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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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A Growing Trend

A change in the outlook of an important section of the American radical movement, under way since 1956, seems to us to have reached significant proportions. It is the growth of independent thought among circles long regarded as at least influenced by Stalinism, tolerant of it, or even in some cases under its direct discipline.

Khrushchev's admissions at the Twentieth Congress of some of Stalin's crimes started the process. Sincere socialists, who up to then had identified Stalinism and socialism or who had felt that Stalinism must at least be included among the forces favoring socialism, began to check the cause of their error and to study the real nature of the movement

Sign of the Times

Strangely deformed frogs were found in a ditch into which the Amsterdam Nuclear-Research Institute deposits its waste, the *Weekly Vrij Nederland* reported today.

The paper said Dr. D. Hellenius, a biologist, listed among frogs brought to him:

"Frogs with extra legs, frogs with three legs and a fourth leg with 15 to 20 long toes, frogs with reversed hind legs."

The paper said Dr. Hellenius suggested the deformities were the result of contact with radioactive waste.

—AP, Amsterdam, Sept. 12.

that had made a cult of the paranoiac dictator. This has resulted in some reassessments of far-reaching import and more appear to be in store.

The shift has already had important practical consequences, one of the most encouraging being the demonstration in the November elections of the capacity of various tendencies to unite behind socialist candidates despite considerable differences over platform.

Howard Fast's book *The Naked God*,* which reached us too late for review in this issue, is the most articulate and deep-going expression to date of the turn.

We do not see how any one can read this devastating exposure of Stalinism in practice, even Communist party members who still think Stalin had his good points, without responding emotionally to the resolution of the author to speak the truth no matter how ugly or what the cost in personal agony. But from the intellectual point of view, the book has even greater impact, for it records the end of Howard Fast as a "front" figure of the Communist party and his beginning as an independent political thinker.

Unlike the all too many intellectuals who have mistaken Stalinism for socialism and then, upon seeing the hideous side of Stalinism, recoiled from socialism to become de-

fenders of capitalism, Fast remains firmly anti-capitalist and pro-socialist. Similarly he refuses to turn his back on the Soviet Union, remaining a defender of the principle of planned economy. He has declared himself a partisan of the Soviet workers who want to get rid of Stalinism and re-establish proletarian democracy. This partisanship extends to Eastern Europe, emphatically including the workers of Hungary who revolted against the Stalinist regime imposed upon them.

Fast thinks little of the possibility of reforming the Communist party: "The thin hope that the Party could possibly become humanized under the keen and devastating blows of observant and capable writers, plying their age-old task of speaking their piece with no hold barred, was utterly and finally shattered when Trotsky and the men around him were defeated, exiled and murdered."

In *The Naked God*, Fast makes no attempt to examine the economic and social roots of Stalinism. His immediate need is to cleanse himself of the filth in which he found himself, and the personal story he tells is directed above all, it appears to us, to those for whom he holds the warmest respect and affection, the rank and file members of the Communist party. Fast is undoubtedly keenly alive to what these comrades can best appreciate at the moment. But for those ready or willing to probe deeper, the author indicates where they can find material of interest:

"The secret report [of Khrushchev] is central. For years Trotsky was the devil's own name, and no Communist was permitted to read him, much less quote him. But a few weeks before writing this, I opened Leon Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. I had not looked at it for almost twenty years, but its words rang with the terrible timeliness of a commentary on the Khrushchev report written today. Yet the book was published in 1937.

"I care little at this point about denunciations by Communists, but I feel impelled to suggest that the right to challenge me be earned. I defy Communists to read the secret report again, fully, carefully, and then to balance against it Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*—and having done so, to refute me. As for those who will not read the evidence, their minds are locked and the Party has had its way with them."

If Howard Fast were an isolated figure, his declaration of intellectual independence would still have great significance, for he is a novelist of integrity loved by millions. But he happens to be expressing the mood of revolt apparent in the entire cultural periphery of the Communist party. *The Naked God* is not just the cry of an American novelist, it is the voice of the writers who were in the forefront of the Hungarian Revolution and the Polish October.

Fast says what any number of intellectuals in the Soviet Union wish they could say now and which they most certainly will say, perhaps even more eloquently, at the first op-

portunity. In political context, the document belongs to the developing political revolution in the Soviet sphere and as word of it spreads there it is bound to have its effect on coming events. On the American radical scene its effect, of course, will be much more immediate.

As further evidence of the growing tendency toward independent thought, we would like to call attention to the November issue of the *Monthly Review*. First, the article by Joseph Clark, who recently resigned from the Communist party. This is the same article that appeared in England in Peter Fryer's special edition of *The Newsletter* celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Clark has gone a long way since the Khrushchev report shook him out of his dogmatic slumber as a member of the staff of the *Daily Worker*. He is aware now of the "terrible, dark side of Soviet development," of "the repressions, the awful penal camps, the frame-ups" and he is tortured over why he was "blind to most of the evils of Stalinism during the nearly three years I spent in the Soviet Union as *Daily Worker* correspondent."

But he has not gone over to the side of capitalism. He is still "impressed by an economic system which not only exists without a stock exchange, but makes far more rapid progress in production than it did when it was blessed with one."

He disagrees with Milovan Djilas's position
(Continued on Page 30)

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 223) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF *International Socialist Review*, published quarterly at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1957.

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JOSEPH HANSEN, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of October, 1957.

(SEAL)

WARREN E. SPAIN

(My commission expires January 14, 1960.)

Editorial

The Balance Sheet

IT WAS singularly appropriate that Sputnik and Mutnik, the first man-made earth satellites, were launched into outer space in connection with the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution. The two events, separated by the span of four decades, represent radical new departures. The October Revolution marked the beginning of a new social era, the socialist era. The whirling artificial "moons" have placed man on the threshold of new physical worlds. Henceforth, the two momentous events will be inseparably linked in the minds of thinking men and women.

When the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, established the Soviet power, the capitalist world expressed its feelings in terms of skepticism and undisguised hostility. The wise men of the bourgeoisie began by giving the Soviets a maximum life of two weeks — then two months — then six months — then two years. After that they gave up. But the Soviet government has lived for forty years. It represents the world's second industrial and military power, now fast forging ahead to first place. To the Soviet Union now belongs the honor of having made the first successful invasion of outer space.

Why were the capitalist estimators of Soviet longevity so wide of the mark? Bourgeois thinking is manifestly circumscribed by property interests. A capitalist cannot imagine a society in which he is not top dog, much less non-existent. Capitalism makes him the director and the principal beneficiary of mankind's collective labor, giving him easy access to all the good things of life. Just as it is the well-spring of his life, so also it appears as the fountainhead of all progress.

Socialism with its "regimentation" — what of value could issue from such an inferior society? But Sputnik and Mutnik — they're really hard to explain away. The babel of voices in government, in science, in education, in military affairs, reveals the alarm bordering on panic that has seized the capitalist world.

Panic is not a good atmosphere in which to review soberly and objectively the forty-year accomplishments

of the Russian Revolution. It is confined, however, to the capitalist camp. Socialists can draw the balance sheet calmly and derive from it valuable political lessons. The achievements of the Russian October should be appraised on two levels: the national, what they have meant for the peoples of the Soviet Union; and the international, what they mean for mankind as a whole.

The October Revolution radically transformed the life and character of the Russian people. It elevated them from the most backward nation in Europe to the second industrial and military power of the world. The Revolution broke the shackles that bound the Soviet peoples to a barbarous past. It cleared away the deadwood of feudalism. It tore up capitalism by its roots. A new class came to the head of the nation, the working men and women and their peasant allies. Together they laid the foundations of the first working-class republic in history. They built the Red Army and defended the new regime through four hard years against its powerful internal and external enemies.

The workers proceeded to reconstruct the economic foundations of the former Czarist empire. Through successive five-year plans they created a heavy industry, now second in the world. Though brutally and with needless sacrifice (thanks to the Stalin regime), agriculture was transformed from small peasant holdings to collectivized and state farms. Technology attained great heights in many fields, helped by drastic changes in the educational system which brought literacy to the masses and opened avenues of knowledge to the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, while encouraging and organizing the study of engineering and the natural sciences.

In the social sphere, public health service was extended to much of the population. Discrimination against women, although they are, under the bureaucratic regime, the most abused section of the working population, came to an end. By cleaning out the propertied parasites, new careers were opened up to workers and peasants, as well as bureaucrats. All this, plus the

was isolated in a hostile capitalist environment for almost thirty years. Imperialist blockade and other pressures held back the development of the most progressive forces and encouraged the more conservative elements in the country.

Even though industry made rapid strides and agriculture was modernized, the productive forces were not great enough to afford an abundant life to the masses. But they were sufficient to furnish privileges to a few million of the more fortunate in the government, industry, armed forces and other institutions. Out of these economic inequalities emerged a ruling caste of bureaucrats. Elevating themselves above the worker-peasant masses, the new rulers trampled on democratic rights and, while clothing themselves in the authority of the revolution, violated all its principles. A system of bureaucratic command was substituted for the Soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky. The crowning pinnacle of this system was the one-man dictatorship of Stalin, euphemistically referred to by Khrushchev as the "cult of the personality."

Where did the disgraceful, humiliating, harmful deification of Stalin come from? The phenomenon is all the more startling because it emerged, not from the least enlightened strata of the population still under the influence of religion, but from the heights of the Communist party, which was avowedly guided by the materialist philosophy of Marxism. The myth of Stalin's infallibility, like that of the Pope, was sedulously propagated both in the Soviet Union and abroad and swallowed whole by Stalinist leaders everywhere. The explanation for this phenomenon lies not in the personal qualities of Stalin as an individual (although they were, contrary to the official mythology, almost all bad), but in the exceptional service Stalin performed for the bureaucratic caste that raised him to supremacy and kept him there because he served their interests.

The "bossmen" who had concentrated all power in their hands could no more practice democracy within their own circle than they could permit it to the masses of the people. They had to find other means of solving the problems and settling the differences that rose up among themselves. The method had necessarily to be in consonance with their own type of rule: autocratic, arbitrary, violent and deceitful. In short, they needed an all-powerful arbiter, ruthless and omniscient, to guard the power monolith against threats from within. Stalin was raised to this position and held it unchallenged for so long because he personified the bureaucracy and best expressed its collective interests. Just as the bureaucracy settled everything within the country (and in the Communist parties abroad), so the "man of steel" decided everything within the ruling group and for it. There was no higher authority to check his acts or bridle his caprice, no constitutional power to which any appeal from his edicts might have been taken.

The power of the gods, and even their very existence, was at bottom derived from the powerlessness of the people before nature and society. So likewise the limitless authority of Stalin connoted the total usurpation

of power from the masses. The cult of the personality, so persistently practiced for decades, was its end product. The elevation of Stalin to superhuman heights was the other side of the bureaucratic coin — the political degradation of the workers through the destruction of Soviet democracy. The autocratic power of the bureaucracy went up as the rights of the people, won by revolution, went down.

Expressed here is one of the most conspicuous contradictions of Soviet society. They abound, of course, in all spheres of Soviet life and activity. The repugnant face of Stalinism was exposed by the Trotskyists many years before Khrushchev made his "revelations" at the Twentieth Congress. Stalin's horrendous crimes were explained as the evil fruit of deep-seated conflicts within Soviet society. The latter, it was pointed out, is a transitional social order. Having emerged from capitalism and barbarism and being subjected to their still potent influence, it at the same time nourishes the forces of oncoming socialism. It has been and it remains a battlefield and a testing ground for these antagonistic influences and tendencies, the first pulling it backward toward the old class relations, the latter impelling it toward the new.

The launching of the first man-made earth satellites brings into focus one more of the current contradictions of contemporary Soviet society — the disparity in the development of the physical and social sciences — and brings to mind others.

The space biorocket and its orbiting represent a superlative feat of modern science and technology. It could be accomplished only by a country with first-class personnel and facilities over a wide range of scientific and technical fields, especially mathematics, physics, chemistry, metallurgy, electronics and engineering. Yet in the field of the social sciences, what a poverty of achievement over the past thirty years! There is not even a reliable history of the Russian Revolution available to Soviet readers. Stalin's handbook of historical falsehoods was scrapped after the Twentieth Congress and Trotsky's monumental *History* is still under ban. Political economy and philosophy have fared no better than history.

The immense strides in heavy industry are not matched by corresponding advances in consumers industry or in agriculture. There has been some recent improvement, but there is a continuing serious lack of consumer goods for the bulk of the people, a scarcity of housing and a chronic crisis in agriculture.

In the sphere of transportation, huge jet passenger planes speed above the trackless wilderness and over dirt roads where peasant carts creak along in well-worn ruts as they have for centuries. In these planes sit wizards of modern science and bemedaled generals looking down upon the huts of poor uncultured country people.

The government ruling over this vast land of the great October Revolution is supposed to be a government of, by and for the workers. Yet until recently the workers have been forbidden to leave or change their jobs. They have been denied free speech and the right

to strike. In their land, they and the world have been told, socialism has been established. Yet in the Soviet Union the inequality of incomes and of living conditions is greater than in many capitalist countries.

Examples like these could be multiplied. We cite them in order to establish our main point, namely, that in order to understand the forty-year history of the Soviet Union and properly appraise its present nature, it is essential to grasp its highly contradictory features and the dual character of its institutions, hallmarks of a transitional regime. The unreconstructed Stalinists see only the favorable aspects of the Soviet reality, or prefer to see nothing but them. To such, the faults and imperfections, no matter how serious, are insignificant and episodic: they can safely be left to the all-knowing leader, whoever he happens to be at the moment. Of course, there are some disillusioned ex-Stalinists who have swung to the opposite extreme. Having previously considered the state of affairs in the Soviet Union as the purest Socialism, they now can see nothing in the Soviet Union that 'IS socialist in character. Both the attitudes described here, being one-sided, and therefore dialectically false, lead to reactionary conclusions in politics. Marxists must examine the Soviet reality critically and objectively, separating the progressive from the reactionary features and supporting the one against the other.

* * *

Since the death of Stalin the Russian Revolution has entered a new stage. The long period of reaction and degeneration is now being succeeded by one of regeneration. The objective conditions for this revival of Bolshevism were already being created before Stalin died. There were three basic factors responsible for the rise of Soviet bureaucratism. First, there was the backwardness of Russian society, even after the abolition of capitalist rule. Second, was the prolonged isolation of the new workers state because of the failure of the socialist revolution to conquer in the West. Third, was the awful poverty in the most elementary necessities and comforts of life.

The first two of these constraints on socialist development have been largely broken down in the period since World War II. In addition to enormous advances in industry, the expansion of Soviet power into Eastern Europe, together with the victory of the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions, broke the imperialist encirclement. The unrivaled pace of industrial growth has not only converted the Soviet Union into the world's second economic and military power; it has also brought to the fore a literate, skilled and dynamic working class, fifty million strong, along with a live-minded younger generation of students and intellectuals. All these developments, far from strengthening the rule of the bureaucracy, are actually shaking it to its foundations. New fissures are constantly opening in the Stalinist monolith. The latest appeared when Sputnik went up and Zhukov went down. Even before the Soviet space satellite circled the earth, the political satellites in Eastern

Europe had tried to wrench themselves away from Moscow's orbit.

What is the inner connection between these events, which have both excited and puzzled observers of Soviet life? We have here another example of the contradictory character and opposing trends of this transitional society. In Sputnik and Mutnik are concentrated and crystallized the finest, most dynamic features of the new society. In the convulsions of the Moscow hierarchy we can discern the approaching death agony of the bureaucratic despoilers. The clash of these antagonistic forces is the key to an understanding of the present stage of the Russian Revolution.

The propulsive forces behind Sputnik are, first of all, the nationalized property and planned economy of the Soviet Union which enabled the necessary resources to be mobilized and concentrated on the attainment of a single great objective. The parallel project in the United States has been impeded not only by rivalry between the different branches of the military organization, but by the very nature of the system in which contracts are let to private firms, each with its own carefully kept business secrets and profit motives.

Secondly, Sputnik is the product of an educational system and organization of science for social uses. The Soviet Union graduates twice as many engineers as the United States this year. Its scientific institutions are among the world's best. One such institution is devoted entirely to gathering and speedily translating new scientific documents from other countries and placing them at the disposal of Soviet scientists. Add to all this a vast and up-to-date industrial complex utilizing the most modern techniques and instruments, an economic system that can readily assimilate every fresh technological advance, and an increasingly cultured and skilled body of workers associated with engineers and scientists. There you have the basic reasons why the Soviet Union has moved out front in the field of astronautics. To be sure, there are obvious military implications in the Soviet achievement. But here we see, not the inherent nature of the new society, but inescapable defense measures against a belligerent imperialism.

* * *

Let us now turn our attention from the rocketeers to the highly placed racketeers of the revolution. At Stalin's funeral, his heirs called upon the people to rally around the "collective leadership." Since then the world has watched one after the other go down to death or disgrace. Of the Big Three at the funeral, Beria was the first to go. He was executed in secret without any pretense of a public trial, showing that the police-state methods of the dead dictator lived on and were being practiced by his successors. Malenkov was next disgraced and demoted. Then Molotov. Recently it was Marshal Zhukov's turn. Khrushchev alone remains. For how long?

The specific reasons for Zhukov's removal are not known outside the Kremlin. There are grounds for believing that it was in the nature of a preventive action, to curb the growing power of the army high command

and remove from the scene a popular figure, the "Hero of Stalingrad," who could have become the rallying point, if not the actual inspirer, of oppositional movements.

More important, however, than the rise and fall of individuals at the top, and the rivalry of contending factions within the bureaucracy, are the underlying social and political processes that these reflect. Together with the post-mortem downgrading of Stalin and the shattering of the "cult of the personality," these rifts in the Kremlin mark the beginnings of a reversal of the very processes which originally brought the bureaucracy to power.

Postwar developments in the Soviet Union, cited above, have vastly increased the strength and confidence of the working people in relation to the bureaucracy, thereby weakening the very base of the pedestal upon which the ruling group and its leading representatives stood. Stalin was toppled to appease an angry people demanding long-overdue reforms. His successors are now attempting to substitute a more impersonal "cult of the bureaucracy" for the police-enforced adulation of Stalin, calling it "the collective leadership." The main tenet of the new creed enjoins the masses: "Leave everything to us, the reformed scalwags. Don't think of interfering on your own account in the affairs of state. This is bureaucratic business exclusively. All others keep out."

The new cult, we can confidently predict, won't last very long. Indeed, the antagonisms visible in the top leadership have already exposed it as a pernicious sham. The difficulty for the bureaucracy is that any policy expressing their determination to preserve their power and privileges runs up against the imperious demands of the new stage of Soviet development and the insistent needs of the resurgent people. It is a difficulty that only a political revolution can solve — a political revolution that will dethrone the bureaucratic usurpers and restore genuine Soviet democracy.

When the ground shakes, the topmost branches of the trees tremble. Conflicts among the Kremlin tops are generated by tremors from below as various elements in the ruling group respond, each in its characteristic manner, to the increasing pressure of the people. What

Why Is It Banned?

Leon Trotsky's three-volume "History of the Russian Revolution" cannot be read in the land of the Russian Revolution. Yet historians consider it one of the best accounts of the great events of 1917. Read it for yourself to find out why this "best book" is on the Soviet "forbidden" list. \$12.50.

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we are observing is nothing less than a reawakening of the Russian Revolution, driving forward to new and higher levels. The thrust comes from an accumulation of forces that must find an outlet. The demands of the toiling masses are the visible evidence of the thrust. The masses begin by exerting pressure upon the institutions of the regime in order to exact concessions. Whether these are given or denied, at the next stage they pass over to direct action in the form of meetings, demonstrations and strikes and the election of factory committees and workers councils. The crowning point of the movement is the armed uprising against the regime.

In Hungary, all these stages came in a rush. In Poland, the movement stopped short before the climactic point of insurrection. In the Soviet Union, the political revolution is developing more slowly but no less surely. The first signs were revolts in the concentration camps, open criticism of the authorities voiced by artists, writers and intellectuals, protests of the student youth in Moscow and Leningrad, the concessions demanded by and given to the workers. Whatever the further pace of events, forces are now on the march that the bureaucracy will be unable to control or subdue, as they could in the past. The will of the people to be done with the nightmare horror of Stalinism, even with its much-vaunted "new look," will prove stronger than a general secretary or a covey of marshals.

* * *

In the foregoing paragraphs we have covered the essential features of the continuing "problem" of the Russian Revolution. Bolshevism has survived every assault the malice of its class enemies could contrive. It has survived the Stalin regime. It has lived to confound all the Philistines, doubters and turncoats by its impressive socialist achievements. It stands now on the threshold of new brilliant accomplishments. From this enormous historical experience the American workers can learn the following:

(1) Even in backward lands the workers are the sole creative force, the rightful successors to the capitalists as leaders and organizers of society. The capitalists are not needed to govern society or to administer the economy.

(2) Nationalized property in the means of production, distribution and exchange, together with planned economy, can increase the productive capacity at a faster rate than capitalist ownership and operation.

(3) Capitalism as a world system is on the downgrade, on its way out, even though it maintains a stronghold in the United States and a stranglehold on the Western world.

On this fortieth anniversary of the first victorious proletarian revolution, American workers should ask themselves this question: If backward Russia, surrounded by hostile forces, could forge ahead in four decades to the position of the world's second greatest power, what could not be accomplished in a single decade in an America liberated from the parasitic control of monopoly capital?

Three Programs for Peace

An examination of the capitalist policy of "containment," the socialist alternative and the Kremlin's proposal for "peaceful coexistence." Which one is the most realistic?

by Joseph Hansen

AS THE major world powers announce one technical success after another in building missiles capable of reducing each other's industrial centers to radioactive ruins, we are assured that the very destructiveness of the weapons prevents their use. Thus, if we are to believe the propaganda, the greatest contribution being made toward world peace is the improvement of the mechanism by which to blow up civilization.

Confidence in the durability of a peace based on such a "balance of terror" is not spectacularly high. "Soviet expansionist aims have not changed," Eisenhower declared November 7. "Eternal vigilance and increased free world military power, backed by our combined economic and spiritual strength, provide the only answer to this threat . . ." Other Allied spokesmen picture the possibility of the leaders of the USSR blundering into war even though they may not desire it.

Khrushchev, speaking for the other side, held in a November 3 broadcast that an "early" conflict is not likely. "But, of course, no one can say categorically that there will be no war. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are statesmen in some capitalistic countries, statesmen holding important government posts, who advocate war. Can anyone vouch for madmen?"

In a rejoinder November 12 that lent substance to Khrushchev's charge about "madmen," General Thomas Power, head of the U.S. Strategic Air Command, announced: "The planes are on the runways loaded with nuclear bombs. The crews sleep nearby. We are increasing the number of planes on the alert to one-third of our

effectives. The planes can be off in 15 minutes."

* * *

It is fairly well agreed, I think, that no generation has faced such a dangerous situation as ours. Responsible scientists warn insistently that even the continued testing of atomic weapons threatens radioactive pollution of our environment and lasting genetic damage to the human race, while war can mean the extinction of all the higher forms of life. At the same time, no generation has ever been given an opportunity so fraught with responsibility as ours—the opportunity to place at the disposal of all future ages the atom as an inexhaustible source of beneficent energy. The struggle for peace has truly become crucial.

It would seem that objective thinking is called for. Ingrained emotional attitudes, preconceived notions, cultism, the slogans of exploded dogmas, narrow factionalism were never before

such dangerous substitutes for accurate analysis of social reality and correct determination of what to do about its major problems. Socialists especially, no matter what current they belong to, are bound by their proclaimed scientific outlook to examine all sides of the question of abolishing the war threat with an open mind. If we are concerned enough about winning a world of enduring peace to frankly discuss all contributions to the problem, as a necessary part of the process of solving it, then the American socialist movement has an excellent chance, it seems to me, to make its not inconsiderable weight felt in the balance of forces.

With these considerations in mind I propose to examine in this article the three main peace programs now contending for allegiance on a world scale. These can be conveniently identified as (1) "for capitalism," (2) "for socialism," (3) "for peaceful coexistence."

"The Policy of Containment"

THE ANNOUNCED aim of the capitalist program is the "containment of communism." "Containment" appears as the preparatory stage in a proposed eventual rollback of "communism." The term "communism" embraces a multitude of evils in the eyes of monopoly capitalism—the Soviet bloc, colonial freedom movements, labor governments, planned economies, the socialist aspirations of workers, farmers and peasants, militant unionism, even socialized medicine. Anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalism of Nasser's type is also included, although it is often

called "fascists" by imperialist propagandists.

Countries where a pronounced rollback under British or American auspices has succeeded since the end of World War II include Greece, Malaya, Kenya, Iran, British Guiana, various Latin American nations, the Philippines and Guatemala. Postwar France and Italy, where the workers were close to power at the end of World War II, should likewise be included. Attempted rollbacks by the Dutch in Indonesia and the British-French-Israelis recently in Suez failed. Ameri-

can efforts in China and Korea belong in the category of reverses as do the drawn-out French campaigns in Indo-China and, most likely, Algeria where French forces are still trying to shoot down the freedom movement.

This record contains items significant for the light they throw on the real meaning of the capitalist "peace" program. In British Guiana and Guatemala, for instance, the people by large majorities elected officials committed to far-reaching reforms, although not to communism. Britain at once sent a gunboat to Georgetown to forcibly overthrow the popularly chosen government. In Guatemala a U.S. banana company, backed by the State Department, engineered an armed revolt by a reactionary minority to overthrow the government. In Indonesia, where the people, as in other colonial regions, took the "Four Freedoms" promises of the Allies seriously and chose a new government of their own, the Dutch staged a blitzkrieg in Nazi style in a desperate and ill-fated attempt to re-establish their despotic rule. The British, French and Israelis tried a similar blitzkrieg on Egypt last year. In the Korean civil war, the Truman Administration intervened without consulting Congress, still less the American people.

The evidence is sufficient to permit some generalizations. Monopoly capital, whether Dutch, French, British or American, follows a policy of intervening in the internal affairs of other countries in order to safeguard, re-establish or extend its own economic and political interests. Its policy is to plunge ahead without consulting the public at home. Moreover, monopoly capital does not hesitate to resort to war to accomplish these aims if it thinks it can get away with it.

We hear the argument frequently enough, of course, that such actions are "forced on us" by the cold war, the armaments race, and "communist conspiracies." The truth is somewhat different. If the Kremlin has engaged in "conspiracies," these have generally been with diplomats of the capitalist powers, as in the secret sessions at the Yalta Conference.

The record likewise shows that the cold war was started by the Western powers. The introductory act was the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the Japanese government had indicated its desire to negotiate for peace. This demonstrated the readiness of monopoly capital to begin the next war

"Could Happen Anywhere"

Tadao Watanabe, Mayor of Hiroshima on a visit to America, told a reporter of the *Los Angeles Times* Oct. 24 about the atom-bombing of his city:

"There were 430,000, including soldiers in the city then. After the atomic bomb, which killed nearly 200,000 persons, the population diminished to 130,000.

"Many left Hiroshima. But many are now returning. The city, tenth largest in Japan, has reached the 400,000 mark."

Of these, 100,000 still report to the Atomic Bomb Hospital for periodical checks on the effects of radiation, among them the Mayor, who bears a scarred face. Two thousand victims are still hospitalized. Thirty-two deaths due to radia-

tion disease have been reported so far this year.

Twelve years after the blast, Hiroshima is "about 50% recovered from the effects of the A-bomb. . . . There are still many bridges to rebuild. There is a shortage of homes. Streets and sewers need attention. However, our schools have nearly all been rebuilt."

In response to a question about how the residents feel toward those who, without warning, exploded the fearful bomb over their homes, schools, hospitals and other public buildings, the Mayor tactfully replied: "Our people have no particular feeling against Americans. They understand this could happen anywhere in war . . ."

with the weapons used to close the last one. The first declaration of bellicose intent was delivered in 1945 by General Marshall, the figure selected soon after by Truman as his emissary to Chiang Kai-shek and later as Secretary of State. Marshall's outline of the cold war to come was followed in 1946 by Churchill's notorious Fulton, Missouri, speech singling out the new foe.

Despite the enormous devastation inflicted on the USSR by the Nazi invasion, Truman then cut off all further aid to the World War II ally. To make things still plainer, he ousted Wallace from his cabinet for advocating the advisability of reaching at least a twenty-year understanding with the Soviet Union. Moscow did not respond with cold-war measures of its own until 1947 when the terms of the Marshall Plan made unmistakably clear that it was designed solely to revive the capitalist system in Western Europe as part of a new worldwide economic and military alliance directed against the USSR.

As for the armaments race, this started with the "monopoly" and stockpiling of the atomic bomb under the Truman Administration. Its use as a threat in international diplomacy forced the Soviet Union to strenuous efforts to meet the challenge. When the monopoly was broken, as was inevitable, Truman's answer was to add the hydrogen bomb to the American arsenal, a threat that not unexpectedly was met in kind; and so the postwar years have seen the heaping up of bigger and better instruments of massacre and destruction as in all previous armaments races.

The facts, it seems to me, show that the primary responsibility for the present ominous international situation rests with monopoly capital. Let us assume, however, for someone who still may not feel fully convinced, that the main responsibility does not lie with the governments whose foreign policies are molded by the billionaires behind them. Then are we not entitled to a clear answer to the following question: just what in their program, as we have seen it unfold before our eyes, offers the slightest hope that it can bring enduring peace? Their program has, on the contrary, in its actual development brought us closer and closer—and not always by inches—to what Dulles in his "calculated risk" vocabulary has called "the brink."

The capitalist peace program since the end of World War II has proved to be a cover for imperialist expansion. It has aimed at deceiving and lulling the masses while the biggest military alliance the world has ever seen was constructed. Today America's military frontier has been extended from the Atlantic coast and the Philippines to a perimeter encircling the Soviet bloc from Japan and Korea to the Middle East and Western Germany. So-called "little" wars have broken out periodically under this "peace" program and there is little in the declarations of the leading imperialist statesmen on which to base any hope that they will draw the line on a "big" war.

Is this course due simply to an alleged "threat" from the Soviet Union—a new danger that appeared in

1945? The truth is that capitalist history is replete with colonial conquests, "pacification" campaigns and wars upon other nations.

Since the turn of the century inter-imperialist conflicts, economic, diplomatic and military, have dominated world politics. The expansion of German capitalism was a primary cause of both the first and second world wars. That this was not a peculiarity of the German variety is demonstrated by the history of Italian capitalism in the Mediterranean and Japanese capitalism in the Pacific. American capitalism has displayed the same proclivities, as the growth of its territories and spheres of influence at the expense of other countries eloquently testifies.

Especially to be noted are the decisions of the German, Italian and Japanese capitalists to plunge into World War II. These can be called, if you wish, decisions to take a "cal-

culated risk," but that glamorized label does not change their suicidal character. What serious student of the history of the rise and fall of class societies would venture to assert that such self-destructive tendencies no longer exist among the world's capitalist rulers?

The fact is, as Marxism long ago demonstrated, that the tendency of the capitalist system to expand at the expense of other kinds of economy or at the expense of its own sections, is built-in. Capital requires expanding markets, fresh sources of raw materials and cheaper labor power, new areas of investment for its surpluses. Otherwise profits pinch off. But the capitalist system exists for the sake of profits and nothing else — profits cannot be permitted to pinch off for long. The means for overcoming a decline in profit-making or obstacles to an increase simply change ultimately into the form of war; war is therefore inseparable from the system itself.

practical experience is all the more decisive because it occurred under the double handicap of being confined to one country and of being subjected to the parasitism of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It requires little imagination to visualize what a planned economy could accomplish in the industrialized West and on a world-wide scale under the democratic control of the workers.

(4) The main current argument against socialism is that the Soviet Union is imperialistic, expansionist and aggressive. The 1939 wars on Poland and Finland and the seizure of Eastern Europe are cited as evidence.

The contention is flimsy. Eastern Europe had already been seized by the German armies as they moved toward the Ukraine in a campaign that was genuinely imperialist. The Red Army crossed the same areas in the counter-attack against Hitler's forces. The seizure was therefore defensive from a military viewpoint and not due to an economic compulsion lodged in the planned economy of the USSR. This likewise holds true for the attacks on Poland and Finland at the beginning of World War II when German imperialism made its first big military moves eastward. (That does not mean that the attacks were justified from the socialist viewpoint.)

The Stalinist regime maintained the capitalist structure of Eastern Europe for several years despite the wishes of the native populations and finally engineered bureaucratic overthrows only because a proffered deal with Western capitalism was rejected. Insofar as socialist principles are concerned, including the defense of the Soviet Union, Stalin's actions, beginning with his praise of the pact with Hitler and ending with his frame-up trials and murder of Communist leaders in Eastern Europe, can be listed as crimes; but they are not evidence of an imperialist drive like that inherent in the economic structure of capitalism.

(5) We now come to the final argument against the socialist peace program. This is that the masses are not ready for socialism yet; therefore, in view of the acuteness of the war danger, we must seek to mobilize other "peace forces."

Two things are wrong with the argument. First of all, the exact leadership of the so-called "peace forces" is left exceedingly vague. The proposal is made to accept the "anti-monopoly" outlook supposedly held by the more liberal or, as some call them,

Is Socialism Practical?

THE SOCIALIST peace program starts from this basic fact of the inseparability of war from capitalism. If capitalism makes enduring peace impossible, then the system must give way to a better one, whose aim is not profit-making but the satisfaction of the needs of humanity and whose basic means of expansion thereby calls for free cooperation instead of the intensification of competition and the exploitation of labor. The socialist peace program boils down to the struggle of the workers to end capitalism.

The arguments against it are therefore always arguments against socialism, all of them being variations of a single theme—its alleged impracticality.

(1) The first great argument against socialism was the theoretical assumption that capitalism had always existed and would naturally always continue to exist because it corresponded with "human nature." Hard facts upset this naive assumption. Capitalism was shown to be but a newcomer among economic systems; it is less than five hundred years old. Moreover the decline of other systems after their rise indicated a similar fate for capitalism.

(2) An associated standard argument was that socialism represented

a beautiful ideal but lacked a basis in reality; socialists were therefore nothing but utopians. Marxist theory upset these contentions. The working class, created by capitalism itself, was shown to have a decisive economic interest in the development of socialism, and since socialism signifies a higher level of economy and culture, leading to a classless society, the working-class movement in this direction represents the interests of society as a whole. In addition, the world-wide industrial system established by capitalism provides a sufficient base for the enormous increase in productivity required to realize socialism.

(3) The historic debate then shifted to the field of demonstration. Where was the experimental proof that the planned economy of socialism would really work? For decades Marxists pointed to the political significance of the Paris Commune of 1871 where the workers first took power. But that experience was not extended enough to show plainly its economic significance or to sink convincingly into world consciousness.

All this is changed today. Forty years after the October 1917 revolution the great majority of mankind, having seen a planned economy tested out in the Soviet Union, recognizes its superiority over capitalism. The

"progressive" capitalists—the type represented by Henry A. Wallace. This is at best. More commonly the leadership of the "peace forces" is pinned on alleged peace-loving, "anti-monopoly" combinations like Truman or Stevenson and the top labor bureaucrats. But such forces are precisely those that have proved most effective in the past in mobilizing popular sentiment for imperialist wars. It would be just as practical to count on a hangman's noose as on these agents of monopoly capital to bring us enduring peace.

Second, while it may be true that all the masses of the world are not equally ready for socialism, they have certainly displayed readiness for some truly titanic struggles. The most casual comparison of the world of 1957 with the world of 1917 when the first socialist government was firmly established shows that the idea of socialism is no longer confined to the vanguard of the working class in Europe and America and a few scattered intellectuals elsewhere. The ability of planned economy in the Soviet Union to bring a backward country into the front rank of modern nations at a rate far beyond anything demonstrated under capitalism at its best has convinced the majority of mankind that something more in correspondence with modern needs than "free enterprise" is now available.

When the people of China moved against Chiang Kai-shek they also moved in the direction of socialism—no one could mistake that. Their revolution constitutes a colossal new addition to the weight already contributed by the peoples of the Soviet Union to the forces favoring the socialist revolution on a world-wide scale. In the great postwar upsurges extending from the most primitive colonial areas to England, the world's first capitalist country, both workers and peasants have repeatedly sought to give mandates for the establishment of socialism. This is clearly reflected in the popularity of such measures as the nationalization of industries under the Labor Government in England and the establishment of Five-Year Plans in countries like India.

The growth of socialist sentiment is inevitable, for the development of capitalism itself impels it. The productive capacity of industry is now so prodigious that the limitations confining it—private property in the means of production and national

boundaries—can be maintained only by turning industry with increasing destructiveness upon itself. Social production clamors for social planning. The technical expansion of industry on the scale now required and now possible is qualitatively beyond the capacity of capitalist property relations. Popular consciousness, no mat-

"Wouldn't Take Much"

It wouldn't take much—an assassination, a frontier incident—for a little war" to start in the Middle East. Whether it's Arab against Arab, Arab against Israeli or Turk, a "little war" could swiftly become world war.

—U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 22.

ter how resistant, cannot fail to catch up with this fact, particularly since the penalty for delaying the conversion to socialism—two world wars and the relapse into fascist barbarism—threatens to be exacted again, this time with a severity that compels attention from even the most ardent protagonists of the status quo.

The universal fear among ordinary people of another war is a significant symptom of this process. The contrast with the pro-war frenzies of World War I and even the sullen acceptance of World War II could not be more striking. True of the United States as well as other countries, this dread constitutes one of the most powerful real deterrents to war. The sentiment, reflecting objective reality, constitutes a stage in the subjective preparation for socialism. All it requires to reveal its true content is the shift from its negative form of resistance to imperialist warmaking to its positive form of adherence to the socialist program.

Finally we must note the continued dynamism of the international class struggle despite all the efforts of monopoly capital to contain and subdue it. No sooner is popular unrest quieted in one area than it flares up elsewhere. It is this irrepressible upthrust of the world revolution, more than the retaliatory power of the Soviet bloc, that has forced repeated postponements of the timetable of World War III.

What made it impossible for the Western powers to open hostilities on the USSR immediately after World War II when they still enjoyed a U.S. monopoly of the bomb was the "Get Us Home" movement of the

American soldiers. What stopped MacArthur at the Yalu was the mass resistance of the Korean and Chinese peoples. What doomed the French at Dienbienphu was the military capacity of the Indo-Chinese freedom fighters. What frustrated the British-French-Israeli plot to seize the Suez was the militant action of their prospective victims in blocking the canal and cutting the oil lines—that and the protests of British labor. In America the warmakers look uneasily at the potential power of the massive labor movement and worry over the problem of its containment in the event of another war. The same problem faces them to a more acute degree among their allies, where the workers have a long tradition of independent political action.

The constant renewal of the class struggle on an international scale is the single most encouraging sign of the readiness of the masses to struggle for socialism. As Marx long ago pointed out, the classless society of the future will be the inevitable outcome of the class struggle, intensified and carried to its logical conclusion.

* * *

The real problem is not the readiness of the masses but the readiness of their current leaders to carry the struggle forward and pursue it to the end. To analyze this complex question is beyond the scope of this article. I will indicate here only the main outline of the course proposed by socialists of the Trotskyist persuasion to build a leadership capable of measuring up to the task:

(1) To follow attentively the divisions within the capitalist class as their world system is shaken by one crisis after another. This means to support the struggles of the so-called "neutralist" colonial bourgeoisie to win independence from monopoly capital but without granting their parties or leaders (Nehru, Nasser, etc.) any political confidence. The same applies to defense of democratic rights by sections of the capitalist class against attack from domestic reaction and fascism.

(2) To foster independent political action by the working class. The aim is to help wean the workers from the capitalist parties by suggesting and participating in actions, no matter how partial or immature, that bring the workers into politics as an independent force.

(3) To firmly support socialist principles in both speech and action.

No one is going to popularize socialism except socialists. We must utilize every possible occasion to defend socialism and to explain its advantages over capitalism, above all in the great question of ending imperialist wars and winning enduring peace.

(4) To build a Leninist-type party capable of combining maximum democracy in reaching decisions with maximum discipline in carrying them out.

(5) To fight for partial demands such as the following:

Workers control of the armaments industries. Confiscation of all armament-contracts profits. Expropriation of the armaments industries.

Vote against the budget for armaments. Not an armaments program but a program of useful public works. Reverse the policy of keeping scientific knowledge a "secret." End the tests of atomic weapons. Scrap the

stockpiles of A-bombs and H-bombs. Develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Complete freedom of the unions from government interference. Repeal all thought-control legislation, and end the "loyalty" oaths, the witch-hunt screenings and government persecution of dissident opinion.

Abolition of secret diplomacy; all diplomatic conferences to be open to the press and TV cameramen; all treaties and agreements to be made public.

For democracy in the armed forces. For control of the military training program by committees of workers and farmers.

Disarm the capitalist warmakers by building an anti-monopoly coalition of workers and farmers based on a program of independent political action.

teachings of Marx and Engels if you can convince the capitalists to go for "peaceful coexistence"? But to convince the capitalists, you have to give a demonstration, don't you, of your willingness to collaborate? Hence the line of reasoning that calls for peaceful coexistence with the high command of the Democratic party and opposition to independent political action and working class militancy.

Alexander Bittleman expressed this line of thinking recently in a serialized article in the *Daily Worker* entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look":

"The emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S. . . . To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of the struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

Bittleman is completely accurate in acknowledging that the "peaceful coexistence" policy "does not call for the abolition of capitalism." He is not so accurate in claiming that he is taking a "fresh" look.

Let me make clear at this point that I do not disagree with the *right* of the Soviet government to use the slogan of "peaceful coexistence" in the field of *diplomacy*. In fact it seems to me to have proved useful, in view of the current inability of the Eisenhower administration to accept it even hypocritically. As a proposal which the Soviet Union could really carry out so far as the future of its economy is concerned, it has helped demonstrate where the major guilt for the war danger lies.

The same holds true for the accompanying disarmament proposal. And I might add that the Soviet government is perfectly within its rights when it engages in or calls for "high level" conferences, or, if it sees fit, participates in the United Nations, today's edition of what Lenin called a "thieves' kitchen."

It is necessary to say these perhaps obvious things because the Trotskyist movement has been unjustly accused by proponents of "peaceful coexistence" of exhibiting a sectarian attitude on these issues.

What we object to is the deliberate sowing of illusions, the presentation of these counters in the diplomatic game as panaceas — or as adequate protectives against war. The truth is that plenty of solemn covenants

Real Meaning of "Peaceful Coexistence"

I COME now to the program of "peaceful coexistence" promulgated by the Kremlin and its adherents in other countries.

The main proposal of this program is that the capitalist sector of the world and the Soviet bloc should agree to give up war and permit the two systems to demonstrate in peaceful competition which is superior. On the face of it, the proposal seems fair enough. But what does monopoly capital have to gain from abiding by the rules of Greco-Roman wrestling? The Kremlin response is that another war will signify the finish of capitalism.

No doubt another war would do just that. It might perhaps finish the Soviet system, too, if not all mankind. But the leaders of the Communist parties assure us that the mass movement for peace is so strong today that it has halted the imperialist warmakers. The facts, as we have seen, bear out the correctness of this estimate. Now let us ask some searching questions that must have occurred to every socialist who has really seriously thought about the problem of war and peace and not just gone along with nice-sounding slogans handed down from above.

If the mass pressure is great enough to stop the imperialists from war, why isn't it great enough to stop them

from exploiting and enslaving colonies? If the anti-war pressure is so great as to make it right to appeal to the imperialist governments to reverse their warmaking course and follow a policy of "peaceful coexistence," why doesn't it make it right to appeal to them to follow a policy of replacing capitalism by socialism? Socialism, we know, would make possible the mutual cooperation of Western and Soviet industry, a sure guarantee of peace, whereas "peaceful coexistence," even if feasible, would still mean economic competition with its never-ending threat of changing into war as it has in the past.

The answer to these unavoidable questions, we may suppose, is that the Kremlin is realistic enough to see that the capitalist class will never agree to preside over its own liquidation. But why is the Kremlin not realistic enough to see that the capitalist class will never agree to preside over its own liquidation by permitting a peaceful demonstration over the rest of this century of the superiority of planned economy?

We see now how utopian is the appeal to the reason and good sense of the capitalist rulers as a guarantee of peace. We also see why it is that the class-struggle program of Marx and Engels is disregarded by the statesmen of Moscow. Of what use are the

have been reached by capitalist powers to disarm; but invariably these sacred agreements were intended to beguile pacifist sentiment as part of the preparations for war. Can it be forgotten that Hitler himself proposed disarmament as he set out to rearm Germany? Or, to take another example, can it be overlooked that the United Nations has proved no more effective in assuring peace than the League of Nations? The intervention of the Western powers in the Korean civil war was carried out officially under the flag of the United Nations, while in the case of the Suez crisis the British, French and Israeli invaders acted as if no one had told them about the UN. But the proponents of "peaceful coexistence" never tire of picturing disarmament as the only road to peace and the United Nations as the only institution (outside of a "high level" conference dominated by Washington and Moscow) capable of preventing another war.

Why do the Kremlin and the Communist parties present such nostrums as remedies for war and brush aside the active and independent mass struggle for socialism as "unrealistic" or "sectarian"? To answer this question we must consider the real content of their program for "peaceful coexistence."

I trust that not even the most ardent supporter of whatever leaders happen to be on top in Moscow when this article is printed will feel (after the Twentieth Congress) it is a slander to say that the Stalin regime was not without fault in conducting its domestic policy during the past decades. In fact I think it will be generally agreed that the majority of those who still consider themselves friends of the Soviet Union and admirers of the successes of the planned economy are re-evaluating the entire past and coming around to the view that in all honesty it must be admitted Trotsky saw with great clarity what was happening in the Soviet Union. They are likewise inclined to be critical of the domestic policy of the current leadership. These are welcome developments, for independent thinking can only be of service to the cause of socialism.

However, the general tendency is also to make an exception, in all sincerity, for Soviet foreign policy, especially when it is given such attractive names as "peace" and "peaceful coexistence."

It is good that so many independ-

Cold War At Bargain Rates

The *Los Angeles Times* thinks that disarmament would "handicap" the USA more than the USSR. So why continue the London negotiations? An Aug. 24 editorial offers this as a good and sufficient reason:

"The President's new proposal to the London conference seems useful nevertheless. Continued negotiation is desirable; talk is cheap. We appear to have the initiative now in the contest for world regard as 'the most peaceful,' and disarmament debates are one of the cheapest means of waging cold war, even with Harold Stassen's London expense account."

ent socialists today are critical of Stalinist domestic policy, especially the policy of the latter years of the dictator when his paranoia became extreme. By what logic can they refuse to extend this critical appraisal to foreign policy? *Isn't the foreign policy of a regime simply the extension of its domestic policy?* Isn't that what Marxism teaches?

For example, during those terrible years of the mid-thirties when Stalin was staging the greatest frame-ups in history, murdering the socialist leaders of Lenin's generation, killing tens of thousands of their followers or throwing them into prisons and slave-labor camps on completely false charges — wasn't this reflected in Soviet foreign policy? Isn't it advisable in the light of the interrelation of domestic and foreign policy to take a fresh look at the whole "people's front" policy initiated by Stalin around 1934?

Stalinist domestic policy centered upon safeguarding and extending the special privileges of the bureaucratic caste. This policy entailed a political counter-revolution that wiped out the Soviet democracy of the time of Lenin and Trotsky. Naturally it was never called by the right name — political counter-revolution. A more attractive label was placed on Stalin's construction of a totalitarian regime — "building socialism in one country." Lest anyone misunderstand, let me again say that in this same period the planned economy, which remained as the most precious conquest of the revolution, did reveal its enormous potentiality despite the handicaps heaped

on it by the very bureaucracy in charge of its development.

The foreign extension of the domestic political counter-revolution was also given attractive labels — "defense of the land of socialism," "people's front against war and fascism," "peaceful coexistence."

This foreign policy is simple enough in concept. It aims at protecting the specially privileged bureaucracy from two standing threats: the socialist aspirations of the international working class and the restorationist designs of world capitalism. In application, the policy is more complex, for the bureaucracy on the one hand seeks to combine with world capitalism against the common danger of revolutionary socialism; on the other it seeks leadership of revolutionary struggles in order to pawn them off. Yet in a showdown with capitalist invasion it is prepared to put up a desperate resistance, as we saw in World War II.

Running through all the tacks and veers, however, the main effort has been to reach agreement with world capitalism on maintaining the status quo. This spells out as no rollback by imperialism of the Soviet property forms and no extension of these property forms into capitalist areas insofar as the bureaucracy can control the elemental drive of the masses in this direction which the world of today is experiencing.

The bureaucracy has been extraordinarily concerned about demonstrating its sincerity in this respect. Hence the conversion of the Communist parties into vehicles of class collaboration instead of class struggle, the liquidation of the Communist International in 1943 at the request of Roosevelt, the suppression of revolutionary socialists in Spain as "fifth columnists," the support of capitalist parties and capitalist governments throughout the world, including the United States, and so on and on.

An outstanding instance of the application of the policy in Stalin's time was the course followed after Hitler came to power. Stalin sought and won a pact with French capitalism. During the mighty upsurges of the French labor movement following 1935, the French Communist party hewed to a class-collaborationist People's Front coalition with the Radical-Socialists that forestalled a socialist victory. As Hitler methodically built his military machine in accordance with his well-advertised blueprint for

the conquest of the Soviet Union, Stalin double-crossed his French ally in return for a "non-aggression" pact signed with Ribbentrop. This 1939 pact was probably the outstanding success registered by Stalin's policy of "peaceful coexistence." It lasted less than two years. Meanwhile it signalled the opening of World War II and proved of immense service to German imperialism in getting ready for the blitzkrieg invasion of the Soviet Union.

Just as Soviet foreign policy is the extension of Soviet domestic policy, so the domestic policy of the various Communist parties adhering to Moscow, it must be emphasized, is the extension of Soviet foreign policy into the internal politics of other countries.

In the United States, for almost a quarter of a century, the Communist party has industriously translated Moscow's foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" into its own national policy of class collaboration, registering some of its most conspicuous achievements under Earl Browder. During the turbulent rise of the CIO, strategically placed CP militants who might well have sparked the formation of a Labor party were persuaded to organize support for candidates of the Democratic party in order to "stop" such "main dangers" as Alfred Landon. Union leaders influenced by the Communist party went so far down the line of class collaboration during the war as to offer permanent no-strike pledges. The Communist party itself denounced the striking United Mine Workers, supported the Smith Act and hailed the persecution of revolutionary socialists under its reactionary provisions.

One might well wonder why such an unrealistic policy of the Stalin era should still remain in force after the Twentieth Congress punctured the notorious "cult of the personality." It can be argued that in a world where wars like the one in Korea or in the Suez area break out overnight, the policy of "peaceful coexistence" has become even more chimerical than in Stalin's day. There is far less opportunity for diplomatic maneuvering among the imperialist powers. The greatly weakened Stalinist bureaucracy, beset by domestic ferment and challenges abroad to its infallibility, is incomparably less capable of delivering the goods in a deal with imperialism. Moreover, popular unrest in

both the Soviet and capitalist sectors begins to play a role like that of a new world power that rejects the policy of putting the class struggle in deep freeze. As the Kremlin discovered, it could impose "peaceful coexistence" on the insurgent Hungarian workers only through a most barbarous bloodletting.

It would seem more rational, consequently, for the bureaucracy to turn in the direction of the socialist peace program. So why doesn't it act rationally? The question is misplaced. The bureaucracy does act rationally—in defending its narrow caste interests in a planned economy. But the bureaucracy is not prepared to preside over its own liquidation. In this it acts like a ruling class even though it is only a parasitic caste. The persistence with which it clings to Stalin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" in foreign policy is thus another gauge of the incapacity of the bureaucracy to reform itself at home.

The same incapacity is apparent in the top bureaucracy of the American Communist party. They now appear to be trying to re-dedicate the rank and file to the fatal class-collaborationist extension of "peaceful coexistence" that brought the organization to its present depths. I have already referred to Bittleman's pronouncement that the policy "does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S." and hence does not call for the elimination of the root causes of war.

An instructive example of the policy's application was furnished in the recent New York mayoralty contest. The Communist party decided to turn its "main fire" on the Republican candidate Christenberry, who didn't have a chance against the Tammany machine, and to support incumbent Mayor Wagner. Wagner belongs to the party that bears responsibility for the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Truman Doctrine of the "containment of communism," the Marshall Plan, the anti-Soviet military alliance called NATO, the Korean intervention, and most recently the Little Rock, Arkansas, situation. Wagner's party also happens to have been the one that started the bipartisan cold war, the "loyalty oath" witch-hunt, and the Smith Act persecutions.

In contrast to this position, such independent socialist figures as Vincent Hallinan called for support of the Socialist Workers party slate headed

by Joyce Cowley, as did the *National Guardian*, which is widely read in radical circles.

To them, New York state CP leaders Benjamin J. Davis and George B. Charney responded in the November 3 *Worker*: "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolution."

Here is the main explanation offered for this assertion, which sounds like an echo from the charges in the Moscow frame-up trials:

"SWPers argue that the fight for peaceful co-existence is an abandonment of the fight against imperialism. The opposite is true. The fight for peace has in fact weakened imperialism. Moreover this is the only approach that can win the masses to advance toward socialism. The position of the SWP because it claims to be socialist is disorienting and dangerous. We believe therefore that a vote for the SWP does not advance the cause of socialism, and actually weakens the struggle for peace. It is a vote against peaceful co-existence."

To believe Davis and Charney, to vote for a socialist is objectively counter-revolutionary because it promotes war, but to vote for a Big Business candidate is progressive because it protects peace and advances socialism! Could better confirmation be asked for the authority with which Bittleman spoke when he said that the "political nature of the struggle" for "peaceful coexistence" is "not socialist"?

The editors of the *National Guardian* probably voiced general opinion in the American radical movement on this display of CP policy when they commented November 11:

"We marvel, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anathematize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism; and in the

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same combination can approve (pardon: approve the approval of) a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water."

We need only add that this example shows what the program of "peaceful coexistence" as applied by the Communist party in the United States today really means. It simply refers to the anti-socialist political services proffered like free advertising samples by the representatives of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy to the representatives of monopoly capital.

Aren't we forced to conclude that the slogan of "peaceful coexistence," as used by the Kremlin, is deceptive? It really signifies maintenance of the status quo; that is, maintenance of the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy in one part of the world and of monopoly capital in the rest. It therefore stands in the road of the one program that can really bring peace to the world — the struggle for socialism.

The real content of the program of "peaceful coexistence," as applied by the Stalinist leaders, may be summarized as follows:

(1) It seeks a new division of the world and spheres of influence between Moscow and Washington. The secret deal made at the Yalta conference to divide up the world at the end of World War II was upset on the one side by the cold war and on the other by the overturns of property relations in Eastern Europe. The Chinese revolution still further upset the old balance. Moscow now seeks agreement on maintaining the status quo as it exists today.

(2) This signifies slowing down and halting the class struggle not only after the projected deal is consummated, but in advance, as an earnest of good faith and reliability.

(3) It also signifies preventing or halting, where possible, colonial struggles for national independence as well as the mass struggle in the colonial areas for social liberation from capitalist relations. This is seen conspicuously in the case of the French Communist party's support of Premier Mollet's effort to suppress the Algerian struggle for freedom and the Indian Communist party's support of Nehru's capitalist government.

(4) In this country it means support of the Democratic party and opposition to independent labor political action. To vote for socialist candidates becomes, in the words of Davis and Charney, "a vote that objectively

As Advertised in LIFE

Can conformity be carried too far? Apparently so, for even *Life* magazine decided to say a few words against it and challenge the "Silent Generation" of American youth to "Arise" and do something rebellious. Among the indictments cited by the editors June 17, two vividly describe the America of today.

One is an attack by Yale's President A. Whitney Griswold on "the endless, sterile, stultifying conferences held in substitution . . . for individual inventiveness; the public opinion polls whose vogue threatens even our moral and esthetic values with the pernicious doctrine that the customer is always right; the unctuous public relations counsels that rob us both of our courage and our convictions, the continuous daily deferral of opinion and judgment to someone else. . . . It conjures a nightmare picture of a whole nation of yesmen, of hitch-hikers, eavesdroppers and peeping Toms, tiptoeing backward off-stage with their fingers to their lips. . . . Symptoms of a loss of self-respect by peo-

ple who cannot respect what they do not know [and] do not know themselves because they spend so much of their time listening to somebody else."

The other is a denunciation by Brandeis University's President Abram Sachar of "a growing cult of yesmanship" in which "security becomes a craven disguise for servility . . . To Thoreau's charge that most men lead lives of quiet desperation we answer: 'Good enough! Anything for quiet!' . . . There are many young people today who will not sign a petition for pink raspberry ice cream in the dining hall commons for fear that some day they may have to explain their color predilections to zealous congressional committees. It would be interesting to know how many would sign a piece of paper setting forth the principles of the Declaration of Independence. . . . Isn't it better to Sign Nothing, Say Nothing, Resist Nothing, Pledge Nothing, even though it may end up in the corollary, Be Nothing?"

gives some measure of support to counter-revolution."

(5) It appeals, by way of reciprocity, for the tacit compliance of the Western imperialists in the Kremlin's suppression of outbursts in the Soviet bloc such as the uprisings in East Germany and Hungary.

Let me conclude by stressing the utopian character of the program of "peaceful coexistence." There are four main sources of conflict in the world today: between the working class and the capitalist rulers; between the colonial peoples and the Western imperialists; between the Soviet bloc and world capitalism; between the Kremlin hierarchy and the masses under their domination.

Can the advocates of "peaceful coexistence" guarantee that these conflicts will not break out into armed conflict? They cannot, because, as they themselves admit, they cannot vouch for the peaceful intentions of the capitalists; and indeed, as Hungary has proved, cannot even forestall armed uprisings in their own domain.

The question is then posed: if these struggles, which arise from the antagonistic nature of the existing social and political relations, cannot be suppressed, how is "peaceful coexistence" to be guaranteed under present conditions? "Peaceful coexistence" is possible only if everything remains as it is—if the workers don't

clash with the capitalists, or the colonial peoples with the metropolitan slave masters, or world imperialism with the Soviet bloc, or the Soviet masses with the bureaucratic overlords. But in that case what happens to the struggle and prospects of national liberation and workers power where these have yet to be won?

* * *

So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the great hope for the triumph of a genuine socialist peace program in the coming period is the ferment pointing to a political overturn of the Stalin regime, of which Khrushchev is the continuator. The slogan of the progressive opposition currents is "Back to Lenin." This means above all a return to the democracy known under Lenin. A regeneration of the Russian revolution at home will inevitably find its corollary in the field of foreign relations. "Back to Lenin" signifies a return to the world-wide struggle for socialism that gained such momentum in the first years of the Communist International.

We stand with the Russian workers in their striving for this change in the political structure of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, here at home, we can best serve the struggle for peace by advancing unitedly in the fight for socialism. There is no other realistic course.

CANADIAN STALINISM IN SHAMBLES

When Khrushchev dumped the Stalin cult, the effect on the most backward Communist party "outside of Albania" was devastating

by Ross Dowson

A RECENT issue of the *Canadian Tribune*, organ of the Canadian Communists, reproduced a photograph of a mass meeting in the Toronto Maple Leaf Gardens. The date—1943. Tim Buck, national leader of the Communist party, which had just been renamed the Labor Progressive party, speaks to an audience of 17,000. Buck on the same platform as Canada's Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, Ontario's Premier Mitchell Hepburn, and other notables! The Labor Progressive party basking in the bourgeois hosannas to Stalin, in the Russian workers' victorious repulse of the German imperialist invasion. The LPP just fresh from its campaign to line up French Canada behind a YES vote for conscription, wined and dined for its attempts to wheedle a no-strike pledge from Canadian labor. Two members in the Ontario legislature, one in Manitoba, a member in the Federal House, representatives in city and town councils across the country. A national membership of 25,000. Plans underway to convert its twelve-page weekly *Canadian Tribune* into a daily.

Today? The Liberal J. Pickersgill, to whom the times have not been overly kind, the Tory June 10 electoral sweep having cast him down from Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to a mere Member of Parliament, recently made the cruel thrust: "The LPP could hold a na-

Ross Dowson, a prominent Canadian socialist, is editor of THE WORKERS VANGUARD. As the only opposition candidate against Sidney Smith, the Conservative nominee, Dowson ran a vigorous socialist campaign in the November 4 Frontenac-Hastings by-election. His "Peace and Freedom" platform called for an end to H-bomb tests.

tional convention in a telephone booth—if it had a dime."

Today almost the entire leadership, but for Buck, has decamped. Membership is down around the 2,000 mark. There is almost no public activity. One member in the Manitoba legislature. Cleaned out of Toronto municipal office. Clubs, whole districts, wiped out. The Quebec section, once the pride and joy of the party, cut down to a couple of handfuls in uneasy alliance with one another. Finances dried up. The staff pared to the bone. The youth movement and paper defunct. Peripheral bodies decimated and torn away. The party down to the hard core of aging Finnish-Ukrainian language groups. The centers sustained by stripping the extremities. The *Canadian Tribune*, a weekly, down to eight pages. Just over 900 subscribers a year ago in the key Ontario area—certainly less today. In Toronto a recent meeting, publicized on the front page of the *Tribune*, drew an audience of thirty. A public gathering appealing to the youth was so small that it adjourned without hearing the speaker. Demoralization, loss of confidence everywhere.

The cold war launched by the ungrateful Premier W. L. M. King with spy charges against LPP Member of Parliament Fred Rose, the witch hunt, the persecution of LPP members, the expulsion of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and United Electrical unions from the main stream of the labor movement, took a heavy toll. But at the same time it hardened the cadre. Today it is the cadre who are leaving the party in droves, its long-time leading spokesmen, the forces that were its financial backbone, the sub-getters, pamphlet-sellers.

Not the cold war, not the arms-fed economic boom, nothing that has in any way to do with either the ebb or

flow of the class struggle within this continent is the cause of the LPP debacle. Nikita Khrushchev, to whom the skeleton leadership of the LPP now bows in cultish worship, struck the blow in his speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. More accurately it is the movement of the workers in the Soviet zone to rid themselves of the bureaucratic incubus, it is Poland's October, the Hungarian Workers' Councils, and their repercussions in the ranks of the bureaucracy, the downgrading of Molotov, Kaganovitch and now Zhukov, that are tearing into the Labor Progressive party, threatening to leave not one stone upon another.

The Twentieth Congress and its aftermath struck body blows at the Communist parties across the globe; but none have been so staggered, none have been so severely crippled as the LPP. J. B. Salsberg, now a leading dissident but long-time LPP National Trade Union Director and member of the Ontario legislature, has characterized the Canadian Stalinist movement as the most backward outside of Albania. It would certainly seem to be the most rigidly machine-controlled. On top of the stultifying effect of the international cult of Stalin it has suffered the stultifying effect of the national cult of Tim Buck.

While other CP's, in their wild gyrations to the tunes of the Kremlin, flung aside compromised figureheads, disposed of spokesmen whose suppleness had some limitations, Buck has whirled through them all. Buck has headed the LPP since 1930 when he ousted the party's founding National Secretary Jack MacDonald, who then joined forces with the leading theoretician Maurice Spector, expelled two years previously for sup-

porting Trotsky in his struggle against Stalinist revisionism.

In the intervening twenty-six years Buck built a tight machine composed of toadies, sychophants, and persons totally miseducated in the principles of Leninist politics and democratic centralism. These twenty-six years saw no development of opposition tendencies or contending forces in the LPP—a monolithic party par excellence. Whatever differences developed, if in the ranks, were brutally settled by ukase, usually slander and expulsion; if in the top bodies, were closeted up and settled there in the same way. Twenty-six years of hand-raising and toeing the line left the party ill-prepared to react to the Khrushchev revelations—the secondary leaders to think things out for themselves and give voice to ideas; the ranks to overcome the shock, the deep paralysis at discovery of their deception.

Although the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes hit the LPP hard, they never did open up any real discussion in the party. With Buck away in Moscow attending the Twentieth Congress, the caretaker leadership was struck dumb. For weeks, while members read the astonishing developments in the daily press, the leadership had nothing to say. Finally one month later, the March 26 *Tribune* broke silence by reproducing without comment an article by the London *Daily Worker's* Moscow correspondent which confirmed in broad outline the essence of Khrushchev's report. Then on April 2 National Organizer Leslie Morris commented: "While it is of enormous interest to the people of all countries, the present discussion is primarily the domestic affair of the Soviet people." The ranks were advised to wait for Tim Buck.

On his return, Buck, without so much as batting an eye, joined the anti-Stalin chorus replacing Stalin, the once-infallible, with Khrushchev, the now-infallible. Not until May 14 was any rank-and-file voice heard in the "letters to the editor" column, but by then the ranks had already spoken up in a most tangible way. The editor, in a special June 4 appeal, reported that "Less than a third of the \$25,000 we need has so far come in. This is new in our experience. Never before in our 16 years have we been so far behind at the end of a campaign." From then on large sections of the party followed the discussion from the outside.

On October 15 six leading staff members of the Quebec Provincial Committee of the Labor Progressive party, including the provincial leader and the editor of the French press, four of them National Committee members, announced their resignation. In large part their statement was a recital of how Buck and his toadies attempted to curtail and minimize the discussion. It told how, on Buck's recommendation, the NEC automatically endorsed the CPSU statement and how Buck in the pages of *National Affairs Monthly* publicly repudiated criticisms in a previous NEC statement which had suggested the inadequacy of Khrushchev's explanations of the crimes and the responsibility of the CPSU itself.

Quebec provincial leader Caron revealed that only two persons on the NEC voted for a proposal that the LPP state publicly "that some leaders of the CPSU have a certain negative attitude to the Jewish people which is inconsistent with socialist democracy and which we are confident will be corrected." The six concluded their statement—"a sound moral and political basis for the continuation of the struggle for socialism in Canada cannot be reconstructed within the framework of the LPP." By December 1 over 200 Quebec members drew the same conclusion.

A letter to the December National Committee meeting from J. B. Salsberg, Harry Binder and Stewart Smith, all three top leaders of the party for three decades, gave little insight into the political problems confronting the LPP ranks but more insight into the workings of the Buck machine. Back at a May plenum, Buck had stated that he had not seen the Khrushchev report although the truth was that he had. "Under the personality cult around comrade Buck the other NEC members were expected and did, in fact, remain silent although several criticized him in the NEC." On October 12, 1956 the old NEC in a burst of independence cabled the CPSU and the Polish Workers party calling for a policy of non-intervention by the CPSU in the affairs of the Polish Workers party. At the following meeting of the National Committee on October 28, Buck demanded the election of a new NEC that would give him unqualified support, with the statement that he would "never again sit and listen" to the type of criticism he had been compelled to hear in the NEC, and with

a slanderous attack on his opponents as supporters of "peoples' capitalism."

As Chairman of the Program Commission, Buck called no meeting and no draft political resolution was presented to the National Committee, called ostensibly to define political positions. The elections, for or against Tim Buck, were to Harry Binder "final proof that the national committee majority had no intention of permitting free and unfettered debate in the party."

With the elimination of the opposition from the NEC, the October 12 cable in defense of the Polish struggle, which Buck and his supporters had voted for, was repudiated. On the tenth day Buck introduced a statement designed to force the opposition out of the party. It was so extreme that no one on the committee would move or second its adoption.

By now the ranks of the LPP, those who had remained in the party, were confronted by two tendencies. The Salsberg faction declared that "there are two lines and two policies before the party" which "cannot be reconciled. Because the question of an independent Canadian Marxist-Leninist party versus one that is subservient to the CPSU is one of principle."

However, both factions proved to be in agreement on all the key political issues of the day. This shifted the question of independence or subservience, which Buck of course did not for one moment grant Salsberg, into the realm of an abstraction. Both factions were in agreement on the Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence" and on the concept of the bourgeois parliamentary path to socialism; both supported the UN. Despite its ridicule of the Buck faction for its rehash of *Pravda* editorials on Hungary, the Salsberg faction did not even take an independent stand in support of the Hungarian struggle for workers democracy. Buck rallied support because the Salsberg tendency contained within it forces who were openly abandoning what Buck long ago abandoned but continues to give lip service to—Marxism-Leninism and the concept of the Leninist party.

The results of the National Convention were a foregone conclusion. The Buck supporters took all Toronto's thirty-six delegates—the minority were cut down to twenty out of a total of 170. The feeble Salsberg resolution, calling for a get-together

(Continued on Page 30)

A World in Crisis

Do events inside the two centers of world power have any connection with each other? A Marxist considers the forces that make today's headlines

by Arne Swaback

THE RECENT shake-ups in the Kremlin hierarchy have again called attention to the crisis haunting this bureaucratic regime. Its first sharp manifestations, sufficiently clear for all to observe, began with the upheavals in Eastern Europe which culminated in the Hungarian revolution. The ill-fated Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal pointed up, no less bluntly, the growing crisis in the capitalist imperialist world.

What happened at the Suez Canal and in Hungary were different manifestations of a turbulent epoch. Today upheavals and military interventions may appear in one part of the globe, tomorrow in another; but whatever their form, they are all part of the complex pattern of a world in change. Since the early part of this century, the social stability of the past has turned into its opposite. Crises, wars and revolutions have set into motion an interacting process of profoundly deep-going consequences for all future history.

Clearly indicated is a major alteration in the whole course of human history. It marks the beginning of a transition from one historical stage to another. The long-established order of social relations is in dissolution and new social relations are in the process of formation. New economic forms of society, represented by the Soviet orbit, have arisen alongside of the old forms of the capitalist world. Opposite forces, and opposite tendencies, constantly interpenetrate in the complex world fabric today. The progressive and the revolutionary exist alongside of the reactionary and retrogressive. Both the advancing and the retarding, while opposites,

remain internally related as two aspects of one historical process.

It is not at all strange that social relations in the Soviet Union develop through crises and conflicts. Considering the immensity of the transformation from its backward heritage to the present advance, a smooth and easy course was not to be expected. The task confronting the Soviet republic was nothing less than the creation of entirely new economic forms. Here is how Lenin put it:

"The difference between socialist revolution and bourgeois revolution lies precisely in the fact that the latter finds ready forms of capitalist relationships; while the Soviet power — the proletarian power — does not inherit such ready-made relationships... The organization of accounting, of the control of large enterprises, the transformation of the whole of the state economic mechanism into a single huge machine, into an economic organism that will work in such a way as to enable hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan — such was the enormous organizational problem that rested on our shoulders." (*Selected Works in Two Volumes. Moscow. 1950. Vol. II, Part 1, p. 240.*)

But the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, superimposed upon and distorting the foundation laid down by the Bolshevik revolution, has introduced additional crises and conflicts that are constantly increasing in scope and in intensity. Crises are thus running parallel in both dominant world sectors. But these crises are different in nature for the simple reason that they arise out of different social systems. Each social system develops in opposite direction and each is subject to different social laws. The basic distinction between them derives from the diametrically opposite relations of

production or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — the property relations; the capitalist property forms and the socialist type of property forms. These are the relations that determine the place in history of any society as they determine, indeed, its growth and development.

How Crises Differ

The crisis in the Soviet Union unfolds alongside of the unprecedented expansion of its productive forces. The greater the expansion the more glaringly the gaping disproportions in the social and economic structure stand out. Fundamentally the Soviet crisis is a reflection of the monstrous social inequalities, the great disparity between the low living standard of the masses of the people — who have suffered the most brutal repression under Stalin's long-standing police regime — and the privileges and powers usurped by the ruling bureaucratic caste. It is the very success of Soviet industrialization that points up most acutely the anachronism of bureaucratic mismanagement and waste of capital resources, both physical and human, while the workers are deprived of any creative initiative, any democratic rights and any sense of ownership or control of the nationalized means of production. As an inevitable consequence, the dynamism of the rapidly advancing industrialization, made possible by the nationalized property relations, comes into ever sharper conflict with the restrictions imposed by the totalitarian superstructure. The promotion and protection of the privileges of bureaucratic rule collide with the needs and

the interests of the Soviet masses. Essentially the crisis in the Soviet Union is a crisis of the regime.

The extension of Soviet economic forms to Eastern Europe also extended the bureaucratic powers and privileges and with them the crisis. Upon these countries totalitarian regimes were imposed. Looting and pillaging by the Kremlin bureaucracy became a corollary to strangulation of their national independence. The people there suffer the double oppression of native satraps ruling under a foreign bureaucracy. Their discontent with these conditions and their resistance to the oppressive rule, as we have witnessed, reached the stage of open rebellion from Eastern Germany, through Poland to the Hungarian revolution.

The crisis of capitalism grows out of an entirely different economic foundation and it will therefore have different social consequences. Concretely it is an expression of decline and decay of the system. Capitalist decay derives from the fact that world productive forces have long outgrown private property relations and the artificial barriers set up by national boundaries.

Prior to World War I the constant extension of the world market, the tapping of new resources and the creation of new fields of capital investment for exploitation of cheap labor in colonial spheres, acted as a self-sustaining process for expanded reproduction. This assured a certain social and political stability in a constantly rising curve of economic developments. To be sure it was interrupted by recurring cyclical crises, but the curve maintained its upward course nevertheless. This stability has turned into its opposite in a shrinking world market. Instead of stimulating an upward curve, this market now imposes restrictions on the productive forces.

Capitalist world equilibrium has been completely upset by the abolition of capitalist rule in one-third of the globe; that is, by the extension of Soviet economic forms into China and into Eastern Europe; and by the colonial revolution. The rich resources, the abundant market and the labor forces of this one-third have been withdrawn from the orbit of capitalist exploitation. It is true that the United States has expanded. Not only has the economic and political center of gravity definitely shifted to the United States, but all of the West European

countries, together with Japan, are now dependent on American capitalism for economic, financial and military hand-outs. The disintegration of the former colonial empires acts to reinforce this dependence. However, the rise of the United States to world preponderance amid the eclipse of the old colonial powers only serves to emphasize the decay of the system as a whole in which American imperialism has gained far less than world capitalism has lost.

Struggle of World Systems

On the world arena capitalism must now meet the competition of the rival social order. This applies above all to the United States. It faces that competition especially in regard to the needs and demands of the countries rising from colonial status. To these countries the gigantic leap recorded by the Soviet Union from a backward to a modern industrial power represents an attractive goal.

While the new Soviet economic forms and the old capitalist forms are mutually antagonistic, their relationship is simultaneously dialectically interconnected. The decline and decay of the old and the rise of the new interpenetrate. Mutually their development reacts upon one another and tends to amplify their divergences. Any weakening or setback of one side is translated into reinforcement of the other. Similarly the internal relations of both tend to reflect the interactions between them. The shattering of the world capitalist equilibrium made a breach in the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union. In turn, this removed one of the obstacles to the struggle there against the bureaucratic regime. On the other hand, the blow thus suffered by the capitalist world created new strains in the imperialist coalition. In a declining capitalist world, national economies, especially of the lesser powers, face increasing difficulties followed by mounting social and political tensions. And in the next stage, this will again be reflected in sharpened class struggles.

Conflicts between the two world systems arise throughout the planet. They show up in the relations of the contending forces to the underdeveloped countries and, above all in their relations to the continued ferment in the colonial world. The struggle between the outlived capitalist order and the nascent world socialist order is the dominant feature of the world today.

Economic, political and military developments are interlaced everywhere in this struggle; to these can be added developments in the arts and sciences. In their interconnections they all react upon one another. The radio voice of "Sputnik" circling the globe as a demonstration of the giant strides made in Soviet science, engineering and technique, echoed in Wall Street and Washington in the form of tumbling stock prices and demands for greater, and speedier military preparations. Competing arms shipments to the Middle East from the United States and from the Soviet bloc intensify the struggle for political influence in that area while simultaneously adding to the Arab revolutionary mass ferment. Divided rule of nations like Germany, Korea and Indo-China arose out of the conflict between the two world systems, and acts as a source of constantly greater friction. Jim Crow violence in the United States no less than Kremlin suppression of upheavals in the buffer countries reverberates throughout the world. Yet, in all of these developments, there is a reciprocal interaction with a fundamental economic necessity which in the last analysis asserts itself. And the manifest superiority of the Soviet economic forms are viewed with increasing apprehension by all the chancelleries of the West.

End of Capitalist Boom

However, while the Soviet economy proceeds on its upward curve, the course of capitalist economy, as we have pointed out, is in decline. The crisis in the Soviet Union is a crisis of the regime. The crisis in the capitalist world is a crisis of the whole system.

In view of the present capitalist prosperity the above statement may seem one-sided and arbitrary. But this is not the case. True, the United States has experienced an industrial boom and expansion of its productive forces since the beginning of World War II. In recent years the boom has extended to Western Europe and Japan. But the truth is that the boom is stained by the blood of untold victims of war and marred by the ghastly destruction of World War II and the Korean conflict. While the boom does include actual capitalist expansion, such as arises out of regeneration of normal civilian demands and the need to restore war-devastated areas, together with the industrialization of the Deep South — essentially

the boom has been artificially stimulated by war and armaments production for the militarization of the United States and its allies. It has left unsolved the central imperialist problem of finding new avenues in a constricted world market for export of capital, manufactured goods and agricultural surpluses. Only the vast government expenditures for armaments have so far postponed the inevitable economic crisis. However, the vast expenditures, deficit financing and expansion of the credit structure show up in a boom corroded by universal inflation.

This boom does not differ in nature from any previous capitalist booms. The artificial stimulant of armaments spending promotes greater speculative capital investments in industrial plants, increasing productivity and production to a point where the stimulant becomes less and less effective. Facilities for producing goods are outrunning the market. Output lags as capacity grows. There is ample evidence that the boom has attained its peak and is leveling off for the decline to set in.

According to reports by the Conference on Economic Progress, the rate of growth of the American economy has declined for the last three years. From an average of 4½% during 1947-53, the rate of growth has dropped to 2½% for 1954-55, and to 2% for 1956. Other recent figures show that it has now reached the vanishing point. Thus all the conditions for the cycle terminating in depression were prepared in the course of the boom. The conclusion is inescapable: the present economic prosperity is relative, transitory and conditional, whereas the decline and decay, operating as an organic part of the capitalist system, is absolute. It is a process that cannot be reversed.

Capitalist decline and decay, like its rise and growth, is subject to the law of uneven development. From its manifestation throughout history by the disproportions emerging from different rates of economic development, this unevenness now shows up in a more drastic form. This is demonstrated most clearly in the interrelations between the United States and Europe.

Not only is the overwhelming economic, political and military preponderance of the North American colossus an established fact, but its rise to this dominant position has occurred at the expense of the European capi-

talist structure. The older imperialist powers have lost their major colonial possessions. Their overseas investments, formerly a source of substantial national income, have been drastically reduced; and East-West trade has suffered a severe shrinkage. Remaining European colonial possessions are in a state of national revolutionary ferment extending even into Africa. Moreover, the dollar gap between what European nations spend and what they receive is still closed only by means of U.S. aid, the continuation of which now faces ever greater difficulties.

The survival of capitalism in Western Europe, during the revolutionary upsurge following World War II, was made possible by the treacherous leadership and policies of Stalinism and Social Democracy. The fate of Europe was in their hands. In Britain, France and Italy the Stalinists and Social Democrats shared the allegiance of the majority of the population. Instead of leading this majority toward the establishment of a Socialist Europe, they took office in their own respective bourgeois state structures. Thus the Stalinists and Social Democrats disoriented the workers, kept them subject to the European bourgeoisie and imposed upon their struggle for socialism a serious defeat. The mass organizations of the workers were not broken; they were immobilized. A class stalemate resulted.

Taking advantage of the social peace thus enforced, American capitalism deployed its economic, financial and military strength to stabilize Europe. U. S. resources proved sufficient for reconstruction and economic revival; above all else, they were sufficient to prop up the shaky bourgeois social order. But the boom experienced by Western Europe since 1950 has not lessened the dependence of its capitalist regimes politically and economically upon the United States. They remain under the challenge of the socialist-minded proletariat at home. And the dialectics of this inter-relationship reduces them to distinctly subordinate positions in the imperialist alliances. They must remain content with the constantly diminishing share in world economy that is allotted to them by American imperialism.

The most unkind cut occurred last year. While the Anglo-French imperialists were still reeling under the blow of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal and the disastrous collapse of their ill-fated invasion,

American imperialism rushed in to fill the power vacuum, at a minimum cost and for maximum profits. Through the Eisenhower Doctrine, Washington proclaimed its suzerainty over the oil-rich Middle Eastern estates before the Anglo-French claimants were legally dispossessed.

Without attempting here to examine the complexities of the Middle Eastern crisis, a few outstanding points should be noted. At present this strategically important area focuses most sharply the competition and conflict between the two world systems. Washington policy makers aimed above all at protecting and expanding the lucrative American monopolist oil properties; but they aimed no less at counteracting the much feared "Communist infiltration."

Their aims were greatly facilitated by the Kremlin preoccupation with its own internal crisis, chiefly its military intervention in the Hungarian revolution. This the Washington policy makers used to full advantage. But American imperialism is unable to substitute new forms of domination for the colonialism, avowed or covert, against which the masses are up in arms.

Like their predecessors, the American imperialists can find support only among the feudal rulers, the sheiks, the landlords and the militarists. Winning their support is a Pyrrhic victory indeed. After all, the situation in the Middle East is but one field in the crises, wars and revolutions affecting the world. Even the almighty dollar cannot assure social stability. So far the power and sweep of the colonial revolution has had greater impact on the Arab world than all the imperialist machinations combined. In the end, it will also prove stronger than the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Struggle of Social Forces

For British and French imperialism there can be but little hope of recovery from the blows struck by the colonial revolution and the disaster at the Suez Canal. Neither the dollar injections, nor the postwar economic upturn have altered their fundamental instability. In each country the economy operates under severe strains, threatened by the twin scourges of runaway inflation and unemployment. Both are glaring examples of the paradoxical fact that while the American economy has so far been sustained at boom levels only through colossal government arms expenditures, the

economies of the West European capitalist powers can no longer carry the heavy outlays demanded by imperialist armaments. As a result the NATO setup remains in permanent crisis.

Britain is more dependent on the world market than ever before, and yet its share of world exports of manufactured products has fallen for five successive years. Economically, politically and militarily British capitalism is in deep crisis. Its desperate position drives it with increasing compulsion toward a showdown with the working class. For the Tories, however, this will likely prove an unequal struggle. They confront a highly organized and powerful working class, "the first-born sons of modern industry." The proverb that events cast their shadows before would seem to apply to the present flight of capital out of Britain, not so much—according to London financial sources—in fear of devaluation of the pound, as in fear of a Labor government coming back into power.

The effect of this trend upon the Labor party leaders, who are still deeply immersed in Fabian conservatism, is visible in a negative way. Not a little afraid of the prospect of taking office they are much more concerned about mitigating capitalism's crisis. During the Suez adventure they expressed their abhorrence of industrial struggle to back political demands. They have likewise resisted taking political advantage of major industrial conflicts. Now they are all but abandoning nationalization of industry as an issue in the struggle to return to office. The policy declaration adopted at the recent Labor party conference, with the support of Bevan, pays this tribute to capitalism: "Large firms as a whole are serving the nation well." So instead of nationalization, the policy declaration advocates that a Labor government should purchase shares of industrial concerns on the stock market.

It is not at all unlikely that Britain's crisis will lead to replacement of the Tories by a Labor government before long. Could a Labor government at this political juncture continue where the Attlee government left off a decade ago? Could it continue the piddling process of nationalizing one or another ailing industry including the purchase of industrial shares? This is hardly conceivable. Moreover, the choice would not be up to the labor leaders alone. They would face the relentless combined

pressure of economic crisis and working-class demands. Of necessity a Labor government would have to take steps in the direction of comprehensive nationalization of industry and steps toward planned production. The crisis of British capitalism is fast approaching a point where such steps become imperative. For neither the needs of the people, nor the needs of a stable economy can find a solution

Who's Getting It?

The U. S. Treasury is handing out a record \$7.1 billion this year in interest on the national debt. This is more than the entire cost of running the federal government in 1938.

within the capitalist relations of production. And for the British working class, it can truly be said that it is on the way to measuring up to the present situation.

To be sure, this implies replacement also of the present Labor party leadership. The working class, increasingly conscious of its strength, will hardly hesitate to do this. As Trotsky observed along ago: "It will take much less time to transform the Labor party into a revolutionary party than was required for its creation."

In fact recent developments in Britain show revolutionary cadres beginning to work out Marxist program and policies, and extending their influence.

Developments of a similar nature in capitalist continental Europe, even though it is equally torn by crisis, may seem destined to appear at a later stage. In France, particularly, the treacherous opportunist course pursued by Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders alike, has constantly increased the danger of working-class political demoralization. (Without support in parliament from the Stalinist leaders for a year and a half, the Mollet "socialist" government could not have directed the "dirty war" in Algeria.) Yet advances made by the British workers cannot fail to have great impact across the Channel. These would tend to overshadow the feeble imperialist scheme of a common European market, and give new impetus to the idea of a Socialist United States of Europe. Even for the Soviet workers, or to be more exact, precisely for the Soviet workers, struggling against the Kremlin's bureaucratic

rule, the significance would not be lost.

Fear of these perspectives shows up in the chancelleries and stock exchanges of Western Europe like the chart of a rising fever. Fear of the rapidly growing Soviet power follows a parallel course and the European capitalists cling all the more desperately to Wall Street.

But this dependence is not a one-way street. The greater foreign dependence becomes, the greater the dependence of the U.S.A. on the world capitalist structure: for investment of surplus capital, for exports and imports and for essential and strategic raw materials, not to mention political and military alliances.

During past decades the uneven development of capitalism favored the advance of the United States. Enormous resources, tapped from a virgin continent, enabled the most rapid expansion within a stable capitalist world and its constantly widening market. Today the dialectics of world relations is turning this into its opposite. American imperialism is now faced with the expansion of its productive forces in a disintegrating capitalist world and in a constricted market. Simultaneously, as the condition of its own existence, it must assume the task, practically single-handed, of defending the decaying system as a whole against further revolutionary advances. Hence, the keystone of U.S. foreign policy is to "organize the world" under its hegemony, to reconquer the lost one-third of the globe. Constant preparation for war flows implicitly and explicitly from this policy.

But the benefits the United States derives from its dominant position are temporary and tend to become transformed into liabilities. The greater its dominance the more do the contradictions and threatening upheavals in other countries become incorporated in the foundations of American imperialism.

"... it is precisely the international strength of the United States," said Trotsky, "and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions." (*The Third International After Lenin*, p. 8.)

At home the present social equilibrium owes its existence primarily to the prolonged artificial boom. More

than anything else, the boom enabled American capitalism to grant sufficient concessions to keep the workers subordinated to the reactionary but powerful trade-union bureaucracy. Today this bureaucracy sits astride 17 million workers and keeps the class as a whole harnessed to the capitalists politically. But this internal equilibrium is neither stable nor lasting. With the boom tapering off, the dominant monopolies are less willing to grant concessions to labor. Once they find it necessary to attack living and working standards, advance preparations for which are now in the making, the class struggle will again break into the open. And, judging by past performances, the American workers will not shy away from drastic action.

The American working class closed the lag in its trade-union consciousness in a single leap to the most highly advanced industrial unionism under the CIO in the thirties. Politically it still lags far behind the needs of the socialist transformation of society as the only real solution to the capitalist crisis. This lag in political consciousness and the gap between its class power and its class needs prepare the conditions for another forward leap in the political field. And this, we can be sure, will take much less time than was required for the rise in trade-union consciousness. Once the American workers attain political independence as a class, acting through their own political party, a new historical stage will begin in the United States.

The Socialist Solution

The logic of world relations points inexorably everywhere to socialist reorganization of society. It arises as an imperative necessity out of the crisis of both dominant world sectors—the Soviet Union as well as the capitalist world. True, the solution to these crises will be decided by the struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena. And here the power of the mighty phalanxes of the American and Soviet workers will be decisive.

For the capitalist world it is a question of the socialist transformation of society as a whole. For the Soviet world, genuine progress to socialism is possible only through a political revolution. Socialism and bureaucracy are incompatible. Democracy and freedom are essential ingredients for its social as well as its economic development. Socialism can

become a reality in the Soviet territories only by the complete elimination of the bureaucratic regime and the restoration of Soviet democracy.

The road to the socialist solution is clearly indicated by history. It was followed through to a victory over capitalism in Russia in 1917, and was again indicated in last year's events in Hungary. "The most indubitable feature of a revolution," said Trotsky, "is the direct interference of the masses in historic events." And so the masses did interfere in Russia through the creation of their own mass organs—the Soviets, or workers councils. Arising directly out of the workshops when the mass movement entered the openly revolutionary stage, these councils became the pivot around which the toilers united in their struggle for the socialist transformation.

Workers councils reappeared in the Hungarian revolution; this time, however, they arose as working-class instruments of the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. There the course of the coming political revolution in the USSR was clearly indicated, for in Hungary the workers councils appeared as an affirmation of working-class determination to maintain and develop the socialist forms of property relations. Moreover, their existence was a demonstration in life of workers democracy.

The workers councils proceeded to reorganize the management of industry and to draw up plans for production and for economic advance in the interests of the toilers. These included a rational wage system, investments and utilization of capital to promote a harmonious development of the productive forces. Under the impulsion of the mass movement the trade unions functioned in behalf of the workers. Revolutionary committees removed worthless bureaucrats from state institutions, even from high ministerial posts and took over their duties. Throughout the country was heard the battle cry for democracy—workers democracy—for the right to strike and for socialist equality, for genuinely free elections with the right of participation by all parties standing on the basis of nationalized property.

In this manner the Hungarian workers demonstrated the meaning of the political revolution; their actions foreshadowed events to come in the USSR. As in Hungary so in the Soviet Union, the realization is

mounting that an overgrown bureaucracy, jealous of its powers and privileges, has become the greatest obstacle to socialist development. Instances have been reported already of workers striking against the bureaucratic arbitrariness and misrule. Rapidly moving events have resurrected questions, forgotten since Lenin's time, concerning the meaning of social control of production and of social relations in a workers state. Demands for workers control of the factories have penetrated the USSR from Poland and Yugoslavia, where some limited forms of control are exercised by workers councils.

A whole historical period is coming to a close and a new one is beginning. A new stage in the Russian revolution was inaugurated by the denunciation of the Stalin cult and the promise to return to Leninism. It is a part of a new historical process set into motion by the terribly pressing need to change the political superstructure to correspond to the transformed economic foundation. This process is not likely to proceed in a straightforward line to its inevitable conclusion, but rather in spurts and spasms. It might include, as has already been the case, both reforms from above and revolutionary actions from below. But the forces for change that have already been unleashed make it increasingly difficult to turn back.

Demands for democracy, for greater freedom and for legal reforms indicate the tremendous ferment especially in intellectual and student circles. Socialist aspirations of the working class are rising. Originally the power of the bureaucracy was rooted in the weakness of the working class. That has now changed. The bureaucracy is obliged to reckon with the growing strength and consciousness of the working class. We can rest assured also that the Soviet workers, as in Hungary, will take into their own strong hands the torch lit by the intellectuals and students.

On this broad arena of masses in motion, workers councils can be reconstituted in the Soviet Union. They can become the testing ground of political programs and leadership. Out of the struggle of political tendencies a revolutionary party can be forged—the party that is the indispensable weapon for the success of the political revolution in the Soviet Union as well as for the socialist revolution in the capitalist world.

WHAT THE RADICAL YOUTH NEED

The instructive experience of the Labor Youth League and the Young Socialist League shows who is really for an independent youth movement in the United States

by Tim Wohlforth

DISCUSSIONS are now going on among radical youth of all persuasions interested in the political and organizational basis for building a new youth movement. Virtually all of these young people seem to agree that the new youth movement must be organizationally independent of all existing adult radical groups. Many young radicals have had experience with youth movements dominated by adult groupings which did not allow the youth to develop along their own path and these experiences have left a bitter taste.

Domination of youth movements has been the rule and not the exception in the history of the socialist movement in all countries. Why has this been so? Can the youth movement that many of us are trying to build today be free from such domination?

The question of the independence of the youth movement is an *organizational* question. It involves such questions as the relationship of democracy to discipline in the youth movement and the relationship between the youth movement and the adult parties.

The radical movement has been plagued by organizational questions similar to this; and in a number of cases a division on such questions has led to a split. However in every case

serious study reveals that the organizational issue has been largely a reflection of an underlying *political* difference.

This holds true for the youth, too. Let us take a look at the Labor Youth League as an example. The LYL claimed throughout to be "an independent Marxist youth organization" completely free from domination by any political party.

However from the time of the 1948 Communist party convention, which called for its formation, to last year, when the CP decided to dissolve it, the LYL was little more than a younger shadow of the CP. Never did it take a stand in contradiction to CP policy, and never did it raise real criticisms of the CP's own mentor, the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. Former members of the LYL have told this writer that they never once had a chance to participate in the formulation of League policy on any important issue. League conventions were more like political rallies and song fests than occasions for the formulation of policy. Internal democracy, while guaranteed on paper, was not present in life. Caucus formations in opposition to the leadership, the key to real party democracy, were not allowed.

The lack of independence and internal democracy had a fatal effect on the development of the League. This can be illustrated by two examples.

Soon after the formation of the LYL in 1949 the CP line on the Progressive party and independent political action began to change. By 1952, the CP had decided to sink the Progressive party nationally, including the American Labor party in New York, despite the opposition of

its membership and such leading spokesmen as Hallinan, McManus and McAvoy.

In the youth field this policy was reflected in the dissolution of the Young Progressives of America. The LYL, however, remained as the party youth organization though it, too, was to be affected. Under the slogan "For Democratic Youth Unity" the activities of League members came to be diverted from building the League, to functioning in and building a whole host of other organizations from the YWCA and Unitarian Youth to the Young Democrats and Students for Democratic Action.

Thus the League members spent most of their time building organizations which supported the State Department's war policies, compromises with the Southern racists to preserve the "unity" of the Democracy party, and the witch-hunt against them and the rest of the radical movement.

All this was done, not to build the LYL and bring the message of socialism to America's youth, but to advance the class-collaborationist CP policy that goes under the name of "People's Anti-Monopoly Coalition." The net result was to further the CP's line to the detriment of the League and thus to contribute to the tremendous decline in membership and influence that the League suffered. (Admittedly the main cause of the decline of the LYL was the "objective" situation—prosperity and the witch-hunt atmosphere of the cold war. However, this does not minimize the importance of the "subjective" factors which affected the degree of the decline.) The decline finally culminated a year ago in the dissolu-

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tion of the League itself, despite protests from many of its members.

For another example of the terrible price the LYL had to pay for its lack of independence, let us look at its attitude toward the Soviet Union. For years the League claimed to be for socialism "which is no longer a dream but which has been realized in the Socialist Soviet Union." It identified socialism with the policies of the leadership of the Communist party in the USSR and apologized for Stalin's betrayals of the working class. Had any LYL member voiced a tenth of the criticisms of Stalin that Khrushchev made at the Twentieth Congress he would have been immediately expelled.

This substitution of Stalinist propaganda for an independent Marxist analysis of the Soviet Union and the complete reliance on the whims and needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, left the LYL membership wide open to demoralization when the Khrushchev revelations were published. The price for the lack of political independence was a tremendous drop in membership, a factor that contributed to the final collapse of the League.

It became clear that if the LYL were not dissolved by the CP leadership, many of its members would proceed to re-examine the questions revolving around the Soviet Union and develop an independent course that would have been a real threat to the CP leadership. The indicated road was a study of the "proscribed" books of Marxists who long ago analyzed the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the reactionary role played by the Soviet bureaucracy. Above all it pointed to a study of the works of Trotsky, who analyzed the negative features of the Soviet Union while still defending its progressive planned economy, and who, while attacking Stalinism, refused to desert Leninism.

It is clear that the *organizational* domination of the LYL by the CP was imposed by political necessity. The Communist party itself has never developed its political positions in relationship to the needs of the American working class. For instance, its turn from the United Anti-Fascist Front to the isolationism of the Stalin-Hitler pact and then back to the support of the Roosevelt government in the imperialist war against Germany was determined by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy and its foreign policy and not by the objective needs of the American working class.

Like Trapped Animals

"Almost without exception, the men with whom I worked on the assembly line last year felt like trapped animals. Depending on their age and personal circumstances, they were either resigned to their fate, furiously angry at *themselves* for what they were doing, or desperately hunting other work that would pay as well and in addition offer some variety, some prospect of change and betterment. They were sick of being pushed around by harried foremen (themselves more pitied than hated), sick of working like blinkered donkeys, sick of being dependent for their livelihood on a maniacal production-merchandising setup, sick of working in a place where there was no spot to relax during the twelve-minute rest period. (Some day—let us hope—we will marvel that production was still so worshipped in the Fifties that new factories could be built with every splendid facility for the storage and movement of essential parts, but with no place for a resting worker to sit down for a moment but on a fire plug, the edge of a packing case, or the sputum-and-oil-stained stairway of a toilet.)"—Harvey Swados, "The Myth of the Happy Worker," in *The Nation*, Aug. 17.

More recently its scuttling of the Progressive party and promulgation of the class-collaborationist "People's Anti-Monopoly Coalition" is simply an extension on the domestic American scene of the Soviet Union's "peaceful coexistence" line. Furthermore, the CP up to the day of the Twentieth Party Congress defended every action of Stalin. Today nobody in the CP defends Stalin against Khrushchev's attacks.

Since the CP does not develop its own political positions on an independent basis it certainly cannot tolerate the youth doing so. Discussion and independent criticism is the death knell to any organization which depends, not on the needs of the working class as expressed through its membership, but on some force *external* to it (in this case the Soviet bureaucracy) and whose interests are in part, at least, in *opposition* to the working class.

However, the CP is not the only political tendency on the American scene which cannot tolerate an independent youth movement. In other words, it is not the only tendency which depends, not on the needs of the working class as expressed through its membership, but on some force external to it and whose interests are in part, at least, in opposition to the working class. The other major poli-

tical tendency in this category is the Social Democracy.

The Social Democracy, once the international party of revolutionary Marxism, has fallen into disrepute since its sell out of the working class at the time of World War I. Since that time Marxists have pointed out the treacherous character of the Social Democracy, flowing from its attempt to straddle the class struggle — to avoid a head-on conflict between capital and labor. The Social Democracy in the capitalist countries represents within the socialist movement the interests of the political and trade-union bureaucracy. This bureaucracy has adapted itself to capitalism and as a result enjoys certain privileges denied the rest of the working class. In order to protect these interests, which are in part separate from and antagonistic to those of the working class, this bureaucracy opposes the development of genuine workers' democracy in the trade unions. The Social Democratic parties also attempt to prevent a *political* expression of the interests of the working class, as distinct from those of the trade-union bureaucracy, from developing within their own organizations.

For these reasons the Social Democracy cannot tolerate the development of independent working-class politics within the youth movement. The history of the Social Democratic youth movement—take America's Young People's Socialist League as an example—has been a history of the conflict between the genuine revolutionary aspirations of the youth and bureaucratic suppression by the Social Democratic leadership.

As a recent example of this let us look at a small youth group, the Young Socialist League. This group is closely related to the Independent Socialist League in a manner somewhat similar to the relationship between the LYL and CP. The ISL has been moving, over the past number of years, away from a revolutionary-socialist position in the direction of the Social Democracy. This general trend has manifested itself recently in a bid for unity between the ISL and the "official" Social Democracy, the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation.

The SP-SDF is the representative within the American socialist movement of the interests of a section of the labor bureaucracy. Its present extreme weakness and smallness of size is largely due to the fact that the labor

bureaucracy does not need a "socialist" cover and functions in the main directly through a capitalist machine—the Democratic party. The SP-SDF's politics reflect this, among other things, in its general support to the cold-war policies of the State Department.

The ISL knows that the SP-SDF leadership will not give up its dependence on the State Department and unite with the ISL on the basis of independent working-class politics. It is also aware of the fact that if a left wing developed in the SP-SDF, which fundamentally challenged these politics, it would be expelled, as has happened in the past. But the ISL has fled so far from its revolutionary past that it is willing to subordinate itself politically and organizationally to the State Department leadership of the SP-SDF.

In order to bring along with it its most valuable "property," the young people in the YSL, it was necessary for the ISL to destroy the political and organizational independence of the YSL. A left wing developed in the YSL in opposition to this general trend. It proposed as an alternative to entrance into the swamp of the SP-SDF, unity with *all* socialist youth in an independent movement with a genuinely *socialist* program.

This left wing was slandered and ostracized by the ISL-dominated right wing. The right-wingers even rewrote the Constitution of the YSL to make discipline more stringent. This fall, the left wing was definitively forced out of the organization, leaving the YSL completely under the domination of the ISL in preparation for entry into the SP-SDF. Thus the loss of *political* independence from alien class forces by the ISL led ultimately to the denial of *organizational* independence to the youth in the YSL.

The thesis we started with—sharp organizational issues reflect basic political differences—seems to be substantiated in the cases of the CP-LYL and the ISL-YSL. In addition, we can make another generalization: lack of organizational independence of the youth is a reflection of the political

dependence of the adult party on alien class forces. Or, to put it positively, only political parties or groups who base themselves solely on the working class and whose politics reflect the real interests of the working class can tolerate the independence of the youth. Lenin, as early as 1915, made a clear unqualified statement in defense of the independence of the youth—a statement which his "supporters" in the CP and ISL might do well to study:

"Adults who pretend to lead and teach, but who mislead the proletariat are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Youth organizations, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train Party workers for Socialist Parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be assisted in every way. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them. Frequently, the middle aged and the aged *do not know how* to approach the youth in the proper way; for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, under other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, this is why we must be decidedly in favour of the *organizational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but because of the very nature of the case; for unless they have complete independence, the youth *will be unable* either to train good Socialists from their midst, or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward."* (Emphasis in original.)

History has shown that neither the Stalinist movement nor the Social Democratic movement can tolerate the real independence of the youth. Only those who rely upon political argument and persuasion instead of bureaucratic fiat to convince the youth can tolerate an independent thinking youth movement. And only those who are free of both the American State Department and the Soviet bureaucracy can safely rely upon political argument. That is why it has been the revolutionary socialists from Lenin's day on who have championed the independence of the youth.

Today new youth groups are springing up throughout the country. A new youth paper, the *Young Socialist*, supported by many of the members of these groups, has likewise come into existence and is finding its way into the hands of radical-minded youth throughout the country. It is no accident that revolutionary socialists are the prime initiators of this development and that both the Stalin-

**Collected Works*, Vol. XIX. See pp. 329-332. International Publishers.

New Conquest For American Science

The dream of the television pitchman is wondrously simple: to get painlessly but surely inside the viewer's head. To make the dream come true, two young companies are peddling "subliminal perception," the psychological phenomenon whereby a sight too fleeting to register consciously takes root subtly in the viewer's subconscious mind. This technique could flash phantom plugs on the television screen at speeds too fast (around one three-thousandth of a second) for the viewer to realize that a Madison Avenue Rasputin was selling him beer not only between the rounds of a prize fight but between the very punches.

—*Time*, Nov. 18.

ists and Social Democrats look upon it with hostility.

The ground is being laid to build a new radical youth movement that can educate and inspire the new generation of America's youth. This youth movement must develop on an independent basis. As Lenin recognized, "necessarily the youth must come to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, under other circumstances* than their fathers." The American youth will take nothing for granted and will insist upon inspecting all ideas, programs and doctrines. It is not enough to tell the American youth that "this is the position we have always held" or that "Lenin said it this way."

However the serious American youth, in contrast to the intellectual dilettante, will study the program and history of all the radical groups. He will read critically, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg. He will study the history of the Russian Revolution, of the Chinese Revolution, of the Third International, as well as the history of the American revolutions, and of the American working-class movement.

Only by a critical study of the ideas and happenings of the past can a young person develop a really independent Marxist understanding of the world he lives in and of the tasks that lie ahead. To ignore the past is only to insure one's *dependence* on the will-o'-the-wisp ideas of the moment—ideas which, in a conservative period like today in the United States, necessarily reflect the interests of classes alien to the working class.

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BOOKS

Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution"



by Trent Hutter

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION, by Leon Trotsky. Russell & Russell, New York. 1957. 256 pp. \$3.75.

The growing aspiration of Soviet artists for greater freedom of expression is obviously worrying the ruling caste. In three recent speeches Khrushchev attacked the anti-Stalinist tendency visible in such novels as *Not By Bread Alone*. "They tried to interpret this criticism [of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress] as a sweeping denial of the positive role of J. V. Stalin in the life of our party and country . . ."

Khrushchev reaffirmed the Kremlin's insistence upon "Socialist realism" in art; that is, "to support the good and faithfully show it in bright colors," to depict "the Soviet peoples' great stint of transformation, the nobility of their aims and aspirations and their lofty moral and ethical standard . . ."

In the tradition of Stalin, Khrushchev opposes artistic freedom. "In Socialist society . . . the question of whether he is free or not in his creative work simply does not exist for anyone who faithfully serves his people . . ." Surveillance of the artist by the party is necessary: "It is very important to notice in time shortcomings or mistakes of separate creative workers . . ." Khrushchev admits that "the guidance of literature and art by the party and the state is oppressive," but his present policy is all according to Lenin.

* * *

Those who believe that Stalinist cultural policy is according to Lenin

—and even outside the Stalinist milieu many radicals do not yet fully understand the difference—should read Leon Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution*, which has just been republished after being out of print for more than two decades. The appearance of the book is most timely. Many radicals are now re-evaluating the Stalinist line in cultural matters, which they had accepted without actually realizing what they were doing. They can now check for themselves what the cultural policy of the leaders of the Russian Revolution was actually like.

The book is all the more interesting because it was written when the bureaucracy was just emerging as a caste, increasing its influence, undermining workers democracy, taking the offensive but not yet daring to openly challenge the heroes of the Revolution. How could Trotsky write a book about cultural questions in a situation as dangerous as the one that existed in the USSR at the time of Lenin's death in 1924?

Significantly enough, the unfolding tragedy was somehow reflected in the artistic and cultural debates in which Trotsky participated with *Literature and Revolution*. In this book he opposed the concept of "proletarian culture" which, under the name of "Socialist realism," was to become the cultural theory of Stalinism. This pernicious theory was used to rationalize the stifling of free thought and free expression and the transforming of art into an instrument for the glorification of the bureaucracy and the "personality" of Stalin.

Of course, the ultimate consequences of the theory of "proletarian

culture" were not visible in 1924; and many of the theory's partisans certainly did not consciously favor the growth of bureaucratic tendencies. But Trotsky saw that the concept of "proletarian culture" was pseudo-Marxist, basically non-Marxist. He must have felt that the young Soviet democracy was threatened culturally as it was politically and that the two threats were interlinked.

Those who tend to underrate the importance of cultural questions and think that art is merely some kind of luxury are advised to meditate Trotsky's life-long interest in literature and the arts. The great revolutionist, the master of Marxist theory and founder of the Red Army, knew that "the development of art is the highest test of the vitality and significance of each epoch." Hence his defense of the Marxist position in the debate that broke out in the cultural arena and his concern about the workers state having a correct policy.

He examined the various literary schools that existed in post-revolutionary Russia. Although the figures Trotsky deals with are scarcely known outside Russia (or in Russia either today!), and although they were not significant enough to win a permanent place in world literature, Trotsky's consideration of their work is most stimulating and revealing. Through his criticism of their many weaknesses, he presents the Marxist theory of art. And when he criticizes, even at his sharpest he does not swing the club of the bureaucratic policeman.

Trotsky underscores the fact that a poor, backward country just emerging from war, civil strife and

famine could not expect a flowering of culture. Yet the intellectuals and artists were debating answers to important questions: How would culture and intellectual life develop in the Soviet Union? What should be its aims? What was the correct socialist policy in this field? Despite the hunger and the backwardness, despite the standing threat of intervention from abroad, despite the small number of people who could participate in cultural activities in those difficult days, the debate was a lively one. A democratic atmosphere prevailed. Interesting initiatives were taken. Groups holding varying positions freely confronted each other. There was probably more genuine concern over basic cultural questions, more heartfelt enthusiasm for the arts in war-torn, poverty-stricken, exhausted Russia of the early twenties than in the wealthy United States of today.

The ultimate aim, says Trotsky, is a socialist culture, a culture that overcomes the capitalist-created separation of intellectual from physical work. But for this, "large social, economic and cultural means" are necessary. "Art needs comfort, even abundance." Can the workers create a proletarian culture transitional between bourgeois culture and the socialist culture of the future, something corresponding to the workers state, which is a political transition between the bourgeois state and the classless society where the state will have withered away?

No, Trotsky replies. "... the period of the social revolution, on a world scale, will last ... decades, but not centuries ... Can the proletariat in this time create a new culture? It is legitimate to doubt this, because the years of social revolution will be years of fierce class struggles. ... At any rate, the energy of the proletariat itself will be spent mainly in conquering power, in retaining and strengthening it. ... Creation of a new culture will start after great international victories of the working class. But then "the proletariat will be more and more dissolved into a Socialist community and will free itself from its class characteristics and thus cease to be a proletariat ... This seems to lead to the conclusion that there is no proletarian culture and that there never will be any and in fact there is no reason to regret this. The proletariat acquires power for the purpose of doing away forever with class culture and to make way for human culture. We frequently seem to forget this."

The workers state has to assimilate and use the achievements of bourgeois culture and science. Marxism itself is a product not of some "proletarian culture" but of bourgeois culture.

"... its theory was formed entirely on the basis of bourgeois culture both scientific and political, though it declared a fight to the finish upon that culture. Under the pressure of capitalistic contradictions, the universalizing thought of the bourgeois democracy, of its boldest, most honest, and most far-sighted representatives, rises to the heights of a marvelous renunciation, armed with all the critical weapons of bourgeois science. Such is the origin of Marxism."

The question of socialist science is, of course, closely linked to that of socialist culture. Even in the transitional period "there might appear eminent scientists, inventors, dramatists and poets out of the ranks of the proletariat. ... But it would be extremely light-minded to give the name of proletarian culture, even to the most valuable achievements of individual representatives of the working class."

Mankind's cultural heritage cannot be ignored. "In the economy of art, as in the economy of nature, nothing is lost, and everything is connected in the large."

The working class "cannot begin the construction of a new culture without absorbing and assimilating the elements of the old cultures. ... a new class cannot move forward without regard to the most important landmarks of the past. ... "The proletariat also needs a continuity of creative tradition."

As for the policy of the Communist party toward art, this is determined by the complexity of the links between the proletariat and the creative bourgeois intelligentsia. "It is impossible to reduce this policy to one formula, to something short like a bird's bill. Nor is it necessary to do this."

Was artistic creation in the Soviet Union freer under Lenin than under Khrushchev? At first sight, it might seem that little difference can be found, for a censorship was enforced by both regimes. But the content of the censorship changed radically. Trotsky states its purpose in the twenties when the Soviet Union was beleaguered from all sides: "We ought to have a watchful revolutionary censorship, and a broad and flexible policy in the field of art, free from petty partisan maliciousness." Its purpose is to block any tendency which "threatens to disintegrate the revolutionary environment or to arouse ... the proletariat, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, to a hostile opposition to one another."

Censorship against counter-revolutionary literature was understandable

in the weak Soviet Union of the early twenties in view of the immense pressure from the surrounding capitalist world. But did it work? Perhaps it was unavoidable in the early years; but with the victory in the civil war, the counter-revolutionary danger no longer came from the Czarist forces. It came from something unexpected and unforeseen, the rising bureaucracy. When Stalin usurped power, he turned the censorship into an instrument of the bureaucratic machine as he likewise did with the secret police and with the Communist party itself. What had been intended to protect the Revolution was converted into its complete opposite.

Whether or not one believes that the censorship turned out to be a mistake, the decisive fact is that cultural policy under Lenin and Trotsky was broad-minded. It encouraged and inspired creative freedom instead of stifling it as under Stalin and Khrushchev.

"Art must make its own way and by its own means," Trotsky declares. "The Marxian methods are not the same as the artistic. The Party leads the proletariat but not the historic processes of history. There are domains in which the Party leads, directly and imperatively. There are domains in which it only cooperates. There are, finally, domains in which it only orientates itself. The domain of art is not one in which the Party is called upon to command. It can and must protect and help it, but it can only lead it indirectly. It can and must give the additional credit of its confidence to various art groups, which are striving sincerely to approach the Revolution and so help an artistic formulation of the Revolution. And at any rate, the Party cannot and will not take the position of a literary circle which is struggling and merely competing with other literary circles."

How does this compare with the Stalinist policy of putting Soviet artists in the strait jacket of so-called "Socialist realism"? When Khrushchev talks about a "Socialist reality" which the artist must describe and praise, the reality is an oppressive police regime run by a privileged caste. Could anything be more bitter to a genuine artist?

When Khrushchev calls "the press ... our chief ideological weapon" whose duty is "to strike down the enemies of the working class," what Soviet artist does not feel this as a terrible threat directed at him as well as everyone else who wants to get rid of the bureaucracy and go "Back to Lenin" and —yes!— the Trotsky who wrote *Literature and Revolution*.

Trotsky does not consider the prob-

lems that would face a socialist government in America. They would, of course, be quite different in many respects from those that faced the Soviet Union in the early days. Starting with an incomparably higher standard of living and with the most highly developed industrial plant in the world, a socialist administration will be able to offer the masses much more in the economic and social fields right from the beginning. Moreover, unlike the Soviet Union of 35 years ago, Socialist America would face no threat of imperialist intervention. There would be no need for censorship, for the stringent measures the Bolsheviks felt they had to take. In an advanced country like the U.S.A., a workers state will be able to start on a much higher, more tolerant level that will call forth a much quicker and more complete flowering of the arts. This cultural development, along with economic plenty, will not only strengthen the workers state, it will make impossible the appearance of a bureaucratic caste.

However, despite the differences, American socialists can learn a great deal from the experience of the Russian Revolution. The leaders of that revolution were the first to face and deal with a number of basic questions. Their answers deserve the closest attention. As one of those great pioneers, Trotsky's writings are surprisingly alive and applicable to our time and tasks. His discussion of the socialist position on art remains fundamentally valid. Any radical who has not yet read the last chapter of *Literature and Revolution* with its inspiring vision of art and man in the socialist future has a great experience coming.

It is not difficult to visualize the effect this book can have in the ferment among intellectual circles in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union when copies find their way there as they are bound to.

In the Soviet literary discussion of the early twenties, which reflected in its way issues connected with the rise of the bureaucracy, one of the groups complained that "There are no Belinskys."* Trotsky answered: "The

historic role of the Belinskys was to open up a breathing hole into social life by means of literature. Literary criticism took the place of politics and was a preparation for it. But that which was merely a hint for Belinsky and for the later representatives of radical publicism, has taken on in our day the flesh and blood of October and has become Soviet reality."

However, as we know, the "Soviet reality" of Lenin's and Trotsky's time was succeeded by the reality of the Stalin era. The retrogression was enormous, so much so that in the first stages of today's political revival, deep and powerful social forces, as in

Czarist times, are compelled to find temporary expression in disputes over cultural questions. Today new Belinskys are appearing on the Soviet scene. They are trying to "open up a breathing hole." Their discussions, taking place in the period of decline of Stalinism, constitute a preparation, far more than at any previous epoch, for great political actions.

To them *Literature and Revolution* will seem least of all like an echo of past disputes. It will read like the manifesto of a new revolt. Trotsky could not have wished for a better fate for his discussion of art and the Marxist attitude toward it.

"The Good Old Cause"

by William F. Warde

THE LEVELLERS, by Joseph Frank. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 1955. 345 pp. \$5.

This scholarly work presents the history of the Leveller movement through a study of all the available writings of its chief leaders: John Lilburne, Richard Overton and William Walwyn.

The Levellers were the most energetic, resolute and uncompromising representatives of the plebian forces in the English Revolution from 1640 to 1660. Their religious, political and economic ideas expressed the interests and outlook of the artisans, apprentices, shopkeepers and similar lower middle-class and working-class elements in the cities and the yeomen in the country districts. They were the stubbornest fighters for the program of revolutionary democracy.

They did not hold the most extreme positions in the social conflicts of that period; the farthest left was occupied by the dispossessed peasants who formed the agrarian communist sect of the Diggers. By contrast, the Levellers were opposed to "making all things common," defended the rights of private property, and called for free trade.

The Leveller party had a short life. It began to take shape in 1646, went through three years packed with upheavals, and then was crushed by Cromwell's dictatorship in 1649. Nevertheless, its political and historical significance cannot be judged by the brevity of its existence. During that crucial period the Levellers were strong enough to propel the revolution forward through their mobilization of the masses in the struggles and by the pressures they exerted from the left upon the bourgeois Grandees headed by Cromwell.

Many of the demands which the Levellers first formulated and put forward have become a permanent heritage of the democratic rights of the people.

The Levellers called for sweeping democra-

tization of both Church and State. Among the religious reforms were full freedom of religious belief, separation of Church and State, the suppression of tithes; among the political reforms were a constitutional republic, annual election of a Parliament responsible to the people alone, general manhood suffrage; among the legal reforms, the right to a trial by jury, no star-chamber hearings, no capital punishment or imprisonment for debt; among the civil rights, freedom of the press and no license on printing.

Although they have since become commonplace, in their day such doctrines were audacious revolutionary innovations which their advocates like Lilburne and others paid for with tortures, fines and prison terms.

The Levellers started as a propaganda group and transformed themselves into a party as their mass influence extended and the revolutionary movement mounted. They were the first popular revolutionary party in English history, playing a role comparable to that of the Sons of Liberty in the First American Revolution. They were essentially a party of mass action. Like Tom Paine, their leaders addressed themselves first and foremost to the common people, educating, arousing, guiding and organizing them for direct intervention on the key questions of the hour.

The party was centered in London but extended throughout England. The author cites exceedingly interesting contemporary testimony on the organization and methods of operation of their party apparatus: the regular meetings of their top political committee, the work of their Agents, the collection of funds, their printing problems, etc.

The mass petition was the principal means they used to inform and arouse the people. These petitions containing the demands of the people were widely circulated for signatures, submitted to Parliament, and backed up by meetings and demonstrations.

The Levellers were the first to encourage

* V. G. Belinsky (1811-1848), a Hegelian who helped pave the way for Marxist thought in Russia. Considered by Plekhanov to be "the most remarkable philosophic organism ever to appear in Russian literature." For Plekhanov's study, "Belinsky and Rational Reality," see *Fourth International*, spring, summer, fall, 1955, and spring 1956.

women to participate in political activity. In one of the petitions offered in their name the women asserted that they had "an equal interest with the men of the nation in its liberties and securities." They did not go so far, however, as to ask for woman suffrage.

The Levellers likewise linked themselves with the rank-and-file insurgents of Cromwell's New Model Army. They supported elections of soldier's delegates and the agitation of the soldier's committees which took up their grievances and favored a popular militia, democratically controlled. Most of the Agitators in the revolutionary army either belonged to the Levellers or were inspired by their ideas.

Both the Cromwellians and the Levellers moved forward to a Republic. But each strove for a new government modelled upon the different class interests they fought for. The Cromwellians wanted a bourgeois regime in which sovereignty was concentrated in the hands of the large property owners. The Levellers demanded a democratic republic based upon the power of the people and responsive to their demands.

The irrepressible conflict between the big bourgeoisie and squirearchy headed by Cromwell and the plebian forces in the country and the army led by the Levellers came to a showdown in 1649. The discontent in the army broke out into mutiny. Cromwell was overheard to say: "There was no other way to deal with these men, but to break them to pieces . . . if you do not break them, they will break you." This he proceeded to do. While Parliament tried the Leveller leaders for sedition, Cromwell crushed the revolt of the Agitators in his regiments.

Upon the consolidation of Cromwell's dictatorship the Levellers declined, disintegrated and disappeared as an organized force. During the 1650's their leaders either retired from revolutionary politics, returned to their businesses and made money, or else became absorbed in religious mysticism.

The author approaches the Levellers and interprets their movement from the standpoint of an academic liberal. But his careful documentation of their ideas and activities makes this work valuable to anyone interested in seeing how a radical party of the petty-bourgeois democratic type is formed.

Although the Levellers were active for only a few years on the stage of history, they left a durable imprint on the development of democratic thought. Overton, for example, was the author of *Man's Mortallitie*, one of the earliest materialist works in English. The Leveller movement illustrates how a revolutionary group which itself never attains the heights of power can nevertheless profoundly affect the course of a great revolution and fertilize progressive tendencies for centuries thereafter.

The spirit of that "good old cause" is movingly conveyed by the last words addressed to his supporters by Richard Overton:

"If I have been a little too sharp in my advice and admonishment, impute it I pray you to the heat of my zeal and ardent affections to the promotion of that Cause; for truly to me it is as the life of my life; without it I'm nothing, with it I live."

"The Deep South Says Never"

by Lois Saunders

THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS NEVER, by John Bartlow Martin. Ballantine Books, New York. 1957. 181 pp. \$2.50.

The emergence of the White Citizens Councils in the South, their expansion and the individuals who shape them form the subject matter of this interesting report on events that followed the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the schools.

Much of the material appeared last summer in a series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post*, but the extended treatment accorded it here presents a more rounded and complete picture of developments.

The author, John Bartlow Martin, considered one of the nation's top reporters, has interviewed a number of key segregationists and quotes extensively from their comments, thereby giving an authentic presentation of their views, aims and methods. While doing this, the author also provides a valuable chronicle of the main events involving racial conflict in the South during the past three years.

As a result of his survey, Martin arrives at the conclusion that the court's delay in implementing its decision enabled the South to organize its defiance and thereby cheat Negroes of the benefits of their victory. He draws the further conclusion that continued governmental inaction might well have the effect of bringing integration to a halt.

Says the author: "Some people think the court should have ordered immediate compliance instead of waiting a year. To have done so would have risked violence. In retrospect, however, it appears that it might have succeeded: the South was then resigned. Certainly the one-year grace period was when resistance rallied, for no governor, senator, legislature, or the President offered leadership in implementing the decision peaceably. Nor

is leadership forthcoming even today—the President has done nothing. Yet time is running out, for if the Supreme Court decision is to be enforced, the district courts will have to start enforcing it soon, and in the Deep South."

The most interesting section of the book is that dealing with a "Black Belt Town," Summerton, South Carolina. It was the protest of the Negroes in this small town of 1,500 which was later to become the Clarendon County, S. C., suit challenging the entire concept of segregation, one of the five suits leading to the Supreme Court decision.

In this section, Martin gives far more than the views of the professional segregationists. He presents a picture of the town and the surrounding countryside, class and race relations, school conditions, economic contrasts and the effects on the community of government policy and the mechanization of agriculture. In other words, he here presents a sociological study which makes it the most penetrating part of the book.

Excellent as the book is in many respects, it nevertheless presents only a partial picture of the South. With the exception of the section on Summerton, there is little attempt to give the views of whites other than the professional agitators, or of Negroes. There is, for instance, only a vague reference or two to the reactions of white workers, while the Negro viewpoint is reflected largely through a few quotations from NAACP spokesmen, most of whom are Northerners. Thus only one aspect of the conflict that is building up in the South is mirrored in the book, and little attempt is made to analyze what is taking place.

Giving the total picture admittedly would be a far more ambitious task than the author has attempted, and within the limits of his investigation Martin has done a conscientious job. Moreover, he presents his material in an interesting and swift-moving manner.

Revolution in West Africa

by John Marshall

GHANA, The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York. 1957. 302 pp. \$5.

The establishment of the independent state of Ghana in March 1957 has been the outstanding success so far of the continent-wide struggle of the African peoples for self-government. Here the first Prime Minister of the new Negro republic tells the story of the independence movement in connection with the events of his own life.

The two are inseparable because this village boy rose from the ignorance of a goldsmith's son to become the father of his country. He

acquired a college degree as well as his early education in socialist ideas during a ten-year stay in the United States from 1935 to 1945. He acknowledges a debt to the Trotskyist movement, among others, for what he learned during his *wanderjahre*.

For two years in England immediately after the war he carried on organizational work in the African national revolutionary movement. There he founded the Circle, "a stable organization of trained, selected and trusted men" who were "engaged in political revolution as a profession." Its aims, as set forth in the charter reprinted in this book, were to be "the Revolutionary Vanguard of the struggle for West African Unity and

National Independence" and "to support the ideas and claims of the All West African National Congress in its struggles to create and maintain a union of African Socialist Republics."

Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1947 resolved to devote his life to the liberation of his people from imperialism. He served first as Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, a timid reform movement headed by merchants and lawyers. Recognizing its futility, he broke away and launched the Convention People's Party in 1949. This radical intellectual saw the necessity for organizing and mobilizing the energy of the people as the only force capable of throwing off British domination.

"A middle class elite, without the battering ram of the illiterate masses, can never hope to smash the forces of colonialism," he writes. "Such a thing can be achieved only by a united people organized in a disciplined political party and led by that party." Nkrumah advocated and practised "non-violent" methods under the heading of Positive Action. This involved the use of all kinds of mass struggle from boycotts, demonstrations and strikes short of armed insurrection.

This unrelenting pressure of the masses,

in the setting of victorious colonial revolutions in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa and the weakening of British imperialism, culminated in the granting of self-government for Ghana within the British Commonwealth. Having arrived at national unity and political freedom, the new nation now confronts the still more difficult problem of attaining economic independence from imperialism.

The Convention People's party of which Nkrumah is chief is a highly interesting political phenomenon. Among many distinctive features is its combination of revolutionary nationalism and Pan-Africanism with a socialist ideology and outlook. Another is its fusion of the matriarchal customs of ancient tribal life with the needs of political struggle. Thus Nkrumah pays tribute to the role played by the women of Ghana in his movement.

"Much of the success of the Convention People's Party has been due to the efforts of women members. From the very beginning women have been the chief field organizers. They have travelled through innumerable towns and villages in the role of propaganda secretaries and have been responsible for the most part in bringing about the solidarity and cohesiveness of the Party."

Canadian Stalinism in Shambles

(Continued from Page 17)

of Kadar and Nagy to discuss common problems and present facts on what happened in Hungary, was shoved off the floor to the incoming National Committee. Also shuffled off was a resolution protesting that no visible steps toward the full restoration of the rights of Soviet Jews had as yet been taken by the Soviet CP.

On May 16 Salsberg, Smith, Binder and Lipshitz announced their resignation from the LPP. In their statement they declared that "the historically necessary task of regroupment of socialist forces in this country has to be undertaken. This is not an organizational task in the first place but a political one, an educational one." New paths must be found, new alliances formed "to speed the process of healing the splits of the past."

Seven months have slipped by, the LPP has suffered further defections, the most notable being that of long-time leader Charles Sims. Under the unending crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, the continued purges at the top, the exposure of the myth of "rule by law" and "collective leadership," the LPP knows no peace.

And what of the opposition to Buck? Caron concluded the Quebec leadership's statement of resignation

with the comment, "I wish to spend a period of time restudying." Nothing more has been heard from the Quebec area. A select group of thirty to forty Salsberg supporters held two meetings earlier this year where informal plans were discussed to issue a publication, "non-partisan, non-party and broadly progressive," possibly this fall.

Salsberg himself has enunciated his views in several articles in the Toronto daily press and at a socialist forum. While his article on Hungary could scarcely be said to mark a step further in a revolutionary socialist direction, it did not signify a retrogression as has been common with many ex-Stalinists. It established that the struggle was of a working-class character and in the direction of democratic socialism. His article on disarmament warmed over the traditional petty-bourgeois line promoted by Buck that Canada faces a challenge to its national greatness—as leader of the bloc of middle powers. Salsberg evenhandedly balances "mistakes" on the part of both major contending powers and modestly chastises the Diefenbaker government for not providing adequate leadership.

The forces that are potentially

available for revolutionary-socialist regroupment are for the most part at present outside all existing formations. The LPP, the greatest single barrier to the building of the party of Canadian revolutionary socialism, has suffered a debacle. It has not been removed but it has been tremendously weakened. Further developments will no doubt shake loose what valuable human material is still holding onto the LPP because of the lack of what appears to be a viable alternative.

Hundreds of workers in the LPP at the time of the Twentieth Congress who walked away, repelled by Buck's "business as usual," "now follow Khrushchev" line were left cold by his opponents' confinement of the struggle to the top echelons and their failure to project a new course. There are hundreds more who passed through the LPP over the years and whose experiences have taken on new meaning for them, as a consequence of the Khrushchev revelations and recent developments in the LPP. Great possibilities are opening up.

The Salsberg group has an opportunity to play a catalyzing role in the process. This would be a most favorable outcome. But will it do so? Must we await a turn in the class struggle to bring forward a new, more dynamic leadership?

These are among the important questions Canada's socialist forces are now discussing. It is too early to determine what the answers will be. Nevertheless, no matter what happens next, the history books will put down the debacle of Canadian Stalinism as a big step forward in the reconstitution of the revolutionary-socialist movement.

Growing Trend

(Continued from Page 2)

that a "new class" has come to power in the Soviet Union. "A new bureaucracy? Yes. A degenerative process that set in as socialism was being built in a single, very backward country? Yes. The rise of Stalin to autocratic power and the ruthless deformation of socialist concepts of justice, morality, equality, and freedom? Yes." But not a "new class."

Clark recognizes the brilliance of "Trotsky's analysis of the rise of bureaucracy in Russia and his forecast of degeneration in the Soviet state," but disagrees with Trotsky's slogan calling for the overthrow of the bureaucratic caste. In Clark's opinion this slogan would be justified only if a new exploiting class were in power in Russia. Clark would be correct in this if Trotsky had advocated

a social revolution; but all Trotsky proposed was a political revolution.

The Stalinist slogan of "peaceful coexistence" is still attractive to Clark inasmuch as he does not distinguish it from the socialist struggle for peace.

He is, however, convinced that the industrial development of the Soviet Union provides "a basis for eliminating the Stalinist legacy."

His position as a whole, as it has developed up to this point, thus clearly makes possible his participation in the struggle against capitalism and Stalinism and for socialism and the regeneration of the Soviet Union.

The editors of the *Monthly Review* also seem to have taken the plunge. In "Forty Years Later," an assessment in the November issue of the Russian Revolution as it stands today, they admit that "The conflict between Soviet theory and Soviet practice is radical and far-reaching." They underline the contrast between the ideals of socialism and the monopoly of power and privilege enjoyed by the Soviet bureaucracy. "In short, the Soviet Union is a dictatorship, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat over the old exploiting classes of Marxian theory. Forty years after the Revolution, these classes have disappeared, and the proletariat obviously has no control over the government."

They are disappointed that more has not been done to moderate the rigors of the dictatorship. "In all that has happened since Stalin's death we can find nothing to indicate that the Communist Party, or any of its contending factions, has changed in the slightest degree its view of the proper relation between the people and their leadership." They think that "leading circles in the Soviet Union" may be "as blind to the needs of the future as the ruling classes of the capitalist countries."

Editors Huberman and Sweezy then give clear notice of what they are prepared to do: "If this turns out to be so—and the next few years will almost certainly provide the answer—we shall have to abandon once and for all the optimistic theory of a smooth transition to socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc. In the meantime, we had better get busy and study the implications of an entrenched dictatorship operating within the enormously dynamic framework of a socialist economy."

In the study of these implications, "The Trotskyites have come closest to defining the problem correctly, but their solution (an anti-bureaucratic revolution of the Soviet masses) is part wishful thinking and part sheer revolutionary romanticism."

The *Monthly Review* editors hope for a process of democratization such as occurred in nineteenth century England when the British masses "gradually wrested an incomplete but nonetheless real democracy from what had originally been an extremely narrow and brutal class dictatorship."

This is not a finished position. "We are quite frank to admit that all this is in the nature of tentative suggestions which will need a good deal more thought and testing before they can be accepted as elements of a usable theory."

What is most significant about the new position taken by the *Monthly Review* is

that it narrows the area of possible political collaboration with the Stalinist bureaucracy while at the same time widening the area of possible collaboration with revolutionary socialists who have broken completely with Stalinism while remaining firm supporters of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union.

The Socialist Workers party, for example, does not exclude struggling for reforms in the Soviet Union; it regards them as by-products of revolutionary struggle, but nothing in its program prohibits it from collaborating with people who believe that the Soviet "masses are not going to revolt" but who also believe that the Soviet masses are capable of pressing forward like the British masses of the nineteenth century. A coalition favoring a modern Chartist movement in Russia would be excellent. Whether such a movement turned out to be "gradualist" or "revolutionary" could be left to the test of events.

One of the components in the American radical movement follows the thinking of Isaac Deutscher. For many members of the Communist party his writings have served as an introduction and bridge to the works of Leon Trotsky whom Deutscher greatly admires but with whom he has expressed differences on key questions, particularly the possibility of self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Recently Deutscher has begun to modify his differences. In an essay "Russia in Transition," which heads a book of the same name, the change is notable. The Hungarian Revolution seems to have impressed Deutscher with the fact that there does exist a power greater than the bureaucracy and one that is capable of moving on its own; that is, the masses. Two quotations will indicate what he is beginning to take into account:

"By far the most important phenomenon of the post-Stalin era is the evident revival of the long-suppressed egalitarian aspirations of the working class."

"In moments of great crises spontaneous mass movements do run ahead of all political groups, even the most radical ones, and of their programs and methods of action. So it was in Russia in February 1917. The workers then found in the Soviets, the Councils of their deputies, the institutions within which they learned to harmonize impulse and thought, to test conflicting programs, and to choose leaders. Of those institutions Stalinist Russia preserved no more than the name and the dead shells. Yet in the memory of the working class the Soviets have survived as the instruments of socialist government and self-government, the organs of a 'workers' state. Even in Hungary, amid all the confusion of revolution and counterrevolution, the insurgent workers hastily formed their Councils. Any political revival in the working class of the U.S.S.R. is almost certain to lead to a revival of the Soviets which will once again become the testing ground of political programs, groups, and leaders, and the meeting place of spontaneous movements and political consciousness."

Deutscher's views warrant the closest attention, despite whatever differences one may have with them, for he is a conscientious observer. As noted, he carries a lot of weight

in the American radical movement and a shift in his position can be taken to foreshadow a similar shift among many of his followers. We are sorry lack of space prevents further analysis of his latest writings.

Let us turn from the question of a possible revival of Workers Councils in the Soviet Union to what happened in the November elections in Detroit, New York and San Francisco. After efforts failed to get independent labor candidates representing the broadest possible base, the Socialist Workers party ran its own candidates.

The *National Guardian*, which enjoys the largest circulation in the radical movement, offered its endorsement of the candidates despite differences it had on planks in their platform. Similar action was taken by such figures as Vincent Hallinan, Muriel McAvoy, Warren K. Billings, George Hitchcock, George Olshausen, Tim Wohlforth of the Socialist Youth Alliance and similar independents.

The top bureaucrats of the Communist party, on the other hand, rejected supporting the socialist candidates and urged voting in New York for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who ran for councilwoman in a lower East Side district, and Wagner the Democratic candidate for mayor.

A sharp exchange over this occurred between the *National Guardian* and the *Worker*, with the *Worker* on the defensive and offering arguments against voting for socialists that made it the butt of some unkind laughter in radical circles.

The vote in San Francisco and New York (the Detroit candidate was eliminated in the run-offs) was not large but it was encouraging, for it demonstrated something that has not been seen in a long time—the possibility of radicals getting together in support of socialist candidates in opposition to the capitalist machines.

Perhaps the most significant vote occurred in the district where Elizabeth Gurley Flynn ran. She and Joyce Cowley, the Socialist Workers choice for mayor, received approximately the same number of votes, a little under 700. Thus the socialist-minded workers in that district demonstrated in the clearest possible way their rejection of the Communist party line and their support of the policy of running socialist candidates in opposition to the nominees of Big Business.

Some 30,000 San Francisco and New York voters registered their approval of the joint election action at the polls. This is a solid enough indication of the approval the whole radical movement felt. In going against this sentiment with their arbitrary insistence on supporting the Democrats, the heads of the Communist party isolated themselves still further from the main stream of socialist opinion.

The evidence, we think, is sufficient to indicate a new mood in the American radical movement, one that offers grounds for a more optimistic perspective than has been realistic for quite a few years. The discussion of programmatic questions aiming at a possible regroupment of socialist forces, touched off by Khrushchev's secret report and strengthened by the upsurge of the Hungarian workers, already shows tangible results.

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