

Summer 1963

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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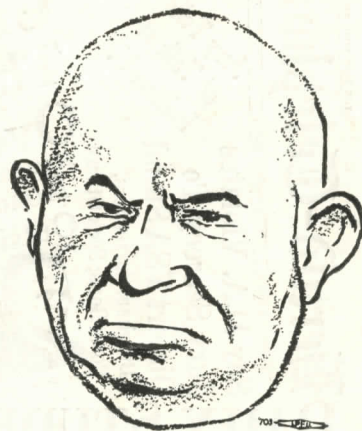
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An Eyewitness Report



New Judgment on the Sino-Soviet Rift

by William F. Warde



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Correspondence

Editor:

Three officers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Indiana University were indicted on May Day under a state sedition act of McCarthy vintage. The law declares its aim is "to exterminate Communism and Communists and any or all teachings of the same." Conviction under this law could bring up to three years imprisonment.

Ralph Levitt, 25, and James Bingham, 25, both of Indianapolis, and Tom Morgan, 22, of Terre Haute (Ind.) were indicted on the basis of remarks made at a public meeting sponsored by the YSA at Indiana University on March 25. Leroy McRae, YSA National Organization Secretary, spoke on the topic of the increasingly militant Negro struggle for equality.

McRae, himself a Negro, endorsed the use of self-defense against racist attack. His remarks on this issue were twisted and torn out of context by the Monroe County (Ind.) prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, and presented as "evidence" that the

three defendants advocated violent overthrow of the government. That they should be indicted for remarks that support the right of Negroes to defend themselves against racist attack is only one indication that the prosecution is not aimed at any crime, but at the active and open espousal of political ideas.

Another circumstance further shows the prosecution's intent of political victimization. Prosecutor Hoadley's campaign against the YSA stems from a demonstration last October 24 against Kennedy's blockade of Cuba, in which Bingham, Levitt and Morgan participated. That action drew nationwide attention when thousands of "patriotic" students and townspeople broke up the small demonstration and tore up the signs.

The first official act of newly-elected prosecutor Hoadley was to dismiss charges against two hooligans arrested for acts of violence during that demonstration. He then opened up a campaign to pressure Indiana University's administration into denying campus facilities to the

YSA. When the University refused, Hoadley took another step and indicted the students.

Hoadley's election was backed by right-wing Republicans. They represent the unsavory tradition of Indiana, once a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan; a state where a "right-to-work" law exists as a curb on union activities; a state which enjoys the dubious distinction of being the birthplace of the John Birch Society.

But in the past Indiana has also been the scene of great labor struggles. It was the home state of Eugene V. Debs. In fact, one of the defendants, Tom Morgan, is from Debs home town, and last year became national secretary of the E.V. Debs Foundation, which restored Debs' home as a museum.

These young people are battling to uphold the progressive radical tradition of America. They need help. The fullest mobilization of American socialists and radicals can bring victory and help advance the right to advocate the socialist alternative in this country.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is providing legal counsel, but the defense costs are still great. Capitalist "democracy" means that unless you are rich, any indictment is a heavy financial blow — even if you are cleared of the charges. Thousands of dollars are needed just to fight this case.

Barry Sheppard
National Chairman,
Young Socialist Alliance

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1963. SUBVERSION CASE SPLITS INDIANANS. Prosecution of 3 Collegians is Halted and Denounced. Will Not Act on Indictment Until Law is Revised.

INDIANA U. INDUSTRY SUBVERSIVE CASES.

THE STAR-COURIER, BLOOMINGTON, THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 2, 1963. Students Indicted By Jury.

Grand Jury Indicts Three I.U. Students Over YSA Activities

Hoadley Tries YSA Prosecutor Outside Courtroom

Prosecutor Calls Action 'Courageous'

Three Socialist Students Indicted in Effort to Quash Campus Reds

YSA's Levitt and Morgan surrender to county sheriff

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1963. CLEVELAND, THE PLAIN DEALER. Appear without lawyers; freed on \$1,000 bonds.

FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1963. BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA. Say D.A. Violates Jury Secrecy To Distort YSA Stand

Bingham Surrenders, Posts Bond; Seek Others

Jury Tells of Talk at Indiana U.

Arraignment set for YSA members

Socialist Students Indicted Under 1951 State Law

STATE NEWS

Edited by Students for the Michigan State University Community East Lansing, Michigan Thursday, May 2, 1963

THE HERALD-TELEPHOR

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What You Can Do

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students urgently needs the help of all who believe in democracy and free speech. Funds are needed for legal expenses and to publicize the case.

Join the CABS and help beat back the witch hunt. For more information, press releases, and the complete background of the case write to the CABS. Send all letters and donations to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 382, Bloomington, Ind.

New Judgment on the Sino-Soviet Rift

Monthly Review and the Great Debate

By William F. Warde

THE Sino-Soviet dispute is upsetting relations between the workers' states and shaking up the Communist parties. It is also forcing other currents of opinion in the socialist movement to clarify their positions on the controversial issues and declare their attitude toward the principal protagonists.

The perplexities provoked among radicals by the unexpected widening of the schism between the two major members of the Soviet bloc and by their devious handling of the Great Debate are mirrored in *Monthly Review*, the most widely circulated organ of academic Marxism in the United States. Its editors used to believe in the predestined harmony of all countries in the "socialist camp" as well as the absence of conflict between Stalin and the Soviet people. The developments of the past decade have shattered these illusions.

To be sure, the 1948 split between Moscow and Belgrade had occurred before then. But this could be dismissed as an exceptional event, an aberration due to Stalin's intransigence. After Khrushchev embarked on deStalinization and effected a reconciliation with Tito, this impediment was removed. However, Moscow's resumption of friendly relations with Belgrade coincided with a rupture with Albania and deepening differences with Communist China. How was this to be explained and which party to the dispute was right?

THE first reaction of the *Monthly Review* editors was to side with Moscow. After describing the views of the disputants, they offered the following evaluation in their December 1961 issue.

"... We have no doubt whatever that the Russians are right and the Chinese wrong. The Chinese position seems to us to be a typical example of a kind of dogmatic leftism that has appeared again and again in the history of the international socialist movement. Two of the distinguishing hallmarks by which it can be recognized are underestimation of nationalism and the lumping together of all opposition in an undifferentiated reactionary mass. It always exudes super-militancy and preaches no compromise."

As the dispute has unfolded, doubts about the correctness of their original conclusions mounted. Today

the editors have reversed their stand. In a special issue on "The Split in the Socialist World" (May, 1963) they announce that their former analysis was wrong and they now support the Chinese against the Russians. They write:

"On the main issue in the controversy — whether the struggle for peace or the struggle against imperialism should take priority — we are convinced that the Chinese do indeed have the truth on their side. Real peace will never be achieved much less guaranteed, as long as imperialism exists. And we are also convinced that the Chinese are right that imperialism can and will suffer decisive defeats at the hands of revolutionary peoples of the underdeveloped countries."

The *Monthly Review* editors now assert that the Chinese have the correct revolutionary positions on the key questions: the character of the historical period through which the world is passing, the nature of imperialism and how to fight it, the possibilities of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, and the program of "structural reform" versus proletarian revolution for the advanced capitalist countries.

They protest against the misrepresentation of the Chinese views by Khrushchev and his associates. "The Chinese are accused of wanting to advance the cause of socialism through world war, of advocating and practicing adventurist foreign policies, of stirring up premature revolts, of ignorance of conditions outside their own country, and so on and so forth. All of these charges are false, as anyone who knows the history of the recent past and takes the trouble to read the relevant Chinese literature can easily verify." They applaud the Chinese for publishing both sides of the debate while the Soviet leadership suppresses the Chinese replies to the accusations against them.

THIS shift from Khrushchev to Mao on the issues of the international class struggle raised by the Great Debate is a step forward by the *Monthly Review* editors. Their rectification of a hasty judgment and their openness to argument shines by comparison with the lackey reflexes of the American CP leaders who

have dutifully snapped to attention under Khrushchev's baton, incurring the scorn of Peking for "prettifying" Kennedy as a prospective preserver of world peace.

Defects of the Argument

Do the revised opinions of *Monthly Review* provide an adequate analysis of the Sino-Soviet dispute? The editors at least now do justice to the Chinese where their policies are right against the Russian. But their current viewpoint still has serious defects.

One of the principal points discussed in their article concerns the revision of Marxism. Who represents authentic scientific socialism and who has abandoned its methods in the Sino-Soviet conflict? In 1961 Huberman and Sweezy maintained that, despite their differences, both the "Soviet and Chinese positions are built on common Marxist foundations." This is as though Lenin, in his fight against revisionism and opportunism,

had emphasized that Bolsheviks and Social-Democrats both appealed to the traditions of Marx in their polemics.

Now the editors say that only the Chinese are orthodox Marxist-Leninists. "The Russians and their followers, by comparison, are undoubtedly the modern revisionists the Chinese describe them as." They no longer depict Khrushchev as the realistic statesman restraining the super-militant Chinese Communists from reckless acts. He, together with Togliatti and (we presume) Gus Hall, is a revisionist who has "thrown dialectical and historical materialism to the winds and . . . put in its place the most commonplace kind of pragmatism."

AS FOR themselves, Huberman and Sweezy claim to be true-red Marxists but somewhat unorthodox Leninists, particularly on the question of revisionism. They state that, while most of Lenin's ideas were valid, his theory of Social-Democratic revisionism has not stood up and should be discarded. And since the Chinese attempt to extend Lenin's conceptions about revisionism from the Social Democracy to the "modern revisionism" of Khrushchev, Togliatti and Tito, they too fall down.

The gist of their reasoning is as follows: The Chinese repeat after Lenin that revisionism is "bourgeois ideology which infiltrated into the ranks of the workers." The vehicle of this infiltration is the labor aristocracy which turns against the interests of the masses and transmits the pressures of the bourgeoisie. This theory of revisionism, they hold, is wrong on two counts.

In the first place, the Bolsheviks were proved wrong and the Social Democracy was right "for the simple reason that the Social Democrats and not the Communists expressed what the workers felt to be their real interests. The workers, in other words, were not revolutionaries at heart, and no amount of exhortation by the Communists could turn them into revolutionaries."

Huberman and Sweezy write as though the original conflict between the revolutionary Marxist and reformist-revisionist trends in the European labor movement began over questions of strategy in the years following the First World War and the Russian Revolution. It actually broke out in full force in 1914 over the issue of supporting the imperialist war and then during 1917-1918 over the policies to be pursued in promoting the Russian and European revolution to victory. Lenin's ideas on revisionism were most positively tested during the Russian Revolution in the Bolshevik contest for leadership of the insurrectionary masses against the Mensheviks and other reformist tendencies. His theory of the causes of revisionism was not simply an academic exercise; it served above all as an instrument of orientation and a guide to action in the struggle for workers' power.

The Working Class is Blamed

The counter theory offered at this late date by *Monthly Review* shifts the responsibility for the subsequent defeats of the revolutionary movement from the Social-Democratic leaders to the working class. Yet it was these leaders, and not the workers, who were not "revolutionaries at heart." This does not mean that the working class was ready for revolution or that the struggle for power was on the agenda at all times. But during the periods of recession in the struggle the Social-Democratic reformists and centrists failed to prepare

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for the next upsurge and, when that broke out despite them, they refused to mobilize the workers for the showdown with the capitalist rulers, and even sold out their movement.

ACCORDING to Huberman and Sweezy, however, the Social-Democratic leaders — and the Stalinists who later imitated their example — were adjusting to “what the workers felt to be their real interests.” They do not necessarily think that the reformists were right in doing so but the latter were at least acting as realists in opposition to the romanticism and “dogmatic leftism” of Lenin’s followers.

Leaving aside all the other revolutionary opportunities that were mishandled and missed from the defeated Germany of 1918 to the crisis-torn France of 1934-36, how does such an interpretation, based on the non-revolutionary disposition of the workers and the common sense of their official leaders, fare in respect to the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38? Were the Spanish workers so averse to revolutionary action that “no amount of exhortation by the Communists could turn them into revolutionaries”? In truth, the Communist and Socialist parties imposed upon the insurgent masses, reformist, i.e., counter-revolutionary, policies that lost both the civil war and the revolution. The revisionists of the 1930’s did not express or represent either the real feelings or the basic interests of the working masses, any more than did the German Social-Democratic leaders of the 1920’s or the Communist leaders who helped Generals de Gaulle and Badoglio restore capitalism in Western Europe at the close of the Second World War.

The “Non-revolutionary” Workers

However, the main function of the editors’ rejection of the Leninist theory of the causes of revisionism is not to exculpate the misdeeds of the Social Democracy from 1915 to today but to provide an “objective” rationale for the Kremlin’s current line. According to them, the source and support of Khrushchev’s revisionism is not to be found in the special interests of any labor aristocracy but in the non-revolutionary attitude and outlook of the Soviet people which he faithfully reflects.

“... The Soviet people are no more revolutionary than the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, though for different reasons. It is not that they have shared as junior partners in the exploitation of a dependent empire, but rather that they have already made their revolution, have successfully defended it in violent struggles, and have laid the foundations of a rapid advance to higher standards of living. What they want now is a long period of peace and quiet in which to get on with the business in hand Marxism-Leninism is in its essence, as the Chinese correctly insist, a revolutionary doctrine addressed to the oppressed and exploited of the world. How can it be expected to appeal to people who are not oppressed or exploited and who have no need of a revolution?”

The Communist parties in the advanced capitalist countries likewise go along with the anti-revolutionary temper of their own working classes. The Chinese, on the other hand, are so fervently militant because they live in the colonial area, the hotbed of world revolution.

THUS the Communist parties are not vanguard organizations of struggle which strive to radicalize the labor movement but purely passive registers and accurate reflectors of the given state of consciousness of the masses in their own countries. Although the *Monthly Review* editors express disapproval of all this, they sympathetically understand its inevitability.

This simple image of the role of the Communist parties will not stand much inspection. It assumes that the policies of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are arrived at independently of Moscow and under national influences alone. And it ignores the fact that they can at times undertake adventurist actions which suit the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, even though these may run counter to the sentiments and welfare of the workers. Nor does the notion of direct correspondence between the CP line and the mood of the masses hold good for many colonial countries. In Iraq, as Tabitha Petran points out in the same issue, the Communist leaders from 1959 on followed a purely opportunistic course of support to the Kassim dictatorship under highly advantageous revolutionary conditions.

Questions to Chinese Communists

Despite the flaws in their own theory, the *Monthly Review* editors do pose questions to the Chinese Communists which lead to the core of the problem of “modern revisionism.” The Chinese, they say, correctly characterize Khrushchev and his fellow CP leaders as revisionists. But, according to the *Leninism* they swear by, revisionism has its social roots in the creation of a labor bureaucracy and a labor aristocracy. Where, they ask, is such a social basis to be found in the Soviet Union to account for the prevalence of revisionism among its leaders? “Does it make sense to speak of bourgeois influence penetrating the ranks of the Soviet workers through a labor aristocracy?”

The question is well put. *Monthly Review* answers it by denying the existence of any privileged social strata in the Soviet Union. The Leninist method therefore is for them wholly irrelevant. The editors are able to do this so easily, not only by ignoring the gross inequalities within the Soviet social structure, but by avoiding all reference to the well-known Trotskyist theory of the bureaucratization of the Soviet regime under Stalinism. They locate the causes of “modern revisionism,” not in the material conditions and social differentiations of the workers’ states, but in the conservatism of the masses.¹

They point out that Khrushchev is “the fountainhead” of this revisionism in world communism. But the present Premier is only rendering more explicit and carrying forward in practice the disfigurements of Marxist-Leninist doctrine initiated under Stalin. Khrushchev denies this. (He wishes to cover his own tracks and obliterate the memory of his teacher and sponsor.) The Chinese deny this. (They uphold Stalin as the continuator of Leninism and decry Khrushchev as an anti-Leninist.) The *Monthly Review* editors do not care to mention this. (Is that because they might have to review their entire attitude toward Stalinism and Trotskyism?) Yet it is the case.

There is no need to disqualify Lenin’s conception of the nature of labor opportunism to explain Stalin’s or Khrushchev’s course. It is only necessary to know how to apply Lenin’s method and ideas to the development, or more precisely, the political degeneration of the

Soviet regime and the Communist parties from his death in 1924, as Trotsky did.

STALINISM, he explained, was a reactionary and revisionist tendency which arose within the Bolshevik party because of the isolation, economic and cultural backwardness of the young Soviet Republic fighting for survival. Its immediate social nucleus was the new-born Soviet bureaucracy which had its main social supports in the peasantry and labor aristocracy. This privileged bureaucratic caste, in the government, army, party and economy, straddled the two major social forces within the Soviet Union, now leaning on one, now turning to the other, as the necessities of self-preservation dictated.

Bureaucracy's Dual Role

The Soviet bureaucracy had an equally ambivalent position on the world arena which was responsible for the violent zigzags in its foreign policies. While it sought to accommodate itself and conclude deals with the imperialists at the expense of the international working class, when it was threatened with attack by this or that sector of the imperialist powers, it had to summon the workers to its aid.

This dual nature and role of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not unique. It can be seen in the conduct of other union and socialist bureaucracies. For instance, such an incorrigible conservative as David McDonald, head of the United Steelworkers, was compelled to lead a 116-day strike against the steel companies after collaborating with them for years against the workers and visiting the U.S. Steel plants on a goodwill mission arm in arm with the corporation president.

KHRUSHCHEV does not represent the real interests nor fulfill the demands of the Soviet workers; he is the executive agent of the upper crust of Soviet society. But he is subjected to the ever more insistent and unsatisfied demands of the masses as well as the claims of the more enlightened sections of the intelligentsia. He has had to make significant concessions to these in order to preserve and protect the dominance of his ruling group.

The Communist parties who are under Moscow's tutelage are primarily subject to the crass opportunism expressed in Khrushchev's line of "peaceful coexistence" and secondarily to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences emanating from their national environments. This is as true of the weak and discredited American CP as of the big and strong French CP.

A Dangerous Subject For Chinese

If the *Monthly Review* editors see no merit in Lenin's teachings on revisionism (which, parenthetically, extended and enriched Marx and Engels' theory of the opportunism of the British labor leaders of their own day), the Chinese Communists dare not press their application too far. In dealing with Khrushchev's revisionism, they have not passed beyond the spheres of ideology and policy to probe into the sociological foundations of the phenomenon, as materialists should. If they did so, they would have to conclude that a privileged caste of bureaucrats had grown up and usurped power in the Soviet Union, embarking on an opportunistic course which involved the renunciation of the struggle to overthrow imperialism and the trampling on the rights of other workers' states in a spirit

of "great-power chauvinism." The only effort along sociological lines so far issuing from Peking has been a maladroit attempt to insinuate that Khrushchev is leading the Soviet Union back toward capitalism where Tito has presumably already taken Yugoslavia.

The Peking ideologists shrink from adopting a Marxist explanation of the root causes of "modern revisionism" much as Khrushchev refrains from digging into the real reasons for "the cult of the individual." It would inexorably force them — or others who are more consistent — to go back and reexamine the historic origins of this revisionism in the reaction to the Russian Revolution which concentrated power in the Stalin faction and embalmed Lenin's program along with his body. It would also oblige them to reopen the whole question of Trotskyism and its role as the Marxist antithesis of Stalinism.

Still further, it would show that Khrushchev's projected aim of building "Communism" in one country, which is one of the major sources of friction between Russia and China, originated with Stalin. This is the current version of the bureaucratic break with Lenin's socialist internationalism first formulated in Stalin's nationalist concept of building "socialism" in the USSR. The perspective of building an isolated and independent socialist paradise within the confines of the Soviet state was the official charter of the Soviet bureaucracy, just as the theory of the gradual, peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism was the characteristic ideology of European Social Democracy. Khrushchev has now taken over both.

MAO and his associates have also absorbed this fundamentally anti-Marxist concept from Stalinism and are endeavoring to realize it in their own domain. At the height of the euphoria during the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, some overzealous Chinese theoreticians even spoke of skipping the "socialist" stage and going directly to communism through the peoples' Communes.

Soviet Key to Revolution

At the Twenty-Second Congress of the Russian CP, Khrushchev elevated this policy to new heights by proclaiming that the Soviet Union, having completed the creation of socialism, would be "the first country to advance to communism." This became the cornerstone of the new 1961 program which said that "the successes of Communist construction spell abundance and a happy life for all, and enhance the might, prestige and glory of the Soviet Union." The program also promises that the vision of these blessings would "win the hearts and minds of the masses" in the rest of the world and become the most potent factor in the elimination of capitalism.

This idea that the main motive power of the anti-capitalist revolution is henceforth to be, not the class struggle, but the economic successes of the Soviet Union is, as *Monthly Review* points out, a relapse into pure idealism. It reincarnates for our generation the Utopian socialism based on the belief that the force of good example would attract enough popular support to make the exploiters abandon their fleshpots and sources of power. In fact the economic advances cannot in themselves even induce the Soviet bureaucrats to renounce their privileges, although they can prepare the preconditions for their overthrow by the people.

The Kremlin policy proceeding from this premise not only cuts out the central role of international class struggle; it strikes at the prospects of economic development of the less favored workers' states. The Soviet program itself asserts that, because of their dissimilar economic and cultural levels, different countries will complete social construction and enter "the full-scale construction of communism" at different times. According to Moscow's timetable, the Soviet Union goes first and China last.

Viewed in purely demographic terms, this order gives the material interests of 200 million people prolonged priority over those of 700 million. This minority is to enjoy the plenty of communism while the majority lags far behind.

THROUGH Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Aid) the Soviet Union is engaged in the beginnings of trans-national economic planning with the East European countries exclusive of Yugoslavia and Albania. China, however, has no place in the Soviet plans of economic integration and development. Meanwhile, Moscow has been giving more economic aid to capitalist countries like India, Indonesia and Egypt, than to Communist China. To rub salt into a deep wound, it has withdrawn its technicians and torn up hundreds of economic agreements, reducing exchanges to a minimum.

The enormous difficulties arising at this stage from the uneven economic development of the workers' states and their inadequate productive capacities cannot be easily or quickly overcome. It is one of the most critical problems of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

The immediate requirements of the two countries is one aspect of the problem; its long-term solution is quite another. Specific decisions regarding trade agreements, mutual aid, the rate and modes of economic integration, etc., would have to be worked out by representatives of the workers' states judiciously and fairly in the light of the onerous existing conditions. Khrushchev has remained silent on this aspect of their differences. Peking has not fully discussed the problem in its polemics, although it has begun to divulge such consequences of the Kremlin's policies as the use and abuse of economic aid as an instrument of diplomatic and political pressure.

Roots of the Bitterness

The bitterness of the clash between Moscow and Peking flows from the operation of the policy and perspective of building "communism" in one country,

regardless of its harmful effects upon the progress of the other workers' states and the international struggle for socialism. The political backsliding of the Soviet regime under Stalin, and the great power chauvinism and bureaucratic opportunism under Khrushchev, which the Chinese inveigh against, have the same fundamental base. Both issue from the practical denial of the primordial role of the international proletarian struggle for power and the substitution of purely nationalist objectives in the movement for socialism.

Peking recognizes some of the consequences of this course but fails to uncover its ideological or sociological roots. So long as the Chinese Communists refuse to regard Khrushchev's "revisionism" as the prolongation of Stalin's anti-Leninist bureaucratic nationalism under changed circumstances and in new forms, they will be unable to give an adequate Marxist explanation for the division or develop a correct policy for coping with it.

Two Kindred World Views

The *Monthly Review* editors have not swung over to the Chinese side entirely because of the power of their arguments and the correctness of their positions. They have kindred views on the world situation and the strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle. For some time *Monthly Review* has staked everything on the progress of the colonial revolution alone. They agree with the Chinese that the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are "the weakest links in the imperialist chain" and therefore "the key to a successful fight against imperialism is to be found in the revolutionary struggles of the people in those areas."

Since the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are impelled toward revolution by intolerable conditions while the workers in the advanced capitalisms are conservative and so is the Soviet people, the sole chance of revolutionary advances and victories now lies in the colonial world. That is why the revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped countries "constitute the crucial factor in the all-important struggle against imperialism."

The premise underlying this outlook is most clearly formulated in a companion article by the pro-Peking Uruguayan writer, Eduardo Galeano, in the same MR issue. He says that the Chinese recognize that "the fundamental contradiction of our time resides in the struggle between the rich countries and the poor countries. The anger of the Chinese shows that this contradiction cuts across social regimes and appears as much in the communist as in the capitalist world."

THIS notion of an irreconcilable opposition between the prosperous bourgeoisified and the poor proletarianized peoples, regardless of their socio-economic structures and internal class divisions, is prevalent throughout the colonial lands. It reflects both the realities of uneven economic development and the uneven progress of the world revolution. But it is a break with Marxism, which sees the fundamental contradiction and motive force of social development in our epoch in the conflict of classes and categorically separates countries where capitalist relations have been abolished from countries dominated by imperialism.

The existence of oppressed peoples and their just struggles for national and social liberation and the efforts of poor and backward nations to raise their productive powers and increase their wealth does not nullify

Just Out
Moscow vs. Peking
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fy the basic division of contemporary society into exploiters and exploited wherever capitalism holds sway and imperialism operates.

The theory of basic conflict between the hungry and the satisfied bloc, whether capitalist or Soviet, is supplemented by the concept of the all-saving mission of the colonial revolution. This also reflects realities of the present period. There is a disastrous cleavage between the colonial revolution and the mass moods and movements in the advanced capitalisms. This has been sharply evidenced in the inertia of the French workers' movement under Communist and Socialist direction toward the Algerian fight for independence and the even greater indifference and lack of understanding displayed by the American workers toward the Cuban revolution at their doorstep.

BUT IT would be wrong to use this lag in the development of the different areas of the class struggle as the groundwork for a global theory of revolutionary strategy which counterposes the colonial world to the West or to the Soviet sphere as a whole. The imperialist states, the Soviet bloc and the colonial and semi-colonial countries constitute three major sectors in the world struggle for socialism today. The problem is to link all three together in an over-all strategic conception of the world revolution which assigns to each the real part it plays in the entire process and keeps their interrelations and interactions clearly in mind.

The Chinese Communists are correct in saying that Africa, Asia and Latin America are presently "the focus of all the contradictions of the capitalist world, the weakest link in the imperialist chain and the storm center of world revolution." But that does not exhaust the question. In so far as the colonial countries break out of the world capitalist system and take the road to socialism, as China, North Vietnam and Cuba have done, they weaken the power and positions of the imperialist centers. But by themselves the forces of the colonial revolution cannot bring about the downfall of imperialism.

U.S. Still the Key

It will require the supremacy of the workers over the capitalists in the most highly developed imperialist countries before mankind can be definitively freed from the threat of nuclear annihilation and the way to socialism be cleared. The Chinese do not see, or at least they do not clearly state, that the key to world peace and a socialist society of abundance lies, not in the colonial areas, but in the centers of capitalism, above all in the United States. So long as the militarists and monopolists in Washington have their fingers on the nuclear button, they can wipe out in a few hours all the achievements of civilization.

The crucial and decisive role of the workers' struggle for power in the advanced capitalist countries is the revolutionary Marxist answer to Khrushchev's illusions about "peaceful coexistence" as a panacea and the false expectations that either the economic successes of the Soviet bloc or the cumulative victories of the colonial revolution can suffice, *by themselves and without the victory of the Western workers*, to overcome imperialism and its evils.

Struggle Against Bureaucracy Omitted

In addition to the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and

Latin America, and the struggle of the workers against the capitalist rulers in the imperialist strongholds, there is the struggle of the masses against the bureaucrats that has been pervading the Soviet bloc since Stalin's death. The *Monthly Review* editors do not mention or include this in their reappraisal, as though it was not an issue in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

YET IT is no accident that the present conflict emerged after the Twentieth Congress where the cult of Stalin was denounced. Since then, the struggle for democratization of the workers' states and their relations with one another revolving around deStalinization has been one of the capital issues in the Communist world. Unfortunately, the Chinese take the wrong side in this burning question. They regard the demolition of the Stalin cult and other liberalization measures wrested from his successors, not as gains won by the masses, but as unwarranted concessions to non-proletarian forces and bourgeois influences. They back up the Albanian regime whose Premier distinguished himself at the Fourth Party Congress in February 1961 with the following prescription: "For those who stand in the way of party unity: a spit in the face, a sock in the jaw, and, if necessary, a bullet in the head." They are in a *de facto* bloc with the discredited Stalinist diehards of the Molotov type who would like to stage a comeback and halt further steps toward liberalization. They continue the cult of Stalin and supplement it with the cult of Mao-Tse-tung. They maintain a monolithic domestic regime with no room for the expression of dissent against the official line either within the ranks of the ruling party or in the country.

Peking's Unreconstructed Stalinism

The issue of workers democracy versus bureaucratic domination is not a minor or incidental matter. It now agitates the entire Communist movement to one degree or another. The further development of the anti-bureaucratic struggles in the Soviet bloc will have momentous effects for good or ill upon the future of the entire socialist cause. The unreconstructed Stalinism exhibited by Peking, Albania and their co-thinkers on this point is far less praiseworthy or palatable than the inadequate reforms granted by the Khrushchev tendency.

The failure of *Monthly Review* to deal with this aspect of the dispute is not only a serious gap in their presentation. It indicates that, although their new position is an improvement upon the old, it is no less one-sided and uncritical. This is all the more regrettable because, in the preceding issue of the magazine (April 1963), Professor Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy put forward excellent views on the relations between proletarian revolution and democracy in a rejoinder to the arguments of Anatoly Butenko, a Lecturer in Philosophy at Moscow University, who objected to their criticisms of Stalin and of current Soviet policies. They wrote:

"We believe that revolutions, especially when combined with forced economic marches, create conditions conducive to excessive political repression, to abuses of power, to unnecessary curtailment of individual freedoms. The remedy, however, is not to be found in selection of good leaders, important though that certainly is, but in the preservation of popular control over leaders, in maintaining and extending

the democratic institutions and civil liberties of the working people, in confining repression to active counter-revolutionaries. This was the policy advocated by Marx and Engels; it was the policy practiced under the most trying and difficult circumstances by the Russian Bolsheviks during Lenin's lifetime; it is the policy being practiced in Cuba today. It seems to us that it has never been more necessary than it is now for socialists to insist on this policy of revolutionary democracy, and to combine this insistence with a careful analysis of all the obstacles that stand in the path of its realization."

WORKERS' democracy and control is no less an economic than a moral and political issue. Under nationalization accurate and harmonious planning becomes the key to optimum economic growth. The workers, who constitute the vital productive force, must be able to assert not only their preferences as consumers, but their proposals as producers. If the planners are guided by the collective experience of the producers, workers' democracy stimulates the fastest rate of growth. The Chinese people could be among the beneficiaries of a more rapid and well-proportioned economic growth of a democratically administered Soviet Union. Furthermore, the establishment of institutions of workers and peasants control in China would not only inspire the entire colonial revolution but could have saved the Chinese people from the disastrous recklessness which attended the "Great Leap Forward" since 1958 and the organization of the Communes. The Peking leaders themselves now admit that the growth rate suffered and grave mistakes were made because of lack of communication between the people and the planners.

The question of revolutionary democracy in the workers' states posed by the de-Stalinization process is no less important in the Great Debate than the problems of strategy in the anti-imperialist struggle. It would be unwarranted to ignore either one or the other. The outstanding merit of the Fidelistas, as Baran and Sweezy stress, is that they combine correct attitudes on both of the cardinal issues in the dispute: international class struggle policy and workers' democracy. If Moscow and Belgrade most gravely default on the first, Peking and Tirana go wrong on the second.

MR's Political Orientation

The *Monthly Review* advertises itself as "an independent socialist magazine." It certainly has no connections with any organized radical groups or party. It appeals primarily to disaffiliated and detached individuals interested in Marxist ideas which do not lead to any mass action or socialist organization.

Yet the publication is not so *ideologically* independent of the main tendencies of socialist or communist thought as its editors claim or hope to be. For a long time *Monthly Review* travelled in the orbit of international Stalinism, keeping a proper distance from the American CP which servilely followed the Kremlin line. Since the Khrushchev revelations and the Polish-Hungarian events of 1956, they have shaken loose from their old path and are seeking another anchorage.

Like C. Wright Mills and many others, they have been inspired and uplifted by the colonial revolution. In the face of the weakness and cowardice of the Social-Democrat and Communist parties in the metropolitan centers, they have deposited all their hopes for the regeneration of socialism and the reconstruction of so-

ciety in the colonial revolution, just as the fellow-travelling radicals of the 1930's focussed upon the Soviet Union. They have been firm supporters and influential expositors of the ideas and aims of the Cuban and Latin American revolutions.

From a Marxist standpoint, there are two fundamental defects in their orientation and outlook. One is their prejudice against any efforts for the formation of a revolutionary workers' party in the United States and even against participation in socialist electoral action. They manage to convert Marxism into a means for learned commentary on world events rather than a guide to political action and organization, as Lenin taught it should be.

The other weakness comes out in their reactions to the Sino-Soviet dispute. In switching from Khrushchev to Mao, they have not succeeded in acquiring genuine ideological independence of the principal contending power centers in the Soviet world. They are as uncritical and categorical in their attitude toward Peking as they were previously to Moscow.

NEITHER the Russian nor the Chinese Communists hold completely correct Marxist-Leninist positions in the Great Debate. This is not a clear-cut conflict between a reformist and a revolutionary leadership on the model of the Bolshevik struggle against the Social Democracy. It is a far more complex and contradictory situation in which two bureaucratic formations, both of Stalinist origin and schooling are reacting to very different pressures from imperialism, the worker-peasant masses, the colonial and world revolution.

The Chinese CP undoubtedly advocates far more militant policies in the international arena than the utterly opportunistic Soviet leadership and its followers from New Delhi to New York. Although the Chinese have moved close to Leninist positions on a number of key issues of the international class struggle, they have by no means arrived at a comprehensive Marxist world outlook: their positions are marked by grave inconsistencies. A genuinely independent Marxist judgment of the issues in the Sino-Soviet dispute would first separate what is true and progressive from what is false and reactionary in the positions of both protagonists and then make an overall evaluation of the main direction of their development, without fear of criticism.²

1. For an analysis of the social base upon which the Soviet bureaucracy rests, see the chapter in Trotsky's "Revolution Betrayed," on the Social Physiognomy of the Ruling Stratum. Also the chapter: Inequalities and Social Antagonism in the Soviet Union, in *Bulletin of Marxist Studies*, No. 2, January 1958, entitled: The Soviet Union: What it is — Where it is going, by Theodore Edwards. Both available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N.Y. 3.

2. For an appraisal of the contending positions, including the inconsistencies of Peking's foreign policy line, see: "Peking vs Moscow: The Meaning of the Great Debate" by William F. Warde, recently published by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y. 50 cents.

Bulletin of Marxist Studies

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION — PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

by Leon Trotsky
(35 cents)

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The Role of Cadres in the Cuban Revolution

By Che Guevara

This article by Che Guevara was translated from the September, 1962, issue of *Cuba Socialista* where it appeared under the title: "The Cadre, Backbone of the Revolution." The problem of cadre construction is essentially that of building the proletarian revolutionary party to act as the vanguard of the Cuban revolution. It is this continuing process of building the vanguard party that Che Guevara describes; a problem with which the Cuban leaders have been preoccupied for some time and which assumed an acute form following the attack by Fidel Castro on Communist Party leader, Anibal Escalante, for attempting to bureaucratize, in its initial stage, the projected Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI), which was subsequently dissolved into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS). (See *Phases of the Cuban Revolution* by Luis Vitale in the Spring 1963 issue of *International Socialist Review*.)

IT IS not necessary to dwell upon the characteristics of our revolution; upon its original form, with its dashes of spontaneity which marked the transition from a revolution of national liberation to a socialist revolution; one full of rapidly passing stages, led by the same people who participated in the initial epic of the *Moncada*,¹ a revolution which proceeded through the landing from the *Granma*,² and which culminated in

1. Moncada, the army barracks in Santiago, Cuba was unsuccessfully stormed by Fidel Castro and a few dozen adherents on July 26, 1953, in an attempt to spark a revolt against Batista. Captured and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment on the Isle of Pines, Castro made his famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech during the "trial." Most of his companions were killed during the raid or were murdered in jail. The name of the July 26th Movement was taken from that date.

2. Exiled to Mexico after release from prison, Fidel Castro purchased the *Granma*, an 8-man yacht in poor condition, and with 82 men sailed to Cuba. An uprising in Santiago was planned to coincide with the landing but the trip was delayed two days. Nevertheless, eight survivors of the journey became the nucleus for the victorious July 26th guerrilla movement, headquartered in the Sierra Maestra.

the declaration of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution. New sympathizers, cadres, organizations joined the feeble structure to such an extent that they imparted to our revolution its present mass character, which has now placed its stamp upon our revolution.

When it became clear that a new social class had definitely taken power in Cuba, the great limitations which the exercise of state power would encounter because of the existing conditions in the state became evident: the lack of cadres to cope with the enormous tasks which had to be carried out in the state apparatus, in political organization, and on the entire economic front.

Immediately after the taking of power, administrative assignments were made "by rule of thumb"; there were no major problems — there were none because as yet the old structure had not been shattered. The apparatus functioned in its old, slow, lifeless, broken-down way, but it had an organization and with it sufficient coordination to maintain itself through inertia, disdaining the political changes which came about as a prelude to the change in the economic structure.

The 26th of July Movement, deeply impaired by the internal struggles between its right and left wings, was unable to dedicate itself to constructive tasks; and the *Partido Socialista Popular* (Popular Socialist Party) because it had undergone fierce attacks, and because for years it was an illegal party, had not been able to develop intermediate cadres to cope with the newly arising responsibilities.

When the first state interventions took place in the economy, the task of finding cadres was not very complicated, and it was possible to select them from among many people who had the minimum basis for assuming positions of leadership. But with the acceleration of the process which took place after the nationalization of the North American enterprises and later of the large Cuban enterprises, a veritable hunger for administrative technicians manifested itself. At the same time, an urgent need was felt for production technicians because of the exodus of many who were attracted by better positions offered by the imperialist companies in other parts of the Americas or in the United States itself. The political apparatus had to make an intense effort, while engaged in the tasks of building, to pay ideological attention to the masses who joined the revolution eager to learn.

The Errors

We all performed our role as well as we could, but it was not without pain and anxieties. Many errors were committed by the administrative section of the Executive; enormous mistakes were made by the new administrators of enterprises who had overwhelming responsibilities on their hands, and we committed great and costly errors in the political apparatus also, an apparatus which little by little began to fall into the hands of a contented and merry bureaucracy, totally separated from the masses, which became recognized as a springboard for promotions and for bureaucratic posts of major or minor importance.

THE main cause of our errors was our lack of a feeling for reality at a given moment; but the tool that we lacked, that which blunted our ability to perceive and which was converting the party into a bureaucratic entity and was endangering administration and production, was the lack of developed cadres at the intermediate level. It became evident that the policy of finding cadres was synonymous with the policy of going to the masses; to establish anew contact with the masses, a contact which had been closely maintained by the revolution in the first stages of its existence. But it had to be established through some type of apparatus which would allow the greatest benefit to be derived, as much for sensing the pulsebeat of the masses as for the transmission of political orientation, which in many cases was only given through the personal intervention of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, or other leaders of the revolution.

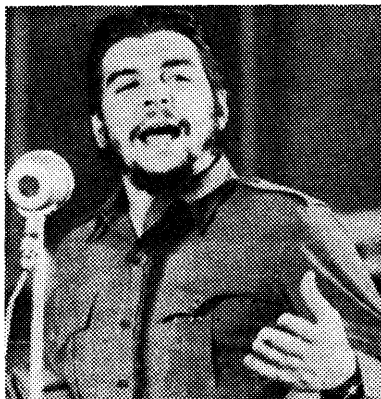
Cadre Qualifications

From this vantage point, we can ask ourselves what a cadre type is. We should say that a cadre person is an individual who has achieved sufficient political development so as to be able to interpret the extensive directives emanating from the central power, make them his, and convey them as orientation to the masses, who at the same time also perceive the signs manifested by the masses of their own desires and their innermost motivations. He is an individual of ideological and administrative discipline, who knows and practices democratic centralism and who knows how to evaluate the existent contradictions in this method and to take maximum advantage of its many facets; who knows how to practice the principle of collective discussion and to make decisions on his own and take responsibility in production; whose loyalty is tested and whose physical and moral courage has developed along with his ideological development, in such a way that he is always willing to confront any conflict and to give his life for the good of the revolution. Also, he is an individual capable of self-analysis, which enables him to make

the necessary decisions and to practice creative initiative in such a manner that it won't conflict with discipline.

Therefore, the cadre person is creative, a leader of high standing, a technician with a good political level, who can, by reasoning dialectically, advance his sector of production or develop the masses from his position of political leadership.

This exemplary human being, apparently cloaked in difficult-to-achieve virtues, is nevertheless present among the people of Cuba, and we find him daily. The essential



thing is to take advantage of all the opportunities that there are for developing him to the maximum, for educating him, for drawing out of each personality the greatest benefit and converting it into the greatest advantage for the nation.

The development of a cadre individual is achieved in performing everyday tasks; but the tasks must be undertaken in a systematic manner, in special schools where competent professors, examples in their turn to the student body, will encourage the most rapid ideological advancement.

IN A regime that begins to build socialism, you could not imagine a cadre that does not have a high political development, but when we consider political development we must not only take into account apprenticeship to Marxist theory; we must also demand responsibility of the individual for his acts, a discipline which restrains any passing weaknesses, and which will not conflict with a big dose of initiative, and

constant preoccupation with all the problems of the revolution. In order to develop him, we must begin by establishing the principles of selectivity among the masses; it is there that we must find the budding personalities, tested by sacrifice or who are first beginning to demonstrate their stirrings, and assign them to special schools or, when these are not available, give them greater responsibility so that they are tested in practical work.

In this way, we have been finding a multitude of new cadres that have developed during these years; but their development has not been an even one, since the young *compañeros* have had to face the reality of revolutionary creation without the adequate orientation of a party. Some have succeeded fully, but there were others who could not completely make it and were left midway or were simply lost in the bureaucratic labyrinth or in the temptations that power brings.

To assure the triumph and the total consolidation of the revolution, we have to develop different types of cadres; the political cadre which will be the base of our mass organizations, and which will orient them through the action of the *Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista* (United Party of the Socialist Revolution; PURS). We are already beginning to establish these bases with the national and provincial Schools of Revolutionary Instruction and with studies and study groups at all levels. We also need military cadres; to achieve that, we can utilize the selection the war made among our young combatants, since there are still many now living who are without great theoretical knowledge but were tested under fire — tested under the most difficult conditions of the struggle with a fully proven loyalty toward the revolutionary regime with whose birth and development they have been so intimately connected since the first guerrilla fights of the Sierra. We should also develop economic cadres who will dedicate themselves specifically to the difficult tasks of planning and the tasks of the organization of the Socialist state in these moments of creation.

IT IS necessary to work with the professionals, urging the youth to follow one of the more important technical careers in an effort to give science that tone of ideological enthusiasm which will guarantee accelerated development. And, it is imperative to create an administrative team, which will know how to take advantage of the specific technical knowledge of others and to coordinate and guide the enterprises and other organizations of the state to bring them into step with the powerful rhythm of the revolution. The common denominator for all is political clarity. This does not consist of unthinking support to the postulates of the revolution, but a reasoned support; it requires a great capacity for sacrifice and a capacity for dialectical analysis which will enhance the making of continuous contributions on all levels to the rich theory and practice of the revolution. These *compañeros* should be selected from the masses by the sole application of the principle that the best will come to the fore and that the best should be given the greatest opportunities for development.

In all these situations, the function of the cadre, in spite of its being on different fronts, is the same. The cadre is the major part of the ideological motor which is the United Party of the Revolution. It is something that we could call the dynamic screw of this motor; a screw that in regards to the functional part will assure its correct functioning; dynamic to the extent that the cadre is not simply an upward or downward transmitter of slogans or demands, but a creator which will aid in the development of the masses and in the information of the leaders, serving as a point of contact with them. The cadre has the important mission of seeing to it that the great spirit of the revolution is not dissipated, that it will not become dormant nor let up its rhythm. It is a sensitive position; it transmits what comes from the masses and infuses in the masses the orientation of the party.

An Immediate Task

Therefore, the development of cadres is now a task which cannot be postponed. The development of the cadres has been undertaken with

great eagerness by the revolutionary government; with its programs of scholarships based on selective principles; with its programs of study for

workers, offering various opportunities for technological development; with the development of the special technical schools; with the development of the secondary schools and the universities, opening new careers; with the development finally of our slogans of study, work and revolutionary vigilance for our entire country, fundamentally based on the Union of Young Communists from which all types of cadres should emerge, even the leading cadres in the future of the revolution.

INTIMATELY tied to the concept of "cadre" is the capacity for sacrifice, for demonstrating through personal example, the truths and watchwords of the revolution. The cadre, as political leader, should gain the respect of the workers with their actions. It is absolutely imperative that they count on the consideration and affection of their *compañeros*, whom they should guide along the vanguard paths.

Over-all, there is no better cadre than those elected by the masses in the assemblies that select the exemplary workers, those that will be brought into the PURS along with the old members of the ORI (*Organización Revolución Integrada* — Integrated Revolutionary Organization) who pass the required selective tests. At the beginning they will constitute a small party, but with enormous influence among the workers; later it will grow when the advance of socialist consciousness begins converting the work and total devotion to the cause of the people into a necessity. With the intermediate leaders of this category, the difficult tasks that we have before us will be accomplished with less errors. After a period of confusion and poor methods, we have arrived at a fair policy which will never be abandoned. With the ever-renewing drive of the working class, nourishing from its inexhaustible fountain the ranks of the future United Party of the Socialist Revolution, and with the leadership of our Party, we fully undertake the task of the formation of cadres which will guarantee the swift development of our revolution. We must be successful in the effort.

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Chinese Revolutionists in Exile

by Ross Dowson

WHERE is the Sino-Soviet dispute leading? Upon what forces at work in China, impinging on the most vital issues of our time, does this conflict reflect? And what are its repercussions on the thinking of the Chinese masses — on the working class youth, on the students and intellectuals who fervently grasped the promises of Mao's Hundred Flowers speech only to be driven back into silence, who see in the pages of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* the charge of Trotskyism being bandied about, comments about "the emergence of new bourgeois elements after the victory of a proletarian revolution" in reference to Yugoslavia, and "the revisionist and new social-democratic trends which have now appeared in the international communist movement"?

Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were a belated recognition of the new Soviet realities — that it was no longer possible to rule an advanced and powerful working class in a period of continued expansion of the forces of world revolution, with police state methods. At the same time that the Soviet bureaucracy promised a new deal, it spurred deep-rooted desires that the historic record be straightened, that those who fought the Stalinist degeneration be rehabilitated and honoured, that the cause of the disasters be understood so that there would be no return to that awful time.

Trotsky Excluded

The unrolling of the record has rehabilitated two old Bolsheviks, Radek and Bukharin. Its posing of the rehabilitation of Lenin's martyred collaborator, Leon Trotsky, has resulted in a fierce repetition of lies, only proving that the process is not to be halted.

In the Soviet Union there can be little physical meting-out of justice. The blood of the chief oppositionists has long since drained into the soil — their bones have been scattered. Only their thoughts and their heroic example could be recalled.

BUT with China this is not so. Some of those who opposed Stalin's cynical intervention in China, which led to the tragic defeat of the 1927 revolution, still survive in Mao's prisons. Two of the leaders live in exile. I met them in Europe last fall where they had been since 1948 when they fled from Mao's police.

Two Exiles

Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan live in quite different circumstances than their former co-workers, party chairman, Mao Tse-tung, and chairman of the People's Republic of China, Liu Shao Chi. They live in two small, damp rooms, sustained by friends, in a foreign country surrounded by a foreign culture, far from the China to whose socialist development they devoted their lives. Probably Peng, as he pores over the Chinese press, likens this period of his life to when he was in Chiang Kai-shek's jail — considering it a plateau from which release will soon come, so that once again the upward climb can be resumed. That is the life that they lead — one of anticipation. The hours of the day are carefully allocated. Both Peng and Chen are writing their memoirs.

Now 67 years of age, Peng Shu-tse comes from a well-to-do peasant family. In the fall of 1920 he, along with Mao Tse-tung and several others, set up the first communist group in Changsha, capital of Hunan province. Like other communist groups in Peking, Wuhan and Canton, it was established right after

the founding of the first Chinese communist group in Shanghai. At that time there were many persons across the country who had been stimulated by the magazine *New Youth*, by the May 4th movement a little later, and particularly by the October Revolution in Russia.

It was Chen Tu-hsiu who launched *New Youth* in 1915. Chen had participated in the first 1911 revolution. With its failure and the rise of reaction represented by war-lord Yuan Shih-kai, Chen had decided to publish *New Youth* as an organ of revolutionary democracy. It waged a vigorous struggle on two fronts — democracy and science — against Confucianism, which represented traditional feudal ideas and superstitions. Intellectuals, students, and advanced workers gathered to its side to form the nucleus of the May 4th movement, which took its name from the stormy May 4, 1919 demonstrations against Japanese imperialism.

THE Chinese Communist Party was organized on the initiative of Li Ta-chao and Chen Tu-hsiu with the aid of a representative of the Third International founded by Lenin and Trotsky. One of the first tasks confronting the small and inexperienced forces was the development of a cadre. Elsewhere, in Europe and America, the Communist Party resulted from a fusion of forces coming from the social democracy and other workers' organizations. But China had no Marxist tradition or experience with working class struggles.

In order to expedite the development of a cadre, the Comintern representative urged that young revolutionists be sent to Moscow to study Marxism and gain experience. Peng was one of the first group of 20 who went to Moscow to later become the

basic cadre of the Chinese CP. The present chairman of the Chinese Peoples Republic, Lin Shao-chi, was also one of the 20.

Visits Moscow

Arriving in Moscow in the spring of 1921, Peng was soon elected secretary of the Moscow Chinese student branch of the Communist Party of China. On the advice of Chen Tu-hsiu, who attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1922, it was decided to organize the Chinese student groups in France, Germany and Moscow into one group, with the Moscow group in charge of liaison. Chen also advised the leading cadre in France and Germany to go to Moscow to study. This brought Chu Teh, now chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress; Li Fu-chun, now Minister of State Planning; and Tsai Tsan, now chairman of the All China Women's Union, with others, to Moscow.

PENG, from a pupil soon became an instructor. At the same time he joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and became acquainted with the epochal dispute raging through the CPSU, with Trotsky and Stalin heading up the respective sides. Peng told me that while the Chinese students had a tremendous respect for Trotsky and were not at all impressed by Stalin, they did not express an opinion at the time.

Together with Li Ta-chao, who was co-founder with Chen Tu-hsiu of the CPC, Peng was an official Chinese delegate to the 1924 Fifth World Congress of the Communist International. Following the Congress, Peng returned to Shanghai to work on *The Guide*, weekly organ of the Central Committee, and shortly became editor-in-chief of *New Youth*

when it became the theoretical organ of the CPC. As a delegate of the Moscow branch, he participated in the 1925 National Convention of the CPC and was elected to its central committee. As a member of the political bureau he was placed in charge of the party organ and propaganda work. This political bureau, chaired by Chen Tu-hsiu, was the leading body of the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27.

Chen's Background

It was in the fall of 1925 that Peng's path crossed Chen Pi-lans, then 23 years old, who was to become his wife. Chen, who came from the intelligentsia (her father was a professor), became a leader in the student struggles under the influence of the May 4th movement while she was at school in Hupeh. She joined the CP in 1922 and the following year went to Peking to participate in party activities under the guidance of Li Ta-chao. In the autumn of 1923 she entered the University of Shanghai, which had been established by the CP and the left wing of the Kuomintang, and the following year went to Moscow to study. Under party direction, she returned to the center in Shanghai when the revolution broke out. While on the Shanghai CP city committee, she became secretary of the women's section and editor-in-chief of the magazine *China Woman*. She concentrated her activities among student and working women.

THE policy that led to the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution has been described and analyzed by Harold Isaacs in his book *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*. The central committee under Chen Tu-hsiu's leadership was profoundly disturbed by the party's subservience to the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-

shek and was convinced that it was necessary to oppose him and defeat him. When Chiang staged his anti-Communist coup in March 1926, the central committee sent Peng to Canton to discuss with Comintern representative Borodin how to deal with Chiang's policy. In the name of the central committee, Peng suggested that all CP members withdraw from the Kuomintang and lead the workers' and peasants' revolutionary movement independently.

Comintern Veto

But Borodin stuck to Moscow's orders, resolutely opposing the anti-Chiang policy of the central committee and Peng's suggestions of withdrawal from the Kuomintang. Instead, he reaffirmed the policy of complete subordination to Chiang which resulted in the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution. To the enlarged meeting of the central committee held in July 1927, Chen and Peng again proposed that CP members withdraw from the Kuomintang. The resolution was passed but was vetoed by the Comintern.

From May to July 1927, Chen and Peng clearly sensed the falseness of the Comintern policy, and as the situation deteriorated, they could see no way out. Had Trotsky's views reached the Chinese party at that time, the situation would have been different; the impasse would have been broken. However, all of Trotsky's documents were blocked by Stalin.

AFTER the Wuhan Kuomintang government carried out its anti-communist policy in July 1927, spelling the defeat of the Second Revolution, the Comintern changed its policy from extreme right opportunism to extreme left adventurism. Chen and Peng both resolutely opposed this adventurous policy. In August, Chen Tu-hsiu wrote two letters to the central committee demanding an end to this policy.

Peng Dismissed

The same month, Peng was assigned to the party secretary of the northern region which encompassed several provinces north of the Yellow River. His instructions from the central committee were to stage uprisings in the Peking and Tientsin area. In order to avoid futile sacrifices, Peng postponed the uprisings with the excuse that time was not right. Consequently he was dismissed by

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the political bureau headed by Chu Chiu-pai. Tsai Ho-sen, who was then assigned the task by the political bureau, carried out the uprising in Peking which ended in failure and the sacrifice of all 60 of the leading cadre there.

Following the collapse in Peking, Peng went to Shanghai to join Chen Tu-hsiu. While both remained members of the central committee, neither was given any tasks. It was then that Chen wrote his famous two letters scoring the false policies of the party and placing the responsibility for the disaster on the Comintern headed by Stalin and Bukharin.

The Chinese CP, although composed of brave and devoted cadres, was young and had no experienced leaders other than Chen Tu-hsiu. Only in its seventh year of existence, it had been faced with titanic problems. Chen was convinced of the incorrectness of the Comintern's policy although it was backed up with all the prestige of the October revolution. But he proved unable to delineate an alternative one.

MOSCOW learned that Chen and Peng were opposed to the policies imposed by the Comintern. In the summer of 1928 Stalin and Bukharin sent a joint wire inviting them to attend the Sixth World Congress of the CI in Moscow. At first Chen could not decide whether to accept or decline the invitation. Peng told Chen that if they went, there would only be two courses open to them. One was to admit that the Comintern's policies had been correct all along, but in implementing them the Chinese leadership committed serious errors which led to the defeat of the revolution. By making such a statement they might both be returned to the leading bodies of the party. But this would be contrary to the facts and in violation of their conscience. The other course would be to insist that the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution was chiefly due to the false policies of the Comintern. Even if they were not arrested for such a declaration, they would at the least be held in Moscow and prevented from returning. Chen agreed with Peng's opinion and so declined Stalin's invitation.

Although they decided not to go to Moscow, nonetheless the clarification they sought came the following spring when some returning students brought back from Moscow two docu-

ments of the Left Opposition, written by Leon Trotsky.

Left Opposition Forms

Peng studied these two documents, *Summary and Perspective of the Chinese Revolution* and *The Chinese Question after the Sixth World Congress*. The meaning of his experiences were clarified by the theoretical arguments of Trotsky, and he decided to support Trotsky's struggle in the CI and make known his views to his Chinese comrades. He gave the two documents to Chen Tu-hsiu who returned them shortly, declaring that he agreed with Trotsky's position and proposing that together they should organize a Left Opposition in the Chinese party.

Chen Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse each wrote to the central committee demanding that the party review the lessons of the defeat of the revolution, change its adventurous policy, and make all of Trotsky's documents on the Chinese revolution available to the party. Then they gathered 80 members together to formulate a manifesto which systematically analyzed the Comintern's opportunist and adventurous policies during and after the defeat of the Second Revolution. The manifesto further stated that Stalin had substituted bureaucratic dictatorship for Lenin's democratic centralism, and employed opportunist and adventurous policies in the Soviet Union. With the publication of the manifesto in December 1929, Chen Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-tse and the other 80 signers were expelled. Among the 80 was Chen Pi-lan.

THE fledgling forces of the Left Opposition were immediately caught between two fires — vicious attacks from the Stalinists, such as were experienced by Left Oppositionists across the globe, and Chiang Kai-shek's white terror. Despite difficulties they managed to publish a clandestine periodical *The Proletariat* and Trotsky's writings on China. Largely due to the reputation of Chen Tu-Hsiu, the Left Opposition exerted considerable influence inside and outside the CP. Many of the old party cadre, called reconciliationists by the center, were shaken. Valuable opportunities were lost due to the fact that there were three other Left Opposition groupings in Shanghai, formed by students returned from Moscow, that were attacking one another. With Trotsky's aid, in May

1931 the forces of the opposition were united in The Communist League of China.

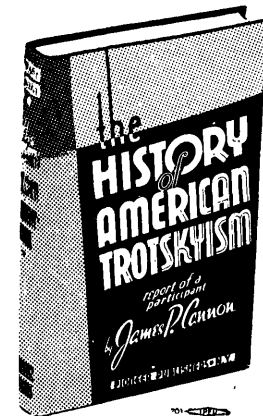
Left Harassed

The constant harassment by Kuomintang police made work extremely difficult. One team after another, despite all security precautions, was arrested. Chen Tu-hsiu was forced into hiding. Peng, after missing arrest by a hair's breadth, was forced to move some 20 times in a period of four years. He eked out a meagre living by translating.

In October 1932 Chen, Peng and eight others were arrested. Following pleas for their life by such prominent persons as Sun Yat-sen's widow, Soong Ching-ling, at present vice-chairman of the Peoples' Republic of China, they were granted a trial. The trial lasted two years. Chen and Peng conducted their own defense and received tremendous coverage in the press. They were sentenced to 13 years in prison which, following an appeal, was reduced to eight years. The other eight oppositionists were sentenced to five years.

WITH the imprisonment of Peng, Chen Pi-lan attempted to support herself and their two children by teaching. In order to supplement her income she wrote a number of articles on the woman question from the Marxist viewpoint. They appeared in the well known *Eastern Magazine* and other left periodicals under the pen name of Chen Pi-yum. These articles, which established her as an authority on the woman question in China, were later gathered and published in two volumes.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in August 1937, Chen, Peng and their comrades were released and took refuge in the international settlement. The infamy of



the Moscow Trials caused Chen Tu-hsiu to challenge Trotsky's position of defense of the Soviet Union as a workers' state. He also had differences on the war and left the movement. His defection was a heavy blow to the Chinese Trotskyist movement. He died in Szechuan province in 1942.

Peng commenced to gather together the forces of the movement. Besides publishing a clandestine organ called *Struggle*, the Chinese Trotskyists published a legal periodical called *Moving Forward*. In a short time scattered isolated groups were regrouped, and the movement commenced to make considerable progress.

Two of Trotsky's most important works, *The History of the Russian Revolution* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, were published and exerted a deep influence among revolutionary youth.

LIKE their co-thinkers elsewhere, the Chinese Trotskyists were slandered and vilified by the Stalinists. The Chinese CP press repeatedly slandered them as recipients of money from Japanese imperialism, as Japano-Trotskyite fascist agents. In the summer of 1938, four newspapers under the influence of the Chinese CP calumniated Peng Shu-tse as an intimate friend of the infamous traitor Li Kuo-che, who had just been assassinated by a Kuomintang agent and suggested that he should meet a similar fate. Under the threat of legal action the publishers of these papers were compelled to make a public retraction.

The War Period

The development of the Chinese revolutionary socialist movement was again dealt a grievous blow with the outbreak of the Japanese-American war in December 1941. Many leaders were arrested by the Japanese when they occupied the international settlement. All connections between Shanghai and other points were shattered. Peng narrowly escaped on several occasions. Under an assumed name, from 1941-45 he worked as a professor at Shanghai University lecturing on Chinese history, western literature and philosophy. In this way he was able to win many revolutionary youth to the Trotskyist viewpoint.

With the end of the war, the Communist League, with Peng as editor,

published a magazine called *Searching for Truth*. This became one of the better known magazines in post-war China, having a monthly circulation of 3,000 to 5,000 copies. Chen Pi-lan edited a monthly periodical called *Youth and Women*, later changed to *New Voice*, which had a circulation of from 2,000 to 3,000 copies. With the publication of these magazines Trotskyism became widely known and highly respected among intellectuals, students and young workers. Connections across the country were again established.

WHEN the third national convention of the Communist League of China was held in August 1948, over 350 members and hundreds of sympathizers attended. This convention adopted a program and changed the name of the League to the Revolutionary Communist Party of China (Trotskyist).

By the end of 1948 the Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, had taken everything north of the Yang-tze River and was preparing to attack Nanking and Shanghai. The political bureau of the RCP met to adopt a policy to meet the new situation. On the basis of their own experiences and the experiences of their co-thinkers in the Soviet Union it was generally agreed that the Communist Party of China after taking state power would in all likelihood suppress the RCP.

It was decided that all members should join the Communist Party, its youth groups, its workers' and peasants' organizations, and support every revolutionary measure it would take, such as the fight against

the Chiang Kai-shek regime, against imperialism and for land reform. It was also decided that active and known members in Shanghai would transfer elsewhere and members of Shanghai, in order to avoid detection and suppression by the CP. The same meeting decided to move the political bureau to Hongkong and to set up a provisional bureau responsible for the guidance of all branches in China.

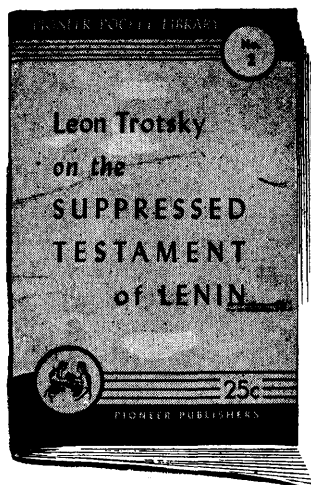
Plans Derailed

As soon as the CP occupied Shanghai they arrested the entire Trotskyist leadership. Subsequently rank and file activists were arrested — three of them were shot. From September 1952 to January 1953 all Trotskyists, even sympathizers and wives, in all the major cities of China, were arrested and, without any trials, sent to concentration camps. To this day, aside from a report that the wives of a few members have been released, there has been no word of them.

TOWARDS the close of 1948, Peng Shu-tse, Chen Pi-lan and Liu Chia-Lien arrived in Hongkong to work with about 100 of their comrades there. They published a clandestine organ, the Chinese edition of the *Fourth International*. In 1949 there were several arrests. The biggest came when the Hongkong authorities, in collusion with the post office, traced several addresses to which copies of the *Militant* and the *Fourth International*, published by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, were coming. This resulted in the arrest of ten members and their deportation to Macao.

With the police searching for them, Peng, Chen and Liu Chia-lien fled to Vietnam. Two months after their arrival in Vietnam, Liu Chia-lien was arrested along with two leaders of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. He died shortly after in Ho Chi-min's prison.

Already in difficulty in Vietnam and warned that the Chinese police knew of their presence there, Peng, Chen, and their family left for Europe, arriving there in the summer of 1951. Cast up on the shore, they continue to devote their lives to advancing the internationalist revolutionary struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind.



New Light on the Origins of Man

By Evelyn Reed

DARWIN and his contemporaries demonstrated that the human species emerged out of a branch of the anthropoids. But they did not adequately explain in what way and by what means this transformation was effected. In their day very few fossil specimens were available.

Since then a far greater amount of fossil evidence has been accumulated which has filled many blank spaces in the record of mankind's evolution. Until lately, the biggest question mark has hung over the most crucial juncture — that borderline where our primate ancestors passed over into humankind.

Each new discovery of the fossil bones of ancient creatures has aroused the hope that the main "missing link" in the chain of transitional forms from ape to man had been found and the secret of how this occurred would at last be disclosed.

Recently, the most remarkable findings in this field have been made by the British anthropologists, Dr. L.S.B. Leakey and his wife Mary, who have been working for over 30 years in East Africa. Since 1948 they have discovered and dated three anatomical specimens which span a period of perhaps 40 million years. These have been named *Proconsul*, *Kenyapithecus* and *Zinjanthropus*. Each represents a link in the chain of evolution toward mankind.

Proconsul, the oldest of the three fossils, found in Kenya in 1948, was a primitive ape that lived from 25 to 40 million years ago. The Leakeys regard this as the root stock of all the higher primates, including the primate branch that led to man. *Kenyapithecus*, the second oldest fos-

sil, is also an ape which existed 14 million years ago. While both of these creatures have physical characteristics "leading straight in man's direction," they are strictly animal.

THE THIRD fossil, *Zinjanthropus*, was unearthed at the eroded site of a prehistoric lake at Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika in 1959. The youngest of the three, this fossil has created the greatest stir because it was found to be not an ape, but a hominid. (The term "hominid" is the scientific designation for man in the sub-human stage of development, before reaching full-fledged stature as *Homo sapiens*.)

At first the Leakeys estimated that *Zinjanthropus* lived some 600,000 years ago. Now, through a new and more precise method of radioactive dating, this hominid is ascertained to be 1,750,000 years old. Since man had previously been considered to be no more than one million years old, this new finding pushes back the age of man by an additional three-quarters of a million years.

Zinjanthropus is not the only fossil hominid discovery. Quite a number of such specimens have been assembled in museums, marking the milestones of hominid development toward full man. The most ancient specimens of the *Australopithecus* or *Paranthropus* genus were dug up earlier in this century by Professors Dart and Broom in South Africa.

But *Zinjanthropus* ("East Africa Man") is distinguished from all others by the fact that he is the oldest "true" man to be discovered. Unlike other "Dawn Men," his hominid status is not in doubt; he un-

ambiguously belongs to the human side of the Great Divide.

The Decisive Evidence

By what scientific test has this fossil been certified as human and not ape? Although, as Leakey points out, *Zinjanthropus* shows more than 20 points of physical difference from the *Australopithecines*, these biological changes do not suffice to qualify him unquestionably as a human. The decisive evidence has been provided not by any feature of his body, but by something outside the body. Fossil tools were dug up along with his fossil bones. These tools, which *Zinjanthropus* himself fashioned and used, fixes his place as the first hominid.

Earlier attempts to draw the dividing line between human and ape by means of purely physical criteria, such as the size of the brain, the peculiarities of the teeth, etc., have not worked out in practice, says Leakey. The only satisfactory fundamental criterion for distinguishing man from ape is toolmaking. He and other authorities have today adopted the definition first formulated by Benjamin Franklin that "man is a toolmaking animal."

TOOLS, rather than skulls and bones, provide the most reliable evidence for the birth of mankind because in that distant period when the hominid was just emerging from the shell of animality, his anatomy still remained more ape-like than human. The first hominids acted in a human way long before they acquired the full human build and physical features. Thus the presence of tools is the only sure sign that

the transition from apehood to manhood has taken place.

Even in the absence of hominid bones, the existence of the earliest men can be ascertained from the presence of tools. This is an advantage for anthropology, since ancient tools or artifacts are found in much greater abundance than fossil bones or skulls. As Dr. William Howells of the American Museum of Natural History puts it:

"These artifacts serve as the footprints of early man, so that his presence anywhere can be detected even though his fossil bones are extremely rare."

(*Mankind So Far*: p. 118)

It would be better to say that early man has left his "handprints" on the sands of time, for he made the tools with his hands and wielded them with his hands. These extracorporeal instruments (cutting edge of a chipped stone, pointed end of digging stick, etc.) replaced the functions and extended the powers of the anatomical organs: arm, hand, fingernails.

The crucial importance of tool evidence in the study of human origins has focussed increasing attention upon the part played by the hand in the making of man. Obviously, the hand, the eye, and the brain cooperate in the making and using of tools. But which of these indispensable anatomical organs blazed the trail toward humanity?

Until now, there has been an unresolved controversy on this matter between two schools of thought, one of which regards the hand as the key organ while the other gives precedence to the brain. Both agree that the primate out of which man directly ascended had a better developed brain and a more perfectly formed hand than all other primates. While existing ape species exhibit a lack of development or atrophy of the thumb, our primate progenitor must have possessed a near-human hand with opposable thumb. Both schools also recognize that all the anatomical improvements required for the making of man, such as upright posture, emancipated hand, enlarged brain, stereoscopic vision and vocal organs, were intimately inter-

connected and depended one upon the other for their functioning and growth. But they have disagreed on which was the key factor leading all the rest toward man.

Hand or Brain?

Since Darwin's day the majority of scientists have selected the brain, and along with it man's capacities for speech, thought and culture, as marking the fundamental distinction between man and ape. In the 19th century the British biologist Thomas H. Huxley said, "the possession of articulate speech is the grand distinctive character of man." (*Man's Place in Nature*: p. 124) His grandson of the 20th century, Julian Huxley, expounds the same proposition:

"The first and most obviously unique characteristic of man is his capacity for conceptual thought; if you prefer objective terms you will say his employment of true speech, but that is only another way of saying the same thing."

(*Man in the Modern World*: p. 8)

It is obvious that brain expansion has helped endow mankind with exceptional powers not shared by the animals, such as speech, generalized thought, culture. But how and why did the brain of man develop so far beyond that of all the other species?

THE LATE Harvard professor, Dr. Ernest Hooten, sought to answer this question by asserting that some ape "blundered" into intellectuality. Since there must have been specific causes for the creation and promotion of intelligence in our ape ancestor, this method of explanation by sheer accident is not valid.

The opposing school, by pinpointing the part played by the hand, goes to the heart of this problem. The emancipated hand with its flexible fingers and opposable thumb enabled our primate progenitors to carry out operations impossible to other species. Thereby the brain itself grew in size and capacities. Edward B. Tylor, one of the founders of anthropology, pointed this out in the last century:

"It is plain that man's hand, enabling him to shape and wield weapons and tools to subdue nature to his own ends, is one cause of his

standing first among animals. It is not so obvious, but it is true, that his intellectual development must have been in no small degree gained by the use of his hands."

(*Anthropology*: p. 43-44)

In his book *Arboreal Man* the British anatomist F. Wood Jones writes:

"It is the freed and sensitive hand which now, so to speak, goes in advance of the animal and feels its way as it climbs through life . . . Tactile impressions gained through the hand are therefore perpetually streaming into the brain . . . and new avenues of learning about its surroundings are being opened up . . . With the development of the power of grasp, new and great possibilities come in . . . Much may be learned of an object that may be grasped, lifted and examined in the hands . . . Its whole outline, the texture of its surface, its hardness or softness, its size, temperature and weight can all be ascertained." (p. 160)

Dr. Howells likewise connects the expansion of the intellect with the variegated activities of the hand:

"A true hand can open and shut, turn and twist, push and pull, all with greater facility than a pair of jaws, and all in greater coordination with the eyes. This jack-of-all-trades gives the brain a larger field of activity and more complicated functions to perform."

(*Op. Cit.*: p. 92)

Dr. Frederick Tilney was a world-renowned authority on the brain and its history. Yet he, too, agreed that the hand is the key to human brain development:

"From first to last it has been the achievements of his hands which have carried man onward from the time when he began to work with the simplest of stone implements . . . The hand became the master key opening all the ways leading through that new and vast domain of human behavior."

(*The Brain from Ape to Man*: p. 54)

The opinion of these diverse scholars that the hand had priority over the brain in leading the way toward humanity is today borne out through closer study of the fossil hominids

themselves. The various organs of the human body have developed at unequal rates. In the earlier stages, the skull and mental capacities lagged behind the development of hands and limbs. W.E. Le Gros Clark, anatomy professor of the University of Oxford, writes:

"It is clear that . . . the evolution of the Hominoidea had led to the development of limbs approximating to the human type, even though the brain was comparatively small. In other words, the evolutionary development of the limbs appears to have outstripped the brain."

(*History of the Primates*: p. 72)

On the same point Dr. Howells states:

"Tooth reduction, brain increase and the straightening of posture did not all proceed at the same pace. The plainest example is to be seen in the difference between limbs and skull forms . . . Our forebears were more human below the neck than above it."

(*Op. Cit.*: p. 129)

ALTHOUGH in the beginning it was the activities of the hand that awakened the brain and accelerated its mental powers, at a later stage in evolution the brain took commanding place over the hand. Men today make machines which take over not only many functions of hand labor but even of brain work. In the future society, computers and automatic devices will perform more and more of the gross forms of phy-

sical and mental labor. But in probing for human origins, the higher stages in the evolutionary process should not be confused with their starting points.

The hand led the way to the tool and with the first artifacts the human species was born. Regardless of the size of his brain, *Zinjanthropus*, as "the oldest well-established toolmaker ever found anywhere" (Leakey), is incontestably human. The accumulating data derived from the fossil record has induced more and more scholars to conclude that the human brain is not the *cause* but the *consequence* of the making and use of tools.

The chief American spokesmen for this view are Sherwood L. Washburn and F. Clark Howell of Chicago. They write:

". . . man was often defined on the basis of the brain size. It was also often implied that such forms had discovered culture as we know it bit by bit. It would now appear, however, that the large size of the brain of certain hominids was a relatively late development . . . after bipedalism and consequent upon the use of tools. The tool-using, ground-living, hunting way of life created the large human brain rather than a large-brained man discovering new ways of life. The authors believe this conclusion is the most important result of the recent fossil hominid discoveries, and is the one which carries far-reaching implications for the inter-

pretation of human behavior and its origins . . . The important point is that size of brain . . . has increased threefold subsequent to the use and manufacture of tools."

(*Evolution After Darwin*: p. 49-51)

Dr. Leakey assigns the same precedence to toolmaking:

"Once scientists used the size of the brain case or the ability to walk upright with the hands free, or even the power of speech, as characteristics that distinguish *Homo sapiens* from anthropoid apes. Recently, however, we have tended to define man by means of the tool-making ability."

(*National Geographic Magazine*, Sept. 1960)

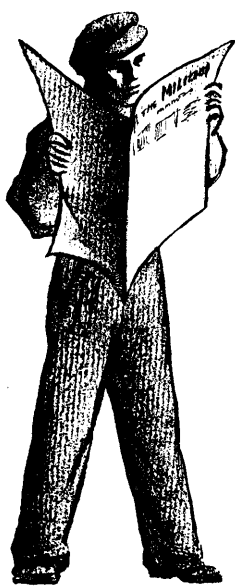
From Tools to Labor

Those anthropologists who regard toolmaking as the authentic badge of humankind have taken a long step toward the position of the historical materialists. They fall short, however, by failing to make explicit the vital connection between tools and laboring activity.

Tools are the products of labor as well as the instruments of labor. Since *Zinjanthropus* made tools according to a set pattern, this signifies he was engaged in systematic labor activities. He was no longer merely collecting what nature yielded for his subsistence — he was producing the necessities of life for himself and his kind. Together, they regularly worked for a living.

To depend upon production for the necessities of life, and to fabricate implements for that purpose, is the mode of survival and development peculiar to the human species alone. Man, the Toolmaker, can more precisely be defined as Man, the Laborer. Indeed, many archaeologists recognize that *Homo faber* (working man) is the predecessor of *Homo sapiens* (intelligent man).

Zinjanthropus does more than supply fossil evidence of that crucial turning point in evolution where the ape left off and the human began. When the petrified remains of his bones and tools are reanimated and viewed as elements in the dynamics of the living labor process, *Zinjanthropus* also discloses that the factor of labor is the definitive "missing link" in the birth of mankind.



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Kennedy's War in Vietnam

By Theodore Edwards

LIKE its predecessors, the Kennedy administration continues to support every reactionary or counter-revolutionary ruling clique in the under-developed countries of the world under the guise of fighting "communism." Economic and military subsidies to these native oppressors continue to be misrepresented to the American taxpayer as "aid" to the colonial masses. Whenever such assistance to kings, sheiks, assorted tyrants and puppet rulers fails to keep the colonial peoples in check, the Kennedy administration has shown no hesitancy in resorting to clandestine CIA maneuvers, military shows-of-force, or outright armed intervention.

Its most flagrant intrusion in Asia is the current military operation in South Vietnam. (Twelve thousand U.S. "advisors" are busily engaged in what the *N.Y. Times* calls "the secret war.") The *Times* editorial of October 17, 1962 observes that "a pall of unnecessary secrecy, which far transcends military requirements, has obscured from the public too much of the progress of a war to which we are now fully committed."

"Deliberate policy restrictions by Washington and by the South Vietnamese government in Saigon" are blamed for this lack of information.

The Soviet Policy

The Western imperialists are not the only international force intervening in Southeast Asia. Since World War II, the Soviet bureaucracy has been applying its interpretation of "peaceful co-existence" to the Indochinese revolution.

In World War II, the Japanese occupied Indochina, a colony of the French for 80 years. The collapse of Japan in 1945 swept the Communist Party dominated Viet Minh movement under Ho Chi Minh into control of virtually the entire country. Under pressure of the Kremlin and of the

French CP, however, the Ho Chi Minh government agreed to the incorporation of Vietnam into the "French Union." As soon as the French had landed enough troops, they abrogated all accords with Ho and initiated full scale warfare against the Viet Minh.

UNDER instructions from Moscow, the French Communist deputies voted credits to finance the war in Indochina that was carried on by the various coalition governments in which they participated until they were thrown out of office in May 1947. For nine long years of bloody civil war, the Viet Minh peasant fighters continued to battle the



French expeditionary forces, inflicting 172,000 casualties and suffering untold casualties themselves.

Stalin recognized the Ho government — not in 1945 when it had undisputed control — but in 1950 when it was fighting desperately to regain power from the French. The Kremlin's hand, moreover, had been forced by the arrival of the Chinese Com-

munist armies at the borders of Indochina in 1949, at which time Mao Tse-tung recognized the Ho government.

The Viet Minh fighters defeated the French at Dienbienphu in 1954, despite the \$5 billion that the French imperialists had spent to get back their Asian empire (plus another \$2 billion contributed by the U.S.). At the Geneva negotiations in 1954, the Kremlin once more succeeded in bargaining away much of the gains won in the civil war by the Viet Minh partisans. The Soviets (and the Chinese) agreed to carve up Indochina into Laos, Cambodia, and North and South Vietnam, all to remain "neutral" in the East-West struggle.

The 1954 Geneva agreements provided also for nation-wide elections in Vietnam in 1956 under the supervision of an International Control Commission (composed of India, Canada, and Poland) to set up a united government for Vietnam. The signatories, including France and Britain, agreed that there should be no foreign bases or foreign troops in any part of Vietnam, limiting the number of foreign advisors to 685 and banning any further shipments of military supplies.

THE U.S. government agreed to abide by these agreements. However, Washington broke its word immediately and attempted to replace the French colonialists in trying to contain the Southeast Asian revolution. Laos became a cold-war battleground. The CIA and the State Department spent over half a billion dollars there in the course of seven years, seeking to destroy the Pathet Lao movement by setting up, not a neutral, but a pro-imperialist landlord regime.

In South Vietnam, the U.S. government helped Ngo Dinh Diem to establish his dictatorial rule. Diem refused to carry through the 1956

plebiscite that he would have lost hands down. In spite of constant harassment and expulsions by the Diem government and pressure from Washington, Western correspondents in Saigon have provided an accurate enough picture of the kind of government that Diem represents.

In an article in *Newsweek* of April 30, 1962, probably written by Francois Scully, who was later expelled by the Diem government, the following is observed:

"All real power in Vietnam still is concentrated in the hands of Diem and his numerous family. One brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, is official Advisor to the President; another brother, Can, is governor of Central Vietnam. A third brother, Thuc, is a Roman Catholic Archbishop and Vietnam's ranking prelate; a fourth, Luyen, is the Vietnamese Ambassador to Britain. Nhu's wife, Madame Nhu, a member of parliament, not only controls the palace but wields enormous economic power. Her father is Vietnamese Ambassador to Washington; her mother is the Vietnamese observer at the U.N."

The *Newsweek* correspondent continues:

"I am putting loyalty above competence," says Diem when Americans ask why he does not pick the best men to serve Vietnam. And when anyone suggests economic and social reforms — higher taxes, more land for the peasants, monetary reform — Diem literally looks at the ceiling."

The writer then asks:

"Can the U.S. really win the fight against the Viet Cong with Diem as its standard-bearer? Many U.S. officials, especially military men, are convinced that it can — and will. Unable to see any realistic alternative to Diem, they take the public position 'don't knock our man . . . he can win' — a politer version of Franklin D. Roosevelt's legendary verdict on the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza: 'He's a bastard, but he's our bastard.'"

In another dispatch, written after his expulsion on September 24, 1962, Scully points out that even the most trusted palace officials are searched twice for concealed weapons. The power behind the secret police is a man named Tran Kim Tuyen, whose official title is "Director of Social Studies." The power behind Tuyen in turn is Diem's brother Nhu. Scully continues:

"Perhaps the most extraordinary personality in the Ngo dynasty is Ngo Dinh Nhu's wife. Mme. Nhu is a beautiful, gifted and charming woman; she is also grasping, conceited, and ob-

essed with a drive for power that far surpasses that of even her husband. Like Diem and his brother, Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu sees the family as a dynasty rather than as an evanescent political force. It is no exaggeration to say that Madame Nhu is the most detested personality in South Vietnam. This is because though Diem is nominally president, Madam Nhu and her husband have the power, and the Vietnamese know and resent it."

Scully observes that:

"Ngo Dinh Nhu's personal brand of nationalism has one aim: to identify the country exclusively with the Ngo family and with the mandarin class into which they were born. Lately,



Ngo Dinh Diem

Ngo Dinh Nhu has been making increasing public appearances throughout the country. He travels like a viceroy, and often confuses the southern peasants with his aristocratic, low-keyed Annamese royal-court accent."

Scully, who lived most of his adult life in Vietnam, reports that one village notable told him after one of these visits:

"If the effect of all this were not so disastrous, it would be hilariously funny."

OTHER longtime French residents in Saigon note that the regime of President Diem has much of the same paternalistic, authoritarian and adulatory features as the preceding rule of the French puppet emperors. Like Bao Dai, Diem suggests that he rules by a mandate from heaven.

In reality, the Diem government exists by the grace of the U.S. Diem does not control much more of Vietnam than did the French expeditionary force.

Warren Rogers Jr. in May 1962 reports the following for the *Herald Tribune* News Service:

"At present, the fact is that the Diem regime controls only the major cities and, in general, the China Sea coastline from the 17th Parallel to the northern reaches of the Mekong River delta's swampy rice bowl. All else is either under effective, well-disciplined, government-like control by the Viet Cong, or it is no man's land."

Peasant Revolution

The precise extent of guerrilla control is a matter of dispute, but all reports agree that the peasant revolution dominates the countryside. The guerrillas of South Vietnam (dubbed Viet Cong, *i.e.* Viet Communists, by the U.S. military) are the authentic armed force of the Viet peasantry. Igor Oganessoff, in the *Wall Street Journal* of March 20, 1962, estimates that the guerrillas collect money, provisions, recruits and labor from more than half the rural population, instituting land reform in their areas. Denis Warner, in the September 13, 1962, *Reporter*, judges that the "Viet Cong is a bigger and better armed force than it was a year ago, dominating three-fifths of the land area and slightly less than a third of the population of fourteen million, with access to an estimated two million potential recruits of military age."

THE economic effects of the peasant insurrection are striking. In the *Wall Street Journal* of December 27, 1962, Norman Sklarewitz writes that:

" . . . by dominating the countryside for almost six years, the Viet Cong . . . has been able to break the flow of food products to the government-held cities and cut off consumer markets for manufactured goods. The Communist strategy of attacking lines of transportation and ambushing truck convoys and supply trains between the rice paddy fields of the Mekong Delta and Saigon has reduced the movement of rice by one-fourth in just two years. Overall rice production has sunk by 500,000 tons in one year."

Sklarewitz points out that in 1960 Vietnam exported \$27 million of rice. The 1962 export total will be down to \$2 million and Diem will have to receive U.S.-donated rice to feed the city population. The U.S. spent an estimated \$200 million in 1962 in direct food and aid grants.

Seeking to crush the revolt in the countryside, the Vietnamese government is pursuing a course of action called (variously) rural reconstruction, province pacification, or the strategic hamlet program. While Diem's brother, Nhu, is overall director, the U.S. government is the prime inspirer and supporter of this project.

The plan for crushing the peasant insurgency is the brain-child of a 45-year-old Scot named Robert G.K. Thompson, former Defense Minister of Malaya. Thompson's system of floodlighted, wire-fenced "new villages," into which 450,000 Malayan peasants were "resettled" is credited with helping the British imperialists crush the guerrilla uprising there in a bloody 12-year war that required half a million troops.

Working directly with Diem and his U.S. advisors, Thompson produced a similar but bigger plan for the pacification of South Vietnam. It calls for control of the peasant population by "resettling" them into a nation-wide network of "strategic hamlets" — a polite term for concentration or slave-labor camps!

HERE is what these settlements are like. Farm families are uprooted, their houses and stores put to the torch, while the people are moved by force into the new fenced in villages. On the doorframes of each hut in the strategic hamlet are nailed census boards giving the names of all occupants. Only those whose names are listed are allowed to work their fields in the morning. Even these are first checked to see that they carry no extra food for the guerrillas. Anyone caught outside the fence after curfew is fair game.

In January 1963, the program was reputed to total 4,077 villages, encompassing 39 percent of the population. It calls for 11,182 "strategic hamlets" by 1964, completing the agglomeration of the South Vietnam peasantry into a series of concentration camps.

In a letter to the *N.Y. Times* on October 22, 1962, Tran Van Tung, a pro-American Vietnamese exile, asks:

"When will America learn that it is always fatal to the cause of freedom and democracy to support a cynical tyrant as the 'only alternative' to Communism?"

Tran concludes that:

"... hated and feared by 80 percent of his people, continuing domestic pol-

icies that would shame Hitler, Diem stays in power only because of U.S. support."

Other leaders of the Vietnamese Democratic Party, an anti-Diem bourgeois grouping, appeal to the Kennedy administration in a similar vein. A letter by Nguyen Thau Binh, appearing in the *Los Angeles Times* of December 22, 1962, states that "the Vietnamese regard the U.S. simply as the latest of their colonial oppressors, since it is the U.S. which keeps Diem in power — all in the name of 'anti-Communism'."

BUT feudal landlordism, propped up by concentration camps, mass arrests, murders, rigged elections, a censored press, and an autocratic regime, do not deter the Kennedy administration from supporting their man in Saigon. *Newsweek* of September 24, 1962 quotes an unnamed U.S. official in Saigon: "We're going to win this war, with this government, and as it is." *Newsweek* adds: "This is a considered statement of U.S. policy in South Vietnam."

Kennedy Support

The Kennedy administration has dropped any pretense of "reforming" Diem's regime. With a sure class instinct, the U.S. monopolists show only contempt for the advice of liberal dreamers on how best to organize "democratic" counter-revolutions. Recognizing that any "democratic" middle-ground between revolution and counter-revolution has long since vanished in Southeast Asia, the Kennedy administration has thrown its full weight behind Diem's reign of terror.

The U.S. government spent \$2 billion from 1954 to 1961 to prop up Diem. In the past year, the expenditures rose to \$400 million a year, or over \$1 million a day. In flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva accord, 12,000 U.S. military personnel now help Diem pursue his war against his own people.

"Kill-Ratio" Experiments

The U.S. military have taken enthusiastically to the Vietnam operation. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* of November 9, 1962 explains how "Pentagon Experts Use Vietnam War to Test New Tactics, Weapons." The Pentagon is using Vietnam as a convenient proving ground for assault boats, amphibious personnel carriers, night-vision instruments, wire-lasso guns, squirt-

message radios, defoliation sprays, flashlight-operated land mines, pocket flamethrowers, new rapid-fire rifles, napalm-bombing techniques, troop-carrying helicopters, armed helicopters, and other sky cavalry concepts, as well as war dogs to hunt down guerrillas.

THE fight against the peasant guerrillas waged with this latest technology is incredibly cruel. Men, women and children are hunted down like wild beasts. Prisoners are habitually tortured and summarily executed, while U.S. advisors watch. Entire villages are incinerated by napalm bombs dropped by U.S. pilots. So are guerrilla hospitals.

The ghouls in the Pentagon who feed the gruesome statistics into their war-games computers report gleefully that the "kill-ratio" is favorable to the Diem regime. For 1962, the official estimates are 13,000 Diem casualties against 30,000 peasants killed, wounded or captured. U.S. casualties are reported as 30 killed in action.

Despite these New Frontier experiments in military technology, the South Vietnamese guerrillas refuse to be crushed. Guerrilla units, estimated to number 20,000 in April 1962, are now said by the U.S. military to number 23,000 full-time guerrillas (even after 30,000 presumably were killed), plus another 100-200,000 part-time guerrillas.

The Diem government and the Kennedy administration would like to blame the South Vietnamese revolt on Ho Chi Minh. They charge that the guerrillas are being augmented and supplied by North Vietnamese slipping into South Vietnam over the Cambodian and Laotian borders. The role of their own savage repressions in driving the peasantry into armed struggle is glossed over in silence by the stalwart New Frontiersmen and their puppet-autocrat.

Jerry A. Rose, in the May 10, 1962 *Reporter*, points out that "numerous munitions factories, set up in straw huts, produce a steady flow of crude rifles and pistols, mortars and mines, grenades and bullets for the guerrilla fighters. The materials are purchased on the local market by peasant women; the work is done by the peasant men."

"Expropriate" U.S. Arms

In addition, the guerrillas capture and use the latest American arms,

including non-recoiling artillery. A UPI dispatch from Saigon, dated January 8, 1963, reports: "U.S. military advisors Tuesday said Communist guerrillas, who have boasted they will win the war with captured American weapons, seized enough new arms in the past week to equip at least two companies." Other reports say that the guerrillas are capturing "sampan-loads" of modern American equipment.

On January 2, 1963, at the village of Ap Bac, only 30 miles from Saigon, 200 determined guerrilla fighters with automatic weapons mauled 2,000 Diem troops, killing 100, including three Americans, and downed five U.S. helicopters. The Diem forces outnumbered the guerrillas by 10 to 1 and were supported by planes, artillery and armor. A UPI dispatch from Saigon, dated January 7, 1963, reported that "angry U.S. advisors charged Sunday that Vietnamese infantrymen refused direct orders to advance during Wednesday's battle at Ap Bac and that an American Army captain was killed while out front pleading with them to attack."

THIS moved Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the *N.Y. Times*, to observe that "some helicopter enthusiasts" tended to forget "that it is men, not machines, that win wars." He observed further that Diem's troops "displayed some of the same basic faults they had demonstrated in other operations; they showed little inclination to use their legs and little desire to attack."

On January 7, 1963, Arthur Krock, his fellow commentator of the *N.Y. Times*, called for "fundamental administration review of its current policy of military aid in South Vietnam." He concludes, however, that "it will be very difficult for the President to find an alternative to the U.S. policy that has proved ineffectual, and tends to deeper and deeper involvement in Southeast Asia."

No End In Sight

The Kennedy administration shows no disposition to veer from its fatal course. Admiral Harry P. Felt, commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, said this January that "the war in South Vietnam is going fine." He added that the "South Vietnamese are killing more Viet Cong than the government of South Vietnam is losing in battle" and that "the kill-ratio is running from three to six in favor

of the forces of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem."

However, Diem's troops are untrustworthy. On November 11, 1961, five paratroop battalions tried unsuccessfully to depose Diem. On February 27, 1962, two Diem pilots, sent on a mission against guerrilla fighters, bombed and strafed the palace of President Diem instead. Afterwards, only U.S. pilots were sent on air strikes.

The Kennedy administration is following a plan of operations decided upon a year or so ago when the decision was made to crush the peasants of South Vietnam at all costs. At that time, the *Wall Street Journal* published a revealing article by Henry Gemmill with the dateline of March 26, 1962. It is headed: "U.S. Leaders Are Determined on Victory, Even If It Means Invading Red Territory." Gemmill writes:

"Determined on victory in South Vietnam, the makers of U.S. policy must be willing to elevate the plane of warfare if low-level fighting isn't producing results . . . Suppose, for instance, that Ngo Dinh Diem's government, already lacking in solid support through the countryside, suffers further grave erosion, while the Red guerrillas gain. Suppose, too, that the American public becomes disturbed by slowly mounting casualty lists . . ."

According to Gemmill, "doctrine now circulating would call for turning to more vigorous war."

As outlined by the reporter, "the first move would likely be an ultimatum to Ho Chi Minh that unless hostilities ceased in South Vietnam the war would be carried directly to its source, North Vietnam. If this went unheeded, U.S. bombers would go to work on the airfields, ports, and rail lines of North Vietnam. If army divisions poured in, they'd be thrown into North Vietnam, not South Vietnam."

The North Vietnamese aid that is successfully smuggled in could ac-

count for only a small fraction of the strength of the guerrilla forces. But facts are unimportant when the Cold War blazes up into a hot war against a colonial revolution.

There seems little doubt that the "National Liberation Front" set up in Hanoi in January 1961 tends to control the political aims and leadership of the South Vietnam guerrilla fighters. There are indications that the North Vietnamese are split in the Moscow-Peking dispute, with Ho Chi Minh inclining towards the Russian and others towards the Chinese views on the tactics and strategy of colonial revolutions.

A CAPTURED guerrilla document dated September 25, 1962, published in the *N.Y. Times* (Western Edition), January 20, 1963, would indicate that the Ho government favors a settlement along the lines of the Laotian formula. The document talks of forcing the Americans and Diem to the conference table, where they will be compelled to compromise. It emphasizes that the guerrillas must understand "transitional steps" on the way to victory.

An end to the blood-bath now drenching the South Vietnam countryside would certainly be a relief to the long-suffering Vietnam peasantry. However, the Indochinese peoples have borne immense sacrifices in their 20-year-long struggle for liberation. Their revolution should not be short-changed again, as it was in 1945 and 1954.

As of now, U.S. imperialism seems little disposed to any kind of compromise. Moreover, its flagrant violations of the 1954 Geneva deal are on record for all to see and learn from. The real face that the Kennedy administration presents to the masses of Asia can be seen in the brutal war it is conducting in South Vietnam without any authorization from the American people.

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SOCIALIZED MEDICINE: BRITAIN & USA

By Marvel Scholl

FOR YEARS the American public has been barraged by propaganda from the American Medical Association in its fight against any form of "socialized medicine" — their estimation of the various Medicare plans to help alleviate the problems of falling real income and accelerating chronic ailments facing more than 18 million Americans living on social security, state pension, or welfare. The AMA has told us, over and over again, that Medicare represents direct government intervention into the free enterprise rights of the medical profession; that the doctors will lose all their clinical freedom, their initiative; that research will come to an abrupt end. They say that the doctor-patient relationship will be destroyed.

We have been told that most old people are in good health, that those sick already receive adequate care, that most of them have hospitalization insurance. We have been told these things so repetitiously that some people are beginning to believe the big lie. Personally, I think "they protest too much," especially when they use as a horrible example, what has happened to the quality of medicine, the doctor-patient relationships, the research capabilities and the success of the British Medical profession during the last fourteen years under the National Health Service.

A Favorable Report

In 1952, a professor of history from the University of Virginia, Almont Lindsey, went to England to find out what National Health Service was all about. He spent six months traveling

around England and Wales, interviewing doctors, patients, government officials, hospital managements and personnel. He came back so impressed that he spent the next eight years reading everything he could lay his hands on — Ministry of Health reports, many commission reports (the Parliament sets up commissions on everything), papers from the British Medical Journal, reports from the multitudinous boards and commissions at local government levels. Last year he published his findings in a 562 page book, *Socialized Medicine in England and Wales*.

Dr. Lindsey's book is a gold mine of information, with every one of its 562 outsized pages crammed with facts and figures, interestingly put together. Unfortunately, it is not a book which will appeal to the general public, although anyone interested in this particular phase of social welfare should read and study the book. Those who should give it the most attention however, the leadership of the AMA, will either ignore it entirely or find it leaves a very bad taste in their collective mouths.

I venture to guess that the AMA is still smarting under the impact of the March 31, National Broadcasting Co. White Paper telecast, *British Socialized Medicine*, wherein one prominent British physician, Dr. Hugh Clegg, editor of the *British Medical Association Journal*, called his American colleagues to task for "misrepresentations" thus: ". . . we are tired of being misrepresented. And undoubtedly the National Health Service of Britain has been misrepresented in the U.S. . . . We think it is about time they (the AMA) stopped."

Dr. Clegg's statement is all the more impressive since he and his parent organization fought against the National Health Service with the same methods, the same words, the same arguments that the AMA is using today against Medicare!

THE history of that fight, the issues, the compromises which finally settled it, are far too complicated to cover in this article. Suffice it to say *the main issue was financial* — the method of compensation for doctors registering under NHS, and the size of their capitalization fees.

A Feeble Start

The National Health Service inherited all of the ills inherent in the old private medical practice system. The general health of the vast majority of the population was bad. Employed workers had been covered by National Insurance since 1912, but not their wives, children and other dependents. A sick insured worker had the care of a doctor and free medicine, but none of the ancillary necessities were provided — X-ray, hospitalization, surgery, etc. Low wages and recurring unemployment made even care by a doctor and free medicine a doubtful blessing for the average worker. One former Insurance Panel doctor told Dr. Lindsey, "If my treatment recommendations included such necessities as eggs, milk, meat, how was the patient to carry out my orders?"

Tuberculosis was rampant. In 1948 the death rate was 48,000. In 1960 it had dropped to 4,500.

The mortality rate for infants under five, and for mothers in child-

birth was one of the highest in the world. Today it is among the lowest, second only to Holland.

Doctors, dentists and nurses were in very short supply, poorly distributed. Medical and nursing school enrolment was dropping year by year. Badly needed potential replacements in the profession were discouraged by the low income levels of most general practitioners, and the costly method of either buying an established practice or facing the hardships of starting from scratch to establish one's own. Today, with an assured income right from the start, with an adequate pension guaranteed on retirement, and the chance to really practice medicine without economic chaos, young people are crowding the medical and nursing schools.

THE hospital situation was critical. Many areas had no hospital at all. Old Poor Law hospitals which did exist were ancient castle-like monstrosities, few under 100 years old. The high-ceilinged, narrow-windowed rooms were impossible to heat. The drafty halls and tunnels through which the sick had to be moved were a danger in themselves. Operating rooms were ill lighted, ill equipped. Private and voluntary hospitals which were nationalized were operating under such low medical and sanitary standards that many of them had to be closed and completely renovated. During the war, Hitler's Luftwaffe destroyed many hospitals, along with homes, factories, mills and cathedrals.

It was not until 1958 that the Ministry of Health finally began a hospital building program.

In 1948, on the Appointed Day, July 5, when the National Health Service began its operation, these were but a few of the ills inherited from the old private medical practice.

A Rush For Care

Another problem the new Service faced was the sudden rush of the English working people to their doctors. Women and children who had always gone without medical care because it could not be fitted into their low income budgets almost swamped the Service in its first days. People who had been buying their

reading glasses in the dime stores stood in long lines outside the ophthalmic clinics. A sick population went to the doctor.

DURING the past fourteen years in which it has been possible for the people to get the care they need to cure and prevent illness, what has happened to the general health in the "Tight Little Island"?

Health standards have risen greatly, with contagious and nutritional deficiency diseases on the road to being conquered. Tuberculosis is no longer the main killer, and a vaccine to prevent it has been perfected. Infant mortality and childbed deaths of mothers is low. Radiology teams tour the provinces in mobile units and have dug out thousands of cases of incipient TB and cancer. People who never dreamed of going to the doctor with minor ailments — which so often prove to be major — now see the doctor in time. If they need more than a prescription or a rest in bed, they are referred to a consultant in an outpatient clinic or a hospital.

Conservation Program

Britain is beginning to conquer the horrible dental condition of most of its people. Conservation work, not just yanking out teeth, is the practice much more frequently than in the past. A vast educational program, pointing out the relationship between good dietary habits and dental health, is being carried on by the Ministry of Health, the various local government boards and the trade unions.

Two factors keep the dental progress slow — the still acute shortage of dentists and the fee which must be paid by the patient. This charge for a full course of treatment seems almost ridiculous to Americans, but \$2.80 to a British worker is exactly 10 percent of his weekly wage, so it is an important reason why even today you see many British workers with few if any teeth or badly fitted dentures.

ONE of the greatest accomplishments of the Service is the lifting of the fear of overpowering medical bills. A member of Parliament commented on this on the 10th

anniversary of the Service. He had just returned from Canada and the United States where he found ". . . *that fear a very real thing . . .* And that is something, thank heavens, which we have eliminated here, once and for all."

Another "profit" resulting from the improved health of the nation can be counted in money — for the bosses. Statistics prepared by the Information Division of the British Treasury in 1959 revealed that during the first decade of NHS, production had risen by one-third and exports had increased two-fold over the pre-war period.

The Mentally Ill

The care and treatment of mentally ill persons has undergone a revolution. All laws governing "lunacy" and forceful commitment of mentally ill or deficient people have been repealed. They are now treated as sick persons whose malady can respond to treatment or realistic rehabilitation. Only the criminally insane and persons so deranged that they are dangerous to themselves and the public are restrained. A deranged patient who becomes non-belligerent after treatment is returned to the general hospital population for further care.

Mentally ill patients now sign themselves *in and out* of mental, general, day hospitals (where the patient undergoes treatment during the day but lives at home), and outpatient clinics. They receive psychiatric, electro-convulsant, and modified insulin shock treatments and tranquilizing drugs. When the patient is sufficiently recovered to return to the world from which he retreated, he does it by easy stages. Special hostels, managed by trained psychiatric personnel, help him make the big step. During his medical treatment he is also given occupational therapy — not weaving pot holders or baskets, but actual work in a small factory under controlled conditions, to fit him for a trade commensurate with his mental and physical health. When he does go home, he generally faces a sympathetic neighborhood. An educational program to teach everyone that mental illness is not a disgrace but a treatable malady has done much to re-

move the "disgrace" of this very real illness.

The changes in care and treatment of the aged is a subject large enough for a separate article.

The Doctors Lot

In February 1948, just a few short months before the "appointed day," the BMA conducted a postal poll among its members. Ninety percent of those responding voted against entering the Service. In 1958, another poll showed that two-thirds of those voting in the previous referendum now supported the Service.

General practitioners are allowed a maximum of 3,500 patients — patients who are chosen by mutual consent. For each person on his list, the doctor receives an annual fee, special payment for maternity cases, and travel expenses for house calls. Doctors with large lists, in areas where there is a scarcity of physicians, get "loading fees." Young doctors who are just starting get cash allotments to help them get established and to take up the slack until their lists are large enough to support them. They also get "loading fees" on lists of from 500 to 1,500 patients.

GENERAL practitioners who hold their "surgery" (office) hours in industrial areas away from their homes get what amounts to portal to portal pay.

Consultants (specialists) work in the hospitals and outpatient clinics on a yearly salary, generally only part-time. They are also available for house calls when requested by a general practitioner, and get extra payments for this. In addition they can earn cash "merit awards" to bolster their income.

Hospital personnel from interns through several grades are salaried.

Through the years the compensation to doctors has been increased three times. *Today the medical profession is in the top tenth income group for all professions.*

Doctor and Patient

The lifting of the financial barriers between the doctor and his patient has greatly improved the relationship between them. The doctor no longer has to hesitate to prescribe expensive drugs, make as many

house calls as he thinks necessary, or refer his patient to an outpatient clinic or hospital for consultant service. Today he can treat the *patient*, not his pocketbook!

On the NBC White Paper telecast, one prominent consultant put it this way:

"It was an awful worry . . . At least I always felt it when I was in consultant service (private) to know how much to charge people and to be worrying whether they could afford things. If I go the rounds in American hospitals and we're terribly interested in a patient and we discuss this patient afterwards and somebody says 'well, can she afford it?' you know this doesn't occur to us in England any longer and I think it is a good thing."

Good or Bad Care

The fact that the general health standards in Britain have risen so greatly, that intensive research into new drugs and vaccines is a continuing part of the service, that 90 percent of the population are satisfied with their care speaks for itself. There is still much to do but the fact is the National Health Service is pointing the way for the rest of what Kennedy euphemistically calls the "Free World." Real socialized — not just nationalized — medicine is already an accomplished fact in the Soviet bloc, and is beginning right now in Cuba.

The cost of the service is high but it is actually less of the gross national product than in this country — 4 percent in Britain, 4.5 percent in the U.S. The main part of the bill (75 percent) is picked up by the General Exchequer from general tax funds. About 12 percent of the total is covered by regular weekly payments into the National Insurance fund from NHS deductions of approximately 38 cents from each employed male worker, and 9 cents from his employer. Women workers and apprentices pay a lower rate. Self-employed persons pay their insurance by buying NHS stamps at the post-office. Another 13 percent is collected from the two shilling (28 cents) charge for each prescription item, the \$2.80 for initial dental fees, and the payments for eyeglasses.

Drugs are the largest expense item in the budget. The drug industry profits greatly from NHS, despite the fact that it provides drugs to registered pharmacies at "wholesale plus." The "plus" is sufficient to earn a tidy profit for one of the richest industries in the country. The drug industry has not been nationalized.

THERE are still many "bugs" in the Service. More hospitals are needed to alleviate the unnecessary suffering caused by long waits for beds. More preventive medicine should be practiced. Doctors' lists should be equalized downward to allow more time per patient, and the drug industry should be nationalized to cut drastically the total cost of the Service to the whole people. But a capitalist, or a capitalist-oriented Labor government, seldom nationalizes a profitable industry — just those who have to be rescued from bankruptcy, like coal and transportation in Britain and the New York subway system and the Chicago Rapid Transit (sic!) systems here!

In evaluating what has already taken place under a nationalized health service in a capitalist nation, it is important to keep in mind that a great majority of the population, except for the very young, carry with them all the scars of undernourishment, lack of medical care, and all the other impediments which are the heritage of a working class which has been the main commodity used up by British colonialism in building an empire upon which the sun never used to set!

It is almost an irony that the Tory Conservative Party, in power now since 1952, has not dared to touch the National Health Service. Several attempts have been made by this government to abolish the Service, to add new fees for patients and cut out various services, but they have been quickly beaten back by an aroused public — including the medical profession.

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UNION PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA

By Milton Alvin

ON JANUARY 1, Governor Brown announced that California had become the largest state in the Union. At the same time, the AFL-CIO announced it was organizing a widespread campaign to bring three-quarters of a million new members into its various unions in the Southern California area.

Although New York's Governor Rockefeller put off until next summer the time that California would pass his domain, it seems sure that the Golden State is, or is soon to become the largest in the United States. Whether the union movement will follow in step and surpass in numbers the membership in the Empire State remains to be seen.

The burgeoning population growth of the western states has been most marked in the Southern California region, in and around Los Angeles. It is hard to believe that 200 years ago the only inhabitants of this area were a few Stone Age Indians. Today 6½ million people live in Los Angeles and adjoining Orange counties and some 30,000 people migrate here from other parts of the United States every month.

Jobs Attract

Other factors than the favorable climate and more spacious living conditions draw people from the crowded cities of the east. Since World War II, Southern California has experienced a huge industrial growth which has opened up numerous job opportunities. This has attracted many people and will continue to do so. The boom has stimulated a substantial expansion of cultural activities and the construction of sizeable new facilities for higher education, as well as a surplus of homes and apartments.

ON THE industrial side, Los Angeles passed Detroit and Philadelphia as a manufacturing center several years ago and is now challenging Chicago for second place in America. In the past 14 years alone,

Los Angeles added more industrial workers than Detroit at present has. In the past 22 years, that is, since the early World War II days, Los Angeles has outstripped the following industrial centers: St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Philadelphia. This astonishing record of growth is very likely unmatched in American history.

The most sensational rise in employment has been in two relatively new industries, aircraft and electrical machinery, the latter including electronics. The aerospace industry, which includes manufacturing of aircraft and missiles, employs about 140,000 people. This is less than the high of around 175,000 in 1954 but still double the figure for 1947. The electrical machinery industry is now at the top in employment, utilizing some 150,000 workers, about five times as many as in 1954.

Need U.S. Contracts

The source of this vast increase in employment is government contracts. In 1961 more than 41 percent of the Defense Department's prime research and development contracts came to Southern California, as well as about 20 percent of the prime defense contracts. These prime contracts, in turn, swell the ranks of secondary suppliers and subcontractors. The central core of industry in this area is completely and directly dependent upon the Federal government, the only customer for its products.

At the same time, other industries, building construction, food supply, clothing, services and everything else which grows to keep pace are beneficiaries of the Defense Department and its orders.

SOME observers see Southern California as an emerging pattern for all the United States. For example, Harrison E. Salisbury, writing in a special supplement to the Western edition of the *New York Times* of January 3, 1963, says, ". . . today

with the emergence of California as the nation's most populous state — and vortex of the most dynamic social changes on the continent — the conviction is growing that on the Pacific slopes and adjacent western deserts the pattern of America's tomorrow has begun to reveal itself."

Unfortunately, Salisbury does not specify just what the "most dynamic social changes" are and where they are to be found. But he does note such obvious features as the increased mobility of the residents of the area, their tract homes, Capri pants, sunglasses, sandals and halter-and-shorts street wear. Although these may represent differences from the east, they hardly add up to anything dynamic in the way of social changes.

Nevertheless, the growth of industry, population and employment does reveal the dynamism of monopoly capitalism, especially in its production of death-dealing instruments. On the other hand, the union movement has been lacking in energy and instead has shown signs of stagnation for years.

Union Growth Lags

The unions have failed to keep up with the growth of employment in the Southern California area. The AFL-CIO estimates that there are no less than 750,000 "organizable" workers in the region. Many of these are employed at low wage scales; some, in paternalistic defense plants, are paid as well as workers who are in unions. At any rate, the AFL-CIO has mounted an extensive campaign to try to organize these workers. This will be the first such effort here since the early years of the CIO.

A considerable amount of planning is reported to have gone into the projected drive. The field has been divided into four main branches: hard goods industries, soft goods, hotels and services, and government employees. The various international unions involved in the campaign have worked out in advance certain juris-

dictional claims and have promised a high degree of cooperation with one another.

THE internal maneuvering between the rival factions headed by Meany and Reuther has delayed the launching of the drive which was scheduled to begin months ago. At that time Reuther's *Industrial Union Department* planned to begin the campaign around three or four large industrial unions. However, Meany intervened to make the IUD just part of a broader effort involving the AFL-CIO as a whole and under the control of his organizing department. This has resulted in a considerable amount of jockeying for position by the different factions, several delays and a slow start.

Open Shop Paradise

The Southern California area has long been known as an open shop paradise. The union movement is considerably weaker here than it is in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area. The northern segment is more strongly and extensively organized and enjoys, as a rule, better wages and working conditions.

It will not be easy to change the relationship of forces in favor of the workers in Southern California. This area is fortified with conservative elements directed by reactionary employers' organizations, right-wing politicians and powerful anti-union newspapers, not to speak of expert union-busting "consultants" who know all the tricks of their trade.

Their methods of blocking the advance of unionism can be seen in a local plant of about 1,000 workers. This plant voted for the union by a small majority about three years ago, but never succeeded in getting a contract. The company "negotiated" with the union month after month, saying *no* to every demand. The existing laws only require employers to negotiate; they need not settle. The union filed charges against the company for not negotiating in good faith. By the time these charges were aired and a decision reached, the whole situation had changed to such an extent that the union itself thinks it has lost the majority. The company has the right to have a decertification election every year, in addition to the actual right never to reach an agreement with the union. Only a strike could have won a contract in this case, but the union thought it was not strong enough to mount a successful strike.

UNION organization should follow large-scale growth of industry as day follows night. But there is often a considerable delay between these two economic developments. The existing capital-labor relations in Southern California are comparable in this respect to those which prevailed in the Ohio-Michigan area thirty years ago. The automobile, steel and rubber plants located there first grew apace after World War I while successfully beating off attempts to invade their open shops from 1919 to 1935. The need for union organization became extremely urgent and irrepressible only after a 10-15 year period of extensive industrial growth and employment. Then the CIO forces broke through all barriers and organized substantially everyone in the heavy industries between 1935 and 1940.

A new burst of organization has equally long been overdue in Southern California and makes it a logical field of operation for the AFL-CIO. But the presently planned campaign will run up against heavy obstacles if it makes a serious effort to enroll large numbers of new workers into the unions.

Different From 30's

There are extremely important differences between the eastern industrial areas of the 1930's and the western areas of the 1960's. The CIO movement that began around 1935 was preceded by the worst years of the depression and then the economic revival of 1933, following the government pump-priming measures of the early New Deal. In contrast, Southern California has seen a better than average employment picture, without sharp ups and downs, in the past 15 years. Therefore, the impetus to organize furnished by sharp swings in the economic cycle is absent here. Not all the non-unionized workers are super-exploited and driven to the breaking point, as the workers in the mass production industries of the midwest were in the 1930's.

Secondly, new restrictive legislation such as Taft-Hartley and the Landrum-Griffin Act now hamper union organization efforts and present more problems and more difficult conditions than the absence of such legislation regulating unions 25 or 30 years ago.

Third, the conservative weight of the present top leadership of the AFL-CIO, with its obsequiousness before big business and the govern-

ment, is a distinct disadvantage, standing in sharp contrast to the fresh, vigorous workers' leaders that came up out of the ranks to lead the great organizing struggles of the 1930's.

Finally, the industry of this area and the economic structure dependent upon it is the creature of the Cold War program of production of war material. Any serious organizing drive, accompanied by strikes, will be met with loud braying by all the anti-union elements appealing to "patriotism" and the need to keep stoking the "defense" furnace.

THE Kennedy administration has warned that more big strikes will bring new anti-union legislation. Secretary of Labor Wirtz recently threatened the eastern longshoremen with laws that would establish some form of compulsory arbitration. The rulers in Washington issued similar threats in connection with the long strike that shut down the newspapers in New York City.

Before the present organizing drive comes to a successful conclusion the workers concerned will surely have to face a hostile reception from Washington, along with die-hard resistance from their own employers. It is necessary to understand this in advance.

These far less favorable features of the opportunities in Southern California today compared to the CIO centers of the 1930's do not necessarily add up to insuperable obstacles. But they do indicate that a successful campaign to bring three-quarters of a million new members into the unions will require new methods and policies and not a mere repetition of what was done in the 1930's.

Conditions For Success

There is at least one favorable feature of great importance. The existing union movement far exceeds in numerical strength and financial ability anything available prior to the building of the CIO. With this power as a base, organization efforts could succeed, if properly conducted.

The organizing movement would have to make its strongest appeal around the question of improving the economic position of the workers. This is where the greatest need is to be found and where the unorganized workers most feel the weight of the open shop. In addition,

the majority of the working force that the AFL-CIO wants to bring into the unions is low paid by present-day standards.

The drive must mobilize existing unionists and not depend just upon the professional organizing staffs. This would strengthen the campaign considerably by infusing into it the vigor and enthusiasm that it needs, which is unfortunately lacking to a large extent among the professionals.

Minorities Primary

The first place in which the proposed drive should concentrate is among the lowest paid workers in the area, that is, the Negro, Mexican-American and Asian-American workers. There are over one million people of these categories residing in this area.

Efforts to organize among these minority groups would have to be accompanied by a social program for equal rights in all fields. The union movement here, as elsewhere, has not distinguished itself in recent years by fighting for the rights of oppressed minorities. As a result it has lost a considerable amount of its appeal to these sectors. Although there has been a sharp increase in the number of minority peoples who have settled in California in the past ten years, bigger and better living space is the major difference between the scope of discrimination here and the segregated large metropolitan cities of the east. In other respects the patterns of discrimination and segregation are similar to those of New York, Chicago and Detroit.

An entirely new attitude will have to be developed towards anti-labor legislation in the organizing staff and among the workers, both organized and unorganized. The present attitude of the top union leaders of subordinating all their actions to the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, if persisted in, will most likely prove to be the strongest weapon in the hands of the anti-union employers.

THESE employers and their government agents will use every law on the books to hamper and defeat attempts to organize. The whole labor movement has to look upon the laws that are designed to discriminate in the employers' favor as subordinate to the need to bring unionism to all the workers. That is how the sit-down strikers treated the injunc-

tions issue by the government forces arrayed against them in the 1930's.

Cold War Industries

Another field in which new attitudes will have to be developed is in the Cold War industries, where a good deal of the organizing is scheduled to take place. The idea that a strike for union recognition or higher wages is an act of high treason because it "interferes" with government orders must be firmly rejected. The unions must use every available means to educate the public on the real issues: the open shop character of large parts of the aerospace industry; the fact that the employers are in business manufacturing war equipment, not because they are great patriots, but strictly because of the huge profits involved; and the need for union organization by the workers.

The success or failure of the attempt in Southern California hinges basically on the capacity of the unions to provide more adequate solutions to the problems of the workers here, as elsewhere. Obviously the old methods and policies which made no headway for many years do not now hold out any better hope of progress.

If the unions are to revitalize themselves internally and go forward to real growth, as they can and should, they will have to become crusading movements of a broad social character that take up the fight for all the people who live under substandard conditions. This includes the underpaid, the discriminated against, the poorly housed, the elderly and the new generation of youth that cannot find work.

THIS requires a change of such proportions in the present-day unions that it hardly seems realistic to propose it. But the alternative is to keep plodding along, as the unions have for 15 years now, becoming an increasingly weaker factor in American life.

Above all, if Southern California is to be converted from a sanctuary of the open shop into a fortress of unionism, organized labor will not only have to change its organizing methods but its political course. The state AFL-CIO, not very enthusiastically, trails behind the Democratic machine and its governor, "Pat" Brown.

No Help From Brown

As a reward, its officials get a small percentage of well-paying

posts in the state administration. But Governor Brown has carefully refrained from lending the slightest encouragement to the recent AFL-CIO organizing drive among the agricultural workers which the growers and banks succeeded in thwarting. He will do nothing to aid the projected campaign in industry.

If the unions of California are to provide a true pattern for America's tomorrow, they should make preparations to run their own candidates in the state elections who can introduce legislation to strengthen labor's rights and organizations and benefit all sections of the working people. Until it takes the road of political independence from the big business parties, this will not be the "Golden State" for labor.

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Trotskyists at Vorkuta

— An Eyewitness Report —

As the 45th anniversary of the October Revolution draws near, the Soviet government has proceeded to "rehabilitate" Bukharin, Radek, Piatakov, etc. To be sure, this is a *juridical* rehabilitation — but it is certainly not a political rehabilitation. However, juridical rehabilitation is already a dangerous step for the representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy, to which they resign themselves in view of the exigencies of Soviet society today, which sees in the condemnation of Stalin's methods a guarantee that they will never return:

*Double, triple the guard in front of
this tomb,
So that Stalin does not arise
and with Stalin, the past.*

* * *

*We have removed him from the
mausoleum
But how shall we remove Stalin
From his heirs?*

* * *

*While there are so many on this earth
Who are heirs of Stalin,
It will seem to me that Stalin
Is still in the mausoleum.*

These lines from Yevtushenko's poem were published in *Pravda* on October 21, 1962 with, it would seem, Krushchev's authorization; the latter resorts to an attack against his former boss every time he find himself in difficulties and wants to arouse the sympathy of the masses.

The recent rehabilitations are all the more dangerous for the bureaucracy, since, unlike the preceding ones — which involved the military men and former Stalinists liquidated after the Seventeenth Congress — they concern, for the first time, the political oppositions in the Bolshevik party: the Right, in the person of Bukharin; and the Left with Piatakov and Radek. And, especially, by dealing a blow to the second and third Moscow trials in which these men were the principal defendants present, it raises the question of the first trial, that of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and still further the ques-

tion of Number 1 defendant in all three trials — Leon Trotsky.

The Soviet government has proceeded with these rehabilitations in an extremely discreet fashion. The families were notified; foreign correspondents were allowed to cable the news; but in the USSR the news was spread only by word of mouth. This is still far from the monument to the communist victims of Stalin that Krushchev promised to erect after the Twenty-Second Congress. The honor of the October Revolution, the regeneration of communism in the USSR and in the world cannot be achieved through today's hypocritical proceedings. The whole truth has to be made known and proclaimed aloud.

The fate of the Oppositionists from 1927 on constitutes one of the saddest chapters in the history of the revolutionary movement in the USSR. Before the Second World War, Ciliga's reports told us something about this. News began to arrive from the time of the liquidation of the forced labor camps in 1956. We publish below an article, signed by M.B., entitled, "The Trotskyists at Vorkuta," which appeared in the October-November 1961 issue of the paper of the Russian Mensheviks, *The Socialist Messenger*.

This report corresponds with information which has reached us from other sources and there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the facts that he brings to light. This report, at the same time both heroic and horrible, is not from a distant period, but a stage in the life of the communist movement and the Soviet Union which has not as yet been left behind and which can not be surmounted until communists all over the world enter upon an examination of this past with courage, without taboos, not only to condemn the crimes of Stalin, but also to root out the social causes which gave rise to these crimes. (Introduction and article translated from the December 1962 issue of *Quatrieme Internationale*.)

* * *

During the middle and at the end of the 1930's, the Trotskyists formed a quite disparate group at Vorkuta; one

part of them kept its old name of "Bolshevik-Leninists." There were almost 500 at the mine, close to 1,000 at the camp of Oukhto-Petchora, and certainly several thousands altogether around the Petchora district.

The orthodox Trotskyists were determined to remain faithful to the end to their platform and their leaders. In 1927, following the resolutions of the Fifteenth Congress of the party, they were excluded from the Communist Party and, at the same time, arrested. From then on, even though they were in prison, they continued to consider themselves communists; as for Stalin and his supporters, "the apparatus men," they were characterized as renegades from communism.

Among these "Trotskyists" were also found people who had never formally belonged to the CP and did not join the Left Opposition, but who tied their own fate with it to the very end — even when the struggle of the opposition was most acute.

In addition to these genuine Trotskyists, there were in the camps of Vorkuta and elsewhere more than 100,000 prisoners who, members of the party and the youth, had adhered to the Trotskyist opposition and then at different times and for diverse reasons (of which the principal were, evidently, the repressions, unemployment, persecutions, exclusion from schools and university faculties, etc.) were forced to "recant their errors" and withdraw from the opposition.

The orthodox Trotskyists arrived at the mine during the summer of 1936 and lived in a compact mass in two large barracks. They categorically refused to work in the pits; they worked only on the surface, and for only eight hours, not the 10 or 12 required by the regulations as the other prisoners were forced to do. They did so on their own authority, in an organized manner, openly flouting the camp regulations. In the main they had already served nearly ten years in deportation.

In the beginning, they were sent into political isolators and then afterwards exiled to Solovka; finally, they arrived

at Vorkuta. The Trotskyists formed the only group of political prisoners who openly criticized the Stalinist "general line" and offered organized resistance to the jailers.

THE DIFFERENT GROUPS

Nevertheless, there were significant divergences within this group. Some considered themselves disciples of Timothy Sapronov (ex-secretary of the Supreme Soviet) and insisted on being called "Sapronovists" or "democratic-centralists." They claimed to be more to the left than the Trotskyists and thought that the Stalinist dictatorship had already reached the stage of bourgeoisie degeneration by the end of the 1920's, and that the rapprochement of Hitler and Stalin was very probable. Nevertheless, in the event of war, the "Sapronovists" declared themselves for the defense of the USSR.

Among the "Trotskyists" were also found partisans of the "Right Wing," that is to say of Rykov and of Bukharin, as well as followers of Shliapnikov and of his "Workers' Opposition" platform.

But the great majority of the group was made up of authentic Trotskyists, supporters of L. D. Trotsky. They openly defended the so-called Clemenceau thesis: "the enemy is in our country. It is first necessary to get rid of the reactionary government of Stalin and only after that to organize the defense of the country against the external enemies."

Note: The author of the article distorts Trotskyist thought on this question. The "Clemenceau thesis" enunciated in 1926-27, when the opposition was still in the Bolshevik Party, meant that they did not renounce the struggle to change the line of the Party and of the State in time of war. In an article dated September 25, 1939, anticipating the war between the USSR against Nazism, Trotsky wrote: "While arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage."

In spite of their differences, all of these groups at the mine lived in a friendly enough fashion under one common denominator, "the Trotskyists." Their leaders were Socrate Guevorkian, Vladimir Ivanov, Melnais, V. V. Kossior and Trotsky's ex-secretary, Posnansky.

PORTRAIT OF LEADERS

Guevorkian was a calm man, very balanced, reasonable, full of good sense. He spoke without hurry, weighing his words, without any affectation or theatrical gestures. Up to the time of his arrest, he had worked as an expert for the Russian Association of the Centers of Scientific Research of the Institute of Human Sciences. He was an Armenian, and, at this time, was at least

40. His younger brother was imprisoned with him.

Melnais, a Lett, was a little younger than Guevorkian. After having been a member of the Central Committee of the Young Communists, he studied at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of the University of Moscow, where, in 1925-27, he headed a very important group (several hundred people) of Opposition students. At University meetings, when Melnais intervened, the Stalinists stirred up a storm of hues and cries, preventing him from speaking. But obstinately, doggedly, Melnais waited; when the howlers were out of breath, exhausted and silent, the chairman of the meeting rang the bell and told him, "Your time is up!"

Melnais replied, "Excuse me, that was your time. You have conducted yourselves like devils and you have screamed; I have been silent. Now, it is my turn to speak." He then spoke to the audience.

At the end of 1927, Melnais was one of the first members of the Opposition at the University to be arrested. His arrest provoked an explosion of indignation among the students. The revolting details of the arrest were repeated in the corridors and classrooms of the University. Melnais was married and lived in a private apartment. His wife, also a student, was pregnant. During the night, her labor pains started. Having phoned for an ambulance, Melnais nervously paced to and fro in the apartment, waiting for the doctor. Hearing the doorbell ring, he eagerly opened the door and let in three people dressed in civilian clothes. "This way please, my wife is really in pain," he said, showing the way.

"Just one minute!" one of the men stopped him. "For a moment we are not interested in your wife, but in you," and he showed him a warrant for his arrest. The doctor and ambulance men arrived very soon; Melnais' wife was taken to the hospital . . . and he to the Lubianka prison.

Melnais had been imprisoned ever since. In political isolators and in exile, he spent a lot of time working on economic problems and soon turned out to be an eminent and talented economist.

Vladimir Ivanov was a hearty man, with the round and full face of a successful merchant, with a big black mustache and intelligent grey eyes. In spite of his 50 years, one sensed in him a strong will and the strength of a bear. An old Bolshevik and member of the Central Committee, Ivanov, until his arrest, directed the Eastern Chinese railroad. He, as well as his wife, had belonged to the "Democratic Centralist" group and were among the supporters of Sopranov. When the Fifteenth Congress decided that belonging to the Opposition and to the Party was incompatible, Ivanov quit the ranks of the Opposition, but this did not save him;

he was arrested after the assassination of Kirov.

CAMP "TRIAL"

At the camp, he was in charge of the narrow railroad that linked the mine of Vorkuta to the Oussa River. In 1936, following directives from headquarters, the NKVD of the camp concocted a charge accusing Ivanov of sabotage of this laughingstock of a railroad, 60 kilometers long. A special jury of the high tribunal of the Autonomous Soviet Republic of Komis came to the camp. In secret session, after having read the indictment, they said to Ivanov: "What can you say to justify yourself?"

"You have your orders," he replied. "You are assigned to carry out all the necessary formalities and to cowardly enforce them with the death penalty. You are forced to do this. You know as well as I that these accusations are manufactured from whole cloth, and have been prepared by compliant Stalinist police functionaries. So, don't complicate your job; do your business. As for me, I refuse to participate in your juridical comedy." Then he said, pointing a finger at three false witnesses taken from among the common criminals: "Why don't you ask them? In return for a package of *makhorka* they will not only tell you that I am a saboteur, but also a parent of the Mikado."

The tribunal could get no more out of him; they could only interrogate the hand-picked "witnesses." The examination at the hearing was cut short. On the other hand, the deliberation of the jury lasted a very long time. First a telephone call, then a long wait for the answer, and finally, the sentence was pronounced: "Deserves the highest penalty; but taking into account this . . . and that . . . sentence is commuted to ten years imprisonment at hard labor." And with shifting eyes, not daring to look at Ivanov, the members of the jury quickly collected their papers and departed trembling. The false witnesses, approached Ivanov, seeking to justify themselves. "Get out of my way, you dirty swine!" he roared, and returned to his barracks.

Kossior was a middle aged man, very short (almost a dwarf), with a large head. Before his arrest, he occupied a leading post in the management of the Petroleum industry. His brother, Stanislas Kossior, then sat on the Politburo, and, at the same time, was secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. (He was later liquidated by Stalin. His case was mentioned by Khrushchev in his report to the Twentieth Congress.) In the camp, V. V. Kossior worked in the boiler room, carrying coal in a wheelbarrow to keep the boiler going. Also at the camp were both his wives, the first, a Ukrainian from whom he was divorced, and the second, a Russian whom he had married in exile.

Posnansky, a handsome well-built

man about 35 to 38 years old, was deeply interested in music and chess. Trotsky's second secretary, Grigoriev, was also at Petchora.

TROTSKYISTS CONFER

In the autumn of 1936, soon after the frame-up trials against the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, the entire group of "orthodox" Trotskyists at the mine, got together to confer with one another.

Opening the meeting, Guevorkian addressed those present: "Comrades! Before beginning our meeting, I ask you to honor the memory of our comrades, guides and leaders who have died as martyrs at the hands of the Stalinist traitors of the revolution."

The entire assembly stood up. Then, in a brief and very trenchant speech, Guevorkian explained that it was necessary to examine and resolve the key problem: what should be done and how should they conduct themselves from now on?

"It is now evident that the group of Stalinist adventurers have completed their counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in our country. All the progressive conquests of our revolution are in mortal danger. Not twilight shadows, but those of deep black night envelop our country. No Cavaignac spilled as much working class blood as has Stalin. Physically annihilating all the opposition groups within the party, he aims at total personal dictatorship. The party and the whole people are subjected to surveillance and to summary justice by the police apparatus. The predictions and the direst fears of our opposition are fully confirmed. The nation slides irresistibly into the thermidorian swamp. This is the triumph of the centrist petty-bourgeois forces, of which Stalin is the interpreter, the spokesman, and the apostle. No compromise is possible with the Stalinist traitors and hangmen of the revolution. Remaining proletarian revolutionaries to the very end, we should not entertain any illusion about the fate awaiting us. But before destroying us, Stalin will try to humiliate us as much as he can. By throwing political prisoners in with common criminals, he strives to scatter us among the criminals and to incite them against us. We are left with only one means of struggle in this unequal battle: the hunger strike. With a group of comrades, we have already drawn up a list of our demands of which many of you are already informed. Therefore, I now propose to you that we discuss them together and make a decision."

THE DEMANDS

The meeting lasted only a short time; the question of the hunger strike and of concrete demands had already been

debated for some months by the Trotskyists. Some Trotskyist groups in other camps (Oussa station, Tchibiou, Kotchmess, etc.) had also been discussing the matter and had sent their agreement to support the demands and to participate in the hunger strike. These demands were ratified unanimously by those present. They stipulated:

1. Abrogation of the illegal decision of the NKVD, concerning the transfer of all Trotskyists from administrative camps to concentration camps. Affairs relating to political opposition to the regime must not be judged by special NKVD tribunals, but in public juridical assemblies.

2. The work day in the camp must not exceed eight hours.

3. The food quota of the prisoners should not depend on their norm of output. A cash bonus, not the food ration, should be used as a production incentive.

4. Separation, at work as well as in the barracks, of political prisoners and common criminals.

5. The old, the ill and women political prisoners should be moved from the polar camps to camps where the climatic conditions were more favorable.

It was recommended, at the time of the meeting, that the sick, the invalids, the old should not participate in the hunger strike; however, all those in question energetically rejected this proposal.

The meeting did not decide the day on which the hunger strike should begin; a five member directorate, headed by Guevorkian, was delegated to inform the other Trotskyist groups spread over the immense territory containing the camps of Oukhto-Petchora.

Three weeks later, October 27, 1936, the massive hunger strike of the political prisoners began, a strike without precedent and a model under Soviet camp conditions. In the morning, at reveille, in almost every barrack, prisoners announced themselves on strike. The barracks occupied by the Trotskyists participated 100 percent in the movement. Even the orderlies struck. Close to 1,000 prisoners, of whom half worked in the mine, participated in this tragedy, which lasted more than four months.

The first two days, the strikers stayed in their usual places. Then the camp administration busied itself in isolating them from the rest of the prisoners, concerned lest the latter followed their example. In the tundra, 40 kilometers from the mine, on the banks of the Syrlaga River, there were primitive half-demolished barracks, which previously had been used during the preliminary boring of the mines. In great haste, these barracks were put into makeshift condition; a call was sent out to the inhabitants of the region, who, with their teams of reindeer, transported the hunger strikers there, where they

soon numbered about six hundred. The others were brought together not far from Tchibiou.

After having isolated the strikers, the GPU took measures to prevent the movement from spreading in the country and from becoming known outside the frontiers. The prisoners were deprived of the right of corresponding with their families; the salaried employees of the camp lost their holidays and their right to leave. Attempts were made to incite the other prisoners against the strikers. At the mine there were food reserves beyond what was required to sustain those who worked in the pits; the camp administration contended that it had to use up its large reserves of fat and sugar, intended for the underground workers, for artificial feeding of the Trotskyists.

At the end of the first month of the strike, one of the participants died of exhaustion; two others died during the third month. The same month, two strikers, non-orthodox Trotskyists, voluntarily gave up striking. Finally, just a few days before the end of the strike, still another striker died.

THE STRIKE IS WON

Having begun the end of October 1936, the hunger strike lasted 132 days, ending in March 1937. It culminated with the complete victory of the strikers who received a radiogram from the headquarters of the NKVD, drawn up in these words: **"Inform the hunger strikers held in the Vorkuta mines that all their demands will be satisfied."**

The Trotskyists were then taken back to the mine, received food reserved for the sick and, after a period of time, they went back to work, but only above ground; certain of them worked in the office of the director of the mine, in the capacity of paid workers, bookkeepers, economists, etc. Their work day did not exceed eight hours; their food ration was not based on their production norm.

NEW ARRIVALS

But little by little the other prisoners' interest in the strikers began to diminish. Everyone's interest was now focused on the new trial at Moscow, which was being broadcast by radio; besides, new prisoners began arriving at the end of June. Their stories described mass arrests, outrages, executions without trial behind the walls of the NKVD, and this all over the country. At the beginning, no one wanted to believe this, particularly since the new arrivals spoke unwillingly and rather enigmatically. But little by little, the bonds between them became tighter and the conversations franker. Without letup, new prisoners arrived from Russia; old friends and acquaintances discovered each other: it no longer was possible not to believe the stories.

In spite of these obvious facts, a certain number of prisoners waited with

impatience for the autumn of 1937 and the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution; they hoped, on this occasion as in 1927, that the government would declare a large-scale amnesty, particularly since a little while earlier the very promising "Stalinist Constitution" had been adopted. But the autumn brought bitter disillusion.

BRUTAL REPRESSIONS

The harsh regime of the camps grew abruptly worse. The sergeants and their assistants in maintaining order — common criminals — having received new orders from the camp director, armed themselves with clubs and pitilessly beat the prisoners. The guards, the watchmen close to the barracks, tormented the prisoners. To amuse themselves during the night they fired on those who went to the toilets. Or else, giving the order, *on your bellies*, they forced the prisoners to stretch out, naked, for hours on the snow. Soon there were massive arrests. Almost every night, GPU agents appeared in the barracks, called out certain names and led away those called.

Certain Trotskyists, including Vladimir Ivanov, Kossior and Trotsky's son, Serge Sedov, a modest and likeable youth, who had imprudently refused to follow his parents into exile in 1928, were taken in a special convoy to Moscow. We can only believe that Stalin was not satisfied simply to hurl them into the tundra; his sadistic nature thirsted not only for blood; he wished first to immeasurably humiliate them and torture them, coercing them into false self-accusations. Ivanov and Kossior disappeared without trace behind the walls of the Lubyanka prison. As for Serge Sedov, after a "treatment" at the Lubyanka, he was "tried" at Sverdlovsk, where he had worked as an engineer at the electric station; according to the newspaper stories, "he recalled having devoted himself to acts of sabotage" and other "crimes," for which he was condemned to be shot.

Note: The author of the article commits an error, because Serge Sedov was never tried publicly, nor did he make such confessions. Our collaborator and friend, Richards (see Quatrieme Internationale No. 10, July 1960) told about his meeting with Serge Sedov in February 1937 at the Lubyanka prison in Moscow, where they tried to force him to testify against his father. His refusal brought his liquidation.)

Toward the end of the autumn, about 1,200 prisoners found themselves in the old brick field; at least half of these were Trotskyists. They were all lodged in four large barracks; their food ration was 400 grams of bread a day and not every day. The barracks were surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Nearly 100 freshly recruited guards, supplied with automatic arms, watched the prisoners day and night.

The prisoners arrested at the mine, at

Oussa and in other nearby camps were taken to an old brickyard. Those arrested in more distant camps — at Petchora, Ijme, Kojve, Tchibiou, etc — were kept near Tchibiou.

The whole winter of 1937-38 some prisoners, encamped in barracks at the brickyard, starved and waited for a decision regarding their fate. Finally, in March, three NKVD officers, with Kachketine at their head, arrived by plane at Vorkuta, coming from Moscow. They came to the brickyard to interrogate the prisoners. Thirty to forty were called each day, superficially questioned five to ten minutes each, rudely insulted, forced to listen to vile name-calling and obscenities. Some were greeted with punches in the face; Lt. Kachketine himself several times beat up one of them, the old Bolshevik, Virab Virabov, a former member of the Central Committee of Armenia.

THE "CONVOYS"

At the end of March, a list of 25 was announced, among them Guevorkian, Virabov, Slavine, etc. . . . To each was delivered a kilo of bread and orders to prepare himself for a new convoy. After fond farewells to their friends, they left the barracks, and the convoy departed. Fifteen or twenty minutes later, not far away, about half a kilometer, on the steep bank of the little river Verkhniaia Vorkuta (Upper Vorkuta), an abrupt volley resounded, followed by isolated and disorderly shots; then all grew quiet again. Soon, the convoy's escort passed back near the barracks. And it was clear to all in what sort of convoy the prisoners had been sent.

Two days later, there was a new call, this time of 40 names. Once more there was a ration of bread. Some, out of exhaustion, could no longer move; they were promised a ride in a cart. Holding their breath, the prisoners remaining in the barracks heard the grating of the snow under the feet of the departing convoy. For a long time there was no sound; but all, on the watch, still

listened. Nearly an hour passed in this way. Then, again, shots resounded in the tundra; this time, they came from much further away, in the direction of the narrow railway which passed three kilometers from the brickyard. The second "convoy" definitely convinced those remaining behind that they had been irremediably condemned.

The executions in the tundra lasted the whole month of April and part of May. Usually one day out of two, or one day out of three, 30 to 40 prisoners were called. It is characteristic to note that each time, some common criminals, repeaters, were included. In order to terrorize the prisoners, the GPU, from time to time, made publicly known by means of the local radio, the list of those shot. Usually these broadcasts began as follows: "For counter-revolutionary agitation, sabotage, brigandage in the camps, refusal to work, attempts to escape, the following have been shot . . ." followed by a list of names of some political prisoners mixed with a group of common criminals.

One time, a group of nearly a hundred, composed mainly of Trotskyists, was led away to be shot. As they marched away, the condemned sang the "Internationale," joined by the voices of hundreds of prisoners remaining in camp.

WOMEN NOT SPARED

At the beginning of May, a group of women were shot. Among them were the Ukrainian communist, Choumskaia, the wife of I. N. Smirnov, a Bolshevik since 1898 and ex-Peoples' Commissar; (Olga, the daughter of Smirnov, a young girl, apolitical, passionately fond of music, had been shot a year before in Moscow); the wives of Kossior, of Melnais, etc. . . . one of these women had to walk on crutches. At the time of execution of a male prisoner, his imprisoned wife was automatically liable to capital punishment; and when it was a question of well-known members of the Opposition, this applied equally to any of his children over the age of 12.

In May, when hardly a hundred prisoners remained, the executions were interrupted. Two weeks passed quietly; then all the prisoners were led in a convoy to the mine. There it was learned that Yezhov had been dismissed, and that his place had been taken by Beria . . .

Among the survivors of the old brickyard, several orthodox Trotskyists found that they had escaped execution. One of these, the engineer R., was very close to Guevorkian and was one of the five leaders who had organized the great hunger strike. At the mine, it was said that R. had saved his life at the cost of treason to his comrades; these suspicions were probably well founded since after the executions, R. enjoyed the confidence of the camp administration and rose to the rank of a director.

By Leon Trotsky

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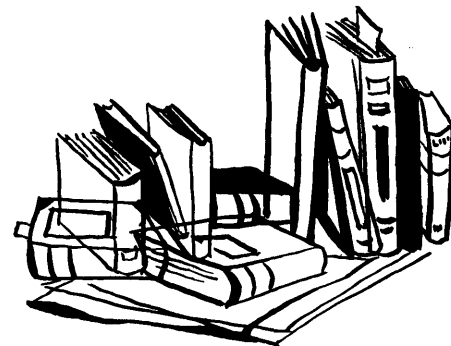
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"NO MORE WATER"



by Sylvia Weinstein

THE FIRE NEXT TIME by James Baldwin.
New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1963.
120 pp. \$3.50.

The two essays that comprise this book appeared originally in the *New Yorker* and *The Progressive* under the respective titles of "Down at the Cross" and "My Dungeon Shook."

To indicate the apocalyptic character of the "Negro problem" in this country, which imparts such an explosive quality to the forces which it has set in motion, the author derives the book's title from a "song by a slave" which carries the prophetic warning: *God gave Noah the rainbow sign, No more water, the fire next time.*

What is significant in Baldwin's writing — at least to this reviewer — is not so much the consummate artistry with which he plumbs the emotional depths of Negroes' hatred for the Jim Crow system and all that it implies in terms of humiliation and oppression, but his recognition that a fundamental solution can be thought of only in terms of power.

The thought occurs again and again in the major essay in this volume entitled, "Down at the Cross—Letter from a Region in My Mind." Yet, nowhere is the concept fully and adequately developed. Baldwin speaks of power in terms of the individual, group, community and state, without clearly delineating one from the other. For example, he tells of his admiration for the Black Muslims when first he witnessed a demonstration of their "power." It was at a street-corner meeting in Harlem. He writes:

"I have long had a very definite tendency to tune out the moment I come anywhere near either a pulpit or a soapbox. What these men were saying about white people I had often heard before. And I dismissed the Nation of Islam's demand for a separate black economy in America, which I had also heard before, as willful, and even mischievous, nonsense. Then two things caused me to begin to listen to the speeches, and one was the behaviour of the police.

"After all, I had seen men dragged from their platforms on this very corner for saying less virulent things, and I had seen many crowds dispersed by policemen, with clubs or on horseback. But the policemen were doing nothing now. Obviously, this was not because they had become more human but because they were under orders and because they were afraid. And indeed they were, and I was delighted to see it . . . I might have pitied them if I had not found myself in their hands so often and discovered, through ugly experience, what they were like when they held the power and what they were like when you held the power."

This was the "power" displayed by a militant group determined to defend their right to speak against interference by the cops. It is this quality that Baldwin finds so admirable in the followers of Elijah Muhammad.

But of all the varieties of power exercised in the Negro struggle for emancipation, Baldwin seems to recognize that the apex of the power structure is political power — control of the state apparatus at all levels. For, as he emphasizes, "there is simply no possibility of a real change in the Negro's situation without the most radical and far-reaching changes in the American political and social structure."

It is precisely on this decisive point that Baldwin's thinking becomes the fuzziest. Viewing the struggle in terms of black versus white and recognizing that the Negro people constitute a minority of the population, Baldwin is led into a blind alley.

White Americans, he avers, "are not simply unwilling to effect these changes; they are in the main, so slothful have they become, unable even to envision them." Ergo, he falls back on a mystical faith in human nature. He says he knows, "that people can be better than they are. We are capable of bearing a great burden, once we discover that the burden is reality and arrive where reality is."

And what is the reality? ". . . we are living in an age of revolution, whether we will or no, and that America is the only Western nation with both the power and, as I hope to suggest, the experience that may help to make these revolutions real and minimize the human damage. Any attempt we make to oppose these outbursts of energy is tantamount to signing our death warrant."

Wishful thought and the apocalyptic warning are here combined. It is not only wishful thinking but a dangerous delusion to entertain the idea that the rapacious American ruling capitalist class can act in any way other than they have been doing — as the spearhead of counter-revolutionary reaction on a world scale.

"White" America is divided into social classes. The ruling capitalist class derives its profits and privileges from the exploitation of labor, both black and white. Its monopoly of state power converts government into an instrument of the ruling class whose material interests are served by perpetuating the system of racial discrimination at home and counter-revolutionary tyranny abroad.

The white worker, inoculated at a tender age with the virus of race prejudice and brainwashed throughout his life by the rulers of white society, must learn through the very material conditions of his existence that "labor with a white skin cannot be emancipated where labor with a black skin is branded." It is this common interest in the struggle against labor exploitation and the evils it brings that must and will unite black and white in the struggle for political power.

The struggle for political power, if it is to be effective, presupposes political organization; that is, an independent labor party based on the trade unions in alliance with the Negro and other minority people. To clear a path to this alliance, the white worker must break with the reformist labor bureaucracy which is determined to retain its coalition with the Democratic party, just as

the "new" Negro has broken with the Uncle Tom leadership of the Negro struggle. It is along this road that the conquest of political power can become a reality.

The Cuban revolution has demonstrated that the conquest of power in revolutionary struggle against all forms of exploitation led inexorably and quickly to the overthrow of racial discrimination in all of its hideous forms.

Leadership in the Negro Struggle

by Arthur Jordan

THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP CLASS by Daniel C. Thompson, with a foreword by Martin Luther King, Jr. A Spectrum Book. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963. 174 pp. \$1.95.

This is a study of the functional role — or roles — played by Negro "race relations" leaders in New Orleans since 1940.

The book is the product of a four-year (1958-62) research project conducted by the author at Dillard University where he was then a sociology professor. Dr. Thompson has culled a basic sample of 100 "top race relations leaders" (75 Negroes, 25 whites) from the 318 individuals initially interviewed by his research team. The responses of this basic sample to a series of "open-ended" questions, together with observations recorded by researchers (who were also active participants in Negro and interracial organizations) at meetings they attended, constitute the core material on which the study is based.

Dr. Thompson's main concern is how Negroes "get things done" in a biracial community in which there are no Negroes in the decision-making "power structure." He finds that to get things done, Negro leaders must seek to influence white "men of power," and that, in the pattern of race relations on the leadership level, the role played by Negro leaders is largely determined by the types of whites they seek to influence. He describes three such white-Negro dichotomous relationships: "segregationist-Uncle Tom," "moderate-racial diplomat," and "liberal-race man."

At the outset (1940) of the period under review, the traditional segregationist-Uncle Tom relationship was clearly dominant. Whatever the Uncle Toms could get done had to be within strictly Jim Crow limits. Then, perhaps as Dr. King's foreword suggests, in response to changing "mass demands," the Uncle Toms began to be replaced by the other, not entirely new, types of Negro leaders — the race men and the racial diplomats. White liberals appeared to agree with the race men that Jim Crow

This is the "reality" of our day. It is this reality that will inevitably hew a path into the consciousness of the American working class — especially if the process is speeded by the application of the considerable talents of such rebels as Baldwin and his co-fighters in the struggle for Negro emancipation when they have thought through to the end the fundamental essence of the power struggle in America.

had to go. White moderates seemed ready to work out compromises with the racial diplomats, even where some segregation might be abandoned in the process.

The difficulty was that all along the real white "men of power" remained segregationists. Moderates and liberals, it turned out, were not inside the "power structure." Or, to put it another way, seeming moderates and liberals who *were* in the "power structure," showed themselves in the pinch to be segregationists. In the school desegregation crisis of 1960-61 moderates acted at best as, in Dr. Thompson's words, "segregationists unwilling to go so far as to defy the federal court orders," while liberals, with some praiseworthy exceptions, reduced themselves to moderates or went into limbo altogether.

Returning to the question of how Negroes get things done, it seems that whatever has been done for New Orleans Negroes — not very much — it was done with the grudging acquiescence of segregationist "men of power." This is apparent in Dr. Thompson's chapter by chapter review of the negligible or very limited gains of Negroes since 1940 in the areas of "citizenship," "earning a living," and "education." Perhaps cajolery and appeals to conscience coaxed a few contemptuous crumbs from the table. The rest was yielded under pressure — or the threat (overt or latent) of pressure: either direct mass action of some kind (boycotts, sit-ins) or the litigation-induced intervention of the Federal Government.

The Federal Government is, of course, a national "power structure" that far overshadows those of the city of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana. Dr. Thompson seems confident that New Orleans Negroes — through northern Negro and white liberal allies — can exert more leverage upon it than can the local segregationist "men of power." A test of strength may be the public schools where New Orleans Negro leadership seems to rely almost exclusively upon the Federal Government. To date, segregation is the reality in New Or-

leans public schools, integration a "token" will-o'-the-wisp.

Dr. Thompson estimates that a large majority of the present Negro leadership of New Orleans are thorough "race men" determined to achieve complete civic, economic, and social equality. He shows how they have grown in militancy and resourcefulness. The question, perhaps inadequately considered by him, is where do they go from here? Representing a minority, they still must find allies who will not desert or run for cover in the coming struggle. They continue to confront the segregationist "men of power" who still — by and large — call the shots in New Orleans. Won't the last battle have to be one for the "power structure" itself?

Documentary Studies on the Sino-Soviet Rift

ALBANIA AND THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT by William E. Griffith. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1963. 421 pp. Cloth \$7.50. Paper \$2.95.

KHRUSHCHEV SPEAKS. Edited, with Commentary by Thomas P. Whitney. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1963. \$7.50.

Not much information is available in English about the role of Albania in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This book is the first detailed examination of the background, causes and development of the differences between Tirana and Moscow which resulted in an open break in late 1961 and has continued with mounting vehemence since.

In addition to tracing the complicated course of relations between the Soviet Union, Communist China and Albania from 1960 to 1963, the author analyzes the conflict between Yugoslavia and Albania which is one of the main reasons for Tirana's antagonism toward Moscow and alliance with Peking. The book contains translations of 34 Albanian and Soviet documents pertaining to the key issues in their dissension. This first publication by the Center for International Studies is a useful scholarly study of the politics of the small European country which has so big a part in the Great Debate.

Khrushchev Speaks is a compilation of speeches by the Soviet leader, and is a useful book for students of the Soviet Union.

A reading of both these documents will provide a much better understanding of some of the basic causes that underlie the current Moscow-Peking dispute.

W.F.W.

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