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**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST
REVIEW**

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ON
TROTSKY**

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Split in Ceylon Communist Party

Editor ISR:

The Ceylon Communist Party, which did not register even the slightest impact of events like the Hungarian Revolution, Poznan and the twentieth Congress, has cracked wide open in the current crisis facing the international communist movement. The split in this party, which has hitherto remained monolithic, is almost complete. It has only to be regularized at the "rebel" convention which is to be held shortly.

About two months back the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party (CCP) adopted by a majority vote a resolution condemning the Chinese position in the current dispute. A minority in the CC, led by N. Shanmugathan, Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF) and Premalal Kumarasiri, editor of the CCP *Sinhalese Weekly*, declared that the CC had no legal right to take this action because its term of office should have expired in December 1962. Claiming that the lame duck CC did not represent the views of the party, they initiated a campaign for an immediate party conference to discuss this problem and elect a new leadership.

In spite of the CC decision the Sinhalese and Tamil

weeklies of the CCP continued to publish articles supporting the Chinese position. The majority in the CC acted swiftly and removed Premalal Kumarasiri and H. M. P. Mohideen from their posts as editors of the Sinhalese and Tamil papers. Subsequently, notices were served on N. Shanmugathan and Premalal Kumarasiri, requesting them to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against them for violating a CC decision. Shortly after this Premalal Kumarasiri left for Djakarta to attend the Afro-Asian Trade Union conference. The CC of the CCP then postponed action on Premalal Kumarasiri and decided by a majority vote to expel N. Shanmugathan.

This led to an intensive campaign by N. Shanmugathan inside the party against the leadership. He was later joined by Premalal Kumarasiri after the latter's return to Ceylon. Party cell meetings and public meetings were held in a number of places in the city and the outstations. At these meetings the policy of the CP leadership came in for severe criticism. Attempts of the CP leadership to ban these meetings for CP members and to prevent the holding of these meetings proved futile. Shanmugathan alleges that the CP leadership even resorted to bribery to disrupt his meetings. Most of these meetings were very well attended. CP members took a prominent part in organizing these meetings, but no disciplinary action was taken against them.

The displaced editors of the party papers were immediately appointed as the editors of the Sinhalese and Tamil papers of the CTUF. These papers, which are utilised to attack the CP leadership directly, were fortnightly. Now they have been reorganized as weeklies and steps are being taken to bring out the Sinhalese paper as a daily beginning January 1964. The CTUF has set up a well equipped printing press with modern machinery obtained from the German Democratic Republic.

So far the only rebels to be expelled are N. Shanmugathan and T. Moorthy. Both of them belong to the Tamil speaking minority. This and the failure on the part of the CP to take disciplinary action against a single Sinhalese-speaking rebel, together with the virulent communalist attacks levelled at N. Shanmugathan and other Tamil speaking revolutionaries who reject the reformist perspective of power through parliament, proves beyond doubt that the CP leadership has acted communally in this matter.

The pro-Peking secretary and treasurer were removed from office by the pro-Moscow minority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Progressive Youth Leagues. Subsequently the majority in the Youth League CC (19 out of 30) met and expelled seven pro-Moscow members including its president. This majority claims that the president, Sarath Muththetuwagama, who was in agreement with the Chinese position earlier, is now a prisoner in the hands of the Kremlin wing.

The CTUF, which is the trade union organization of the CCP, forms the main base of the Peking wing. All attempts on the part of the CP leadership to take the trade unions away from Shanmugathan's influence have failed. A few meetings summoned by the leadership in the branch unions to rally support for the official line of the CP proved to be miserable fiascos. This gave rise to a spate of meetings in a number of branch unions which reaffirmed their faith in the Peking-line leadership. As yet the CP leadership has made no attempt to form a separate trade union organization. Attempts to capture the CTUF from within have proved futile. A few of the Moscow supporters in the leadership of branch unions have been removed from office at the branch level. But M. G. Mendis, a Moscow supporter, still remains in the leadership of the CTUF.

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Problems of the New Administration

KENNEDY'S fatal end is being linked with that of the martyred Abraham Lincoln. Their successors in office also bear certain resemblances to each other. Both have the same last name and come from the South. More politically significant is the fact that both Johnsons took over, along with the powers of the Presidency, tremendous problems which their predecessors had been grappling with but were not able to settle.

Although Kennedy promised a far more vigorous and effective administration when he entered the White House in 1961, he had made little progress by the end of 1963. As Walter Lippmann wrote after the assassination on December 4: "The big hopes and promises of the New Frontier are at a standstill." In his first weeks the new President is likewise striving to produce the impression of energetically disposing of unfinished business. But before him are the same roadblocks that slowed down and frustrated Kennedy.

Lyndon Johnson has inherited four major problems. Ironically, the foremost at home is a continuation at a far more advanced stage, of the crucial problem that confronted and confounded Andrew Johnson at the close of the Civil War. What is to be done about the long-postponed yet increasingly insistent demands of the Negroes for freedom? Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was afraid to offend and overturn the Old South by giving political power and economic sureties to the freedmen. He drew back from the drastic step imperatively required by the tasks of the times. His critics said "he acted more like a Pharaoh than a Moses." After being almost impeached by the Radicals, Johnson was refused renomination. In order to assure Negro rights, revolutionary measures had to be instituted all the way from military occupation of the South to the denial of votes to secessionist leaders. This new birth of freedom did not last long, as we know. Capitalist reaction joined with the restoration of white supremacy to wipe out the achievements of Black Reconstruction.

Now, a hundred years later, another Johnson, this one from Texas, faces an even more irrepressible Negro revolt. He, too, is a moderate caught in a situation that calls for radical actions. Moreover, he heads a white power structure that has grown more rigid and reactionary than it was a century ago. Is it, then, realistic to expect that the rulers of today will be more ready and able to redress the grievances and meet the demands of the Negroes than their nineteenth century forerunners were?

In his first message to Congress Johnson requested passage of the civil rights bill which has been in committee cold storage all year. This bold warrior did not dare specify prompt action this year. The Kennedy administration had already agreed to weaken the provisions of the measure. And, even if some bill is enacted

in some form next year in view of the forthcoming national elections, it does not provide adequate federal enforcement of civil rights statutes and still less does it try to remedy the intolerable conditions against which the Negroes are protesting.

Liberal and some Negro leaders alike have been urging a moratorium on the civil rights struggle to give the new president a chance to show what he can do. They overlook two things. First, that the pending inadequate civil rights legislation acquired priority in national politics today solely through the pressures generated by mass actions and demonstrations. Second, that postponement of further actions of this kind goes against the very spirit and dynamism of the Freedom Now movement which is opposed to gradualism, tokenism and watchful waiting.

It takes no exceptional skill in prophecy to foresee that the new occupant of the White House, as well as the old, will find Freedom Now fighters not only in the streets of the South and the North but close to his doorstep clamoring for the jobs and justice Kennedy promised but failed to provide.

* * *

THIS brings us to the second big problem before the new administration. It is inseparable from the first. As the prime sufferers from economic insecurity, the Negro masses want jobs as well as justice. Where are these to come from? For twenty years our economy has been kept going by massive injections of military expenditures. Even so, the United States has the highest rate of unemployment of any major industrial country except Canada.

Why should anyone be out of work in the richest and most productive country of the world? Only because the system of producing for profit necessarily also produces unemployment as an essential byproduct of its operations.

The record of the past three years casts an ominous shadow over the coming decade. Although his time in office coincided with a boom, all Kennedy's efforts failed to reduce unemployment. The chief cause of this impotence is the technological revolution sweeping through factories, offices and farms. In this banner auto sales year unemployment increased about 10 per cent in Michigan in February. Seventy-eight per cent of Detroit's Negro youth has no work — and you need seventeen years seniority to be sure of your job at Ford's in Detroit. The same processes of displacement are going on in steel, coal, longshoring, agriculture and elsewhere in the economy.

While automation is eliminating millions of jobs, twenty-six million new young workers will enter the labor market in the next ten years. A flood of new

workers comes up against fewer job opportunities — here are the explosive ingredients of distress and deepening discontent on the New Frontier, especially among the Negro and poor white youth. Johnson has set a target of five million more jobs, but, like Kennedy, is opposed to a shorter work week which might counteract some of the worst effects of automation. He has no program to deal with unemployment other than to cut the taxes of the corporations and the rich in the hope that they will reinvest in more plant facilities equipped with automatic machinery which will eliminate more jobs and workers . . .

* * *

THE DEFENSE of the liberties of the entire American people, and not simply those of twenty-million Negroes, is a third area in which the Kennedy-Johnson administration has been in default. According to some American academic historians, the perfecting of democracy is the predestined mission of our capitalist civilization. This judgment is based upon weighty historical facts. But these, alas, pertain much more to the past than the present.

In its progressive periods capitalist America favored and facilitated the growth of democracy. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries our people created and strengthened many democratic rights and institutions, which we still enjoy. This expansion of freedom was halted and reversed as the monopolists and militarists have become more unrestrained in their exercise of power during this century.

Since the beginning of the Second World War, under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, there has been a steady restriction and erosion of our liberties. Over the past twenty-five years Congress has passed not a single law designed to enlarge our freedoms. On the contrary, it has enacted a still unfinished series of instruments of oppression starting with the Smith Act and culminating in the Landrum-Griffin bill, which have whittled down constitutional and labor rights.

Lest this judgment be dismissed as hopelessly biased, coming from an avowed Marxist periodical, examine a quote from an eminent English philosopher who has opposed Marxism for more than forty years. Bertrand Russell wrote in the April *Frontier*:

“Since the end of World War II, the way to political power in the U.S. has been characterized by the crudest persecution of dissident opinion. The object of this persecution has been to impose upon the U.S. an acceptance of capitalism and of the power of large industry. The corporate community finances both political parties, provides the millions necessary for both candidates in senatorial elections, owns and controls the media of communication and, in effect, exercises the power of decision making. For this reason formal political democracy in the United States is largely a sham, and ‘freedom’ is a convenient myth at the disposal of faceless bureaucrats.”

It should be noted that the Freedom Now movement stands in the vanguard, not only of the struggle for social equality and economic security, but also of the fight against the encroachments upon our democratic liberties. The few successes that have been scored in recent years against the enemies of democracy have come from the vigor of the civil rights movement.

President Johnson has been a dependable friend of the natural gas and big oil interests. Every time attempts

have been made in Congress to regulate natural gas or tamper with the oil royalties racket he has worked to head them off. Politicians and political parties need campaign funds, don't they? He has never been so ardent as a guardian of the rights of the people as he has been of the revenue of the plutocrats.

* * *

MOST serious of all is the fourth unresolved problem bequeathed to the new chief executive. That is the problem of peace. In the first days Johnson hurried to declare that the war in South Vietnam would proceed and the anti-Cuba drive would not lessen. Over and above these impermissible interventions against the colonial movements of liberation hovers the ghastly threat of nuclear war.

One reason why the world trembled and held its breath at the news of Kennedy's assassination is the potential to destroy all life on this planet vested in the tenant of the White House. He alone can order the button to be pressed that can doom us all.

Kennedy was prepared to risk such a decision in the confrontation with the Kremlin in October of last year. The assassin's bullet has now shifted that life-and-death power to the man from Texas. It is extremely doubtful that the world feels safer as a result.

Here, too, it is not a question of individuals but of the workings of a social and political system. Where does this supreme inhumanity that hangs over us, where does this possibility of universal assassination by nuclear devices come from? It is the deadly fruit of an outmoded system that is being pressed back by the on-rushing forces of national independence and socialism and does not relish losing much more of its power, possessions, privileges and profits. It will stop at nothing to protect and preserve these, in the last extremity.

This alone should suffice to condemn this system in the eyes of every one concerned with the salvation of the human race.

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White Radicals and Black Nationalism

By Robert Vernon

Introduction

FOR almost two decades the reactionary wave dominating the American scene has sought to stifle and suppress all varieties and manifestations of radicalism in the United States. Radical and revolutionary trends and thoughts have been proscribed and labeled as directed from Moscow, or Peking, or Havana. Their partisans have been hounded, slandered, harried and harassed.

During that same period, a new and vigorous radicalism has been making headway among the masses of black people, the largest and most combative oppressed grouping in the United States. This new radicalism develops to a large extent independently of the older, "white" radicalism, and in forms which baffle the comprehension of all white Americans, whether radical, liberal, conservative, or racist. The two most extreme variants of this new black radicalism are the pro-integration freedom fighters in the South, and the intransigent black nationalists of the northern slum ghettos.

It is not an uncommon thing for groups engaging in struggle against the same enemy to speak vastly different political languages and fail to achieve unity in a common fight against that enemy. When the factors hindering realization of such unity are lodged deeply in the society and in the history and consciousness of the contending groups, as they always are, one of the most important aids to such unity would be a clearing of the air, a comprehensive explanation of the nature of the disunity and its causes, as prerequisite to any meeting of the minds in a common effort.

Such disunity is striking and conspicuous in the black Freedom Now struggle, where a strong cleavage has developed — between those Negroes oriented in a nationalist direction, who engage in or promote struggles and methods of struggle not dependent on the notion of integration but instead aimed at building

a black power base independent of and in opposition to the white power structure, — and those Negroes viewing integration or assimilation into American society as an immediate goal *and* as a life philosophy.

Another conspicuous failure to unite is seen in the vast gulf separating traditional white radicalism from both wings of the new black radicalism, again despite the existence of a vicious common enemy.

The principal aim of the present article is to probe into the reasons why Negroes who are more or less oriented in a nationalist direction cannot understand or agree with what white radicals are trying to say, and to examine those aspects of the experiences and thinking of most white radicals which block their way to any understanding of how nationalist-oriented Negroes think and feel.

In some respects the inability of Negro integrationists to understand black nationalism and its implications is similar to the inability of white radicals to do so. Also, the new generation of white youth in partial rebellion against an unsatisfying and stale society generally identifies with the integration struggle in the South, but fails to respond meaningfully to the no-less-inspiring black nationalist revolt in the northern ghettos.

Down South — Up South

The heroic struggle of Negro students and communities in the deep Southland is viewed by white radicals as the brightest spot in the national picture. This is a struggle which white radicals and white liberals, too, can understand (they think), sympathize with and join in. Concomitantly, the white radicals often draw the conclusion that the nationalists are phonies compared to the freedom riders and sit-in fighters and that black nationalists are withdrawing from the real fight to escape to a never-never land. The southern front is seen as the central and dominant feature of the entire Negro struggle.

The only thing right about that picture is that southern Negroes fighting for integration under severe odds and at great personal risk in the South are indeed heroic and inspiring, and their struggle is certainly the front line in the South today. The comparisons are all wrong. Up North (i.e. Up South), is not the same as Down South. The problems of northern Negroes are not identical with those of southern Negroes, however much they may have in common.

The "real" Negro struggle consists of several struggles on different fronts, all interrelated. Southern Negroes have to struggle for the most elementary rights: the right to sit anywhere on a bus; to walk on the sidewalk; to not suffer humiliation in ten thousand segregated ways; to cast a ballot in a meaningless election; to sit at a greasy-spoon lunch counter to get served tasteless food; to have access to educational facilities — the list is endless. All this is in addition to the problems that Negroes in the North and West of this great land have to cope with. But the focus of attention is different.

The struggles in the South are waged primarily to win aspects of integration which Negroes elsewhere already "enjoy." Negroes outside of the South are more immediately interested in higher wages, better living and working conditions, job and educational opportunities, political power and a lot more: a society in which they can feel at home as a people, as humans; identification in their own eyes as part of humanity. Southern Negroes feel these needs too, but they are immediately occupied with more elementary struggles for which they have fashioned suitable weapons for the moment.

NORTHERN Negroes have always been lukewarm to the awkward efforts of white radicals to transplant southern issues, methods and outlooks (or what the white radicals take to be such) to the North, where

other problems take the forefront. There is no lack of sympathy for the southern front, but what the white radicals have in mind in these efforts is not clear. Urbanized Negroes in the teeming hell-holes of Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, or Pittsburgh don't have to freedom-ride on the bus or subway. They can eat in any greasy-spoon by legal right. Their kids can go to a token-integrated school where they will be taught decadent white American ideology and effete white American values (assuming these slum schools teach anything). A Harlem Negro can take a suite in the Waldorf Astoria if he has the money and wants to splurge it that way (and if he calls in his reservation from some non-Harlem address). It's the law.

Then why aren't northern Negroes content and happy with those beach-heads of integration? Negroes in the North should seem about due for the great American melting pot. They have the formal and legal status, even more or less the economic status, of previous ghetto immigrants (Irish, Italians, Jews) who have long since been assimilated. So why don't they melt? They have problems, true, but so did the other ethnic groups mentioned.

The bulk of northern Negroes are economically restricted to rat- and vermin-infested slum tenements and to the dirtiest low-paying jobs. But this was true of immigrant groups in the past. As long as they knew some of their brethren had made it to "success" and had hope for their children rising up in the American world, they didn't lose faith in the American Way. A few became radicals but lost any interest in "that nonsense" as the society managed to absorb them. At no time was there a mass rejection of America comparable to what we see among Negroes today.

Why this paradox of growing black nationalism, stronger in the urbanized and integrated North rather than in the totalitarian, segregated South?

If Negroes in the North and West were headed straight into the American melting pot, with the unquestioned goal of becoming assimilated as have the various waves of immigrants from Europe and even from the Orient, then integration, and *gradual* integration at that, would be on the order of the day, with no serious challenge from any quarter. True, one ethnic group may have a

harder time making it into the melting pot than another, but it's all a matter of degree. It would only be a matter of time and grit before significant numbers of Negroes had made it. Nationalism would be at best something to amuse a few old cronies born in the South who never adjusted to big city life.

Would white radicals then be happier, seeing the urban Negro population all solidly in favor of integration and assimilation? Negroes in the North all "enjoy" to one extent or another the very elementary civil rights for which Negroes in the South are presently struggling. Yet it is precisely in the urban Negro proletariat that black nationalism finds its most fertile soil. Why should this be a source of distress, annoyance and chagrin to white radicals who are for fundamental changes and not just assimilation of Negroes into the status quo?

The white radicals would never have been able to influence these people, and they don't know what to say to them anyway. A radicalization of these masses through a mechanism operating independently, infusing self-confidence, self-expression, powered by the tremendous appeal imparted by nationalist fervor, providing an avenue for the organization into a mass movement of previously politically unorganized and voiceless masses seething with hatred for the status quo — all this should be good reason for optimism among revolutionists. It might not be exactly what they expected; it is certainly not entirely to their liking or understanding, being out of their control; it is far from being an ideal political vehicle for revolutionary change; but it is a thousand times better than the alternative picture of the same hundreds of thousands of northern Negroes sitting it out patiently in the illusion of getting their chance to cash in on the American Dream.

Blind Spot

Another important and debilitating blind spot is the inability to perceive regional variations in the conditions faced by Negroes across the country, and in the response of Negroes to the problems posed by regionally varying conditions. This particular blind spot is not unique to white radicals, but affects black integrationists and nationalists alike. Almost everyone involved tries to figure out what "the Negro" wants or what "the Negro" is up to, as if all Negroes, North

and South, on farms or in cities, whether isolated or living in huge ghettos like Harlem, faced the exact same set of problems with exactly the same outlook.

There is in fact a striking degree of homogeneity in the Negro struggle in many respects. This article concentrates on the less understood aspects of inhomogeneity, particularly the gulf separating the southern integrationist from the northern nationalist. Clashes between these views could be minimized once their regionality is acknowledged.

Southern integrationists, white radicals, white liberals and northern integrationists all make the mistake of judging black nationalism not by its relevance to its natural habitat in the northern slum ghettos, but instead by how it measures up to the southern integration struggle. In turn, black nationalists not only react hostilely to the very mention of the dirty word "integration," where it does not answer their problems in the North, but extend this reaction to condemn the methods and goals of the struggle in Dixie.

Many nationalists look down upon the integration struggle in the South (or North) with a contemptuous air, projecting the needs, conditions and inferences of their own ghetto life onto the southern scene, where Negroes are faced with added difficulties and a very peculiar white problem. In evolving their own dynamic, revolutionary ideology of a total and uncompromising break with the rotten white American society, many black nationalists attack not only the senseless goal of assimilation and ineffective integration tactics, but also the very vital and unpostponable necessities of the southern struggle.

Bulletin of Marxist Studies

Documents on the Negro Struggle

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SOUTHERN Negroes are beset by a million and one unbearable humiliations, cruelties and physical inconveniences which are peculiar to the South, and which must be eliminated *now, here, all of them*. Southern Negroes find it difficult to make much sense out of separatist leanings, while northern nationalists disdainfully sneer at the southern Negroes' apparent longing to be "accepted" and "loved" by crackers.

But Negroes in Dixie are not really that eager to be merged with crackers; they simply want to get that big white foot off their necks and get a chance to breathe. Southern Negroes have to fight for the right to use transportation facilities, public toilets, schools, voting booths, hospitals, libraries, every trivial convenience which others take for granted.

Although the black South is predominantly integrationist in orientation, there is a formidable and deeply lodged nationalist potential beneath the surface. The integration drive of southern Negroes aims at breaking down specific Jim Crow barriers, not at merging or assimilating socially and ethnically with crackers. The gap between the Negro and white populations in Dixieland may be even greater than in the North. One of the major barriers to the spread of overt nationalism among Negroes in the South is the sectarianism of Northern nationalists; their lack of flexibility in adapting to the needs and aspirations of southern Negroes living under different conditions. This is a factor which can be corrected.

In any case, nationalism would certainly sweep the South if it were as integrated as the North. To the extent that integration begins to achieve "progress" in some parts of the South, we need not be surprised to witness an upsurge of black nationalism geared to southern conditions, especially in the case of large city ghettos like Washington, Atlanta, Birmingham.

Goals Not Lauded

Crucial, monumental and heroic though the southern integration struggle is, it is not native to the black ghettos of the northern integrated cities; nor does it answer the needs or fire the hopes of the inhabitants of those crowded, sordid slums. Northern Negroes respond with raging indignation to the spectacle of black people being beaten, hosed-down and hounded with police dogs

in Birmingham, Alabama and Jackson, Mississippi; but not with any enthusiasm for the specific methods of struggle or the immediate goals of the campaigns conducted there.

Facing a set of generally different conditions in the North, northern Negroes cannot simply copy from the southern integration struggles, but must develop their own methods and goals, and black nationalism is a vital component in the northern ghetto struggle. The nature of the white problem is different Up South and Down South.

Northern nationalist-oriented Negroes are quite justified, in fact, in reacting with hostility to any attempts by white radicals, white liberals, or northern middle-class Negro assimilationists to force the northern struggle into the straightjacket of a southern mold, completely ignoring the different conditions, relationships of forces, history of struggle and needs of northern slum Negroes.

The notion that the "real" Negro struggle is centered entirely in the South, with the goal being integration and assimilation into the American Dream as envisaged by southern Negroes, northern middle-class assimilationists, white liberals and some radicals, is pernicious and diversionary to the Negro struggle in the ghettos of the North. The notion that acceptance by whites as fellow Americans is the highest "achievement" and "progress" that Negroes can hope for this side of heaven is insulting as well.

The implications of this massive swing toward nationalism are deadly for the prospects of the survival of the American Way. Of course, nationalist sentiment among Negroes, raised to whatever fever pitch, is not going to automatically alter the status quo substantially. But this is only the beginning of a process, not the end stages. And even at this early stage the promise of integration into

the American Way of Life is insipid and empty to hosts of Negroes.

It is no tragedy, then, that so many Negroes are not wild about more integration and still more. The problem ahead is that black nationalist organizations are geared more toward expression of sentiment and propaganda than toward action aimed at winning material and political independence from the white power structure.

There is a tragi-comic aspect in the spectacle of white radicals moaning that Negroes reject the society that these radicals themselves say history has condemned.

Thinking Black

"I got no flag. I got no country"

Negro teenager in San Francisco, victimized by "urban renewal" (June, 1963)

"... white people have nothing we want. They may have cars, clothes, homes. How they got it, that's another matter. But they lost something important away back . . ."

SNCC worker addressing Mississippi Negroes

In the eyes of most Negroes, white radicals appear to be far more attached to U.S. society than black nationalists are. This should come as a surprise to white radicals. In the white radical framework of reasoning, the radical has the truly fundamental approach in explicitly stating a decision for socialism and against capitalism, thus definitively rejecting US class society in a manner matched by no other trend in society in the profundity and sweep of the break with the status quo. Emotionally, however, white radicals are more or less in harmony and even in love with America and American atmosphere (with American culture, if such a thing can be said to exist), and feel very much at home in the

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United States — their country. Of course, they are intensely interested in altering this society through some revolutionary change. Their break is with bourgeois society, not with U.S. society, in the sense of the American (white) people and its "culture."

BLACK nationalists, on the other hand, do not feel at all at home in the United States or among their alleged fellow Americans. No Negroes do, to tell the truth. Just as the society rejects them, black nationalists reject every aspect of that society which they identify as white. Remember that it is not just the bourgeois class society which rejects Negroes, but the whole of U.S. society (including white liberals and radicals hostile to black nationalism). Negroes have the choice of trying to turn themselves inside out to live up to this white society and its perverse values or of rejecting this society and seeking values of their own.

A dominant culture decides for itself and for "everybody" what is normal, sane, in good taste; it sets the standards for maturity, intelligence, morality and human nature. It also sets arbitrary standards for what is to be beauty and good looks — what kind of nose and hair look "good." Those aspects of human behavior and appearance which the dominant culture represses or to which it assigns a low value are looked upon with revulsion and ridicule and are considered a badge of inferiority. The dominant group projects its repressions onto the groups it dominates. It despises the latter for not measuring up to and not adopting the master group's values. The victimized group may chafe under the "stereotypes" or may attempt to assert its own values. James Baldwin in *Nobody Knows My Name* eloquently states the case: "One had the choice of either 'acting just like a nigger' or of not 'acting just like a nigger' — and only those who have tried it know how impossible it is to tell the difference."

A Negro is nationalist in direct proportion to the extent of his rejection of this white society and his self-identification with Negroes as a *distinct* people. A useful definition of nationalism, in general, applicable to this case, is that offered by Essien-Udom: "The belief of a group that it possesses, or ought to possess, a country; that it shares, or ought to share, a common heritage of lan-

guage, culture, and religion; and that its heritage, way of life, and ethnic identity are distinct from those of other groups." (E.U. Essien-Udom: *Black Nationalism — A Search for an Identity in America*)

U.S. Rejected

Black nationalists entertain no hope or interest in improving any aspect of U.S. society, not even through some white people's revolution to come about in some far-off millenium. Black nationalists can find nothing good about the United States and its white people that might interest them: the materialistic, TV-crazy, chrome-plated, commodity-happy, H-bomb-wielding paradise of the white man has nothing to offer Negroes even if the greasy-spoons, public toilets, movie houses and public schools were integrated.

The white US has no music worthy of the name, no indigenous culture, no soul, no life, no poetry, no national purpose, no meaningful goals, no desirable friends abroad, no understanding of the world and its peoples, no genuine fraternal links with other peoples struggling to build a better world, no appreciably large mass of poor white people who appear to offer a reasonable prospect of being useful allies of the Negroes in the foreseeable future.

Even the white-led trade-union movement and the white U.S. Communist party are shoddy specimens compared to their counterparts in other countries. Those few white rebels and critics who exist in conformist U.S. white society do not speak the same language as the black rebels, are seldom interested in learning from the black revolt and are often a nuisance, if not just useless kibitzers to the Negroes they seek to advise.

Unlike youth in the newly developing African countries, Negro students have no prospect of studying and making their living in the service of their people, say as engineers, technicians, organizers of industry or statesmen. Liberals and radicals are generally aware of the crushing of incentive in Negro children faced with the dim prospect of getting decent jobs and opportunities. But the fact of not having a society to grow up into is at least as devastating. A few individual Negroes can achieve American-style "success." They can have their pictures in *Ebony* as the First Member of the Negro Race to

be admitted into such and such a position, pulling down so many thousand-dollars-a-year salary. But this "success" will be in the service of an alien society and an alien people, and will be measured by the yardsticks of an alien culture.

Black nationalists fight back against the cultural aggression of white America which floods and chokes Negroes with the symbols of its alien, vapid and decadent Way of Life. Increasing numbers of Negroes respond with revulsion and contempt to the Melting Pot, Old Glory, the Free World, Uncle Sam (the ugliest national symbol in the world), Our American Heritage, the Halls of Montezuma, Horatio Alger, I pledge allegiance . . . , rugged individualism, tall Texans, the clean-cut all-American nordic look, God's Country, gracious living, Southern hospitality, Clairol blondes and all the glittering Americana garbage peddled by *Ebony* magazine.

Unlike Negroes of any persuasion, white radicals along with all other melting-pot whites in the U.S. genuinely feel that this is their country, not just in words but deep down in their bones. White radicals seek to identify with the country's alleged revolutionary traditions from way back two-hundred years ago (in the days of our slave-owning and slave-whipping founding forefathers), and feel they are the realest and truest Americans. For Negroes, nationalist or not, this is sheer self-deception and escapism. Negroes are physically present in America, and their ancestors may have been here longer than some white families, but Negroes are not Americans if that word properly describes the white population. Negroes have never been such Americans, never will be such Americans, and many do not want to be or become such Americans (i.e. share the empty, cold, flatulent, materialistic, egocentric, Madison-Avenue-touted Way of Life dedicated to lies, property and the pursuit of selfishness).

White radicals have nothing in their experience that equips them to understand this complex of feeling in a real human sense. White radicals know from a distance and in the abstract of the powerful attraction of nationalist feeling in other countries — other revolutions. They can glibly quote great Marxist thinkers on the subject of "nationalism and self-determination." But in dealing with black nationalism in the U.S. white radicals attempt to apply

their Marxist learning in a groping, clumsy way, usually contrasting the extreme abstractions of complete all-out assimilationist integrationism into America-as-it-is to the extreme of geographical separatism and back-to-Africa separatism. White radicals are capable of writing erudite documents replete with excellent quotes from Marx and Lenin pertinent to these two extreme variants, spend much time discussing the history of their disagreements with rival white radicals on the subject, pat themselves on the back for having the Correct Marxist Position on the matter, but remain deaf and blind to what Negroes are really concerned about in that area.

Buying Black

Capitalism versus socialism is not a crucial issue to Negroes at this time. While any trained white radical can point to some conceivable danger resulting in some conceivable situation from this ambiguity, white radicals lack a sense of proportion in attaching undue importance to the lack of explicit stands against capitalism per se on the part of Negroes not already recruited to white radical parties.

Why should Negroes in the U.S. get worked up against the concept of capitalism as such? What in their experience would favor or hinder such an attitude? And why should their lack of interest in this great fundamental question be misinterpreted into some sort of acquiescence to capitalism? The answer to the last question is found in the formalistic and dogmatic approach common in the thinking of many white radicals. Since capitalism versus socialism is the basic question to the white radical, he is ready to judge and catalog other individuals and tendencies on how they respond to that question. As long as the cataloging encompasses social entities in the white world which he understands, the white radical categorizes well. Whites could be radically opposed to the status quo only insofar as they take an explicitly anti-capitalist, pro-socialist stand.

But Negroes are already a solid phalanx of non-capitalist mass, at the bottom of the social heap and in a state of continual economic depression and unemployment. There is very little of anything that deserves the name Negro middle class, and there is no Negro representation in the ruling class whatsoever. There are individual assimilated and ultra-

assimilated Negroes in higher echelons of government service, and two Negroes now on the Stock Exchange. But this constitutes no independent

social force sharing even a tiny fraction of power with the white ruling class. Black capitalism in the U.S. is nonexistent as a social force, to the point of the concept being ludicrous.

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WHILE U.S. Negroes are anything but explicitly pro-capitalist, the confrontation of socialism vs. capitalism as a concept leaves them cold for the most part. This is natural, since what U.S. Negroes face is a hostile white world, with all sections and income levels from the Rockefeller and Kennedys and Goldwaters on down to the poor white worker and farmer arrayed against them in hostility, frigidity and contempt. In this hostile bloc of all classes, the white capitalist class does not stand out any more sharply in its hostility than the other whites, and may escape being on the mind of non-Marxist-oriented Negroes because of the lack of direct personal contact. No matter what Negroes say or don't say, or think or don't think about U.S. capitalism as such, U.S. capitalism is not and never has been any friend of Negroes, and the Negroes are no natural friends of U.S. capitalism. White capitalism (the only capitalism in the U.S.) is simply rejected along with the rest of white society.

Nor does the dream of a future socialist society attract or inspire Negro rebels. For white radicals, speculation about the society of the future looms large in importance. Negroes are much more intensely preoccupied with resistance to the present society. No black rebels need "faith in socialism" to strengthen and sustain their revolutionary ardor. In any case, the experience almost all Negroes have with white workers does not render the picture of a society dominated by "the workers" very alluring.

Now why should so many low-income black workers be interested in having black-owned businesses prosper? Once the existence of black nationalist feeling is acknowledged, some such attitude is to be expected. But the attitude is irritating to white radicals, rubbing them the wrong way on a fundamental point of doctrine, so that white radicals immediately feel impelled into a stubborn argument with any Negro who argues BUY BLACK! to the detriment of other points on which the white radical and Negro might find substantial common ground.

As the white radical pontificates on how capitalism is wrong no mat-

ter what the color of the capitalist is, and why separatism is no solution, and why the unity of Negro and white workers, etc., etc., . . . , the Negro (not necessarily nationalist) will be thinking: "This is a damn shame. This ofay is just against black people having money. He raises hell against capitalism and Wall Street at the top of his lungs right now, but in a couple of years he might forget all that jive and settle down and make him more bread than I will ever see. But it bugs him to see any black man accumulate money and power."

Negroes have no experience with black exploiters; even if there are a handful somewhere in the country, they are too sparse to constitute a recognizable social phenomenon. The possibility of a black bourgeoisie (in the real sense, not E. F. Frazier's) taking shape in the country is fantastic and remote.

The BUY BLACK! argument aims at making the black ghetto black, i.e. owned, managed and run by blacks. This urge seems to workers in the slums no less practical or feasible than the other "solutions" offered by middle-class integrationists or white advisers. The ghetto poor want to see "some of our own" make it. They will not accept any implication that everyone else except Negroes have the right to make big money. They want to see the black communities built up economically, independently of the white man's stranglehold. Precisely the fact that the Negro middle class is too aborted, hamstrung, decrepit, straightjacketed, too cowardly, too damn Americanized to do that job — precisely that fact intensifies the urge of other social forces below them to try to do it and go even further to other goals.

Even though not feasible or achievable under capitalist conditions, particularly with the extra restrictions standing in the way of Negroes getting ahead in business, this urge is natural, progressive in its context and potentially explosive. White radicals who buck this sentiment head-on are sectarian idiots*.

Frustrating Experience

Attempts by non-middle-class Negroes to smash through these economic barriers, and clear the way for the feeble and stillborn Negro middle

*Generally, white radicals will refrain from arguing with Negro integrationists who stress the right of Negroes to "make it" in the business world against existing obstacles.

class, run into head-on conflict with the very essence of white capitalist society — that gigantic conspiracy against the entire Negro people. Race-discrimination by labor unions, banks refusing to issue loans to Negro businessmen, stores refusing to accept merchandise produced or marketed by Negroes, concerns refusing to place Negroes in managerial capacities (not to mention those which refuse to hire Negroes even in menial jobs) are subject to counterattack.

Running white businesses off the main drag in the ghetto is a popular notion, not at all limited to competing Negro businessmen. In fact, the latter are horrified when the people among whom the notion is popular get going in direct (physical) action to carry out such a Yankee Go Home! program. (Cf. the Harlem riots of 1935, 1943.) The end results may be no businesses left at all, only martial law on the streets.

The popularity of BUY BLACK! is natural. The workers in the ghetto slums have to take crap from white bosses on the job (and from white workers on the job), see white cops patrolling the streets shaking down numbers runners and beating heads. They rub elbows with alienated and distant poker-faced whites on the integrated subways or busses. But they don't want to see whites raking in all the loot in the ghetto, too, running even the local drugstore, bar, soda fountain, clothing shop. This is a constant and grinding irritation. It is a more acute form of the irritation at having to look at white movies, white TV stars, grinning white faces on the advertisements, the dour and ugly faces of white presidents on the dollar bills.

What would an unskilled worker resident of the black ghetto have to lose by resonating enthusiastically to the Muslim rejection of white society, coupled with a program of

complete separation? The ghetto inhabitant living in the integrated northern city is already about as integrated as can be achieved by the methods used in the South by middle-class-led movements. Aside from that, he is already effectively separated in his residence, social ties, outlook on life, relation to society, job opportunities, freedom and opportunity of expression. It isn't a bad idea at all to separate, politically if not geographically, from such an obnoxious society. The nationalist appeal doesn't threaten to take anything away, and it offers much not found anywhere else.

Now, would that same unskilled worker stand to lose anything if the nationalist program was, or could be, carried out at this time? Frankly, this question is academic and unrealistic. The possibility of carrying out that type of separatist program would mean that almost all Negroes were involved in a violently anti-status quo movement, upsetting the stability of the whole country. Long before the situation reached that boiling point, other factors outside the black population and even outside the U.S. would have been brought into play through the interaction between the black revolution and the instability of the powerhouse of the capitalist world right on its home grounds.

On the other hand, any counter-reform attempt to intensify discrimination or enforce segregation where it does not now exist would provoke ferocious resistance from all Negroes, whatever their orientation. Black nationalists promote a separation on terms decided by Negroes, not acceptance of humiliating and dehumanizing segregation conditions dictated by southern whites. These are not just words. No membership or following the nationalists could attract would tolerate it otherwise. In any case, the black nationalist movement in its present northern form gestates in and reflects the moods of the northern slum ghettos. It is silly to judge it by how it would "work" in Dixie. Southern "separate but equal" institutions are controlled by whites and forced on Negroes. The spread of black nationalism to the South will entail a fight against the entire Jim Crow structure to simultaneously smash down segregation barriers and build up black-controlled bases of power and an end to the grotesque and ludicrous Gandhian-Christian urge to win the "love" and "acceptance" of Southern racists.

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Deutscher on Trotsky

By Joseph Hansen

THE PROPHET OUTCAST by Isaac Deutscher. New York: The Oxford University Press. 1963. 543 pp. \$9.50.

The final volume of the trilogy tells the story of Trotsky in banishment from the workers' state which he, together with Lenin, had founded. It describes the great intellectual contributions made by this giant revolutionist in these years, his final political battles, and the bitter personal tragedies that befell him before he was slain by Stalin's emissary. The volume was obviously not an easy one for the biographer. The central issues of our time, in which Trotsky stood as the continuator of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are still with us, have grown in acuteness in fact, and it is impossible to deal with Trotsky without also dealing with these. To talk about Trotsky means to talk about the capitalist system in its period of decay and violent resistance to social and economic change, about reviving the proletarian democracy destroyed by the reactionary bureaucratic caste that appeared in the Soviet Union, about the as yet unresolved problem of creating a leadership capable of leading humanity forward to a new and better order.

No matter how Deutscher chose to handle these topics, what he said was bound to be controversial. An additional hazard was that the Trotsky of these years was the Trotsky most familiar to the present generation, the man who still exists in living memory and whose image seemed to become engraved on all who met him, if only briefly.

The biographer met these challenges very well indeed. As in the previous volumes, he remains scrupulous toward facts,* seeks the truth, and does not hide his own views and predilections. The disagreements one may have with him thus center on points in which his judgment and political views affect the final portrait he offers of Trotsky. The merit of the biographical material he has assembled can be questioned by no one, unless ill will enters in. It is a precious contribution to knowledge of Trotsky, his ideas, and the character of the time he lived in.

The general plan of the volume is the same as the two previous ones. Deutscher presents summaries of Trotsky's main writings during the years under consideration, plus excerpts to give the reader a taste of the original. These are nearly always well chosen and constitute a valuable part of the book. But since, unlike the earlier years, most of the original sources are readily available, the biographer has legitimately reduced the proportion of anthology to the necessities of historical narrative.

Conscientious work in the Trotsky archives at Harvard has enabled Deutscher to present new material of the greatest interest. He was particularly fortunate to obtain the special permission of Natalia Trotsky before her death to examine family correspondence. The revelation thus provided of the family life of the Trotskys, particularly when it was caught up most tensely and tragically in the tempestuous public struggles of the final years, adds a new dimension to the image of Trotsky hitherto available to the public. Deutscher even permits us to glimpse over his shoulder a few lines related to Trotsky's love-life with

Natalia, words written only for her. Finally, Deutscher has interviewed many people who met Trotsky or who worked closely with him. From their reports he has selected what he felt he needed or had room for.

Out of these rich and varied sources a picture of Trotsky emerges that is the most life-like of the three volumes, although, to be completely frank, the finished portrait does not quite catch Trotsky, in my opinion, at least as he was known to his closest collaborators in the final years, and calls attention rather too much to the biographer. I will return to this.

* * *

Deutscher considers the Prinkipo period, from 1929 to 1933, to be by far the most productive and fruitful of Trotsky's final years. He devotes half the volume to it. Trotsky's literary production at Prinkipo was indeed enormous and of the highest quality: the three-volume *History of the Russian Revolution*; an autobiography, *My Life*; a series of profound and stirring articles on the most crucial issue of the day—the rise of Nazism; continuation of his current appreciations of developments in the Soviet Union, the only original Marxist contribution on this subject at the time; occasional writings of first-rate importance on such topics as the beginning of the Spanish revolution; and a wide correspondence on an international scale related to the task of reconstructing the revolutionary-socialist movement.

Deutscher does an excellent job of inventorying and assessing these treasures. His praise of Trotsky as a historian is especially warm and appreciative.

"Like Thucydides, Dante, Machiavelli, Heine, Marx, Herzen, and other thinkers and poets, Trotsky attained his full eminence as a writer only in exile, during the few Prinkipo years. Posterity will remember him as the historian of the October Revolution as well as its leader. No other Bolshevik has or could have produced so great and splendid an account of events of 1917; and none of the many writers of the anti-Bolshevik parties has presented any worthy counterpart to it."

Deutscher does not hesitate to estimate it as the greatest work of its kind: "His historical writing is dialectical as is hardly any other such work produced by the Marxist school of thought since Marx, from whom he derives his method

* Even such a biased reviewer as Carleton Beals was reduced to pointing to the listing of "Almazar," a right-wing general involved in Trotsky's political break with Diego Rivera, as "proof" of Deutscher's "pseudo-scholarship." "No such general has ever existed or been a presidential candidate," Carleton Beals assures us in the October issue of *The Independent*. "Such is Deutscher's notable scholarship." Beals, evidently emotionally upset by the passing reference in the biography to his strange role in the Dewey Commission, displays such ill will that he does not even offer to make the necessary correction about the Mexican general. The name should be spelled Almazan. The petulance of Beals, of course, could be due to Deutscher's "pseudo-scholarship" in another unfortunate matter: "Deutscher does not even spell my name correctly. His account is a sham, and a distortion. Save your money." (Deutscher spelled the name of His Royal Highness "Carlton.") Beals' own pseudo-scholarship in relation to Mexico showed up, however, when he failed to note the most obvious error in Deutscher's biography. In the photographs facing page 480, the caption reads: "Two views of the 'little fortress' at Coyoacan." The top view is of the home owned by Frida Kahlo where Trotsky first stayed after coming to Coyoacan. The bottom view is of the house which Trotsky had to buy after the break with Diego Rivera.

and style. To Marx's minor historical works, *The Class Struggle in France*, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and *The Civil War In France*, Trotsky's *History* stands as the large mural painting stands to the miniature. Whereas Marx towers above the disciple in the power of his abstract thought and gothic imagination, the disciple is superior as epic artist, especially as master of the graphic portrayal of masses and individuals in action. His socio-political analysis and artistic vision are in such concord that there is no trace of any divergence. His thought and his imagination take flight together. He expounds his theory of revolution with the tension and the *élan* of narrative; and his narrative takes depth from his ideas. His scenes, portraits, and dialogues, sensuous in their reality, are inwardly illumined by his conception of the historical process."

Trotsky's autobiography, in Deutscher's opinion, is less satisfactory because of a certain unevenness. One can agree with Deutscher in this without sharing the reasons he offers for finding the latter part of the book not up to what can be expected from Trotsky at his best. Deutscher holds that Trotsky's explanation of the struggle with Stalin is defective. Trotsky "does not go to the root of the matter and he leaves Stalin's ascendancy only half explained." Deutscher feels that Trotsky pictures Stalin as too much villain and that he "virtually ignores the intrinsic connexion between the suppression by Bolshevism of all parties and its self-suppression, of which Stalin was the supreme agent." The flaw, in Deutscher's view, is thus due to faulty political vision — a considerable weakness in the man whom Deutscher otherwise views as a supreme political genius. However, Trotsky was quite familiar with the theory for which Deutscher argues, concerning the alleged organic connection between Bolshevism and Stalinism. He specifically rejected it on more than one occasion, and with arguments that I find still convincing.

Trotsky's defective political insight, if such it is, is not peculiar to *My Life*; it is common to everything he wrote, touching this subject, in his final years. What really gives the autobiography its unevenness is the shift away from personal material. The first chapters are on the level of great autobiographical literature. The latter parts shift to political polemic. Excellent as this may be in its own right, it clashes increasingly with the autobiographical form in which it is cast. In contrast to his openness in the first parts in offering absorbing intimate material, Trotsky, in the final parts, becomes more and more reticent.

The reasons for this are perfectly understandable and, in fact, do Trotsky credit. His primary interest was not psychological self-revelation but political action. He remained to the end of his life a leader who necessarily subordinated all other considerations to the interests of the political wars he was engaged in. Deutscher, one must agree, is right in saying about the autobiography that "if he had not written it in 1929, or shortly thereafter, he might not have written it at all."

In unity of form and content, Deutscher's biography contrasts favorably with the final sections of *My Life*. As we follow Trotsky's thought and the course of his political battles, we participate at the same time in his personal fortunes. We catch some of the pleasures, the more common emotional stress and the searing tragedies. We get to know something of Zina, the daughter who suffered a nervous breakdown under Stalin's persecution, who resisted psychoanalytic treatment and who finally committed suicide. Leon Sedov, the devoted son comes to life for us—Leon, who had such a close political and personal relationship with his father that he became the receptacle for explosive paternal tensions that could find no other safety valve and which Leon could not understand but only brood over in the final days before his own death at the hands of the implacable common foe. Natalia emerges as a granite figure. To Deutscher she is the heroine of the epic and all who read this biography are bound to share his admiration for her. She was truly of the stature required to share to the end the fortunes of the prophet outcast.

As the titles of the trilogy indicate: *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed*, and *The Prophet Outcast*, Trotsky's capacity to see into the future was, for Deutscher, his most irresistible gift. He cites examples of Trotsky's almost uncanny accuracy. Two of them in the final volume will undoubtedly impress everyone who reads them. The first one, on the grand level of the international class struggle, illustrates the contrast between Trotsky's clear vision of the meaning of the rise of Hitler and the blindness of the Stalinists, represented in this case by Thaelmann:

"As late as September 1932, a few months before Hitler became Chancellor, Thaelmann, at a session of the Comintern Executive, still repeated, what Münzenberg had said: 'In his pamphlet on how National Socialism is to be defeated, Trotsky gives one answer only, and it is this: the German Communist Party must join hands with the Social Democratic Party . . . This, according to Trotsky, is the only way in which the German working class can save itself from fascism. Either, says he, the Communist party makes common cause with the Social Democrats, or the German working class is lost for ten or twenty years. This is the theory of an utterly bankrupt Fascist and counter-revolutionary. This is indeed the worst, the most dangerous, and the most criminal theory that Trotsky has construed in these last years of his counter-revolutionary propaganda.'

"One of the decisive moments in history is approaching', Trotsky rejoined, ' . . . when the Comintern as a revolutionary factor may be wiped off the political map for an entire historic epoch. Let blind men and cowards refuse to notice this. Let slanderers and hired scribblers accuse us of being in league with the counter-revolution. Has not counter-revolution become anything . . . that interferes with the digestion of communist bureaucrats . . . nothing must be concealed, nothing belittled. We must tell the advanced workers as loudly as we can: After the 'third period' of recklessness and boasting the fourth period of panic and capitulation has set in.' In an almost desperate effort to arouse the communists, Trotsky put into words the whole power of his conviction and gave them once again the ring of an alarm bell: 'Workers-communists! There are hundreds of thousands, there are millions of you. . . . If fascism comes to power it will ride like a terrific tank over your skulls and spines. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. Only a fighting unity with social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, communist workers, you have very little time to lose.'"

The second example is Trotsky's admonition of Trygve Lie, who later became head of the United Nations. The then Minister of Justice in the Norwegian government put Trotsky under house arrest, barred him from answering the charges in the infamous 1936 Moscow frame-up trial, and even cut him off from correspondence. Lie attempted to force Trotsky to sign a shameful agreement not to make any statements referring to the Moscow frame-up trial, in which Trotsky and his son were principal victims, and to submit the mail, telegrams and telephone calls of himself, his wife and secretaries to censorship. "Twenty years later eye-witnesses of the scene still remembered the flashes of scorn in Trotsky's eyes and the thunder of his voice as he refused to comply." He levelled a series of damaging questions at Trygve Lie.

"At this point Trotsky raised his voice so that it resounded through the halls and corridors of the Ministry: 'This is your first act of surrender to Nazism in your own country. You will pay for this. You think yourselves secure and free to deal with a political exile as you please. But the day is near — remember this! — the day is near when the Nazis will drive you from your country, all of you together with your Pantoffel-Minister-President.' Trygve Lie shrugged at this odd piece of sooth-saying. Yet after less than four years the same government had indeed to flee from Norway before the Nazi invasion; and as the Ministers and their aged King Haakon stood on the coast, huddled together and wait-

ing anxiously for a boat that was to take them to England, they recalled with awe Trotsky's words as a prophet's curse come true."

* * *

There is justification in singling out this aspect, in emphasizing Trotsky as *prophet*. It helps create interest in what he had to offer the world. Nevertheless, a certain amount of reduction occurs. At worst, the image, with its undue connotation of extra-sensory intuitive powers, tends to obscure the image of Trotsky as *scientist*. It contributes to an imbalance in the portrait. Before coming to that, however, it is perhaps advisable to say something about Deutscher's differences with Trotsky, which come to the fore in this volume.

Throughout the biography Deutscher stresses the continuity of Marxist thought represented by Trotsky, evaluates to the best of his ability what Trotsky added to the body of Marxist literature and offers accurate and readable presentations of Trotsky's special contributions. In previous volumes he considered Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, his brilliant work in the field of literary criticism, his outstanding role in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, his program for the first workers' state as it stood isolated in the twenties, his opening of the struggle against Stalinism. In this volume, Deutscher calls special attention to Trotsky's analysis of the nature of fascism and how to fight it — an addition to Marxism that is little appreciated today, primarily because of the unending campaign of slander against Trotsky.

Most of Trotsky's followers would add to this list, and even put it in the top rank of his achievements, the analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers' state, particularly Trotsky's estimate of the roots and nature of Stalinism. Deutscher has strong reservations on this. He feels that Trotsky, while making the fundamental contribution, did not see altogether clearly on the subject:

"The Revolution Betrayed occupies a special place in Trotsky's literary work. It is the last book he managed to complete and in a sense, his political testament. In it he gave his final analysis of Soviet society and a survey of its history up to the middle of the Stalin era. His most complex book, it combines all the weakness and original reflections on socialism, on the difficulties with which proletarian revolution has to grapple, and on the role of a bureaucracy in a workers' state. He also surveyed the international position of the Soviet Union before the Second World War and tried to pierce the future with daring and partly erroneous forecasts. The book is a profound theoretical treatise and a tract for the time; a creative restatement of classical Marxist views; and the manifesto of the 'new Trotskyism' calling for revolution in the Soviet Union. Trotsky appears here in all his capacities; as detached and rigorously objective thinker; as leader of a defeated Opposition; and as passionate pamphleteer and polemicist. The polemicist's contribution forms the more esoteric part of the work and tends to overshadow the objective and analytical argument. Because of the wealth of its ideas and its imaginative force, this has been one of the seminal books of this century, as instructive as confusing, and destined to be put to adventitious use more often than any other piece of political writing. Even its title was to become one of the shibboleths of our time."

Deutscher follows with a summary of the book which is quite good. (However, "Stalinist state" for "Stalinist regime" in a "workers' state" is scarcely a happy condensation.) He finds himself in agreement with Trotsky's program against bureaucratism and for proletarian democracy and considers it still relevant "over a quarter of a century after its formulation." Then he indicates one of his main disagreements with Trotsky:

"From the tenor of The Revolution Betrayed it is clear that he saw no chance of any reform from above; and there was indeed no chance of it in his lifetime and for

the rest of the Stalin era. But during that time there was no chance in the Soviet Union of any political revolution either. This was a period of deadlock; it was impossible either to cut or to untie the Gordian knots of Stalinism. Any programme of change whether revolutionary or reformist, was illusory. This could not prevent a fighter like Trotsky from searching for a way out. But he was searching within a vicious circle, which only world-shaking events began to breach many years later. And when that happened the Soviet Union moved away from Stalinism through reform from above in the first instance. What forced the reform was precisely the factors on which Trotsky had banked; economic progress, the cultural rise of the masses, and the end of Soviet isolation. The break with Stalinism could only be piecemeal, because at the end of the Stalin era there existed and could exist no political force capable and willing to act in a revolutionary manner. Moreover, throughout the first decade after Stalin there did not emerge 'from below' any autonomous and articulate mass movement even for reform. Since Stalinism had become an anachronism, nationally and internationally, and a break with it had become an historic necessity for the Soviet Union, the ruling group itself had to take the initiative of the break. Thus, by an irony of history Stalin's epigones began the liquidation of Stalinism and thereby carried out, malgré eux mêmes, parts of Trotsky's political testament.

"But can they continue this work and complete it? Or is a political revolution still necessary? On the face of it, the chances of revolution are still as slender as they were in Trotsky's days, whereas the possibilities of reform are far more real."*

In *The Prophet Outcast* Deutscher still holds that "continuous reform" is more likely than "a revolutionary explosion." However, he agrees that this can be only a tentative conclusion. There can be "little or no certitude." He says finally, "At any rate, the present writer prefers to leave the final judgment on Trotsky's idea of a political revolution to a historian of the next generation."

It is not my intention to get into a dispute at this time with Deutscher on "self-reform" or "political revolution," a complicated question. I will only indicate the central issue. The *immediacy* of a political revolution is not at stake — the disagreement is not about that. What is involved in *principle* is the character of the ruling *caste* in the Soviet Union. In Trotsky's view it was not just a bureaucracy but something more, somewhat like a class in its rapacity and its need to monopolize power but lacking the economic roots and economic stability of a true class. Will such a social formation, out of self-volution, eventually offer the masses effective forms of proletarian democracy? Trotsky held the view that the answer was no, since the effective operation of proletarian democracy would signify liquidation of the bureaucracy as a social formation enjoying special privileges, a negative answer, in turn, implied that political revolution was the only means left to the masses to intervene in their

* In connection with this, Deutscher refers in a footnote to an attack on his views levelled by James P. Cannon in 1954. Perhaps it is opportune to attempt to clear this up. Some harsh and even unjustified things were said of Deutscher. At the time, Deutscher's theory about the possibility of the self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy figured in an internal crisis of the Socialist Workers party. A sector of the cadres and leaders were strongly influenced by Deutscher's theory. A split occurred and some of them capitulated to Stalinism. The crisis was not confined to the SWP but affected other sectors of the world Trotskyist movement. To many Trotskyists, Deutscher's position appeared as an alternative program which could prove to be a bridge to Stalinism. It was therefore viewed with hostility. It turned out, however, that Deutscher was not interested in recruiting from the Trotskyist movement or in organizing a sect of his own, still less a cult. This spoke strongly in his favor. After the Hungarian uprising another phenomenon soon became noticeable to the Trotskyist movement. Many members of Communist parties, shaken by the events, began reading forbidden literature. Not prepared to touch the works of the devil himself, Deutscher's writings appeared less "counter-revolutionary" to them. Having begun dipping into Trotskyism in this way, they thirsted for more. Through Deutscher, some of them eventually found their way to Trotskyism. Deutscher's position under these circumstances proved to be a bridge from Stalinism to Trotskyism. Trotskyists could not be against that kind of public facility. They therefore began undertaking their own self-reform — in relation to Deutscher.

own rule. This did not necessarily mean a "violent explosion," although it would certainly signify a thoroughgoing shakeup undertaken at the initiative of the masses.

None of the concessions granted by Stalin's heirs up to now have affected the political monopoly held by the bureaucratic caste. Trotsky's conclusions would thus seem to have received corroboration from the pattern of the reforms themselves.

From the viewpoint of the world Trotskyist movement, Deutscher's agreement on the validity of Trotsky's program establishes the possibility in principle of practical collaboration with him, even though action, so far as he is concerned, might never go beyond working for "continuous reform." Since advocates of "continuous reform" and "political revolution" have the same end in view — the establishment of proletarian democracy in the workers' states — a rather wide basis for co-operation exists. To this it can be added that it will doubtless be in the process of seeking to obtain reforms of increasing importance that the Soviet masses will eventually prove in life who saw most clearly and who suffered to some degree from illusions as to the means by which Stalin's alteration of the political structure will eventually be rectified.

* * *

In addition to inability to prophesy correctly how the workers' state would be regenerated, Deutscher holds that Trotsky failed to forecast correctly the pattern which the world revolution actually took in the postwar period. I would not deny that there is an element of truth in the latter assertion. The specific pattern of the Chinese Revolution — organization of the peasantry into armies and their advance from the countryside to the city — offers the most spectacular example of a mode foreseen by no one. The Cuban Revolution offered powerful confirmation of what could be deduced in the case of China — that there is much still to be learned about potentialities in the revolutionary process, in particular about the increasing role of revolutionists of action (foreseen by Trotsky) in contrast to the earlier predominance of the pioneers of theory.

To say that these revolutions deviated from the pattern forecast by classical Marxism does not bring us to the heart of the matter, however. The October Revolution in its time likewise deviated from the forecasts of classical Marxism (Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was not yet part of "classical" Marxism), yet in the final balancing of accounts the October Revolution offered the most powerful confirmation of classical Marxism. The problems in theory offered by China and Cuba are not qualitatively different. What they point to is the importance of the method to be used in approaching them. This was already indicated by Trotsky — if not as prophet, then as scientist.

In a postscript, Deutscher offers some contributions in relation to this. What he says is interesting but not exactly new to the Trotskyist movement, which has been discussing these questions since the downfall of capitalism in eastern Europe.

* * *

In passing, Deutscher notes certain physical characteristics of Trotsky. The likeness grows to photographic accuracy.

(Photography always misses somewhat.) This is all the more notable since Deutscher never happened to meet Trotsky and had to rely on the impressions of others besides, of course, the written record.

The portrait as a work of art, one must also agree, is quite good. A reservation, however, must be registered. Deutscher's preoccupation with accounting for the apparent discrepancies between Trotsky's program of political revolution in the USSR and the actual post-Stalin concessions; Trotsky's program of socialist revolution in the industrially advanced countries and the actual advance of the world revolution in the colonial sector; Trotsky's program for rebuilding the revolutionary-socialist movement and the actual organizational weakness to this day of the Fourth International; lead him, in my opinion, to miss something very important. I am not interested here in debating these questions, but in considering how Deutscher's positions affect his finished portrait.

Trotsky was enormously attractive to not a few intellectuals. His power of prediction, his range of intellect and culture showed his mind without the slightest doubt to be one of the greatest the West has produced.

To follow Trotsky's thought in all its ramifications is an absorbing study, as Deutscher's biography proves. It is a challenge to measure Trotsky's theory against the historical reality. The temptation can even be strong to vie with the master by attempting a better construction where it may seem he went wrong. This is perfectly legitimate and one cannot quarrel with such ambitions. They can prove to be productive. A trap does exist, however. The very subtlety, range and depth of Trotsky's thought and the quantity of his productions, which make him so magnetic to intellectuals, can lead one to overlook Trotsky's essential simplicity.

In working closely with Trotsky, one soon noted an extraordinary combination of qualities: enormous energy, unbelievably quick perception and rapport, extraordinary memory, and the mobilization of these gifts in a most efficient and businesslike way. Mobilized for what? A very simple task — the establishment of planned economy in place of the anarchic relations of capitalism. This was the elementary chore which this genius set for himself as a youth when he decided to choose Marxism as his field. It was the job to which he stuck steadily through the years. He was still working at it when he was struck down.

If you wish to question the wisdom of how Trotsky directed his genius, as Deutscher does in the instance of his seeking to build a new international, it would seem in order to begin by questioning the wisdom of this primary decision.

A case can be made out concerning the abysmal waste of taking humanity's very greatest intellects and compelling them to become occupied with bringing order into our way of organizing the production and distribution of food, clothing, housing and taking care of the rest of our basic social needs. Trotsky's answer to that is that we do not choose the time we are born into. Our problem as individuals in finding our niche is to grasp the main tasks facing mankind, and, as members of the human race, do what we can to help accomplish them. From Trotsky's viewpoint this also offers a human being the greatest possible satisfaction.

All the rest follows, including the burning importance which Trotsky placed upon organization of the Fourth International.

But like all great men Trotsky had his foibles! Of course. But having granted this can we in all consistency maintain that the biographers of great men, including the biographer of Trotsky, are free from them? If we concede to Deutscher the saving grace of having his own foibles, perhaps it will not be considered out of order to suggest that one of them was failure to see the importance of probing deeply into the meaning of the kind of human relations that Trotsky advocated, sought, instigated, enjoyed, and participated in organizing, above all at the close of his life, in the light of his enormous experience and when he was at the very height of his intellectual powers. To bring the inner Trotsky into full light, he must be seen, I would judge, in the setting

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**THE CHINESE REVOLUTION —
PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES**

by Leon Trotsky
(35 cents)

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of his active pursuit of these human relations and as they fitted into his own great guiding purpose in life.

Our biographer's usually keen insight deserts him at this crucial point, and in place of all the threads falling satisfyingly into place to disclose the coherence of Trotsky's intelligence and will, the threads fray out into loose ends. Deutscher shows his prophet with eyes growing dim.

How such a clear-sighted genius could fail so lamentably to see things which Deutscher considers obvious remains an unresolved contradiction in the biography. Deutscher seems to sense this. He grants that Trotsky remained unflinchingly optimistic about revolutionary perspectives to the very end; yet he suggests that doubts had begun to creep in. He makes much of Trotsky's argument in the factional struggle that broke out in the Socialist Workers party in 1939 that if the working class proved incapable of meeting its historic obligation then Burnham's anti-Marxist theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" would prove to be the wave of the future, socialism a mere utopia and all of Marxism wrong. He suggests that Trotsky at bottom discounted the movement he had founded: "his real last will and testament" contains "not a single mention of the Fourth International." Deutscher bears down rather heavily on the theme:

"Thus at the close of his days Trotsky interrogated himself about the meaning and the purpose of all his life and struggle and indeed of all the struggles of several generations of fighters, communists, and socialists. Was a whole century of revolutionary endeavour crumbling into dust? Again and again he returned to the fact that the workers had not overthrown capitalism anywhere outside Russia. Again and again he surveyed the long and dismal sequence of defeats which the revolution had suffered between the two world wars. And he saw himself driven to the conclusion that if major new failures were to be added to this record, then the whole historic perspective drawn by Marxism would indeed come under question."

I think that Deutscher is wrong in believing that Trotsky "interrogated himself." He was answering the interrogations of others, and with the most powerful arguments at his command. Trotsky was as hard as diamond and completely flawless in his view of the long-range course of history. What did Trotsky really do "again and again?" He posed the alternative facing mankind: barbarism or socialism. He did not hesitate to pick up the arguments raised by those who had really begun to doubt and to sicken of the struggle. He spun them to logical absurdity and exposed their theoretical bankruptcy — *their* bankruptcy.

Commenting on the "overemphatic and hyperbolic" argument which Trotsky levelled against Burnham, Deutscher comments: "Perhaps only Marxists could sense fully the tragic solemnity which these words had in Trotsky's mouth." It is true that this was the way they sounded to some of

the leaders of the opposing faction, but they hardly sounded that way to Trotsky or his closest collaborators.

We can perhaps better appreciate Trotsky's meaning by considering the same basic alternative which he posed as it stands today, almost a quarter of a century later. If the acuteness of the alternative had grown less, *without the action of the working class*, then the founding of the Fourth International would have turned out to be a utopian project because its aim — the mobilization of the working class to avert barbarism — proved to be not necessary. Or if we faced the opposite situation — an actual perspective of centuries of barbarism, the project likewise would have proved to have been utopian. What is the truth? Neither situation holds. The alternative is still posed, but the delay in determining its outcome has enormously increased its acuteness.

The alternative, socialism or barbarism, has become the alternative, socialism or nuclear ruin. Physicists now tell us — Trotsky's followers only repeat it — that war with atomic weapons can signify the suicide of mankind and even the destruction of all the higher forms of life. Trotsky's picture of the possibility of a barbarism in which mankind would have to crawl painfully forward on all fours is idyllic compared to the "tragic solemnity" of the picture now facing us — a barren planet in which life itself might have to crawl up again from the amoeba or, if lucky, some of the lower vertebrates.

Does this mean that we must abandon hope or that there is room for more doubt than in Trotsky's last years before the outbreak of World War II? On the contrary! The need for socialism is posed all the more imperatively.

This leads us directly to the point of sharpest difference with Deutscher. Who is to be credited with this "success" in intensifying the acuteness of the historic dilemma facing the world? The Second and Third Internationals! The life-and-death importance of Trotsky's final efforts to construct a new international has received sufficient confirmation we should think.

A pure pragmatist will demand "All right, where are the revolutions in the West?" The question lacks the intended force because it leaves out the great postwar upsurge, especially in Italy and France, a phenomenon which Deutscher does not consider although it is surely relevant in any discussion of Trotsky's forecasts. Is another upsurge, of even greater potential power, ruled out? In questions relating to the decline of a system and the rise of a new one, sufficient range must be taken; exactly how much range is not easily determined even by a genius like Trotsky.

Deutscher is so concerned to prove the hopelessness of Trotsky's project of rebuilding the world-wide revolutionary socialist movement that he puts in question a different thesis which he proffers; namely, that Stalin was much more capable than Trotsky estimated him to be. Stalin, as Deutscher proves, was infinitely afraid of the Fourth International. He displayed an obsession over it. Was this merely paranoia, the counterpart to Trotsky's grotesque foible, or did the capable Stalin have a certain amount of reason in his efforts to exorcise the phantom? Why Stalin's extraordinary concern over the sectarian squabbles and impotent goings-on of Trotsky's followers? (Other rulers, too, have shown strange disinclination to accept the view that the Trotskyist movement can be dismissed as a "failure.")

It is hard to know exactly what Deutscher thinks Trotsky and his run-of-the-mill followers should have done in the years when they were fighting the spread of fascism, struggling against Stalinism and the reformism of the Social Democracy, warning of the danger of World War II, posing the historic dilemma facing mankind and seeking to build a revolutionary-socialist leadership.

Trotsky's work in collaboration with the "vulgar" followers who rallied to his program provides one of the best keys to a deeper understanding of his character. Deutscher is grievously blind to this. If you view Trotsky primarily as a prophet, as Deutscher does, this blind spot becomes un-

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derstandable. It is not easy for a prophet to transfer his gifts; it is even quite a foible to try it. If you look at Trotsky just a bit differently, however, his efforts come into better focus. Let me resort to analogy. In an epidemic it is necessary for a physician to take a leading part in the community defense, utilizing his special knowledge to help organize, with whatever means are available, a campaign to stem the epidemic and eventually eliminate the possibility of its recurrence. In his novel *La Peste*, Camus offers us the figure of Dr. Bernard Rieux, who finally succeeded in mobilizing his home town against the disease first noticed in the abnormal behavior of the rat population. The team assembled by Dr. Rieux learned a great deal about bubonic plague and how to meet it at the risk and even cost of their own lives. Dr. Rieux, a genuine humanist, offers his highest tribute to these comrades and collaborators in the fearful work they had to undertake together. A certain symbolism is evident in this remarkable novel. The perceptiveness displayed by Camus in the case of his main figure is instructive and well worth pondering.

Deutscher condemns the human material Trotsky had to work with, implying that this was one of the basic reasons for the "failure" of the Fourth International. He feels that the human material which Lenin and Trotsky had at their disposal before the October Revolution was better. In the West, particularly, the quality was poor.

The question, however, is not that simple. As the Spanish Revolution — to name an outstanding instance — proved, the raw human material was adequate to the task at hand. The cadres that came to Trotskyism at the time were far from being the worst fighters, the least self-sacrificing, or the least intelligent. The Stalinists, anyway, feared them to an uncommon degree and with good cause because they were of the same rebel type that staffed the ranks of the Communist parties, men and women who were loyal to those parties by mistake, because they had not yet had time or opportunity to understand the difference between the Soviet state and its Stalinist regime.

The tempo of developments, which in general favored the swift growth of Trotskyism, particularly in relation to the Communist parties, turned against the movement in two supreme instances, the outbreak of war and the victory of the Soviet Union. The first event temporarily deferred everything, laying the foundation, of course, for explosive developments later on. The second, a completely progressive outcome, had the contradictory effect of temporarily strengthening Stalinism (as the Trotskyist movement clearly saw at the time) while preparing even more certain conditions for its ultimate liquidation (as the Trotskyist movement predicted).

In any case, on the exceedingly difficult, complex and challenging problem of building a revolutionary-socialist movement, Trotsky and Deutscher are of different schools. Deutscher's deep skepticism was not to be found in Trotsky, not a trace of it. On the other hand, Trotsky was thoroughly familiar with the skeptical attitude, considered it without foundation objectively, held it to be a deadly danger and did his best to immunize his youthful followers against this disease.

Having said this, we can grant that the Trotskyist movement did have many difficulties, had its share of temperamental personalities who exercised undue weight in the small organization and who no doubt offered the great teacher problems of little novelty or intrinsic interest. Trotsky's attitude toward his pupils, for his movement was also a training ground, was one of infinite patience. And, we repeat, while he could be acidly ironic he never displayed skepticism, if we may make exception of his well-known reservations concerning followers of petty-bourgeois origin, especially the "intellectual" variety, a subtlety in Trotsky's thought which Deutscher does not examine, since he dismisses the whole subject.

The strangest part is that Deutscher shows the highest regard for Trotsky's followers in the Soviet Union who were butchered by Stalin down to the last man and woman he

could lay hands on. Deutscher also indicates Trotsky's feelings toward them. But the emotion Trotsky felt for his Russian followers was not qualitatively different from the warmth he displayed toward all who shared the vicissitudes of the struggle with him, his comrades in China, the rest of Asia, in Latin America, in Africa, in Western Europe, in Canada and the United States.

Trotsky's feelings could not be much different towards them because they, too, to the best of their abilities, were fighting the plagues of fascism, Stalinism, "democratic" witch-hunting and the approaching war. They too shared with him the conviction that what is required to right things in this foul time we live in is basically rather simple. In short Trotsky and his followers, many of them at least, understood each other.

Instead of this unity, Deutscher presents a grotesque mismatch between Trotsky and his followers. And instead of the unity of Trotsky's Marxist outlook and his action in founding the Fourth International, Deutscher presents an irrational contradiction between the lucid vision of a prophet and the ludicrous bungling of a dabbler in petty sectarian politics. In studying the finishing touches to the portrait, where we have been led to expect a standard worthy of the subject, we suddenly become overly aware of the artist. We notice the brush in his hand and hear him arguing his special points of difference with the subject.

Just the same, the portrait is good enough so that looking at Trotsky on Deutscher's canvas, we suspect the Old Man of winking at us over the gesticulating brush. "We have always had trouble with our artists. Let us not ask too much from them, but take gratefully what they can give."

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THE FLIVVER KING: A CENTENNIAL APPRAISAL

By Evelyn Sell

This year marks the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry Ford, the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Ford Motor Company and the fiftieth anniversary of the moving assembly line introduced to the world at the Ford Highland Park plant. Throughout this past year newspaper articles have been glorifying the accomplishments of Henry Ford. Here is a view of Henry Ford and the empire he founded from the other side of the class fence.

THE Emancipation Proclamation was seven months old when Henry Ford was born on a farm near Dearborn, Michigan. Four months before his second birthday, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. Ford's boyhood years were set against a background of tremendous industrial expansion. The years after the Civil War marked a new stage in the development of this country. A new industrial revolution swept over America. The development of the western lands, long delayed by the conflicts between the North and South, now proceeded rapidly. During Ford's young manhood the Rockefellers, Carnegies and Morgans laid down the foundations of their great wealth and power.

The American economy was on the boom; there were no limits! The American Way was an example to the whole world. Here were all the answers to mankind's dreams! Free Enterprise! High Standard of Living! Class peace and Class Co-operation!

Henry Ford became the personification of the American Dream. If Ford could do it, why not you or I? His life was a shining example of how "a poor boy could succeed to fame and riches in America." His father was an Irish immigrant, driven from his country by the devastating Potato Famine of 1846. Henry was born July 30, 1863, on the family farm near Dearborn, a suburb of Detroit. At that time the average income of workers in the area was

\$330 a year. Detroit had a population of 50,000, and its principal industry was the grinding of corn and wheat.

Big City Life

Henry was trained to follow in his father's footsteps, but he hated farming. In his autobiography Ford explained, "It was life on the farm that drove me into devising ways and means to better transportation . . . There was too much hard hand labour on our own and all other farms of the time. Even when very young I suspected that much might somehow be done in a better way. That is what took me into mechanics . . ." So, at the age of seventeen, Henry left the farm and went to the Big City. By then, Detroit's population had grown to almost 117,000, and the city was a busy manufacturing center, with iron foundries, machine shops, wagon and carriage works, flour mills and breweries.

The young boy started working at the Michigan Car Company for \$1.10 a day. This was the largest railroad car producer in the country at that time and boasted a work force of 1,900 men, a crude assembly line and a production record of almost ten railroad cars a day. From there, Ford went on to jobs as a machine-shop apprentice, a traveling repair man for a farm machinery firm and finally as the chief engineer of the Edison Illuminating Company. He worked days around electricity, and he worked nights and Sundays on a gasoline engine.

The horseless carriage was on the minds of many men at that time. The first internal combustion engine had already been created through the work of Nicolaus Otto. In 1886, Gottlieb Daimler drove an automobile through the streets of Paris. European production of motor cars led the field for the first couple of decades of auto manufacture, but soon the Americans were getting into the act. In the *Scientific American* of May 21, 1892 Ransom E. Olds boasted about

his steam carriage, "It never kicks or bites, never tires on long runs, and never sweats in hot weather. It does not require care in the stable and only eats while on the road."

On March 6, 1896 auto pioneer Charles B. King drove the first horseless carriage seen on the streets of Detroit. Later that year Henry Ford drove his first car. His success encouraged him to devote himself to the automobile industry. After two rather unsuccessful essays into manufacturing autos, Ford organized the Ford Motor Company in 1903. He was then forty years old — and in his case, life really did begin at forty! Within four years the company, which had started off with a total cash investment of only \$28,000, was able to show a net return of 310 percent on its original investment. (Imagine starting an auto company today with only \$28,000 or even one-hundred times that amount!)

IN THE first five years of its existence the Ford Motor Company experimented with eight different models of cars, varying in price from \$850 to \$2,000. As a result of these experiences, Ford discovered a great truth: "Every time I reduce the charge for our car by one dollar, I get a thousand new buyers." In 1908, therefore, he stated that his company "would limit its efforts to the production of a single, standardized, relatively inexpensive car."

Ford was at the brink of the greatest period of his life. In the next dozen years he would make his greatest contribution to the industrial development of mankind. He would revolutionize the social and work life of the American people, and he would accumulate the greatest personal fortune in the country.

They say that behind every great man there stands a woman. Well, behind Henry Ford stood Lizzie — the "Tin Lizzie," "Model T," "Mechanical Cockroach," "the Flivver." She was born in October 1908, and she

died May, 1927, at the ripe old age of eighteen. By the end of her first year she had outsold every other car made. By the time she died 15,000,000 Model T's had been built. Her price through the years ranged from \$900 to \$265. Gross sales in her lifetime came to \$7 billion. The year she was born there were about 200,000 autos on the roads, and over 200 companies were making cars like the Hupmobile, Stanley Steamer, Cadillac, Reo, Buick, Maxwell; more than half of the population of the U.S. lived in the country or in very small towns; choice rib roast of beef cost \$.10 a pound; the average weekly earnings in manufacturing were \$9.84 for a fifty-one-hour week. Automobiles were out of the reach of the ordinary farmer or workingman. That was the world of the Model T — a world she was to help change forever.

Ford had announced: "I will build a motor car for the great multitude. It will be large enough for the family but small enough for the individual to run and care for. It will be constructed of the best materials, by the best men to be hired, after the simplest designs that modern engineering can devise. But it will be so low in price that no man making a good salary will be unable to own one — and enjoy with his family the blessings of hours of pleasure in God's great open spaces."

Ford couldn't build that kind of car under the conditions which existed in the automobile industry at that time. In order to create a car "for the great multitude" he had to revolutionize the technique of auto production. That revolution has been conveniently summed up under the term "mass production" — a term that has become synonymous with the name of Ford all across the world.

Birth of Mass Production

The elements of mass production already existed in American industry when Ford ordered his engineers and designers to devise ways and means of bringing about his dream of a car for the great multitude. Eli Whitney had already used a system of interchangeable parts to make rifles back in 1800. (In 1903 auto genius Henry Leland amazed Englishmen when he took three American-made Cadillacs apart, removed ninety-one parts from the heap of materials, substituted ninety-one stock parts, put the cars back together again with screw drivers and wrenches and concluded the demonstration by speeding the reconstructed cars around a race track.)

Moving belts were already in use in sawmills, and overhead conveyors were an integral part of the Chicago meat industry. Quantity production of commodities had gone on for years in the making of bicycles, telephone sets, typewriters, cash registers, clocks, watches and sewing machines.

The Ford personnel drew on these previous developments, refined them, and put them together in an over-all system of production. Mass production depends on the complete synchronization of all its parts: the creation of standardized, interchangeable parts by precision machine tools; simplification of design; very fine division and subdivision of labor; factory lay-out which allows for the steady progress of the materials from one point to the next; continuous motion of all parts, so that the right thing is at the right place at the right time. This system has been adapted by industries and fields outside of the automobile world and is one of the foundations of modern civilization. A car for the masses became a new pattern of living and working and consuming for the masses.

The results of the new system, which developed over the period of five years, 1908 to 1913, were immediate and phenomenal for the Ford Motor Company. Under the old system a car was built pretty much as a house is built today. It was put together at some particular spot on the floor, where the workers would bring parts to the growing car as they were needed. Before the new assembly techniques were fully worked out, each chassis represented twelve-and-a-half hours of labor. A crude assembly line was put into operation, and the time was cut to five hours and fifty minutes. By December 1, 1913 the time was cut to two hours and thirty-eight minutes. In January 1914 the time was cut to one hour thirty-three minutes. The progress of mankind is measured in hours and minutes of labor time saved in the production of man's material needs and desires.

The name Ford was carried across the world on the radiators of the Tin Lizzie — bringing America and the American Dream to remote corners of the world. Lizzie was no beauty, but she sure got around, and she sure was loved. She helped transform rural American life. That city siren, Lizzie, brought the farmer into the mainstream of modern industrial life. Ford realized his childhood dream of doing something to better farm labor.

Around 1910 farmers began sending photos into the Ford Motor Company showing Lizzie hauling loads, pulling plows and supplying power for threshing machines, water pumps, circular saws and even vacuum cleaners. Ford had called the Model T "the Universal Car" — and so she was for the farmer.

The Tin Lizzie was, also, the Universal Joke, and Ford loved every joke about his creation; they were the best free advertisements in the world. As a matter of fact, when he visited President Wilson in 1915 he told the President his own original Tin Lizzie joke. It seemed he was passing a cemetery one day and noticed a grave-digger excavating an exceptionally large hole. When he asked about the unusual size, he got this answer, "Well, the deceased provided in his will that he must be buried in his Ford because, said he, 'My Ford has pulled me out of every hole thus far; I'm sure it will pull me out of the last one.'"

For many years the jokes about Lizzie's lack of speedometers and shock absorbers were affectionately told, but towards the end of her life the jokes had a biting edge to them. In putting America on wheels, Ford had set off a chain of events that eventually doomed the Model T. With more cars on the road, there were successful campaigns to get better highways. Good roads meant that Lizzie's high clearance and flexible frame were no longer needed. The maturing of the automobile industry meant that cheap second-hand cars were becoming available. Lizzie's low price had real competition, and installment buying meant that people could afford more expensive cars. Other auto companies, catching up to and even surpassing Ford production techniques, were cutting into the Model T market with disastrous results. Ford had said, "Any customer can have a car painted any color that he wants so long as it's black." Americans had put up with that mandate for many long years, but the new-slung, streamlined, powerful cars, with all kinds of modern improvements, pleased style-conscious customers much more than did Lizzie's old-fashioned, never-changing style and utilitarian drabness.

MODEL T sales slipped from forty-eight percent of the market in 1924 to forty percent in 1925 to thirty-nine percent in 1926. Never again was Ford to lead the pack. His

position in American society, however, had been very firmly established during the great creative days of the Model T. He became the only individual in America to have total control over an organization the size of the Ford Motor Company — not even Rockefeller or Morgan could make such a claim! He was one of the richest, most powerful capitalists of all time, yet he posed as “just plain folks.” He once visited one of the Morgan partners and afterwards remarked to newspapermen, “It’s a great experience to see how the rich live.”

How did Ford himself live? Well, in 1927 the *New York Times* concluded that Henry and Edsel Ford “were the richest men on earth.” Ford had a \$600,000 yacht; he founded his own country club when he briefly became interested in golf; he played host to visiting royalty from Europe, and when he went to England he was received by the King and Queen; he used his own private railroad car when he traveled; the Ford residence, Fairlane, was valued at more than \$1 million, and, in addition, he had a winter home on the Gulf of Mexico and a 100,000 acre plantation in Georgia. Of course, even Ford had his limits. He never did own a Cadillac.

You’ve probably heard that tired old argument: the poor are really happier than the rich; the best things in life are free. The writer Upton Sinclair once asked Ford, “Does the possession of great wealth make you happier than you would be without it?”

“Yes, of course,” answered Ford, “because I can do things with it that I could not do otherwise . . . In those days [before he was so wealthy] I was struggling to do something. Now I am in a position to do it, and do it exactly as I want to do it.”

The things he did went far beyond the auto empire he built and controlled. What Ford said and what Ford did became important and newsworthy — not because his statements were profound, or original, or his actions were particularly commendable, but because, in a land where money talks, the biggest money talks loudest and is most easily heard.

Ford, the Anti-Capitalist

It’s really surprising to hear and read some of the things Ford said and wrote during his lifetime. He was one of the richest, most powerful

capitalists the world had ever seen. He made millions from war contracts. Yet he made these statements: “Do you want to know the cause of war? It is capitalism, greed, the dirty hunger for dollars. Take away the capitalist and you will sweep war from the earth.”

As a result of the contradiction between what Ford really was and what he appeared to be, he earned the admiration and respect of both the rich and the poor. He was admired by the sharp operators and the big money circles because he was their blood brother. The farmers and working people of this country admired and even loved him, mainly because he became inseparably associated with the creation and benefits of mass production. Ford never let anyone else take credit for the achievements of the Ford Motor Company, and since the company bore his name and was owned and controlled by the Ford family, it was easy to personalize every achievement. Every discovery was publicized as due to the “guiding” genius of Mr. Ford,” from the development of soy beans to the treatment of physical ailments at the Henry Ford Hospital.

The second reason Ford was liked by millions of Americans was because he seemed to be fighting on the side of the poor and the helpless against Wall Street, the monopolists and the war-makers. At a time when the country was alarmed over the growing power of trusts and monopolies, Ford single-handedly fought against monopoly in the auto industry. Some ninety percent of American auto manufacturers were organized into the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers. The ALAM used the Selden Patent to literally blackmail manufacturers into paying royalties and buying licenses from the association. Ford refused to accept the claims of the Selden Patent and battled it for eight years until the courts ruled in 1911 that the Selden Patent did not cover the type of motor vehicle then commonly produced in the U.S. Ford’s victory was hailed as the conquest of David against Goliath.

The story goes that back in 1923 two Wall Street operators were discussing Ford, and one said, “Ford talks like a socialist.”

“Yes,” responded the other, “but he acts like one of us and he gets away with it.”

How could Ford “get away with it?” A look at what he was doing and

saying during the reign of Queen Lizzie explains how he earned the admiration of both the capitalists and the working and farming population.

Ford, the Philanthropist

In 1914 Ford electrified the nation with the announcement that he would pay “even the lowliest laborer and the man who merely sweeps the floor” \$5 a day, and he would reduce the work day down to eight hours. Ford was then paying his workers the prevailing rate in the area, \$2.34 a day. His labor policies had never been radically different from other employers in the industry. Detroit was a notorious open-shop city, and the Employers’ Association of Detroit ruled supreme. This group included about sixty-seven firms, representing a wide cross-section of industries. Its labor bureau screened out workers with pro-union sentiments, and the laborers referred to it bitterly as “The Union Wreckers’ Association.” The Ford Motor Company had become active in this group in 1910.

Now, Ford suddenly more than doubled the basic wage at his plant. Five dollars a day! Workers by the thousands flocked to Detroit from all corners of the nation. The millennium had come for sure. At first his fellow-capitalists called Ford a traitor to his class. The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* called his plan an “economic crime.” Ford called it “profit-sharing.”

The first to learn the bitter lesson of the five-dollar day were the thousands who crowded in front of the Ford employment office. The second week after the announcement there were still several thousand hopefuls waiting in the slush of a miserable January day. When the day shift workers tried to push a path through the crowd in order to enter the plant, fights broke out. A full-scale street riot resulted. Police finally ended the fracas by turning fire hoses on the unemployed men. The water instantly froze on them.

The workers inside the plant found the five-dollar day to be only a sugar-coated bitter pill. Like American Motor’s profit-sharing in 1962, Ford’s 1914 version was based on speed-up. The end result of Ford’s plan was that the over-all wage of Ford workers remained about the same as in other plants in the area. Even two-and-a-half years after profit-sharing was announced, thirty percent of the Ford workers were still earning less than \$5 a day.

The great profit-sharing plan turned out to be full of tricky gimmicks. In the first place, the \$5 didn't apply to women workers, unmarried men under 22, married men who were not supporting a family, or to any person who was "living unworthily as a profit-sharer." How did Ford decide who was unworthy? He created the Ford Sociological Department, which started out with thirty investigators and rose to a peak of 150 by 1919. This "peace corps" visited workers' homes in order to encourage savings accounts, budgeting of incomes and Americanization for the foreign-born. They gave lessons in hygiene and home management to the wives, forbade the use of liquor and frowned upon divorces.

Then they made sure their moral lessons were being taken to heart. Wives were called on to inform on husbands; children were asked about parents, neighbors about neighbors. If a worker was not living up to Ford ideals he was suspended from the profit-sharing plan. His pay was cut in half. Each month he was a black sheep meant that much less pay when he was finally reinstated. After five months probation, the most he could hope for was a twenty-five percent bonus or \$3.01 a day. If he didn't straighten up and fly right within six months, he was discharged.

FORD immediately winnowed the profit out of profit-sharing while the workers had to wait quite a while to do the *sharing*. The work was speeded up, and the fear of losing what little benefits there were drove the workers to conform to the Ford conditions. Meanwhile Ford basked in the limelight and modestly disclaimed any credit for his revolutionary departure from accepted wage scales. It was just good business to share the wealth with his workers. "If the floor-sweeper's heart is in his job he can save us five dollars a day by picking up small tools instead of sweeping them out." In years to come he would announce the six-dollar day (1919), the five-day-week (1926) and the seven-dollar-day (1929). He was proclaimed a great public benefactor each time, but his brother capitalists and the workers on the line knew what he meant when he said, "The payment of the five dollars a day for an eight hour day was one of the finest cost-cutting moves we ever made, and the six dollar day was cheaper than the five." Two months after the an-

nouncement of the five-day-week he announced, "We are today producing the same number of cars with the same number of men as we formerly produced in the six-day-week." Ford really meant it when he said, "I give nothing for which I do not receive compensation."

He shared his profits with his customers, too — and received compensation. In the summer of 1914 he announced that every buyer of a Ford would receive a \$50 refund if 300,000 cars were sold within the next twelve months. He paid out \$15½ million in rebates the following summer. How could anyone question his right to rake in the extra profits resulting from such phenomenal sales or his concern for the little people of this world, especially after his other spectacular activity of 1915: the Ford Peace Ship?

Ford, the Pacifist

Ford had been concerned over American involvement in the European war, and a newspaper reporter quoted him as saying, "I will do everything in my power to prevent murderous, wasteful war in America and in the whole world." Besieged by anti-war groups and letters, Ford chose to support a plan to establish the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation which would attempt to bring the belligerent nations into peace negotiations. In November, 1915, he told the press, "We're going to try to get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas. I've chartered a ship and some of us are going to Europe." On December 4, the Oscar II sailed for Scandinavia. The press called it a "loon ship" full of "rainbow-chasers" and "crack-brained dreamers." Ford left the peace dele-

gates and returned to America after the Oscar II reached Europe, but he continued to support the group until February 1917 when President Wilson severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

When America entered World War I, Ford urged the nation to "back our Uncle Samuel with a shotgun loaded to the muzzle with buckshot." He declared that all of his war profits would be turned over to the government. His avowed disdain for war profiteering made great publicity, but an inquiring reporter, checking up on Ford's statement, received this letter in 1928 from Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury: "The Treasury records do not show the receipt of any such donation."

Ford's reputation on both sides of the class fence brought him into politics twice. In 1918 Ford's candidacy for U.S. Senator from Michigan was urged by President Wilson. Ford supported Wilson's plans for a League of Nations, and he had contributed heavily to a political campaign that won California for Wilson in 1916. Ford said, "I have been commanded to run for Senator. Now, we shall see whether I can build anything but automobiles, tractors and ships." The *New York Times* observed that Ford's entrance into politics "would create a vacancy both in the Senate and in the automobile business." In the election Ford carried his own community by 2 to 1, but lost the state by about 7,500 votes. He explained that he had been defeated by "Wall Street" and an "influential gang of Jews."

Ford the Anti-Semite

Ford's campaign against the Jews was a long and vicious one. It was carried out mainly in the pages of the *Dearborn Independent*. When Ford bought this paper in 1919 it was a sleepy rural weekly with a small circulation limited to the village of Dearborn. Under Ford it reached a peak circulation of 700,000 readers. The paper railed against sinful sex, rum, Hollywood orgies, wild Parisians, jazz and the "speculative capitalist" of Wall Street. At the same time, it supported the striking steel workers in 1919 and the striking coal miners in 1922.

On May 22, 1920, Ford opened fire on the Jews with a front page editorial entitled, "The International Jew: The World's Problem." This was the first in a series that ran for ninety-one consecutive issues. It was

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later reprinted in book form, translated into many foreign languages and was a stock text in the bookshelves of the American fascists of the thirties. The Jews were presented as destroyers of the American Way of Life. They were "vile," "lewd," "erotic," "criminal"; they were responsible for the "skunk-cabbage of American Jazz," crime waves and the corruption of American sports. Queen Isabella, who financed Columbus, was really a "Jewish front." Benedict Arnold was a "Jewish front."

Ford's second venture into politics came in the middle of this anti-Semitic campaign. In the summer of 1922 Ford-for-President circulars were being distributed. The *Dearborn Independent* printed statements like: "The next President of the United States will be a man who can read a blueprint and who understands the problems of production and how to keep men employed." The August 8, 1923 issue of *Collier's* magazine carried a Ford-authorized article, "If I Were President." Public-opinion polls that year showed that he had a great deal of popular support. When Hitler heard about Ford-for-President he told a *Chicago Tribune* reporter, "I wish that I could send some of my shock troops to Chicago and other big American cities to help in the elections . . . We look to Heinrich Ford as the leader of the growing Fascist movement in America."

The campaign for the White House took a back-seat, however, to Ford's campaign to buy the government-developed power sites at Muscle Shoals. Ford was invited to the White House for a personal conference with Calvin Coolidge. Several days later Coolidge recommended to Congress that Muscle Shoals be sold to private interests. Three weeks later Ford announced, "Mr. Coolidge means to do right. I would never for a moment think of running against Calvin Coolidge for President on any ticket whatever." Ford, of course, never got Muscle Shoals. Instead, a 1933 act of Congress created the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Ford had lost that rich plum, and soon he was to eat humble pie. In 1927, attorney Aaron Sapiro sued Ford for \$1 million damages. An article in the *Dearborn Independent* had accused Sapiro of fleecing his clients. Ford's whole anti-Semitic campaign was put on trial when the case came to court. W. J. Cameron, the editor of the *Dearborn Independent*, helped Ford save face by

taking full responsibility for everything printed in the paper. The case was finally settled out of court. Ford personally apologized to Sapiro, and a full retraction of the smear articles was printed.

It was thought by many in the Ford organization that his campaign against the Jews had cost him considerable car sales. The Model T could hardly stand any cuts in sales during those years. Sales kept going down, down, down. In May, 1927, Ford abruptly discontinued the Model T. Ford plants were shut down for a complete re-tooling job. The long shut-down affected 60,000 workers in the Detroit area alone and some 500,000 throughout the country. Workers, parts manufacturers, auto dealers, suppliers, merchants throughout the nation suffered. By the time Ford was back to full production on the new car, the Model A, the workers had no choice but to accept demotions, wage-cuts, speed-up and added job insecurity.

Ford spiced up the long payless months with remarks like:

"If there is any unemployment it is simply because the unemployed do not want work."

"I know it's done them a lot of good — everybody gets extravagant — to let them know that things are not going along too even always."

Ford, the Philosopher

When the Great Depression paralyzed the country two years later, Ford had some more gems to offer:

"...the very poor are recruited almost solely from the people who refuse to think and therefore refuse to work diligently."

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"It's a good thing the recovery is prolonged. Otherwise people wouldn't profit by the illness."

"The average man won't really do a day's work unless he is caught and cannot get out of it."

"I think that the depression really taught a lot of people how to love their fellow men . . . we did find a blessing in economic misfortune . . ."

(Just to show that Ford's ideas weren't really old-fashioned compare his remarks with Harry Truman's statement in 1950: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three million to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job seeking should go on at all times. This is healthy for the economic body.")

Mr. Ford had his own ideas on how to cope with the depression. One of his pet schemes centered around the village of Inkster. This was a jerry-built community of five-hundred families, most of whom were Negro. Ford decided to make a shining example of Inkster. He set up a public commissary, saw to it that the families were decently housed and clothed, paid up their back bills. Ford hired every adult male in the village and put them to work at the Ford Motor Company at \$4 a day. One dollar of that wage was given to the worker and carefully budgeted for him so that the vital requirements of the family were covered. The other three dollars were retained by the company in order to pay back the costs of rehabilitating Inkster. This check-off was continued even after the plan was officially ended in 1933. In 1934 Inkster men complained that they had been fired for "insubordination" because they demanded an accounting of their past debts and the payment of their full wages.

Ford, the Killer

This was gentle treatment, however, compared with Ford's reaction to other victims of the depression. In March, 1932 the unemployed in the Detroit area decided to organize a hunger march on the Rouge plant. They wanted to present their demands for jobs or adequate relief. Their march through Detroit was authorized by the mayor, but when they reached the city limits of Dearborn, they were stopped by the Dearborn police. The Dearborn city administration functioned as a political department of the Ford Motor Company. In this case they served as

an addition to the regular Ford plant protection department. Armed with tear gas bombs, they insisted that the hunger-marchers stop at the Dearborn city line. The Rouge plant lay one mile beyond. The three-hundred hunger-marchers kept on marching, and the police tried to stop them with force and violence. A running free-for-all resulted. The battles finally ended up at Gate Three of the Rouge. Two high-pressure fire hoses were run out from the plant and used on the unemployed. Then the Dearborn police and Ford's private police opened fire on the crowd. Four of the hunger-marchers were shot dead, and a couple of dozen were wounded. While the bodies of these dead men were being publicly mourned in Detroit, Ford was busy preparing for an expected "Red Invasion." Armed guards patrolled the Rouge; floodlights lit up the gates at night; tear gas supplies were readied and machine guns were set up.

Five years passed before Ford staged a repeat performance. During those five intervening years, the sit-down strikes had shaken the thrones of American big business; the General Motors and Chrysler workers had won the right to organize and bargain collectively. On May 26, 1937 a group of fifty or sixty unionists, led by Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein, attempted to distribute handbills to the Rouge workers. When the unionists stepped onto the Miller Road overpass they were attacked by the waiting goons. Ford "servicemen" viciously beat and kicked men and women distributors, under the eyes of shocked observers and newspaper reporters. Newspapermen were threatened, and their films and notes were grabbed away. The story of the "Battle of the Overpass" became a nationwide sensation.

This was only one of many gory stories that make up the history of unionization at Ford's. Ford had declared: "We will never recognize the United Auto Workers Union or any other union. Labor union organizations are the worst thing that ever struck the earth, because they take away a man's independence." (This from a man who pried into every intimate, personal habit of his employees' lives!) Ford's right-hand man, Harry Bennett, echoed his master's views. He called unions "irresponsible, un-American, and no God-damn good."

BETWEEN them, Ford and Bennett created the largest semi-military organization in existence — a private police force to keep the Ford worker in his place and Henry Ford in his. The Service Department ruled over the Ford workers for some twenty years. Most of the members were ex-convicts, but many were ex-boxers, wrestlers and sports figures. Known gangsters were part of the department. They terrorized the workers by beatings (many right in the aisles of the plant), destruction of tools, threats, loss of jobs. From 1937 to 1939 there was one "serviceman" for every thirty production workers at the Rouge. At the Kansas City assembly plant the ratio was one to fourteen.

The Service Department was an economic necessity for Henry Ford. The really revolutionary days of the Ford technology were over by 1921. Increased production was possible only by speeding-up the work and forcing the men to snap-to-it! Ford workers were forbidden to talk, whistle, or sing on the job — or even during their fifteen-minute lunch periods. As Ford said, "There is not much personal contact — the men do their work and go home — a factory is not a drawing room." It was forbidden to sit down or to lean against a post. No assembly line in the field drained the life out of the men or aged them more quickly than Ford's. Ford's solution for the strains and pressures of the assembly line was to advise, "Anyone who does not like to work in our way may always leave."

Henry Ford, who proclaimed himself for "a man's independence," thought smoking was bad, so his workers were forbidden to smoke. He issued a pamphlet called "The Case Against the Little White Slaver." In the introduction, written by Ford, it was pointed out: "If you will study the history of almost any criminal, you will find that he is an inveterate cigarette smoker. Boys, through cigarettes, train with bad company. They go with other smokers to the pool-rooms and saloons. The cigarette drags them down." Funny? Quaint? Yes, but the writer was the owner of huge factories where his word was law. He had the power to force his workers to bow to his whims, no matter how stupid or laughable.

Ford Local #600 recently commemorated the twenty-second anniversary of the first strike at the

Rouge plant. The April 4 *Detroit Labor News* quoted Ken Bannon, now head of the UAW Ford Department: "There are over 100,000 other people who are working for Ford's today that don't know what it was like back in the days before the union when our hands were bloody all day from Monday morning to Friday night because we weren't permitted to wear safety gloves."

Ford, the Union Buster

Ford and Bennett pulled every trick in the book to keep the union out of the Ford plants. Suspected and known union sympathizers were fired, beaten up, intimidated. Workers were spied on inside the plant, where their lunch buckets and overcoat pockets were searched, and outside the plant, where their conversations in bars, stores and restaurants were taken down and duly reported. Phony company unions were formed. Attempts were made to bribe and corrupt union officials. At one point, Harry Bennett boasted that half of his men were undercover spies within the union itself.

The Supreme Court and the National Labor Relations Board backed up the Ford workers and the union organizers. Their records were full of bloody tales from the Ford plants. No other employer in the country had as bad a record with the NLRB as did Henry Ford. From 1939 through 1941 the Board found Ford guilty of unfair labor practices in nine separate rulings. In February, 1941 the Supreme Court forced Ford to put up compliance notices in the Rouge plant stating that the workers could organize a union without interference from the company. Thousands of Ford workers showed up for work wearing the long-forbidden union button. Pro-union signs mysteriously appeared all over the plant. Shop stewards began demanding that management settle grievances that had been piling up for forty years. An NLRB election was set up so that the workers could vote on the kind of union representation they wanted.

Court rulings and laws could only go so far, however. Local 600 still had to be organized through the direct action of the workers themselves. Ford and Bennett didn't care about the law — they were the law in their kingdom. In spite of all the rulings, they continued to fight against the union. Just before the NLRB election Bennett finally set off a mass strike. In April, 1941 he fired the eight unionists who made

up the over-all grievance committee. For the first time in its history, the mammoth Rouge plant was shut down by the workers.

Henry Ford had said, "Anyone who does not like to work in our way may always leave." Well, one fine April day Ford suddenly found himself with the largest auto plant in the world but with no workers. The workers proved that in their solidarity there was a much greater power than in all of Ford's millions.

The governor of Michigan finally arranged a meeting between the company and the union representatives. On May 21, 1941, 83,000 Ford workers at three Detroit area plants voted on their choice of three kinds of union representation. Less than three percent voted for "no union at all." A little more than twenty-five percent voted AFL and seventy percent (58,000) voted for the CIO. The contract, drawn up on June 21, included all the union demands plus two surprise additions from Ford. Ford declared that anyone wishing to work in his plants must join the union, and he volunteered to collect union dues from employee pay checks and turn them over to the union. No other auto company at that time had granted the closed shop or the dues check-off.

The story is told that a few months after the contract was signed Reuther met Ford while on an inspection trip through the Willow Run bomber plant. Ford told the union leader: "You know, Mr. Reuther, it was one of the most sensible things Harry Bennett ever did when he got the UAW into this plant . . . you've been fighting General Motors and the Wall Street crowd. Now you're in here and we've given you a union shop and more than you got out of them. That puts you on our side, doesn't it? We can fight General Motors and Wall Street together, eh?"

The statement that Bennett "got the UAW" into Ford plants was pure gall, but the idea that the Ford workers were on the side of the Ford management in their common fight against Wall Street and the competition was pure Henry Fordism.

ALL through his writings and statements there runs the idea that the worker and the capitalist are partners in the individual enterprise and in the economy as a whole. Ford called wages "partnership distributions." What was good for the capitalist was good for the worker,

and what was good for the worker was good for the capitalist. "If you cut wages," he wrote, "you just cut the number of your own customers. If an employer does not share prosperity with those who make him prosperous, then pretty soon there will be no prosperity to share. That is why we think it is good business always to raise wages and never to lower them. We like to have plenty of customers."

Prohibition, for example, was considered good because it helped this partnership relationship between the bosses and the bossed. "The coming of prohibition has put more of the workman's money into savings banks and into his wife's pocketbook . . . Workmen go out of doors, go on picnics, have time to see their children and play with them — and, incidentally, they buy more. This stimulates business and *increases prosperity*, and in the general economic circle the money passes through industry again and back into the workman's pocket. It is a truism that what benefits one is bound to benefit all, and labor is coming to see the truth of this more every day."

The labor leaders of today have embraced this Fordism; they have swallowed this phony partnership theory, hook, line and sinker. Reuther was brutally beaten by his "partners" in 1941, but, as they say, time heals all wounds. Reuther today talks and acts like a partner of the industrialists; he is now a "labor statesman." It's not so easy, however, for the rank-and-file workers to forget the years of terror, speed-up, wage cuts, and dictatorship over their most intimate personal habits. They are constantly reminded by the daily problems they still face in the plant today. Job security, decent working conditions and personal freedoms were not won through "partnership" with Ford but only through *struggle* against Ford. The Apostle of Class Harmony and Class Co-operation provided the American workers with some of the most bitter lessons of the reality of class struggle and class antagonism in American labor history.

Who Creates Class Struggle?

Some people have the mistaken idea that Marx and the communists create class struggle. The plain truth of the matter is that capitalists create the class struggle in today's world. Capitalism not only created modern industry but the modern working class as well. In creating his gigan-

tic industrial empire, Ford produced more than automobiles — he produced the Ford worker. Thousands upon thousands were taken from the farms, forests and small towns and brought into modern industrial urban life. Ford promised them a better life — and they insisted on getting that better life. He broke their backs on the assembly line, but at the same time he unified them in terms of their common physical surroundings, their common problems and their common aims. They didn't dare talk together in the plant, but they thought together, and once outside the plant they met together and planned together. Ford imported Negroes from the South and tried to use them as strikebreakers, instead creating a new source of strength and militancy for Local 600. Ford used government bodies and the courts in order to maintain his rule, and he forced the workers to learn the truth about capitalist politics and capitalist justice. Ford himself forced his workers to develop class consciousness, class organization and militant methods of class struggle.

When Dean Marquis was head of the Ford Sociology Department, he told the National Educational Association: "The impression has somehow got around that Henry Ford is in the automobile business. It isn't true. Mr. Ford shoots about fifteen hundred cars out the back door of his factory every day just to get rid of them. They are but the by-product of his real business, which is the making of men."

The end product of the Ford assembly line was not the Ford car but the Ford worker and Ford Local #600. The two greatest achievements of Henry Ford can be summed up in those two marvels of twentieth century capitalism: the fabulous Rouge plant and the men working inside it.

In 1945 the creator of those wonders of the modern age suffered the first sharp mental and physical decline of his life. His grandson, Henry II, became president. Ford died of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 7, 1947. He was not quite eighty-four years old. They say that as the pallbearers were carrying his casket, a light tapping was heard from inside the coffin, and the old familiar voice commanded, "Put this thing on wheels and lay off six men."

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A STUDY OF THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE

By Evelyn Reed

*The Feminine Mystique** is an outstanding sociological study — an overdue challenge to the mercenary myth-makers who have invented the glorified image of the Happy Housewife Heroine and imposed it upon American women.

The author, a mother of three children, analyzes the plight of women like herself who belong to the privileged upper middle strata of American society. Most women have no choice except to be tied to a household or chained to a factory or office job — or both. But the women that Betty Friedan examines are more fortunate. They have access to all the advantages of our culture — education, scholarship, interesting and well-paying professions. And yet most of them have forfeited development of their higher capacities to enroll in the ranks listed as: "Occupation: housewife."

Exposed by the author are the realities behind the show-windows of Suburbia where female residents suffer agonies from "a problem that has no name." This is their inability to "adjust" to their narrow, stultifying sphere of existence. She also describes the catastrophic consequences that this debasement of women inflicts upon the whole family. Few escape the pathology flowing from the "Feminine Mystique."

Betty Friedan's findings have a wider relevance than the well-to-do housewives she has investigated. These set the pattern of behavior and aspiration for working-class housewives, who mistakenly believe that because middle-class women have all the advantages, they also have all the answers. In this way distorted ideas and values seep down to infect masses of women, including some working women who wonder whether they might not lead a better life as a full-time housewife. This book should help settle their doubts.

Springing Old Trap

The *Feminine Mystique* is a modernized version of the old formula for domestic enslavement more bluntly expressed as "Woman's place is in the home." The new element is the poisoned bait of the *Mystique* by which women today are voluntarily lured back into

the trap that their grandmothers fought to escape from.

Betty Friedan reminds us that in the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth, progressive middle-class women led an inspiring "feminist" struggle for women's rights. Out of this rebellion they won the right to higher education, participation in production, professional careers, independent ownership of property and the vote. These reforms were an immense improvement over their previous chatteldom, and could have been a springboard to further advances to full human stature and dignity.

Instead, the Second World War and its aftermath brought about a sweeping setback, characterized by the author as a "counter-revolution" against women. The call for this retreat was sounded by Farnham & Lundberg's book *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex*, published in 1942. The "lost" women were the independent ones interested in science, art, politics and engaged in careers beyond the family circle.

In place of intelligent, creative, public-spirited women came the new image of the "feminine" woman — the empty-headed housewife contented within the "cozy" walls of a pretty home. As the *Mystique* gained momentum, domesticity became "a religion, a pattern by which all women must now live or deny their femininity," writes the author. What began as a trek back to the old corral became a stampede during the prosperity of the 1950's.

To mobilize women behind their own defeat, facts about the pioneer fighters for women's rights were distorted. Although most of the feminist crusaders had husbands, children and homes, they were depicted as "embittered sex-starved spinsters" incapable of fulfilling their "femininity" as wives and mothers. Among the unforgivable traits of these spirited women was their enjoyment of participation in the struggle for social change!

Also blacked out of the record was the ultra-reactionary source of this retreat back to the home. It was Hitler in the 1930's who enforced the notorious Three K's for women: *Kinder, Kuche, Kirche* (children, cooking, church). By the 1940's a similar slogan was sold to American women in the disguised,

glamorized package of the *Feminine Mystique*.

The author likens the blind docility with which middle-class women accepted their fate to prisoners in Nazi concentration camps, who became unprotesting "walking corpses" marching to their own doom:

"In a sense that is not as far-fetched as it sounds, the women who 'adjust' as housewives, who grow up wanting to be 'just a housewife,' are in as much danger as the millions who walked to their own death in the concentration camps — and the millions more who refused to believe that the concentration camps existed."

True, the barbed wire surrounding the "comfortable concentration camps" of Suburbia was invisible. What was visible to these victims of "The American Dream" were the gilded trappings of the standard middle-class home. As a lifetime occupation, however, they were bogged down in domestic trivia requiring the intellectual exertions of an eight-year-old. Even then there was not enough work to occupy their full time. Thus, housework "expanded to fill the time available," as the inmates squandered their energies in more frantic "busywork" on meaningless details. Working women can usually polish off in an hour the chores on which full-time housewives spend six hours and still leave unfinished at dinnertime. "Even with all the new labor-saving appliances," the author points out, "the modern American housewife probably spends more time on housework than her grandmother."

"Like Diogenes with his lamp," Betty Friedan went in search of at least one intelligent, capable woman who felt fulfilled as a full-time housewife. She found none. What she did find, out of a sample test of 28 women in an upper-income community was the following:

"Sixteen out of the 28 were in analysis or analytical psychotherapy. Eighteen were taking tranquilizers; several had tried suicide; and some had been hospitalized for varying periods, for depression or vaguely diagnosed psychotic states. ('You'd be surprised at the number of these happy suburban wives who simply go berserk one night, and run shrieking through the street without any clothes

* *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1963. 410 pp. \$5.95.

on,' said the local doctor, not a psychiatrist, who had been called in, in such emergencies) . . . Twelve were engaged in extramarital affairs in fact or in fantasy."

It was this conflict of reality with the widely publicized image of the happy housewife which caused Betty Friedan to break the hypnosis of the Mystique in her own life. Asking the key question: "What made these women go home again?" she then proceeded to collect the data which explained how the trick was done.

The Brainwashers

A high-powered propaganda machine was put into motion to exalt housewifery and stifle women's desires for something more than a husband, home and children. Beginning with the "sex-directed" educators in the schools and colleges, this campaign has penetrated into every avenue of mass indoctrination. The key word in this technique of thought control — as effective as a blackjack on the skull in a dark alley — is the word "feminine."

College girls, terrified lest they lose their "femininity" through any display of brains or serious study, learn to camouflage their intelligence or obediently empty their minds altogether. Their main preoccupation, fostered by parents and educators alike, is "the pursuit of a wedding ring." As one educator put it, college for women was the "world's best marriage mart."

Higher education for women was readjusted to fit the new goal; it became a veneer for suburban wifehood. Courses in advanced cooking, in marriage and family adjustment displaced courses in chemistry, physics, etc. Old-fashioned educators, repelled by the "sophisticated soup" dished up as Liberal Arts courses, were brought into line — or pushed aside. Even such Ivy League colleges as Vassar, Smith, Barnard and others, "which pioneered higher education for women in America and were noted for their uncompromising intellectual standards," tumbled from their heights. As the spokesman of a famous woman's college put it: "We are not educating women to be scholars; we are educating them to be wives and mothers." With commendable irony the girls promptly abbreviated this to "WAM."

Summing up the consequences of this deterioration in education, the author writes:

"Sex-directed education segregated recent generations of able American women as surely as separate-but-equal education segregated able American Negroes from the opportunity to realize their full abilities in the mainstream of American life."

Along with this lowering of educational standards, the age level for marriage took a sharp plunge (often beginning even in the high schools), while the birth rate soared. The fashion for

"WAMism" swept the nation, spear-headed by middle-class women who "led all the others in the race to have more babies."

"The average age of first marriage, in the last 15 years, has dropped to the youngest in the history of this country, the youngest in any of the countries of the Western world, almost as young as it used to be in the so-called underdeveloped countries . . . the annual rate of population increase in the U.S. is among the highest in the world — nearly three times that of the Western European nations, nearly double Japan's, and close on the heels of Africa and India."

Sustaining and extending this re-direction of women are the powerful moulders of public opinion: editors and writers of the slick magazines for women, newspaper columnists, TV shows, movies, popular novels, pulps, and all the rest. Insidiously and unremittingly they warn women that even yearning to express their intellects and talents would be "heavily paid for" by the loss of their "femininity."

The social sciences: applied sociology, psychology and anthropology are likewise misused to buttress this Feminine Mystique. Even alert and intelligent women find it difficult to question propaganda when it is disguised as science. The more dubious findings of the eminent psychologist, Freud, are perverted and vulgarized to lend authority to the theme that woman's place is in the home. "For reasons far removed from the life of Freud himself, Freudian thought has become the ideological bulwark of the sexual counter-revolution in America," says Betty Friedan. For example, "penis envy" became a psychological catch-all; the answer to women's resentment against their inferior status. It was invoked as a bludgeon against such "unfeminine" demands as freedom and equality with men.

The noted "functional" anthropologist, Margaret Mead (perhaps unwittingly) has been one of the most influential contributors to the pseudo-scientific campaign propping up the Feminine Mystique. According to this "major architect" of opinion about women, it is the "entrances and exits" of the body which are decisive in shaping the individual in society.

Utilizing bits and patches of Freud's teachings, she returned from the South Seas where she charted tribal personality according to literal "oral" and "anal" tables, bringing women the good news that in their bodily organs they are, after all, the equals of men. Since women possess that supremely feminine "entrance," the vagina, the equality of women stems from the fact that for every penis — there is a uterus! She "equated those assertive, creative, productive aspects of life on which the superstructure of a civilization depends

with the penis and defined feminine creativity in terms of the passive receptivity of the uterus," says the author. Thus, "through her influence, procreation became a cult, a career, to the exclusion of every other kind of creative endeavor."

Ironically, Margaret Mead did not guide her own life by what she wrote in her books, as Betty Friedan points out. "She has demonstrated feminine capabilities that go far beyond child-birth; she made her way in a man's world without denying that she was a woman." But not until recent years has Margaret Mead modified her position and begun to chide women — as well as their over-domesticated husbands — for too much preoccupation with home and family.

However, all these educators, scientists and other moulders of public opinion are not independent thinkers. They are themselves moulded by the controllers of our economy and directly or indirectly serve their needs. Paramount among these, of course, is the need for expanding sales and greater profits.

The "Sexual Sell"

Betty Friedan generously says that the "Sexual Sell" in consumer's goods is not the result of an "economic conspiracy" by big business. However, she presents ample evidence that the profiteers are the main movers and prime beneficiaries of the immense apparatus generating the drive toward keeping women in the home. Women are the major buyers of things for the home and its inmates. Thus, as the author points out, "In all the talk of femininity and women's role, one forgets that the real business in America is business."

To step up the sale of things and more things, through rapidly changing fashions, is the job of the commercial advertising and sales promotion agencies. Women's weaknesses are carefully studied and ruthlessly exploited by the most unscrupulous members of the Madison Avenue brainwashers, the "manipulators in depth." Taking advantage of the knowledge that most housewives are restless, unhappy and bored, the "Depth Boys" have come up with magic formulas promising "feminine fulfillment" through the purchase of things.

The endlessly "hungry" women who do not understand that they are really starved for means of expressing their productive, social, cultural and intellectual potential become easy prey for this gigantic sales swindle. Since her own identity as a human being has collapsed, writes Betty Friedan, "she needs these external trappings to buttress her emptiness of self, to make her feel like somebody."

One of the chief professional "motivators," who is paid about a million a year for his services, told the author how cunningly this fraud is perpetrated:

"Properly manipulated (if you are

not afraid of that word) American housewives can be given the sense of identity, purpose, creativity, the self-realization, even the sexual joy they lack — by the buying of things . . .

"In a free enterprise economy we have to develop the need for new products. And to do that we have to liberate women to desire these new products . . . This can be manipulated. We sell them what they ought to want, speed up the unconscious, move it along . . . The manufacturer wants her back into the kitchen — and we show him how to do it the right way. If he tells her all she can be is a wife and mother, she will spit in his face. But we show him how to tell her that it's creative to be in the kitchen. We liberate her need to be creative in the kitchen."

To stimulate the housewife into becoming a passionate thing-buyer, the "Depth Boys" overstimulate her appetites for food, sex and procreation. Thus the slick magazines feature dramatic full-page color spreads of "gargantuan vegetables; beets, cucumbers, green peppers, potatoes," not to speak of succulent roasts dripping with gravy and fluffy pies and cakes. In large-sized print usually reserved for a first-grade primer, foods are "described like a love affair." This "oral" satisfaction requires, in turn, the buying of the right home with a gorgeous kitchen, sometimes decorated with mosaic murals and original paintings, equipped with gleaming electric mixers, red stoves with rounded corners, and all the other paraphernalia and gadgets that subtly tie in status with stomach.

Sexual gratification is likewise promised in glamor ads featuring lipsticks and hair dyes, hi-fashion clothes, perfumes, chrome-plated cars and the like. The sacred joys of procreation demand a great diversity of products from pink and blue, toy-filled nurseries to Dr. Spock's current baby bible. Through some oversight, that bodily "exit," the anus, is least imaginatively treated; soft toilet tissue is still toilet paper even if it comes in four different colors and white.

If, after all their frenzied purchasing, the results do not stack up with the promises, the housewives are invited to slake their thirst with salt water. They can double and triple their purchases of things, but, as the author points out, women have minds and capacities that food, sex or procreation by themselves cannot satisfy. And those who think that their discontents can be removed by more money, a bigger house, two fireplaces instead of one, three cars, another baby, moving to a better suburb, "often discover it gets worse."

The Feminine Mystique plays as big a role in supporting the consumer market as cold-war propaganda does in the domain of producers' goods. Commenting on the explosive sales boom of

the Fabulous Fifties, the author writes: "It would take a clever economist to figure out what would keep our affluent economy going if the housewife market began to fall off, just as an economist would have to figure out what to do if there were no threat of war." In short, just as the Merchants of Death prosper by exploiting the "menace of Communism" on foreign fronts, the Merchants of the Mystique get rich by exploiting the "menace of unfemininity" on the home front.

But the real menace, which lies below the level of general consciousness, is the dehumanization of the American people — a process that affects not only the housewife but sucks the whole family into its vortex.

The Vortex

The purchase of things — even a mountain of junk — fails to produce the Happy Family of Togetherness pictured by the advertisers. On the contrary, family relationships degenerate into relationships among owners of things. There are many millions of impoverished women who are deprived of the necessary things that would make their lives more bearable and fruitful. But among these surfeited middle-class women, the possession of things possesses them — and impoverishes their personalities.

When the wife is reduced to a thing-buyer, the husband becomes a "thing around the house" who justifies his own frantic activities in the rat-race by claiming it's all necessary for the "wife and kiddies." The children, too, become converted into living possessions in a home filled with ornaments of all kinds. Unable to understand, much less articulate, the real source of their resentments, husbands and wives, parents and children, become alienated from one another, often blaming one another for their stunted lives.

Most desperate are those housewives who have abandoned attempts to kill all their time with housework. But they seek for relief in the wrong directions. Some, guided by the all-pervasive exaltation of sex, become the "sex-seekers" inside or outside of marriage. But the more aggressive they become in the pursuit of sexual bliss, the less they find what they are seeking. Betty Friedan sums up the "faceless, depersonalized" sex-seeking of today as follows:

"Instead of fulfilling the promise of infinite orgiastic bliss, sex in the America of the feminine mystique is becoming a strangely joyless national compulsion, if not a contemptuous mockery. The sex-glutted novels become increasingly explicit and increasingly dull; the sex kick of the women's magazines has a sickly sadness; the endless flow of manuals describing new sex techniques hint at an endless lack of excitement. This sexual boredom is betrayed by the

ever-growing size of the Hollywood startlet's breast, by the sudden emergence of the male phallus as an advertising 'gimmick.' Sex has become depersonalized, seen in terms of these exaggerated symbols.

"But of all the strange sexual phenomena that have appeared in the era of the feminine mystique, the most ironic are these — the frustrated sexual hunger of American women has increased, and their conflicts over femininity have intensified, as they have reverted from independent activity in search for their sole fulfillment through their sexual role in the home. And as American women have turned their attention to the exclusive, explicit, and aggressive pursuit of sexual fulfillment, or the acting-out of sexual phantasy, the sexual disinterest of American men, and their hostility toward women, have also increased . . . The sellers, it seems, have sexed the sex out of sex."

Other housewives turn toward their own children as the closest and most malleable means for relieving their dissatisfactions. For the woman who "lives through her children," mother-love becomes converted into "smother-love." Even worse, women who are robbed of normal, adult relationships carry on what amounts to "love affairs" with their children. The more susceptible young males can be "virtually destroyed in the process." Women and boys comprise the majority of patients in the psychiatric clinics.

Girls, brought up under the influence of the Feminine Mystique are likewise vulnerable to becoming emotionally arrested at an infantile level. Those who marry young become the transmission belt for conveying this infantilism to their own children. Betty Friedan calls this "progressive dehumanization."

Equally damaging is the parasitism encouraged in the middle-class homes where everything is done for the children, everything supervised for their comfort and pleasure down to the "curl of their hair." The advertisers feed this indulgence with sales campaigns directed at the "gimme" kids. This excessive pampering is imitated by better-income working-class parents who are deluded into believing this is giving their own children "the best." But in homes where the living is easy, the children tend to grow up soft, passive, lazy and incompetent. Unable to organize a program of serious study and work, and lacking ambition to achieve maturity, they seek to fill up their vacant time with "kicks." As the author writes:

"A questionnaire revealed that there was literally nothing these kids felt strongly enough about to die for, as there was nothing they actually did in which they felt really alive. Ideas, the conceptual thought which is uniquely human, were completely absent from their minds or lives."

This absence of vital purpose, this indifference to human values, was noted by army doctors and psychologists who studied G.I. prisoners of the Korean war. Many of them, unlike their Yankee forebears, lost all resourcefulness, became inert, uncommunicative, did nothing to help their sick comrades, and even cast others out in the snow to die. Such dehumanized behavior, opined one doctor, was "the result of some new failure in the childhood and adolescent training of our young men."

Social Connections

Betty Friedan connects all the consequences of the flight back to home and family with the predominant state of conservatism and loss of interest in public affairs and social struggles:

"What happened to women is part of what happened to all of us in the years after the war. We found excuses for not facing the problems we once had the courage to face. The American spirit fell into a strange sleep; men as well as women, scared liberals, disillusioned radicals, conservatives bewildered and frustrated by change — the whole nation stopped growing up. All of us went back to the warm brightness of home . . .

"It was easier, safer, to think about love and sex than about Communism, McCarthy, and the uncontrolled bomb. It was easier to look for Freudian sexual roots in man's behavior, his ideas, and his wars than to look critically at his society and act constructively to right its wrongs. There was a kind of personal retreat, even on the part of the most far-sighted, the most spirited; we lowered our eyes from the horizon, and steadily contemplated our own navels."

This is certainly true. But what is the alternative to total submersion into family life? Betty Friedan's diagnosis of the disease is superior to her remedy for it. She suggests that more serious education and study, together with interesting, well-paying jobs, will open the door of the trap. This is the same kind of limited, individual solution that the feminists formerly proposed — and that subsequently proved so ineffective. Some fortunate women can do what the author has done — turn around, make a "new life plan" and escape the domestic cage. But the life-plans for the great majority of women are determined for them by forces outside their personal control — the ruling powers.

The sicknesses that Betty Friedan

describes with so much penetration and courage are the products of a diseased social organism, in which the rights, welfare and opportunities of human beings are subjected to the dictates of the profiteers. During a capitalist war women can be taken out of their homes by the millions and put to work in the factories. But when they are no longer needed as producers, they are sent back home to become primarily consumers. In both instances, what is decisive is not the needs of women as human beings but the interests of the monopolists. These masters of America shape the lives and livelihoods of womanhood and the whole family according to their own corrupt and corrupting aims.

Woman's destiny cannot be fundamentally transformed until this truth is understood and acted upon. The feminists of the past could achieve their limited reforms within the framework of a still-ascending capitalism. But today it has become dead-end capitalism. It is good but not enough for women to become more *social-minded*, as Betty Friedan advocates. They should now become *socialist-minded*, because only a root-and-branch change in the whole venal system can save us all from further dehumanization.

Comparative Medical Care

By Marvel Scholl

MEDICAL CARE AND FAMILY SECURITY — NORWAY, ENGLAND AND USA, Drs. Karl Evang, D. Murray Stark, Walter J. Lear. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963. 344 pp. \$6.50.

This book is timely indeed. A symposium by three medical men from Norway, England and the United States, its main value, in my estimation, is the striking contrast it exposes between health and security standards existent in Norway and Great Britain, where national health services have proven their worth, and the situation in this country, where health and family security are treated as commodities for profit, not a human right and a national social obligation.

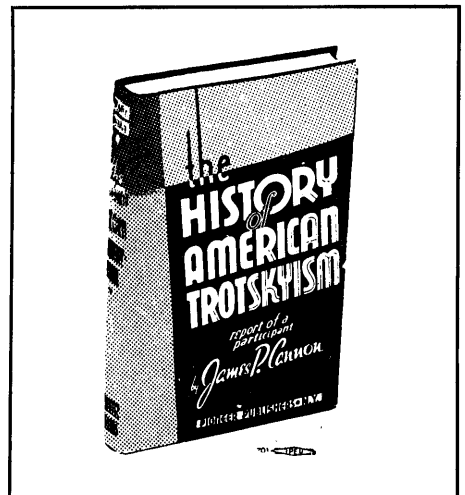
Dr. Evang traces the history and accomplishments of the Norwegian Security Insurance program from its inception in 1911, when it covered only the lowest paid workers, to today, when it takes in the whole population. Security insurance, administered by the Minister of Health and thence down through the smallest government bodies, is compulsory. Workers pay a payroll tax equal to 3 percent of their annual wage. The balance of the total medical and social security bill is paid by contributions from employers and the gov-

ernment. The plan encompasses all phases of medical care, as well as pensions for the aged and disabled, and cash grants to sick workers and new mothers. The one remaining "bug" (in my estimation, not Dr. Evang's) is the 30 percent of the doctor bill each patient must still bear on his own.

Norwegians of all political stripe consider health a human right. Through many generations of differing political governmental leadership, the right of the citizenry to adequate care when they are ill and preventive medical care to keep them well has grown apace. Dr. Evang describes in full the structure of the program, the benefits derived by the whole people from it and the falseness of all the arguments we hear today from the AMA about the evils of "socialized medicine."

Dr. Murray deals with the results of fourteen years of the British National Health Service. A comprehensive study of the NHA appeared in the Summer, 1963 issue of this magazine.

Dr. Walter J. Lear, for the Americans, is a strong advocate of group medical practice, centralized Health Centers, and, as an interim (he doesn't say to what), more *private*, non-profit health insurance based on communities, not small groups. He cites his own organi-



zation, The Group Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP), and the Kaiser Plan (Permanente) on the West Coast as proof of his contention.

Dr. Lear presents a clear and devastating picture of the whole health insurance industry, including the faults of the Blue Plans, but the only government financed and sponsored health plan he actually supports is Medicare for the aged.

I advise reading this book for the contrast it offers between national health services, which take off the shoulders of the individual the onerous burden of illness and its economic and social consequences, with the anarchy and inequality which exist in this country.

THE LIVING TROTSKY



By William F. Warde

TROTSKY VIVANT, by Pierre Naville. Juillard, Paris, 1962. 198 pp. 10.20 NF.

This is an informative and perceptive volume of reminiscences about Trotsky. Naville was one of the earliest and youngest recruits of the Communist Left Opposition in France who participated in the leadership of the Trotskyist movement there until shortly before the Second World War. He has since acquired merited reputation as one of the most qualified Marxist scholars in France, best known for his studies of the sociology and psychology of labor.

Naville tells of his experiences and discussions with Trotsky in Moscow, Prinkipo, Paris, Copenhagen and other places from 1927 to 1940. He first met Trotsky at Moscow in November 1927 on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution when the internal conflict between the Stalin-Bukharin majority and the combined Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev bloc had reached the breaking point.

Naville saw Trotsky at the office of the Committee on Concessions the day after he had been expelled from the Russian C.P. He was to lose that post a few days later. Their conversation revolved around the perspectives of the work of the Opposition. Trotsky urged the young French revolutionist to publicize the platform of the Communist Opposition abroad, arm himself and his co-thinkers for a prolonged struggle, prepare themselves for sudden turns, not to lose hope in the party but never to place affiliation above faithfulness to principles.

Naville brings out the extraordinary drama of that tense turning point in Soviet history. There he observed the leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin's closest colleagues, the organizer and commanders of the Red Army, the foremost figures of Soviet diplomacy and economic reconstruction as they were cast out of the Bolshevik party. They faced the necessity, a decade after the 1917 victory, of coping with the degeneration of the first workers' state. This compelled them to think through

all the problems afresh, and work out new positions and perspectives under unprecedented difficulties. And there was Naville, an inexperienced young man, called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of contending against the authority of the Kremlin soon after he had joined the Communist movement.

Trotsky's expulsion from the party had not changed either his determination or his outlook one iota, comments Naville. What impressed him in this first contact was that, although Trotsky lived in the USSR, he did not cease thinking and acting as though the whole world was his province. He paid as much attention to the preparatory stirrings of revolution in other parts of the globe as to the economic and political development of the Soviet Union.

"Socialism had not become for him merely a state policy, and still less that of an isolated state. His questions unceasingly directed us to the only point that was decisive in his eyes: how are things going with you? What's happening in France? What can we expect from the European workers? What is determining the development of the British or American workers? He expected only one kind of effective aid for the Russian Left Opposition: that of the international revolution."

His stay in Moscow coincided with the 15th Congress of the Russian C.P. Naville, as a member of the French delegation, met with the Central Committee of the Party to hear a report by Bukharin condemning the Opposition. He attended the funeral of A. A. Joffee, the opposition leader who committed suicide in protest against his mistreatment by the regime. He talked with the workers in the factories; met a sympathetic reception from the poet Mayakovsky; conferred with many of the opposition leaders; and attended their meetings which had to be held secretly in apartments and out in the woods.

Naville describes the cynical scepticism of Radek and the melancholy of Zinoviev which foreshadowed their subsequent capitulations to Stalin. In the

room of Preobrazhensky, the Soviet economist, he again encountered the amiable and intelligent Rakovsky, who was, next to Trotsky, the ablest opponent of the bureaucracy. Until some weeks before, Rakovsky had been Soviet Ambassador to France and was instrumental in getting Naville to the Congress against the wishes of the secretariat of the French C.P.

The ex-diplomat wore a Russian blouse with a good-looking Western jacket which stood out amid the bareness of the small room. Rakovsky smilingly told them this was the sole relic of his ambassadorship. Upon returning it was the government's custom to take from the envoys everything they had acquired during their service except their clothes.

"I would have preferred a room," Rakovsky said, but they expelled me from the Soviet Foreign Trade Commission with a jacket. The French chucked me out of Paris for having signed a declaration of the Opposition. Stalin chucked me out of the Trade Commission for having signed the same declaration. But, in both cases, they left me my jacket."

Two years later Naville in Paris received lengthy documents from the exiled Rakovsky on the transformations in the Soviet power written on tiny cards. These made the passage in the lining of a fur coat. "That was also in a way a diplomatic pouch . . ."

* * *

One of the most rewarding segments of these memoirs takes up the problem of the relation between individuals and their environment in connection with the decline of the Russian Revolution. "More than one biographer and historian of the Russian Revolution, dealing with this subject, has been satisfied with attributing the continued defeat of Trotsky in the USSR after 1923 to his 'errors,' refusing to understand the kind of deliberate sacrifice he made of the present for the future, if not his personal future, at least that of a new

generation," remarks Naville. "If he had died, as Lenin did, at the moment when a conservative period in the Russian Revolution was emerging, coinciding with successive setbacks of the socialist revolution in Europe, doubtless the historians would have ascribed the decline of Bolshevism after 1923-1925 to this double disappearance. But since he lived and carried on the struggle — in conditions of an implacable reaction, unprecedented in working class history — without success coming to crown it, the historians, fascinated by the accomplished fact, heap it all upon him under the artificial argument of his errors and shortcomings."

Trotsky replied to such superficial critics on many occasions. But never so profoundly as in a letter written in 1938 which is cited by Naville. Since, to my knowledge, it has never before appeared in English, the passage he quotes is worth giving in full. Here is what Trotsky wrote on this controversial issue.

"I have come to the necessity of clarifying a theoretical question which also has a great political importance. It essentially involves the relation between the political or historical personality and the 'milieu.' To go straight to the heart of the problem, I would like to mention Souvarine's book on Stalin, where the author accuses the heads of the Left Opposition, myself included, of various errors, omissions, blunders, etc., beginning with 1923.

"I do not at all wish to deny that there were not many mistakes, unskillful acts, and even stupidities. Nevertheless, what is important, from the theoretical as well as the political viewpoint, is the relation, or rather the disproportion between these 'errors' and their consequences. It is precisely in this disproportion that the reactionary character of the new historical stage expressed itself.

"We made not a few mistakes in 1917 and in the following years. But the sweep of the revolution filled up these gaps and repaired the errors, often with our aid, sometimes even without our direct participation. But for this period the historians, including Souvarine, are indulgent because the struggle ended in victory. During the second half of 1917 and the following years, it was the turn of the liberals and Mensheviks to commit errors, omissions, blunders, etc.

"I would like to illustrate this historical 'law' once again with the example of the great French revolution where, thanks to the remoteness in time, the relations between the actors and their milieus appear much more clear-cut and crystallized.

"At a certain moment in the revolution the Girondin leaders entirely lost their sense of direction. Despite their popularity, their intelligence, they could commit nothing but errors and inept acts. They seemed to participate actively in their own downfall. Later it was the

turn of Danton and his friends. Historians and biographers never stop wondering at the confused, passive and puerile attitude of Danton in the last months of his life. The same thing for Robespierre and his associates: disorientation, passivity and incoherence at the most critical moment.

"The explanation is obvious. Each of these groupings had at a given moment exhausted its political possibilities and could no longer move forward against the overpowering reality: internal economic conditions, international pressure, the new currents which these generated among the masses, etc. In these conditions, each step began to produce results contrary to those that were hoped for.

World of the Black Muslims

By Robert Vernon

WHEN THE WORD IS GIVEN . . . A report on Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and the Black Muslim World by Louis E. Lomax. New York. World Publishing Co. 1963. 223 pp. \$3.95.

The Black Muslims are, without doubt, one of the most fascinating social phenomena on the American scene. Lomax's book is only the third to appear on this key topic. But like its two counterparts, also by Negro authors (C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* and E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: The Search for an Identity America*), this contribution falls far short of an incisive picture of the Black Muslims and of the America which produced them. The three books share much the same defects — primarily the outlook of their authors which is confined to the frame-work of existing society and their inability to understand phenomena which transcend that society and reflect revolutionary urges to break free from it.

Lomax's treatment is conscientious and honest, within his limitations. Lomax does not brandish the ridiculous argument that the segregation enforced by white America and the separate black power advocated by the Muslims is the "same thing." He points out the failure of the white man's religion, Christianity, to meet the emotional and material needs of many black people and the way the role of Negroes in America has been whitewashed out of history. He clearly establishes the fact that the Nation of Islam is a religion if anything else on the scene is. This is a religion swept up in the revolutionary anger of a frustrated and embittered people and fashioned in their self-image.

Like most critics, Lomax tries to judge the Muslims not on their relevance to the northern ghettos which gave birth to the movement, but on

"But political abstention was hardly more favorable. The stages of the revolution and counter-revolution succeeded one another at an accelerated pace, the contradictions between the protagonists of a certain program and the changed situation acquired an unexpected and extremely acute character. That gives the historian the possibility of displaying his retrospective wisdom by enumerating and cataloguing the mistakes, omissions, ineptness. But, unfortunately, these historians abstain from indicating the right road which would have been able to lead a moderate to victory in a period of revolutionary upswing, or on the contrary to indicate a reasonable and triumphant revolutionary policy in a thermidorean period."

their alienation from the Southern integration struggle. As Lomax puts it: "Allah and Jesus fight it out for the spiritual allegiance of the American Negro at a lunch counter in Woolworth's." Poor white man's Jesus: he is bound to lose both at "Woolworth's" down South and in Harlem, where Allah has the distinct advantage.

Lomax misinterprets the reactions of a crowd at a Harlem street meeting last July — at which this reviewer was present — listening to Elijah Muhammad's son Akbar and to Malcolm X. The crowd was cool to Akbar Muhammad who spoke for unity between all Negro leaders, because the nitty-gritty people in Harlem have nothing much to gain from NAACP, CORE, or the Urban League. The crowd warmed up only when the Muslims implied that their unity approach was meant to force these conservative forces into unity on an apparently militant basis and not that the Muslims were hankering for any old kind of "unity" with the conservative elements.

The most valuable contribution Lomax makes to the literature on the subject is the extensive quotes and texts of whole speeches by Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, taking up at least half the book. These present an incomplete, but instructive, picture of the content of Muslim utterances. For this alone, the book is worth reading.

Like Lincoln and Essien-Udom, Lomax sees a good or "functional" side to the Muslims in their pricking white America's conscience and spurring integration by demonstrating the awful alternatives of the failure to integrate the "Negro problem" right out of existence. Missing here is any realization that white American capitalist society not only is incapable of accepting Negroes to its bosom as equals in a declining society, but has nothing to offer that will satisfy black people.

The Black Muslims are by no means the extreme far black or the last resort in the black revolt. The new forms of black revolt in the North (and South too) will be more practical and more

oriented to mass action, but will have reason to thank the Black Muslims for their scorching indictment of white America and their legacy of fierce pride in being black inside a white prison.

on the arbitrary rule of the Soviet bureaucracy. He further predicts that as the Soviet Union becomes more prosperous and the bureaucracy realizes that it can never hope to defeat the United States in economic competition, it will become ever more conservatized and gradually give up its alleged desire for world domination. The cold war will gradually dissipate itself, and the world will be saved from nuclear destruction.

Thus, Bazelon believes that the present American socio-economic system must be analyzed as a new, post-capitalist property system, in which the "paper" or fictitious capital structure is an integral, growing, permanent feature, and the control of capital has become separated from ownership. He sees traditional "free-enterprise" capitalist ideology as a dangerous anachronism constituting a serious block to the development of effective government economic policy. Should this be overcome and effective economic policies put into effect, Bazelon sees a very bright future ahead including economic well-being for all and lasting peace. The alternative to this, Bazelon maintains, can only be continued economic stagnation, a concomitant growing threat from the colonial revolution and alleged Soviet expansionism ultimately ending in the victory of the Soviet Union in the cold war or the destruction of civilization by nuclear war.

The author of this book is a very confused man. His analysis betrays a complete misunderstanding of the cold war which is a conflict between two social systems based on antagonistic property relations in which the Soviet Union has played a defensive role. His ideal solutions to the problems facing world capitalism indicate a total lack of appreciation for the real nature of these problems — rooted as they are in the growing anachronism of capitalist property relations.

Bazelon undoubtedly reflects the thinking and interests of an important section of the American capitalist class which sees as necessary the greatest possible flexibility with respect to Soviet-American relations and the utilization of state measures in an attempt to alleviate domestic economic problems. This intellectual contribution, along with those of Galbraith, Keynes and others, will help to weaken the hold of traditional capitalist ideology which is no longer appropriate to the current needs of the dominant section of the American capitalist class as it pragmatically attempts to solve the problems of private property while at the same time being incapable, because of their vested interests, of touching the core of this problem — private property itself.

U.S. Economy: The Paper Tiger

By John Pederson

THE PAPER ECONOMY by David T. Bazelon. Random House, Inc., New York, 1963. 467 pp. \$6.95.

The tremendous growth of paper "assets," or what Marxists call fictitious capital, is an outstanding aspect of the post-World War II American economy dealt with by David T. Bazelon in his book, *The Paper Economy*. Bazelon's description of this capitalist phenomenon is important for its informational value, if nothing else. This growth of debt and inflation of stock prices is an aspect of the modern capitalist economy which is of great importance today, not only for the role it has played in extending the post-World War II prosperity, but also for the role it threatens to play in aggravating to an extreme degree the next great capitalist economic crisis.

In the fifteen years between 1948 and 1963, the gross federal debt rose from \$252 billion to \$309 billion. State and local debt has skyrocketed from a 1946 low of \$13.6 billion to over \$80 billion at present. Net corporate debt has more than trebled between 1946 and 1960. Non-farm mortgage debt, which hovered around \$26-27 billion during World War II, stood at \$179.9 billion at the end of 1960. The total amount of short- and intermediate-term outstanding consumer credit has gone from about \$5.7 billion in 1946 to \$56 billion in 1962. The value of stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange has risen by more than \$200 billion in the 1950's alone. And so the "paper" mounts.

Marx pioneered the study of fictitious capital in Volume III of *Capital* back in the nineteenth century and predicted its increased significance as capitalism matured. He defined fictitious capital as capitalized earning or taxing power. For example, government bonds issued on the basis of taxing power are one form of fictitious capital. Consumer debt based on the earning power of individuals and stock prices (based on rising corporate earnings), inflated far above liquidation value (selling price of plants and inventories) represent other forms. This is essentially the same definition used by Bazelon for his "paper" concept.

It should be pointed out that Bazelon does not bother to credit Marx with the original development of this concept and analysis of this capitalist phenomenon. This is but one manifestation of his anti-Marxist bias which is consistent with his belief that Marxist theory is

irrelevant today because it deals with a system — capitalism — which no longer exists. The "managerial revolution" has, according to Bazelon, brought about a new property system in which ownership of property has become divorced from control of that property, thus making necessary the application of entirely "fresh" theoretical concepts.

One of these "fresh" concepts, first introduced by John K. Galbraith, a Harvard economics professor, in his book, *The Affluent Society*, is that the primary problem facing American capitalism is one of abundance as opposed to scarcity. Bazelon points to the excess productive capacity, surplus capital and plentiful credit within the U.S. economy to support this thesis. At the same time, Bazelon observes that traditional capitalist ideology with its emphasis on free competition and a minimal role for the state in economic matters and based upon the supposed former condition of economic scarcity still reigns supreme — in the mass media, in utterances of politicians, in the educational institutions and in the minds of the ruling elite. Bazelon sees this ideological lag as the single most serious problem facing the American ruling class and the world capitalist system. If only this mental paralysis could be overcome, the state would be allowed to play a more significant role in the economy. As a consequence, a rapid rate of economic growth, comparable to that of the Soviet Union's, and a full utilization of the nation's productive capacity and labor resources would be attained, and defeat in the "cold war" would be avoided.

Provided that this optimum economic performance is attained, Bazelon is optimistic about solving the serious international problems facing American imperialism. The threat from the colonial revolution would be alleviated by massive foreign aid to undeveloped countries. With respect to the cold war, Bazelon foresees the possibility of consciously orienting American foreign policy toward an eventual convergence of American and Soviet societies. He predicts for the U.S. side of this synthesis a larger role for the federal government in the U.S. economy, administering prices and introducing a measure of planning in the main sectors of the economy. On the Soviet side, he predicts the development of institutions through which public opinion can be expressed and effective pressure brought to bear

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Split in Ceylon Communist Party

(Continued from Page 2)

At the annual general meeting of the Afro-Asian solidarity league the two wings clashed openly. An attempt by the CP leadership to out Mrs. Theja Gunawardena from her post as president of the league failed. The Peking wing also alleges that the party leadership maneuvered to get her out of the press commission. They charge that in doing so the CP leadership served the interests of the bourgeois press. Mrs. Theja Gunawardena is a prominent supporter of the Chinese position in the Sino-Soviet and the Sino-Indian disputes. She is the author of a book entitled *Khrushchevism* a vigorous attack on Kremlin policy. She has been very active in many of the front organizations of the CCP, like friendship associations, solidarity leagues, etc. The Cuban Solidarity League has also become inactive. It is partly due to the factional fights in the CP and partly due to admission of petty bourgeois communalist careerists into its ranks.

Eighty-seven leading members of the CCP met on Sunday, November 17 and decided to summon the seventh National Conference of the Party. These eighty-seven members signed an appeal addressed to "the real Marxist-Leninists in the CCP." They elected an organizing committee of thirty-five to make the necessary preparations for the conference. Premalal Kumarasiri was elected secretary of this committee. Addressing the meeting he stated, "The present reformist trend is not only a deviation from communism. It is a deadly enemy destined to destroy the communist movement. It is a treacherous current which betrays the proletarian revolution. It is the historically assigned duty of the real Marxist-Leninists to smash the current reformism."

Speeches made at this meeting reported in the *Worker*, weekly organ of the CTUF, shows clearly the determination of this hard core of members to form a party of their own. The eighty-seven members present at this meeting and twenty-nine others who subsequently added their signatures to this appeal, are drawn from the leadership of factories, Youth Leagues, district committees and party locals. Ten of them are members of the CC of the CCP. They have levelled the following charges against the leadership in this appeal.

1. Failure to summon a National Conference which fell due in December 1962.
2. Refusal to call a conference of the Party to settle the current dispute despite the fact that a request to this effect was made in writing by more than half the party membership.
3. The suspension of recruitment to the party.
4. Refusal to lead working class struggles and acting against them.
5. The betrayal of the Ceylon Transport Board strike of January-February 1963.
6. The unwillingness to mobilize the working class for action on the 21 demands which were unanimously ratified by the historic conference of the representatives of the entire organized trade union movement in the Island, held on September 29.
7. Putting forward the perspective of power through parliament.
8. Failure to mobilize the peasantry.
9. Failure to translate Marxist classics into Sinhalese and Tamil.
10. Failure to undertake the Marxist education of the party and the working class.
11. Failure to get out a daily paper.
12. Engaging in Communal propaganda.

The factional struggle in the CCP has brought to light the corruption that existed in it. Building up "yes men" by granting favours like providing jobs in embassies and firms that engaged in trade with Soviet-bloc countries, organizing trips abroad for their henchmen, racketing in commissions from trade with Soviet-bloc countries, covering up embezzlement of party and trade union funds and thereby building up corrupt stooges while victimizing those who disagreed with the leadership. All of this is in the process of being unravelled. This will no doubt serve to rid the working-class movement of this country of these parasites.

The "rebels" in the CCP, like their co-thinkers in the Chinese Communist party, have come out in defense of Stalin. In this matter they merely repeat what the Chinese are saying.

The Ceylon Communist Party is thus faced with a serious crisis the like of which it has never experienced before. Hitherto there had been only isolated cases of expulsions and resignations. But in none of those instances has there been a challenge to the leadership comparable to the present one. This is not a revolt but a rebellion of the first order. The bankruptcy of the leadership is seen from their helpless attitude of allowing things to pass by without intervening. They cannot afford to intervene because that will only strengthen the tide against them. The inevitable split is only a matter of time.

Sydney Wanasinghe
November 29, 1963

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