where we stand, where we ought to stand. The revolutionary play or novel or movie or other art form can achieve this, but can achieve it only by producing an excitement that is basically pleasurable, by raising us above our everyday selves, by carrying us to the mountains of life and showing us the valleys below—not through scientific analysis, even if the artist sometimes and legitimately uses the results of scientific study, but mainly through flashes of intuition and imagination.

Of course, the artist deals with all the problems of his time (depending on the character of his art and the nature of his themes), but his approach in dealing with them is different from the scientist's, the philosopher's, the politician's; for the highest form of pleasure remains his goal. When we read a superb revolutionary novel like Giuseppe Bertolucci's *The Brigand* we enjoy the captivating and moving story, we become absorbed in the very real and very pathetic characters, in their situation, in their struggle—and thereby in their cause, their ideas. We share the writer's sadness about the hero's tragedy; and we also share his hopes for a better future and for the eventual triumph of his cause. But if it were not a gripping tale, if it did not make us tremble for the hero and worry about his situation, the writer's revolutionary tendency—much as it enhances an exciting book's value—would not help it at all, would not in itself be sufficient to make it a good novel.

Whether the story is serious or comico-satirical, its abstract political, social or philosophical significance alone will not make it a success. Its figures must seem to be alive, must have individuality. They cannot be contrived intellectual abstractions, a thesis with a person's name, a neat black-and-white division of persons, actions and reactions. Looking at one of the twentieth century masterpieces of revolutionary social satire, the Kurt Weill, Bert Brecht *Three Penny Opera*, we see that each of its characters is a real person, very much alive and unforgettable; for example, Macheath, the half vulgar, half suavely elegant robber; Mr. Peachum, the "respectable" bourgeois who ex-

ploits a beggars' racket; Jenny, the bitter prostitute with her dreams of rebellion and revenge; and all the others, too.

Except for the political poster or cartoon, art as an ally cannot directly serve politics. The artist has to deal with contemporary issues in his own autonomous way. Art then becomes a powerful ally in the political or ideological struggle for social justice.

Even the non-political artists frequently has to take a stand in our times. He may not wish to deal with politics, but politics deals with him. It is better for him to know where he stands when circumstances force him to speak out on a burning issue; and circumstances do that often enough.

The artist who sees mankind's present situation with complete clarity is bound, I think, to become a revolutionist. His art and his politics will then probably become interrelated in some way or other; but he should not inject his activity as a militant directly into his activity as an artist. He should not try to just translate a political program into the language of art; for this is impossible; but rather create an autonomous work of art in the spirit of that program. There is a big difference between these two methods. Whenever a work of art is conceived as a piece of superior propaganda a miscarriage becomes inevitable. But the authentic work of art that is inspired by revolutionary ideas, by an artist's vision of reality in the light of his experience and of the conclusions he has arrived at, may become an influence, even though an indirect one, in the struggle for a better world.

Art in Socialist Society

The workers state is a transitional stage between capitalism and the classless socialist society of the future. What the art forms and styles will be in that future society we cannot foretell. But we can expect that the role of art will be extremely important, that it will have a much greater influence on every person's daily life than ever before in history.

The more intense artistic penetration of life will contribute to a more artistic life; and by artistic life we do not mean the life of the Greenwich Village bohemian. Liberated from economic worries and pressures, with the short working hours made possible by modern science and tech-

nology, and with the greater assurance of health that the further progress of medicine promises, man will be much more the master of his own life than he ever thought he could be. The life-enhancing quality of the work of art will thus become much more effective and will have a much wider radiation. The gulf between life and art will become smaller. In other words life itself will increasingly be lived as a work of art or something inspired by art. And art will increasingly contribute to form a new human type.

This idea is not a new one. To live life consciously as a many-sided entity similar to a work of art appears to have been Goethe's goal 150 years ago—to make his life his supreme work of art. And he succeeded to a large extent, educating and wisely exercising all his faculties, participating in the great drama of mankind, always rounding himself, always creative, never permitting himself to be distracted from going his way.

Goethe was an exceptional human being with exceptional gifts who lived in comparatively favorable individual circumstances. The overwhelming majority of people in a capitalist society cannot think of following Goethe's concept of life—not simply because they haven't got his creative genius but because they couldn't muster the energy and time to educate all their faculties, to cultivate so many interests, to take in and assimilate so many impressions and experiences. Capitalism just doesn't let them lead so rich a life.

In a socialist society the Goethean concept of life will become concretely possible. In all probability it will become mankind's prevailing mode of existence after the struggle for mere material survival and security will have ceased in the society of plenty. Under socialism everyone will not necessarily be a great poet like Goethe or Shakespeare, or a great painter, or a great musician, or a great dancer. But everyone will be able to develop all his faculties and talents, participate to a much higher degree in mankind's knowledge and achievements, and, to a considerable extent, consciously shape his own life.

More than anything else, the experience of art and its indispensable part in his existence will educate him in the art of living, a sovereign art of mankind's maturity; for mankind will reach maturity only with the coming of socialist society.

Why Was the CP Ousted from the CIO?

by Tom Kerry



THE COMMUNIST PARTY VS THE C.I.O., by Max M. Kampelman. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York. 1957. 299 pp. \$6.

Following the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union the leaders of the American CP undertook a re-evaluation of their past policies, including their trade-union line, in the light of the de-Stalinization campaign. The expulsion of the CP-influenced unions, which split the CIO in 1949, came up in particular for reassessment. With the breast-beating acknowledgment of past "error" characteristic of their orgy of "self-criticism" following Khrushchev's revelations, the American Stalinist tops hastened to assume their share of the blame of the CIO split.

Writing in the April 22 *Sunday Worker*, labor-columnist George Morris affirmed:

"A serious examination of the trend in the left, especially since World War II, I am sure, is bound to lead to the conclusion that the split in the CIO, that came to a climax in 1949 might have been avoided. The blame for the split cannot be placed entirely on Philip Murray and the CIO's right wing. For some time before the split it was apparent that the left forces—influenced strongly by the narrowness and leftism in the ranks of the Marxists forgot that the key to the success that marked the CIO's first ten years was left-center unity.

"That unity was breached—and the left itself contributed to that breach by its narrowness, over-estimation of its strength, refusal to retreat and compromise some when that was imperative—especially on the presidential race and on the Marshall Plan." (Morris' emphasis.)

The Morris version was corroborated by CP National Secretary Eu-

gene Dennis in his report to the enlarged meeting of the Communist party National Committee held in New York City, April 28—May 1, 1956, published under the title: *The Communists Take a New Look*. In a chapter headed: "The Left and the Split in the CIO," Dennis purported to "deal" with what he called "a few tactical mistakes," that contributed to the split.

"The split in the CIO," he declared, "was precipitated through a number of issues on which the Left could have maneuvered and reacted more flexibly. But the Left's fight-back policy suffered from all the sectarian tendencies that hampered its united front work in the mass trade unions led by the more conservative and Right-wing reformist and Social-Democratic leaders."

This, in a nutshell, is the "New Look" Stalinist version of the 1949 split in the CIO. Needless to say, the Dennis report was "adopted" by the CP National Committee.

Could the Communist party have avoided a split through the application of more "flexible" tactics? The author of *The Communist Party vs the C.I.O.* disputes this. Although it terminates with the CIO split in 1949 and deals primarily with the period 1939-49, the book reads like a polemic in advance against the shallow "New Look" version of the conflict put forward by the CP leaders in 1957.

The main point is that the basic issue in dispute was over foreign policy—and this could not be reconciled or compromised. Not that the Stalinists didn't try. At the 1948 CIO convention that laid the ground

for the split, the CP contingent tried to compromise on the Marshall Plan by proposing that its funds be allocated through the machinery of the United Nations. To no avail. By that time nothing less than complete capitulation would have sufficed; i.e., a definitive break with the Kremlin and all-out support to the cold-war foreign policy of the U.S. State Department. Nothing less would have satisfied the "labor statesmen" who headed the CIO with Philip Murray in their van. This was a price the CP could not and did not pay. And that is why they found themselves outside the CIO they had helped to build and lead.

The author points out that the Communist party's "inflexible loyalty to the immediate interests of the Soviet Union eliminated any resilience within its group and made it impossible for the Communist party, and for Communist-led unions, to withstand the ebb and flow of American attitudes toward the Soviet Union." The "ebb and flow of American attitudes toward the Soviet Union," is a fastidious euphemism for the servile adaptation to the "ebb and flow" of State Department foreign policy by the "loyal" labor bureaucrats. This fundamental conflict between one group of labor bureaucrats owing allegiance to the Kremlin (which they identify with the Soviet Union), and another, dominant group, subservient to the foreign policy of the capitalist rulers of America, is pin-pointed in this account of the internal conflict which culminated in the CIO split.

The meteoric rise of the CIO in the thirties coincided with the worldwide shift of the Stalinern to the Peoples Front policy. Following Hitler's advent to power in 1933 the previous "Third Period" policy of building independent revolutionary trade unions was abandoned. The unions affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League in this country were dissolved and their members sent into the AFL. In fact, "unity within the AFL" was the line of the CP until the spring of 1937 when the CIO was well on its way.

The CP had a corps of trade-union militants and organizers trained in the unions of the TUUL and unemployed organizations who were thrown into the organizing drives of the formative period of the CIO. Many of these quickly rose to positions of prominence in a number of the new unions. Above all, with their new Peoples Front line of support to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, the CP followers found a common language and arrived at a common policy with the other union leaders who directed the CIO.

Another shift in line occurred following the Hitler-Stalin Pact which led to the outbreak of World War II. The fight for "peace" and fulminations against the imperialist warmongers characterized the slogans of the 1939 shift of the Stalinern. Hitler was pictured as a peace-loving vegetarian, and Churchill and Roosevelt were cast in the role of imperialist warmongers. Their central slogan: *The Yanks Are Not Coming!* While this led to a sharpening of relations with a section of the top CIO leadership, the author explains:

"However in 1939, the foreign policy of the Communist Party seemed in harmony with the general 'isolationist' position which permeated America and the labor movement as well. Opposition to war, therefore, and opposition to steps leading to war, was an easy cause to sell. Sharp differences between Communists and anti-Communists thus did not express themselves through foreign policy debates."

Another mitigating factor was the special role of John L. Lewis, who turned against Roosevelt and came out in support of Wilkie in the presidential race of 1940. At this period the CP contingent in the CIO were

the most vociferous supporters of Lewis. Later, after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union and America's entry into the war, they reserved their choicest epithets for the leader of the coal-miners union who dared to call strikes against the wage-freeze during wartime.

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the CP line underwent another turn about. And with America's entry into the war they became the most rabid jingoists. They were ready, willing and eager to sacrifice the most elementary needs of the workers in pursuance of what they called the "war effort." So unrestrained were the CP leaders in advocating the most drastic union sacrifices that they often encountered opposition from conservative trade-union bureaucrats. The author lists a few of their more flagrant strike-breaking actions:

(1) They "enthusiastically endorsed the principle of permanent selective service."

(2) They were "actively in favor of the labor conscription program and the National Service Act recommended by Roosevelt in January 1944," despite the official opposition of the CIO.

(3) In the famous Montgomery Ward strike supported by the CIO, Harry Bridges rejected "repeated requests to cooperate and not act as a strikebreaker," but "he ordered his members not to strike and wrote a letter to President Roosevelt on December 22, 1944, repeating the no-strike pledge."

(4) They jammed a resolution through the Minnesota state CIO convention on September 8, 1944 "condemning" the 18 Minneapolis Teamsters Union officials and Socialist Workers party leaders jailed under the Smith Act.

It was their reply, comments the author, "to those civil-liberties-oriented organizations and individuals who had protested the Smith 'peacetime sedition' act and the federal governments indictment of the eighteen Trotskyite leaders under the law. This law was the same law applied later against the eleven Communist leaders in 1948-50..."

The CP's wartime crimes against the workers alienated many of the best militants in the union movement and played no little part in the isola-

tion and discreditment which facilitated the expulsion of the CP-dominated unions by the Murray faction in 1949.

The edifice of wartime betrayals was crowned at the war's end by the CP slogan of the permanent no-strike pledge. Advocacy of the permanent no-strike pledge was justified by the "theory" that the pacts signed at Teheran and Yalta by Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, had ushered in the era of peaceful coexistence. Teheran and Yalta, the CP spokesmen explained, had outmoded the class struggle and therefore any further need for employing the strike weapon had been eliminated. It wasn't long before history again corrected the Stalinist theoreticians; instead of "peaceful coexistence" Churchill's Fulton Missouri speech in 1946 ushered in the period of the cold war.

The cold war heated up the atmosphere inside the CIO. "All ties of 'unity' within the CIO," remarks the author, "strained and eventually broke as the war came to an end and tension developed between the United States and the Soviet Union." The labor lieutenants of the American capitalist class, who could commit the worst betrayals of the worker-members of the CIO, gagged at "unity" with the Stalinist opponents of Wall Street's foreign policy. The Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine were two of the main pillars of the cold-war structure. Given the character and connections of the two contending groups in the leadership of the CIO, a showdown was inevitable.

As a way out, the Stalinists toyed with the idea of setting up a "third" union federation. This is disclosed by evidence attributed to Michael Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union. Quill relates that he went to see William Z. Foster, national chairman of the CP, to persuade him to abandon the Progressive party campaign for Henry Wallace in 1948.

"I expressed to him fear," Quill is quoted as saying, "that this move will split the unions, and weaken our position locally and nationally against the employers. He said the Communist Party... decided that all the unions that it can influence within CIO are to go down the line behind Wallace, if it splits the last union down the middle, but he said, 'We have also decided to form a Third Federation of Labor in the United

States carved out of the AFofL and the CIO in order to implement the Henry Wallace movement."

This would seem to be confirmed by the Dennis report to the CP National Committee which states:

"A contributing factor to the split in the CIO, the slowness in taking measures to try to overcome this division—was no doubt the practical abandonment of the Left's initiative in the fight for trade union unity. *This went hand in hand with speculation in certain quarters about the desirability of eventually establishing a 'third' labor federation*" (My emphasis.)

His examination of the record leads Kampelman to the conclusion that:

"There is little evidence to prove that the goal of the Communists in the trade union movement is to achieve economic revolution or the overthrow of capitalism. There is, however, overwhelming evidence to prove that the goal of Communists in the trade union movement is support of Soviet strategy in foreign affairs, regardless of what that

strategy happens to be at any particular moment. Communist unionism, therefore, does not so much represent a trade union philosophy in any meaningful sense of the term as a system of power."

The author accurately traces to its source the bewildering twists and turns which have cut off the American CP from the main stream of organized labor. The chief value of his book, however, resides in the facts he presents rather than in his conclusions. While exposing the CP errors, he attributes to their expellers from the CIO virtues which they do not possess. He does not give a correct evaluation of the role of the established union officialdom as transmitters of imperialist influences into the labor movement. But this role alone explains the duality of the Murrays — why they were able to cohabit for a time with the Stalinists in leading the CIO and then why they moved to throw them out when the needs of the capitalist rulers so dictated.

order." However, what the author has in mind is the fact that in periods of exceptional stress, such as war, even present-day capitalism is able to meet some of the requirements for obtaining potential surplus. As Baran points out quite correctly, the demands of World War II, the costliest war in United States history, were met largely in this way.

Baran's summary of the views of the classical economists on how to obtain and best utilize potential surplus is instructive: Adam Smith, Ricardo, and the others defended the advantages of capitalist methods of extracting greater economic surplus as against feudal methods. First, in their view, capitalism would utilize available productive resources as well as the continuous technological revolutions it engenders through competition among producers. Secondly, it would keep wages to a minimum (thus increasing surplus value and incidentally keeping up the rate of profit). Capitalism would also provide a rational utilization of this increased economic surplus. It would eliminate unproductive consumption of the surplus by ending feudal retinues, corrupt governments, and venal clergymen and replacing medieval opulence by capitalist frugality.

If capitalism in its "competitive" phase did indeed live up to the prescriptions of the classical economists, at least in part; modern monopoly capitalism fails miserably to meet the optimum conditions for economic growth. Baran presents a useful sketch of the practices of present-day monopolies that stagnate progress and squander surplus. Among the devices hindering growth that Baran deals with are "price leadership," trade-marking and intense advertising rather than price cutting, monopolist investment policies, attitude towards research and technological innovations, marginal profit rates, stress on "services," expense accounts, etc.

The development of "state-ism" — although Baran does not use this term—is well handled. The state attempts to counter the growing tendency to underconsumption that plagues monopoly capitalism. It fosters a "full-employment" policy through government investments hoping to avoid *major* crashes and prevent *major* depressions. It invests huge sums for both productive and unproductive purposes. It raises these sums through deficit financing or high taxes or "deficit without spending" or one or another combination of these policies.

Government spending alleviates the situation temporarily, giving monopoly capitalism a precarious transient "lability." However, the economy becomes less and less sensitive to the stimulus of further spending.

As Baran puts it: "To be sure, systematic wastage of a sufficiently large proportion of the economic surplus on military purposes, on piling up redundant inventories, or multiplying unproductive workers, can provide the necessary 'outside impulse' to the economy of monopoly capitalism, can serve as an immediate remedy against depressions, can 'kill the pain' of rampant unemployment. But as with many other narcotics, the applicability of this shot in the arm is limited, and its effect is short-lived. What is worse,

Paul Baran's Economic Study

by Theodore Edwards

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH, by Paul A. Baran. Monthly Review Press, New York. 1957. 308 pp. \$5.

Mr. Baran, professor of economics at Stanford University since 1949, is claimed by the publisher to be "probably the only Marxian social scientist teaching at a large American university." His book develops the main ideas in Paul M. Sweezy's book, *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, which deals with the chronic crisis of capitalism in its imperialist phase. Sweezy's book, an expository presentation of orthodox Marxist economics, is a useful addition to the library of every student of Marxist economics. Baran's book deserves a similar place.

Attacking the bourgeois apologists, Baran deals with the complexities of present-day imperialist relations in the backward areas and the mechanisms regulating decadent monopoly capitalism in the advanced countries. The inferential contrast between the growth of capitalism in its early "competitive" stages and its current stagnation in both the advanced countries and the backward areas is powerful.

Unfortunately, in his eagerness to meet the bourgeois apologists on their own ground, Baran sometimes disregards the fact that his book might be read by people who possess a good enough knowledge of Marxist eco-

nomics but who have never explored the jungle of "neo-classic" economics. Thus some of his readers will have difficulty recognizing "aggregate net output" as "new value created," "real income of labor" as "variable capital," "economies of scale" as "primitive cooperation," "amortization allowance" as "circulating constant capital," and so forth. I for one wish that someone as skilled in both Marxist and bourgeois economics as Baran had kept this in mind.

Defining economic growth as "increase over time in per capita output of material goods" (i. e., increase in labor productivity), Baran stresses the need for net investment (the capitalizing of surplus value). He outlines three types of economic surpluses: First, *actual* economic surplus (really accumulated surplus value). Secondly, *potential* economic surplus (accumulable surplus value) which can be produced if the following are eliminated: (a) excess consumption by the middle and upper layers of society; (b) unproductive workers; (c) irrationality and waste in the economy; and (d) unemployment. Thirdly, *planned* economic surplus (the surplus product of a nationalized and planned economy).

The distinction between potential and planned surplus seems tenuous. As Baran himself indicates, potential economic surplus "transcends the horizon of the existing social

it frequently aggravates the long-run condition of the patient."

Turning to the backward areas of the world, Baran shows how the systematic export of their economic surplus to the advanced areas of the world contributed to rapid accumulation in the West and resulted in so-called "underdevelopment" in the rest of the globe. His illustration of how Japan, in contrast to India, was able to escape this relation makes fascinating reading.

Likewise good is the treatment of what happens to the surplus in backward areas, how it is drained by the imperialists and wasted unproductively by the native compradors, landlords, capitalists, and puppet governments. Ranging from the oil royalties received by Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela to the Second Five-Year Plan of India, Baran spates no one in his exposure of present-day colonialism, including the counter-revolutionary role of the U.S. government. Nor does he spare its standard bearers from Nelson Rockefeller and associates to the neo-Malthusians.

Professors, politicians, business tycoons, Wall Street economists — no one escapes Baran's cutting polemic. Capitalism is the cause and continuer of the backwardness of most of the world; not "shortage of capital," "lack of entrepreneurial talent," or "over-population" of the colonial world.

Baran's conclusion is final: "As Mr. Vogt put it at the conclusion of his book, 'the human race is caught in a situation as concrete as a pair of shoes two sizes too small.' The image is exact. But the pair of shoes are monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The dilemma that the majority of mankind faces today is either to liberate itself from both or to be cut down by them to the size of the crippling clogs."

Regrettably, Baran takes an altogether too uncritical approach to what he calls the "socialist" countries of the world. The last fifty pages of his book consist of a defense of bureaucratic policies in the Soviet Union, a defense studded with quotations from Stalin.

In arguing with the bourgeois professors in the opening sections of his study, Baran calls attention to the fact that what was important was not their good intentions but the objective class content of their activity: "In general it may well be said that for the appraisal of a group's or an individual's role in the historical process, subjective motivations (conscious or unconscious) are much less important than objective performances. In case of doubt, it is always useful to ask in all such matters: *cui bono?* The answer may not always be conclusive — it is never irrelevant."

But Baran as an apologist for Stalin does not apply this materialist criterion to the "frequently exasperating inadequacies and mistakes of those who devotedly struggle," to the "aberrations" of the "socialist order," to the misdeeds of Stalin and his puppets."

Is it enough to excuse these "errors" as being good-intentioned but flowing from an "inadequacy of knowledge and insight"? Or shall we ask, as Baran does of the bourgeois professors: for whose benefit? — a question which is indeed "never irrelevant." Do these

errors then not express "certain views of reality and certain interests in reality, shared by a class or a stratum of society"

Trotsky long ago pointed to the social and political forces that Stalin represented. Stalin personified the bureaucracy that usurped power in the Soviet Union during the ebb tide of the revolution.

Trotsky also long ago refuted theoretically Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" — which Baran still uses. Following in Sweezy's footsteps (*cf.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-63), Baran thinks that each "socialist" country, although collaborating with and assisted by other similar "socialist" countries, builds its own "socialist" society. Only later, at some unspecified date in the future will this lead to a fully rational organization of world economy.

Marx's view was different. He held that socialism will appear as an international structure based on the world economy built by capitalism. Sweezy, we note in passing, admits that such was the "traditional view" but carefully imitates Stalin in separating the "building" of socialism from the "triumph" of socialism: "In brief, socialism can be built up in one country, but its permanence is assured only when socialism has been victorious on an international scale." (*op. cit.*, p. 354)

Baran, writing after the revelations of the Twentieth Congress, is forced to admit that "socialism in backward and underdeveloped countries has a powerful tendency to become a backward and underdeveloped socialism." He even goes so far as to say that "what has happened in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe confirms the fundamental Marxian proposition that it is the degree of maturity of society's productive resources that determines 'the general character of social, political and intellectual life.'" Indeed it does. But then

what becomes of the socialism-in-one-country theory refuted by life itself?

Anyone with Baran's erudition would surely scoff at the idea that a feudal manor-village economy constitutes a "capitalist" economy after a local peasant revolt that abolishes feudal property relations. He would scoff still more, we would imagine, at the idea that a capitalist nation could then be built by adding together a number of such village economies. Yet, like Sweezy, Baran applies essentially the same type of reasoning to the building of socialism.

Baran fails to consider that each succeeding social system had to break through the too narrow and restrictive geographical limits that imprisoned the growing productive forces. As he illustrates so strikingly in the main portion of his book, world economy is not merely the sum of a number of separate capitalist countries but an international system based on the world market and the international division of labor. Rising capitalism had to break down the too narrow confines of manorial economy and the feudal barriers to commerce as well as establish national citizenship for the needed national labor pool. Socialism to a far greater degree requires not only the nationalization of the means of production and the introduction of planning but also the abolition of national boundaries and the introduction of world citizenship.

Viewed in this, the orthodox Marxist manner, the supposed necessity of Stalinist-type "complete" collectivizations, of break-neck industrializations, of "backward and underdeveloped socialism," will appear in its true light as the reactionary and utopian ideology of the bureaucracy that rose in the Soviet Union as a result of the backwardness and prolonged isolation of the first workers state.

Chinese and Russian Relations

by John Liang

A HISTORY OF SINO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, by Tien-fong Cheng. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. 1957. 389 pp. \$6.

DOCUMENTS ON COMMUNISM, NATIONALISM AND SOVIET ADVISERS IN CHINA, 1918-1927. Edited, with introductory essays, by C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How. Columbia University Press, New York. 1956. 617 pp. \$8.75.

It is the habit of ideologists of social classes overthrown by revolution to attribute the disaster that has overwhelmed them to blunders and episodic misfortunes which the class enemy (usually with the aid of a foreign power) has been able, with a malign cunning, to exploit to his advantage. Revolution becomes, so to speak, a historical accident.

While they may acknowledge the legitimacy of Europe's bourgeois revolutions, these

lugubrious mourners stubbornly refuse to regard the proletarian and colonial revolutions of our time as anything more than political aberrations—a mere "passing phase," to quote one of Dulles' most recent pronouncements. Kerensky is still at this late date seeking an explanation for the Bolshevik revolution outside the basic fact that, with the fall of Czarism, the belated and feeble Russian bourgeoisie he represented had no role to fill except a totally reactionary one.

Now comes Dr. Tien-fong Cheng with a volume in which he tries to explain the great Chinese revolution in terms of the same type of political thinking. The author was education minister in Chiang Kai-shek's government for a while and also put in a spell as Chinese ambassador in Berlin during the Nazi regime. It is hardly surprising, then, that his contribution to the historiography of China turns out to be a piece of

special pleading that will leave inquiring students wondering what, in reality, were the fundamental social and political factors that led to the destruction of the Kuomintang regime.

A recounting of Sino-Russian relations, going as far back as the first known Mongol-Russian contacts in the twelfth century, is the vehicle Dr. Cheng uses to carry his view of recent Chinese history. However, his lack of historical insight deprives his work of any value other than as a bare catalogue of events and a revelation of Chinese bourgeois thinking.

Dr. Cheng's thesis is simple, if not original: Russian expansionism, which he sees as a constant, unchanging factor. Under the Czars, the Muscovite imperialists pushed out Russia's frontiers and made repeated grabs for Chinese territory. Russia under the Soviets and under Stalin continued the old Czarist policy. The Chinese Communist party is an instrument of Russian expansionism and is dominated by the Kremlin. This, it would appear, deprives the third Chinese revolution of historical legitimacy. To be sure, the revolution that toppled the Kuomintang was not *simply* the result of a Soviet plot. There were numerous indigenous factors, naturally, that led up to the great debacle. But these were, in Dr. Cheng's view, of a fortuitous character and merely made easier the work of Moscow's Chinese agents.

Had the multifarious misfortunes that beset the Kuomintang regime not occurred, Soviet "imperialism" might not have had its chance. Says Dr. Cheng: "The fundamental (sic) cause of the defeat and collapse of the Chinese Government on the mainland was the eight-year Sino-Japanese war (which) completely ruined China, financially, economically and morally." Runaway inflation made it ever harder for the people to live. Corruption was widespread. And so — "officials lost the incentive to work, officers and rank and file lost the will to fight, while intellectuals, professors, teachers, university students, etc., lost their confidence in the government and began to have illusions about the Communists. Had these things not happened the Communists would never have been able to occupy the mainland." As the tide of revolution rolled closer to Chiang's capital at Nanking: "Any will to resist which had still been left among the government officials and troops were (sic) now almost completely taken away and everybody expected the worst."

What is this if not the classic picture of a regime doomed by history and awaiting the political undertaker?

The Kuomintang regime collapsed because of its own inner rottenness. The Communists simply walked in and took over. But where he deals with the corruption of the regime, Dr. Cheng is careful to be vague, for fear of giving offense to the gang on Formosa which still hopes to stage a come back. Dr. Cheng was not at the summit of the Kuomintang hierarchy, but he was pretty close to it and knew what went on. Yet he never so much as hints that the most corrupt among the corrupt were precisely those at the very top, beginning with Chiang Kai-shek and his Madame and the Soong family clique. On the contrary, our historian refers to Chiang with

the deference of an underling, never forgetting to give him the title of "Generalissimo" or "President".

The Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek was the instrument by means of which the Chinese bourgeoisie wielded political power. This bourgeoisie was even more feeble and belated than its Russian counterpart that went down in the Bolshevik revolution. It arose and it functioned primarily as an agency of foreign capital. Having no independent and progressive social function, it could rule *only* by means of a military dictatorship. That's what the Kuomintang regime was, from its beginning in 1927 until its destruction twenty years later. When Chiang's armies, the only sure prop of the regime, began to melt away in the spreading fires of revolution, the end was in sight.

The regime might yet have been saved, Dr. Cheng thinks, if massive American military support had been forthcoming. As he writes: "The only hope to turn the situation for better seemed to lie in immediate and large-scale military aid from the United States." What a confession of utter bankruptcy! In the hour of mortal peril the Chinese bourgeoisie knew of only one means to save itself — military intervention by an imperialist power! Chiang asked urgently for American military aid. He even invited the U.S. to occupy the cities of North China and to appoint American military advisers to participate in the "direction of operations" against the Communist armies.

But Washington, having observed how American military supplies somehow always ended up in the hands of the Communists; convinced, too, of the imminence of the Kuomintang's collapse, was cool to Chiang's appeals. What's more, alas! the State Department was honeycombed with people who naively looked upon the Chinese Communists as simple "agrarian reformers" instead of a Red revolutionary menace. And so the last hope vanished.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson, writing "Finis" to the immediate postwar chapter of American policy in China, declared: "Nothing that this country did or could have done, within the reasonable limit of its capabilities, could have changed that result (the Communist triumph); nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of Chinese internal forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not." In this statement, Acheson revealed several years ago more understanding of the Chinese revolution than Dr. Cheng does now.

As if to emphasize the ineptitude of the dead-and-gone Kuomintang regime which he adorned, Dr. Cheng's book has appeared with serious technical defects of a most irritating kind. There are inconsistencies in the spelling of Chinese names. The text is marred by faulty grammar and some of the most atrocious English construction. Finally, the book teems with typographical errors.

* * *

In refreshing contrast is the volume of documents seized in the raid on the Soviet embassy and military attaché's office in Peking in 1927, edited and with introductory es-

says by C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How.

Here is valuable source material for students of the second Chinese revolution and the Stalinist policies that led to its defeat. Here, too, in some of the written records of the time, is confirmation of many of the facts upon which Trotsky based his criticisms of the course imposed upon the Chinese Communist party by the dominant Stalin-Bukharin leadership of the Comintern.

Across the pages of this impressive volume move the great figures of China's modern revolutionary movement. Here is Chen Tu-hsiu, founder and leader of the Chinese Communist party and a great cultural pioneer. After the defeat of the revolution in 1927 he became a Trotskyist. The Stalinists, after 1949, overturned the headstone on his grave in a little Szechuan village, thinking to obliterate this illustrious revolutionist from the minds of the young.

Also in these pages are Peng Shu-chih, another pioneer revolutionist, later a Trotskyist and Liu Jen-ching, briefly a Trotskyist, who wrote in the early Trotskyist press in this country under the pen name of Niel Sih. Naturally we encounter the names of the Stalinist great — Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and Chu Chiu-pai. And the Soviet advisers and instructors — Borodin, Voitinski, Pavel Mif and General Galen (Vassili Blucher, framed up with other Red Army generals and shot by Stalin's order in 1937).

The raid on the Soviet establishment in Peking, violating all the norms of diplomatic usage, took place on April 6, 1927, just a few days prior to Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary coup d'état at Shanghai. It was ordered by the Manchurian warlord Chang Tso-lin, then in control of Peking. Its evident purpose was to find documentary proof of Soviet plotting in league with the Chinese Communist party, as a pretext for a rupture of relations with Moscow.

Seven truckloads of documents, some partly burned, were carted away by the raiders. Thirteen days later, the authorities began publishing the purported texts of the seized papers, some in English translations from the Russian, others in the original Chinese, with English translations. On April 27, the purported originals were exhibited for the benefit of the diplomatic corps and other foreign observers. If the documents were forgeries, Chang Tso-lin must have had in his service some really expert forgers and remarkable technical facilities for making the forgeries seem genuine.

Moscow denounced the whole thing as a frame-up instigated by Britain and declared the documents forgeries. The notorious "Zinoviev Letter" used by the Tories to defeat the Labor party in the 1924 elections and later proved to be a forgery, seemed to add weight to Moscow's denunciation. Press correspondents in Peking were divided in their opinions as to the authenticity of the seized documents, which purported to show Soviet "plotting" in China, directed, particularly, against the imperialist powers. But most of the newsmen thought they were genuine. The authors of this volume, concluding a remarkable work of research and

Grim Note

The Reporter (Aug. 8) records William Russell, president emeritus of Teachers College, Columbia, as having recently sounded the following "grim note":

"Too much leisure with too much money has been the dread of societies across the ages. That is when nations cave in from within. That is when they fall."

scholarship, believe the documents were genuine and advance convincing reasons for that belief. Strongest, perhaps, as they point out, is the internal evidence of authenticity offered by the documents themselves. They square with established facts that are now a part of history.

The Peking documents afford an invaluable insight into the policies and activities of the Chinese Communist party. This Comintern-dominated party was in turn subordinated politically, by Moscow orders, to the Kuomintang. This was effected through the medium of the so-called "Left" Kuomintang, which was just a small clique led by Wang Ching-wei.

The theory upon which this subordination was brought about was the bare contention that the Chinese struggle for national independence was led, and could only be led, by the bourgeoisie. The Chinese Communists were taught that the fight against imperialism required a national united front. Since the bourgeoisie was already supposedly the leader in the fight, the Comintern pundits confirmed them in that role.

The national united front of that period went down in history as the "bloc of four classes" in which, allegedly, all sections of the population, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, the workers and the peasants, were united in a common battle against the

imperialist violators. To preserve the united front against imperialism, it was necessary to avoid giving offense to the bourgeoisie and the landlords. Workers were forbidden to strike and the peasants were held back from seizing the land. This Menshevik-type policy of class collaboration was palmed off on the inexperienced Chinese Communist party — as Bolshevism.

Instead of becoming the leader of the revolution, the Chinese Communist party became its lackey. With the proletarian and peasant masses disarmed, both politically and otherwise, the counter-revolutionary triumph of Chiang Kai-shek was assured. Needless to add, Chiang quickly revealed his true face, not as a fighter against foreign domination, but as a venal tool of the imperialists.

Twenty years later, after World War II, the Stalinist leadership of the Chinese Communist party sought to repeat the disastrous policies of 1925-27. Nothing was further from the intentions of these ingrained opportunists than the seizure of power in the name of China's workers and peasants. Eschewing revolution, they tried until the eleventh hour to make a political coalition with the Kuomintang — the same Kuomintang that had slain the revolution before — on the basis of democratic reforms. But tremendous revolutionary mass pressure and a changed world situation rendered impossible a repetition of the old performance. The Chinese Stalinists were compelled to take the power they were so reluctant to wield.

Thirty years — the span of a generation — have elapsed since the events with which the documents in this volume are concerned. Yet the documents have a certain freshness, for they embody ideas and tell of facts that still are a subject of debate between the opportunist school of Stalinist politics and the revolutionary school of Trotskyism. Young people in the socialist movement should by all means study this valuable historical material.

in the union as similar to that of communism. If both racketeering and communism represent "foreign bodies in the content of unionism," if "both serve the cupidity of outsiders or insiders for naked power or money or both," if racketeer and communist domination in unions are necessarily a "tampering with the essential integrity of unions as we know unions in a free society," then it would follow that any method the government or the top union officialdom uses against racketeers may also be used against communists.

The chapter "Communists in Unions" is loaded with half-truths, twisted quotations, and distortions of facts. The aim is to denigrate the positive role that Marxist parties have played in the rise of unionism.

While his assertion is correct that the trade-union program of the present Communist party reflects the tactical needs of Moscow, Barbash gives away the social-democratic source of his material by making Stalinism out to be the continuation of Leninism. Trusting to the ignorance of his readers, Barbash pictures Lenin as a kind of Stalin, then claims that Stalin followed in the doctrinal footsteps of Lenin. Hence the Stalinists are really Leninists; and the Leninists are really Stalinists.

After "proving" the identity of Stalinism and Leninism, the author accurately outlines the miserable role of Stalinism in the American labor movement for the past 30 years — its zig-zags, dual unionism in the late twenties and early thirties, support of the no-strike pledge in World War II, etc.

In the unions today where effective opposition has virtually ceased to exist it is a simple matter for a bureaucrat to smear radical-minded workers by such formulas and the record of the Stalinists. But when the working class begins to move in a leftward direction again, it will learn soon enough in the rough school of the class struggle that its enemy is not the radical who seeks to give the union better direction and leadership.

In the final parts of his book Barbash departs completely from reality. Talking about union leadership and its selection, he says: "Union government is essentially democratic. Responsiveness to the membership is not only a matter of political expediency designed to strengthen the leader's position, it is a right which democratic traditions of unionism give the membership. And it is a right implemented and reinforced by specific mechanisms."

I can only suggest that instead of interviewing simply the top officials of the needle trades on "industrial government," Walter Reuther on "planned bargaining," and David McDonald on "mutual trusteeship," Barbash would have presented a more accurate and possibly more honest picture had he interviewed typical rank and filers on speed-up, handling of grievances, negotiation of contracts, and the suppression of the democratic rights of the membership.

In its failure to deal with these and many other problems on the minds of the rank and file, the book falls far short of the publisher's claim that it is a penetrating study and analysis of the American labor movement.

As the Officials See the Unions

by M. Snipper

THE PRACTICE OF UNIONISM, by Jack Barbash. Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York. 1956. 465 pp. \$5.

This is the trade-union movement seen through the eyes of the trade-union bureaucrat. The author gives an accurate account of how and why unions are organized, their structure and how they are administered. He explains various techniques of collective bargaining, what causes strikes and how they are conducted.

On the question of political action he presents the facts in such a way as to justify the reactionary attitude of the trade-union officialdom who still support the Democrats and Republicans. After outlining Gompers' policy of rewarding your friends and punish-

ing your enemies he cites instances to show that it is still in force. To indicate why these officials reject the third-party alternative he quotes Reuther at the CIO convention in 1954. "A Labor Party is not only impractical at this time but historically incorrect for American Labor."

Barbash claims the unions have become a big business and therefore require an increasing number of "technicians" — economists, journalists, engineers (specialists in production, techniques and time study), lawyers, educators, doctors, etc. The author underlines the weight of these technicians in the bureaucratic structure. To be sure the modern trade-union movement is a complex organization and requires such specialists. But their role, particularly that of the legal staff, is highly conservative.

Barbash views the problem of racketeering

Investigating

(Continued from Page 106)

gressivism' but I found the second part . . . by Joseph Hansen, 'What the Job Takes,' the most enlightening. Both Warde and Hansen are expert Marxists, and people who have been reading only *The Worker*, the *National Guardian*, or the *Monthly Review* are depriving themselves of some really penetrating thought if they have not been reading the *International Socialist Review*. A debate between Harvey O'Connor and the editors in the spring *ISR* is another article that I suggest reading."

While he holds that the SWP is still too "narrow and purist" and not the "broad Lenin-Debs party that I want to see," Larrabee believes that "it is flexible and democratic enough to eventually become a party" attractive to varied types.

We are willing to admit that we found Larrabee's report pleasing as well as instructive. We especially liked his enthusiasm over what the Trotskyist movement has to offer. We hope the account of his experience will help convince others of the need to investigate this much misrepresented movement as he did.

* * *

Our Toronto correspondent writes us that the Labour Progressive (Stalinist) party is in a "very bad way." The Salsberg opposition to the old Stalinist leadership failed to develop a genuine socialist program and carried on in an unprincipled way. Tim Buck, the William Z. Foster of Canada, was able "to effectively label their hesitant probings and expressions of doubt as revisionist, anti-Leninist and anti-Bolshevik and swung the old loyal party elements away from Salsberg."

But the "Anglo-Canadian and the Jewish section of the party is virtually gone and Buck is down to the old hard core of the Ukrainian-Finnish cadre." These appear "tired, worn out and demoralized." The financial drive in Toronto for the press reached only a third of its goal; circulation is at an all-time low; the *Tribune* admits that it is "struggling for its life."

Unlike the Communist party in the United States, the Labour Progressive party managed to weather the Kremlin's suppression of the Hungarian workers without a great public crisis. This appears to have been due in part to the Canadian government's policy of admitting large numbers of refugees. "There is a widespread tendency amongst leftists to be against anything that the class enemy promotes; the Liberal government is reactionary; it wouldn't be bringing in radicals; these Hungarians must all be a bunch of fascists — so the argument goes."

Poland's resistance to the Kremlin's domination had a much bigger impact. In fact the "first reaction of the LPP executive during Poland's October was to express sympathy with Poland and opposition to the Kremlin's threats." Buck succeeded in having this reversed, but it became one of the big issues in the internal dispute.

Now has come the downfall of Malenkov, Molotov and the others. It is the opinion of our Toronto correspondent that "the end of the myth of collectivity of leadership and rule by law will have a big impact" on what remains of the LLP.

* * *

Our Vancouver correspondent reports that the general decline of the Labour Progressive party in Canada has been highlighted in British Columbia where the party publishes a paper for the province. The editorial policy, particularly after Buck cleaned out all opposition at the convention, has been to "support the Kremlin with energy." But the staff has been reduced from eight to two. "Their latest financial drive, they admit, was a hopeless failure after going on for six weeks after the deadline."

* * *

Art Preis, the veteran labor editor of *The Militant*, praised our new typography as "much superior" to the old. "In the contents, I read everything in two evenings with real enjoyment. My impression is that the standard of writing and editing made reading smoother and easier. I especially appreciated Swabek's article on Beck, and Warde's article on the rise and fall of progressivism and found Petrov's revelations on Trotsky's murder fascinating."

"Cannon's review of *The Roots of American Communism* is extremely stimulating, and I, for one, am going to read Draper's book as soon as I can lay my hands on it. Hansen's article was of interest to me mainly as a demonstration of the way in which the 'Anti-Monopoly Coalition' concept can best be presented from a class-struggle point of view rather than the Stalinist Popular Front version."

"And I'd like to say again that Evelyn Reed's article 'Anthropology Today' in the spring issue of the *ISR* is a major contribution and one of the finest articles ever to appear in our magazine."

* * *

We will close by thanking our correspondents from New York, Chicago, San Francisco and points in between for their

congratulations on the last issue of the *ISR* and their many excellent suggestions for further improvements. This month we feel the lack of space keenly, for many of the points raised by our correspondents have a general interest and we would like to have printed every letter.

The moral is short: we need funds to expand. So do what you can to increase our circle of readers as a necessary preliminary to increasing the size and frequency of publication of the *International Socialist Review*.

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You can read them in the public library, of course; but if you want them for leisurely study or handy reference you need them on your own book shelves. The following works by Leon Trotsky are specially important today when the predictions and grave warnings of this socialist leader, who gave his life for the truth, are being borne out before our eyes.

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