

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Book Reviews

WHO IS AHEAD — America or the Soviet Union?

Socialism and Humanism

The United Nations

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After the Debate

One of the attractions of a good debate is the struggle of ideas that continues after the hall has emptied and you wind up at coffee tables to go over the fine points. We found ourselves doing that after the debate February 20 between Earl Browder, former head of the Communist party, and Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Dobbs upheld the affirmative and Browder the negative of "Does Marxist Theory Retain Full Validity for the U.S.?" Neither the question itself nor Browder's personal influence seemed likely to inspire a large meeting. Yet Manhattan's radical movement, all currents and tendencies, were either down in force or well represented.

The reason was that this seasoned political audience suspected that no matter what Dobbs and Browder were supposed to talk about they would almost certainly end up arguing big questions involving Communist party policies and their meaning in the reconstruction of American socialism.

They did go into Marx's theory of impoverishment of the proletariat; and Browder referred the audience to a recent book of his on the topic; but the debate really ended on Browder's policies as head of the Communist party and their validity or lack of validity for the socialist movement today.

Where we were, after it was over, most of the discussion centered on how big a distinction can be drawn between the policies Browder claimed as his own and those advocated today by Foster in the wrecked organization.

A forum gadfly, joined our table to

offer his puzzlers. "Answer me this: If Browder's policies were so successful in building the CP, how come he ended up as a failure as a leader? And if Foster was such a rigid sectarian, how explain his ultimate success in taking leadership away from Browder?"

He got his answer. "Both Browder and Foster were only carrying out what Stalin wanted, the same as in all the Communist parties everywhere. You know that as well as anybody else."

"I expected you'd say that. But don't you think it's a good question?"

"I had the feeling," a former follower of Browder said, "that Browder did a better job than Foster could have done, arguing for the policy the Communist party is really following. Browder said, 'The Communist party under my leadership was correctly described by the Trotskyites as a reformist party with revolutionary trimmings.' That was a strong point if you believe in reformism. But Foster wouldn't dare admit something like that even if he knew it was true."

"You're wrong," said a member or semi-member of the Communist party. "Foster wouldn't say it because he's against revisionism."

"Communist party policy is about the same under Foster as it was under Browder," we ventured. "Tonight — leave out the theoretical trimmings — and you could say Browder was defending current CP policy."

"You ought to stick to facts instead of throwing slanders around," the Communist party member retorted. "Facts are stubborn things. I heard Browder

"Coercion"

If a union wins an agreement from a reluctant employer to increase wages and grant better working conditions, does that constitute "coercion" of the workers in a plant?

A majority of the National Labor Relations Board decided it was in a case involving the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Bernard-Altmann Texas Corp. of San Antonio. The NLRB held that the union had not signed up a clear majority in the plant and that therefore it had coerced the workers by getting them a pay increase. It was not reported whether the company thanked the board for its services.

with my own ears. He wasn't defending Foster."

A member of the Socialist Workers party pulled the January issue of *Political Affairs* out of an inside pocket. When the quoting-from-documents stage is reached, our feeling usually is that the conversation is getting rough. But the debating mood, or perhaps the purple cover, maintained receptivity.

"Listen to this where Foster is speaking about the Debs period when the socialist movement stuck to class-struggle principles — this is Foster: 'The left parties generally followed the policy of attempting to build independent mass parties . . . instead of working with the masses . . . The result was a serious split in the ranks of the working class, with almost the entire Left on the sectarian end of the split.' Wasn't that Browder's main point tonight?"

"And here's one where Foster credits the CP with being the first radical party to break from the old policy. He says, 'In the latter 1930's . . . the Communists, who were in working alliance with the progressive or middle group in the CIO unions, began to participate . . . inside the Democratic party, supporting certain candidates, advocating certain policies.' Now I ask why didn't Foster say that these class-collaborationist policies started in the latter 1930's under Browder's leadership? When credit is due, it's due."

To clinch his point he added: "When Dobbs was defending Marxism, and Browder came back with the remark that Dobbs 'has here faithfully repeated the very dogmas and formulas that were put forward 75 years ago, probably in this very same hall,' didn't that sound to you just like Foster fighting 'left sectarianism?'"

To this our CP friend shrugged. Maybe Foster thinks like Browder and that's why the move to oust Browder had to come from Duclous of the French CP. Anyway he'd like to hear an expert like Arnold Johnson debate a Trotskyist.

We agreed and said we hoped he could use his influence.

Which Kind Do You Prefer?

Planned economy is a favorite target of Big Business sharpshooters. Planning on a nationwide scale, they say, would induce so much uniformity in food, clothing, housing, and small but important things that a free people would find it intolerable. And they question the value of leisure for a lower class that wouldn't know what to do with it. Yet on occasion some of them venture into rather audacious planning of the lives of Americans.

For instance, Lieut. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner, New York State Civilian Defense Commissioner, made public a Five Year Plan last January to put the United States in underground fallout shelters. Even small countries will soon be able to "take out" any other nation with nuclear weapons, and so, he confidently predicted, by 1964 only those Americans brave enough to take a calculated risk will ever see sunshine.

The editors of the Wall Street Journal,

not yet ready for a Five Year Plan that would put them permanently in the Hudson Tubes to live "like a mole, or perhaps, a scared rabbit," considered the prediction to be a way of putting the arm on Congress for more funds. "Civil Defense officials all over begin to tell us of impending disaster. Unless, naturally, the nation spends billions upon billions of dollars for shelters which Civil Defense officials, equally naturally, will have some sort of jurisdiction over."

But even this staunch voice of free enterprise and the stock exchange did not come out one hundred per cent against planning. Its idea is to put the same "billions upon billions of dollars" into the "shelter of national strength," presumably H-bombs and guided missiles.

From which one can conclude that it's getting more and more difficult to escape planning. The question is simply, which kind do you prefer?

Who Is Ahead?

by Arne Swabeck

ONE perplexing question has haunted the imperialists of Washington and Wall Street since Sputnik I was hurled into orbit around the earth. It appears generally in their own crude formulation: which side is ahead in the cold war, the "free world" or the Soviet?

In their search for an answer they have concentrated most immediate attention on the military implications of the question. These range all the way from fantastic notions of control of space to the much debated missile gap between the two major powers. But the debate often extends to far broader ramifications, including the more fundamental question: what about the increasing disparity caused by the rapid rate of scientific, technological and production growth achieved by the Soviet Union?

For the American imperialists these are profoundly disturbing questions. They can neither be ignored nor explained away, for they arise in relation to conditions at home as well as to policies abroad. The impact of Soviet advance is reflected more and more in the minds and the consciousness of people everywhere. And it is all the more effective because it occurs in the face of capitalist decline and stagnation. This impact is felt no less within the tenuous imperialist alliances where Washington diplomats are kept busy easing strains and mending ruptures. But their ability to speak and act from a posture of strength is subject to doubts because the once predominant U.S. world position is now challenged in every part of the globe by the rapidly rising might of the Soviet Union.

Far-reaching social and political consequences flow from the weakened imperialist position. Several setbacks have already occurred, a series of retreats have been made with more likely to follow.

It is said that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. It is not too surprising, therefore, that in their dilemma the imperialists turn toward fantastic notions of control of space. Apparently they hope that this will provide the means to restore their former posi-

tion of power and extend their conquests on terra firma.

Senator Lyndon Johnson is the most ardent among the hopeful. Fancying himself the "space conscience" for Congress, he stirred the never failing credulity of his senatorial colleagues early last year with this kind of awesome prospect.

"From space," said Johnson, "the masters of infinity would have the power to control the earth's weather, to cause drought and flood, to change tides and raise the level of the sea, to divert the Gulf Stream and change temperate climates to frigid."

And who were to be the "masters of infinity"? Johnson left no doubt on this score. "If, out in space," he added, "there is the ultimate position — from which total control of the earth may be exercised — then our national goal and the goal of all free men must be to win and hold that position."

At the Pentagon the sights are set accordingly. Brig. Gen. H. A. Boushey, Director of Advanced Technology, U.S. Air Force, lists these space goals, assuming "a vigorous program" in years ahead: 1959, unmanned space and moon probes; 1961, unmanned surveying, scouting and attack warning satellites; 1965, manned space vehicles, including repair and resupply types; 1967, manned defensive and offensive military space vehicles; 1969, manned base on moon, start of construction. The purposes are stated to be military, commercial and scientific.

Notions of military control of space originate in the hallucinations of madmen. Commercial interest in such a venture seems no less far fetched. And scientific exploration of the cosmos has no need of military space control. Without it, valuable scientific data have already been obtained by the instrumented satellites hurled into orbits by both East and West. But it should not be forgotten that the vehicles developed to send the instrumentation skyward have been constructed chiefly and primarily for military purposes. The scientific discoveries made have scarcely attained the status

of useful by-products that are painfully overshadowed by the sinister implications of an arsenal of missiles.

In combination with the intense activities of the International Geophysical Year, instrumented earth satellites have served to extend our knowledge of the structure of the earth's atmosphere. Some of the scientific data gathered concern the relation of solar activity to magnetic fields, cosmic rays, etc. Magnetic fields associated with sunspots were found to be much stronger than expected. A clearer picture was obtained of the relation between sunspot cycles and cosmic-ray cycles; when the former are at peak, the intensity of the latter is low. And, according to information so far processed, it appears that clouds of charged particles ejected from the sun give rise to strong magnetic fields in space which deflect cosmic rays that approach the earth.

But the scientific data point also to a new discovery. Apparently the earth is surrounded by an intense belt of energetic electrically charged particles spiralling around the magnetic lines of force. This has been named the Van Allen belt. A hypothesis suggested is that this heavy concentration of charged particles is due to

break-up of nuclei of atmospheric atoms by cosmic rays, with the particles held captive by the terrestrial magnetic field. In turn, the discovery of this heavy radioactive concentration appears to have created new difficulties in the way of prevailing ideas for manned space flights.

Another aspect of rockets, artificial satellites, their instrumentation and their degree of development enters the area of social significance. It is directly pertinent to the crudely formulated question: which side is ahead in the cold war?

Commenting on the awesome triumph of the Soviet rocket, *Mechta*, the first to clear the earth's gravitational field, a writer in the British magazine, *The New Scientist* thinks it was impressive. It was impressive not the least, he says, "for the clarity with which the Russians let the world know what was happening. Right from the start they gave its distance and position in the sky. At no time was there confusion about the rocket's course."

The writer hoped that this demonstration "will cause blushes where they are needed in Washington." For, as he added: "things went quite differently at the launching of *Pioneer*." As far as he could tell, "No position in the sky was ever given . . . and every hour or so some general or scientist would make a statement like '*Pioneer* has now escaped the earth's gravity.' (A few days later this nonsense was accorded the dignity of an official denial.) It all culminated in the wonderful myth that *Pioneer* took twenty-two hours to reach the apex of its trajectory and only twenty hours to return from there to earth. Nobody in charge appeared to know that if *Pioneer* had really behaved like this it would have been the instrument of a scientific discovery far more important than anything since the formulation of Newtonian mechanics."

The writer states quite bluntly: ". . . it is plain that too many people in senior positions in U.S. space research projects do not know what they are doing." Strong as this indictment may seem, charges of no less serious consequences have been presented in hearings before congressional committees on the gap in missiles production.

None of the experts, real or fancied, outside of the lunatic fringe of bourgeois propagandists, will deny the existence of the missiles gap that is so unfavorable to the United States. In fact, a report released on January 10, by the House Select Committee on Aeronautics estimates that Russia may be more than one and one half years ahead of this country in rockets and space technology. "Even if the Soviet rate of progress is no greater than that of the United States," the report avers, "the gap would never be closed, but would progressively widen."

The U.S. lag in rocket and space technology is confirmed by government space experts before the Senate

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committee inquiries. Dr. Wernher von Braun and others gave full credence to Khrushchev's truculent claim that the USSR now has intercontinental ballistic missiles with pin-point accuracy "to any point on the globe." The experts based their appraisal largely on the mathematical precision of the guidance technique displayed by the Soviet cosmic rocket launched January 2.

At the same time the insinuations of the British writer about bemused bewilderment in Washington appear to be well founded. McElroy, the Secretary of Defense, is in this respect typical of the perplexity in high places. His previous success as a soap manufacturer cannot be denied; but now he sees a rising new world which he does not understand, yet he is unable to hide his confusion. A few days after insisting that there was no missiles gap, he told the senators that the USSR would soon have a substantial margin of such weapons, perhaps three to one.

So far the relative military position of the two world powers has occupied the center of attention. But the construction and the launching of instrumented space rockets is an extremely complex undertaking. It requires deep-going theoretical study, diligent application, a high level of scientific development, labor skills and a technological structure of the greatest perfection and production capability. And this well known fact adds a fair quota of dismay to the uneasy apprehension in American capitalist circles whenever comparative production potentials between the two systems enter into the debate.

Efforts to paint an illusory picture by downgrading the Soviet potential and embellishing the American out of reasonable proportion do not ease the apprehension. The real contrast intrudes unceremoniously to shatter the illusions.

Among the efforts of such self-deception the February 1957 *Fortune* luxury magazine presents a striking example. In this issue Albert Burck and Sanford S. Parker made the usually distorted type of comparison. The authors granted that Soviet production might sustain an annual rate of growth of 6% compared to 4% for the United States. Still not satisfied with the latter claim, they quickly interpolated: U.S. industrial production "is two-and-a-half times larger than Soviet industrial production . . . The actual or absolute additions to annual U.S. industrial output are thus running half again as large as the Soviet Union's."

Reading this, one is reminded of the mathematical riddle said to have been propounded by the Stoic philosopher, Zeno of Elea, concerning the race between Achilles and the tortoise. Even though Achilles runs ten times as fast as the tortoise, if the latter has a hundred yards start, Achilles is always getting nearer to the tortoise but can never quite catch up to him. When Achilles runs 100 yards the tortoise runs ten yards; the next lap is ten yards for Achilles and one

yard for the tortoise; thereafter one yard and one-tenth of a yard respectively, and so on through the constant addition of ever smaller fractions. To be sure, Zeno could have no doubt that Achilles would overtake the tortoise; what troubled him was, where is the catch? The quantitative additions seemed difficult to question, only they failed to account for the qualitative relationship.

The importance of the qualitative difference between the two conflicting systems should be obvious. Without a thorough comprehension of this there can be no sound foundation for an objective appraisal of their relative economic potentials. We shall return to this aspect later; meanwhile, another look at the estimates presented by the *Fortune* analysis will prove instructive. It grants that Soviet production might sustain an annual rate of growth of 6% although Soviet figures relating to past performances are somewhat higher. But the claimed 4% annual growth for the United States does not at all correspond to reality. More recent comparisons with the new Soviet Seven Year Plan point clearly to a far greater differential.

At the Twenty-First Communist Party Congress, just held in Moscow, Khrushchev laid emphasis on the planned average annual economic expansion of about 8.6% for the next seven years. He said this compared with an annual rate of growth in the United States of 2%. Commenting on this latter figure Edwin L. Dale, in the January 29 *New York Times* suggests that Khrushchev "was being unnecessarily kind. Since the end of the Korean War, the annual economic growth of this country — after correcting for higher prices — has averaged less than 1.5%."

Bourgeois economists are well aware of this situation. No matter how much they insist on the supreme virtues of capitalist free enterprise, arrayed against this are all the stubborn facts of life. For their edification we shall recite some of these facts.

From the end of the Civil War to about the turn of the century the American economy expanded at an average annual rate of 5%. From 1900 to 1929 the rate had slowed down to about 4%. There was a further drop between 1929 and 1950 to slightly less than 3%. And now, during the last six years, annual economic growth has been reduced to a rate of less than 1.5%.

This is the actual picture. The figures given speak far louder than words, whether coming from the bourgeois academic circles or from the innermost sanctums of Big Business. Moreover, it is the actual picture of the most exalted, the most powerful, the most efficient — the richest and the most highly developed among capitalist nations. This picture becomes so much more devastating when expressed in human terms, of the privation, penury and distress inflicted by the crises of the capitalist mode of production. Facing these facts,

there can be no concealing, much less disputing, the reality of capitalist decline and stagnation.

By the same token, the incomparable superiority of the Soviet mode of production, with its nationalized property and state planning, over that of the capitalist free enterprise, stands out more sharply. This is the qualitative relationship; it arises out of the qualitatively different foundations of the two opposing world systems.

To be sure, the United States, still has a very large lead over the Soviet Union in total volume of production. An authority no less than Khrushchev himself verifies it. He informed the Twenty-First Communist Party Congress that Soviet industrial production was about half that of the United States, while agricultural output was 20% to 25% less. Considering the larger Soviet population Khrushchev conceded that its per-capita output in both categories was correspondingly lower.

These figures tell their own story about the standard of living of the Soviet people. Even though they enjoy far more universal health and welfare benefits than is the case in this country, the standard of living for the overwhelming majority who are not part of the privileged layers, still remains much below the U.S. level. The reason for this is not to be sought, however, in the development of the Soviet economic forms; quite the contrary. It is entirely due to the incompleteness of this development.

And here we enter the area of immeasurable importance for the future, namely the respective economic potentials: a projected rate of Soviet production growth of 8.6% as against less than 1.5% for the United States. To attain this rate of growth the new Soviet plan calls for production on a scale far surpassing all previous records. For improvement of living standards it sets a target of 22,000,000 new homes while working hours are to be reduced and the purchasing power of workers and peasants is expected to rise by not less than 40% by 1965.

Comparing progress in education, science and technique there can be little doubt that the Soviet Union already now enjoys a distinct advantage. Most American experts concede as much, though few would be prepared to acknowledge the basic reason for this advantage. Explanations made fail generally to account for the social relations that have made it possible.

Educations, science and technique are social functions; they arise out of social practice. While these functions react to their own internal stimulus, their development is conditioned in the final analysis by social needs, or to be more exact, by the needs of the prevailing social order and the possibilities it affords. As a natural consequence, this development in the Soviet Union carries the distinctive mark of the material foundation on which it unfolds.

The tremendous need for advance of a once back-

ward country, in combination with the immense possibilities inherent in the new social order established by the revolution, spurred education, science and technique on to new and greater heights. This attracted science and it generated science, alongside of working class skills and dexterity. Planned economy became committed unreservedly to the promotion of science and technique. The creative role of fundamental research merged in harmonious coordination with its technological application into the process of production and the building of a complex, modern industrial structure.

The reciprocal interaction between social and scientific development is equally evident in the capitalist world. But the objectives and the social consequences of this interaction are quite different from those of the USSR, due to the different requirements of the social order. In the United States these are determined, in the first instance, by the special interests of capitalist private enterprise.

A large segment of U.S. scientific research is carried on in industrial laboratories set up by the dominant monopoly corporations. This imposes restrictions on the free flow of thought and initiative. The objective of such research is held within the general confines of the particular needs and the concern for profitability of these corporations. Another large segment of scientific research is linked to government projects, primarily for military purposes. In addition to these limitations, the application of science and the progress of industrial technique, outside of military considerations, tends to rise and decline with the economic cycles. At each downturn technological advance is stymied by the diminishing private capital investments.

The contrast between the Soviet and the American educational systems is no less pronounced. In the former all educational facilities through college and university, including living costs, are free, while the American similar institutions are now increasing already large tuition fees. This assures a far greater measure of mass education for the Soviet people. It is further accentuated by the combining of scientific instruction with the training of labor skills, for which the very popular polytechnical institutes, established by the revolution, function as the central medium. Moreover, compared to government support for veteran's education in this country, a report made last year by Chancellor E. H. Litchfield of the University of Pittsburgh on the findings of a survey of higher education in the Soviet Union contains this illuminating point:

"Industry releases its employees at full pay for more than 250,000,000 man hours each year in order to permit the workers to do work in universities or in engineering and other university level institutions."

We can add to this, that the French statesman, Edouard Herriot, was not far off the mark when he

observed that "Soviet rule has bestowed upon science all the authority of which it deprived religion."

But American scientists who have visited Russia seem most impressed with the huge scientific clearing house, set up in Moscow. The Academy of Science publishes forty-eight times a year a periodical of abstracts of major scientific papers from all over the world. The companion Institute of Scientific Information puts out 400,000 abstracts a year. U.S. efforts in the abstracting field are puny in comparison, if not downright ridiculous.

Consider this example presented to the House Information Subcommittee on restriction on the flow of scientific information. Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner, president of Associated Universities, Inc., complained that while American translation of Soviet science writing generally lags, federal bureaus have been stamping secret some public Russian articles they do translate. Thus one Soviet paper wound up being translated seven times by different groups, he said. Small wonder then that a member of President Eisenhower's committee of scientists and engineers, Dr. Eric A. Walker, cried out in anguish:

"Unless we awaken to the enormous implications of Russia's formidable scientific achievements — and soon — we are inexorably headed downhill to the status of a second-rate world power."

With the ambitious projections of the Soviet new Seven Year Plan the same question recurs that has been posed so often before: can the main objectives be attained? Considering the solid foundation of construction already completed, the Soviet capacity for exceptionally rapid advance is clearly demonstrated. By the past achievements its economic potential is immensely increased. Its free access to the world market, an essential prerequisite, can no longer be denied. Not hampered by private profit motives, Soviet industry is able to skip stages in mass production developments and leap directly, on a broad scale, into the new technology of nuclear energy, electronics and automation. In combination with the vast expanse of its territory containing enormous natural resources laid down in this heartland of the earth during past geological epochs — this enables economic planning in the boldest terms.

American experts do not question seriously the Soviet capacity for more rapid economic growth than is the case in the West. Where their opinions divide is on how much more. Some of them assert that conditions of dictatorial command grants unlimited ability to mobilize available resources; others invoke the so-called law of diminishing returns. From this Malthusian doctrine they draw support for their scepticism; they point to the tendency of economic expansion to slow down as it matures and begins to crowd against the available outlets. In doing so, they transplant their own views of capitalist production to Soviet soil regardless of the fun-

damental difference in existing relations of production.

Marx explained the laws of the capitalist mode of production much better, and in a strictly scientific manner. Observing the development of machinery and modern industry, Marx noted the tendency of constant capital (equipment and materials) to increase at the expense of variable capital (labor, wages) with the result that the demand for labor falls relatively to the magnitude of the total capital. The workers, therefore, produce not only the accumulation of capital but also the means by which they are themselves made relatively superfluous. Excess capacity of production shows up alongside of an industrial reserve army of unemployed.

Simultaneously the capitalist mode of production sets in motion a restriction of the market by imposing limitations upon the purchasing power of the great mass of the workers. Their wages tend to fall relatively to output and to profits. Capitalism thus develops the forces of production more rapidly than it develops the conditions of consumption.

But Marx also insisted that general laws valid for all societies and for all social and economic structures do not exist. On the contrary: "Every historical period has its own laws . . . But as soon as life has gone through a given period of development and emerged from one stage to another, it begins already to be governed by different laws." And Marx viewed the capitalist mode of production as a transitory stage in the history of human evolution.

Soviet society is in a stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. It still partakes of certain laws of capitalist development while others disappear to be replaced by new laws. A full and complete assessment of the laws of production that came into force during the period of transition is not yet possible; that should have been the task of Soviet political economy. But so long as this pursuit remains subordinated to the stunting perversions of bureaucratic rule any serious and objective analysis cannot be expected. Nevertheless, a few basic elements of the new order of things are discernible and can be set down in outline form.

Most assuredly, the law of labor value is still the basic regulator of Soviet economy; its living labor power remains the basic determinator of all values produced. The process of accumulation takes the form of a proportionately greater expansion of constant capital than that of variable capital, as is the case in the capitalist world. The accruing higher organic composition of capital similarly reduces the demand for labor. Likewise, Soviet economy has so far developed the forces of production more rapidly than the conditions of consumption. But here the similarity ends.

The contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation of the products that is typical of bourgeois society, has been removed. It disappeared

together with the private ownership of the means of production. Planned economy has replaced the capitalist anarchy of production; and cyclic crises are unknown. Social appropriation in the Soviet Union parallels social production. True, an inordinate share of this appropriation is devoured by the privileged caste, leaving monstrous inequalities as the most distinguishing feature of the bureaucratic rule. But working class pressure for a more proportionate share of the national income has brought gradually improved living conditions. Targets set by the new Seven Year Plan indicate the possibility of a more rapid rise of Soviet living standards, approaching continually closer to those of the United States.

This points up another striking difference between Soviet and capitalist economic forms. From the general tendency of the development of the latter — the increase of constant capital at the expense of variable capital — Marx drew the conclusion: "The greater the social wealth . . . the greater is the industrial reserve army . . . the greater the mass of the consolidated surplus population . . . the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.*"

This absolute general law is now painfully evident precisely in the United States — the wealthiest among capitalist nations. The reality of this law, the chronic unemployment, is demonstrated to the American workers with compelling bluntness. In the Soviet Union, however, this law is in the process of being turned into its opposite. In this the Soviet workers enjoy an enormous advantage. Unlike the Western workers, they need not fear radical labor-saving operations put into effect by application of nuclear energy, electronics and automation. Their educational system affords them the opportunity to learn new skills; they can thus ease the physical and mental crippling that befalls a mere appendage to a machine.

It is not the intention at this point to enter into a rounded discussion of social relations and social forces in motion and conflict either in the Soviet Union or the United States; but a couple of outstanding factors should be noted here.

The economic relations of nationalized property and state planning imparts a different status to workers in Soviet society and it impels a different direction to their aims and aspirations than is the case in the capitalist world, where in the latter instance the workers are subjected to exploitation by private enterprise, their wage standard tends to become the uppermost issue in the class struggle, while increased efficiency of production raises the terrifying spectre of over-production, unemployment and social disaster.

Soviet economic forms and relations, on the other hand, weld the workers most solidly and directly as an integral component into the whole productive sys-

tem. The satisfaction of their material needs, their standard of living and their cultural elevation as well, depends entirely and unconditionally upon greater efficiency of production, better quality of products and a higher rate of labor productivity. These are essential prerequisites also for the continued advance toward the socialist society.

The reality of this relationship is deeply imbedded in the consciousness of the Soviet workers. Concretely it finds expression in more direct worker participation in the universal comparisons of fulfillment of plan quotas and in discussion of new plan targets, to which the trade unions are now also drawn in more directly. In increasing measure the workers' voices are heard, on the one hand critical of bureaucratic waste, inefficiency and mismanagement, and on the other, by growing and insistent demands for more efficient technique.

But these objectives can be attained and the advance toward socialism assured only to the extent that the bureaucratic road blocks are removed. The workers must, therefore, of necessity strive also in increasing measure for control of production, of planning and distribution to be exercised through their own effective organs. Freedom of creative initiative, more equitable social relations and democracy become no less indispensable aims of their struggle.

"The improvement of the material situation of the workers," said Trotsky, "does not reconcile them with the authorities; on the contrary, by increasing their self-respect and freeing their thoughts for general problems of politics it prepares the way for an open conflict with the bureaucracy."

American workers face a different situation. Though their productivity has attained the highest levels, instead of being integrated more firmly into the economic structure as a component part thereof, they are alienated from it — the tragic victims of capitalist decline and decay. Economic expansion in the United States is not limited by lack of labor productivity nor by lack of physical capacity, or lack of capital, for all these prerequisites are available in superabundance. The roots of the capitalist dilemma lie far deeper. The decline of its system derives from the fact that the productive forces it created have long outgrown their private property relations.

Prior to the Great Depression, the ever growing internal market furnished the main base for capitalist expansion. This is no longer the case. From the emergence out of the depression, the United States has now about completed its cycle of artificial prosperity made possible by production for war and for the armaments race.

Even this vast market proved too narrow for the mighty productive forces that it called into being. The industrial boom that it generated has levelled off; and after its period of artificial revival, the home market

is now beset by tendencies of contraction. The purchasing power of the great mass of the workers faces the limitations imposed by the capitalist mode of production for profits. Adequate outlets abroad are no less limited because the world market is now seriously curtailed by the advancing colonial revolution; and what is left of it is racked by cutthroat competition.

The theoretical analysis made by Marx here appears in full view as the irreproachable picture of things as they actually are, namely that "*The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself.*" It is merely production for *capital*, and not vice versa, "the means of production, mere means for an ever expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the *society* of producers."

As a consequence of their dilemma the American capitalists can be expected to turn with greater fury against the working class, in order to load the heavy toll of their declining system on the backs of those who toil. The Soviet challenge to their world dominance will tend to increase their sense of urgency. But the American workers do not face such a challenge from the East. The threat to their conditions and their standard of living originates at home. It must be met. And it can be met successfully only on the grounds of struggle to transform production for profit for the few to production for an ever expanding system of rich and wholesome life for the benefit of the society of producers.

NOTEBOOK of an Agitator

Do you ever feel like going out and agitating people about things you read in the press? Do some items make you burn with anger, or laugh outright, or feel like crying? Do you run across stories that restore your confidence in human nature and get you to thinking that maybe it's possible to build a better world after all? Then thumb through "Notebook of an Agitator" by James P. Cannon. This collection of observations of the America we live in was written for you. It will give you a better idea of the way a socialist leader looks at the world than any other book we can think of. And here's a special offer for your consideration: Through an arrangement with Pioneer Publishers we can send you a paperback copy of this 362-page book and give you a two-year subscription to International Socialist Review for only \$4. Clip the coupon while you're thinking about it.

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The United Nations

The glass skyscraper overlooking Manhattan's East River is an impressive structure; but can the delegates meeting there achieve world peace? The possibilities appear remote

by Theodore Edwards

IS THE United Nations an effective instrument for securing world peace or is it a snare and a deception? In our nuclear age the answer to this query involves our own lives and the continued existence of the human species.

Despite their other disagreements, the various participating governments all assure us that the UN is the only instrumentality that—in the words of its Charter—can “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” In the State Department *Bulletin* of April 21, 1958, Frances O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State, declared that “the United Nations, with all its imperfections, remains the best hope on earth for world peace.” American diplomats call on the Russians to stop using the veto and obstructing the UN in its momentous task.

But the Russians are for the UN, too. “People everywhere expect more energetic steps by the United Nations to remove the danger of war . . . The UN must not be exploited to further imperialist aims, it must become a genuine guardian of world peace and security.” Thus spoke Y. Ilyin in the Moscow *New Times* of December 25, 1957.

Most of the lesser powers agree with one or the other of these main protagonists. Those smaller states not fully committed to the two major military and diplomatic blocs view the UN as an indispensable framework for efforts by the “neutralist” countries to keep the world from toppling into a radioactive abyss.

The multimillioned working masses, who all over the globe fervently desire peace, also look to the UN. In some countries, the man in the street is inclined to be a little skeptical about the UN; in others, he is more optimistic.

In the U.S. support is especially vigorous. H. Schuyler Foster, Chief of the Public Studies Division of the State Department, reported in January 1958 that a survey showed 94 per cent of the student youth in the United States heartily in favor of the UN. The percentage among adults is not quite as high. Ex-

cept at one pole for the vociferous America Firsters, who consider the UN a Communist plot; and, at the opposite pole, revolutionary socialists who regard the UN as imperialist dominated, almost everyone is for it.

Approval of the UN is most emphatic in certain religious, liberal and progressive circles. Ministers, professors, labor leaders; progressives of all sorts; socialists of various persuasions, with Norman Thomas in the lead; the Communist party; pacifists of all denominations, Quakers, Unitarians, even the Presbyterians (including their most illustrious lay members, Eisenhower and Dulles)—all profess faith in the UN.

Such popularity does not necessarily guarantee the efficacy of the UN as an agency of peace. Most supporters of the UN tend to substitute faith and hope for knowledge and reason. It is necessary to approach the answer to our opening question in an objective and scientific manner. We must ascertain the origin of the UN, its structure, antecedents, class character and the record it has made so far. Only then will we be able to determine whether it is a genuine instrument of peace deserving socialist support.

Conception and Birth

The founding of the UN at San Francisco in 1945 culminated the wartime collaboration of the U.S., Britain and the USSR. The October 1943 Foreign Ministers meeting in Moscow suggested an international security organization to police the world after the Allied victory. In October 1944 the Dumbarton Oaks conference again projected the setting up of an armed supergovernment, jointly controlled by the big powers, “for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression.”

Both the Moscow and the Dumbarton Oaks declarations stated that the UN was to be “based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations.” At Yalta in February 1945 Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin toasted

the killing of a few more million Germans and the slaughter of civilians in Allied air raids. As recorded in the censored official minutes, they also violated every one of the high-sounding professions of Allied war aims.

Stalin pointed out that the “three Great Powers” had borne the brunt of the war and should have the right to preserve the peace. It was ridiculous, he said, to believe that in the projected UN Albania should have a voice equal to that of the Big Three.

Roosevelt agreed that “unity” of the Big Three should be one of the first aims of the UN. He proposed to give each of the Big Five (U.S., Britain, France, China, the USSR) veto power in the UN Security Council. It was his view that this council alone should have the power to act, its decisions being binding on *all* the UN member states. The General Assembly, where the run-of-the-mill UN members voted, would have powers only of recommendation, if approved by a two-thirds majority. Roosevelt also proposed, as a concession, that the big powers should give the small nations the right to bring any and all problems before the Security Council.

Stalin replied that he was “interested in decisions, not in the discussions.” Churchill emphasized that he accepted Roosevelt’s proposals only because his government could veto any undesirable action by the UN. He then tossed off a Churchillian gem: “The eagle should permit the small birds to sing, and care not wherefore they sing.”

At the San Francisco conference, the smaller states made every effort to redress this domination of the great powers, correctly denouncing it as a violation of the principles of democracy and sovereign equality. Carlos Romulo of the Philippines later announced that “as a spokesman for a small nation, I want to make it very plain that my nation . . . would be very happy indeed to trade the fiction of equality in a powerless Assembly for the reality of a vote equal to our actual position in the

world in an Assembly endowed with real power."

But the Big Five insisted that it was either the UN with the veto or no UN at all. Senator Connally dramatically tore up a copy of the Charter during one of his speeches. Molotov castigated the opponents of the veto as enemies of the proposed world security organization who had not ceased their "subversive activities" (!), and who were masquerading "under false colors" while pretending to protect the interests of small nations and the equality of nations.

Thus the Big Five bludgeoned the 45 small states into line. The San Francisco conference duly adopted the proposed Charter and the U.S. Senate quickly ratified it in a record 89-to-2 vote.

The Atlantic Charter of August 1941, signed by Roosevelt and Churchill (and later adhered to by Stalin), pledged a peace assuring "freedom from fear and want." It also promised "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." With a few embellishments, the Atlantic Charter merely repeated Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1918. Like the latter, the lofty precepts it enunciated were observed only in the breach.

At Yalta, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin proceeded to carve up the world into their respective spheres of influence, without any regard for the wishes of the peoples concerned — "freely expressed" or otherwise. Stalin got Eastern Europe, the railroads and ports of Manchuria, the Kurile islands and southern Sakhalin. In return Stalin promised to restrain the Communist parties of Western Europe and to institute broad coalition regimes in Eastern Europe. Korea was to be jointly occupied by Soviet and American troops, with the thirty-eighth parallel as the dividing line. Germany was to be truncated and jointly occupied.

At its birth, the UN was not at all the "town meeting of the world," as Senator Vandenberg assured everyone within hearing that it would be. Nor was it a "Parliament of Man" in that world republic envisioned by the World Federalists. The victors of World War II sought to establish a world-wide enforcement agency to insure the undisturbed enjoyment of the expected spoils of the bloody contest.

The original concept of a strongly armed supergovernment advocated most vigorously by Stalin, was not realized. The smaller nations objected. The cracks in the alliance widened into unbridgeable chasms only a few months after Yalta, as the war in Europe drew to its end.

The precise nature of the United Nations Organization as it finally emerged has presented something of a puzzle to most people. State Department officials cautiously refer to it as an "interna-

tional personality." Newspaper reporters, more correctly, call it an "unarmed peace organization."

Speaking in Oslo last July, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld attempted a more precise description. The UN, he said, "is a platform . . . a technique of diplomatic negotiations . . . a standing diplomatic conference . . ." He added that the UN differs in two respects from more conventional forms of international relations: (a) the public debate of issues and (b) the introduction of voting into the conduct of foreign affairs. Such voting as occurs in the powerless Assembly, however, does little more than measure the current economic and political influence of the big powers on their subordinates.

UN No. 1

In its structure, the UN bears a close resemblance to its predecessor, the League of Nations. The UN took over the material assets of the League and imitated its organizational structure. The main changes were in names. The Covenant of the League became a Charter, the Council a Security Council, the Assembly a General Assembly. The Permanent Court of International Justice was rebaptized as the International Court of Justice. The League "mandate system" of colonial administration hung out a new shingle, transforming itself into the UN "trusteeship system." The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation enlarged its functions somewhat and metamorphosed into the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO.

The methods for the settlement of international disputes are the same: economic, military, financial and diplomatic penalties or sanctions, an international police force to inspect armistice lines, the establishment of neutral buffer zones, observer teams, investigative commissions, the use of a special flag. These are the rusty techniques of the League under a new coat of paint.

Thus it is not surprising that at San Francisco many of the actual participants in League activities bobbed up again. At the UN founding conference, Samuel Grafton of the *New York Post* was dismayed by the "array of depressingly familiar faces, and the feeling . . . that those who couldn't do it once are going to try to do it again."

A brief review of the historical role of the League of Nations, with which the UN shares so many features, can help cast light on the real nature of its successor. The League was an integral part of the Versailles peace treaty, imposed by the victors of World War I upon vanquished Germany. This indenture attempted to stabilize the world domination of the Triple Entente (Britain, France, Italy) by plundering and dismembering Germany and Austria, partitioning the rest of Europe into non-

viable small states, and incorporating the former German colonies into the holdings of the winners. Lenin called Versailles "a usurer's peace, a strangler's, a butcher's peace . . . an unheard-of robber's peace." Attempting to enforce it, the League showed itself for what it was — an instrument of the British and French imperialists.

From 41 members in 1920, the League increased to 61, then dropped to 44 by 1939, the first year of World War II. Among the smaller states the League was able to settle a number of incidents: the 1920 Åland case (Sweden vs. Finland); the 1925 Greco-Bulgarian dispute; the 1933 Leticia imbroglia (Bolivia vs. Paraguay). When it came to larger states, it was another matter. This was shown in the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, and the German Anschluss of Austria in 1938.

Germany's regeneration after World War I came sooner than expected, thanks first to American support in the twenties and later to Britain's tacit support of Hitler. British imperialism counted on using the Nazi dictator against the USSR, against the excessive pretensions of France, and more remotely against the United States. However, the traditional balance-of-power policy that had worked so well in the previous century backfired on the British imperialists as it did in 1914. The League collapsed like a house of cards before the dynamism of German capitalism; with it went British domination of the continent.

"If the U.S. Had Joined . . ."

One of the more persistent myths of American politics is that the League failed because the U.S. did not join; and that if it had, the League could have kept the peace. In 1943-45 this legend was heavily stressed. Inasmuch as the League had failed only because the U.S. had not come in, it was argued, the success of the UN was assured since the U.S. would take a very active part in it.

However, this leaves out of account the fact that the nature of the peace-enforcing agency set up after a war cannot be divorced from the nature of the war whose results it seeks to maintain. The development of economic, social and political forces that tend to undermine and disintegrate the status quo also tend to undermine and disintegrate those bodies set up to register the previous balance of forces.

World War I was basically a European inter-imperialist conflict. The axis of the struggle was the antagonism between Britain and Germany, a rivalry that had international ramifications. U.S. involvement had a preventive character, to keep Germany, a strong competitor, from becoming too powerful. Having attained this objective, the U.S. withdrew from the European fray. It re-

fused to join the League, primarily a European institution. Having in the course of the war become the main political and financial center of the world, Wall Street decided to consolidate its gains elsewhere and by different means.

World War II was no European squabble. It started there but it decided nothing less than world hegemony, placing the scepter of global overlordship in the grasping hands of the U.S. monopolists. Their most dangerous imperialist rival, Germany, is still out of the running. Thirteen years after the cessation of hostilities, it is hopelessly split into two opposite fragments, with no prospect of unification or even withdrawal of foreign occupation troops. Versailles appears mild in retrospect. One wonders what Lenin would have said of such a "peace!"

Of the remaining contenders, Britain plays a poor second fiddle, having given up all thought of contesting U.S. superiority. As Suez testified, any show of resistance quickly turns into abject capitulation. The other lesser imperialists are out of the contest, still supplicating the U.S. for handouts.

Just as after World War I the League of Nations was the expression of British and French domination over Balkanized Europe, the UN to this day is what it has been from the beginning. It is a means for the exercise of world supremacy by U.S. capital. More specifically it is an instrumentality of the U.S. State Department, with Britain and France as junior partners.

In the State Department *Bulletin* of May 26, 1958, Wallace Irwin, Jr., Director of Public Services of the U.S. mission at the UN, showed his awareness of this reality: "How should the United States fit into the community of sovereign nations? . . . What form should our leadership take? . . . Whatever the humane [!] and statesmanlike [!] accomplishments of the colonial era — and they are many [!] — this option is simply not open to us . . . The alternative which is most natural to us is that which our own American leadership since World War II has done so much to create and develop: the United Nations system. In this system great powers are looked to for leadership — none more than America . . ."

Irwin's meaning is clear: The U.S. cannot rule the world in the manner of the old-fashioned colonial empires. It has to cloak what it does under a supposedly supra-national agency like the UN.

In the pursuit of their interests in and through the UN, the American monopolists are motivated not by the "four essential human freedoms," or "the sovereign equality of nations," or "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." U.S. Big Business acts in accordance with its material goals and not in accordance with pious "eternal" moral precepts. The latter are

for documents and declarations designed to trap the unwary and the gullible.

Stalin's Participation Didn't Change It

The presence of the USSR as one of the UN's founders and members does not change its basic character as an imperialist agency. This is shown by the role played by the Kremlin. Stalin did everything in his power to perpetuate the wartime bloc with Wall Street and the City, faithfully fulfilling his side of the disreputable bargains made at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam.

The masses of Western Europe flocked into the Communist parties during the immediate postwar period. Instead of orienting towards a workers' and farmers' government, the Communist leaders, on orders from Stalin, joined hands with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. They entered capitalist coalition governments, the better to support them; Thorez climbing in with De Gaulle, Togliatti with Bonomi, while Mao strove valiantly for a coalition with Chiang Kai-shek. As loyal cultists of Stalin and the deal he had made, the Communist party leaders thwarted the socialist aspirations of the masses, helped disarm the workers in France, Italy, Belgium and Greece and delayed the Chinese Revolution.

No sooner did the imperialists feel that capitalism was safe in Western Europe than they cancelled all previous agreements. The Communist party leaders were unceremoniously kicked out of the French and Italian cabinets. The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, the system of intercontinental military pacts, the threat of military assault coupled with economic blockade, came into being.

Having acquired world supremacy, U.S. Big Business decided it had been cheated of its full birthright. One-third of the globe was closed to capitalist exploitation. The incompatibility of the conflicting social systems, grudgingly endured during the wartime bloc, erupted. Driven by the relentless laws of capitalist economy, the U.S. rulers set a basic course toward war with the Soviet Union and all non-capitalist countries. Under these circumstances, the UN functioned primarily as a medium for carrying on the preliminary or "cold" stage of the war.

How well the UN serves as an imperialist agency, despite the participation of the Kremlin; or, better, through the aid of the Kremlin, is indicated by the opinion of Washington's spokesmen. Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. representative at the UN, in a speech at Louisville, Kentucky, on January 17, 1958, told precisely how the UN served U.S. interests during its first twelve years.

"Bringing about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran . . . Ending the Communist aggression by civil war

against Greece. Above all, giving material and moral backing to the United States and the Republic of Korea in stopping Red aggression in Korea . . . focusing world opinion on Red China in 1955 so effectively that it resulted in the release of our fifteen American fliers; and in exposing and frustrating Communist designs in places as far apart as Guatemala and Formosa . . . Finally, 35 times in the past four years, we led the United Nations in the rejection of the attempt to seat Communist China. Thus, in its first decade the United Nations . . . proved its effectiveness again and again and even secured some gain against the supposedly immovable empire of world Communism." Lodge further assured his audience that "in the twelve years of the United Nations existence . . . the United States had never been defeated there on any vital question."

On January 13, 1958, President Eisenhower, in submitting a report to Congress, pointed to the value of the UN in 1956-57 when it passed "massive votes to mobilize opinion against the Soviet Union's blatant disregard of its obligations under the Charter . . . [and against] Soviet imperialism [in Hungary]."

Such testimony on the value of the UN in promoting Washington's policies is, as Lodge indicated, well substantiated by the record. The outstanding example is Korea. In the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 15, 1958, Demaree Bess observed that "actually, U.S. soldiers started fighting in Korea before the UN could possibly make a decisive move. But in order to insure maximum support in this conflict, moral and otherwise, the American government moved swiftly to make it appear that the UN had initiated . . . [what] Washington already had begun."

The UN covered the counter-revolutionary intervention in the Korean civil war with its banner. No wonder the U.S. imperialists applaud and support the UN!

Does the UN Do Some Good?

Like the League, the UN has settled some disputes. In these cases, the basic interests of the dominant powers were not much involved, as in Trieste; or the interests of a lesser power were sacrificed as in the matter of Indonesian independence from the Netherlands; or the Soviet Union retreated, as in Iran in 1946 or in Greece in 1946-47.

Whenever they feel that pursuit of their policies is likely to be impeded by UN debate or action the imperialists simply bypass it. The Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Suez and the Anglo-American intervention in Lebanon and Jordan fall into this category. In the Suez crisis, the U.S. monopolists used the UN to prevail upon their junior partners to call off an ill-starred adventure. In the Lebanon-Jordan muddle,

they finally retreated in face of the forces of the Arab revolution, withdrawing their troops on the assurance of Nasser that he would allow Hussein to remain on the throne in Jordan.

The imperialists conceive the economic, social and cultural welfare work of the UN as little more than overhead for good public relations. Moreover, costs are kept down. The U.S., for instance, contributed only \$15.5 million in 1958. It spends ten times as much on its own technical assistance programs and 200 times as much on military assistance—the “collective security arrangements” on which John Foster Dulles devotes such loving care. The entire UN budget in 1958 amounted to only \$55 million, hardly the cost of two modern bombers, or one-fortieth the New York City budget. The U.S. is committed to underwriting one-third of the costs; the Soviet Union, the second-largest donor, one-sixth.

To operate so economically, the UN was forced to cut down on “frills.” In 1951, 400,000 World War II refugees were left without provisions when the International Refugee Organization was discontinued. At the end of 1955, 120,000 such refugees were still living in official and unofficial camps. To this were later added 8,000 Hungarians who fled to Austria after the 1956 uprising. The total number of unsettled refugees in Europe is estimated at 1,000,000. Some 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine are maintained by the UN at barest subsistence levels. The imperialists obviously care little for social welfare work. In fact, rather than outright grants the U.S. specifies exactly how the money it contributes to UN economic and social projects is to be spent.

New Look Colonialism

Cutting through the cold war, powerful new forces have entered the historical arena, as Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist backers found out. Perhaps the most dynamic factor of the postwar world situation has been the continuous advance of the colonial masses, embracing in their movement three-quarters of the earth's population.

The Western powers had to retreat before the rising tide. With teeth-grinding, they embarked upon a new “enlightened” colonial policy, designed to salvage as much as possible. As usual, Britain proved most supple in applying the new technique. It loosened the degree of direct political rule of the colonial countries, allowing them self-government and even independence, but kept them within the Empire by offering the native bourgeoisie a partnership in the exploitation of their peoples.

U.S. Big Business supports the new colonial policy for more than one reason. It tends to check the colonial upsurge, at least temporarily, and also allows U.S. capital to penetrate the former colonies of the lesser imperialists

much more easily. In most areas, formal “independence” has signified merely a change of economic masters. Whenever the monopolists feel that the colonial capitalists go too far in their demands, or that the unrest of the masses is getting out of hand or when the colony occupies a strategic position, then they resort to repressions or military intervention.

The U.S., for instance, intervened in Lebanon in reaction to the Iraqi uprising. But when the new Iraqi regime guaranteed imperialist oil interests; i.e., when it turned out that representatives of the colonial bourgeoisie were still in control, the State Department quickly extended diplomatic recognition in spite of Ambassador Lodge's previous impassioned speeches at the UN about the Iraqi “assassins.”

Addressing the UN emergency session last August, President Eisenhower lectured the delegates on how the quest for more bargaining rights with Western interests will be tolerated only if it is “orderly,” “lawful,” and “peaceful” — otherwise, the U.S. marines!

The *Nation* of August 30 queried Secretary Dulles and the President as to how they “propose to pursue this pleasant way of achieving change.” Neither the State Department nor the White House replied to the editors of the *Nation*. But it is clear enough that the UN figures prominently in U.S. plans as a means of keeping the colonial revolution tied down to imperialist “law and order.” As Wallace Irwin Jr. observes: “We have to see that the explosive political forces of our time are directed into peaceful, constructive channels. In that effort, the United Nations is a real asset.”

A surprising number of colonies are now formally independent and have become members of the UN.* From its original membership of 51 in 1945, the UN has expanded to 81, an increase of over 50 per cent. The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa constitute the core of the so-called “neutralist” bloc at the UN. In a muted and distorted form, the representatives of the colonial capitalists voice the aspirations of their peoples for a better life. Or, more correctly, they use the threat of the rising revolution to gain concessions for themselves from the imperialist overlords.

The colonial capitalists and their spokesmen, such as Nasser, are adept at maneuvering between the Soviet Union and the U.S., and between the native masses and foreign capital. But as a possessing class, their interests are diametrically opposed to those of their own peasants and workers. They may walk the tight rope between revolution and

* Great Britain released Burma, Ceylon, Egypt (now with Syria the United Arab Republic), Ghana, India, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Malaya, Pakistan, the Sudan. France released Cambodia, Laos, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, and recently Guinea. The Netherlands released most of Indonesia. The United States released the Philippines.

counter-revolution for a while. In the end, having to choose, on the one hand, between their own insurgent populations pressing toward real independence and socialism and, on the other, their senior partners in exploitation, the colonial capitalists side with the imperialists.

At Home in a Thieves' Kitchen

The behavior of the Soviet government at the UN merits close scrutiny. The Soviet attitude towards such organizations has not always been uniform. Lenin and Stalin approached this question in opposite ways.

The Bolshevik government under Lenin opposed the League of Nations, branding it as a thieves' kitchen, a piece of fakery, a deception and a lie from beginning to end. Lenin considered it a pacifist illusion to place confidence in the League of Nations, collective security arrangements, courts of arbitration, disarmament talks to ensure peace. Reactionary utopias and outright frauds aimed at distracting the working class of the world from the task of disarming their own exploiters — this was the kind of language he used.

After Lenin's death and the defeat of the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, all that changed. The bureaucracy that had grown up during the early twenties usurped state power under the leadership of Stalin's faction. The extension of the socialist revolution was transformed into its opposite — defense of the status quo and quest for a non-aggression pact. Under Stalin and his present-day successors, advocacy of pacifist hallucinations, scorned under Lenin, became a main theme of Soviet foreign policy.

Stalin hailed the admission of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations in 1934, during the period of the Franco-Russian pact, as a triumph for socialism. For the next five years, until the USSR was expelled in 1939 when the Soviet-Finnish war broke out, the Kremlin attempted faithfully to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant of the League, an endeavor that exacted crucial and totally unnecessary concessions on its part during the Italo-Abyssinian war.

After the collapse of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Kremlin trumpeted the Allied imperialists as true friends of the Soviet Union and as “peace-loving” and “democratic.” Communist party leaders joined the imperialist propagandists in assuring the workers of the West that the main enemy was not their own exploiters at home but the Nazi dictator in Germany. In accordance with this line, the American Communist party under Earl Browder advocated the no-strike pledge, the wage freeze and unconditional support of Wall Street's war effort. The Kremlin clique vied with the Western imperialists in assuring the

peoples of the world that the Grand Alliance would endure indefinitely and that with the crushing of the Axis powers lasting peace would be ensured.

In September 1945 Stalin solemnly proclaimed that "now we can say that the conditions necessary for the peace of the world have already been won . . . The long-awaited peace for the nations of the whole world has come." Today Stalin's heirs assure us that if only the UN were freed from reactionary influences, it could become the guardian of world tranquillity.

Soviet officials now count upon the semi-colonial bourgeoisie to influence the U.S. to turn from its course toward World War III. This policy repeats the error of ascribing a "peace-loving" character to the allies of World War II. This time, the Kremlin chiefs idealize and misjudge these subordinate sections of the capitalist class. To attempt to transform the UN into an effective peace instrument against the U.S. war drive by means of the bourgeoisie rising in the colonial world is to ask the impossible. These bourgeois representatives are not seeking to change the UN but to use it in their own interests; that is, to gain greater elbow room between the Soviet bloc and the imperialist powers and between the colonial masses and the foreign monopolists. This may give the imperialist representatives a few sleepless nights when it comes to rounding up "massive" propaganda votes at the powerless UN Assembly, but that is about all. There is little danger of the UN slipping from their grip and turning into a genuine instrument of peace.

The Soviet bureaucracy, in accordance with the mission it has assigned to the UN representatives of the colonial bourgeoisie, instructs the Communist parties to give them *political* support. Allegedly to advance the cause of peace, colonial workers are asked to subordinate their struggle for socialism to the Kremlin's need to maneuver between the various national sections of the capitalist class.

Understandably the Soviet Union must utilize the antagonisms between the various capitalist countries in order to help safeguard its existence. There can be no question of that. Under Lenin, however, any blocs or treaties with bourgeois governments were subordinated to the paramount need of extending the socialist revolution. No Communist was asked to support a capitalist party or government or to soft-pedal the class struggle because of a potential or actual deal or bloc with any sections of the capitalists.

As a sovereign power, any workers state has to engage in diplomatic relations with capitalist powers. It has the right, therefore, to send its representatives to such organizations as the United Nations. But it does not have the right to participate in sowing illusions about it. Either through its diplo-

mats, or other channels, it must speak the truth.

On occasion, when it accords with the needs of Kremlin foreign policy (as in the case of the Middle East), the Soviet representatives employ the UN as an effective forum. But these actions are isolated and opportunistic, not part of a consistent and principled policy. The UN could be utilized — not as a "genuine guardian of world peace" — but as a very useful loudspeaker for exposing imperialist aims and machinations.

The refusal of the UN to admit the People's Republic of China shows that the concern of this "peace" organization for the "sovereign equality of nations" and "the right of peoples to choose the form of the government under which they live" extends only as far as Washington permits. Under present conditions China's admission to the UN would help break down the U.S. boycott of the Chinese mainland and further weaken Chiang's position on Taiwan. It would also increase the diplomatic weight of the anti-capitalist bloc in world politics.

Recognition of the People's Republic of China by all countries, including the U.S., which revolutionary socialists demand, includes acknowledgment of the sovereign right of the Chinese government to decide for itself whether or not it wants to join the United Nations in pursuing its diplomatic interests. But the UN cannot be made into a guarantor of peace, even if Chiang Kai-shek's puppet regime were expelled and revolutionary China admitted.

Status Quo Can't Be Kept

The agreement of 1945 to preserve the status quo that emerged from World War II could not be maintained. On one hand, the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy want to preserve the existing state of affairs in their own bailiwicks. On the other hand, the two clashing systems continually disrupt the status quo.

The U.S. monopolists, all for upsetting things in the non-capitalist world, converted the UN into an instrument of the cold war and a means for braking the colonial uprisings. The Kremlin also, in its endeavor to weaken the war drive of imperialism, finds itself forced to upset the status quo, at least to some extent, by giving recognition and even support to colonial revolutionary movements.

The imperialists and the Soviet bureaucrats, it is true, have a common interest in maintaining the status quo against the revolutionary trend of the broad masses on an international scale. Neither favors the independent entrance of revolutionary masses into the arena, especially the home arena. But the revolution is stronger than the attempted channelizations and limitations put upon it by the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy and the outlived capitalist class, and it continually disrupts all efforts to maintain the status quo. The workers of

the West continue to struggle against capitalism. The colonial peoples press their dynamic battle against imperialism. The Soviet bloc workers persist in fighting for their democratic and economic rights, sometimes with tremendous forces as we saw in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. The UN cannot resolve these conflicts and antagonisms. It can only hide the machinations of the rulers of the world behind a pacifist screen.

The uninterrupted build up of armaments by the major powers since the end of World War II, furnishes the most substantial proof of the inefficacy and illusory nature of UN peace-making capabilities. Without the slightest interruption or modification, over ten per cent of the gross national product of the imperialist nations continues to be spent in the race for operational super-weapons. During the last decade or so, Soviet and U.S. delegates have held more than 350 meetings on disarmament at all levels. What has been achieved? Nothing. The imperialists sit down not to disarm themselves but to strip their opponents, making only those proposals known to be unacceptable to their opposite conferees. If by a hapless miscalculation, the protagonist accepts, the propositions are quickly amended, changed and made unacceptable again.

The question of peace is a class question. The UN, no matter how ardently supported, can never stay the hand of the warmakers. The decision, war or peace, is an attribute of state power. As long as monopoly capital rules, no peace petitions will prevent war.

Neither the interimperialist rivalries nor the altercations between the junior and senior partners of the new colonialism will abolish capitalist property relations or national states or the conflict between two antagonistic social systems — the contemporary sources of war. Man's past attempts to circumvent internecine bloodshed have been singularly unsuccessful. From the peace-pipe ceremonies of primitive peoples to the Amphictyonic Leagues and Councils of Greece, from the Union of Fourteen States of the Middle Kingdom of Ancient China to the "grand dessein" of Henry IV of France, from the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations, the pages of history have recorded the failure of conventions to outlaw war. In the past, the arbitrament of the sword has always remained the last recourse in settling conflicting interests of tribal communities, of city states based on slavery, of feudal principalities, and of capitalist nations.

As long as class society continues to exist, war is inevitable. Humanity has sought peace since the dawn of history. But permanent peace can come only with the disappearance of all national and class oppression. That is why the real road to permanent peace is the revolutionary struggle for world socialism.

How the Miners Won

The miners in World War II faced a powerful combination that included the owners, union bureaucrats, leaders of the Communist Party, the government. Yet they managed to win

by Art Preis

THIS national strike of the soft-coal miners [May 1-4, 1943] was not only the largest coal strike this country had seen up to the time. It was the largest single strike of any kind the land had ever known. It was carried out with a dispatch, discipline and single-minded determination that had never been surpassed in the American labor movement.

The big business press did surpass itself in the volume of vituperation, slanders and threats hurled at the miners and Lewis. Lewis was linked with Hitler in newsreels, on the radio, in countless newspaper cartoons. Union leaders who could not reach up to the top of Lewis's shoes joined the chorus of anti-labor forces who were screaming for nothing less than the destruction of the miners' union under guise of aiding the war for "democracy." UAW President R. J. Thomas said the miners' walkout was "a political strike against the President."

Roosevelt himself on May 1 ordered government "seizure" of the struck coal mines and their operation under Solid Fuels Administrator Harold L. Ickes. Ickes "seized" the mines by promptly ordering the American flag to be flown over all mine properties and directing all mine owners and managers to run the mines as government agents in the name of the government — all profits to continue as usual. Ickes then declared the miners were working "for the Government" and ordered them back to work.

The miners didn't budge. They waited for the decision of the union. On Sunday night, May 2, Roosevelt was scheduled for a nationwide radio address to the miners. Just before the President's

broadcast, Lewis called a press conference and announced that starting Tuesday morning, May 4, another fifteen-day truce would be observed to give the government time to show whether it would make a just settlement with the miners. Right after the radio networks had flashed this news, Roosevelt, speaking in a savage tone, attacked Lewis and the miners, claiming that the strike involved "a gamble with the lives of American soldiers and sailors . . ." This was a baseless accusation. At no time during that strike and the three subsequent ones was there less than a full month's supply of coal aboveground, as the U.S. Bureau of Mines records show.

This writer was an eyewitness to the response of the miners after Roosevelt's diatribe. I toured the Western Pennsylvania mining area near Pittsburgh and wrote on May 3 for the May 8 *Militant*:

"The hope of the mine operators and every other boss in the country that President Roosevelt's speech last night would send the coal miners scurrying back to the pits this morning in a demoralized rout has been completely smashed.

"Sticking by their guns in a magnificent display of union discipline and solidarity, and in the face of an unparalleled barrage of government threat and intimidation, the miners throughout this key soft coal area today held hundreds of local meetings and in an organized, deliberate fashion voted to return to work tomorrow pending the outcome of the 15-day mine truce announced by United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis."

It must be noted that the *Militant's* was the only significant press voice, in or out of the labor movement, that spoke unconditionally in defense of the mine strike.

The wartime miners' strikes became the touchstone by which to judge the real loyalty of every union leader and

working-class group toward the American workers. It revealed great masses of CIO workers in strong sympathy with the coal miners. But the whole top layer of the CIO bureaucracy opposed the miners in fear lest a UMW victory might force them to take more vigorous action against the wage freeze, in defense of their members, and thereby come in conflict with Roosevelt.

In Detroit on May 2, the day of Roosevelt's radio call to the miners, a thousand delegates representing 350,000 members of the United Auto Workers in Michigan overrode their national officers and adopted by overwhelming vote a resolution to support not only the UMW's demands but the miners' strike. The UAW national leaders, including President Thomas and Vice-President Walter Reuther, introduced and backed a minority resolution opposing the strike. Thomas, Reuther and the Stalinist delegates spoke against Lewis and the strike. But the delegates would not be swayed. Only a half dozen or so, recognized Stalinists, openly voted against the majority resolution to back the coal strike.

An East Coast UAW conference of some 1,000 delegates, meeting in New York City on May 6, adopted a resolution which declared that "the fight against John L. Lewis is not the issue in this case" and that "it is evident that the miners' fight, involving as it does the struggle against lowering the living standards, is actually the fight of every working man and woman in America . . ."

An outpouring of similar resolutions from hundreds of local CIO unions in auto, rubber, steel, etc., and of thousands of individual messages of encouragement from CIO members revealed the true sentiments of the industrial workers toward the miners' battle.

The government-employer "blitz" against the miners was designed to arouse a veritable lynch spirit against

This is a chapter from *Labor's Giant Step*, a history of the CIO, which Art Preis, for many years labor editor of the *Militant*, is now completing.

the UMW leaders, Lewis especially. Here is a sample from the May 10 *Time* magazine:

"In Orlando, Fla., an Army flying ace with 13 Jap planes to his credit, Col. Robert L. Scott; former aide to Major General Claire L. Chennault in China, boiled over in anger: 'I know I could do one service — this service would be the destruction with six fifty-caliber machine guns on an American fighter plane of John L. Lewis . . .'"

These bloodthirsty threats, purporting to represent the views of the men in the armed forces, were directed not only at Lewis. The press prominently featured such morsels as: "I'd just as soon shoot one of those strikers as Japs."

Buried under this landslide of violent threats and abuse was the fact that the miners every year, in peacetime and war, suffered a higher rate of casualties in proportion to their number than the U.S. armed forces during World War II. Every day, every hour, every second down in the pits the miners faced the cruelest forms of death and injury as a matter of course, as part of the routine of their livelihood. If Roosevelt had been so anxious about the effect of the mine strike on the war, if the war had been his overriding consideration, then he would have granted the miners their meager and just demands. The operators had already been granted a price increase more than covering any possible added cost of wage increases sought. The truth is that Roosevelt was using the war as a pretext for a campaign to crush both Lewis and the miners' union.

This union-busting campaign whose success could have opened the way for a savage offensive against the whole labor movement and particularly the industrial unions received encouragement from those who should have been resisting the attack most fiercely — the top leaders of the CIO. During the week of May 15, the CIO Executive Board met in Cleveland and found no more important matters to take up than denunciation of Lewis and the mine strike. Ex-miner Philip Murray, CIO President, claimed the strike was nothing but part of Lewis's "political vendetta" against "our Commander-in-Chief."

IT WAS during the first of the series of wartime coal-mine strikes that the Communist (Stalinist) party revealed to what depths of treachery to the working class it could really sink in order to demonstrate to the U.S. capitalists how useful the CP could be to them if American capitalism would make some kind of permanent deal with the Kremlin.

When the American Stalinists shifted from their brief Stalin-Hitler pact period of isolationist and pacifist opposition to the war, they swung all the way over to the extreme right of the labor movement. They opposed even the most elementary and feeble defense of labor and Negro rights as "aid to Hitler."

They became so flagrant in their betrayal of the workers that not even the most conservative, hidebound, pro-war union leaders dared to go along with them — at least, not openly. An Extraordinary Conference of the top CIO leaders in Washington in March 1942 featured a clash between Murray and the Stalinists. The left-liberal *New York daily PM* reported on March 25, 1942:

"Murray and CIO left-wingers [Stalinists] clashed briefly for the first time since the Nazi-Soviet war began. The dispute arose over a speech by Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore leader, who charged, it is understood, that the CIO has not fashioned an adequate war program.

"Bridges is said to have deprecated agitation over current anti-labor legislation and labor's economic status, demanding greater emphasis on production."

Bridges had spelled out precisely what he meant by "an adequate war program" for the CIO in a speech he gave, shortly before the Washington conference, to the San Francisco CIO Council (subsequently published in *Labor Herald*, organ of the California CIO). Bridges said:

"If we place stress on hours and wages so that we interfere with the fighting we're slackers and selling out our unions and our country . . ."

"The majority of the time of officers, of grievance committeemen, of the unions as a whole must go to winning the war. How? Production. I'd rather say speed-up, and I mean speed-up. The term production covers the boss, the government and so on. But speed-up covers the workers — the people who suffer from speed-up are the workers.

"To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of speed-up of the working people of America."

At the time Bridges was declaring that "I mean speed-up," the Stalinist-controlled leadership of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers demanded that their members increase their individual production fifteen per cent. They made clear that "this increase shall be by the direct additional expenditure of energy and effort, over and above such increases as will be effected through improved methods or techniques instituted by our war production councils."

The speed-up urged by the Communist party and its followers in the unions was attractively packaged in what the CP in early 1943 called the "wage incentive plan," which it adopted as an official plank of its program. This was simply the old-fashioned sweat-shop piece-work system. The CIO Executive Board in February 1943 at a Washington meeting voted down a motion to advocate this "incentive wage" plan.

The Michigan state convention of the

Communist party in March 1943 voted to send a letter to the FBI, demanding that it "discover and expose" the sponsors of leaflets, being distributed at war plants in the Detroit areas, which denounced the Stalinist "incentive pay" plan as a return to the notorious "Bedaux piece-work system." Michigan CP state secretary Pat Toohey wrote that "the leaflet is actually an attack on the wage incentive plan issued by the War Labor Board . . ." Before FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover even got this letter, UAW Ford Local 600 President Paul Ste. Marie issued a statement saying that he took responsibility for the leaflet and he again denounced the Stalinists for trying "to bring back the stretchout and speedup which the UAW has eliminated from most organized plants."

Subsequently, in March 1943, the UAW International Executive Board unanimously rejected "incentive pay" and the UAW convention in October defeated it overwhelmingly.

The May 1-4 national soft-coal strike brought the anti-labor, strikebreaking activities of the Communist party to a peak of ferocity that the vilest capitalist enemies of the unions did not surpass. On April 29, the *Daily Worker* had carried a front-page appeal by CP National Chairman William Z. Foster, urging the miners not to respond to their union's strike call. He claimed: "If Mr. Lewis . . . had given support to Roosevelt's seven-point program for economic stabilization, the miners and other workers would not be finding themselves in their present difficult economic situation." This referred to nothing but Roosevelt's wage-freezing program.

The May 1 *Daily Worker* editorialized that Lewis's refusal to submit the miners' demands to the War Labor Board on the grounds that their case had been prejudged was "false and demagogic." On May 4, the *Worker* featured a headline: "Lewis Stirs Up Wave of Anti-Labor Legislation" — a reference to the anti-strike bills being rushed through Congress under the prodding of the administration and the Democrats. After the miners returned to work under a truce, the *Worker* gloated that the "Lewis line" of militant mass action in defense of the miners had been checked and demanded that it be "utterly defeated."

This strikebreaking agitation was not confined to the columns of the *Daily Worker*. The Communist party sent organizers and speakers into the coal fields to try to mobilize such scab elements as might be found for a back-to-work movement. Among these Stalinist mine-field tourists was Louis Budenz, managing editor of the *Daily Worker*. His articles falsely attempted to portray widespread wavering among the miners.

On May 2, Foster himself invaded the chief coal state, Pennsylvania. He ad-

dressed a meeting at the Town Hall in Philadelphia where he urged the miners to return to the pits and submit to what Lewis had called the "headsman's axe" of the War Labor Board. A Stalinist May Day meeting, held in the Yankee Stadium in New York City, was used to whip up hatred of Lewis and the striking miners. "The boos at the mention of Lewis' name were as loud as any expression of displeasure that ever came from a Yankee Stadium audience," approvingly reported the May 3 *Daily Worker*. The CP even bought radio time to spread its strikebreaking propaganda. Charles Spencer, CP secretary in the Wilkes Barre, Pa., anthracite area, spoke over a local station on May 2 to tell the miners "not to follow Lewis into a treasonable strike."

ROOSEVELT's threats, the lynch cries of the press, CIO President Murray's stab-in-the-back attacks, the Stalinist strikebreaking attempts — all these did not make a dent on the miners. For the next six months they were to carry on a bitter, tenacious struggle, a succession of four national strikes conducted with such matchless solidarity and discipline that the massive assault upon them finally cracked up and broke to pieces.

No sooner had the miners returned to work after their first strike in early May than Ickes, the administration's agent in charge of the "seizure," announced that the miners would not negotiate with the ostensible new operator of the mines, the government, but with the regular owners. Then, they would have to submit any agreement to the War Labor Board.

Every effort was made, every maneuver contrived, to force the miners to acknowledge the authority of the War Labor Board and submit to its decrees. On May 17, the UMW policy committee announced an extension of the strike truce until midnight, May 31, at the special request of Ickes. The WLB that same day denounced Lewis for "defying the lawfully established procedures of the Government." The operators simultaneously announced that the WLB had "forbidden" them to resume negotiations with the UMW.

As the date for the new strike deadline approached, there were plenty of indications that the miners' sentiments of revolt were shared by wide sectors of American workers. In Detroit, some 30,000 Chrysler and Dodge auto workers struck for four days ending May 24 in protest against an eleven-month accumulation of grievances and demands. In Akron, Ohio, some 50,000 rubber workers struck for five days, May 25-29, when the WLB conceded only a three-cent increase after a year's delay. These strike actions were smothered by the combined efforts of the WLB, Army and Navy officials, FBI, the raging press and radio and, above all, the top union leaders of the CIO

United Auto Workers and United Rubber Workers. Unlike the miners, the auto and rubber workers did not have the support of their own leadership and this contributed decisively to their defeat. Indeed, the UAW and URW leaders publicly attacked their striking members.

The successful strikebreaking by government and union officials in the auto, rubber and other strikes during the interim of the coal-mine truce further emboldened the operators to sit back and wait for the government to smash the miners and their union. On May 25, the WLB had denied the miners all their major demands, making only two minor concessions. After the WLB ruling, which was based on hearings attended only by the operators, a leading operator told the press: "I don't see any point in sitting around the table any longer."

The operators began to get the point when the truce deadline, May 31, passed. On the morning of June 1, some 530,000 miners refrained from entering the pits "without any special strike call being issued and with casual matter of factness," as George Breitman, the *Militant's* correspondent, wrote from the mining area around Pittsburgh.

Roosevelt thundered at the striking miners that they "are employees of the Government and have no right to strike." Ickes telegraphed the union that Lewis "cannot escape responsibility for the cessation of work." But Ickes conceded that "there are a few powerful operators who from the beginning had deliberately opposed any compromise which might lead to a reasonable settlement." This was true — but not the whole truth. The Roosevelt administration and Democratic Congress had virtually commanded the operators to make no concessions.

What was decisive, however, was the attitude of the miners, their belief in their rights, their understanding of their organized power and their strategic position in the economy. George Breitman, in a May 26 dispatch from Uniontown, Pa., to the *Militant*, summarized the results of his numerous interviews with miners in the important UMW District 4:

"The question I asked was: 'Do you think you will obtain a substantial portion of your demands?' And always the answer was an unhesitating yes. When I asked why, their answer generally went like this.

"'Because we're the only ones who can mine coal and they're not going to make us do it unless they give us enough wages to do it right and feed our families on at least the same standard we had before the war. You know you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink.'"

This was the adamant positions of the miners as Roosevelt, on June 3, threatened to call out the troops unless the miners returned to work by June 7

— and, as Saul Alinsky noted in his biography of Lewis, the President no longer referred to "my friends, the miners." The miners merely shrugged and repeated their classic phrase: "You can't dig coal with bayonets." Roosevelt added a further threat — miners of draft age who did not respond to his "order" would be reclassified for military service. This made no impact either.

For the first time, some of the coal operators began to question the ability of the government to terrorize the miners into submission. They also were fearful of the principle of government "seizure" of their property, even though they were aware that in this instance it was a farce and strictly a strike-breaking device.

Lewis had proposed that the miners be paid \$1.50 a day more as portal-to-portal travel pay and the operators began what appeared to be some serious consideration of this compromise proposal. At this point, the WLB ordered the negotiations to end until the miners went to work. The Board's labor members, CIO included, voted for this order. Aware that the operators were beginning to weaken, the UMW again pulled a truce move. The union's policy committee voted a return to work on June 7 — but only "up to and including June 20" unless a satisfactory agreement had been reached.

The closer the miners moved to wresting an acceptable settlement from the mine owners, the more desperately the government tried to beat the miners down. Congress pushed through the first federal anti-strike bill in the country's history, the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Bill, whose major provisions had been proposed by Roosevelt as early as November 1941. This drastic anti-labor measure evoked such protest inside labor's ranks that both William Green and Philip Murray felt impelled to plead for Roosevelt's veto.

Green, in militant language rare for him, wrote the President: "The workers of our country would never become reconciled to this legislation. They would protest against it and rebel against it in the event it would become the law. This legislation is fascist in character." If timid Green had known how promptly and effectively the workers would rebel against the Smith-Connally act by their strike actions, he might have spoken less inciting words. Murray wrote Roosevelt that the bill would "set aside the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution."

PRIOR to passage of the anti-strike bill, demonstratively pushed through as a threat to the miners, Lewis and the operators had come to a verbal agreement on \$1.30 a day for travel pay in the mines. At this point, Ickes announced he was levying a \$5 fine on every miner who had participated in the June 1 to 5 strike. This would have represented a collective fine of more than

\$2,500,000. So immediate and violent were the miners' reactions that Ickes speedily backtracked. In the face of hundreds of meetings of mine locals that voted immediate strike action, Ickes lamely explained he was leaving the collection of fines up to the individual operators — who promptly said they preferred to let by-gones be by-gones.

The Smith-Connally bill, although not yet law, emboldened the WLB members. This bill would give the WLB power to subpoena union leaders and make it a felony for union leaders even to advocate a strike in any government "seized" plant or industry. On June 18, two days before the strike deadline, the WLB turned down the agreement on \$1.30 portal-to-portal pay reached between the UMW and operators.

The Board's report claimed that the miners were getting sixty-five per cent more average weekly take-home pay in March 1943 than in January 1941, due to the greater average number of hours per week worked in 1943. This contention was based entirely on data furnished by the operators. Besides, even if true, it still left the miners earning only \$42.97 weekly including more than three hours of overtime. The WLB majority announced that the portal-to-portal issue must first be handled by the Wage and Hours Administrator and the courts. But even if these decided favorably for the miners the WLB reserved the final decision.

Despite the fact that the Illinois operators had agreed to \$1.50 and the Pennsylvania operators to \$1.30 portal-to-portal pay daily, the CIO and AFL members on the WLB voted to grant only eighty cents a day for mine travel time. AFL Teamsters President Daniel Tobin actually hailed the WLB majority's denial of portal-to-portal pay. The Stalinists, as usual, went all the way in aiding the administration's and WLB's campaign against the miners. The June 20 *Worker* printed a portion of CP National Secretary Earl Browder's speech before the National Committee of the Communist party, in which he said that Lewis headed the CP's list of "the main enemies at home" and that "our main task is to isolate John L. Lewis in America and in the labor movement and to make him so unpopular that nobody will dare have their names associated with him."

The WLB's labor members, including the CIO's Van Bittner and John Brophy, ex-UMW officials now on Murray's payroll, issued a statement that the no-strike pledge "must be carried out today as it was the day we made it. And further, since this decision has been rendered by a majority vote of the WLB, it is our position that it becomes the decision of the WLB and in this instance the decision of the Government of the United States."

Thus, the representatives of the CIO and AFL sought to reinforce the posi-

tion of the Board against the miners. These bureaucrats, who never consulted their own ranks on any issues great or small, bowed to "majority rule" in the case of a hand-picked government board, each and every one of whose employer and "public" members had demonstrated public hostility to the miners and their union.

On June 19, the miners began to walk out. 58,000 of them beat the deadline. The next day all bituminous and anthracite miners in the country stayed away from the mines. This writer reported the strike for the *Militant*. I noted the difference between the frenzy in Washington and the newspaper headlines and the quiet, orderly conduct of the strike itself:

"PITTSBURGH, June 21 — Today has been like a peaceful Sunday in the scores of coal mining towns in this area. It has been hard to realize that in these quiet communities, set amidst sunny, rolling countryside marred only by the inevitable tipples and ugly slag heaps, one of the greatest and grimmest struggles in American labor history is in progress.

"There was no outward sign of conflict as the third nationwide wartime coal strike paralyzed the hundreds of mines in this vital Western Pennsylvania region. The mine workers just remained at home — to a man. There were no pickets. None were needed. Early this morning at a few key pits sleepy-eyed cameramen and reporters lounged around the collieries. They looked dejected and lonely waiting in vain for even one scab whose picture might be plastered over the front pages as a 'back-to-work' movement.

"Those whose ears have become accustomed to the daily noise and clatter around the mine works notice the silence. A big, burly miner with whom I was walking down the road in Library, Pa., site of one of the biggest mines of Mellon's Pittsburgh Coal Co., stopped once and cocked his ear over to one side. A smile both sly and wistful crossed his face. 'At last we can hear the birds sing.'

"All the tumult and shouting of this tremendous struggle are confined to the columns of the capitalist press, the halls of Congress, the corridors of federal buildings, and the hysterical strike-breaking Stalinist sheets and meetings. Here in the mining towns the calm and quiet are a sign of and a tribute to the unsurpassed solidarity and confident determination of every worker who goes down into the pits."

Two days after the strike officially started Lewis once more announced a truce — this time until October 31 — and instructed the miners to return to work. A UMW Policy Committee statement said: "This arrangement is predicated upon operation of the mines . . .

by the United States government and will automatically terminate if government control is vacated prior to the above-mentioned date."

This announcement came just a few hours after the WLB had urged Roosevelt to employ "all powers of the government necessary" to put the Board's decision on the miners' case into effect. Roosevelt, in turn, issued a hysterical attack on the miners after they had already started to return to work following the latest UMW Policy Committee directions. He threatened to force the miners to work as military conscripts and stated he had initiated measures "to set up the machinery" to draft strikers into the armed forces and compel them to mine coal under military orders, subject to courts-martial for refusal.

Nothing could have been more calculated to infuriate the miners. It is estimated that forty per cent of the miners continued their strike for from four to six days after Lewis had asked them to return to work because of their indignation at Roosevelt's threats and at the enactment into law of the Smith-Connally Act on June 25.

Roosevelt's threats to force the miners to work under military regulations, as one UMW official in Pittsburgh told this writer (*The Militant*, July 3, 1943), was like "throwing gasoline on a hot fire." This same report described a meeting of UMW Local 73, at Library, Pa., the day after the third truce was announced, and the bitterness of the workers at Roosevelt's labor conscription law threat. One old mining veteran said:

"Going into a mine is no easy thing. Every time you go in, you never know if you're coming out. If they want to pass such a law on us men, let 'em pass it. We've worked in these mines and risked our lives and damned near at times had to eat grass and frozen apples to stay alive. But we're still living and we're still fighting."

The bulk of the Western Pennsylvania miners voted not to return to work until June 28, six days after Roosevelt's threat. It was a deliberate demonstration of defiance and contempt from men who had voted for Roosevelt in '32 and '36 and even in '40, after Lewis himself had broken with him.

On June 25, Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connally bill, but it was enacted over his veto within two hours by a Democratic Congress. Among other things, this bill made it a crime punishable by one year imprisonment and \$5,000 fine to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere by lockout, strike, slowdown or other interruption with the operations of plants in possession of the government." The bill authorized the "seizure" of plants for strikebreaking purposes, required prior notice and a thirty-day "cooling-off period" before all strikes and a provision for government-supervised strike votes.

BOTH Philip Murray and William Green, overlooking the fact of Roosevelt's incitation and the role of his political colleagues in Congress, hastened to write messages of effusive thanks to Roosevelt for his veto and, as Murray put it, "to assure you that our organizations will maintain their no-strike pledge."

So eager were these union leaders to represent Roosevelt's action as a sign of his "pro-labor" attitude, that they overlooked the real point of his veto message — he had openly stated the bill wasn't tough enough to suit him. He thought it had loopholes which still opened the way for strikes. In his veto message to Congress, he said he approved of seven of the bill's nine points — including those that provided for government plant "seizures" to break strikes, a ban on strikes in "seized" industries, jail for strikers and strike "inducers," fines on unions and impounding of union treasuries. "If the bill were limited to these seven measures," said Roosevelt, "I would sign it."

He objected only to the provisions that would permit strikes after a declaration of intention, a special vote and "cooling off." These, he said, were ineffective anti-strike provisions or "irrelevant." He also objected to the fact that his own special proposal — to place all workers between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five under the provisions of a labor draft law, a labor conscription act — was excluded from the Smith-Connally Act.

We can get some idea of the reaction to the Smith-Connally Act in the CIO ranks from the debate and decisions of the 1,800 delegates to the Michigan State CIO convention in Detroit a few days after the anti-strike law was passed. These delegates, representing 700,000 industrial unionists, adopted by a two-to-one majority a resolution "recommending to all of the affiliated unions and to the CIO that unless assurances that were made to labor are immediately and effectively put into operation, we consider our 'no-strike' pledge no longer binding . . ."

This resolution was bitterly opposed by CIO National Organization Director Allan S. Haywood, representing Murray; John Brophy, head of the Industrial Union Councils Department of the CIO; UAW President R. J. Thomas; Michigan State CIO President August Scholle and all the Stalinist delegates. The Stalinists sought a reconsideration of the resolutions and on the fourth and final day of the convention they put on a demonstration of their personal affirmation of the no-strike pledge regardless of any convention decision. As individuals and groups they took the floor and repeated parrot-like the phrase that they would "follow Brother Philip Murray in the no-strike pledge which he gave to our Commander-in-Chief."

An additional response of the conven-

tion to the anti-strike law was the adoption of a resolution which, while still favoring support of Roosevelt, said this "can best be served by an independent labor party." This resolution proposed a referendum vote by affiliated unions on whether or not they "favored setting up an independent labor party." The vote for this resolution was 2,519 to 1,909, with the Stalinists again offering the bitterest opposition.

The convention also passed a resolution which declared that the Smith-Connally Act "made a mockery out of avowed claims that this is a war for democracy." Stalinist floor leader Nat Ganley, business agent of UAW Local 155, asserted, "Regardless of what reactionary legislation is passed, this still remains a just, progressive war against fascism" and he asked how the convention could pass a resolution on the Smith-Connally Act "without praising our Commander-in-Chief who vetoed this bill."

Emil Mazey, head of UAW Briggs Local 212, replied that "the only reason Roosevelt vetoed the bill was that it gave us the right to strike at the end of thirty days. Those who follow Roosevelt in Congress led in overriding the veto. The veto was only a smokescreen." Even Victor Reuther, going along with the predominant sentiment, said: "It is not a war for democracy if we allow fascists to destroy our democratic rights at home."

Most indicative of the sentiments of these delegates — representing workers in auto, steel, glass and many other CIO unions — was their overwhelming adoption of a resolution of unconditional support to the miners. In doing so, they brushed aside the attempts of the Stalinists to insert an attack on Lewis in the resolution. "You cannot pass on the miners' question and ignore Lewis. You cannot win the war and strike as you damn please," complained John Anderson, Stalinist President of UAW Local 155. To which one delegate replied amid applause: "If Lewis pulled the strike to protect the rank and file, hats off to Lewis."

Following the Michigan CIO convention, the Murray-Hillman-Stalinist forces drew even closer together in their opposition to the militant ranks and in their enmity and fear of Lewis. A special meeting of the CIO National Executive Board was held in Washington, July 7 to 10. This meeting resolved to fight the Smith-Connally Act, which Murray had said set aside the Bill of Rights, by "a complete mobilization of the people in support of the war program of our Commander-in-Chief" and by reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge. When Emil Rieve and George Baldanzi, President and Vice-President respectively of the United Textile Workers Union, objected to an attack on Lewis and the miners in the no-strike resolution, they were subjected to fierce denunciation by the other board members. Murray

raged particularly against the actions of the Michigan CIO convention and mysteriously hinted at "outside influence" at work.

The miners drew their strength from their own just cause, the solidity of their union and the support of millions of other union workers, like those in the Michigan CIO. They could ignore with equal calm the rantings of a Murray and the ultimatums of a Roosevelt.

The War Labor Board called on Roosevelt either to force Lewis to sign the WLB-dictated contract or to seize the UMW treasury as a punitive measure and cancel the checkoff of union dues. The Board, including its labor members, also demanded that Lewis be prosecuted under the Smith-Connally Act. A federal grand jury was convened on July 14 at the behest of the Western Pennsylvania operators and federal agents were sent into the mine fields by Attorney General Biddle to investigate charges under the anti-strike law. "Unauthorized" strikes, which followed the WLB threats, continued in some instances until July 5.

WHEN Roosevelt was asked on July 9 what he would do to force Lewis to sign the WLB's contract, he finally conceded he could not force Lewis to do so. A day later, Edward R. Burke and R. L. Ireland, Jr., leading spokesmen for the operators, revealed they were at the point of capitulation when they said that Roosevelt's statement proved "Mr. Lewis, through his defiance of the Government, had gained his point."

During the four-month period of uneasy truce, the Roosevelt Administration and its WLB did all in their power to prevent and upset any and all agreements between the United Mine Workers and the operators that provided for pay increases in any form. In the middle of July, Lewis had announced that an agreement had been reached and a contract signed with the Illinois Coal Operators Association for \$1.25 daily portal-to-portal travel pay, fifty cents of it retroactive to October 24, 1938, when the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect. With other provisions, including extra hours, this would have raised the Illinois miners' pay by \$3 instead of the originally-demanded \$2 a day.

With this contract in writing and signed by the Illinois operators, Lewis discontinued his boycott of the WLB. On August 3, Lewis appeared personally before the WLB hearing and defended the Illinois contract. On August 25, this "court stacked against labor" flatly rejected the Illinois pact and called the portal-to-portal agreement a "hidden wage increase." The Board members were emboldened by Roosevelt's August 16 executive order which provided drastic sanctions against striking unions and strikers — including the withholding of "any benefits, privileges and

rights" — in industries "seized" by the government, like the coal mines.

Even the right-wing Social-Democratic *New Leader*, strongly pro-war and pro-Roosevelt, complained in its August 21 issue that Roosevelt's sanction order was "the high wave of reaction." It lamented: "The President appeared to serve notice that he has come to an open break with the New Deal." (Later, on December 28, he himself was to declare that the "New Deal" was over.)

Once more the UMW officials and the Illinois operators went into a huddle. They finally agreed on a contract providing \$2 a day more for a five-day week with overtime allowances, omitting the portal-to-portal issue. Fuel Coordinator Ickes took this occasion to announce ending of the mines "seizure" on October 13. The fiction of government operation was removed. Promptly, the miners began striking without any instructions from Lewis and the UMW policy committee. Some 22,000 Alabama and 3,500 Indiana miners were the first to defy the Smith-Connally Act and Roosevelt's executive sanctions.

Lewis wired the strikers and asked their locals to meet and vote to go back pending a WLB ruling on the revised Illinois contract. The WLB threatened the miners with sanctions and the penalties of the law. The Indiana miners reluctantly returned; the Alabama miners refused.

"According to reports from the striking areas," said the October 19 *New York Times*, "the miners were refusing to attend meetings lest they incur the penalties of the Connally-Smith Act and they had somehow set up some form of a 'silent understanding' with each other whereby they did not even need to speak, but would act as individuals as long as their wage grievances were not redressed."

Lewis had hinted that the WLB might bring forth a favorable decision. But new groups of strikers — in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky and Illinois — followed the lead of the Alabama workers. The WLB again "poured gasoline on the fire" when it rejected the second Illinois pact on October 26. By the time the official strike deadline, November 1, had arrived, all 530,000 coal miners were out, for their fourth official national wartime strike within one year.

Now Roosevelt was at the end of his rope. He could not arrest 530,000 miners. He could not force them to go down in the pits at bayonet point, and even if he could, they need not mine an ounce of coal. He could not jail Lewis and the UMW leaders, for the miners swore they would strike "until Hell freezes over" (this was a considerable extension of their jurisdiction) if Lewis were victimized in any way. The President re-"seized" the struck mines and authorized Ickes to negotiate a contract.

The Ickes-approved contract gave the

miners \$1.50 a day more — \$8.50 a day. Where the miners previously made \$45.50 for a 42-hour week, they would now receive \$56.74 for a 48-hour week. The WLB on November 20 finally agreed to a contract acceptable to the union and contractors. This fixed the mine wage at \$57.07 a week and provided \$40 payment to each miner for retroactive payment for travel time.

The UMW Policy Committee ratified the new contract on November 3 and instructed the miners to return to work. They had cracked the wage-freeze and broken through the barrier of the Little Steel Formula. Except for a reduction of fifteen minutes in their lunch time, the contract was virtually the same as the second agreement reached with the Illinois operators. Of the total increase, \$1 to \$1.25 a day was an actual increase in terms of the previous work-week. The rest of the increase was due to more hours of work.

AS THE final mine walkout was going into full swing on November 1, Philip Murray was calling the CIO convention to order in Philadelphia. Murray made an unrestrained attack on Lewis and intimated that the miners, the men who had first raised Murray to a position of influence in the labor movement, were nothing less than agents of Hitler and the Japanese Mikado. A round of tirades against the miners followed Murray's slanderous attack, with the Stalinist elements thrusting themselves to the forefront of this onslaught. Frederick Myers, Vice-President of Curran's Stalinist-controlled National Maritime Union, on November 2 called the struggle of the miners "the greatest treason against America."

Murray had opened the CIO convention by his attack on the miners and by pushing through a resolution reaffirming the no-strike pledge "without qualification or condition." But when word was received that the miners had won, that they had cracked the Little Steel Formula ceiling, then Murray and his lieutenants were in a dither. They knew Lewis's prestige would rise high among the CIO workers. Quickly, Murray introduced a resolution to open a labor drive for higher wages, above the Little Steel Formula. He even had the impudence to call on the coal miners (whose magnificent struggle had already penetrated the Little Steel Formula ceiling) and the railroad workers (who at that moment were taking a nationwide strike poll) to join with him in the fight — non-strike, of course — for higher wages.

Although the United Mine Workers was no longer in the CIO and the CIO leadership had bitterly attacked the mine strikes, the wartime struggle and victory of the coal miners was of incalculable importance for American unionism, particularly the CIO. In a way, it may be said that the CIO had two "Gettysburgs," the Flint General

Motors sitdown of 1936-7 and the 1943 coal-mine strikes, although during the latter the CIO leaders were sniping from the enemy lines.

Until the miners fought back in 1943, the war brought with it one measure of repression after another, and ever-increasing assaults on the living standards and liberties of the workers. The ruling class looked on the war as their supreme opportunity to destroy union contractual conditions and even unionism itself.

We have only to ask ourselves, "What if the miners had not waged their fight?" or "What if they had lost?" to realize the enormous stake the whole American labor movement had in the outcome of the miners' battles. If the miners had not fought and won, if they had been defeated, it would have meant not only the crippling and possibly the crushing of one of the most powerful industrial unions, the UMW, but a demoralizing blow of shattering proportions for the auto, rubber, steel, electrical equipment, textile, glass and other CIO workers. In the wake of a miners' defeat, the corporate interests and their government agents would have fallen like a ravenous wolf-pack on the most vulnerable unions. The government would have introduced new "formulas" to slash wages, increase hours of work and intensify the exploitation of labor in the name of patriotism and the "needs of the war." The defeat of the miners would have become another and more convincing pretext for the union leaders, like Murray and Hillman, to give away the workers' rights and conditions and to restrain every impulse of the CIO workers to fight back.

Instead, the miners' victory opened a whole new wave of labor struggle, mounting steadily through 1943, 1944 and 1945 and reaching a titanic climax in the winter of 1945-46. The employers' postwar plan to turn the war veterans against the workers and smash the unions was never able to get going.

The miners themselves were able to go on from victory to victory in the war and immediate postwar period, winning many new gains, such as health and welfare funds, retirement pensions and other conditions, which then became objectives of the CIO unions as well.

Above all, the miners demonstrated, as never before the fact that nothing can produce coal — or any other form of wealth — but the labor of workers. When the miners said "you can't dig coal with bayonets," they were saying that organized labor, united and determined to defend itself and its rights, is invincible. That is why, in hailing the miners' victory, the *Militant* of November 13, 1943, said:

"The miners' strikes of 1943, taking place in the midst of the Second World War, will forever remain a landmark in the history of the American class struggle."

Socialism and Humanism

The rise of a tendency among thinkers in the Soviet Zone to put people above material successes offers a challenge to Marxists in their struggle for a socialist Humanism

by William F. Warde

SINCE Stalin's death dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union have been carrying on a guerrilla warfare against the bureaucracy in the name of Humanism. Ehrenburg's *The Thaw* gave the signal for their attack. This short novel portrayed the hypocrisy of a regime where high-sounding slogans were at odds with depressing realities, where lickspittles prospered while genuine talents were stifled, and the sanctity of human rights was loudly proclaimed but severely repressed. Similar themes were developed in Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*.

The vilification of Boris Pasternak over the Nobel Prize award has brought the friction between the authorities and the non-conformist writers to a sharp pitch. It is noteworthy that many prominent Soviet authors have not joined the hue and cry against him.

Pasternak counterposes a watery semi-Christian Humanism to the spurious officially enforced "Marxism-Leninism" that has waved its fist in his face. Through the chief character in his banned novel *Doctor Zhivago* he complains that the once-lofty idealism of the Russian Revolution has degenerated into crass materialism, become befouled by self-seekers, and ended in a loss of freedom.

"The great majority of us," he writes, "are required to live a life of constant, systematic duplicity. Your health is bound to be affected, if day after day, you say the opposite of what you feel, if you grovel before what you dislike and rejoice at what brings you nothing but misfortune . . ."

Whatever the literary merits of *Doctor Zhivago* and despite its involvement as a shuttlecock in the cold war, it has significance as sociological testimony. Pasternak is one of the most popular and respected of Russian authors. He lives among the more favored elements of Soviet society. If he can voice such

bitterness forty years after the October 1917 Revolution, then we have the right to ask: what must be the feelings among the unprivileged?

Indeed, the writers, journalists, critics and economists who have raised the banner of a Socialist Humanism throughout the Soviet zone speak for others beside themselves. They are articulating the resentments of the people against the outrages of Stalinism. In their works literature is once again becoming, as in the Czarist Russia of the nineteenth century, a prime vehicle of social protest and of mounting opposition from diverse sources against an autocracy at bay.

This new Humanism, which has sprung up like green grass in the cracks of a stone pavement, is a many-sided phenomenon. It runs the gamut of social problems from law and ethics to economics and history. It poses questions sharply on a moral plane. It stands up for truth against official deceit; for trust among people instead of the spying and talebearing which starts in the schools, permeates all social institutions, and ends in the dossiers of the secret police. It upholds the pride and dignity of individuals against self-abasement before the wielders of power. It speaks for freedom in place of subservience; for justice and legality against cynical violations of legality and equity; for independent and critical judgments instead of conformity to edicts from above. It rejects double standards of conduct: one for public show, another for private life; one for the state, another for the individual; one for the rulers, another for the ruled. It asks that the means be suited to the projected social ends: "A right cause must be fought for with the right means."

The writers want to cast off the strait jacket of a "Socialist Realism" which compels them to write, not as they desire and believe, but according to the arbitrary prescriptions of ignorant superintendents of the arts. These restraints parch the springs of artistic

creation at their very source, they say, and inspire productions which are insincere, talentless, devoid of interest and unrealistic because they distort obvious facts of everyday life.

Don't keep telling us that everything has changed for the better when we all know differently, cried out Adam Wazyk in his famous *Poem for Adults* which appeared in the Polish weekly *Nova Cultura*, Aug. 21, 1956. Here is a key stanza:

Fourier, the dreamer, charmingly foretold
that lemonade would flow in seas.
Does it not flow?
They drink sea-water,
crying:
"lemonade!"
returning home secretly
to vomit.

In the summer of 1946, the Hungarian Communist poet Gyula Hay penned a manifesto, entitled "One Sentence on Tyranny," which set forth in flaming indignation the revulsion of the most sensitive writers against the rape of their artistic consciences. How much freedom should be permitted a creative artist? he asked.

"It should be the writer's prerogative to tell the truth. To criticize anybody and anything. To be sad. To be in love. To think of death. Not to ponder whether light or shadow are in balance in his work. To believe in the omnipotence of God. To doubt the correctness of certain figures in the Five Year Plan. To think in a non-Marxist manner. To think in a Marxist manner. To believe something unjust that is still officially maintained to be just."

Have Ties With Workers

The rub is, as the Rakosi government quickly found out, that even a limited measure of free expression could not be doled out to the writers without demands for equal freedom arising from students, workers and Communist party members themselves. Intellectuals in the Soviet bloc have closer ties, at least in theory, with the

This is the second of two articles. The first appeared in our winter issue.

working class and its socialist aims than their counterparts in capitalist countries. Some are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. The affinities between them were disclosed in the impetus given by the intellectuals to the Polish and Hungarian revolutions of 1956.

Their calls for a renovated morality, for concern with "truth, freedom and reason," are directly linked with the desires of the masses for improvements in their material conditions and for a share in the direction of the national economy. They reflect grievances against glaring and growing economic inequalities among the various categories of citizens. The governing group, whose own welfare is well taken care of, keeps imposing unbearable sacrifices upon the workers in the name of future achievements and indefinitely delayed satisfactions. The Humanists assert that a workers' regime cannot neglect the living standards of the producers too much and too long in favor of developing heavy industry at breakneck speeds and out of proportion to the country's revenues and resources.

This line of reasoning obviously has serious political implications. It supports the claims of the masses against the dictates of the bureaucrats. It defends the right of nationalities to be free and independent, and, if necessary, to resist vassalage to a foreign power. Its most radical representatives insist upon the need for the working class to be supreme, not merely in ritual but in reality.

No wonder the Moscow authorities, and their replicas in Eastern Europe, fear these voices. The theoretical magazine of the Soviet Communist Party *Kommunist* (No. 5, 1957) castigated "the newly appeared 'reformers' who are appealing for 'reform' on humanist principles of the existing social structure" and asserted that Leninism "needs no sort of 'humanization,' nor any of the reforms proposed by the proponents of 'humanist socialism.'" To be sure, genuine Leninism needs no humanization. What the Humanist critics are inveighing against are the Stalinist violations of Leninism.

The tenor of their teachings was expressed as follows in the Polish publication *Nova Cultura*, April 28, 1957: "The Communist ideal demands the liberation of humanity—and of the individual within the framework of society—from alienation in all the domains of society. The aim is to obtain the real sovereignty of the masses, to destroy the division between those who are deprived of freedom and the ruling group which is not responsible to the people. The idea of Communism, of humanism put into life, is universal. It is older than Marxism, it is the heritage of the ages."

A year earlier, on June 19, 1956, the noted Hungarian Communist writer Tibor Dery had declared at a Petoefi

Club meeting: "We have been fighting for so many things that we have forgotten the chief thing: humanism." Their struggle for "the chief thing" plunged Dery and his fellow writers into the Hungarian uprising some months later, and after that, into the prisons of the Kadar government.

The evolution of the Hungarian Communist-Humanists into revolutionary fighters against Stalinism shows what an explosive potential is lodged in this ideological tendency. Their criticisms crystallized and stimulated the rising anti-bureaucratic sentiments among the masses and they became the intellectual heralds of a direct democracy rooted in the working class.

Alerted by the lessons of Hungary and Poland, the Moscow leaders hastened to take countermeasures when similar notes were sounded by Soviet authors. In September 1957 Khrushchev warned against authors "who attempt to use mistakes of the past in coming out against leadership of literature and art by party and states." Although the First Secretary said he was for "freedom of creative work," he held up "the lessons of Hungary, where the counter-revolution used some of these writers for its filthy aims and reminds us to what this can lead." The lashing of Dudintsev and his popular novel was followed up a year later by the expulsion of Pasternak from the Union of Soviet Writers.

These two are not alone. Over the past several years numerous novels and short stories have come out which contrast the brutal behavior of functionaries with the warmer human qualities of other segments of the Soviet people and which emphasize the gulf between them. "Light in the Window" by Yuri Nagibin, to cite one example, tells about the director of a rest home who keeps the most luxurious apartment carefully cleaned and always ready for the Party boss who never comes. One night the cleaning woman decides to entertain her family in this sanctum. When the director evicts these interlopers, he reads in their eyes as they leave their hatred for him and all he represents.

THIS Humanist movement itself suffers from the restrictions and repressions of the police state which prevent its advocates from saying directly and fully what they mean. They have to talk in guarded terms and present their views in sidelights for self-protection. But Soviet readers who are accustomed to read between the lines can fill out from their own experience what is hinted at.

There is much vagueness in this chaotic ferment, especially on its ideological side. It is charged with powerful feelings and half-formed ideas. Its spokesmen know better what repels them than how to get rid of the social evils.

Most of the Soviet Humanists have not yet arrived at any worked-out program or clear perspective. They are groping toward the light after wandering in Stalinist darkness and double-dealing for so many years. It is quite natural that they should stammer a bit now that their tongues can utter some of their real thoughts and sentiments after a long silence, that their first approaches to an analysis of Soviet reality and its reasons for development should be incomplete and uncertain, and that they often wander off into petty-bourgeois lamentation and moralizing. Deeper probing of thought, further experiences and the extension of the struggle between the bureaucracy and the people should enable the best among them to define their ideas more clearly and bring them to correct class conclusions.

The neo-Stalinist hatchet men have seized upon some of the idealistic vagaries of the Humanists to discredit the entire movement, excommunicate it, and punish its main figures. They even claim the Humanist heritage of Marxism for their own and ridicule the pretensions of the Humanist critics. The tussle between these two groups over the mantle of Humanism may seem like nothing but a war over words. Actually it is part of a continuing contest of divergent social forces: the defenders of the bureaucratic upper crust on one side, the intellectual spokesmen for the discontents of the masses on the other.

The claim of the Kremlin hierarchs to be the repositories of Humanism is as unfounded as their claim to be the continuators of Marxism and Leninism. There was nothing socialistic or Humanistic in the suppression of the Hungarian uprising and its Workers' Councils. A Socialist Humanism ought to be the enemy of aristocratic parasitism and abuse of power, not its obsequious servitor. Wherever and whenever the Humanist opponents of the bureaucracy condemn these abominations, they are in the right.

When at one extreme some representatives of this tendency reject materialism in favor of absolute moral values, semireligious beliefs or a classless democracy, they overshoot the mark and are in the wrong. But these errors and exaggerations, which require correction, should not be allowed to submerge the essentially healthy and progressive character of this cultural phenomenon.

The idealism of the Humanists is one of the ways through which the political consciousness of the new generation of Soviet thinkers, the mass leaders of the future, is being formed. It may be the first, but it will not be the final, formulation of their views. Under the given circumstances, their moral indignation, however clumsy its theoretical formulations, is infinitely more worthy than the sham "materialism" behind which

the gendarmes of bureaucratic privilege and tyranny seek concealment.

The Different Tendencies

The Russian Humanists do not have a uniform outlook. There are highly divergent currents amongst them which at this point coalesce in opposition to the possessors of power. These trends range from total rejection of Marxism and Bolshevism, as indicated in Pasternak's novel, to a reaffirmation of the essential positions and aims of revolutionary socialism against Stalinism.

Similar divisions exist among the young Soviet intellectuals. Their characteristics were delineated in an article in the August 18-25, 1958 *New Leader* by David Burg, until 1957 himself a student in the USSR. He separates the dissident youngsters into two typical groups: the Neo-Bolsheviks and the Anti-Communists.

The Neo-Bolsheviks "are searching for a 'true Marxism,'" Burg writes. "There is a widespread nostalgia for the pre-Soviet period and for the early years of the post-Revolutionary period. Today Soviet youth frequently show their opposition to the regime by holding the mirror of the classics of Marxism-Leninism up to contemporary reality. In their view, the purges of 1937 liquidated the true leaders of the Revolution. They contrast Thermidor with October . . .

"They idealize the Revolution and call for a return to the original ideals of Leninism, which they think they find in some of Lenin's works (*State and Revolution*). They frequently talk about the 'bureaucratic degeneration' of the regime and the emergence of a ruling, privileged bureaucracy which has instituted a dictatorship against the people. Those who subscribe to these views lean toward the traditions of the old revolutionary parties and favor radical methods of active combat."

While the Neo-Bolsheviks feel that "the West itself has reached moral and spiritual dead-end," the Anti-Communists "are aware of the great economic and social progress in the West and regard the 'Socialist' experiment in Russia as an outright failure . . . To them, October was a great historical blunder which had to lead to state monopoly-capitalism."

The Neo-Bolsheviks see "the bureaucracy as only a malignant growth" to be removed by "surgical means" in order to permit a "basically healthy" social organism to "develop normally." The Anti-Communists "feel that the party bureaucracy is a logical outgrowth of the system . . . and insist upon the need for a radical transformation of the economic system."

Thus the path of the Neo-Bolsheviks leads forward to a higher stage of the Russian Revolution in which the achievements since 1917 will be rescued

from Stalinism and crowned by the genuine workers' democracy sketched out by Lenin. Whereas the Anti-Communists are turned backward toward a restoration of free trade which will presumably pave the way for a bourgeois democracy of the parliamentary type and surely a revival of capitalist forms and forces.

As the anti-bureaucratic struggles deepen and widen, these two tendencies, oriented in different directions, must become more and more hostile to each other, because they embody incompatible programs and perspectives for the further economic and political course of Soviet society. In this process the Humanism which serves to screen nascent petty-bourgeois ideas and interests will become differentiated from that revolutionary Humanism which expresses the objectives of a Socialist materialism.

IN THE light of this review of the development of Humanism, and the controversies over Socialist Humanism both in the English-speaking countries and in the Soviet bloc, how should we sum up the relations between Humanism and Marxism? And what are the necessary conditions for a genuine Socialist Humanism?

To be a Marxist, it is not necessary to renounce Humanism or its heritage. But it is certainly anti-Marxist to surrender the revolutionary outlook of dialectical materialism in order to embrace Humanism. The crucial issue is this: is the Humanism an integral component of a consistent materialist philosophy or is materialism pushed aside by a relapse into some fashionable form of sentimental or moralizing socialism?

The Humanism which rightfully belongs with scientific socialism should be viewed as the fulfillment of a series of intellectual and social movements reaching back to the Mediterranean civilizations before Christianity. Greek Humanism, Renaissance Humanism, and the revolutionary-democratic Humanism of the bourgeois era were successive efforts by enlightened forces of their age to bring social relations under the rule of human reason. Each of these endeavors helped propel mankind a step forward. But they all fell short of their ultimate aims because of insurmountable barriers arising from the inadequate development of the powers of production and the resultant limitations of their class societies.

Contemporary Humanists who depreciate the role of technology, labor activity and other material factors in the making of history and the advancement of human relations, ignore one of the most enduring features of the Humanist achievement. The great Humanists since the Greeks were pioneers in stressing the importance of the arts, crafts, sciences, and technique.

Men like Leonardo da Vinci and Marcilio Ficino glorified human labor and craft techniques, exalting the Greek Archimedes above Plato. In Campanella's vision of the future, *City of the Sun*, all citizens are taught mechanical arts and work only four hours a day to satisfy their needs. Bacon wrote that inventions like printing, gunpowder and the magnet "have changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world" and proposed an encyclopedia of the arts and crafts as the basis for a true philosophy of nature. This was realized for the eighteenth century by the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert. Our own Benjamin Franklin, the experimenter with electricity and inventor of the Franklin stove, organized the American Philosophical Society in 1744 to "promote useful knowledge" by collecting data on plants, animals and minerals and encouraging needed inventions.

Such Humanists strove, each in his own way, to link the mastery of nature through the advancement of science and technology with the improvement of the conditions of life. This great liberating idea was magnificently announced by Bacon in his description of Solomon's House in *The New Atlantis*: "The End of our Foundation is the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible."

However much these earlier movements contributed to social progress, they lacked the requisite economic conditions and social forces to carry through "the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire" over nature and the social system. But they did leave as their legacy the optimistic prospect that through their collective efforts, aided by science and techniques, men could win enough power from nature to transform their lives and realize their highest aspirations.

Scientific socialism consciously took over the goals of conquering nature, creating reasonable relations among men, and perfecting the human personality which Humanism had projected. It undertook to demonstrate, first in theory and then in practice, how these promises of Humanism could be realized. Proceeding from the science, technique and immense productive potential of large-scale industry developed under capitalism, the modern working class would win political supremacy, concentrate the means of production under collective ownership and control, and remake the social order from bottom to top in a planned and rational manner.

Socialist Humanism rests upon the following propositions:

(1) Capitalist ownership of the facilities of production is the principal obstacle to the development of the means for achieving economic security, social solidarity and human happiness.

(2) The industrial working class is the only social force which, by virtue of its economic position and functions, is vitally interested and consistently impelled to transcend capitalism.

(3) Capitalist power and property can be abolished only by carrying the mass struggle against their defenders and beneficiaries to its conclusion in each country and on a world scale.

(4) The road to a harmonious and classless society has to pass through the gate of the world socialist revolution in order to eliminate the root causes of conflict between one part of mankind and another.

This revolutionary class program and outlook decisively separates Marxism from all varieties of bourgeois Humanism which are tied up with liberalism, progressivism, and reformism.

Since the rise of Stalinism, Marxism has added another proposition. It teaches that the workers have not thrown the capitalists off their backs so that any new masters in the shape of insolent bureaucrats can take their places. It demands democratic self-rule by the workers and strict control over all servants of their state until such professional functionaries, and the state itself, are no longer needed. This revolutionary democratism opposes genuine Socialist Humanism to its Stalinist counterfeit.

Unity of Mankind

The unity of mankind is an age-old dream. The Christians preached that it would come through the Fatherhood of God and the mediation of His Only Begotten Son. Feudal Europe proclaimed it through the One Universal Catholic Church. The bourgeois rebels aspired to attain it by overthrowing pre-capitalist institutions and customs.

The economists of the Manchester School in the nineteenth century envisaged its more prosaic approach through the expansion of free trade on the world market. Twentieth-century liberals and Humanists have hoped it would come through the League of Nations and now the United Nations. The Stalinists declare that it can be promoted only by accepting "the leading role of the Soviet Union" which means, in effect, kowtowing before the dictates of the Kremlin oligarchs.

Must this goal then be given up as an illusion? No, answers Marxism, it can be won. The overcoming of the divisions and conflicts among peoples in this world is no more Utopian today than was the unification of the thirteen states of North America in the eighteenth century. Modern technology makes it possible; the menace of nuclear war makes it imperative. Such unity cannot, however, be achieved by religious, bourgeois, reformist, humanitarian or Stalinist methods. Just as it took the first American Revolution to

bring about the preconditions for merging the colonies, so only the successful extension and completion of the international socialist revolution can clear the way for world harmony.

Once the workers come to power in the most advanced countries, they can help the less developed peoples lift up their living and cultural standards through a federation of socialist republics and a common economic plan. Universal peace and fraternity cannot become real and secure until there are no rich and no poor within any country and no rich nations draining the lifeblood from the poor ones.

This is the grand perspective held out by Socialist Humanism as a guide for action in our own time.

DIALECTICAL materialism affords the fullest scope to Humanism because it strips away whatever was false in its previous expressions and gives a solid scientific foundation to its most progressive trends. Let us start with man's relations to nature. Some of the most enlightened liberal Humanists are not free of obscurantism on this basic question. For example, Julian Huxley, the exponent of "Scientific Humanism," has recently written a book *Religion Without Revelation*. Whereas grandfather Thomas Huxley helped detach science from the grip of religion, his descendant tries to salvage the "values" of religion through his interpretation of Humanism.

Scientific socialism, on the other hand, gives the clearest and most consistent formulation to the anti-supernaturalism and anti-clericalism present in Humanism from its beginnings. Marxism is not agnostic but uncompromisingly atheistic. Nothing exists beyond nature and man. Nature has been the generator of mankind through organic evolution. Mankind has become the producer of a nature humanized through social evolution.

God did not create mankind—or anything else. Man has created and recreated himself through the development of the labor process. At certain points in their history men's imaginations fabricated supernatural forces in their own social image to compensate for their lack of real power over nature and social life. Then, at a much higher stage of their economic development, they began to do away with all need to bow down before divine ghosts.

The life hereafter, touted by the churches, is as harmful a fiction as the preincarnations of the transmigrationalists. The material universe which produced, sustains and reabsorbs us is the only real world. The mission of mankind is to keep perfecting human life on this global platform, to bring forth the unlimited potentialities of our organisms by uncovering, using and mastering the forces and treasures of the material environment. Our ability to do

so is the objective measure of human advancement.

The pronouncement of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things" is too sweeping and anthropomorphic. But man is certainly the measure of all values. For socialists there is no greater good than the fulfillment of the needs of mankind in its ascent to higher grades of social existence. Everything else is subordinate to ministering to the requirements of social progress. The slaughter and consumption of animals, which is condemned by some vegetarian cults, are justified because animals are a lower form of life than ourselves.

The humanistic Socrates believed that the universe and its parts were pre-fabricated to suit humanity's well-being. Such a teleological conception of the relation between man and the universe opens the door to religion and is repugnant to Marxism. Man is not the pampered child of creation. But through the exertion of his natural endowments and the enhancement of his social powers he has proved that he can reshape nature to an increasing extent and make that part of the universe within his dominion serve his needs and support his aims.

The supreme being for man is man himself—not man as he is at any given stage, but man in the making, man as he can and will be. Socialist Humanism recognizes that the essence of the achievements of past generations up to now has been to prepare the conditions for making free human beings. Mankind has had to crawl up from the animal state by barbarous means until at last we have reached the point where a truly human mode of existence is within sight. The present inhabitants of the earth are the raw material for the production of an authentically human race.

That is why Marx designated all earlier stages of social organization up to the advent of socialism the prehistory of mankind. The distinctively human era of history will be inaugurated only with the establishment of human conditions of life—when, as Trotsky wrote, "the steady growth of social wealth has made us bipeds forget our miserly attitude toward every excess minute of labor, and our humiliating fear about the size of our ration."

Human Relations

No less important in the Humanistic scheme of things than man's relations with nature is the problem of men's relations with one another. Although the Humanists consider themselves specialists on the subject of human nature, they have extremely inadequate conceptions of the processes of its formation and transformation.

For them history has been the result of a continuous tug of war between the good and bad, the rational and irrational components of human nature.

This is a secular version of the Christian interpretation of humanity and its history as a contest between divine and devilish forces. To a conservative Humanist like Professor Irving Babbitt men are prone to depravity and therefore their natural inclinations must be curbed. To the liberal Humanists men are attracted to the good and should be encouraged to bring forth the better side of their natures.

The impulses of human beings are in themselves neither virtuous nor vicious. The same aggressiveness which drives men to alter their natural environment and combat social evils can be directed into socially harmful and self-destructive channels. The characteristics and conduct of people are primarily determined by their social setting and the direction of its development.

Society is not the product of human nature, as the Humanists believe. Human nature, good, bad, or indifferent, is the product of society. The qualities of human beings are endlessly changeable, just as their potential capacities are boundless. Human nature is far more plastic than glass which can flow like a stream, be drawn into threads, or become rigidly frozen. Human nature, hardened into one mold, can be shattered, remelted and recast into very different, almost unrecognizable, forms.

The whole panorama of social evolution testifies to this plasticity of humankind. Consider, for example, the contrast between the Indians who occupied Lower California a couple of centuries ago and the present inhabitants of Los Angeles. Although they are biologically the same, what an immense social gap separated the tribal savages from the representatives of contemporary capitalist civilization!

The primitives had a vastly different mode of life, customs, mentality and outlook. They had no houses; they went mostly naked. Their restricted diet was made up largely of roots, fruits, small game, fish, insects and grubs which they gathered. Their groups averaged about forty-five persons.

They simply mated and had no words for "marriage" or "father." They had few possessions and no conception of private property. They carried on no trade. Before the white men came, they believed that the small district where they lived was the whole world and they were its sole inhabitants.

Their language was very poor. They could not count beyond six. In their speech they did not have different terms for yellow or red. "All terms relating to rational human and civil life, and a multitude of words for signifying other objects are entirely missing . . . Life, death, time, cold, heat, rain, understanding, doubt, etc.," observed Father Baegert, the German Jesuit who lived with them for seventeen years.

The enormous difference between the social organizations and human natures

of these aboriginal inhabitants of Lower California and the citizens of Los Angeles can be explained only by the disparities in the state of their respective productive forces. The incomparably higher technology and productivity of the latter made possible a higher stage of economic and cultural development. The predominant peculiarities of human nature can, then, be traced to material causes. The weaknesses and inadequacies of men arise primarily from the weakness of the productive forces at their command, the inadequacies of their means of existence and development.

Society makes people what they are and prevents them from being otherwise. That is what Marx meant when he wrote that there is no such thing as abstract man, or human nature in general. Men are the totality of the specific social conditions required for their production. And, as social conditions advance from one stage of economic development to another, the traits and activities of people change with them.

There is nothing distinctively Marxist about the proposition that men are first formed by society and then transformed by its changing material conditions. The materialists of the eighteenth century taught that men are what their physical and social surroundings make them and they concluded that, if men are constituted by social circumstances, then humanity can be improved by altering the social conditions under which they live and work. Marxism took over these ideas from the revolutionary materialists of France and England.

Marxism also asserts that if society shapes men, men in turn can reshape society through their collective efforts. This idea, too, is not peculiar to Marxism. It is as old as the Greeks and has inspired many reform and revolutionary movements since their time in the Western world.

What is distinctive about Marxist thought on this matter is the way in which it combines these two ideas. Society forms people—and then people transform their social relations and their selves in the process. But, add the historical materialists, the ways in which people behave toward one another and the kind of ties they have with one another, are determined, both in the first and final instance, by the productive powers they possess. And the degree in which they can change their social relations, and the directions of the evolution of their social organization, depend upon the capacities of their system of production.

The material historical conditions under which people live and labor are so decisive because they fix the framework of social action, both in its extent and in its limits, at any given time. It is possible to outgrow these conditions but it is not possible to jump out of them or over them at will. And it is

wrong to ignore or belittle their paramount role in making people what they are, allowing people to do what they can, or preventing them from doing what they wish at any particular period. That is what Marx insisted upon when he wrote that "men make their own history—but only under the given historical conditions."

The prevailing historical conditions not only bring forward the major tasks that have to be accomplished by mankind, or at least its progressive sections, at any particular point; they also determine the ways and indicate the means for accomplishing them.

All schools of Humanism have aspired to transform human nature. The most advanced among them recognize that human nature can be changed only by altering the social structure. But how and by whom is the social environment to be reconstructed?

HERE the scientific socialists part company with other types of Humanists. The supreme task of our age is to abolish capitalism as an outmoded and dangerous system and proceed to build socialism on a world scale. This can be done only through the action of the masses headed by the industrial workers. These conclusions are distinctively Marxist. Understanding and accepting them in principle, and applying them to all social problems, marks off the materialist from all other species of Humanist.

The selection of the working class as the main agency of social and political reconstruction is too partisan and the method of revolutionary struggle is too pugnacious, uncivilized and irrational, object the liberal Humanists. All individuals of goodwill, regardless of their social status or economic interests, must be called upon to work together for the common good, they say. And the way to bring about such collaboration is through education and appeals to the finer feelings and nobler qualities of the persons involved.

Although they claim to be scientific in their sociology and politics, such Humanists fail to analyze correctly the real structure of capitalism and the character and consequences of its class antagonisms. They regard classes and their conflicts as warts on the body of the established order rather than organic aspects of its structure and functioning. They further assume that the capitalist system is far more susceptible to reform and its proprietors and rulers far more amenable to the influence of "rational" considerations than they really are. The owners do not "listen to reason" when their profits and property rights are seriously threatened but respond with the vigorous reflexes of a wolf holding on to its prey.

Every stratum of society has a notion of what is reasonable or not in any given situation corresponding to its own social position. Middle class lib-

erals may think it highly unreasonable for the capitalists to destroy democracy in favor of military or fascist dictatorships, or for Eisenhower to ally himself with Franco. But the imperious voice of their own "reason" speaks otherwise to the ruling class.

The liberal Humanist is helpless in the face of contemporary class conflicts because of deficient insight into the evolution of humanity itself. The major determinant of history has not been the conflict between good and bad impulses within human beings, as the bourgeois Humanists with their quasi-Christian ethics maintain. It has been, first of all the collective attack of humanity upon nature by which its elements and properties have been subdued to serve man's ends.

Ironically, this growing command over nature has been accompanied and overshadowed by the intensified oppression of the majority of mankind by exploiting minorities which has culminated in the world domination of imperialism. This paradoxical situation has not come about through anyone's evil intent but through the unconscious operation of the processes of social development governed by the law of labor productivity. Since the Indians of Lower California could not produce or accumulate any excess of wealth, they remained economic and social equals, though on the most primitive level of culture.

As the powers of material production have increased since the introduction of agriculture and the advent of civilization, men have been able to create surpluses of wealth large and alluring enough to stimulate the passions of individual aggrandizement but not enough to lift the living standards of the whole community in equal measure. The ensuing scramble to possess such surpluses by the owners of the means of production, while the direct producers were condemned to labor for the mere means of physical survival, has fashioned social relations and the chief characteristics of human beings in class society.

The liberal Humanists contend that it is sectarian, divisive and self-defeating to expect one special class to extricate mankind from this predicament. They insist that the task of eradicating social evils be entrusted to all men of good will. They are not completely consistent in this argument, because the Humanists do expect and solicit one part of humanity to lead the rest to a better life. But they select these pioneers, not on the basis of their economic functions or material interests, but because of their superior qualities of intelligence, good will, loving kindness, etc. However, experience has proved that even where such coalitions of social elements with divergent class interests are constituted, they fall apart into mutual contention at the most crucial moments of the struggle and

cannot perform the work that must be done.

We have previously explained that Marxism singles out the industrial workers, not because of their better qualities as individuals, but because of their position and functions in the economy. They are the principal objects of exploitation under capitalism and the fighters against it. And they become the bearers of a higher mode of production and builders of a superior social system under post-capitalist conditions.

The uprooting of exploitation and construction of a social order where people can be free and equal with unlimited prospects of advancement will be the climactic achievement of laboring humanity. The materialist conception of history accords the prime place in the formation and transformation of mankind to its laboring activity. Labor is the most distinctive characteristic of mankind. Labor raised our species above the animal state and created society. The development and diversification of the forms of labor since then has created all the wealth responsible for cultural progress.

When Marxism teaches that the expansion of the productive forces and the enhancement of labor productivity is the mainspring of all progress, it adds that the most vital of productive forces is human labor which sets the rest into motion for specific social purposes. Marxism places active human beings in the very center of the historical process—and is thereby humanistic in the most profound sense. Men, as producers, have produced their own history.

Man of the Socialist Future

Unfortunately, up to now, they have not produced their history in a conscious or planned manner—and that is why the net result of their work has led to such contradictory consequences. With the development of nuclear energy, automation and other scientific and industrial accomplishments, mankind has the chance of eliminating all relations of oppression and exploitation and then lightening the burdens of necessary labor—and other curses—imposed by the low levels of labor productivity.

The man of the socialist future will be able to recreate his personality from crown to toe thanks to the steady reduction, and ultimately the total abolition, of all enforced labor of production. Only then, when all his time becomes free, to do with as he pleases, will man be able to throw off the last of his *animal-like* activities, attributes, sentiments, habits and measures and unstintingly cultivate his distinctively human qualities.

We can only dimly surmise what human beings with such highly organized social consciousness and material powers will be like. They will produce

wonders that will make the tapping of nuclear energy and flight into space seem like child's play. And not the least of these wonders will be what man will make of himself.

Creativity is the finest quality of mankind. What initiative was displayed in the infancy of our race in order to use and make tools, tame the chemical process of fire, share the produce of labor, and later to domesticate animals, invent agriculture and the handicrafts! This capacity for innovation has not been solely a trait of exceptionally gifted individuals. It has been exercised by oppressed masses at moments of revolutionary climax in history when their energy and enthusiasm swept aside archaic institutions and modes of rule and founded new and higher types of social and political organization.

In the present period of revolutionary transition from class society to socialism, Marxism strives to enlighten working men and women in order to stimulate their initiative in one domain of social activity after another, beginning with the economic substructure and the political regime. It does so, cognizant that in the past creative openings have been rare for individuals and still fewer for the majority of mankind. The ultimate aim of the new socialist order is to bring about those conditions which will make both individual and collective creativeness the rule, rather than the exception, in human life.

Socialist Humanism believes firmly in the power of intelligence and the cultivation of consciousness. But it does not err in making an idol of reason detached from the social context, as do the idealistic Humanists who believe in the omnipotence of intelligence regardless of time, place and controlling circumstances. Reason, like any other human capacity, is a product of social activity and a function of social development. Its scope and effectiveness are cramped so long as adverse economic circumstances hem it in and strangle its growth. The major task of human reason today is to help sweep away by revolutionary means all those conditions and forces which hinder the extent of its own applications and development. That is why the consistent rationalist of our time ought to be a socialist revolutionist.

Socialist Humanism believes no less strongly than any other creed in human decency, dignity and brotherhood. But just as it is rational without being rationalistic, so is it moral without falling into empty moralizing. A genuinely practical and progressive morality cannot be separated from the actual conditions, contending forces, and basic issues of class society. According to the moral code of a Socialist Humanism, whatever aids the exploited against the exploiters and the oppressed against their oppressors, and whatever actions clear the way to a free and equal society, whether these are directed against

capitalists, colonialists or usurping bureaucrats, are justified and morally right.

The partisans of a socialist movement which is both scientific and humanistic are dedicated to preparing a future in which human relations are purged of all violence. On the other hand, the civilized barbarians who are determined to uphold class society at any price sometimes compel the fighters for progress to resort to stern measures in self-defense.

The German Communist writer, Bertold Brecht, addressed a poem "To

Posterity" asking for sympathetic understanding of this necessity:

You, who shall emerge from the flood
in which we are sinking,
Think —
When you speak of our weaknesses,
Also of the dark time
That brought them forth . . .
Even the hatred of squalor
Makes the brow grow stern.
Even anger against injustice
Makes the voice grow harsh. *Alas, we
Who wished to lay the foundation of kindness
Could not ourselves be kind.*
But you, when at last it comes to pass

That man can help his fellow man,
Do not judge us
Too harshly.

What is the ultimate justification for socialism itself and the means of struggle needed to attain it? It alone can create for the first time the material and cultural prerequisites for realizing the brotherhood of man preached by religion, the freedom, equality and justice promised by bourgeois democracy, along with the all-sided development of the individual and the happiness of the whole human family on earth envisaged by the Humanists.

BOOKS

The Dictator In Dominica

by Richard Lopez



TRUJILLO LITTLE CAESAR OF THE CARIBBEAN by Germán E. Ornes. Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York. 1958. 338 pp. \$5.

The overthrow of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba has served to focus attention on the Caribbean's senior dictator, Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina of the Dominican Republic.

Germán E. Ornes, former member of the regime and former publisher of *El Caribe*, a daily newspaper in Ciudad Trujillo, describe Trujillo's rise to power and conditions on the island today under the tyrant.

Trujillo began his career as a plantation cop. When U.S. Marines were landed in 1916, he saw his chance for advancement by being of service to them. He became an informer and procurer. The American authorities, noting his talents, paid favorable attention to him and he rose as an officer in the colonial army trained to replace the Marines. Possible competitors proved incapable of matching his prowess, or con-

nections, and in 1928 he became Chief of Staff of the "National Army." From that post, like so many other Latin-American dictators he participated in the overthrow of the legally elected government, and then used his position as head of the armed forces to establish dictatorial control.

The role played by the American embassy and the State Department in Trujillo's successful career is glossed over by the author, although he does admit that "the opposition hopes that Washington would not recognize a government headed by Trujillo had been disappointed." The American minister, Curtis, noted that "the Confederación announces that 223,851 votes were according to early report cast in favor of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo for President of the Republic and of Rafael Estrella Ureña for Vice President. As the number given greatly exceeds the total number of voters in the country, further comment on the fairness of the elections is hardly necessary . . ."

Trujillo maintains his power by means that have become standard under such

figures as Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Rhee. He has secret police, spies, stool pigeons and a corps of unofficial goon squads known as *La 42*. A Personal Identification Card (*Cedual Personal de Identidad*) must be carried at all times by every resident on reaching the age of sixteen. The card includes name, age, civil status, occupation, race, address, picture, fingerprints and other information. It must be stamped for voting and failure to vote is "tantamount to flaunting opposition to the Generalissimo." No one may obtain work, marry, drive a car or be buried without a card.

Trujillo is well aware of the value of a friendly press, at home and abroad. He buys them up when he feels the need. A pet foible is maintenance of something similar to a "Readers Column" called "Foro Público." He publishes letters in the column, sometimes anonymously, to lecture his staff and to notify them of impending doom when they fall into disfavor.

Textiles, mining, cigarettes, salt, cattle-raising are some of the fields that Trujillo is involved in. His fortune,

estimated at half a billion dollars, has been made in a country with a population of 2,698,126 inhabitants, "who make on the average (whenever they work for a monetary salary) a little over a dollar a day."

Apparently nothing is too small or vulgar to escape the grasping hands of Trujillo's family. Romeo Trujillo, better known as Pipl, "regulates prostitution and small gambling houses."

The various attempts to unseat the regime are described, including the role of university students, intellectuals, and Communist party members in an anti-Trujillo underground. Ornes himself was a member of the Central Committee of Juventud Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Youth).

The dictator's cunning is well illustrated by his occasional shifts to "liberalism." In the summer of 1946, for instance, he decided to have an "opposition" party run in the election. He released some political prisoners from jail to play the role. However they refused to play ball with the Generalissimo.

One political tendency did nibble at the bait and the Partido Socialista Popular was formed. This was headed by leaders who referred to themselves as "Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist." In a letter printed in *La Nación*, October 16, 1946, Trujillo pointed to the newly formed PSP to show the democratic character of his rule. "Its existence among us, furthermore, is a round and eloquent rebuttal to those calumniators who without foundation accuse the Dominican Republic of not being a democratic country . . ." The PSP busied itself organizing the new Confederación de Trabajadores Dominicanos (Confederation of Dominican Workers), the key post of Secretary General went to a Trujillista, Julio César Ballester.

Preparations for the elections in the country were going smoothly when a youth opposition group, Juventud Democrática (Democratic Youth) which was closely allied with the PSP, held a demonstration, with police permission. This drew a large response from the populace.

Trujillo's police and thugs broke up the meeting. However, the crowd did not disperse but paraded to the various embassies, including the American.

Trujillo's press pictured this as a Communist attempt at a coup d'état. Nine months later the PSP was outlawed because of the "Communist menace."

The book provides detailed information on Trujillo's methods and scandalous family episodes as well as facts about the various groups of opposition in exile. It includes details on the role Trujillo's henchmen played in the disappearance of the Basque scholar and Columbia professor Jesús de Galíndez.

However, it does not offer much social or economic analysis. For instance, the role of U.S. investors in Santo Domingo, including corporations like General Motors, Allis Chalmers, Ford Motor, Kelvinator, is carelessly dismissed. Ornes considers them to be pawns in the hands of Trujillo's brother-in-law, Francisco Martínez Alba.

The author's reluctance to discuss the role of the State Department and U.S. imperialism may be better appreciated in the light of the recommendation of Norman Thomas, who describes Ornes as "a strong anti-Communist and anti-totalitarian . . ." Ornes' attacks on "Communists" and "communism" sprinkle the book. Like too many of Latin America's petty-bourgeois radicals he looks for aid from the State Department in fighting such regimes instead of exposing its role in keeping them in power.

Southern California. He doesn't like the radical bent of the Japanese people. Like the other contributors to the volume under review, he sees Japan in the narrow focus of American imperialist interests, as a potential ally in the cold war (and later, if need be, a hot war) against China and the Soviet Union.

The book is about Japan's problems and the dilemmas they present, especially now, when Japan, as a capitalist nation, must live cheek by jowl with Communist China. The problems, of course, are not new, though they are accentuated in new conditions. Fundamentally they are the same that drove the Empire to its disastrous military adventure in World War II. These problems, in all their urgency, remain unsolved.

Japan now has a population of over 90 million, increasing by about 3 million a year. This mass of humanity is crowded into an area of 142,000 square miles — as compared, for example, with California's 158,000 square miles and a population of about 12 million. Poor in natural resources, Japan cannot provide but a fraction of the raw materials needed for its superb industries. These must be imported. Nor can the country grow, even with the most advanced scientific methods, sufficient food for its people.

Needing both food and industrial raw materials, Japan naturally inclines toward trade with its close neighbor, China. What is more logical than the exchange of Japanese machinery, which China needs, for China's surplus rice and edible oils, coal and iron ore?

But here cold war politics enter. Japan is a capitalist nation allied with the United States. This means that Japan's economic needs take second place to Washington policies and the need of Japan's bourgeois rulers to stay on top. The Tokyo government is thus in a perpetual squeeze between the demands of the Japanese people and the policies of Japan's ruling clique.

If you read this book clear through, you'll get much of this contradiction, with a not uninteresting narrative of postwar developments in Japan. Our essayists, however, nowhere give even a hint that the solution of Japan's problems lies in a rejection of the imperialist alliance. Nowhere does their thinking transcend the status quo. We have here a remarkable paradox: While Japan's national interest demands close economic, political and cultural ties with China, Tokyo rejects China in favor of American imperialism — even though discriminatory U.S. tariffs bar dollar-earning Japanese products which Japan must export to finance food and raw material imports!

The Japanese people, by their avid interest in Marxism and Soviet politics, show a much more lively appreciation of the nature of Japan's problems than do the learned contributors to this vol-

Which Road for Japan?

by John Liang

JAPAN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST by Hugh Borton, William J. Jordan, Paul F. Langer, Jerome B. Cohen, Donald Keene, C. Martin Wilbur. With a foreword by Ernest A. Gross. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Brothers. New York. 1957. 327 pp. \$4.75.

"In what other non-Communist country could a book on dialectics move to the second place on the best-seller list (fiction and non-fiction combined)?"

"And where outside the Soviet bloc could a translation of *Political Economy*, a dry-as-dust textbook issued by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, sell close to a million copies within a single year?"

The questions refer to postwar Japan, most literate nation in all Asia. They are presented rhetorically and with emphasis by Paul F. Langer, whose essay on "Communism in Independent Japan" is one of the six that comprise this volume.

Langer teaches at the University of

ume. They feel keenly that their country's future lies with a communist China rather than with a capitalist United States. Indeed, what more promising future could there be for Japan than the union of its magnificent industrial structure with the fast-developing economy of China? Together, these two nations could lift eastern Asia and the whole world to new heights. But for that a Japanese revolution — the overthrow of the bourgeoisie — is needed.

This admittedly is a prospect not at all pleasing to the authors of this volume. Theirs is the point of view of American imperialism — a point of view indicated by the names on the

roster of the Council of Foreign Relations. Here we find such disinterested observers of the Japan scene as John J. McCloy, a top U.S. diplomat, as chairman of the board, and directors that include: Allen W. Dulles, cloak-and-dagger manager of the Central Intelligence Agency; Lewis W. Douglas, former U.S. ambassador in London; Myron C. Taylor, former head of the U.S. Steel Corporation and envoy to the Vatican. Writing the Foreword is another ex-U.S. diplomat, Ernest A. Gross.

Can any of these representatives of American imperialism possibly speak for, or give guidance to, the 90 million inhabitants of Dai Nippon?

Chicago. They are artificially synthesizing organic compounds, making amino acids out of combinations of gases with the aim of reproducing the elements of life.

If life was naturally generated on earth, as more and more scientific evidence affirms, then what are the chances that it exists elsewhere? Shapley calculates that the universe holds over one hundred thousand million billion stars competent through radiation to maintain the photochemical reactions at the basis of plant and animal life. There are at least a hundred million suitable planetary systems.

The probability is that sentient beings have likewise evolved on some of these myriad other planets. These other planetary organisms may very well have acquired a sensory equipment different from ours. Human sense organs were adapted to the peculiarities of solar radiation and are limited in number, range, and effectiveness. Our sensations depend largely on vision alone which is restricted to less than two octaves of the radiation spectrum; from red to violet. Since we are such primitives in sensory development, it is more than likely that living beings elsewhere have evolved means of response to other and broader aspects of reality.

"On the basis of the new estimates of the great abundance of stars and the high probability of millions of planets with highly developed life, we are made aware — embarrassingly aware — that we may be intellectual minims in the life of the universe," Shapley observes. "I could develop further this uncomfortable idea by pointing out that sense receptors, in quality quite unknown to us and in fact hardly imaginable, which record phenomena of which we are totally ignorant, may easily exist among the highly sentient organisms of other planets."

Shapley concludes his stimulating essay on the relations of mankind to the expanding universe by inquiring into our chances of survival. He estimates that there is "less than one chance in a million for trouble with astronomical bodies, less than one in a thousand for serious difficulties with climates, volcanoes, world-wide floods, or dessications; and perhaps less than one in a hundred for planet-wide incurable disease."

The gravest threat to the continued existence of *homo sapiens* does not come from nature. As a Humanist, Shapley makes mankind as a whole responsible for this situation. "He is his own worst enemy." In reality, the culprit is one specific segment of our society, the imperialist planners of atomic warfare, who threaten us with annihilation. The human race is not contemplating suicide; it faces mass murder.

Have living beings elsewhere ever grappled with such a problem — and how did they solve it? Since they are unlikely to rush to our rescue in time,

Life on Other Planets

by John Marshall

OF STARS AND MEN by Harlow Shapley. Beacon Press, Boston. 1958. 157 pp. \$3.50.

Man is not alone in the vast universe. There are sentient beings on remote planets in a lower or higher stage of development than ourselves.

The former director of the Harvard Observatory makes this startling deduction in the light of the most recent and reliable astrophysical data and biochemical discoveries set forth in this book.

The advance of science has stripped mankind and his platform of all privileged positions as world factors. The earth is not even in the center of its own galaxy. It is the third planet of the sun family which is located in the outer rim of a galaxy containing a hundred thousand million other stars. And this local galaxy of ours is only one of many million billions more.

Nor can earth-dwellers claim special location in cosmic time any more than in space. This earth, presumably born about five billion years ago, is rather young as planets go. Thus life can have originated sooner and evolved for longer periods elsewhere in the universe.

Shapley adopts the hypothesis of Canon Le Maitre which attributes the genesis of the universe to the explosion of a "Primeval Atom" some fifteen billion years ago. This led successively to the expanding universe in which the original matter has become more and more diffused, to the birth of the chemical atoms, to the formation of galaxies and stars, and eventually of planets like the earth.

Just as the sun is an ordinary example of a star, so the earth is made

up of the same elements, though in differing proportions and combinations, and is subject to the same physical laws, as the countless bodies in the rest of the universe.

Such facts provide the basis and background for the proposition that life is as much of a material phenomenon as any other feature of the physical world. Life can emerge on the surface of a planet wherever the requisite material conditions and chemical combinations are on hand. These include the proper chemicals for making protoplasm, the suitable temperature, the right weather. In the past thirty years biologists and biochemists such as the Englishman J. B. S. Haldane and the Russian A. I. Oparin have thrown considerable light upon the conditions needed for the generation of living organisms from lifeless chemicals and the probable ways in which life first appeared on this planet.

Life was not created miraculously, supernaturally, spontaneously or at one stroke. There is no impassable division between non-living and living substances. Living organisms were first formed as the outcome of long and complex chemical processes out of the pre-primal thin soup of hot water enveloping the earth. In an atmosphere containing methane and ammonia, water vapor and hydrogen, certain electrical strokes helped synthesize the amino acids that underlie the proteins that underlie organisms.

What natural processes and chemical reactions accomplished on earth several billion years ago is now being duplicated in part in the laboratory by scientists like Stanley Miller of the University of

we shall have to settle it with our own forces and resources. Meanwhile, it is intellectually consoling to learn that, no matter what happens to the human

experiment on this planet, life can rise up and move on in other regions of the universe.

passioned plea to intellectuals in America to recognize the mortal crisis of society today and to do their duty, namely, to formulate a comprehensive program for meeting the ever-present threat of war.

Nasser as the Only Hope

by Paul Abbott

WILL THE MIDDLE EAST GO WEST? by Freda Utley. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago. 1957. 198 pp. \$3.

The author is a phobist on communism. Among the anti-communists, she especially admires Chiang Kai-shek. She believes that the Generalissimo was betrayed by the Truman administration when it refused to send him "sufficient" arms and dollars to win in the Chinese civil war that ended his dictatorship. Fearing that the Middle East will be "lost" through policies of similar inadequacy or stupidity, she offers the State Department advice on the best thing to do.

The book is not as dull as this basic premise would lead one to suppose. The author thinks that Arab nationalism must be accepted; it cannot be beaten back as British and French imperialism hoped when they tried to seize the Suez Canal. The shrewder course, in her opinion, is to assist the Middle East to achieve independence and a higher standard of living. Through financial and political aid the allegiance of the Arab nationalist leaders could be won. This, she believes, is the best if not the only guarantee against the whole Arab world going communist.

She is particularly exercised over the folly of trying to build up Israel as a counter to Arab nationalism. Citing the

unsavory record of British duplicity in setting up Israel, the shocking fate of the Arab refugees, and her own observations of how embittered the Middle East became, she maintains that "the West" is now obliged to make extraordinary efforts to overcome the damage.

As an example of what the State Department should not do, she cites Dulles' refusal to help Egypt build the Aswan dam. As an example of the correct course, she praises Eisenhower's role in stopping the French-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956.

This reactionary author sees in Nasser an Egyptian Chiang Kai-shek, the only force in sight that can possibly prevent the Arab revolution from developing into a communist stage. She therefore pleads that no other course is realistic for "the West" but to bolster Nasser and his kind.

What Miss Utley fails to understand is the force of a developing revolution. Against the massed power of millions of people, no dictator can stand up, no matter how well financed or armed. The best that her stratagem could achieve — if it were adopted by Washington and if Nasser agreed to become a puppet — is to gain time. In the end it would prove as useless in the Middle East as it did in China.

Mills begins by tracing the incompetence and impotence of the capitalist class in the face of the great problems of the day (war, and the industrialization of the underdeveloped areas of the world) to their source in imperialism (the need for markets, investments abroad, and armament spending to prevent depression). If this is so, reasons Mills, then the reactionary policy of the power elite is not due to stupidity. A reversal of line can only be achieved if it is at the same time a struggle against capitalism.

"We can not, I believe, struggle for peace as we might struggle for this or for that particular reform . . . Our struggle for peace must at the same time be a struggle to develop and to acquire access to the means for our struggle. Our immediate and continuous fight, in short, must be a fight inside the U.S. power system over who is going to determine the uses of this nation's fabulous means of power and over the reshaping of these means into more democratically responsible instruments. A real attack on war-making by Americans today is necessarily an attack upon the private incorporation of the economy."

It is in this context that Mills' concrete peace program must be viewed. Despite a flair for dramatic formulations, there is little new in them. Essentially they call for coexistence; that is, negotiations, an end to atomic weapons, extensive aid to the backward areas under UN control, and the like. The uniqueness of the approach lies in the belief that this program can only be realized through a drastic change in the power relationships within the country. It is this aspect of his program which distinguishes him from the liberal and Stalinist conceptions. Questionable as some of his proposals may be in the abstract (for example, the suggestion that the Mideast oil be pooled, operated by a UN agency, with all profits to go to the Arabs), they become less objectionable when taken in the context of a United States and a United Nations so changed as to have become anti-capitalist — the opposite of what they are today.

Mills' version of the coexistence thesis should be a focus for much debate among opponents of the cold war.

Revolutionary socialists have opposed the policy which the Kremlin calls "peaceful coexistence" because it really concerns a proposed agreement with the imperialist powers to freeze the status quo at the expense of the popular aspirations on all continents for freedom, independence and socialism. Mills seeks to meet this objection by linking his coexistence proposals to class-struggle

Can We Stop World War III?

by David Miller

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE by C. Wright Mills. Simon and Schuster, New York. 1958. 172 pp. \$1.50.

It may not be news, but at least it takes guts for a teacher to proclaim, in print, that the American people are being dragooned into war by forces in-

herent in the capitalist structure of our society. For this is the central point of this recent book by the gifted author of *The Power Elite* and many other volumes of analysis and criticism.

Unlike those earlier books which brought him fame, this is not an academic work but rather an eloquent, im-

domestic policies. They have the further striking advantage of all positive formulations, appealing in the most forthright and most easily comprehensible manner to those who simply and directly demand of the American government that it refrain from its war-like posture.

There are two regrettable, though subordinate aspects of the analysis which merit mention. In view of Mills' profound understanding of the interdependence of peace and social change, this reader was disappointed to find only the most cursory reference on how to advance the struggle against capitalism. Nor is there any explicit reference to the socialist alternative to capitalism which Mills doubtless believes in. These omissions seem rather awkward, and even compromising.

Secondly, it is disappointing to find Mills persist here, as in previous works, in misrepresenting the socialist theory of social change, and in particular, the theory of the state. In practice, his own work is fully socialist in its conclusions. For example, his observation, "The state in which we live, in its personnel and in its persistent outlook, does indeed appear at times as a committee of the ruling circles of corporation and high military," lies at the core of his entire argument. This is certainly the central premise of socialist politics as well. Yet he cannot refrain from imputing to Marxists a mechanistic determinism in which history is reduced to fate. This injustice is all the more deplorable at the hands of a man of intellect and courage, and a friend of the working class.

vising plans for redistribution they have used their power solely in their own interests. Like many white Southerners in this country, the authors seem unaware that there can be neither equality nor justice in a segregated society.

One glaring omission in the book is its failure to treat adequately the effects of the proposed partition plans upon the Africans. The reason given in the preface is that "this is not from any desire to minimize the importance of the problems which face the African and Coloured peoples of Durban. But Indians and Europeans are the main competitors for the land of Durban, and the problems of compulsory segregation between them are most acute." It is possible, however, that the authors realized it would be hopeless to talk of justice when dealing with the plight of Africans in their own land.

Perhaps it is unfair to be harsh in judging the authors of this study, for undoubtedly the book's limitations are due in part to the lack of academic freedom in South Africa and to the fact that money for the survey was provided by a grant from the South African government's Department of Education, Arts and Science. Prof. Leo Kuper, who headed the research team, is a member of the Sociology Department of the University of Natal.

It should also be pointed out that despite its shortcomings, the book has considerable merit in that it gives an objective and detailed picture of the city, its history and its population, and also because it presents quite clearly the problems involved in uprooting 55,000 Indians and 80,000 Africans and forcing them to relocate into what undoubtedly will develop into shantytowns on the outskirts of the city, far from the industrial areas, and where, say the authors, there will be a "low standard not only of urban amenities, but of the basic necessities."

The authors do not see how this drastic separation of the races, under the proposed plan, will produce harmony. Neither does Alan Paton, author of *Cry the Beloved Country*, who in the introduction aptly calls the concept of "harmony through separation" a "fantastic ideal," and adds perceptively that "the very words kill each other."

Total Segregation

by Lois Saunders

DURBAN, A STUDY IN RACIAL ECOLOGY, by Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davies, with an Introduction by Alan Paton. Columbia University Press, New York, and Jonathan Cape, Ltd., London. 1958. 221 pp. \$3.75.

Total residential segregation—so complete that Africans and Indians will not even find occasion to travel through "white" areas—is the aim envisaged by the South African government in the Group Areas Act passed in 1950.

In urging its passage, the Minister of the Interior claimed with evident hypocrisy that it was conceived, in part at least, to improve the lot of those who were destined to be its victims. "The Honorable Members," he told the House of Assembly, "will realize what it must mean to those groups (Africans, Indians) always to have to adopt an inferior attitude, an attitude of inferiority towards the Europeans, to stand back for the Europeans, where they live alongside the Europeans, but if we place them in separate residential areas, they will be able to give expression to their full cultural and soul life, and that is why we say that separate residential areas must be established."

Giving also an understanding of the real motivation of the legislation, the minister asserted that "points of contact inevitably produce friction and friction generates heat which may lead to a conflagration," and then added: "The paramountcy of the white man and of western civilization in South Africa must be ensured in the interests of the material, cultural and spiritual development

of all races." In his concluding remarks, he declared: "I also want to say this, that no policy which is not based on justice has any prospect of success."

This total segregation based on the "paramountcy of the white man" is, according to the South African government, supposed to produce "harmony through separation."

How this "harmony through separation" is to be achieved in Durban, port city of half a million population almost equally divided racially among Europeans, Indians and Africans, is the subject of *Durban, a Study in Racial Ecology*.

The authors attempt the impossible. They try to reconcile the segregation called for in the Group Areas Act with "justice" to all concerned, to provide for equality in plans founded on inequality. The result is a somewhat schizophrenic monograph, replete with maps, graphs and charts, but which avoids fundamental analysis of the race problem it examines. As trained researchers, the authors describe the racial patterns existing in the city, together with the extreme exploitation and poverty that here as always accompany segregation. But as segregationists, they refrain from drawing the conclusions that flow from the facts they have so painstakingly assembled.

They base the study on the untenable concept that one way of achieving harmony is by carving up the city along racial lines; at the same time they are critical of the Europeans, who control all the organs of power, because in de-

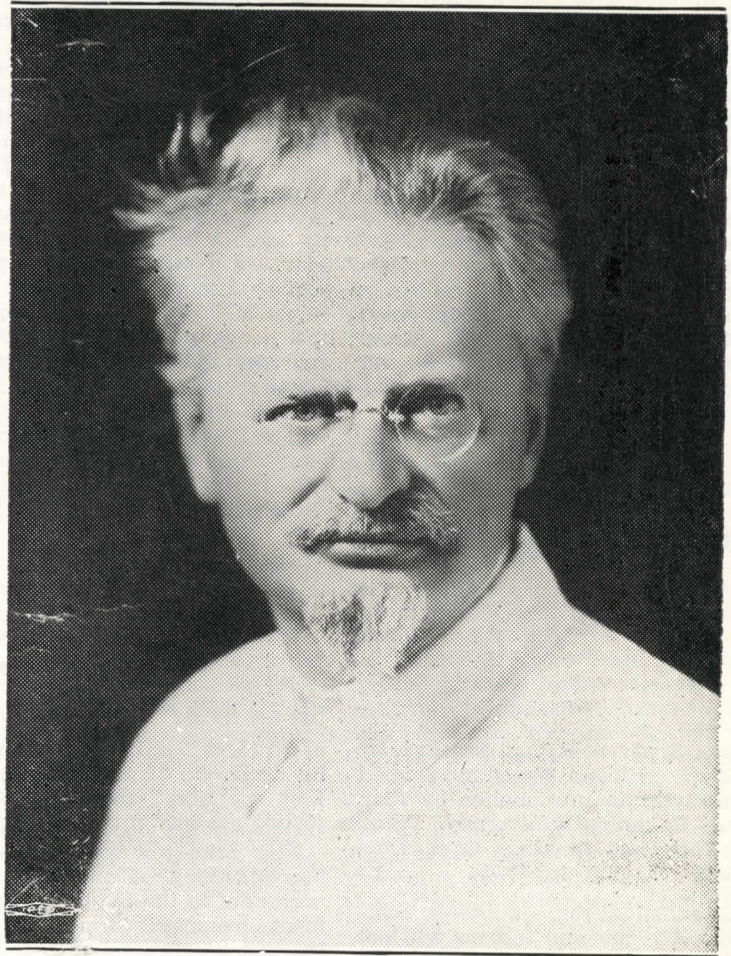
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