

#157

Fall 1961

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

William Z. Foster
An Appraisal of the Man
and His Career

by James P. Cannon



The 1919 Lenin Program



The 1961 Khrushchev Program

by William F. Warde

35
CENTS

Monroe, N. C.

The American people have been shocked and horrified, time and again, at the blatant injustice of the courts, the police and the legislatures of the South. Their rabid racism has not only mocked the most elementary sense of human decency in this country, and internationally, but has violated both the spirit and the letter of the law of this land.

Time and again, the majority of the American people have voiced their indignation by demanding federal enforcement of every man's right to freedom and justice (witness the election campaign programs of both major parties on the question of civil rights). The Federal government has been chided for inaction; the Justice Department has been accused of inaction. But until now, neither has been charged with conspiring with the Southern racists, the Ku Klux Klan to persecute those who are fighting for freedom in the South.

That is what is unique in the current struggle in Monroe, North Carolina. The Federal government, has joined hands with the Ku Klux Klan and the racists who run the local government in Monroe to persecute those who have fought bravely for human dignity and justice.

The facts are these: for an entire week young Freedom Riders and members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee had been harassed by racist attacks on their peaceful demonstrations against segregation. On Aug. 27 the Freedom Fighters demonstrated in front of the Union County Courthouse in protest against police collusion with the racists. Thousands of racists, organized by the Ku Klux Klan, threatened the demonstration with violence and the pickets were compelled to seek refuge inside the Courthouse. Instead of protection, many of them were arrested and jailed. One was badly beaten in his cell.

Robert F. Williams, President of the Union County NAACP was at home with his family when the mobs began their campaign of terror. The Negro residents of New Town, the Negro district of Monroe, gathered together to defend themselves against a mob invasion and armed caravans of the KKK. The Negroes returned the fire of the Klan.

A white couple drove into New Town. They were stopped and disarmed. They were taken to Williams' house and at Williams' suggestion they were released. They sought refuge in Williams' house for several hours while fighting continued outside. Then they departed unharmed.

There are conflicting stories about this incident. Monroe police claim that Williams held the white couple as "hostages," demanding the release of the Freedom Fighters in exchange for the white couple, the Stegalls. The Negroes

who witnessed the incident say Williams accorded the white couple protection which the Stegalls had sought.

Racist Monroe officials, who collaborate openly with known KKK leaders, after six years of struggle with the militant Monroe anti-segregation leader, are undoubtedly quite capable of concocting a frame-up against Robert Williams. It would seem that this was the case. Even after consultation with the police, Mrs. Stegall told North Carolina newspapers that Williams had "chided" the crowd. "They [the crowd of Negroes] were expecting somebody to come after them, and they were all ready. I've never seen so many guns in my life," she told the *Charlotte Observer*, Aug. 29. "Williams, he made out like he wanted to let us go. He acted like he wanted to be nice to us. But he said if he let us go the mob outside would kill us. Somebody kept yelling, 'Let me kill them. Let me kill them.'"

Robert F. Williams, in a letter made public by *The Militant* and the *National Guardian*, declared, "I had saved the lives of people who were now accusing me of kidnaping. *I am not guilty.*"

Williams wrote that during the night of this rioting, Aug. 27, "I received a telephone call from a voice I identified as that of the Chief of Police. He said that I had caused a lot of race trouble and that state troopers were coming and that in 30 minutes I would be hanging on the courthouse square. I saw police cars blocking off the block in which we lived . . . I told my wife that we had to leave with the children right away and that we didn't have time to get any clothing or anything . . ."

Williams and his family slipped past the police cars through an alley. With the help of friends they escaped to Greensboro, N. C., where they took a bus for New York. They thought they would find safety out of the reach of Southern racists.

But alas! The FBI joined hands with the Monroe racists and the Ku Klux Klan. The FBI issued a warrant for Williams' arrest on charges of kidnaping. FBI Wanted Circular Number 290 was posted throughout the country. In this circular Williams was vilely described as "extremely dangerous," "heavily armed," and "schizophrenic."

This is nothing less than a call for legally lynching Robert Williams. It is an invitation to shoot him on sight in the Southern tradition of legal lynchings. Through the FBI, the hand of the KKK has reached across the entire nation.

How to explain this barbarous, murderous action of the FBI? Robert F. Williams, in his letter to *The Militant*, explained it this way: "My only crime is that I am a Negro who has loudly

and militantly protested America's ruthless oppression of Negroes. The U.S. Government seeks my arrest at the request of Union County Klansmen because my newsletter, *The Crusader*, was in opposition to Kennedy's censorship plan.

"In conjunction with the KKK, the U.S. Government is seeking to lynch me for political reasons. The U.S. Government's interest is based solely upon the fact that I refuse to be an Uncle Tom apologist for the State Department and because I have openly supported Revolutionary Cuba.

"The U.S. Government knows that I am innocent of any crime. It seeks to take over where the Ku Klux Klan failed. It intends to lynch me to silence my international newsletter which represents unbridled opposition to imperialism and racism."

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, headed by Dr. A. E. Perry of Monroe, N. C., has asked everyone to send protests to the Department of Justice and to Attorney General Robert Kennedy against the FBI's lynch campaign of Robert Williams. Demand that the circulars be retracted at once and that all who received the circulars be notified immediately that the information on them is false.

In addition, the Negro people of Monroe need help. They have been living under conditions of terror. One Freedom Fighter was forced by a fully garbed KKK gang to leave the state under threat of violence against his family. Another is still in jail. Many others suffered economic reprisals. Some have been cut off relief. They need the help of all Americans who believe in equality and justice.

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has called for a thousand people to join as members and work for the defense of the Monroe victims of racist terror. Carlton Beals, W. E. B. DuBois, Maxwell Geismar, Horace Kalten, the Monroe Freedom Riders are among the first to submit their names to the honor role of CAMD.

The Editors of the *International Socialist Review* join in this appeal. We urge you to join and to send financial aid immediately to: The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Suite 1117, 741 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

NEXT ISSUE

The Myth

of "People's Capitalism"

by Art Preis

One Year

of the Kennedy Administration

by Myra Tanner Weiss

William Z. Foster

An Appraisal of the Man and His Career

by James P. Cannon

May 27, 1954

I NOTE from your numerous questions about Foster that you are reaching for the heart of the mystery in his case. I knew Foster — close up — precisely in that period when he decided to make the transformation from a trade-union leader to a party politician, and to pay whatever price it might entail in formal subservience to Moscow.

I thought I knew Foster in his bones thirty years ago, and still think so. His later evolution, sickening as it became to those who had known and respected him as a rebel, never surprised me at any stage. The basic decision he made at that time conditioned him for his step-by-step degeneration. He could not have made the decision, however, unless the tendency was inherent in his character.

May 28, 1954

Foster's original design, I think, had been to play the part of the outstanding mass leader, not publicly identified with the party, operating with a wide area of independence and getting the full support of the party on his own terms. He had once remarked to me: "Debs never wasted any time on caucuses. He built up his prestige among the masses. Then, after the party politicians had made their decisions in caucus, they first had to inquire what Debs thought about them before they could carry them out."

Things weren't working out that way in our party in 1923. Foster saw that when the showdown came, the party controlled everything; and that if he really wanted to control the trade-union work and keep it within the bounds of realism, he would have to have a big hand in the control of the party itself. I don't know whether he had already made up his mind, then, to shift the main axis of his activity from the TUEL [Trade Union Educational League] work to the party; but that's what it came to in a very short time.

Foster and Browder

August 4, 1954

Foster himself, in a big way, and Johnstone and Manley to a far lesser extent, made *personal* contributions to the CP. But it would be historically false to represent the Foster AFL group as a contributing current in the new move-

ment. Even Browder, who had been a pre-war Fosterite syndicalist, did not come to the CP by way of Foster. He jumped over the head of the Foster group — if it is proper even to speak of such a formation as a definite ideological tendency — and came in as an individual three years ahead of Foster. It was Browder who was commissioned by the party to invite Foster to attend the Congress of the Profintern in 1921 and thus started him on the road to the party.

In his *History of the Communist Party of the United States* Foster makes an elaborate attempt to backwrite history by blowing up the minuscule Foster group of practical trade unionists in the AFL, and representing it as a serious ideological tendency and a contributing current to the movement of American communism. Here Foster really outwits himself. He actually does himself an injustice, although I would not accuse him of such an intention. If no more were involved than that, one could well afford to let the matter rest. But since history is no good, and is even worse than useless, if it is not true, I feel obliged to defend him against himself in order to set the record straight.

Foster's astounding success in organizing the packing-house workers (1917-1918) in an AFL set-up almost designed and guaranteed to make such a thing impossible, and his repeat performance in the steel strike (1919) under still more difficult conditions, were extraordinary *personal* accomplishments.

In the late Thirties the unionization of the steel industry was a pushover; the official leaders simply rode the tide of a universal labor upsurge generated by the long depression, and Lewis got U.S. Steel's signature to a contract without a strike. But in the year 1919 — before the depression and before the rise of the CIO — no one but Foster, with his executive and organizing skill, his craftiness, his patience and his driving energy, could have organized the steelworkers on such a scale and led them in a great strike, through the road-blocks and booby-traps of craft unionism, under the official sponsorship of the Gompers AFL.

Foster's steel campaign was unique. It was all the more remarkable precisely because he did it all by himself against all kinds of official sabotage, and with the assistance of only a small handful of people of secondary talents who were personally attached to him and worked under his direction. His ex post facto attempt to represent himself in this grandiose action as the instrument of an ideological tendency tributary to the communist movement, not only falsifies the historical facts, but by indirection, detracts from the magnitude of his personal achievement.

The Foster group in the AFL began with a revolutionary program outlined in a pamphlet based on French syndi-

[This appraisal of William Z. Foster, who died September 1, 1961 in Moscow, is extracted from the author's *Letters to a Historian* which constitute a section of a book now ready for publication under the title *The First Ten Years of American Communism—Report of a Participant*. Part of this material has been previously published in past issues of this magazine.]

calism (1913). But this first programmatic declaration was soon withdrawn, re-written and watered down to nothing but a tongue-in-cheek affirmation that mere trade-union organization would automatically solve all problems of workers' emancipation. Thereafter, Fosterism was simply a method of working in the AFL by adaptation to the official leadership.

By adaptation individuals can get a chance to work. Foster demonstrated that to the hilt in practice. But adaptation is not a movement and cannot create a movement, for the question of who is serving whom always arises. Gompers, who knew Foster's past and was no fool, thought that Foster's work and adaptation could serve Gompers' aims. He permitted Foster to work under AFL auspices for that reason, as he testified with brutal frankness before the Senate Committee Hearings on the Steel Trust Strike. Fitzpatrick was evidently of the same opinion. Both

he and Gompers proved to be correct. Foster's later adaptation to the Communist Party worked out the same way.

Foster's work and achievement in the early days of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) under the Communist Party, were no less remarkable than his stockyard and steel campaigns. His rapid-fire organization of a network of effective left-progressive groups in a dozen or more different unions demonstrated most convincingly that his previous successes in the AFL were no fluke. It proved, for the second time, under different auspices, that given the forces and the machinery to work with, Foster was a trade-union organizer without a peer. In each case, however, his work was permitted and controlled by other forces which Foster had to serve. For that reason there never was and never could be such a thing as a Foster "movement" or, strictly speaking, even a Foster group. Foster has been condemned throughout his career, ever since he left the IWW, to serve the aims of others whom he sought to outwit by adaptation.

Foster was the leader of his own faction in the CP only within this framework. In the very first showdown in the original Foster group in 1925, when political issues of party interest were posed point-blank, he found himself in the minority and discovered that the policy of the Foster group was not his to determine at will.

In the second show-down of the group, by then reduced to a smaller composition of ostensibly pure Fosterites — in 1928, at the Sixth Congress caucus meeting of the opposition delegates in Moscow — the leader found himself completely isolated. Bittelman, seconded by Browder and Johnstone, attacked him most brutally and disdainfully on that occasion and took complete charge of the "Foster group." He was left without a single friend or supporter in the caucus. (The rest of us, members of the opposition bloc but not Fosterites, simply stood aside and let the Fosterites fight it out.)

All Foster had left at the time of the Sixth Congress in 1928, was his name and the manifest intention of Stalin to use it for his own purposes. His name represented not a political tendency, however small, which had to be rec-



Published quarterly by the International Socialist Review Publishing Association, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Contents

MONROE, N. C. 102

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER *by James P. Cannon* 103

FROM LENIN TO KHRUSHCHEV
by William F. Warde 107

THE 1919 LENIN PROGRAM 115

LIFE IN YUGOSLAVIA *by Theo Schultz* 125

THE MOST ANGRY *by Trent Hutter* 130

Vol. 22 — No. 4 — Whole No. 157

Editor, Murry Weiss; *Managing Editor*, Bert Deck;
Business Manager, Karolyn Kerry; *Editorial Board*: Joseph Hansen, Shane Mage, Tim Wohlforth
Myra Tanner Weiss

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. and Latin America, \$1.25 a year (four issues); single copies, 35 cents; bundles, 25 cents a copy for five copies or more. Foreign and Canada, \$1.50 a year (four issues); single copies, 35 cents; bundles, 26 cents a copy for five copies or more.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF International Socialist Review, published quarterly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1961.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, International Socialist Review, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Editor, Murry Weiss, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Managing editor, Bert Deck, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.
Business manager, Karolyn Kerry, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

International Socialist Review Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

James P. Cannon, Partner, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Vincent R. Dunne, Partner, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Joseph Hansen, Partner, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)
None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 3125.

KAROLYN KERRY

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1961

CONSTANCE F. WEISSMAN
Notary Public, State of New York
No. 31-9598925

Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires March 30, 1962

ognized. It was the symbol, rather, of his personal achievements as an organizer, of his public renown which was not yet seriously tarnished by his internal party defeats.

But, ironically, even his name and fame, which had been well earned by real performance, and which gave him a scrap of a special position in the party, was an obstacle to the realization of his ambition to be the official leader of the party, be it only by the grace of Stalin. For his own purposes Stalin needed in the U.S., as elsewhere, leaders without independent strength, leaders made by him and completely dependent on his favor. Browder filled the bill. He was the perfect example of the candidate distinguished not by the defect of his qualities, but by the quality of his defects.

* * *

Browder was an intelligent, industrious and dependable chief clerk by nature, but in no case an executive leader of independent capacity and resource. He was capable of filling the office of formal leader of the party by the permission of Stalin for 15 years without having, in his wildest imagination, previously entertained such an ambition and without having the slightest idea of how it came about or how his regime was brought to an end so precipitately and so easily. I don't doubt that Browder began to think he was ten feet tall in the long period where he walked on stilts above the party multitude. But I doubt very much whether he could explain to himself or others how he got up so high in the first place, or why the stilts so suddenly gave way under him.

* * *

The original relationship between Foster and Browder, and the proper one, considering the personal qualities of each, had been the relation between executive and first assistant. The appointment of Browder to the first position in the party, with Foster subordinated to the role of honorary public figure without authority, really rubbed Foster's nose in the dirt. It was not pleasant to see how he accepted the gross humiliation and pretended to submit to it.

When Browder was finally deposed 15 years later, Foster was permitted to officiate at the ceremonies. It was pitiful to see how he gratified his long-standing grudge and gloated over the victim in celebration of his hollow victory. In reality the great organizer, who accepted the office of formal leadership without the power, was celebrating his own utter defeat as an independent political figure.

Foster's Infirmity

March 17, 1955

You ask how I look at my own role in the formation of the Foster-Cannon group. I think that is indicated in the account I have written in those letters [May 19, 27 and 28, 1954—Ed.]. I had the highest regard for Foster's ability in general, and for his feel and skill as a mass worker in particular—a most essential quality which the leaders of the other faction seemed to lack—but I never belonged to Foster's staff of personal assistants and was never in any sense a personal follower. Relations between me and Foster, from start to finish, always had the same basis. Cooperation in internal party affairs depended on agreement on policy, arrived at beforehand. That was no trouble in 1923; our thinking ran along the same lines.

Foster was the party's outstanding mass leader and most popular figure, and he carried himself well in that role. But he was not a political infant as he has often been represented; he knew what he was driving at. He symbolized the proletarian-American orientation, which the party needed and wanted, and I thought he was justly entitled to first place as party leader and public spokesman.

He was rather new to the party at that time, however, and was still feeling his way carefully. As one of the original communists, I knew the party better. I had closer connections with many of the decisive cadres and probably had more influence with some of them. Our combination—while it lasted—was an effective division of labor, with-

out rivalry, at least as far as I was concerned. Each made independent contributions to the combination and each carried his own weight.

Foster's knowledge and feel of the trade union movement surpassed that of all the other party leaders in the early days, but his experience in that field was not all profit. He had learned too much in the school of the labor fakers, who got what they wanted one way or another, without regard to any governing theory or principle, and he mistakenly thought such methods could be efficacious in the communist political movement. Crude American pragmatism, which "gets things done" in simple situations, is a poor tool in the complexities of revolutionary politics.

Foster was somewhat mechanical and eclectic in his thinking, and this frequently led him to summary judgments in complex questions which called for qualified answers. His one-sided, almost fetishistic concentration on "boring from within" the AFL, as the sole means of radicalizing and expanding the labor movement—a concept which had to be thrown overboard in 1928, and which was brutally refuted in life by the rise of the CIO—is an outstanding example of his limitations as a thinker.

But in the frame of comparison with the other leading figures of the pioneer communist movement in this country, which in my opinion is the proper way to judge him historically, Foster was outstanding in many ways. Attempts to represent him as some kind of babe in the woods, led astray by craftier men, which have been recurrently made throughout the history of the party, beginning with his alliance with me in the formation of the Foster-Cannon group, never had any foundation in fact.

Foster was a shrewd and competent man, far more conscious and deliberate in all his actions than he appeared and pretended to be. Everything that Foster did, from first to last, was done deliberately. In fact, he was too shrewd, too deliberate in his decisions, and too free from the restraint of scruple; and by that he wrought his own catastrophe. The actions which, in a tragic progression, made such a disgraceful shambles of his career, derived not from faulty intelligence or weakness of will but from defects of character.

Foster was a slave to ambition, to his career. That was his infirmity. But this judgment, which in my book is definitive, must be qualified by the recognition that he sought to serve his ambition and to advance his career in the labor movement and not elsewhere. Within that field he worshipped the "Bitch-Goddess" of Success as much as any business man, careerist on the make, or politician in the bourgeois world.

Foster was a man of such outstanding talent, energy and driving will that—in the conditions of the country in his time—he could easily have made his way in any number of other occupations. But the labor movement was his own milieu, deliberately chosen in his youth and doggedly maintained to the exclusion of virtually all other interests. Within that limit—that he had no life outside the labor movement—Foster subordinated everything to his mad ambition and his almost pathological love of fame, of his career. To that, with a consistency that was truly appalling, he sacrificed his pride and self-respect, and all considerations of loyalty to persons and to principles and, eventually, to the interests of the movement which he had originally set out to serve.

Shakespeare's Gratiano said they lose the world "that do buy it with much care." Foster's too-great consistency in his single-minded pursuit of fame and career at any price became a self-defeating game. His willingness to humiliate himself and surrender his opinions to gain favor with the Stalinist "power" only disarmed him before repeated exactions in this respect, until he was stripped of the last shred of independence. His disloyalty to people robbed him of any claim on the loyalty of others and left him without support at the most critical turning points. His readiness to profess opinions he didn't hold, for the sake of expediency, to lie and cheat to gain a point, lost

him the respect of his colleagues and eventually destroyed his moral authority in the party cadres. He ended up friendless and alone as early as 1928, incapable of contending for leadership in his own name, and fit only for the role of figurehead leader.

But even for that shabby substitute for fame and career, Foster has had to grovel in the dust, and to contribute his bit systematically, year after year for more than a quarter of a century, to the gross betrayal of the workers' cause which he had proclaimed as his own. "Success" in the world of Stalinism is dearly bought indeed — if by some horrible misunderstanding one should call Foster's pursuit of fame and career successful.

A Revolt of the Fosterites

February 1, 1956

The Fosterites had never talked to us about their own family affairs. Consequently, the big explosion at the joint caucus of the delegates of the two groups in Moscow [at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, 1928] came as somewhat of a surprise to us. To judge from the intensity of the feelings expressed, the revolt against Foster must have been brewing for a long time; it could hardly have been caused by the difference on trade-union tactics alone. It is more likely that the trade-union dispute, in which Bittelman and Browder could draw courage from being on Losovsky's side, triggered an explosion built up out of many accumulated grievances.

One of Foster's traits which I especially detested, after I got to know him well, was his different manner and attitude in dealing with different people. To those whom he thought he needed, such as Bittelman and myself, he was always careful and at times even a bit deferential. To those who needed him, such as Browder and Johnstone, he was brusque and dictatorial. They must have stored up many resentments against that.

I remember one rather dramatic incident during the discussion. Foster stood over Johnstone threateningly, with his fist clenched, and tried his old trick of intimidation with the snarling remark: "You're getting pretty bold!" Johnstone, almost hysterical, answered: "You have been trampling on me for years, but you're not going to trample on me any more." Johnstone and Browder gave the impression at this meeting of people who had broken out of long confinement and were running wild.

Bittelman's conduct was more difficult for me to understand. During all the time that we had been together in one group, and I had known everything that was going on with respect to personal relations, Foster had never presumed to bulldoze Bittelman. Yet at this meeting Bittelman's tone and language seemed to be that of a man who was out to settle personal scores long overdue. He was absolutely ruthless in his attack on Foster, and even contemptuous of his arguments.

* * *

It was remarkable that not a single person in the meeting spoke up in defense of Foster. The whole faction was in revolt against him, with Bittelman in the lead and Browder and Johnstone close behind him. The funny thing about the whole business was that this fight, of almost unprecedented violence, which ordinarily would signify a complete break of personal and political relations between the participants, was apparently carried on with no thought of such consequences.

The Fosterites in revolt were still dependent on Foster's name and prestige whether they liked it or not. At that time they had no prospect of playing a big role in the party without him. Foster, for his part, had nowhere else to go except to become a captive of the Lovestoneites, and that was impossible for him. So the whole stew blew up violently and then receded and continued to simmer and sizzle in the same pot. We, the "Cannonites," stood aside and let the Fosterites fight it out among themselves. From a personal standpoint I felt a certain sympathy for the slaves in hysterical rebellion. But from a political stand-

point I couldn't see any sense whatever in encouraging a split with a view to realignment in the form of a bloc between our faction and the Fosterites, minus Foster.

Foster's name and prestige, and his dogged persistence and outstanding ability as a mass worker, were always the bigger half of the assets of the Foster groups, and remained so even after he had been defeated and isolated within the group. This was shown quite conclusively a short time later. When Stalin wanted to convey a message — with more than a hint of future support — to the American opposition, he sent for Foster and gave it to him personally.

It is quite possible that Browder and Johnstone could have had illusions of going on without Foster as if nothing had happened, for they were notorious for their political unrealism and ineptitude. But I could not imagine Bittelman entertaining such illusions. He had always been pretty realistic in his estimate of the forces in the party and of his own impediments. He knew that he had to be allied with others who had what he lacked, and he relied on combinations in which he could play a strategic part. The original Foster-Bittelman-Cannon combination was made to order for him to play a role in the party that he never could have played by himself. His importance declined when one-third of the combination broke off. And he cannot have failed to understand that it would decline still more if he came to an open break with Foster.

I had known Bittelman as a man of reserve, who kept his personal feelings under control far better than most — a quality which I admired; and to this day I can't understand what drove him to such violence in the attack on Foster as to risk the danger of an irreparable split. That he had any idea of fighting for the leadership of the party in his own name, is in my opinion the one hypothesis that has to be excluded.

* * *

There is one small postscript to my recollections of this family fight among the Fosterites, which was soon swallowed up in my preoccupation with the immeasurably larger subject of Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program*, and all that it implied for my own future course.

After the meeting, in a personal conversation with Bill Dunne and me, Foster complained of the treatment he had received and intimated — without saying so directly — that he would like to have better personal relations with us for collaboration in the future. But my own mind was already turning to far bigger things than the old factions and faction squabbles in the American party, and I couldn't get up any interest in them any more.

Foster's Last Stand

January 22, 1958

Foster's evolution in his twilight hours is strictly in accord with the evaluation of him which I have made in previous letters to you. Foster is fighting to the last twitch to justify himself, to protect his prestige, his place in history, which, as he sees it, long ago became completely dependent on the historical vindication of Stalinism.

But in the true sense of the word, Foster is not a "Stalinist Mohican" and still less a "Bourbon." Foster is a Fosterite — a fame fetishist — who adapted himself to the Stalinist power as he had previously adapted himself to Fitzpatrick, and even to Gompers, with the calculation that in doing so he could serve his own ends and his own career. The big difference is that when his adaptation to Gompers, in order to serve his own purposes, ran up against the difficulty which always arises in such cases — that Gompers insisted on using the adaptation for *his* purposes — Foster could find an alternative field of operations, still within the labor movement, by adapting himself to Moscow, which eventually became an adaptation to Stalinism. But after that there was no third road open to him.

Foster was stuck with Stalinism. He could not hope to go back to Gompers and Fitzpatrick and find the necessary elbow room to advance his own fame and prestige.

(Continued on page 114)

From Lenin to Khrushchev

The Draft Program to be submitted to the forthcoming Congress of the Soviet Communist party discloses the social pressures operating on the men in the Kremlin

by William F. Warde

A NEW program has been proposed for submission to the Twenty-second Congress of the Soviet Communist party this October. It will replace the Leninist program adopted by the Eighth Congress in March 1919. The two documents can serve as gauges to measure the great material advances and the no less weighty political retrogression the Soviet Union has undergone in the 42-year interval.

Khrushchev's draft of 50,000 words is much longer than Lenin's. Lenin limited the program he wrote largely to national tasks since the founding documents of the Third International, adopted the same month, took up broader questions.

The present document encompasses both domestic and world problems. Despite its wider scope, this new program, presented at the crest of Soviet world influence, is incomparably less internationalist in essential content than Lenin's, written when the young Soviet Republic was fighting against counterrevolution and foreign intervention for its survival.

Nevertheless, this document is a major political landmark. Superseding Lenin's program as the guide for the almighty organization heading the dominant country of the Soviet bloc, it sums up the outlook on national and world affairs empirically arrived at by Stalin's heirs in the fast-changing eight years since the dictator's death.

Today's representatives of the Soviet oligarchy wield much more economic power, military might and diplomatic prestige than Stalin. These advantages give them greater assurance, flexibility and room for maneuver at home and abroad. However, while their strength has grown at the expense of imperialism, the Soviet leaders are more hard-pressed by their own masses, the East European satellites, China and the onrushing tide of colonial revolutions. The revised program reflects, among other things, the adjustments in their positions exacted by these changed conditions.

The unwieldy draft tries to serve conflicting purposes. It is directly addressed to the pride of achievement among the Soviet people, beseeching them to be patient a while longer for realization of their expectations for more freedom and a better life. It stresses, not ease and enjoyment, but "the need to work" harder and more efficiently for those ends.

The program contains many arguments to justify perpetuation of the ruling caste. It carries on a scarcely disguised polemic against the dissenting opinions of Peking on some of the key questions of world politics. It is framed to win over the "neutralist" countries by showing the colonial peoples that the Soviet Union is

their most reliable source of material aid and by assuring the national bourgeoisies of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America that the Kremlin will support them, not simply against the imperialists, but against their own insurgent masses.

Like so many things in Soviet life, this political treatise is extremely contradictory. Its exposure of the decay of capitalism and its recital of the world-shaking achievements of the Soviet Union since the 1917 October Revolution are as convincing as its restatement of the aims of socialism and its vistas of social, economic, educational, scientific advancement are inspiring. Facts and arguments pile up to prove how the socialist revolution of the twentieth century, despite its limitations and distortions to date, has inescapably lifted mankind onto a new historical plateau which opens illimitable prospects.

The projected goals are all the more plausible because they are linked with the impressive progress registered by the Soviet Union and with the potential of its planned economy. Dramatized by the flight of the cosmonaut Titov in Vostok II a week later, the new program, backed by the mounting power of the Soviet Union, should have deep impact upon the masses and leaders of the colonial world and even upon advanced workers in the West.

The editors of the *New York Post* took care to warn the men in high places at Washington that the challenge of this "Communist Manifesto" cannot be countered by voting for Kennedy's augmented military budget while slashing appropriations for education, social services and economic growth.

AS AN expression of the accomplishments and aims of the most powerful workers state, the program stands upon qualitatively higher ground than all the pronouncements of the capitalist statesmen. But much more is to be demanded of the political charter of the foremost Communist party than a manifest superiority over the ideological defenses of the old order.

To what extent does this revised program carry forward the scientific methods and proletarian principles of Marxism and Bolshevism? Does it meet the desires and demands of the Soviet people? Does it correctly express the interests of the world struggle for socialism? How useful is it as an aid to the socialist vanguard in America?

In all these respects the document is grossly deficient and misleading.

Khrushchev makes two claims for the program in connection with the traditions of Marxism-Leninism.

He *explicitly* asserts that the new program is the logical extension and faithful continuation of Lenin's which, we are told, has been fully completed in the Soviet Union. It is "a major contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory." Khrushchev *implicitly* affirms that it abandons Stalin's policies and practices.

Both claims are equally unfounded. Despite its obeisance to Lenin's effigy, Khrushchev's program slides away from Bolshevik positions on the most crucial questions of socialist doctrine and the class struggle. And despite the silence on Stalin, it reaffirms and formally sanctions the cardinal points where Stalinism broke with Bolshevism. Indeed, Khrushchev copies Stalin in his fraudulent claim to be Lenin's heir.

Stalin Missing

Apart from allusions to an anonymous and unexplained cult of the individual, the document makes no mention of Khrushchev's predecessor. Stalin has become an "unperson." This impudent refusal to deal honestly with the 25-year record of the Stalin era demonstrates how alien the authors are to the spirit and methods of scientific socialism.

Historical materialists are obliged, if opportunist statesmen are not, to examine history with open eyes, analyze its course critically, and with full regard for the facts. This draft does not. It lowers the curtain on Soviet developments and disregards Khrushchev's Twentieth Congress speech as though it was never delivered.*

As the newly published revised version of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* likewise demonstrates, for all their bravado Khrushchev and his colleagues fear to face up to the real history of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1953. An honest accounting would raise more questions than it would settle for them. The rulers cannot explain their own origin, evolution, misdeeds and special status because they deny their existence as a distinct group with separate interests. To believe them, only workers, peasants and intellectuals — but not bureaucratic locusts — exist in their homeland.

The different factions of the bureaucracy have obviously been unable to agree upon a common attitude toward their Stalinist legacy (forced collectivization, the fights against the Right and Left Oppositions, the Moscow Trials, the purges, terror and idolatry of Stalin, etc.) So, instead of a candid explanation to the Soviet people, they say nothing, hoping that time will efface embarrassing memories.

This awkward, unsuccessful effort to cover up the still painful past is mingled with a falsification and embellishment of existing conditions in the Soviet Union which further violates the first commandment of socialism: "Tell the truth, no matter how hard it may be to hear at the moment."

* Although its substance has been imparted to Communist party members, this speech has not yet been published by the Soviet press. The Soviet people, who are most concerned, remain the least well informed about this historic exposure of the crimes of Stalin. Honest delegates to the Twenty-second Congress may have difficulty squaring this suppression with the assertion in the draft that "the party considers that the paramount task in the ideological field in the present period is to educate all working people in a spirit of ideological integrity . . ."

OUR discussion of this extensive and highly inconsistent document must be confined to such basic matters as the problems of the national economy, the status of Soviet democracy, the role of the state, the nature of Soviet society and the prospects of Soviet internal development.

The program sets forth at length the tasks of the party in the field of economic development. Even informed opponents of the Soviet system admit that its achievements since the Second World War, especially in science, technology and heavy industry, have been massive and spectacular. Thus a study made by the U.S. Air Force's "Rand Corp." shows that Russia's gross national product doubled in the last decade and says this same rate of growth can be indefinitely sustained.

Uneven Development

Communist leaders from East Germany to China are addicted to making high-flown claims and setting far-fetched goals in their plans which require substantial correction. Khrushchev is no exception. But even if many of the magnified objectives listed in the program fall far short of realization within the time fixed, the solid foundations of the planned economy built since the 1920's guarantee remarkable expansion in the next two decades.

While outlining the steps required for this expansion, the program skirts around the excruciating disproportions in production and consumption that impede the progress of Soviet economy. Heavy industry has moved ahead much faster and farther than light industry and farming.

Another of the Rand reports states that the average Soviet citizen today enjoys more than twice the goods and services of 1928 and lives on a "level almost two-thirds higher than in 1950." Despite this welcome pronounced improvement, the population suffers from shortages of consumer goods and foodstuffs.

Supply lags behind demand in almost every essential item. There are endless time-wasting queues at the state stores for everything from dried fish to bread. The staple diet for most urban families remains tea, cabbage soup and black bread. Meat, milk, eggs and other farm products are scarce and expensive.

The more favored can buy washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, TV's, even autos. But the quantities of most household conveniences are so restricted that even party members have to put their names on waiting lists. The majority lack adequate living space and yearn for a tiny apartment of their own. Although Soviet wage-earners spend less on rents, utilities and medical care, wages are low and wide inequalities of income are found among the various categories of workers.

The prevalence of these low-standard living conditions is negatively certified by the affirmations in the program that the next twenty years will bring immense gains in the available means of consumption. Bread and rent will be made free as well as medicine, education and vacation resort facilities. These will not only be plentiful but more fairly distributed.

THE Soviet masses have heard similar promises before. But now they feel that a system capable of hurling astronauts into space and bringing them back can and should take better care of the most pressing material needs of the people. Their demands are not only impressed upon the document but give it a double edge. For the tremendous expectations it arouses can rebound against its sponsors if they cannot deliver the goods fast and fully enough.

Since Stalin's death in 1953, his successors have been wrestling with the difficulties arising from the top priority given heavy industry over other departments of economic life. The official planners have kept twisting and turning, now pledging a larger share of national investment to light industry and then insisting upon the subordination of everything else to the requirements of basic industry. The document leaves unresolved this central question of priorities in capital investment, signifying division and indecision in top circles on this point.

However, the attitude of the Soviet masses, and the workers in particular, on this matter is unmistakable. Wherever they could find ways to make their wishes known, they have called for more consumer goods and less emphasis upon heavy industry.

For example, in December 1959 Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union had already outstripped the United States in the production of butter per person. This spring longshoremen in Odessa, where there appears to be a shortage of fats, went on strike in protest against shipments of butter to Cuba. They shouted: "Cuba si, butter no." This slogan expressed both their solidarity with the needs of revolutionary Cuba, embargoed by U.S. imperialism, and their demands for more performance and less propaganda from the regime. This one incident tells more about the conflicts within Soviet society and its economic realities than all the exaggerated assertions in the program.

Despite Khrushchev's announcement of good harvests this year and the many measures taken to extend and improve cultivation, agriculture remains the weakest sector of Soviet economy and the hardest to develop. There are many reasons for the relative stagnation and inadequate growth of the countryside. Not least among them are the effects of the grave disproportions noted in the economic structure. The workers in the cities do not receive enough products from the country because the neglect of light industry cannot provide enough goods for the peasants to sustain and stimulate their output.

If it is realistic to anticipate that the Soviet Union can approach, and even move ahead of advanced capitalist lands in certain branches of basic industry, the pace will be much slower and the problems far more difficult in these other sectors of the economy closer to the consumer.

Everything else depends upon raising per capita productivity in industry and agriculture. The program contains numerous provisions for effecting this: further rationalization, mechanization, automation of industry, decentralization and other administrative measures. Many have been tried without achieving the desired

results. But the projected modernization and improved technology in production will undoubtedly increase industrial efficiency considerably. More abundant consumer goods and greater equalization of wage rates would also help.

Productivity and Workers Democracy

The principal means for enhancing the productive powers of the economy and unleashing the untapped potential of its working force would be to give the workers the democratic control over its operations projected in Lenin's 1919 program. This would involve reducing the arbitrary powers of the factory directors along with the wastefulness and maladministration of the party bureaucracy. Delegates elected by the workers would have to supervise and check all stages of the planning and productive process.

IN HIS May 1 speech on economic planning, Ché Guevara explained the shortcomings of Cuba's production plan last year as follows: "We did not go to the masses. We made a laboratory plan. We estimated the capacity of the plants already installed, we estimated the production, and this was our working plan. Today we can see clearly that the masses did not participate in this plan, and a plan which lacks the participation of the masses is a plan which is always threatened with defeat."

This indispensability of conscious participation and over-all control by the masses, impressed upon the Cuban revolutionists at the start of their national planning, is alien to the Soviet officialdom. A regime basing itself upon the omnipotence and infallibility of a chosen few on top cannot adopt this road of solution to the problem of productivity.

How can workers who have no control over their government expect it to grant them control over planning or production? They do not even have the right to strike in protest against the consequences of misplanning. This absence of industrial democracy is the main brake upon the progress of Soviet economy. It goes hand in hand with gross inequities in the distribution of the national product.

The program pledges to eliminate the most glaring injustices. But so long as scarcities endure the possessors of supreme power are not likely to give up their priorities and privileges in amassing and enjoying the good things of life. *La Dolce Vita*, "the sweet life" at the expense of the masses, exists in different forms and on a different basis in the Soviet Union than in Italy . . . but it is there.

These evils exist — and persist — primarily because of underproduction and the lack of democracy. The draft proclaims, to be sure, that "the entire life of Soviet society is based on the principle of broad democracy . . . and makes it really possible for the people to exercise them. Soviet society ensures the real liberty of the individual."

These are fine words. But who, apart from the most credulous, will take them as an accurate designation of Soviet life?

The 1919 program asserted that the "deprivation of

political rights and restriction of liberty are necessary only as temporary measures to fight any attempts of the exploiters to maintain or restore their privileges. To the extent that the objective possibility of exploitation of man by man disappears, the necessity for such temporary measures will disappear, and the Party will strive to diminish these measures."

Now, 42 years later, Khrushchev assures us that all exploitation has ceased and socialism has been instituted. Has Lenin's program of proletarian democracy, then, been carried out? Far from it. The terror of Stalin's time has been lifted. The ordinary Soviet citizen nowadays does not dread sudden arrest, trials on false charges, long-term imprisonment at hard labor in concentration camps.

Yet the workers do not even have those rights and liberties they won in 1917 and exercised until the advent of Stalinism. Democracy has been stamped out in the Soviets and the party. Functionaries are not made responsible or accountable for their actions. The entire toiling population has not been drawn into the work of state administration. Judges are not elected by the workers. The "ruling cadres" dominate and decide everything for the people.

The new program boasts that the Soviet people have full freedom of speech, press and assembly, the right to elect and be elected. What is the actual state of affairs? Soviet citizens are forbidden to read unauthorized publications, listen to foreign broadcasts, possess books and magazines from outside the Soviet Union. They cannot travel freely at home or leave the country without official permission. Dissenting opinions are not encouraged or allowed and their public expression is severely punished. Government functionaries and party censors keep culture and the arts under careful supervision lest too "dangerous thoughts" circulate through them.

Khrushchev Boasts

In his August 17 speech on the Berlin crisis the Soviet Premier said: "It can already now be said with complete confidence that the entire Soviet people unanimously approve the draft program of our party." This pompous pronouncement shows how much enforced conformity and how little democracy accompanies the birth of this very program. Contrary to Khrushchev, dissenters to it very likely exist not simply among the masses but in high places, even though their voices cannot be heard in public.

The democratic pretensions of the document are further belied by its retention of the dogma of the monolithic, monopolistic party together with the cult of the bureaucratic state. If such total harmony of interests and unanimity of views prevail as Khrushchev contends, what makes it imperative for the party to maintain its political monopoly and complete control over all domains of public life not only now but into the projected Communist stage? A system with unalloyed solidarity would need no permanent master-directors nor would the Communist party fear organized activities by its loyal members so much that it categorically forbids any manifestations of "factionalism."

If there was no widespread opposition to their policies or rule, the neo-Stalinists could easily maintain their leading role thanks to the correctness of their proposals, the persuasiveness of their ideas, the prestige of their deeds. The fact that the document reasserts the totalitarian primacy of the single party — and upholds that dogma by government coercion — in itself betrays the underlying presence of social and political conflicts that require suppression.

The "Classless" State

These same considerations apply to the draft's treatment of the role of the Soviet state. Lenin taught that proletarian democracy would be expanded and the compulsive and bureaucratic features of the state progressively reduced as the powers of production multiplied to provide abundance for everyone, class antagonisms were eliminated, and the socialist revolution conquered in other countries.

Khrushchev claims that all these happy conditions have been realized. The government of this thoroughly harmonious society is so democratic it no longer has a proletarian class character. It is a "state of the whole people."

If this be so, why did the rulers of the Soviet state this year reinstate the death penalty for economic crimes which Stalin abolished in 1947? Several people have already been executed under this law. Capital punishment has been illegalized in a number of capitalist countries. Clearly there must be overwhelming economic forces impelling citizens to commit offences against state property — and no less powerful reasons for the bosses of this allegedly "socialist" country to impose such savage retaliations.

Khrushchev himself has recently divulged large-scale embezzlements, frauds and double-dealings by top party administrators. Thefts of state property occur at all grades of the social pyramid. Last year half the grain crop of the Ukraine remained unaccounted for! These anti-socialist practices, these vestiges of "bourgeois mentality" have both economic and political causes. They are engendered by continuing poverty, misery and inequality, by the uncontrolled rule of the bureaucrats, and by the helplessness of the masses to bridle them.

The new program holds out the prospect of far-ranging political and economic reforms to correct these abuses: secret ballots for choosing, removing, retiring, and replacing central political committees. But it likewise makes clear that the present commanders-in-chief do not intend to surrender any essential positions, powers or privileges.

The document proclaims that "Socialism [has] triumphed in the Soviet Union completely and finally." Socialism, according to all Marxists before Stalin and his heirs, was not a nationally limited but an international system involving the majority of the human race and its most highly developed sectors. For socialism to acquire genuine economic substance, it must not simply have nationalized means of production and a planned economy but provide higher living standards than the richest capitalist countries.

KHRUSHCHEV himself acknowledges that the Soviet Union of today, let alone the other members of the Soviet bloc, does not better satisfy the material needs of the people. The program only promises that in the next twenty years Soviet living conditions will rise rapidly, approach and then surpass those in the West — provided world peace is secured and the arms race slackens.

Such a pauper's "socialism" in relation to capitalism is a contradiction in terms. This is only one of the many contradictions between Marxist theory and Soviet reality in this document. With an economy rapidly gaining on capitalism in science, technology and heavy industry but less productive and poorer in most fields catering to the consumer, with an ultrabureaucratic regime denying elementary rights to its citizens, the Soviet Union today is still far from the socialist order projected by the creators and continuators of Marxism — or desired by the workers.

It would be more accurate and honest to admit these shortcomings and see Soviet society as a workers state directed toward socialism but held back *economically* by its insufficient productivity, *politically* by its privileged commanding caste, and *internationally* by the failure of the workers to take power in the fortresses of imperialism.

But the Soviet leaders need fictions to glamorize their regime, bolster their rule, and inject false hopes into their followers. That is why they misrepresent the nature of Soviet society, among so many other things. In their hands Marxism loses its scientific character and is converted into an instrument of apologetics for their costly stewardship.

The draft presents a highly simplified and sedative prospectus of Soviet evolution. There exists, we are informed, indestructible unity among the workers, peasants and intellectuals alongside a firm fusion of the constituent nationalities. There is no ground for serious social antagonisms or political divisions. Economic, scientific, social and cultural progress will quicken all along the line as the USSR moves on from socialism to communism. Whatever inequalities remain will be erased together with the backwardnesses inherited from the past.

All this is guaranteed provided direction of affairs remains exclusively in the hands of the Communist party. The benevolent bureaucracy will shepherd the masses toward the bright Communist future.

In view of the relaxation of tensions and the bettered living conditions since Stalin's death and in light of the achievements and potential of their work, the Soviet people may very likely be inclined to extend credit to the program's promises and see whether the regime can deliver the goods.

Khrushchev has given another gigantic promissory note to his people. They will insist that more and more payments be made upon it. To the extent that the administration does not make good within the prescribed time, disenchantment and discontent will grow.

This would not be the first time in either modern or Soviet history that, by stirring up expectations without satisfying them, the promises and concessions of a

reformist regime have prepared the way for independent mass actions and radical changes in the political situation and setup. Precisely this happened in Eastern Europe from 1953 to 1956.

After Stalin's totalitarian terror, the Soviet people are going through their experiment with the reforms of his more "liberal" successors. It cannot be foreseen how long it will take for them to grasp the intrinsic limitations of Khrushchev's rulership. But the experience, and above all the exhaustion, of this period of the disintegration of the supports of Stalinism can become one of the major preconditions, not for the consolidation and perpetuation of bureaucratic domination, but for its undermining and eventual replacement by proletarian democracy. The Soviet people, we firmly believe, will sooner or later dislodge the bureaucracy and take full charge of their own house.

Lenin's Internationalism

The Bolsheviks under Lenin did not assign a permanent paramount place in the march toward socialism to any country or its working class, including the Soviet Republic they established. Such national arrogance was repugnant to them, as Marxists. Lenin viewed the leading role of the Russian revolutionists as temporary in the world-wide historic process of overcoming capitalism and building socialism. He integrally linked the fate of the Soviet regime with the development of the international socialist revolution.

Despite their disclaimers, the current heads of the Soviet oligarchy talk and act as though they had been awarded a perpetual ascendancy, not only within the Soviet sphere, but in the world labor and socialist movement. Intoxicated and unbalanced by the powers they wield, they believe that all the necessary means for maintaining supremacy forever is in their hands.

When, in connection with the Berlin crisis, Khrushchev alluded to "our fight for the recognition of our grandeur," this phrase reveals the chauvinism in the outlook of the caste he represents. The draft is permeated with this spirit of "national grandeur." Where Stalin merely proclaimed the building of socialism in one country, regardless of conditions and events elsewhere in this world, his disciples, increasing the boast, are heralding the creation of communism in the same fatherland.

The program says: "In the Socialist camp, or, which is the same thing, in the world community of Socialist countries, none have, nor can have, any special rights or privileges." Yet the authors reserve for their own regime the privilege of being the first to reach socialism and enter communism while the less fortunate contingents of mankind bring up the rear.

This perspective is not only illusory for the Soviet people; it is viciously reactionary and anti-Socialist in relation to the other states within the Soviet bloc. While the Soviet Union is on the way to communism, what is to happen in the other anticapitalist countries from Albania to China? Are they to rest content trotting humbly behind — and so far behind — Soviet Big Brother?

COMPARED with 200 million people in the Soviet Union, there are 700 million living in China, most of them literally on rations. Are they supposed to creep forward on their terribly lower economic level as the Soviet Union bounds toward communist abundance? China needs increasing amounts of equipment to build its heavy industry. How can these demands be met by Moscow if, as projected, it will have to allot more of its own annual budget to light industry and farming?

The coexistence of have and have-not nations within the so-called "Socialist community" is as pregnant with national antagonisms as the presence of rich and poor in a single capitalist country is with class conflict. This is one of the major, if unspoken, sources of friction at work behind the scenes in Sino-Soviet relations.

The draft, believe it or not, devotes merely sixteen words in all to China and its Revolution, the most momentous event of the past fifteen years. But the difficulties and dissensions flowing from the perspectives of "communism in one country" will not be settled by hushing them up. Peking has not concealed its displeasure with the draft and will doubtless have more to say about the deepening divergences it is bound to stimulate.

* * *

If the lines of development projected for the Soviet Union and its bloc are not so simple or roseate as they are depicted in this document, neither are the perspectives of world events. Here we can deal only with two decisive problems: the danger of war and the fight for peace and the strategy of struggle for workers power.

The General Secretary of the Communist party has stated that his appraisal of the war-making powers of imperialism differs from Lenin's. Lenin taught that war, like exploitation, was an irremovable feature of capitalism. "So long as both capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace," he wrote, not once but many times. The only way to eradicate war and get world peace was through the abolition of imperialism in its main strongholds by the revolutionary working class.

In accord with Khrushchev's innovations at the Twentieth Congress, which made official doctrine of Stalin's revisionist practices, the new program discards the Leninist conception of imperialism and its corresponding revolutionary class struggle policies.

The draft correctly attributes prime responsibility for the war danger to imperialism. The collectivized, planned Soviet economy, unlike the system of the monopolist profiteers, does not benefit from military contracts or breed foreign wars to protect and promote private business interests. Insofar as the slogan of peaceful coexistence exposes the belligerence of the imperialist powers and underscores the peaceful aims of Soviet diplomacy, it not only accords with the facts but serves useful propaganda purposes.

But the policy pursued by the Kremlin and its followers under cover of peaceful coexistence has another meaning. It is stretched to cover, not only the maintenance of friendly relations between states with different social and political systems, to which there certainly can

be no objection, but the maintenance of existing relations between classes with antagonistic interests. As implemented by the Communist parties, it does far more to hold back the working masses from struggling for their own demands and power than to check the warmongers.

It is proper for Moscow to negotiate at any level with Washington for agreements which can help preserve peace and safeguard the interests of the workers states. But in pursuit of such objectives it is misleading and disastrous to depict the representatives of the rich as partisans of peace, as Eisenhower was depicted when "the spirit of Camp David" was at its height.

The document fails to put the formula of peaceful coexistence to the test of living experience. Khrushchev's reasoning and conclusions haven't yet won over the White House, the Pentagon or Congress. Kennedy refuses to recognize the People's Republic of China, supports Chiang, maintains the Seventh Fleet blockade. He and the CIA continue to conspire against Cuba. The new draft, however, does not mention Cuba at all or list it among the socialist countries.

Why this inexplicable inattention to Cuba and China, the countries most vulnerable to imperialist assault? Is it because the positions of these workers states upset the assumptions of peaceful coexistence and expose the fallacy in Khrushchev's line? Even if Peking and Havana wished to believe in Washington's peaceful intentions, the hostility of Kennedy's administration would speedily dispel such illusions. The fact is, neither capital sees eye to eye with Moscow on this point.

TO CREDIT the new revelation, the capitalist states can be made to disarm and their war-waging capacities nullified, not through the capture of power by the workers, but through the shift in the world relation of forces pivoted around the overwhelming strength of the Soviet Union and its allies. War is therefore avoidable even though capitalist militarism continues to exist with enough H-bombs to annihilate humanity fifty times over.

Lenin supported antimilitarist mass struggles calling for the reduction and end to armaments in capitalist countries. But he always took care to point out that the monopolists and militarists could quickly rearm so long as they controlled the economy and government. Purely military disarmament would not be effective without the economic expropriation and political displacement of the capitalist rulers.

Khrushchev, however, implies that the attainment of total disarmament would in itself assure world peace. He further contends that the military superiority of the Soviet Union on one side and the superdestructive capacity of nuclear weapons on the other make it impossible, unthinkable, for any but madmen to initiate war or attack any socialist country.

The program insinuates that World War III has been prevented up to now by Soviet might and its policy of peaceful coexistence. In reality, the results of the Chinese and the other colonial revolutions in altering the balance of world forces have done more to restrain the imperialist warmakers than any other single factor.

But this fact confirms Lenin's line of intransigent struggle against imperialist power, not the Stalinist course of conciliation.

To avert the threat of war, the program pins great hope upon the leaders of the "neutralist" bourgeoisie in the less developed nations as well as upon the "peace-loving" elements among the Western capitalists. A qualitative distinction is drawn between two opposite types of capitalists: the warmongering and the peace-loving. The document declares: "Support for the principle of peaceful coexistence is also in keeping with the interests of that section of the bourgeoisie which realizes that a thermonuclear war would not spare the ruling classes of capitalist society either."

It does not say where Kennedy is to be placed — among the peaceful coexisters or among the war fanatics. This calculated ambiguity on the role of the official head of U.S. militarism which so offends the Chinese Communists gives away the anti-Leninist foundations of Moscow's peace policy. Khrushchev is extending Stalin's policy of "collective security" with the capitalist powers and Popular Front collaboration with the progressive, peace-loving bourgeoisie which disoriented the workers in the 1930's but failed to prevent the Second World War.

Lenin's program hinged the struggle for peace, for socialism, for the defense of all revolutionary gains, not upon the resources of the Soviet Union alone, but upon the extension of the proletarian revolution on the world arena, and above all to the central strongholds of capitalist power in Western Europe and North America. The solution of all problems depended upon the development of the class struggle culminating in the conquest of power by the workers in one country after another.

Khrushchev's program sets forth a different course. The multiplying economic successes must prove so overwhelming that they will not only dispose of all basic problems at home but demoralize all opposition in the other parts of the globe. The preponderant power, prestige, and pressures of the "socialist community" will impose peace, force the imperialists to disarm, frustrate their schemes of reconquest. Moreover, by strengthening the position and morale of the workers, the advances of the Soviet bloc will create the conditions for easier transfer of power to the antimonopolist coalitions and ensure the transition to socialism by peaceful, gradual steps even in some capitalist countries.

THERE are many phrases about the need for struggle in the document aimed at reconciling discordant interests and opposing views by giving deceptive meanings to words. The partisans of nationalism and internationalism, of class compromise and class struggle, of Stalinism and Bolshevism can all find passages in the text to sanction their positions. Thus, immediately before the statement about the peacefully inclined sector of the bourgeoisie, we are told that the conception of peaceful coexistence "constitutes a specific form of class struggle" which "affords more favorable opportunities for the struggle of the working class in capitalist coun-

tries." Thus the line of peaceful coexistence is recommended on the grounds that it both promotes the class struggle of the workers and fits in with the interests of their peace-loving class enemies! Who can distinguish one side clearly amidst such deliberate confusion?

In reality, the summons to struggle is decorative and in practice subordinated to the main line of seeking some kind of collaboration and compromise with the progressive, peace-loving bourgeoisie. Indeed, if the successes of Soviet "socialism" can ensure peace and do so much else, where is the life-and-death necessity for the workers under capitalist domination to get rid of their oppressors and exploiters as soon as they can?

The tenor of the neo-Stalinist line is that the socialist forces can conquer all opposition even in the imperialist centers, not by the example of internal class power, but by the external power of Soviet example. Evolution, gradualism, take precedence over independent class struggle and revolutionary mass action. This expectation, which shaped the thinking of Utopian and reformist socialists, has become the cornerstone of Moscow's strategy in world politics.

The trouble is that the class enemies of the workers can learn equally well from the advances of the workers states. Will the imperialists continue to retreat and stand inactive as the Soviet Union proceeds from "socialism" to "communism" and undermines their power and prestige? Will they gracefully give up their rule and privileges — or fight to the death to retain them? Cuba provides a fresh example of how intransigent they can be.

It would be folly for serious socialists to bank on the most favorable development, and still worse to follow Moscow and make it the axis of practical political policy. The workers need less tranquilizers and more energizers to arouse them to the perils of the decadent capitalist system and inspire them to end it through their own conscious action.

Be realists, says Khrushchev to the Washington policy-makers. Recognize the new balance of world power and come to agreement on Berlin. But the imperialists are unyielding primarily because they fear the consequences of further shifts to their disadvantage. They will hardly permit an indefinite erosion of their power without taking drastic countermeasures.

How then is peaceful coexistence between the forces of capitalism and socialism and their states to be maintained for decades ahead in a world convulsed by colonial revolutions, mass movements of all kinds against the old order, and the stubborn refusal of Big Business to let such events attain their aims? This fundamental question of world politics is barely raised, and certainly not answered, in this document.

IT APPEARS untimely, even unseemly, to advance peaceful coexistence as the panacea for peace while tension tightens over Berlin. Let us assume that this crisis, like others between the Soviet bloc and the Western powers, is overcome. What guarantees are there that the ultimate showdown can forever be circumvented if the militarists and monopolists maintain their sway in Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and Tokyo?

The document gives no iron-clad guarantees; it is hedged with conditions. But it is precisely the efficacy of the most important of these conditions, the restraints against war present among the capitalist possessors of power, that is the point at issue. So long as the masterminds in the Kremlin cannot stand bond for the triumph of the pro-peace elements in the imperialist camp — and even if they did — their advice to stake the fate of humanity upon this turn of events is, to say the least, questionable.

The program's preventives for war rest upon a hypothesis that remains to be tested and is ill-founded. It assumes that no circumstances will drive the imperialists to nuclear war because it is contrary to their self-interest. Only madmen would take such a course. Yet even today in Washington there are voices urging the risk of war over Berlin. Doomed classes are the most prone to unreasonable actions to ward off their downfall.

At bottom the policy of peaceful coexistence relies, not upon the overwhelming strength of the Soviet Union and surely not upon the conquest of power by the workers, but rather upon the capitalists' fearful recognition of the consequences of nuclear war to themselves. Sober calculation should convince them, even if socialist opposition does not compel them, that peace is better than atomic holocaust. They will embrace retreat, defeat, dispossession rather than unloose the horrors of nuclear destruction.

This position shifts the basis of the struggle for peace from one class force to its opposite. Lenin held that the thrust toward war was inherent in imperialism and the danger would not lessen but increase as its system was more threatened. President Kennedy stated in a recent speech that the policy of this country is based ultimately on military power. The stepped-up arms race and attitude of the NATO allies over Berlin testify to the truth of Lenin's approach which the document dismisses as outdated.

Khrushchev's program blunts the edges of class struggle in favor of class collaboration. Just as it tells the Soviet workers to place full confidence in the enlightened and reformed successors of Stalin, so it advises the workers in the West to stake all upon changing the character and course of the ruling bourgeoisie. Instead of relying upon their own independent class organizations and actions for attaining their ends and defending their welfare, they are to look for alliances with the most amenable segments of the capitalist rulers.

What this means for American socialists can be seen in the following policy statement by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist party USA, published in the July 16 *Worker*. "The situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the warmongering and fascist forces, who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change in policy in the direction of peaceful coexistence and defense of democracy."

Here is the concrete application of the neo-Stalinist program in the dominant capitalist country. Kennedy is not seen as the political leader of the monopolists and militarists but as the victim and target of the reactionaries and fascists. The main task of the progressive forces today is not to combat and expose his role as the principal executive of imperialist policy but to exert counterpressure enough to redirect his administration into democratic and progressive channels. The precedent, Hall tells us, is Franklin D. Roosevelt, signer of the Smith Act, who, as we all know, ended his regime in the midst of peace and democracy.

THIS is the real meaning of the Communist party's line of peaceful coexistence in the political life of the United States today. As followers of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, we reject such opportunism. It has already inflicted too much damage upon American and world socialism for us to accept it, even on the exalted authority of Khrushchev.

... Foster

(Continued from page 106)

He could not go over to the side of American capitalism; his role, his fame, and even more than that, his whole life, were irrevocably tied to the working class movement. To be sure, he might have considered the alternative of breaking with Stalinism and undertaking to create a new revolutionary movement from scratch. But for that he would have had to sacrifice his popularity, his prestige, his position and some kind of authority — or a simulacrum of it. It was not in Foster's character to do that. So there he is, as his last sands run out, still clinging to his illusion that in trying to outwit history he is in some way or other making history.

Foster and the Later Stalinists

January 31, 1958

I do think it rather important, if one is to probe the phenomenon of American Stalinism to the bottom, to recognize the difference between Foster and that generation of young idealists who came into the party after it had become completely Stalinized and who never knew any other school.

Foster was past 40 when he came to the CP in 1921. His character, his general conceptions and his ambitions had been fully formed in the previous movements. There is no doubt that he had learned something from the Russians and changed a little. But his primary strategy was to adapt himself to the new power in order to serve his original ambition to rearrange things in the American trade-union movement and advance his own career in the process. The savage irony in the whole affair is that the Stalinist power, which he had set out to use, used him instead and used him up and is still using him in his last hour. Who can feel sorry when the biter gets bit? Not me.

You raise an interesting question when you say: "It's better that he should be a fake Stalinist than a real one." I personally find it easier at least to try to have a sympathetic understanding of the young men who joined the party in the early Thirties with full conviction that they were serving the cause of communism. Gates' articles in the *New York Post*, which I have just read, unknowingly draw a poignant picture of this deceived and betrayed generation of young idealists. Their story remains to be written, but I suppose it would take a deep-seeing artist to do justice to the theme. There is a profounder tragedy in their aspirations and defeat than in the career of Foster who came to Stalinism with tongue in cheek.

The 1919 Lenin Program Of the CPSU (Bolsheviks)

(Adopted March 22, 1919 at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party)

THE October Revolution (October 25 [November 7], 1917) in Russia brought about the dictatorship of the proletariat, which with the support of the poorest peasantry, or semi-proletariat, began to lay down the foundation of communist society. The course of the revolution in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all the progressive countries, the spread of the Soviet form of this movement, *i.e.*, a form which directly aims at the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat — all this showed that the era of world proletarian communist revolution had been inaugurated.

The revolution was the inevitable result of the development of capitalism, which is still dominant in most civilized countries. Our old programme correctly (if the incorrect title given to the Party — Social-Democratic — is left out of account) characterised the nature of capitalism and of bourgeois society in the following postulates:

The chief feature of such a society is commodity production on the basis of capitalist production relations, under which the most important and considerable part of the means of production and exchange belongs to a numerically small class of persons, while the enormous majority of the population consists of proletarians and semi-proletarians, who owing to their economic position are compelled permanently or periodically to sell their labour power, *i.e.*, to hire themselves to the capitalists and to create by their labour the income of the upper classes of society.

The sphere of dominion of capitalist production relations is extending wider and wider as the constant im-

provement in technology, by increasing the economic importance of big enterprises, leads to the squeezing out of the petty independent producers, to the conversion of some of them into proletarians and to the restriction of the part played by the remainder in the social and economic life and at times subjecting them to the more or less obvious, more or less burdensome dependence on capital.

However, technical progress enables the capitalists to apply female and child labour to an ever greater extent in the process of production and exchange of goods. And since, on the other hand, this progress brings about a relative decrease in the capitalists' demand for human labour power, the demand for labour necessarily lags behind the supply and this increases the dependence of wage labour on capital and raises the level of exploitation of labour.

This state of things in the bourgeois countries and the growing competition among them in the world market make it more and more difficult for them to sell the goods, which are produced in ever increasing quantities. Overproduction, which manifests itself in more or less acute industrial crises, followed by more or less lengthy periods of industrial stagnation, is an inevitable consequence of the development of the productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation in their turn still further ruin the small producers, still further increase the dependence of wage labour on capital, and lead still more rapidly to a relative and sometimes to an absolute deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

Thus the improvement in technology, which implies an increase in the productivity of labour and an increase of social wealth, brings about in bourgeois society an increase in social inequality, a greater disparity between property owners and proletarians, a greater precariousness of existence, as well as unemployment

and various hardships for ever increasing strata of the toiling masses.

But the more the contradictions inherent in bourgeois society grow and develop, the more the dissatisfaction of the toilers and of the exploited masses with the existing state of affairs increases, their numerical strength and solidarity increases, and their struggle against their exploiters becomes more intense. At the same time the improvement in technology by concentration of the means of production and exchange, and socialisation of the process of labour in capitalist enterprises, more and more rapidly creates the material possibility of substituting communist industrial relations for capitalist relations, *i.e.*, the possibility of bringing about the social revolution which is the final goal of the entire activity of the international Communist Party, the conscious exponent of the class movement.

Having replaced private property in the means of production and exchange by social property, and having introduced a planned organisation of the socially productive process in order to secure the well being and many-sided development of all the members of society, the proletarian social revolution will abolish the division of society into classes and thereby free the whole of oppressed humanity, for it will put an end to all forms of exploitation of one section of society by another.

The necessary prerequisite of this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, the conquest by the proletariat of political power which will enable it to suppress all resistance on the part of the exploiters. Setting itself the task of making the proletariat capable of performing its great historic mission, the international Communist Party organises it into an independent political party opposed to all the bourgeois parties, guides all the manifestations of its class struggle, reveals to it the irreconcilable opposition

between the interests of the exploiters and those of the exploited masses, and explains to the proletariat the historical importance and the necessary prerequisites of the coming social revolution. At the same time it reveals to all the other toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of its position in capitalist society and the necessity of a social revolution for the purpose of liberating itself from the yoke of capital. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, calls on all strata of the toiling and exploited population to join its ranks to the extent that these strata adopt the standpoint of the proletariat.

The process of the concentration and centralisation of capital by abolishing free competition led, at the beginning of the twentieth century, to the creation of powerful monopolistic associations of capitalists — syndicates, cartels, trusts, which acquired decisive importance in the whole of economic life. This process led to the merging of banking capital with industrial capital, to the enormous concentration of capital and to an increase in the export of capital to foreign countries. Trusts covering entire groups of capitalist powers commenced the economic partition of the world, which has already been divided territorially among the richest countries. This epoch of finance capital, which inevitably intensifies the struggle between the capitalist countries, is the epoch of imperialism.

The inevitable corollary of all this is imperialist wars for markets, for spheres of investment of capital, for raw materials and labour, *i.e.*, for world domination and for power over small and weak nationalities. This was precisely the nature of the first great imperialist war of 1914-1918.

The extremely high degree of development of world capitalism in general and the replacement of free competition by state monopoly capitalism, the fact that the banks and the capitalist corporations are creating an apparatus for the social regulation of the process of production and distribution of products, the rise in prices and increased oppression of the working class by the syndicates due to the growth of capitalist monopolies, the enslavement of the working class by the imperialist state, the gigantic handicaps imposed on the economic and political

struggle of the proletariat, the horrors, calamities and ruin caused by the imperialist war — all make the collapse of capitalism and the transition to a higher type of social economic system inevitable.

The imperialist war could not result in either a just peace or in the capitalist governments' establishing a more or less stable peace. At the present stage of capitalist development such a war was bound and is bound to be transformed before our very eyes into the civil war of the exploited working masses, led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The growing proletarian offensive, especially when it is victorious in various countries, increases the resistance of the exploiters and induces them to create new forms of international associations of capitalists (the League of Nations, etc.), which while organising, on a world scale, the systematic exploitation of all the nations of the world, at present direct their efforts towards the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to the combination of civil war within separate countries with revolutionary wars of self-defense on the part of proletarian countries and of oppressed nations against the yoke of the imperialist powers.

In such conditions, the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament under capitalism, of arbitration, etc., are not only a reactionary Utopia but the down-right deception of the toilers, intended to disarm the proletariat and to divert it from the task of disarming the exploiters.

Only a proletarian communist revolution can lead humanity out of the deadlock created by imperialism and imperialist wars. No matter what difficulties the revolution may have to encounter and in spite of temporary failure of waves of counter-revolution the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable.

This victory of the world proletarian revolution calls for the greatest confidence, the closest fraternal union and the greatest possible unity of revolutionary action on the part of the working class in progressive countries.

These conditions cannot be

achieved unless a determined rupture is made on matters of principle, and a ruthless struggle is waged against the bourgeois distortion of socialism which has gained the upper hand among the leadership of the official Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties.

Such a distortion is, on the one hand, the opportunist and social-chauvinist trend which professes to be socialist in words, yet is chauvinist in practice, and covers up the defence of the rapacious interests of the fatherland, both in general and especially during the imperialist war of 1914-1918. This trend was created by the fact that in the progressive capitalist countries the bourgeoisie by robbing the colonial and weak nations were able, out of the surplus profits obtained by this robbery to place the upper strata of the proletariat in their countries in a privileged position, to bribe them, to secure for them in peace time tolerable, petty-bourgeois conditions of life, and to take into its service the leaders of that stratum. Opportunists and social-chauvinists, being the servants of the bourgeoisie, are actually the direct class enemies of the proletariat, specially now, when, in alliance with the capitalists, they are suppressing by force of arms the revolutionary movement of the proletariat both in their own countries and in foreign countries.

On the other hand, the "centrist" movement is also a bourgeois distortion of socialism. That movement is also found in all capitalist countries. It vacillates between the social-chauvinists and the Communists, advocates union with the former, and strives to revive the bankrupt Second International. The only leader in the proletarian struggle for emancipation is the new, Third, Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a detachment. This International was created by the formation in a number of countries, particularly in Germany, of Communist Parties which were made up of the genuinely proletarian elements of former Socialist Parties. It was formally established in March, 1919, at its First Congress, held in Moscow. The Communist International, which is winning increasing sympathy among the masses

of the proletariat of all countries, reverts to Marxism, not only in name, but also in its entire ideological and political content, and in all its activities applies the revolutionary teachings of Marx, purged of bourgeois opportunist distortions.

In developing the concrete tasks of the proletarian dictatorship as applied to Russia, the principal feature of which is the numerical preponderance of the petty-bourgeois strata of the population, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union defines these tasks in the following manner:

In the Sphere of General Politics

1. The bourgeois republic, even the most democratic one, sanctified by the slogans of national or non-class will of the people, inevitably has proved in fact to be — owing to the existence of private property in land and in other means of production — a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a machine for the exploitation and suppression of the overwhelming majority of the toilers by a handful of capitalists. Contrary to this, proletarian or Soviet democracy has transformed the mass organisations of just those classes oppressed by capitalism, the proletarians and the poorest peasants (semi-proletarians), *i.e.*, the enormous majority of the population, into the sole and permanent basis of the entire state apparatus, local and central, from top to bottom. In this way, the Soviet government introduced (and, incidentally, in a much wider form than anywhere else) local and regional self-government, without any official authorities appointed from above. The task of the Party is to work untiringly for the complete and actual realisation of this highest type of democracy which, in order that it may function properly, requires a steady improvement in the level of culture, organisation and activity of the masses.

2. Contrary to bourgeois democracy, which conceals the class nature of its state, the Soviet power openly recognises that every state must inevitably be a class state until the division of society into classes and along with it all state power finally disappears. The Soviet state, by its very essence, has the object of crush-

ing the resistance of the exploiters, and the Soviet constitution, proceeding from the standpoint that freedom of any kind is a deception if it runs contrary to the liberation of labour from the yoke of capital, does not hesitate to deprive the exploiters of their political rights. The task of the Party of the proletariat, while persistently suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and combating ideologically the deep-rooted prejudices concerning the absolute nature of bourgeois rights and liberties, is at the same time to explain that deprivation of political rights and restriction of liberty are necessary only as temporary measures to fight any attempts of the exploiters to maintain or restore their privileges. To the extent that the objective possibility of exploitation of man by man disappears, the necessity for such temporary measures will disappear, and the Party will strive to diminish these measures.

3. Bourgeois democracy confined itself to the formal extension of political rights and liberties, such as the right of assembly, right of association, and freedom of the press, to all citizens alike. But in reality, administrative practice, and above all the economic enslavement of the toilers under bourgeois democracy, has always rendered it impossible for the toilers to make any wide use of these rights and liberties.

On the contrary, proletarian democracy, instead of formally claiming rights and liberties, actually grants them primarily and mainly to those classes of the population which have been oppressed by capitalism, namely the proletariat and the peasantry. For this purpose the Soviet government expropriates the bourgeoisie from buildings, printing plants, paper stores, etc., and places them at the complete disposal of the workers and of their organisations.

The task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to draw ever wider masses of the toiling population into the enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties and to widen the material possibilities for this.

4. For centuries bourgeois democracy has been proclaiming the equality of men, irrespective of sex, religion, race and nationality, but capitalism never allowed this equality

to be realised in practice anywhere and during its imperialist stage brought about the most intense oppression of races and nationalities. Only because the Soviet government is the government of the toilers was it able for the first time in history to introduce this equality of rights completely and in all spheres of life, including the absolute elimination of the last traces of inequality of women in the sphere of marriage and general family rights. The task of the Party at the present moment is mainly to carry on ideological and educational work for the purpose of finally stamping out all traces of the former inequality and prejudices, especially among the backward strata of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Not satisfied with the formal equality of women, the Party strives to free women from the material burden of obsolete domestic economy, by replacing this with the house-communes, public dining-halls, central laundries, creches, etc.

5. While affording the toiling masses incomparably greater opportunities than those enjoyed under bourgeois democracy and parliamentary government, to elect and recall deputies in a manner easiest and most accessible to the workers and peasants, the Soviet government at the same time abolishes the negative aspect of parliamentary government, especially the separation of the legislature and the executive, the isolation of the representative institutions from the masses, etc.

The Soviet government draws the state apparatus closer to the masses also by the fact that the electoral constituency and the basic unit for the state is no longer a territorial district, but an industrial unit (works, factory).

The task of the Party is to conduct work in this direction in order to bring the organs of power still closer to the masses of the toilers on the basis of an ever stricter and fuller application of practical democracy by the masses, especially by making functionaries responsible and accountable for their actions.

6. Whereas bourgeois democracy, in spite of its declarations, has converted its army into a weapon of the propertied classes, separating it from the toiling masses and opposing it to

them, and has rendered it difficult or even impossible for soldiers to exercise their political rights, the Soviet state combines in its organs the Soviets, workers and soldiers on a basis of complete equality of rights and identity of interests. The task of the Party is to maintain and develop this solidarity of workers and soldiers in the Soviets, to strengthen the indissoluble ties between the armed forces and the organisations of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

7. The industrial urban proletariat played a leading role throughout the revolution, because it was the most concentrated, united and enlightened section of the toiling masses, and was most hardened in the struggle. It assumed the leading role from the very inception of the Soviets and throughout the whole course of their evolution into organs of power. Our Soviet constitution reflects this circumstance by preserving certain privileges for the industrial proletariat as compared with the more scattered petty-bourgeois masses in the villages.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while explaining the temporary nature of these advantages which are historically bound up with the difficulties attending the organisation of the countryside on socialistic lines, must strive to secure the persistent and systematic utilisation of this position by the industrial workers in order, in contrast to the narrow craft and narrow trade union interests fostered by capitalism among the workers, to unite more closely the progressive workers with the most backward and scattered masses of the rural proletarians, semi-proletarians and also the middle peasantry.

8. Only the Soviet organisation of the state enabled the proletarian revolution to smash at once and radically destroy the old bourgeois bureaucratic and juridical state apparatus. However, the inadequate cultural level of the broad masses, the lack of necessary experience in administrative affairs among the workers, appointed by the masses to occupy responsible posts, the necessity to hurriedly and under difficult conditions appoint specialists of the old school and the diversion of the most educated stratum of the urban work-

ers to military work brought about a partial revival of bureaucracy within the Soviet apparatus.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while conducting a most determined struggle against bureaucratic tendencies, advocates the following measures for the complete elimination of this evil:

(1) The obligatory participation of every member of the Soviet in definite work connected with the administration of the state.

(2) Consecutive rotation in this work so that every member is able to acquire experience in all branches of administration.

(3) The entire toiling population to be gradually drawn into the work of state administration.

The complete and all-sided application of all these measures, which represent further progress along the path taken by the Paris Commune, and the simplification of the functions of administration, with the raising of the cultural level of the toilers, will lead towards the abolition of the state power.

In the Sphere of National Relations

9. In the national question the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the following postulates:

(1) The cornerstone of our policy is the policy of drawing together the proletarians and the semi-proletarians of the various nationalities for the purpose of waging a joint revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

(2) In order to overcome the distrust felt by the working masses of oppressed countries towards the proletariat of states which used to oppress those countries, it is necessary to abolish all the privileges enjoyed by any national group, to establish complete equality of rights for all nationalities, to recognise the right of colonies and dependent nations to separation.

(3) With the same aim in view the Party proposes, as a transitional form towards complete unity, a federation of states organised according to the Soviet type.

(4) As for the question as to who is to express the will of the nation to separate, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopts the historical class viewpoint, taking into consid-

eration the stage of the historical development of the given nation: whether it is evolving from medievalism to bourgeois democracy, or from bourgeois democracy to Soviet or proletarian democracy, etc.

In any case, the proletariat of the nation which has been the oppressing nation must exercise special caution and pay special attention to the survivals of national sentiment among the toiling masses of oppressed nations or those not possessing full rights. Only by following such a policy will it be possible to create conditions for really durable, voluntary unity among the nationally heterogeneous elements of the international proletariat, as was shown by the experience of uniting a number of national Soviet republics around Soviet Russia.

In the Military Sphere

10. In the military sphere the tasks of the Party are set out in the following fundamental postulates:

(1) In the epoch of disintegration of imperialism and growing civil war it is impossible either to preserve the old army or build up a new one on the so-called non-class or national basis. The Red Army as a weapon of the proletarian dictatorship must of necessity bear an openly class character, i.e., it must be made up exclusively of the proletariat and the semi-proletarian strata of peasantry which are akin to it. Only when classes are abolished will this class army be transformed into a national socialist militia.

(2) It is necessary widely to extend military training to all proletarians and semi-proletarians, and to introduce the teaching of the corresponding subjects in the schools.

(3) The work of the military instruction and training of the Red Army is proceeding on the basis of class solidarity and socialist education. Therefore, reliable and devoted Communists must be appointed to work with the military commanders, and communist nuclei must be established in each unit in order to maintain internal contact of ideas and class-conscious discipline.

(4) Contrary to the regime of the old army it is necessary to reduce the period of barrack training to the shortest possible time; to transform

"Freedom" Through Starvation

"Yet, we still allow many other Cuban imports into this country in exchange for U.S. dollars, foodstuffs, and many other items whose exportation can only bolster the Castro regime.

"Surely this policy cannot continue if we expect to advance freedom at full speed in Cuba. Positive action is necessary to hasten Castro's downfall. Mr. Speaker, I proudly join my colleagues who are fighting for this objective and call upon the Congress to enact a complete trade embargo which would help end this tyranny." — From remarks of Representative Seymour Halpern of N. Y. in the U.S. House of Representatives, Aug. 15, 1961.

military barracks into military-political schools, to establish the closest possible contact between military units and factories, works, trade unions and the organisations of the rural poor.

(5) The necessary organisational contacts and stability can be given the young revolutionary army only if the commanding personnel, although at first only the commanders of the lower units, are recruited from among class-conscious workers and peasants. The training of the most capable and energetic soldiers devoted to the cause of socialism for the position of commanders is therefore one of the most important tasks in creating an army.

(6) The widest utilisation and application of the operative and technical experience of the last world war is necessary. In this connection military specialists who have passed through the school of the old army must be attracted to the organisation of the army and to its operative guidance. At the same time, the necessary conditions for such utilisation of specialists is the concentration in the hands of the working class of the political guidance of the army and all-embracing supervision over the commanding personnel.

(7) The demand that commanders be elected, which was of enormous importance in point of principle in regard to the bourgeois army, where the commanding personnel was selected and trained as an apparatus of class subjection of the soldiers and through them of the working masses,

has now lost its importance in principle for the Red Army of workers and peasants, which is based on a class principle. The possibility of combining the principles of election and appointment is dictated to the revolutionary class army exclusively by practical considerations and depends on the level reached in its formation, the degree of solidarity of army units, the existence of cadres of commanders, etc.

In the Sphere of Administration of Justice

11. Having taken all power in its hands and having completely abolished all the organs of bourgeois domination — the courts of the former system — proletarian democracy substitutes for the bourgeois-democratic formula: "Judges elected by the people," the class slogan: "Judges elected of the toilers and only by the toilers," applies this slogan throughout the whole juridical system, and at the same time levels the rights of both sexes in regard to electing judges and the exercise of judicial functions.

In order to draw the broadest masses of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry into the administration of justice, the system of constantly alternating temporary judge-assessors has been inaugurated. The mass labour organisations, the trade unions, etc., should take part in compiling the lists of these judge-assessors.

Having set up a uniform people's court in place of the endless number of former courts of divers structure and numerous judicial instances, the Soviet government has simplified the organisation of the court and has made it completely accessible to the population and abolished all red tape in legal procedure.

After repealing the laws of the deposed governments the Soviet government has charged the judges elected by the Soviets to carry out the will of the proletariat and apply its decree; and failing such, or if they do not fully cover the case, to be guided by socialist ideas of justice.

In the sphere of punishment the courts organised in this fashion have already brought about a radical change in the character of penalties. The courts widely apply conditional

sentences, they have introduced public censure as a form of punishment, they have substituted compulsory labour without loss of liberty for deprivation of liberty, replaced prisons by educational institutions and introduced the practice of comrades' courts.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in advocating the further development of the courts in the same direction, must strive to attract the entire toiling population to the exercise of judicial functions and to have the system of punishment finally replaced by a system of educational measures.

In the Sphere of Education

12. In the sphere of education the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set itself the task of completing the work commenced with the Revolution of October, 1917, of transforming the school from a weapon of class domination of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes, into an instrument for the communist regeneration of society.

During the period of proletarian dictatorship, *i.e.*, during the period of preparation of the conditions for the complete realisation of communism, the school must not only be a vehicle of communist principles in general, but a vehicle of the ideological, organisational and educational influence of the proletariat over the proletarian and non-proletarian strata of the toiling masses, for the purpose of educating a generation capable of finally establishing communism. The immediate task along that path is the further development of the following school and educational principles which have already been applied by the Soviet government:

(1) The inauguration of free, compulsory, general and polytechnical education (which in the theory and practice acquaints the students with all the main branches of industry) for all children of both sexes up to the age of 17.

(2) The establishment of a network of pre-school institutions, creches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc., in order to improve so-

cial education and to emancipate women.

(3) The complete application of the principles of the uniform labour schools with teaching in the native language, co-education, absolutely secular education, *i.e.*, free from any kind of religious influence, establishment of close connection between instruction and socially productive work, in order to train fully educated members of communist society.

(4) Food, clothing, footwear and school requirements to be supplied to all school children and students at the expense of the state.

(5) The training of new cadres of educationalists imbued with the ideas of communism.

(6) The attraction of the toiling population to active participation in the work of education (the development of "education councils," mobilisation of literate persons).

(7) All-round state assistance to self-education and self-development of workers and peasants (the establishment of a network of institutions for out-of-school education, such as libraries, adult schools, people's palaces and universities, courses, lectures, cinematographs, studios, etc.).

(8) The extensive development of vocational education for persons of the age of 17 and upwards in connection with general polytechnical knowledge.

(9) Universities to be thrown wide open to all those wishing to study, but primarily the workers; all competent persons to be drawn to the universities as teachers; the removal of all artificial obstacles preventing young scientific workers from aspiring to professional chairs, students to be materially provided for in order that workers and peasants may be able to attend the universities.

(10) It is equally necessary to open and make accessible to the toilers all the art treasures that were created on the basis of the exploitation of their labour, treasures which hitherto were exclusively at the disposal of the exploiters.

(11) The development of the most far-reaching propaganda of communist ideas, for which purpose the machinery and means of state power must be utilised.

In the Sphere of Religion

13. With regard to religion, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not confine itself to the already decreed separation of church and state and of school and church, *i.e.*, measures advocated in the programmes of bourgeois democracy, which the latter has nowhere consistently carried out to the end owing

"So Noble, So Kind"

"The turkey was brought grown up from the U.S.; the pig was brought from the U.S.; the ham was bought, the bacon was bought, lard was bought, fats were bought; about \$50,000,000 were imported in fats. Then, the Revolutionary Government began, almost from the beginning, a policy of trying to produce these chickens here . . .

"Then when they realize that we are importing, that we are trying to develop a national policy, a policy tending to supply us with all those products without depending on foreign countries, they take another step and place an embargo on the chickens, the hens, the cows. They even embargoed the cows . . .

"They with their ever-present pharisaical policy, declared that foods will not be embargoed. Of course 'they are so noble, so kind.' The North American Government is 'so generous, so respectful of our country,' so anxious for 'a better standard of living for our people.'

"How kind they are! They wanted to leave us without oil; they had left us without a quota, they had left us without raw materials; they left us without spare parts . . . but they were 'very kind and did not want us to be hungry,' and that is why they declare that they are not going to embargo their food exports. Of course pork is food, cows are food, and the cow produces milk which is food; poultry produces meat which is food. But all that mattered to them was that we should not develop that production here . . . It was a policy of the pharisaical type." — Fidel Castro's speech on the national economy, July 4, 1961

to the diverse and actual ties which bind capital with religious propaganda.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The Party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organisations of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working masses from religious prej-

udices and organises the widest possible scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda. At the same time it is necessary carefully to avoid giving offense to the religious sentiments of believers, which only leads to the strengthening of religious fanaticism.

In the Sphere of Economics

14. Persistently to continue and to complete the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, which has been started and which in the main has already been completed. The means of production and exchange to be made the property of the Soviet Republic, *i.e.*, the common property of all the toilers.

15. The principal and basic object, which determines the entire economic policy of the Soviet Union is the utmost development of the productive forces. In view of the state of ruin in the country, the immediate practical line to be pursued and to which all else must be subordinated is at any cost to increase the output of commodities most needed by the people. The success of the work performed by each Soviet institution connected with national economy shall be insured by the practical results achieved in this field. In this connection it is necessary in the first instance to draw attention to the following:

(1) The disintegration of the imperialist system of economics left as a legacy to the initial period of Soviet construction a somewhat chaotic state of production and management of production. The more imperative, therefore, is the fundamental task of uniting the entire economic activity of the country in a uniform national plan: the maximum centralisation of production, *i.e.*, unification of separate branches and groups of branches of industry, its concentration in the best production units and the rapid fulfillment of economic tasks; the maximum co-ordination of the entire production machinery; the rational and economic utilisation of all the material resources of the country.

At the same time efforts must be made to establish economic co-operation and political contact with other nations and simultaneously to strive to establish a single economic plan

co-ordinated with those nations which have already adopted the Soviet system.

(2) With regard to petty and handicraft industries, these must be widely utilised by placing government orders with the handicraftsmen, by including the handicrafts and petty industries in the general plan of supply of raw materials and fuel and by giving them financial assistance, provided the separate handicraftsmen, handicraft artels, producers' co-operatives and petty enterprises combine in bigger production and industrial units; such associations must be encouraged by granting them economic privileges, which along with other measures are directed towards paralysing the tendency of the handicraftsmen to become petty enterprisers and towards effecting the painless transition of these backward methods of production to the higher forms of big mechanised industry.

(3) The organisational apparatus of socialised industry must in the first place rely on the trade unions. The latter must to an increasing degree free themselves from the narrow craft spirit and become big industrial associations embracing the majority and gradually all the workers in the given branch of production.

Since, according to the laws of the Soviet Republic and by established practice, the trade unions already participate in all the local and central organs of management of industry, they must eventually concentrate in their hands the entire management of the whole of national economy as a single economic unit.

Establishing in this way indissoluble ties between the central state administration, national economy and the broad masses of the workers, the trade unions must draw the latter as much as possible into the immediate work of business management. The participation of the trade unions in business management, and their drawing the broad masses into this work, represent at the same time the principal means of struggle against the bureaucratisation of the economic apparatus of the Soviet government and render possible the establishment of genuine popular control over the results of production.

(4) The utmost utilisation of all the available labour in the state which is essential for the planned development of national economy, its proper distribution and redistribution among the various territorial regions as well as branches of national economy must be the immediate task of the economic policy of the Soviet government; it can be achieved only in close alliance with the trade unions. The complete mobilisation by the Soviet government in conjunction with the trade unions of all persons capable of working, for definite social work, must be carried out much more widely and systematically than has been done hitherto.

(5) At a time when the capitalist method of organising labour is falling to pieces, the productive forces of the country can be restored and developed and the socialist method of production consolidated only on the basis of the comradesly discipline of the toilers, of a maximum degree of initiative on their part, of their sense of responsibility and of the strictest mutual control over the productivity of labour.

The attainment of that object requires persistent, systematic work of re-educating the masses, which work is now rendered easier precisely because the masses see that the capitalists, landowners and merchants are really being eliminated and by their own practical experience arrive at the conclusion that their welfare depends exclusively on the discipline they display.

In this work of creating new socialist discipline, the principal part falls to the share of the trade unions. The latter, abandoning the beaten track, must, in order to realise this aim, apply and test in practice various measures, such as the fixing of methods of accounting and of rates of output, the establishment of responsibility before special workers' (comrades') courts, etc.

(6) The same task of developing the productive forces requires the immediate, wide and all-sided utilisation of specialists in science and technology who are left as a legacy of capitalism, despite the fact that in most cases they are inevitably imbued with bourgeois ideas and habits. The Party believes that the period of acute struggle with this

stratum, caused by their organised sabotage, is over, because this sabotage has on the whole been broken down. The Party, in close alliance with trade unions, must pursue its former policy: on the one hand, not to make the slightest political concession to this bourgeois stratum, and ruthlessly suppress all its counter-revolutionary tendencies, and on the other hand fight with equal ruthlessness against the pseudo-radical and in reality ignorant conceit that the toilers can overcome capitalism and the bourgeois regime without learning from the bourgeois specialists, without making use of them, without going through a long schooling alongside with them.

While striving for equality of remuneration for every kind of work and for full realisation of communism, the Soviet government cannot set itself the immediate task of realising this equality at the present time, when only the first steps are being taken from capitalism to communism. Therefore it is necessary for some time to come to pay a higher remuneration to specialists, in order that they may work not worse, but better than before, and for the same reason it is impossible to dispense with the system of bonuses for the most successful speedy organisational work.

It is equally necessary to place the bourgeois specialists in a comradesly environment, common work, hand in hand with the masses of rank and file workers, led by class-conscious Communists, thereby contributing to the mutual understanding and rapprochement between the physical workers and brain workers, whom capitalism has divided.

(7) The Soviet government has already passed a number of measures for the development of science and for bringing it into closer connection with production: the establishment of a whole network of new applied science institutes, laboratories, experimental stations, experimental work of testing new technical methods, improvements and inventions, the registration and organisation of all scientific resources and means, etc. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union supports all these measures and strives for their further development and the creation of most

favourable conditions for scientific work in connection with the raising of the productive forces of the country.

In the Sphere of Agriculture

16. The Soviet government, having completely abolished private property in land, is proceeding to carry out a whole series of measures towards the organisation of large-scale socialist agriculture. The following are the most important of these measures: (1) the organisation of state farms, *i.e.*, big socialist farms; (2) support to societies and co-operatives for the collective cultivation of land; (3) the organisation of state sowing on all unsowed lands, no matter to whom they belong; (4) state mobilisation of all agronomists in order to carry out energetic measures for the raising of the level of agriculture; (5) support to agricultural communes, the latter being absolutely voluntary associations of farmers for the purpose of joint farming on a big scale.

Regarding all these measures as the only road to the absolutely necessary raising of the productivity of agricultural labour, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strives to secure the most complete realisation of these measures, for their extension to the more backward regions of the country and for still further steps in the same direction.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union specially advocates the following:

(1) All-sided state support to the agricultural cooperatives, which are working up agricultural produce.

(2) An extensive system of land improvement and reclamation.

(3) Wide and planned loaning of implements to the poor and middle peasants through hire-stations set up for that purpose.

Taking into consideration that small peasant farming will exist for a long time to come, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strives for the fulfilment of a number of measures directed towards the raising of the productivity of peasant farming. Such measures are: (1) rationalisation of the system of the peasant land tenure; (2) supplying the peasants with improved seeds and fertil-

isers; (3) improvement of the breed of peasants' cattle; (4) spreading of agronomic knowledge; (5) agronomic aid to the peasants; (6) repair of agricultural implements of the peasants in the Soviet repair shop; (7) organisation of stations for hiring implements, experimental stations, model fields, etc.; (8) reclamation of peasant lands.

17. In view of the fact that the contrast between town and country is one of the most far-reaching causes of the economic and cultural backwardness of the villages and that in a period of great crisis like the present, both town and country are faced with the immediate danger of degeneration and ruin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards the abolition of this contrast as one of the fundamental tasks of communist construction and in addition to general measures regards the following as necessary: far-reaching and planned recruiting of industrial workers for communist construction in the field of agriculture, stimulating the activity of the national "workers' assistance committees" already organised by the Soviet government for this purpose, and so on.

18. In all its work in the villages, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continues, as before, to rely on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of the village; it organises, first of all, these strata into an independent force in the villages, by setting up Party nuclei, organisations of poor peasants, special types of trade unions of rural proletarians and semi-proletarians, etc., brings them into closer contact with the town proletariat and wrests them from the influence of the village bourgeoisie and the small property interests.

With respect to the kulak class — the village bourgeoisie — the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is resolutely to combat their exploiting tendencies, to suppress their resistance to the Soviet policy.

With respect to the middle peasants the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is gradually and systematically to draw them into the work of socialist construction. The Party sets itself the task of separating them from the kulaks,

winning them to the side of the working class by carefully attending to their needs, and of fighting their backwardness with ideological weapons and not by measures of repression, of striving, in all cases where their vital interests are concerned, to come to practical agreements with them making concessions to them in determining the methods of carrying out socialist reforms.

In the Sphere of Distribution

19. In the sphere of distribution the task of the Soviet government at the present time is persistently to continue to replace trade by planned, organised distribution of products on a national scale. The aim is to organise the entire population into a single system of consumers' communes, capable of distributing all the necessary products with the maximum of speed, plan and economy with the the minimum expenditure of labour, strictly centralising the entire machinery for distribution.

The consumers' communes and their associations must be based on the existing general and workers' co-operatives which are the largest organisation of consumers and constitute the best apparatus for mass distribution created by the history of capitalism.

Being of the opinion that, in principle, the further communist development of the co-operative apparatus and not its rejection is the only correct line to pursue, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must systematically continue its policy and must impose on all Party members the duty of working in the co-operatives; they must guide them with the help of the trade unions in a communist spirit, develop the initiative and discipline of the toiling population organised in co-operatives, strive to organise the entire population in the co-operatives and to unite all these co-operatives into a single co-operative society embracing the entire Soviet Union. Finally, and most important, the predominating influence of the proletariat over all the other sections of the toilers must always be maintained, and various measures facilitating and achieving the transition from petty-bourgeois co-operatives of the old capitalist

type to consumer communes led by proletarians and semi-proletarians must be tried in practice.

In the Sphere of Money and Banking

20. The Soviet government avoided the mistakes made by the Paris Commune; it immediately seized the State Bank and then proceeded to nationalise the private commercial banks, to unite the nationalised banks, the saving banks and treasuries with the State Bank, thus creating the basis for a single national bank of the Soviet republic and transforming the bank from a centre of economic domination of the exploiters into a weapon of the workers' government and a lever for economic revival. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, having set itself the aim of consistently completing the work started by the Soviet government, brings to the forefront the following principles:

(1) The monopolisation of the whole banking system by the Soviet state.

(2) A radical change and simplification of banking operations by transforming the banking apparatus into an apparatus for uniform registration and general accounting in the Soviet republic, in proportion as planned national economy is organised; this will lead to the abolition of the bank and to its transformation into the central bookkeeping department of communist society.

21. During the initial stages of the transition period from capitalism to communism, pending the complete organisation of communist production and distribution of products, it is impossible to abolish money. Under these circumstances the bourgeois elements of the population continue to make use of money still remaining in private possession for the purpose of speculation, profiteering and robbing the toilers. Basing its policy on the nationalisation of the banks, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strives to carry out a number of measures which will widen the sphere of non-cash transactions, measures preparatory to the abolition of money: the compulsory depositing of money in the people's bank, the introduction of budget books, the replacement of money by cheques, short

"The Soviet Yankees of the Future"

"Most Americans have been misled by the fact that in the USSR we had to build whole new basic industries from the ground up. Such a thing could not happen in America, where you are already compelled to cut down on your farm area and to reduce your industrial production. As a matter of fact your tremendous technological equipment has been paralyzed by the crisis and already clamors to be put to use. You will be able to make a rapid step-up of consumption by your people the starting point of your economic revival.

"You are prepared to do this as is no other country. Nowhere else has the study of the internal market reached such intensity as in the United States. It has been done by your banks, trusts, individual business men, merchants, traveling salesmen, and farmers as part of their stock in trade. Your Soviet Government will simply abolish all trade secrets, will combine all the findings

of these researches for individual profit, and will transform them into a scientific system of economic planning. In this your government will be helped by the existence of a large class of cultured and critical consumers. By combining the nationalized key industries, your private businesses and democratic consumer co-operation, you will quickly develop a highly flexible system for serving the needs of your population.

"This system will be made to work, not by bureaucracy and not by policemen, but by hard cold cash.

"Your almighty dollar will play a principal part in making your new Soviet system work. It is a great mistake to try to mix a 'planned economy' with a 'managed currency.' Your money must act as regulator with which to measure the success or failure of your planning." — Leon Trotsky, from a 1935 article, "If America Should Go Communist."

term notes entitling the possessor to receive products, etc.

In the Sphere of Finance

22. At the epoch when the means of production from which the capitalists have been expropriated have begun to be socialised, the state ceases to be a parasitic apparatus standing above the production process; it begins to transform itself into an organisation directly performing the function of managing the economics of the country and to this extent the state budget becomes the budget of national economy as a whole.

Under such conditions, the balancing of revenue and expenditure is possible only if there are proper systems of planned state production and distribution of products. As regards the covering of immediate state expenditure during the transition period, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will advocate the transition from the system of contributions imposed upon the capitalists, which was historically necessary and lawful during the initial period of the socialist revolution, to a progressive income and property tax. And since this tax is exhausting itself, becoming out of date, owing to the far-reaching expropriation of the propertied classes, state expenditure must be covered by transferring part of the revenue derived from various state monopolies directly to the state treasury.

In the Sphere of Housing

23. Striving to solve the housing question, which became particularly acute during the war period, the Soviet government completely took over all the houses owned by capitalist householders and turned them over to the town soviets; it transferred masses of workers from the slum districts in the suburbs to bourgeois houses; it turned the best of these houses over to the workers' organisations and placed the cost of maintenance of these houses upon the state; it has started to provide workers' families with furniture, etc.

The task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is, while following this path and in no way prejudicing the interests of non-capitalist house ownership, to do its utmost to improve the housing conditions of the toiling masses, to abolish overcrowding and the unsanitary state of the old residential districts, to remove houses unfit for habitation, to reconstruct old and construct new houses which will correspond to the new conditions of life of the working masses, and to distribute the working population in a rational manner.

In the Sphere of Protection of Labour and Social Insurance

24. With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat it has become possible for the first time to realise in full the minimum pro-

gramme of the socialist party in the sphere of the protection of labour.

The Soviet government has passed legislation which has been embodied in the Code of Labour Laws providing for the following measures: an eight-hour day for all the toilers as the maximum working day; for persons under 18, workers in especially dangerous trades and miners working underground, the working day must not exceed 6 hours, 42 hours uninterrupted rest per week for all toilers; prohibition of overtime, as a general rule; prohibition of child labour and the labour of juveniles under 16; prohibition of night work and of work in especially dangerous trades as well as of overtime for all women and young persons under 18; eight weeks' leave for expectant mothers and eight weeks after childbirth with full pay and free medical treatment and medicines; a nursing mother to be allowed not less than half an hour every three hours for feeding her baby; mothers breast-feeding their babies are entitled to additional allowance, factory inspections and sanitary inspectors to be elected by the councils of trade unions.

The Soviet government has passed legislation extending complete social insurance to all toilers who do not exploit the labour of others. This provides insurance against all cases of loss of earning capacity and for the first time in the world introduces unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the state. Insurance affairs are managed by the insured with the active co-operation of the trade unions.

Moreover, the Soviet government in some respects has gone further than the minimum programme and has provided, in the said Code of Labour Laws, for the participation of the workers' organisations in deciding questions appertaining to the engagement and dismissal of workers. This code provides also for one month's vacation with full pay for all toilers who have worked uninterruptedly for not less than one year, and the state regulation of wages on the basis of rates worked out by the trade unions; definite organisations, namely, the distribution and registration of labour departments of the Soviets and trade unions are charged with finding work for the unemployed.

However, owing to the extreme ruin caused by the war and the attacks of world imperialism, the Soviet government was obliged to make the following exception: to allow overtime in exceptional cases, which, however, must not exceed 50 days a year; to allow the labour of young persons between the ages of 14 and 16, limiting the work to 4 hours per day; to reduce temporarily the month's leave to two weeks; to prolong the hours of night work to seven.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union must conduct wide propaganda to secure the active participation of the toilers themselves in the energetic fulfilment of all measures in the sphere of labour protection, for which purpose it is necessary:

(1) To intensify the work of organising and extending the system of factory inspection by selecting and training for that purpose active workers from the ranks of the workers themselves, and to extend factory inspection to the small and home industries.

(2) To extend labour protection regulations to all kinds of labour (building workers, land and water transport, domestic servants and farm labourers).

(3) Finally, to prohibit all juvenile labour and further to reduce the working hours of young persons.

Moreover, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must set itself the following tasks:

(1) When the productivity of labour has generally increased, to establish a six-hour day without reduction of wages, on the condition that the workers devote two hours per day to the study of the theory of their craft or trade.

(2) The introduction of a bonus system in order to encourage the increase of productivity of labour.

In the sphere of social insurance the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strives to organise far-reaching state assistance not only to the victims of war and natural calamities, but also to the victims of abnormal social relations; it is waging a determined struggle against all parasites and idlers and has set itself the task of restoring to the sphere of useful

labour all those who have been dropped out of it.

In the Sphere of Public Health

25. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union takes as the basis for its activity in the sphere of the protection of people's health, primarily, the carrying out of far-reaching health and sanitary measures, for the purpose of preventing the spread of disease. The dictatorship of the proletariat has already rendered possible the introduction of a number of measures in the domain of public health and medical service which were impossible under capitalism, such as nationalisation of drug stores, big privately owned hospitals and health resorts, the introduction of obligatory labour for doctors, etc.

Accordingly, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sets itself the following immediate tasks:

(1) The determined application of wide measures of sanitation in the interests of the toilers, such as:

(a) Improvement of sanitary conditions of inhabited areas (protection of soil, water and air).

(b) Organisation of public catering on scientific and hygienic lines.

(c) Adoption of measures to prevent the outbreak and spread of infectious diseases.

(d) Introduction of sanitary legislation.

(2) To combat social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal diseases, alcoholism, etc.).

(3) Free and skilled medical treatment and medicines to be accessible to all.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to The Militant for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Name

Street

City Zone State

Life in Yugoslavia Today

In 1945 the Proletarian Brigades expelled the Nazis by means of revolution. What is it like, sixteen years later, to be a citizen under the "Titoist experiment"?

by Theo Schultz

THE rugged country of Yugoslavia, whose name alone invokes immediate images of fierce, bearded partisans and of a fiery spirit of independence, arouses something more than curiosity. Certainly, from a socialist standpoint, one should feel inspired by the determination with which the Yugoslavs carried out their revolution against foreign and domestic fascism and against the treachery of Stalin to overcome their anarchic, Balkan backwardness. Out of a geographic expression of small, quarrelsome and corrupt states, the Yugoslav revolution has fashioned a modern, federated workers state. But for socialists, Yugoslavia is most interesting for the questions its existence poses: how was the war of liberation from German fascism turned into a social revolution? How was the worker-peasant leadership of this revolution able to sustain itself in the face of counter-revolutionary pressure from both East and West? What is Yugoslavia's relation to the breaking-up of the Soviet bloc, which process began with its expulsion from the Cominform? How will further changes in the bloc affect Yugoslavia?

Some of these questions have already been answered by revolutionary socialists; some answers are still to be formulated. It is not my purpose to offer any new answers, but

Theo Schultz is an Austrian, who for the past two years, has been an exchange student at the University of Belgrade.

rather to present a picture of today's Yugoslavia as I have known it in order to provide further clues for our evaluation of the contribution of Yugoslavia's experience to the world working-class movement. In this picture I will indicate what life is like in relation to the basic economic and political situation and how the leadership envisages the future: that is, what Yugoslav ideology is at present.

The Historical Development of the Yugoslav System

The framework of this picture of everyday life is its economic system. Such a discussion, in order to be clear, must be approached historically. For Yugoslavia's present economic system, the "Titoist experiment," was the result of the 1949 split with the Cominform.

After the Yugoslav Communists were thrown out of the Cominform, they were left to fend for themselves in a hostile capitalist world. Weak and threatened, they were not sure of support from the masses, particularly after four years of ruthless Stalinist-type rule; they had no army large enough to engage the Soviet troops that were being massed on their borders. Yet this was a working-class party, determined to carry out a working-class program of socialist industrialization, as well as maintain its own power. Contrary to the hope of *both* Stalin and Western capitalism, Yugoslavia did not become a petty bourgeois state, a pawn of Western imperialism. The

class nature of the leadership forbade this, in spite of the fact that it did delve into some foreign policy exploits to the benefit of the West. But these remained incidental and what happened was that the Yugoslav Communists went to the masses themselves to gain support in their struggle with Stalin and in their struggle to remain upright in a capitalist world. They did so by making sharp concessions to the disgruntled working class and peasantry. These concessions were the reforms that made up the "Law on Self-Management of Enterprises Through Workers Councils" passed in 1950, and are the basis of the Yugoslav system today.

The theory behind these reforms, formulated subsequently to justify what seemed at the time a desperate adventure, was that bureaucracy had to be eliminated. Bureaucracy, the party theoreticians concluded, is the result of a highly centralized state and economy, and leads to the divorce of the state apparatus from society. This had happened in the Soviet Union, because it had been a backward country attempting to build socialism, and the process had many disastrous consequences, culminating in the personal rule of Stalin, whose dogmatism caused the split between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. They believed economic and administrative power should be decentralized, delegated to representative organs closer to the people: the workers councils elected in firms

and factories, the communal and district People's Assemblies and other "self-management" units. As a concession to the working class, this was the most important reform the Yugoslav government made. The other important reform was a concession to the peasantry, ending forced collectivization. After this, the peasants flowed back on to 27-acre private holdings, where they still are, for the most part, today. (Only 8.8% of arable land is socially owned in Yugoslavia, but it is this sector which is most responsible for the steady increase in agricultural productivity.) With the idea that more decentralization would mean less bureaucracy, hence, more socialism, the workers councils, managing enterprises that compete with one another, have taken over almost all phases of production and distribution.

THERE were two immediate effects of the new course. First, there was the abandonment of any policy for a rapid, heavy industrialization along the irrational lines of the other Peoples Democracies of the time. There was increasingly more emphasis on consumer goods and light industry, since the councils, representing broader and broader sections of the working class, were now determining production. The second immediate effect was that decentralization transformed the role of state planning as it had hitherto existed under other planned economies. Yugoslavia has no "plan" of the sort to be found in the other workers states. The annual or five-year plan is a prediction based on previous productive capacity, an outline of general economic aims, and a statement of methods by which the state can influence the market in order to attain these aims. These methods differ from those used by the state in capitalist countries mainly in the degree and frequency with which they are used. The plan may determine the rate at which interest is paid to the community on the fixed capital of an enterprise, rates of turn-over tax on specific commodities, maximum and minimum prices for certain goods, and so on. No industry is given a plan to fulfill; and an enterprise or, for that matter, even an administrative agency,

proves itself necessary to the economy by being efficient and successful in competition. The laws of the market are for the most part the main determination of the Yugoslav economy.

The over-all effect has been adjustment, by means of concessions, to a capitalist environment. This has had two aspects:

Because the Yugoslav state was no longer able to attempt accumulating capital primitively, that is, out of the backs of the workers, the dearth of capital was all the more conspicuous. The Yugoslav Communists began taking first military and then economic aid from the West. This economic aid has been continuous and at present adds up to over two billion dollars, mostly coming from the United States.

In addition, because of the autonomy of the worker-controlled enterprises, there has been an increasing financial involvement on the part of individual Yugoslav concerns with Western capitalism. Recently, the regime has undertaken various measures to facilitate this process and trade with the West in general. The most important of these measures has been the conversion of the dinar to put it on a par with Western currency, and the granting of more financial jurisdiction to the Workers' Councils. The Councils will now have fewer financial obligations to the State and more access to foreign currency. These most recent reforms are designed, according to the government, to stimulate productivity by helping to adjust Yugoslav firms to competition on the world market.

The system thus far has prospered. For a long time after it went into effect, the average Yugoslav enjoyed a higher standard of living than his counterpart in the Soviet bloc. He was also not working under any draconic discipline to make up for bad planning and waste, as was the case in the other "Peoples Democracies;" nor was he subject to any undue police terror. At the same time, the country advanced steadily. In 1959, a United Nations report found Yugoslavia to have, next to China, the highest rate of industrial expansion in the world. There is reason to believe that this has been

rather uneven within the country itself, the more industrialized north having a substantially higher rate than the backward south, but the country as a whole has maintained an annual increase of 11% in economic growth.

Everyday Life — High and Low

To fill out this picture we have to translate the proportions of this apparently successful construction into what life is like for the average Yugoslav. A steady contact with this life makes the observer aware of two conditions:

1. The system has meant a continuous rise in the standard of living, but this rise has not been equal for everyone.

2. There are signs that the rise is no longer as steady for the worker as it once was. His life is no longer that much better than that of all workers in East Europe; it is even worse than some. Constantly climbing prices with incomes lagging behind imply that the rate at which his standard of living has been rising, may be declining.

Aside from these aspects, there are a number of others which puzzle and disturb the observer. The most one can do is shake one's head at the discrepancy between known statistics and the way people manage to live. Life in Yugoslavia, as in any East European state, is more than hard when compared to Western well-being; it may be bleak. The average wage for unskilled labor is from ten thousand to twelve thousand dinars a month; for skilled labor, depending on the level of skill, from twelve to twenty thousand. The professional gets from twenty to thirty thousand. A man earning twenty thousand, however, supporting a family of four, can scarcely break even at the end of the month once the average food bill is paid. His rent, which was raised in 1960 along with electricity and water rates, but for which he obtained a compensating 6.5% raise in pay, now takes up about 20% of his income, whereas it once took up only 8%. A suit of clothes means a month's salary, a good pair of shoes at least one fifth of it. He has no medical expenses, and financial coverage in sickness and retirement is as adequate, in relation to the cost

of living, as his wages are. He even has a reduced train-ticket to take him to the coast on his annual vacation, but most workers in Belgrade, if they go anywhere at all, visit relatives on the farm, for any other kind of vacation would be too expensive.

IF THIS man was one of the lucky few skilled workers from before the war, or from a family of the same, he might think his lot is not that much better today. If he is an unskilled newcomer to trade and city, he will probably consider himself better off, but will worry, along with others, about one ominous fact: the steady increase in prices of food, clothing, services and utilities. He will be quite aware that the plethora of goods in shopwindows, some of them imported, are there to look at and nothing more. He may, perhaps, unwisely splurge, as some Yugoslavs are wont to do, but bad budgeting alone is not the reason that families of my acquaintance have taken out large bank loans in order to buy furniture and clothing. It is also not reason enough that they find it difficult to buy books. One way of overcoming such difficulty, beside going into debt, is renting the "spare" room. The room, however, is never really "spare;" if the family of four is lucky enough to have a three-room apartment, the family simply moves into two rooms in order to rent the third.

If this unskilled newcomer is a rank and file member of the nine hundred thousand strong League of Yugoslav Communists, he might think back to the time immediately after the war when there was very little in the stores but everyone was equally poor. Or, he might just brush aside this incongruous thought, be thankful that he is not living in what he thinks is the desolate world of the Soviet Union and be convinced that the more profits his firm makes, the more he will have in his pocket someday. Until then, of course, he will supplement the family food provisions through periodic trips back home to the farm, where most of his relatives live. Perhaps he will go back just to see his wife and children whom he has had to leave while finding a job and a home in the city.

This man is much more typical of Yugoslavia than the skilled worker or professional, yet his habits of life are not dominant in this picture of city life. In the big city, there is more of a sheen of well-being, glimmers of extravagance, and the dazzling, puzzling sight of people spending money.

WHO and how? Who are these people who can afford the goods in the shop windows? Who fill, any night of the week, the lively but expensive Belgrade cafés? Who are the owners of Belgrade's thousands of private cars, the builders of one-family houses? And who are these corpulent types who can offer at a moment's notice hundreds of thousands of dinars for black market dollars, with which they take annual trips to Italy and Germany to buy high-level, West European consumer goods?

Bureaucrats? Perhaps, but state functionaries have learned to be more graciously discreet through their many contacts with the West. There are some minor functionaries, some general directors, who are indeed members of the Party. But they may also be highly trained professionals married to other highly trained professionals, husband and wife both working for top salaries. Because of the dearth of cadre people, their services are much in demand and the usual procedure is to work minimally at one's regular job and a lot of extra hours for another enterprise at a higher salary rate. Among those who sustain this atmosphere of high life in Belgrade are former bourgeois as well, those who have property they are renting favorably, particularly to foreigners. Near the top of the high-living list are those in comfortably strategic positions such as sales representatives of firms dealing with foreign companies, from which personally profitable deals can be made. Other highlivers may be the *privatnici*, some six thousand private entrepreneurs in Belgrade, such as hairdressers, carpenters, jewelers, furriers, and so on. And among those more favored may even be a highly skilled worker from some efficiently run combine in the north. Of course, those sitting in the cafés very often are of average means, Serbs, spend-

The Key Difference On Internationalism

"The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is no intervention. From this there can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the USSR from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course, not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.

"The difference in views lies in the fact," says Stalin, "that the party considers that these [internal] contradictions and possible conflicts can be entirely overcome on the basis of the inner forces of our revolution, whereas comrade Trotsky and the Opposition think that these contradictions and conflicts can be overcome only on an international scale, on the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution." (Pravda, No. 262, Nov. 12, 1926)

"Yes, this is precisely the difference." — Leon Trotsky, *The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*, reprinted in *The Third International After Lenin*.

ing on an evening's spree as much as they would in three days or more.

But for the most part the best customers are these other varied groups — minority groups — which make up the level of the privileged. Some of them are operators, others perfectly sincere people who believe their task in life to be earning their own "good piece of bread" — with plenty of sausage on it, to be eaten in one's own well-furnished home or in one's own car. Although some of these types will complain about the atheistic, property-stealing Communists, others will be with the regime in so far as it does not encroach on their prosperity. From all appearances, the Yugoslav government does not do that; on the contrary, it seems to justify this mode of existence on the principles inherent in a market system, where nothing succeeds like success.

Political Life

This ideal of self-enrichment is widespread among workers as well as professionals and employees. It is this low level of consciousness that is

the most disturbing aspect of political life. Before we speak of this however, a review of the political structure in which this morality exists is necessary.

To take the historical approach again, the concessions made by the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership were ostensibly designed to combat bureaucracy — but actually only in so far as it left the Yugoslav Party bureaucracy itself in power. That is why these concessions remained purely economic. Economic power was distributed among the Workers' Councils, *but the question of political power was never touched*. Working-class leaders though they had been, and working-class program to the contrary, these former partisans, through the safety valve of the reforms, maintained their own hegemony, becoming a privileged caste in the process.

All the earmarks of a political bureaucracy are evident. The old guard lives extravagantly, the new generation of Party activists and functionaries numbers among it many careerists and opportunists. The Party is adamant about its power position, and there is a police apparatus to back it up. There are political prisoners, although the most famous, Milovan Djilas, who criticized the existence of a privileged caste from a right-wing standpoint, has been released.

Criticism, corresponding to the low level of consciousness, is vague and confused. From members of the *ancien régime*, of course, one cannot expect more than laments for today and odes to yesterday. The workers, however, small in number and with power limited and dispersed among the Workers' Councils throughout the country, sense only their growing discontent with the rising cost of living and lagging wages, and the fact that some Yugoslavs are not having as hard a time of it. Most that I have met exhibit varied illusions about Western capitalism, considering it some unlucky blow that Yugoslavia is not as rich as the United States, and rarely link the backwardness of old Yugoslavia with Western imperialism. Some of the more aware are resigned and disillusioned.

But the pressure of rising costs is

increasing. Since the most recent financial reforms went into effect, almost all prices have once again soared: food, building materials, postal rates, train fares, newspapers, some textiles, and so on. There is even talk that rents will go up again. Even before this recent wave of price-hikes, there were rumors of disturbances in two factory towns. In one of these, in Serbia, workers had drawn up a list of grievances revolving around their poor living standards. The protest was suppressed, the leaders arrested, but the sentences were light, in the hope of preventing further outbreaks. If the promised "adjustment" in the economic situation does not come soon, such "rumors" are likely to become more frequent.

STUDENTS are more prone to enter into an analysis of what should constitute socialism and what does not in Yugoslavia. Serious, politically aware students, and there are all too few of these, will voice criticism of the elite, of favoritism for members of the Party, and of the practice of "VIP," the connections game that permeates every aspect of life here, and can be translated to mean something between nepotism and string-pulling. The students tend to be generally apathetic, most concerned with getting lucrative jobs. The more aware are disillusioned, having witnessed the progress of bureaucratic careers, or hearing their politically active colleagues affably parroting slogans.

An interesting and hopeful exception to the student "apathy" was a recent performance in Belgrade of a satirical play put on by the "Zagreb Student Cabaret Theatre." Entitled "Circus," the play dealt with a Yugoslav "Self-Managed" enterprise, in which the characters were all animals: the General Dozer was a lion, and his main function was sleeping; his subordinate managers were a parrot, a snake, a peacock, a jackass, etc. They all represented the various politicking personalities that have the main say in a business enterprise and who worry about how to become top man on the totem. The parrot is a centrist, the snake a factionalist, the jackass an interventionist. They meet and try to debate various "eco-

nomics problems" but are mainly absorbed in flattering the General Dozer. His entrance and exits are always accompanied by the rolling out of a red carpet, and the throwing of flowers before his feet, which is the usual welcome accorded Tito when he appears on visits anywhere in the country.

A little rabbit appears at the meeting and asks for a job — he's unemployed. "Unemployed?" the council's members ask with astonishment. "But there is no more unemployment here!" The rabbit nods quickly and then explains how hard up he is, and that he is willing to take any work at all, even for low wages. "Low wages? But there are no low wages here!"

When a cute little rain-worm shows up for a job, one of the members takes a shine to her, and hires her as a knife-thrower, although she admits she has no qualifications for the job. They then begin searching for someone to fill the job of target. Finally a moron sheep comes in and demands to be given a job because his uncle "has smelled a rat" in the Circus. Without anyone knowing exactly what the rat is, he is hired immediately. The play ended with the song: "While you sleep, VIP keeps right on working."

The critic in *Borba* called the play amateur, but an amusing satire on the conditions in some business enterprises, conveniently ignoring the fact that the satire went far beyond the structure in an enterprise. The Zagreb students were supposed to participate a few days later in a festival of small dramatic presentations, but they never did go.

The Artists

Since the Party leadership had to make certain concessions to intellectuals as well, in its quest to maintain power at the time of the split, there are groups of intellectuals who enjoy much more freedom than those in the other workers states. These are particularly artists, painters and sculptors. They do not have to subordinate themselves to any doctrine, certainly not to that of "socialist realism," which has disappeared. Constant contact with the West, having become so much a part of Yugoslav policy, has aided in fostering

experimentation. Magazines, newspapers, exhibitions, the relative ease with which Yugoslavs may travel, all has helped in broadening the styles of Yugoslav artists. In literature and films, however, freedom is more restricted, and in these fields there is much less creativity and originality. Films are often annoyingly bad, sometimes fair, but always deal with the war and the liberation struggle. The dominant themes in these films are personal heroism, pathos, and sentimentality; rarely social conflict. There have been one or two novels dealing with present-day Yugoslavia and its problems; but one famous writer, a former partisan, was thrown out of the Party because of his criticism of modern Yugoslavia in some of his works and remarks.

Through the trade and cultural doors open to the West, other cultural phenomena have swept in that are perhaps not so beneficial: American westerns, fads like hula hoops, the latest Italian fashions. It is probably for this reason that the Yugoslav bureaucracy sometimes seems more extravagant than those of the other "Peoples Democracies."

ONE wonders whether it is not just such advantages that give this bureaucracy the perspective of coexistence with Western capitalism. It wants to continue and extend its adjustment to capitalist encirclement; and this desire has found strong ideological expression, most notably in the Program adopted by the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists in 1958.

In this respect the central doctrine of the Program is that, despite the continued fundamental antagonism between capitalism and "socialism," war is in no sense the inevitable outcome of this rivalry. This view is advanced on the basis of the following arguments:

1. The growth and strength of the "socialist camp."

2. The spread of the colonial revolution and the emergence of new, independent, neutral states.

3. The strength of the working class and other "progressive" social groups in the western countries.

4. The gradual emergence of "state capitalism" in the West, leading the workers toward a struggle for control over the state apparatus and na-

tionalized industries rather than toward violent revolution.

5. The menace of total annihilation inherent in modern military technology.

This line is generally consistent with the Khrushchev thesis on "peaceful coexistence." The main difference is that the Yugoslavs speak of "active coexistence," implying an independent and critical attitude toward both the USA and the USSR and opposition to "the policy of blocs" on both sides.

Moreover the Program is critical of such "negative aspects of socialism" as centralization, bureaucratism, and "hegemonic tendencies in foreign policy." The Yugoslavs offer their own system of economic decentralization and "active coexistence" as an alternative to these "negative aspects."

Nevertheless these criticisms are rather abstract and indirect: in actuality, the League of Yugoslav Communists and the CPSU have more in common politically than at any previous time. The attacks on Yugoslav "revisionism" from the Soviet Union and most other countries of its bloc have been rather perfunctory. The really violent attacks have come from the Chinese and the Albanians.

BOTH the Yugoslavs and the Russians are aware that Belgrade is bearing the brunt of an attack actually aimed at the Kremlin. Unlike the Russians the Yugoslavs are free to answer these attacks, and have done so quite forthrightly, in the form of Vice-President Edward Kardelj's "Socialism and War."

In this polemical book Kardelj develops the thesis, outlined above, of the Program on peaceful coexistence and attempts to show that the Khrushchev-Tito line is "really" orthodox Leninism. He also introduces a caricature of the Trotskyist position on coexistence which he equates with the views of Mao Tse-tung in a highly dishonest way.

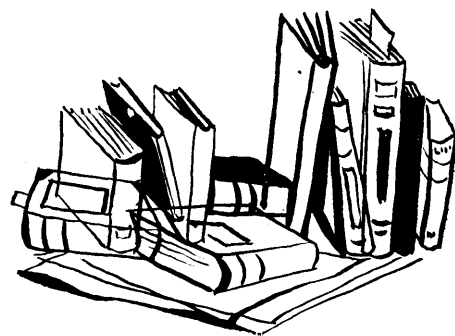
The basic contradiction in the position of Kardelj and the other Yugoslav proponents of coexistence is manifested when they link the Chinese view of the inevitability of war — capitalism's aggressive nature — with the concept of world revolution. On the one hand, imperialism

is assumed to be so weak that it can no longer wage war against the "socialist camp;" on the other, it is regarded as so strong that world socialist revolution is not a realistic perspective. This contradiction points up the extent to which the coexistence line is based on a deliberately false analysis of the relationship of forces in the world today, giving a misleadingly optimistic picture of the capitalist system and its imperialist policy. The Titoist ideology thus emerges as very close to the ideology of the Soviet bureaucracy.

IF WE were to contrast this picture of Yugoslavia today with the one from the times of the fierce and fighting partisans, we would see that the dominant theme is one of a quest for well-being, but not of militancy. The broader themes are apathy and uneasiness in some circles, unjustified self-satisfaction in others. Yet there is probably no one in Yugoslavia today who does not identify himself with the policy of coexistence. Having lost every tenth Yugoslav during the war, they are fervent supporters of this aspect of Titoist ideology. But there is a link between this and the other aspects of "Titoism," or modern Yugoslavia, which do not incur such support. It is very significant that people are confused by the many trips the President of the Republic takes to each new odd-sounding statelet in Africa or Asia. It is even more significant that they get annoyed at the luxurious proportions of these voyages, which run into incredible expense, and the like of which no Western statesman would undertake. Large-scale convoys contrast starkly with reality at home: the incredibly crowded trains and buses, the poor housing, subsisting peasants, the almost Asiatic poverty of the south. These sources of discontent, inequality and a soaring cost of living, are sources of danger for the Yugoslav leadership. Depending on how they try to eradicate them, the vague, dispersed, and mumbled criticism of today can become clear and articulate tomorrow. In such a case, the Yugoslav workers would be following the inspiring tradition of the Proletarian Brigades, set long ago by many of the leaders of present-day Yugoslavia.

The Most Angry

by Trent Hutter



THE ENTERTAINER. A play by John Osborne. Paperback edition published by Bantam Books, New York, by arrangement with Criterion Books, Inc., June 1960, 35 Cents. — 1957-58 stage performances starring Laurence Olivier and co-starring Dorothy Tutin, Brenda de Banzie, George Relph. Motion picture version starring Laurence Olivier and co-starring Joan Plowright, Brenda de Banzie, Roger Livesey.

Among the serious plays I have seen on Broadway in the last five years, *The Entertainer* by John Osborne, who is considered the leader of England's "angry young men," remains one of the two or three that stand out in my mind. Meanwhile I have seen the excellent motion picture version, too. (I do not recommend it to those whose idea of serious dramatic fare is an Elizabeth Taylor movie . . .)

In *The Entertainer* which also makes fine reading, John Osborne, author of *Look Back in Anger*, shows us the world of the British music hall, embodied mainly by two generations of entertainers — Billy Rice, the father, and Archie Rice, the son. Billy was a star of the music hall. He was one of its most lovable, most capable artists in the time of its glory, which coincided with the time of Britain's greatest power, the British bourgeoisie's zenith. Now retired, old and impoverished, Billy still maintains his self-respect and his ideals and standards of pre-World War I days.

While the father represents the "classic" British music hall — where, incidentally, a Charles Chaplin served his apprenticeship and won his first plaudits — his son Archie is a very

different man, a third-rate comedian moving in a decaying music hall in an England beset by grave problems and facing the chilly winds of disappointment. The time is during and after Anthony Eden's unfortunate Suez campaign.

Archie is rather vulgar but can be quite charming. He is eternally immature and irresponsible, somewhat cynical but not evil, born to be a showman but forever unable to be a very good one, and he knows it. He is perceptive, far from stupid, a professional though an undistinguished one, and a witty storyteller in private. He does not feel very deeply and knows that too. This applies to his feelings about people and about his country. Of course, he likes England and hates to leave it because he is used to English surroundings and customs, but the awful chauvinistic song he sings on stage does not really mean anything to him, while his father's patriotism is sincere. Archie simply does not care. "I'm dead behind these eyes. I'm dead, just like the whole inert, shoddy lot out there . . ." — "Why should I care, why should I let it touch me?" is his theme song.

He is bankrupt and has avoided the income tax for twenty years. He lives in a world of make-believe, but this is his only reality. To him the outside world is but a disturbing dream. He is forever trying to produce shows, and this does mean a lot to him, more than the feelings of individuals with whom he is in touch. In order to save him from a financial catastrophe, his father offers to make a come-back, since his name is still a big attraction. Archie's egoism agrees to this, and the old man dies of a heart attack when he is about to ap-

pear on the stage again. Apparently, Archie does not repent his guilt very much. But now only his wealthy brother can save him, and as he does not want to go to jail, he has to accept his brother's conditions: Brother Bill will pay his debts; Archie and his family will emigrate to Canada and work for a relative who has a job as a hotel manager waiting for Archie.

Aware of his many shortcomings, Archie Rice, despite his pose of hedonic bravado, keenly feels he has not accomplished anything worthwhile. He would have loved to be a real artist, at least once to be able to sing like some poor Negro woman he once heard in an obscure bar in America: ". . . the most moving thing I ever heard . . . But if ever I saw any hope or strength in the human race, it was in the face of that old fat Negress getting up to sing about Jesus or something like that. She was poor and lonely and oppressed like nobody you've ever known. Or me, for that matter . . . you knew somehow in your heart that it didn't matter how much you kick people, the real people, how much you despise them, if they can stand up and make a pure, just natural noise like that, there's nothing wrong with them, only with everybody else . . . I wish to God I could feel like that old black bitch with her fat cheeks, and sing. If I'd done one thing as good as that in my whole life, I'd have been all right."

Archie's drinking, his perennial chasing after women, his "not caring" are above all a running away from his artistic frustration, the realization that "I'll never do it." His daughter Jean wants to "do it," to accomplish something, be someone. She is the strongest member of the family, an

art teacher in the youth center of a London slum section, where she has to deal with the toughest kind of teenagers. Although she never used to be interested in politics, she “managed to get myself steamed up about the way things were going,” participated in an anti-war meeting in Trafalgar Square and broke with her bourgeois fiancé: “I hadn’t realized — it just hadn’t occurred to me that you could love somebody . . . and then suddenly find that you’re neither of you even living in the same world.”

Archie Rice had a good deal of love and admiration for Jean’s mother who walked out on him because of his unfaithfulness. She was “a person of principle . . . She felt everything very deeply.” Jean seems to be like her in some respects, we might add. Archie’s second wife, Phoebe, the one with whom Jean’s mother found him in bed, is about sixty — he is about fifty — and it is pity that has prevented him from leaving her. His two sons Mick and Frank are from her.

Archie’s three children are all determined to face social reality instead of living in a make-believe world. Each of the three faces this reality in his own way. Frank is a rebel. He has spent six months in prison for refusing military service. He is bitter about the way things are. “They’re all so busy, speeding down the middle of the road together, not giving a damn where they are going, as long as they are in the bloody middle!” Frank can’t see any hope for himself in England. He had the courage to go to prison for his convictions, but he is no revolutionist who would enter upon a systematic and patient struggle for his ideas. Therefore, emigration to Canada where he has a future is his personal solution, and his mother is all for it.

While Jean and Frank are disgusted with the British situation and with society, Mick, the youngest, is “a boy without problems,” a conformist. He does not protest or complain when he is drafted. And he gets killed in Egypt. The shock of his death prompts Jean, who feels much closer to her family than to her unimaginative and unemotional ex-fiancé, to sharply criticize her father’s egoism and flight from reality.

And she asks herself, “. . . why do boys die, or stoke boilers . . . what are we hoping to get out of it, what’s it all in aid of — is it really just for the sake of a gloved hand waving at you from a golden coach?”

Social and psychological realism are among the main characteristics of *The Entertainer*. All the persons in it are highly significant, and so is the story. This makes us feel the play is important, whereas so many others are merely clever, or reasonably well-written, or momentarily enthralling, but not important.

Old Billy Rice remarks, “A real pro is a real man . . . He’s like the general run of the people, only he is a lot more like them than they are themselves, if you understand me.” And just as the successful popular comedian is somehow a concentrated image of the masses where he originated and to which he is addressing himself, the music hall in *The Entertainer*, the dying of a folk art as Osborne calls it, reflects a larger sociocultural phenomenon — the increasing decay of a society.

The great realistic drama always contains a good deal of symbolism, as it shows even the most individual, original figures in their social context and, through the individuals and their story, lets us glance at some fundamental human emotions as well as some aspects of a given society. This undoubtedly applies to *The Entertainer*.

It is not a thesis in dramatic form. If it were, it would not be the masterpiece it is. It is first and foremost a superb play, a work of art. To accuse the author of merely being bitter and angry without offering a solution for the social ills of England is foolish. The anger, the bitterness and the searching of Britain’s “angry generation” — represented in *The Entertainer* by Jean and Frank, indeed by Jean even more than by Frank — are a big step in the direction of a solution, whether Osborne is aware of the solution or not. The “angry young men” are no beatniks who simply turn from the “squares” in contempt and prefer to live in a world of their own where there actually is little belief in the possibility of communication even among themselves. The “angry generation” wants to communicate but finds that it has

become difficult to do so and that the question “What is to be communicated?” has to be answered first.

Jean pictures one of the countless women in the workers’ sections of Britain’s drab industrial towns, “What can you say to her? What real piece of information, what message can you give to her? . . .” Rejecting the concept of a supernatural order of the universe, Jean concludes that the human person is our own center and standard. “We’ve only got ourselves. Somehow, we’ve just got to make a go of it.” Jean’s answer may not be complete. But her searching is thoroughly honest, and she is on her way.

This honest searching of the younger generation, a searching without cheap consolations or self-delusion, prevents *The Entertainer* from being a play without hope. But John Osborne wisely abstains from a superficial, artificial, contrived sort of hope. Nor is *The Entertainer* a cynical play, although Archie Rice is frequently cynical. It is written with deep feeling.

Unfortunately, I cannot deal here with the ingenious form of the play or with the modifications of the film version, adapted to the requirements of that medium. But let me finally mention Laurence Olivier’s marvelous performance as Archie Rice, a truly memorable achievement. Olivier, the star of a cast that is absolutely first-rate, is one of the very few actors who really deserve to be called great. Not just good or brilliant, but great. And it will astonish no one that *The Entertainer* has become identified so much with Laurence Olivier who made it a hit.

Subscribe

International Socialist Review
116 University Place,
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed is \$2.50 for my subscription for the next eight issues.

Name

Street Apt. No.....

City Zone

State

James P. Cannon

Still going strong at the age of 71, James P. Cannon became a revolutionary socialist when the campaigns of Eugene V. Debs were stirring all of America. A disciple of Vincent St. John, the great leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, Cannon knew and learned from such figures as William D. Haywood. But he also knew how to learn from the Russians. An outstanding figure in the rebel generation that founded the American Communist party, Cannon became one of its top leaders in the twenties.

But that was only his apprenticeship. His greatest contributions came after he took up the cause represented by Leon Trotsky and in 1928 founded the movement that later became the Socialist Workers party.

Cannon's writings are among the best the native American socialist movement has produced. We are proud to offer them to the generation now considering the best way to dedicate their lives to the service of mankind.



Notebook of an Agitator. A collection of articles on current topics beginning with the struggle to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair. (cloth) \$4; (paper) \$2.50.

The History of American Trotskyism. Tells about the early difficult years. (cloth) \$2.75; (paper) \$2.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party. Contributions made during an important inner-party struggle. Recommended by Trotsky. (cloth) \$2.75.

Socialism on Trial. Verbatim court record of Cannon's testimony in the first Smith Act trial. \$.50.

Send for catalog listing many more titles
by the same author.

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

