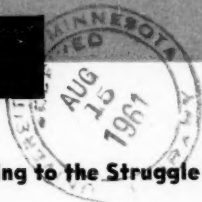


political affairs

AUGUST 1961 • 35 CENTS

July
HENRY WINSTON

[1] **On Returning to the Struggle**



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

[3] **We Can Win**

T. NUMADA

[22] **The Choice Before
New Africa**

B. PONOMAROV

[32] **On National Democracy**

S. FINKELSTEIN

[43] **John Dewey's Philosophy
of Art**

VICTOR PERLO

[57] **On the So-Called
"Middle Class"**

ERIK BERT

[60] **Lenin on Agriculture**

**THE ULTRA RIGHT, KENNEDY, AND THE
ROLE OF PROGRESSIVES**

By Gus Hall

[12]



HENRY WINSTON

Victim of the anti-Communist laws, just released from prison by Presidential order following national and worldwide campaigns for his freedom.

Vol. XL

A

By H

V
ing
wh
rac
at
do
gr
tel
be

Up
order
U.S.
ten I
time,
swer
glad
I a
and
and
ever,
rade

Re-en
unde
Publi
corre
and
PRIN

A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER; Associate Editor: HYMAN LUMER

On Returning to the Struggle

By Henry Winston

While heavy blows were struck against civil liberties in our country during the month of June, 1961, on its very last day, a plus sign was registered when President Kennedy ordered the release from prison of our dear Comrade Henry Winston. All friends of justice and common decency rejoiced at Comrade Winnie's too-long-delayed release, achieved after years of domestic and international pressure. On July 5, 1961, Henry Winston granted a press interview, which was widely covered by the radio and television industries also. At that time, he issued the statement we publish below.—*The Editor.*

Upon my release by Presidential order on Friday, June 30, from the U.S. Public Health Hospital at Staten Island after serving most of my time, I promised newspapermen answers to their questions later. I am glad to answer those questions today.

I am, of course, happy to be free and once more to be with my family and friends. My joy is marred, however, by the fact that my good comrade and friend, Gilbert Green, is

still imprisoned in Leavenworth Prison, a victim, like myself and others, of a political frameup under the viciously undemocratic thought control law known as the Smith Act. He is due to be released July 29.

I want to thank publicly all those who fought so hard for my release—my family and my friends, and many, many others in various walks of life. I am deeply grateful to the many Negro leaders in the min-

Re-entered as second class matter January 4, 1945, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. POLITICAL AFFAIRS is published monthly by New Century Publishers, Inc., at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., to whom subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be sent. Subscription rate: \$4.00 a year; \$2.00 for six months; foreign and Canada, \$4.75 a year. Single copies 35 cents.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

 209

istry and elsewhere, who spoke up for my freedom. I am deeply appreciative of the efforts of the Rev. Edler P. Hawkins, moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Roger Baldwin and Norman Thomas, who never permitted their political disagreement with me to stop their fight for justice and humanity.

My present plans call for some rest and then a lengthy visit with my mother and sisters who live in the Midwest.

Subsequently I plan to return to New York where I shall further retrain myself to activity under the handicap of blindness — a disability brought on by callous and criminal neglect of Federal officials. Had I been paroled in 1958, when I was eligible for parole, I would not have had to undergo surgery in 1960 and would not today be suffering from my affliction. Had prison officials and governmental authorities, even

as late as 1959, heeded my complaints, I might not be blind today.

However, despite my handicap, I intend to resume my part in the fight for an America and a world of peace and security, free of poverty, disease, and race discrimination.

In prison I followed with special pride the accounts of the magnificent struggle of my people. I regard the Freedom Riders as heroes of our time who are making a contribution not only to the cause of Negro freedom but of democratic rights for all Americans.

I return from prison with the unshaken conviction that the people of our great land, Negro and white, need a Communist Party fighting for the unity of the people for peace, democracy, security, and socialism. I take my place in it again with deep pride. My sight is gone but my vision remains.

Elizabeth

WHAT IS

It is not r
detail th
supreme C
which by f
of the
1950 (McC
ership cla
as alread
nd eloqu
als in thi
I want
ow—the
ision an
check an
aim of
ally the
first orga
order of
Control
promptly
are avail
Joseph I
the Part
gation s
his sud
Vito M
counsel.

STAY
SECU

They

We Can Win

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

It is not necessary for me to discuss in detail the substance of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions of June 5, which by five-to-four upheld Section 5 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) and the membership clause of the Smith Act. This has already been done adequately and eloquently in articles and editorials in this magazine for July. Rather, I want to discuss what happens now—the consequences of the decision and what must be done to check and defeat the unconstitutional aim of the McCarran Act. Naturally the Communist Party, as the first organization affected by a final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register, proceeded promptly to take whatever legal steps are available. Mr. John Abt and Mr. Joseph Forer have ably represented the Party as its counsel in such litigation since 1950. Up to the time of his sudden death, ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio was associate counsel.

STAY OF EXECUTION SECURED

They moved for a stay of the Su-

preme Court decision on the McCarran Act until the Court passes on a motion for rehearing in October, after the summer recess. This was granted by Justice Frankfurter. The rules of the Court give every litigant the right to seek reconsideration of a decision. The arguments presented in the Party's petition are based on several important issues, including some that the four dissenting Justices stated should have been considered by the Court and decided in favor of the Party. They involve the First and Fifth Amendments. One would expect that the Attorney General would respect the views of four Justices, including the Chief Justice. But the present brash young Attorney General, who had expressed his intention to move against the Communists as early as June 10, was reported in the press to be "surprised and disappointed" at the stay.

NO SUCH HASTE

He does not rush to stop the vile brutality against the Freedom Riders in the South nor to enforce federal law there. He does not proceed in such haste against Governors Patterson and Barnett, of Alabama and Mississippi, who are in rebellion

against the U. S. government. But this is not strange in view of Robert Kennedy's past associations with reactionary witch-hunts against Communists and with labor-baiting committees. He was one-time counsel for the Senate Committee headed by McCarthy and a counsel on a subcommittee "investigating" unions, headed by the white-supremacist Senator McClellan of Arkansas.

1961—NOT TEN YEARS AGO

Even Robert Kennedy cannot turn back the clock of history. The political climate is different today on a world scale and on the domestic scene, from ten years ago, as our readers will know. Then McCarthyism was rampant. An intense cold war atmosphere prevailed. A hysterical Congress passed this illegal monstrosity, over the sober veto of President Truman. On July 4, 1951, only one man in Madison, Wisconsin, was brave enough to sign his name to the Declaration of Independence, when presented by a local reporter. One person who refused said it sounded "Russian." Today millions of Americans realize there has been a whittling away of democratic rights, during and as an aftermath of McCarthyism. Suicides, firings, imprisonments, Un-American Activities Committee deportation proceedings and contempt imprisonments. A whole series of

repressive laws and practices engulfed many people far removed from the Communist Party.

THE RIGHTS YOU SAVE

The experiences of the last decade demonstrate that when the Communists warned: "The rights you save may be your own!" it was too true. Except for the perpetrators of these laws, who warwhooped Congress over the Supreme Court decision, plus the ultra-reactionaries and their lunatic fringes — Birchites and the like — there was little rejoicing over the decision. Instead from coast to coast, in hundreds of newspapers, doubts, questions, and even sharp criticism, were expressed. The changed atmosphere may be measured by this and other events:

GUS HALL INTERVIEWED

A press conference by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., accompanied by Benjamin J. Davis and the writer was held three days after the Court's decision. It brought dozens of reporters, photographers, wire service, T.V. and radio interviewers, both domestic and foreign, to the Communist Party office in New York City. Wide publicity was given to Gus Hall's courageous and frank statements. He said: "The McCarran Act asks our Party to commit suicide, but we will not comply

the refuse t
geons." F
will not bet
member of
supporter.
the rest of
betray a
om."
P. IN MI
Gus Hall
ing for it
defending
ans. Th
ives of th
ere was
ter expr
athy. Th
orters w
astic pen
virtually
New Yor
that this
unist P
the defe
This ha
though
The Bill
throat o
for its p
stitutionar
t actual
today.
C. P. H
No
called
minist
is mac

"We refuse to be informers or stool-pigeons." He said further: "We will not betray the trust of a single member of our Party or a single supporter. We would rather spend the rest of our days in prison than betray anyone and live in freedom."

P. IN MIDDLE OF STRUGGLE

Gus Hall made clear that in fighting for its own rights, the Party is defending the rights of all Americans. The assembled representatives of the press listened attentively, there was no red-baiting, and some later expressed their personal sympathy. The most case-hardened reporters were shocked at the fantastic penalties imposed by this law, virtually life imprisonment. The *New York Post* regretfully remarked that this decision puts the Communist Party right in the middle of the defense of the Bill of Rights. This has been true for a decade, though it is more obvious today. The Bill of Rights is a bone in the throat of the warmongers. To fight for its preservation is the most revolutionary action to them, and in fact actually is that in the U. S. A. today.

C. P. HELD THE DIKES

No other organization can be called upon to register as "a Communist-front" until the final order is made for the Communist Party

to register first, as "a Communist-action organization." The vigorous and prolonged legal struggle of the Party not only forced the order to be referred back to the Board twice by the Supreme Court, but it has spearheaded the defense of all other affected organizations. It held the dikes and kept the flood of reaction from inundating thirteen other organizations. Unfortunately, many succumbed later to the harassment and dissolved. But there are today four existing organizations whose appeals are still in the courts, after hearings and adverse decisions by the Board. They are the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born; the Council for American-Soviet Friendship; the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and the Washington State Pension Union. Action will undoubtedly follow against them by the Board when and if there is a final order against the Communist Party. So once again the Party is spearheading the struggle and holding the dikes for all others.

POSSIBLE FUTURE VICTIMS

The axe is being sharpened for other existing or new organizations. F.B.I. Director Hoover, who always gets into the act, of course, talks about investigating 200 more organizations. Dixiecrat Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina in a recent Senate speech charged that the Freedom Riders are part of a Communist conspiracy and

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina denounced the Congress of Racial Equality which sponsors the rides as "Communist infested—to foment violence." Future victims may well include the above as well as students' groups who oppose the House Un-American Activities Committee, groups who demand fair play for Cuba, peace organizations, and the like. The Board will be back in business policing progressive organizations. It is rumored in Washington that a case is being prepared against the International Longshoremen's and Warehouse Workers' Union, headed by Harry Bridges. The official head-hunters have been gunning for this militant union for many years.

REPERCUSSIONS ABROAD

The Supreme Court decision has already had sharp repercussions abroad, especially in the NATO countries. Such a Hitler-like edict, masquerading as a law, is painfully reminiscent of what happened to the democratic rights of all peoples conquered by the Nazis, as well as in Germany. It recalls the frightful Nuremberg laws with their murderous consequences to the Jewish people of Europe. That it can now happen in the "land of the free" is appalling to people elsewhere and lowers our nation's prestige generally. American authorities here and abroad are already receiving protests, petitions and inquiries. People in other NATO countries are alarmed

at the danger of such a precedent in the USA—the most powerful capitalist country of them all. In France there are decrees, not yet invoked, giving De Gaulle power to act against the Communists. In Italy there is a hue and cry by the reactionary Rightists—for restriction against the powerful Communist Party. In West Germany the Communist Party is outlawed but it exists and is not silenced. They sent a message of solidarity to the CPUSA.

NO BREATHING SPELL

It is important that all Americans interested in the efforts to nullify the McCarran Act do not consider the temporary stay of execution as a breathing spell. While the lawyers wage the legal struggle, it is even more important that all who are menaced by the current repressive legislation, together with many thousands who have already gone on record against the law during the last ten years, and all others who now are ready to speak out, should do so in a nation-wide demonstrative protest. I am certain a grass-roots public opinion can be mobilized to support the argument of the attorneys for a rehearing and in support of the four dissents—Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan.

The issue is very broad—to defend
AGREE ON BILL OF RIGHTS

the Bill
 sary to
 plank,
 of opin
 end to
 is unco
 is suffi
 million
 Many
 defens
 this pr
 past—
 Billing
 the Mo
 the ri
 parties
 fight
 and t
 includ
 mark
 Denn
 siona
 said:
 enab
 mun
 Cons
 nist
 litica
 view
 to th
 l, in
 the
 toda
 MA
 O
 T
 in
 ane

the Bill of Rights. It is only necessary to have unanimity on this one plank, in spite of wide divergence of opinion on all other subjects. An end to all repressive legislation which is unconstitutional and undemocratic, is sufficient as a program to unite millions. Now is the time to act. Many powerful and successful labor defense movements were built on this principle in our country in the past—such as those for Mooney and Billings, and Sacco and Vanzetti. In the McCarran Act struggle is involved the right of independent political parties to exist in the U.S.A. It is a fight for the right of political choice and the right to hear political ideas, including socialism, advocated in the market-place of ideas. When Eugene Dennis appeared before a Congressional hearing on this in 1947, he said: *"I am here to defend the inalienable right of Americans to be Communists. I am here to defend the Constitutional right of the Communist Party to function as a legal political party, that openly presents its views, its program, and its candidates to the American people. In doing so, I, in fact, defend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."* This is as true today as when he spoke.

MANY FOUGHT PASSAGE OF LAW

The Communists were not alone in 1947 in opposition to this law, and later to other repressive legisla-

tion. The proposed McCarran Act was opposed in Congress by an impressive array of Americans, including the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the Railroad Brotherhoods and many independent unions; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the American Jewish Congress; the American Civil Liberties Union; the American Veterans Committee; Americans for Democratic Action; the National Farmers Union; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; the National Lawyers' Guild; the Association of the Bar of New York; the Friends' (Quakers) Committee on National Legislation; the Episcopal League for Social Action; many distinguished lawyers such as Charles Evans Hughes; John W. Davis; Zachariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard; also Professor Fowler Harper of Yale; Professor Emeritus William G. Rice of Wisconsin; Chancellor Robert Hutchins, then of the University of Chicago; Stanley M. Isaacs of New York; Bishop Francis Haas of Michigan; and many others. More than twenty major newspapers condemned this measure. Thousands of local groups passed resolutions. I have given this lengthy list to enable the readers to contact many of them today and to encourage others to speak out, in what, we hope, may be the final round against this obnoxious law.

NON-ENFORCEABLE BUT VICIOUS

Many editorials have pointed out that this law is so contradictory as to make it non-enforceable. The best argument against the law is the law itself. But this is small comfort. It does not guarantee that its intended victims are free from its evil consequences. There are also prison penalties if one does not comply. If a Communist cannot submit to its fascist-like built-in verdict of guilt, embodied in its impossible requirement to register—in defiance of truth—as a conspiratorial foreign agent; to label one's literature, to disclose membership lists—then, like an axe, the cruel and fantastic penalties fall on the victim in quick order. The government knows this law is not enforceable. But they plan prosecutions—arrests, indictments, trials, and long prison sentences. One need not be a Communist to act to abolish this monstrosity, stop this vicious procedure—to restore the Bill of Rights.

EXPOSE THE BIG LIE

The Big Lie of Hitler is embodied in this law—the charge of an international conspiracy of which American Communists are a part and therefore are “foreign agents.” This lie has had its impact through years of repetition in this country. It is important to point out in discussing it, that there is not a single case on

record of an American Communist even being charged with being a foreign agent. Under the law which governs foreign agents, *parallelism of views* is advanced as a basis for this charge, namely that the C.P. U.S.A. takes positions similar to that of the U.S.S.R. Professor Philip Mosely of Columbia enumerated forty-five issues during a thirty-year period to substantiate this. In many instances the C.P.U.S.A. statements were of an earlier date than those of the Soviet Union and dealt with public issues like the Second Front during World War II, the North Atlantic Pact, peace in Korea, seating the Chinese People's Republic in the U.N., on which there was and is a large measure of agreement among many non-Communist Americans. Let us ask then the question: Does that make them all foreign agents?

DID ROBERT READ THE COURT'S OPINION?

Robert Kennedy is quoted in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 10, as follows: “If the Communist Party was just a party operating in the United States and *not being financed by the Soviet Union*, I don't believe there would be any fuss or bother about them at all.” This barefaced lie by the Attorney General indicates that he did not even read the Supreme Court's majority opinion. As was pointed out in the July editorial in *Political Affairs*, it stated

at the Subversive Activities Control Board had not submitted any evidence that the C.P.U.S.A. is financed by the Soviet Union. No such charge has ever been made in the Smith Act trials or in any other court proceedings. By his own reasoning, the Attorney General should refuse to use the McCarran Act against the Communists.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

One of Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous four freedoms was "The right to work." One of the first acts of the Nazis was to deprive Jewish people of the right to earn a living. The McCarran Act does the same thing to Communists and others. Since the final registration orders of the Board are in effect, members of the affected organizations are literally deprived of the right to either earn a living or leave the country. They are forbidden to work for the U.S. government or in any defense facility—defined in the law as "plant, factory, or other manufacturing, producing, or service establishment, airport, airport facility, vessel, pier, waterfront establishment, mine, railroad, public utility, laboratory, station or other establishment or facility or any part, division, or department of any of the foregoing." This all-embracing prohibition practically forbids a Communist and others affected to earn a living in the U.S.A. today, where all basic industry is tied

up directly or indirectly to "defense."

HOUSE ARREST

Nor can such a person leave the country. He is virtually under house arrest. Once the registration order is final, he cannot apply for, renew, or use a passport. Such provisions, brought to their attention, will certainly shock our fellow Americans, to whom the right to earn a living and support one's family is considered sacred—regardless of race, creed, color or politics. Yet another fascist-like requirement of the McCarran Act is the limitation placed on the U.S. mails, for organizations ordered to register. It orders that these publications must be labelled: "Disseminated by, a Communist organization." Such a procedure is calculated to label the recipient as well as the receiver and could cause witch-hunts wholesale.

NO FREE PRESS

The term publication is stretched in the law to make a mockery of the first amendment's guarantee of "freedom of speech or of the press." It covers "circulars, newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, books, *letters*, *postcards*, leaflets, or other publications." All printing presses, mimeograph and duplicating machines are to be registered. All of these prohibitions, relative to jobs, passports, labelling of publications, carry severe fines and prison sentences for violations. It is im-

portant to familiarize our fellow Americans with all the definitions, restrictions, prohibitions, and vicious penalties of this legal monstrosity, to arouse their indignation, and to secure their support.

SUPPORT THE FOUR DISSENTS

It must be made clear in discussing the Supreme Court's decision that it dealt narrowly with the S.A.C.B.'s order to the Communist Party to register. It did not pass on the law as a whole or on the criminal prosecutions or unbelievable penalties that would follow non-compliance. This caused Justice Douglas to remark: "The great injustice of what we do today lies in compelling the officials of the Party to violate this law before their constitutional claims can be heard and determined. Never before, I believe, have we forced such a choice on a litigant." In other words, in order to invoke the Fifth Amendment, one must refuse to comply with the law. The vital questions raised by the four dissenting Justices and others raised by the attorneys, call for strong public support for a rehearing. I am informed that a National Assembly for Democratic Rights is projected by a group of public-spirited citizens for this purpose. By the time this article appears, it will undoubtedly be well under way for mid-September, and deserve the unlimited efforts of all our readers.

LATER—CONCENTRATION CAMPS?

Little is heard or said of Title of the sinister McCarran Act, signed not by Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels, but by McCarran, Eastland, Nixon, and Walter, among others. Apparently it is quietly secreted in the archives of the Department of Justice for possible future use. It passed with the rest of the law, during the hysteria of the Korean war and the then current "Berlin crisis." *It calls for concentration camps for Americans.* In the event of invasion of the U.S. or a declaration of war or insurrection within the U.S. in aid of a foreign power, all persons whom the Attorney General has "reasonable grounds" to believe would probably connive in or engage in acts of sabotage and espionage could be ordered placed in detention. Title II is called "The Detention Act of 1950." It has the same kind of fraudulent "Finding of Facts" as Title I, and sets up a Board for hearings.

THE DEAD END OF DEMOCRACY

So there you have it to its logical conclusion—the dead end of democracy. All who oppose war, all who advocate peace, disarmament, coexistence, can, upon the judgment of the Attorney General, be shunted off to concentration camps, along with Communists, fighters for Negro

right
law
Justi
read
in V
ican
wer
the
bur
any
call
Am
the
Act
anc
sel
ing
on
tio
de
at
er
cl
co
w
d
o
i
k
c
i
r
l
s

rights, labor's rights, etc. After the law was passed, the Department of Justice proceeded publicly to get ready the camps which had been used in World War II for Japanese-American detainees. Federal prisoners were used to build a new camp near the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. A military involvement in any one of several spots where a so-called crisis exists, and hundreds of Americans, listed as "subversive" by the F.B.I., the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Birchites, and what have you, could find themselves in a concentration camp, awaiting a possible hearing at a later date on "reasonable grounds" by a Detention Board. They can clap you into detention first and then decide why at their leisure. The Attorney General, under this law, need not disclose, either to the Board or to a court, evidence of government agents which in his opinion would be dangerous to the safety or security of the U.S. Your fate will be entirely in "little brother's" hands! Let it be known far and wide to the American people what the end of the trail is for Americans under the McCarran Act. When it becomes fully known, I am confident there will be such universal indignation and repu-

diation of this disgraceful Act, as will sweep it into oblivion. Victory is possible.

* * *

NOTE: This article deals almost exclusively with the McCarran Act. But extremely serious and damaging to constitutional rights, is the June 5 decision of the Supreme Court, upholding the membership clause of the infamous thought-control Smith Act. Thirty Communists have already served prison terms under the conspiracy section of this law. Finally, the Supreme Court reviewed and rejected the evidence in the California case and practically all other conspiracy cases were dismissed. In their recent decision, the conviction of Junius Scales, one-time Southern organizer of the Communist Party but no longer a member, was upheld on the membership clause. His motion for a rehearing was denied and he is now in prison, sentenced to six years. This is a longer sentence than any leader of the Party served under the conspiracy section. Sentences ranged from one year to five years, at the most. This is cruel and unusual punishment. Efforts to secure a reduction of sentence should be supported by all fair-minded Americans. In a forthcoming article for *Political Affairs*, I will discuss the *membership cases*, where they are, whom they affect, and what can be done about them.—E. G. F.

The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of Progressives

By Gus Hall

The threat from the ultra-Right continues to mount in the United States. At the same time, the Kennedy Administration pursues a cold-war, interventionist, and generally anti-democratic course. We are therefore confronted with a unique problem of how, under these circumstances, to carry on the struggle for peace and democracy most effectively. The problem can best be posed by a series of questions.

Is the threat from the extreme Right serious, in the sense that it is approaching the position where it can exert the decisive influence in government or itself make a bid for power?

What is the relationship between the ultra-Right and the Kennedy Administration, and how are they different? Is it necessary to draw a line of differentiation?

These are complex and serious problems. Much can be learned from our own history, especially the New Deal period, and also from parallel situations in other countries, as in France. But there are also new and special aspects which need serious assessment. Here I propose only to begin such an assessment.

I. THE THREAT FROM THE ULTRA-RIGHT

In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme Right is serious. It arises from a situation which is new for the United States. This, the most powerful capitalist country, cannot have its way in a world in which the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace are playing a decisive role. Continuing rebuffs and defeats for the cold war and interventionist policy (most recently in Cuba and Laos) confront the dominant monopoly power with a choice, essentially between two alternatives. One is to end the cold war and to seek some form of accommodation to the socialist and national revolutionary world, which would mean a turn to a policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Such a shift of policy would meet the most urgent national needs of the country in the present period of world history.

The other course is to seek to contain and reverse world trends by all means, including so-called limited war and the ultimate nuclear war.

It is necessary to recognize that present cold-war policies of the Administration lead in this direction. However, we must also recognize that the most aggressive and extreme expression of this suicidal policy comes from the ultra-Right.

War is their prescription for the crisis facing the country. Senator Goldwater and Richard Nixon, contending for leadership of the Right-wing Republicans, advocate a war course, as do their Dixiecrat Democratic allies, like Senators Eastland and Smathers. They are ready to take any pressing world issue, whether it be Cuba or Berlin, as an occasion for starting military action. They actively and aggressively seek the brink. In fact, Nixon is now calling continuously for resuming the Dulles brinkmanship policy.

THE FASCIST NETWORK

In back of this political war-minded coalition, there is emerging in the country an organized movement of the fascist type, financed by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of Big Business. This is more serious than previous developments of this kind, and holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

For one thing, unlike previous fascist currents, the present movement is taking the form of a *membership* organization, in conspiratorial action groups, including secret mili-

tary formations. The spearhead, the John Birch Society, is such an organization, around which is gathering a network of older hate groups, fascist sheets, and the White Citizens Councils and other die-hard racist groups of the South.

The fascist network operates in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees, like the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the states. It is developing the demagogy characteristic of fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth anti-monopoly slogans to ensnare middle-class dissent. The fascist network is openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of "revolution"—that is, counter-revolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely.

MILITARY BIG-BUSINESS COMPLEX

Another pronounced characteristic of this growing fascist movement is its spreading influence among the higher military personnel. The case of General Walker was only a symptom of a much deeper affliction. Even the Pentagon had to admit recently that it was "worried over the extent of Birchite and similar influence

among the ranking officers of the military services."

It is now known that a secret directive, issued by the National Security Council in 1958, instructed commanding officers here and abroad to "enlighten" both the armed forces and civilians in their areas on the "cold war policy." It was followed by additional guides and materials, still classified as secret, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the basis of which seminars and meetings were organized by the military commands, often in co-operation with local business groups. Complaints have been pouring into the Pentagon against the political activities of the military staffs, especially their wide dissemination of Birchite propaganda and of the obnoxious films "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map."

The entire line of policy, coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities, can not help but create our own "French generals," who feel at home in fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of twenty years of militarization, of the close co-operation between the armed forces and monopoly in handling a \$40-billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy.

This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main

branches of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals.

When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system, we can surely say that the threat from the ultra-Right is serious indeed.

The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultra-Right and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups, and Negro societies, and the incarnation of jingoism and racism as a national creed—in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction.

II. THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

The policies and actions of the Big Business-dominated Kennedy Administration during the first six months played into the hands of the ultra-Right. In substance, the main direction of its blows has been against peace and independence, against democratic and civil rights, against labor.

In this brief period, the Administration managed to proclaim a policy

"paramilitary
national
pped u
ld war,
venture
It sough
iders, an
nd execu
wil right
It invol
against th
The D
ares the
ation to
al Supre
decisions
ecution
By pro
real an
dent K
entral p
ra-Right
their aim
ated res
NOT O
The
sues thi
ated by
anciers
must b
while
measur
ocratic
mistak
minist
on the
To
betwe

"paramilitary" intervention against national liberation movements, stepped up the arms race and the cold war, and launched the military adventure against Cuba.

It sought to "cool off" the Freedom Riders, and has evaded legislative and executive action in the field of civil rights.

It invoked the Taft-Hartley Law against the maritime strikers.

The Department of Justice declares the intention of the Administration to follow through on the fatal Supreme Court anti-Communist decisions by renewed vigorous prosecution of the Communist Party.

By proclaiming communism the "real and imminent danger," President Kennedy has acceded to the central pretext under which the ultra-Right and fascist trends seek their aims, and has thereby stimulated reaction.

NOT ON FASCIST ROAD

The Kennedy Administration pursues this course because it is dominated by the big monopolists and financiers whose interests it serves. This must be kept firmly in mind. Yet, while recognizing that it has taken measures which further curtail democratic rights, it would be a serious mistake to consider the Kennedy Administration as embarked at present on the fascist road.

To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-

Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left and all progressives. It is not simple. Kennedy is not a Roosevelt. Since his election, he has been moving in a reactionary direction. But it is not inevitable that he will continue along this path, giving ever wider openings to the ultra-Right.

If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy.

KENNEDY'S CONTRADICTIONARY COURSE

It seems to me we must always keep in mind the various necessities and commitments with which the Kennedy Administration must operate, and which the ultra-Right wants to ignore and shove aside.

The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the U. S. imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace forces) which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess. Its wavering course results also from pressures of the masses of people in our own country, particularly from the working class, the Negro people, the peace forces which have been its main mass support and which elected it.

This zig-zag, oscillating course is to be seen in a number of facts. For example, even while maintaining a cold-war policy, the Administration remains committed to a position of negotiation with the Soviet Union—as on Berlin, Laos, nuclear testing, and disarmament. It is no small matter that Kennedy, despite all he said against it, had to resume talks with Khrushchev at Geneva, talks which had been ruptured by the U-2 incident.

It is also of significance that Kennedy decided not to back up the emigre invasion of Cuba with direct and open U. S. military support, as criminal and reprehensible as was his decision to go through with the military adventure and as serious as still is the danger of U. S. imperialist intervention. It is also noteworthy that Kennedy must still seek to maintain democratic and anti-colonial pretenses in his dealings with the national liberation movements, although his objective remains to contain and reverse them. This creates certain embarrassments for him in world affairs, in view of anti-democratic measures at home.

THE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE

It is of course true that these maneuvers, pretenses, and concessions are forced upon him by the strength of the world peace forces, by the deterioration of imperialism in particular,

by the declining world prestige and position of U.S. imperialism in particular, and by the deep-rooted peace and democratic sentiment of the American people.

But the fact remains that the Kennedy Administration has not closed the door to accommodation to the world realities, as the ultra-Right wishes it to do, and this involves certain recognition of the new necessities of the present-day world at home and abroad. This is an important difference, which the forces for peace and democracy must recognize and exploit in order to bring about the required change in national policy.

Turning to the domestic scene, we must also recognize that as a consequence of the elections and of labor, Negro, and liberal support, it is difficult for Kennedy to ignore his commitments in the field of social legislation, which the ultra-Right would like to cancel out entirely. As inadequate as his measures are, they have to be fought for in a reactionary Congress.

SHEDDING OF ILLUSIONS

It is a good thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy in the ranks of labor, the Negro people, and other popular circles are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention the deep cleavage, after the Cuban fiasco, among the liberals who supported Kennedy, the sharp

criticis
of Taf
many
greete
with
rights
with
fights
Mo
ence
other
quate
meet
unen
perm
of m
the
unsc
cial
tion
regi
mill
the
cial
Puc
ileg
edu
con
Mu
apr
the
yo
in
gr
to
as
lo
w
ir

criticism from labor following his use of Taft-Hartley, the scorn with which many Negro leaders and militants greeted the "cooling off" proposition, with respect to implementing of the rights of Negro Americans, the vigor with which the youth movement fights the anti-democratic attack.

Moreover, there is a growing insistence in the ranks of labor and among other people's forces upon more adequate and far-reaching measures to meet the severe problem of mounting unemployment, which has become a permanent fixture, affecting the lives of millions. The paltry measures of the Administration leave practically unsolved the many accumulating social problems arising from automation, the impoverishment of entire regions, the permanent eviction of millions of farmers from production, the old and new slum areas, the special suffering of the masses of Negro, Puerto Rican, and other underprivileged Americans, the crisis of the educational system, and the chaotic conditions of the metropolitan areas. Much more needs to be done to even approach the solution of problems of the aged, public health, and the youth. The rising mass movements in the country bear witness to the growing determination of the people to find positive solutions.

It would be wishful thinking to assume that all liberals or forward-looking forces in the Kennedy camp, who must in their way participate in turning the tide, are equally aware

of the double role played by Kennedy. These elements can become effective positive forces once they realize it is necessary to fight Kennedy's cold war and anti-democratic policies in order to defend democracy and to close the door to the extreme Right and defeat the threat from that direction.

AFL-CIO COLD-WAR RESOLUTION

We need to be aware that when people in large numbers become disillusioned or panicky, there is always the danger that they may be entrapped by the demagoguery of the ultra-Right, especially when their leaders become the instruments or allies of monopoly. For example, the recent statement of the CIO-AFL Executive Council, drawn up by professional anti-Communists, supports the most aggressive warlike incitement in the so-called Berlin crisis, and even urges the resumption of nuclear testing.

Such a position can only have the most harmful effects upon the struggles of the trade unions themselves for economic and social demands, help the employers weaken the unions, and open the door wide to the ultra-Right type of demagoguery within labor itself. The Council resolution, I am sure, does not represent the view of most trade unionists, nor even of all heads and officers of the unions in the Executive Council. It is about time that labor leaders with

views closer to the feelings of the membership should speak out clearly against the cold war and reactionary position which is imposed by a small group at the top.

THE MAIN ENEMY

To sum up on this point, it seems to me that the way to meet the unique tactical problem presented by a threat from the extreme Right and by an Administration moving in a reactionary direction is somewhat along these lines.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the danger to peace and democracy of the Kennedy Administration. It would be no less serious a mistake to under-rate the possibilities of pressuring it in another direction. It is essential to fight imperialism, war, and reactionary measures whether it comes from the Kennedy government or the ultra-Rights.

However, the situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the war-mongering and fascist forces, who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence and defense of democracy.

It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all labor, Ne-

gro people, peace and progressive forces in the country, embracing democratic elements of all political views, in a struggle against Big Business reaction and war danger. It is essential to organize a counter-offensive against Big Business attacks on the people—for improving conditions at the expense of the monopolists, for jobs, for equal rights for the Negro people, and above all for the preservation of peace and democracy. In all this, the working class, the labor movement, should be the basis.

As I have already said, this is not simple. But it can be done. It was done before during the Roosevelt days, particularly because of the role played by a resurgent labor movement. It can be done again. It will take great effort, sacrifice, and fighting spirit.

Above all, it requires a common outlook and united front activity in all fields by the Left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist. Without the unity of such forces in the ranks of labor, among the Negro people, in the youth movement, and among the fighters for peace and democracy, the promising popular movements now arising will remain disjointed and apart, prey to the mounting attacks of reaction.

III. LEFT-PROGRESSIVE UNITY

How is such unity to be attained? First, of course, it necessary to reach a mutually agreed-upon outlook for the immediate period ahead, agree-

ent on
This requ
oces of t
ferences
to find co
slaught
common
ound su
can be
ver whi
discussio
ATTITU
PART
One o
of the l
negative
Party. S
democr
another
tage. Th
or anot
paign b
munism
attacks.
Comm
Und
tribute
the Le
cannot
the ha
new ro
Supre
a new
and th
For
now
nist I
Unit
who

ent on tactics and on programs. This requires discussion among all forces of the Left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction. Still better, common action should develop around such issues and positions that can be immediately agreed upon, even while broader and longer-range discussions proceed.

ATTITUDES TO COMMUNIST PARTY

One of the obstacles in some parts of the Left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or another of the intensified campaign by Big Business against communism, of the renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

Undoubtedly, the Party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the Left. While I realize that this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the Party and the entire Left.

For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the Left who claimed this should think over

how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion.

Naturally, we have refused to accept this judgment, whether it comes from the High Court or elsewhere. On the contrary, we have made clear our firm determination to defend the Constitutional rights of the Party against every effort of the Department of Justice to force us to comply with the monstrous registration and other provisions of the anti-Communist laws.

Is this a service or disservice to the Left and to the cause of peace and democracy? Would it not be a disastrous setback to the Left and all forces of progress if those who wished to smash us or dissolve us had their way? Is not the launching of a new attack against us a signal that peace and democracy are in serious danger?

In fact, it was the clear fighting stand of the Communist Party which made possible the first victory in the struggle against the implementation of the Court decisions - the staying of the mandate pending consideration of the petition for rehearing in the Fall term of the Supreme Court.

A very important lesson is to be learned from this. No matter what one's attitude may be towards the Communist Party, it must be recognized that the fight for its rights as a political party is a matter of defending the Bill of Rights and all democratic rights, and peace forces,

and not of the Communists alone. This is an old lesson, but sometimes it has to be learned anew.

ROLE OF COMMUNIST ISSUE

Therefore, I think it is clear that the Left and progressive forces cannot permit themselves to be split on the Communist issue, if there is to be unity and common action. Refusal to work with Communists for defense of peace and democracy and for the people's needs is the first step, sometimes the decisive one, in splitting the people's forces. It is the wedge driven into the ranks of labor and the people by reaction, as its most potent weapon against the popular movements.

Anti-Communist attitudes in the ranks of the Left and progressive forces can only have the result of contributing to the aims of reaction by spreading the kind of ideological confusion that can render major sections of the people helpless and ineffective.

Therefore, if unity is to be attained in the ranks of the Left as a means of stimulating wider activity—if such unity means anything—it must be unity of Communist and non-Communist forces, with the give and take that is required to reach minimum agreement. If there is one thing everyone should have learned from the history of the past decades it is the stalwart and indispensable role of Communists in the struggle against reactionary and war forces.

UNITED FRONT ELECTORAL POLICY

Finally, let me emphasize what I think is a central objective toward which all forces on the Left are striving. If the tactic outlined in the previous section is correct, and I think it is, the need for an independent electoral policy for the Left and progressive forces around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized, assumes extraordinary importance.

The Left and progressives, including ourselves, have not given this the serious attention it requires, for which we have not refrained from criticizing ourselves as can be seen from our report to the National Committee in January of this year.

The municipal elections in New York and other cities present an opportunity which should not be missed to take the initial steps toward an independent united front electoral policy, around the central issues of peace, equal rights, the people's needs, and democracy. In evolving such a policy and united front electoral tickets, we should also look ahead to the elections of 1962 and 1964, with the aim of presenting meaningful alternatives to labor, the Negro and other people's forces in terms of their needs and interests. This is a big task, and needs the unstinting attention and energy of the Left and progressive forces in all fields.

ACTION NEEDED NOW

I am confident that the onslaught reaction can be repulsed, and the country again set on the course of peace and democracy. The Communists, for their part, are ready to join with all other Left and progressive forces to establish the perspective and unity that is required if reaction is to be defeated and peace defended. The Communists have no self-serving interest in urging unity of Left and progressive forces. Everyone recognizes that such unity is needed to defeat reaction and end the cold war. The situation itself begs for common actions, united democracy.

It seems to me imperative that Left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in national discussions, for the united

front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

It is my hope that all the elements and currents of the Left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us.

The Choice Before New Africa

By T. Numada

One of the most crucial and dynamic areas in the world is Africa. Our author, a leader of the Communist Party of South Africa, offers a penetrating analysis of the main character of developments in that continent; readers will remember his article, "Marxism and African Liberation," which was published in our January, 1961 issue.—The Editor.

NATIONAL LIBERATION has made dramatic progress in Africa. Today we have twenty-eight independent States, with populations totalling over 180 millions. When we remember that when the United Nations was founded there were only three—one of them being the Union of South Africa, governed then as now not by the masses of the people but by an imperialistic minority; when we recall that in 1960 alone no less than 16 of these States gained their formal political independence, we gain some idea of the pace and extent of change in our Continent.

Of course, the battle for independence is far from finished. More than twenty countries, with a combined population of something like 60 million, are still under direct alien rule, with bitter struggles continuing in the Congo, Angola and elsewhere. And the "independence" of some of the young States is rather dubious, to put it politely.

Nevertheless even the most die-

hard reactionaries have been compelled to recognize that the African Revolution is now a fact, that the crucial turning-point has been passed. Independence, freedom and self-government has, in essence, been won by the African peoples, and the force in the world can turn the back.

Naturally the future of the African peoples evokes the keenest discussion, not only in this continent, but throughout the world. What is the direction of our Revolution? What are its character and driving forces? Has it exhausted its momentum in the attainment of political independence, or will it drive forward to achieve a social revolution as well?

AFRICAN ANSWERS

Will the African countries have to pass through the same process of capitalist development as those of Europe and America, or will they take the socialist road? Can the

remain uncommitted in the "cold war," or will they gravitate towards the capitalist, or the socialist, camp?

These and many similar questions are frequently discussed and written about.

The answers to all such questions depend on the African people themselves. In writing about such matters, imperialist "experts" on Africa tend to forget this all-important fact, and to write as if these were not, above all, our business, and, indeed, as if we are all illiterate and unable to obtain their writings.

There are a good many reasons why all the clever plans and stratagems of "neo-colonialism" and "collective imperialism" are doomed to disgraceful failure in Africa.

For one thing this "collective imperialism" cannot work. However well it may seem on paper, the colonial powers are by nature incapable of keeping out of each other's gardens.

It takes a really desperate crisis, like that of the Congo, to bring them together even for a short time, and even in the Congo it can be prophesied with confidence that they will soon be openly snarling over the spoils and leaping at one another's throats like dogs fighting over a juicy bone.

In most parts of Africa, British and American commercial and diplomatic missions are barely on speaking terms with one another. West German and Japanese trade repre-

sentatives are undercutting their rivals in African markets and seriously irritating their American masters.

IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS

A silent, but nevertheless grim and merciless, struggle for predominance is taking place between the two chief colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France. De Gaulle will never forgive Britain for extending (through Ghana) a loan to Guinea, at a crucial moment in the new born Republic's struggle for independence.

For another, the Western imperialists, filled with racial arrogance, are so accustomed to regarding Africans as hopelessly stupid people, utterly incapable of running our own affairs, that they seriously underestimate our capacity for elementary common sense and observation of simple facts.

For example, they keep on warning us against the "Communist menace," the "danger of being swallowed by Russia" and so on. But we know there is not and never has been a single Russian, Chinese or other socialist military base, soldier, sailor or airforce man on the entire continent; or a single businessman or farmer from these countries to take over our land and natural resources, tax us, corrupt our chiefs or bully us into working for them.

Again, they keep informing us

how grateful we ought to be to them for conferring the priceless gift of freedom on us. Do they think we are so stupid not to know that this freedom is precisely freedom from them—and that only after bitter and often bloody struggles for many years?

Certainly, if you have been sitting on a man's back, and at last he manages to throw you off, he will be happy and relieved. But it is asking for a bit too much to expect him to say "Thank you!" The main service the colonialists have rendered to Africa is to clear out—if they would go more quickly we might be more grateful.

But the chief flaw in all the imperialists' plans and speculations about Africa—and the main reason for their impending utter bankruptcy—is their completely wrong and unrealistic approach to the entire question.

They regard Africa as a mere pawn in the game of power-politics, whose fate will be decided somewhere else; or as a "prize" in an auction sale, destined to go to the highest bidder. Who can offer more, they ask—we of "the West," or "Russia"?

It goes without saying that this vulgar and small-minded concept—so revealing of the outlook of its capitalist authors, whose only god is money—is profoundly insulting to the dignity and national pride of the African peoples.

We have not achieved independence, at the cost of generations of suffering and sacrifice, in order to sell it away for dollars—francs, sterling or gold—gold which in any case has come, for the most part, from the mines of Africa.

Certainly the African countries need economic assistance, equipment and skills, in order rapidly to overcome the colonial heritage of backwardness. It is indeed our right to demand such assistance, as some small recompense for the untold wealth which has been drained out of this continent. But if the price for assistance, is the loss of our new-won freedom we shall rather do without it, and rely on our own strength and brains. And any Tshombes among us who try to barter away our birthright will have to face the wrath of the people. Africa is not for sale.

The key to the future of Africa lies in Africa itself; in the nature of the national freedom struggle in this era of world history; in the driving forces of the African revolution. And that is precisely what the imperialists do not understand and are incapable of understanding.

An analysis of these factors will show us that if Africa is indeed "one of the last frontiers" of capitalism, it is one that will be hard to defend.

Without underestimating the still powerful resources of imperialism, and the desperate measures it will

sort to, i
outlook fo
Africa, an
indeed.

The dr
Africa a
game" o
countries,
and bitter
an peop

SOVIET

Certain
reply ap
ken b
Commun
e Cong
affecting

They
and dis
he Sov
ther la
velopm
our cor
by the

But i
or adm
port of
camp,
more r
is beca
cialism

formin
of sol
perate
We
—that
er by
by th

sort to, it can yet be said that the outlook for capitalism is bleak in Africa, and that for socialism bright indeed.

The drive towards socialism in Africa arises not from some remote "game" of power-politics in foreign countries, but out of the urgent needs and bitter experiences of the African peoples themselves.

SOVIET STAND

Certainly, the African people are deeply appreciative of the fine stand taken by Khrushchev and other Communist leaders over colonialism, the Congo, and all other main issues affecting the future of Africa.

They will never forget the noble and disinterested aid afforded by the Soviet Union, China and the other lands of socialism in the development and industrialization of our continent, fittingly symbolized by the Aswan dam.

But it is not because of gratitude, or admiration, or because of the "export of revolution" from the socialist camp, that Africans are more and more turning to socialist solutions. It is because socialism, and only socialism, is capable of rapidly transforming and modernizing Africa, of solving our burning and desperate problems.

We know that it is socialism—that is, the conquest of State power by the workers and peasants led by the Communist Party, the com-

mon ownership of the means of production, making possible bold and imaginative planning — which has enabled People's China, one of the world's most poverty-stricken areas, in a brief decade to become the land of the Great Leap Forward in industry and agriculture, of soaring living and cultural standards.

SPREAD OF SOCIALISM

We know how socialism has transformed the life of the people in the former colonies of Tsarist Russia, so that the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, for instance, a once-backward Asian border region, has multiplied its industrial production sixty times and now produces as much manufactured goods per head as Italy, as much electric power as Japan!

And this is true of all the former backward regions of the old Tsarist empire, where illiteracy has been wiped out, where universities and higher technical schools abound (there are 88 university and 73 technical school pupils per 10,000 population in Soviet Central Asia as against 40 in France, 34 in Italy and 31 in West Germany!) and where the rate of development has been even higher than that of the rest of the USSR.

These lessons are not being lost; nor those of the daily impact of the ever-continuing struggle against imperialism both in the independent states and in the remaining colonial

and semi-colonial areas.

No one who seriously studies trends and developments in the African liberation movement can fail to be aware of the increasing radical direction they are taking, of the growing influence of socialist ideas.

There was a time when Ghana prohibited Marxist literature: but today the CPP itself is encouraging Marxist-Leninist studies for its members, and the Hon. Tawia Adamifo, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party wrote in *The Voice of Africa* (December 29, 1960):

This year 1960 which is ending fast, had been aptly described as Africa's year of destiny, a year in which, despite imperialist maneuvers and intrigues, a large number of former dependent countries in Africa have broken the yoke of imperialism, thus establishing the fact that Africa shall never perpetually remain the pawn in the chess of imperialist oppression.

This year has also witnessed capitalist sabotage of the worst type in the Congo, where vested interests, aided and abetted by their lackeys and hirelings in the United Nations and the quislings in the Congo, are trying to shatter the hard-won freedom of the Congolese people with a view to perpetuating Belgian rule.

In the same issue of *The Voice of Africa*, Mr. John Tettegah, first Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of the All-Africa Trade Union Federation and Secretary General of

the Ghana TUC, declared that this decade stands, above all else: "For the total eradication of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and exploitation from the shores of Africa.

The Congo events, however tragic, have had a powerful educational effect all over Africa. The Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference, meeting at Dar-es-Salaam (January 26 to 30, 1961) adopted a resolution in which it:

Underlines the vital lesson which came out of the Congolese experience regarding all countries which attained independence, and whose leaders must show vigilance towards the plots perpetrated by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The Steering Committee warns the African people, the African Governments, political parties and trade unions on the trend which neo-colonialism has taken throughout last year. The efforts of the imperialists have been directed towards recolonization or continued colonialization after the people have attained their nominal independence. They have used and are using means of control whereby some of the newly freed nations continue to serve the aims and objectives of the colonizers.

As long as their influences, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, remain within an African country, there can never be a real expression of the people's objectives and aspirations.

The resolution sharply criticized

the voting of certain African states at the United Nations on the Congo and Algeria. "The peoples of Africa never stood for Kasavubu or Tshombe," it says, "or for that matter, De Gaulle." It declared that the voting of these states (clearly certain African members of the so-called French Community are indicated) was "contrary to the will of the people," and due mainly "to the policies of neo-colonialism."

NEGATIVE FACTORS

Of course, one must be careful not to overstate the position. There are still many African leaders who harbor naive illusions about imperialism and especially about the so-called British Commonwealth and French Community—they imagine that the imperialist tiger has lost its teeth; or forget that when the imperialist invites you to sit down at a table with him he is still hankering to have a meal off you!

Some think it is quite compatible with political morality to make fiery speeches in public denouncing colonialism today, and to sit down with the very colonialist the next day and have a private chat with him about "the Communist menace" or even about "the native mentality."

Others, again, are quite willing to accept handouts from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, or the American State Department, or Moral Rearmament;

they think they are being clever, or even helping the liberation movement, but imperceptibly they slip into positions of treachery towards Africa.

Then we find bourgeois elements, landlords, petty feudal or tribal leaders whose fear of the awakened people is such that they throw patriotism to the winds and do serious harm to Africa's cause in their efforts to stave off revolution and maintain their exploitation of African labor.

Nasser's cruel jails are crammed with patriotic Communists, trade unionists and Syrian and Egyptian democrats; nor is his the only country of New Africa where workers' parties and trade unions are forbidden or only permitted as a tame agency of a capitalist state.

But such negative factors are not characteristic of the new Africa that is being born. They are unpleasant; they hold back the tide of emancipation and progress; but essentially they are hangovers from the colonialist past, with its repression of fighters for freedom, its cultivation of servile mental attitudes that worship everything African, its calculated policy of preserving backward tribal and feudal institutions.

The main direction of the national liberation movement in Africa is—decidedly and increasingly—democratic, anti-imperialist and capitalist. More and more Africans are coming to understand that we cannot stop

short at formal independence and the trappings of Western bourgeois parliamentarism; that if it is to fulfill its goal of emancipating the peoples fully from the accursed heritage of imperialism our Revolution must sweep forward uninterruptedly to accomplish the social transformation of African society.

In this, our position differs markedly from that of Europe and America during the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There, having achieved power for themselves, the ruling capitalist classes turned conservative and reactionary, and the workers and peasants who had fought for freedom found that its benefits were mainly confined to the rich.

This marked difference stems from the character of the period in which we live, as well as from the specific and urgent needs of the African peoples, their class character, their aims and aspirations.

The chief content of the era in which we live is the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, a transition which was initiated by the great Socialist Revolution of November 7, 1917 in Russia.

Our epoch has been correctly characterized by the historic *Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties** of November, 1960, as "a time of struggle between two oppos-

ing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and Communism on a world-wide scale."

We are living in the midst of "the PROSPECTS OF EPOCH rapid growth and might of the international influence of the world socialist system," "the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system, under the impact of the national liberation movement," intensification of class struggles and the decline and decay of capitalism. "The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena."

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historic development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

* New Century Publishers, N. Y. 25 cents.

It is
this his
world t
tiality
movem
sessed
oping i
become
periorit
being d
petition
the fie
and te
sweepi
living
—field
tance
and r

NO B

The
for t
vance
nation
work
tellect
Af
many
econ
and
ing
from
most
mod
dal
cons
like
Y

It is against the background of observations true of practically the whole continent.

this historical development in the world that the character and potentiality of the national liberation movements in Africa must be assessed—movements that are developing in an era where socialism has become the decisive factor. The superiority of the socialist system is being demonstrated daily in the competition between the two systems in the fields of economic construction and technology, of the rapid and sweeping advance of the people's living standards and cultural levels—fields which are of decisive importance to Africa and other colonial and recently-colonial areas.

NO BIG BOURGEOISIE

These solid facts help to account for the steady and irresistible advance of socialist ideas among the national liberation movements, the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals of awakened Africa.

Africa is a big continent with many countries, at different stages of economic and political development, and one must beware of oversweeping generalizations. Its peoples vary from simple tribal communities almost untouched by the sweep of modern developments, isolated feudal societies, to the advanced class-conscious proletariat of great cities like Johannesburg in the South.

Yet, broadly speaking, certain ob-

One of these is that—due to the nature of imperialist domination over Africa—most African countries lack a substantial, well-established and experienced class of industrial and financial capitalists. Not only is the over-all level of industrialization very low; but where there has been development of large-scale mining, capitalistically managed agricultural plantations, industry and banking, it has been carried out by the colonizers for their own benefit and the profits siphoned off to Europe and North America.

Even in the area of the greatest industrialization—in South Africa—the white minority, acting as a sort of internal imperialist group, have strictly retained all economic opportunities in their own hands, and Africans have been as strictly excluded from the ranks of the mining, financial and industrial bourgeois as they have been from Parliament.

Therefore, the ranks of the freedom movement in Africa do not to any significant extent contain such elements as, for example, the big bourgeois Tata and Birla groups in the Indian National Congress.

Workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, small businessmen and professional men, traders and independent craftsmen—such are the overwhelming bulk of the members of the patriotic liberation movements

in Africa. None of these groups have a serious vested interest in the maintenance of capitalism.

The winning of political independence must be rapidly followed up by rapid industrialization in the newly-independent states. Even the colonialist powers are committed to assist in this process, if for no other reason than that of their fear of the socialist countries providing more effective assistance on more favorable terms.

And such industrialization of course means the rapid growth of the African proletariat, the most determined and clear-headed fighter for socialism, the intensification of the class struggle in the former colonies, and the continent-wide development of a powerful Marxist-Leninist movement, the most far-sighted, uncompromising and determined enemy of colonialism in all its forms.

Imperialism, whatever stratagems and devices, such as neo-colonialism and collective imperialism, it may adopt cannot in the long run win the battle for Africa. It stands in direct conflict with the aspirations of all classes of the people. It has been directly challenged and defeated in the ideological field, as when, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly of the United Nations utterly condemned colonialism — none voting against and only the imperialist countries abstaining.

SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE

Its plans for preventing the industrialization of Africa and for continued exploitation of African resources and cheap labor in high-profit investments are increasingly challenged and thwarted by the willingness of the socialist countries to extend truly fraternal assistance to the young African States; assistance directed to enable them to industrialize themselves, rendered without any conditions which undermine the national independence of the people, and at generously low rates of repayment.

These, then are the conditions which open up glowing possibilities for the national liberation movement to carry forward the revolt against colonialism into a true revolution against imperialism and the capitalist system, for the vast upliftment and transformation of the lives of the masses of our poverty-stricken, illiterate, ill-housed, underfed and disease-ridden people, through the planning and building of a Socialist Africa.

However, no one should underestimate the difficulties of these tasks, of the struggles and trials which still lie ahead of us.

For the fulfillment of the next phase of our revolution, more is required than the mass, amorphous, multi-class liberation movements, lacking a common ideology and a firm discipline—well though such movements have served us so far.

It is a
in firm
liberation
ties unit
and revol
ties firm
class, tra
and equ
theory an
nism.
Only s
plying t
munism
of the s
ous coun
tinent, c
carry ou
logical a

It is also needed that we build, in firm alliance with the national liberation movements, political parties uniting the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, parties firmly based on the working class, trained and disciplined, armed and equipped with the victorious theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Only such Parties, consciously applying the general theory of Communism to the study and solution of the special problems of the various countries and areas of the Continent, can speedily and successfully carry our African Revolution to its logical and necessary conclusion.

That conclusion, it is clear from the foregoing, can only be socialism. This arises both from the present world-historical development towards socialism and from the urgent needs of Africa itself. The imperialists' attempts to stifle this development cannot in the long run succeed.

But they can delay our advance unless we in Africa are clear-sighted and resolute to oppose them; and unless we create true Marxist-Leninist Parties, based upon the best elements among the workers and peasants, working in alliance and loyal partnership with the militant national liberation movements of Africa.

On National Democracy

By B. Ponomarov

THE MOSCOW MEETING of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, having made a deep analysis of the present stage in the development of anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolutions, put forward the idea of establishing states of national democracy. The statement adopted by the Meeting says:

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy.

This proposition, formulated on

* This article is translated from *The Communist* (Moscow), No. 8, 1961.

the basis of a study of the underlying processes in the national-liberation movement, its tendencies and aspirations, represents a creative development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national liberation revolutions. Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the liberated countries took an active part in formulating it, and these parties are in the front rank of the fighters for social progress of their states.

The crux of this proposition is that it clearly speaks of the aims of the anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions and characterizes the conditions under which the genuine independent development of the countries and peoples who broke the chains of colonial slavery can be ensured. The creation of national democracies meets the urgent task of rallying together a broad national front to repulse imperialism, to eradicate the grave aftermath of domination by foreign capital and to advance along the road of social progress. This proposition is profoundly vital. For the liberated countries are confronted with the following problem in its full magnitude: what road to take in order to overcome swiftly the consequences of colonialism, to uphold and consolidate their political and economic independence, to ensure social progress. The proposition

on national democracy furnishes an answer to these questions.

* * *

The feasibility of establishing national democracies in many countries is determined by the objective conditions of the world today in which the greatest revolutionary changes are taking place.

The main content, the main trend and basic characteristics of the historic development of human society in the present epoch are determined by the world socialist system, by the forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist remaking of society. The collapse of the system of colonialism, the process of emancipation of the oppressed peoples and the creation of independent national states is the second event for its history-making importance after the formation of the world system of socialism.

The aspect of Asia, Africa and Latin America is changing. But yesterday all the countries of Africa and most countries of Asia bore the colonial yoke. Latin American states, though formally they had political independence, were tied hand and foot by the monopolies of the United States. These three huge continents were turned by the imperialist powers into their agrarian raw material appendages.

The colonialists figured that their rule would be eternal. One of the most cynical advocates of colonialism, the British millionaire Cecil Rhodes, frankly stated that the colo-

nial politicians must gain new lands, must become imperialists. Reflecting the colonialist aspirations of the French bourgeoisie, the historian Driault, wrote in his book *Political and Social Problems at the End of the 19th Century*: "We must make haste: nations which did not secure their share risk never to get it and not to take part in the gigantic exploitation of the world, which will be one of the most essential facts in the next, i.e., the 20th century. That is why all of Europe and America have been gripped lately by the fever of colonial expansion, 'imperialism,' which is the most remarkable salient feature of the end of the 19th century."

But the colonialists have miscalculated. The 20th century has been a century of the collapse, and not the strengthening, of colonialism. The Great October Socialist Revolution awakened the colonial peoples, drew them into the general stream of the world-wide revolutionary movement. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the victories of the socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries have tremendously accelerated this process. Imperialism proved unable to stem the tide of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. By now all the biggest colonial empires—the British, French, Dutch and Belgian—had actually disintegrated, or are disintegrating. Since the war about 40 countries have discarded the colonial yoke.

The imperialist crows in peacock feathers have for many years croaked all over the world about the "civilizing mission" in the colonies. Today when the peoples in most countries have kicked out these uninvited "civilizers," their true role stands out very vividly. By fire and sword the colonialists deprived two-thirds of mankind of their national independence, crushed their national culture, crippled their economy, annihilated and tormented millions of people, established a regime of the whip and the gallows, of police club law and ruthless exploitation and retarded their development for centuries.

Bourgeois propaganda shamelessly boasts of the wealth of the capitalist countries—the United States, France, Britain—but it says nothing about the fact that capitalism in these states has reached such a high degree of development not only by ruthlessly exploiting its "own" working people, but also by robbing most of the countries of the world. Like a gigantic octopus the imperialist monopolies suck the lifeblood of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Plunder of the national wealth of the colonial and dependent countries is one of the most abominable features of colonialism. The scale of this plunder is illustrated by the following facts. Africa contributes 96 per cent of the diamonds mined in the capitalist world, 67 per cent of the cobalt, 64 per cent of the gold, 42

per cent of the manganese ore, 25 per cent of the copper, 24 per cent of the uranium, etc. And producing such wealth, Africa gets less than three per cent of the world income! Or let us take Latin America. In 1958 it accounted for 20 per cent of the copper produced in the capitalist world, 16 per cent of the tin, 34 per cent of the antimony, 40 per cent of the silver, 10 per cent of the nickel, 13 per cent of the mercury. Yet in 1959 the Latin American countries consumed only 3 per cent of the copper used in the capitalist world, 4 per cent of the lead, 3 per cent of the tin, etc.

Non-equivalent exchange is one of the means of robbing the colonial and independent countries. In 1954, coffee was purchased in Uganda for 112 pounds sterling per ton, whereas its price in the world market was 500 pounds. In Nigeria cocoa beans were bought for 155-170 pounds per ton and sold in the world market for 500-550 pounds. As for the goods produced in the metropolitan countries, they were sold in the colonies at prices much higher than the world prices. For example, the price of wheat imported by France in her former colony of West Africa was 80 per cent above the world price, the price of sugar 100 per cent, and cotton fabrics 35 per cent above the world prices.

The monopolies are consistently pursuing a policy of reducing prices of the commodities produced in the

nderdev
ng the p
goods.
was able
ons of
get only
ina pai
ractor,
11 tons
policy
fabulous
and dep
ng eve
Mass
high m
colonial
ries ac
system.
one phy
in Ken
North
in Nig
British
In mar
60 to 9
from 1
with t
reache
The
nialists
and al
about
tion o
share
tion o
per ce
cent i
half a
coloni
try's

underdeveloped countries, while raising the prices of their manufactured goods. Whereas in 1950 Uruguay was able to buy 112 tractors for 100 tons of wool, in 1956 it could get only 44 tractors. In 1928, Argentina paid 42 tons of wheat for one tractor, in 1937 50 tons, and in 1956, 111 tons. As a result of this rapacious policy the monopolies are getting fabulous profits, while the colonial and dependent countries are becoming ever poorer.

Mass incidence of disease and a high mortality are a consequence of colonialist rule. The African countries actually have no health service system. While in Britain there was one physician per 698 people in 1956, in Kenya there was one per 9,889, in Northern Rhodesia, one per 10,350, in Nigeria one for 52,985 and in the British Cameroons, one per 62,650. In many areas of the Congo from 60 to 90 per cent of the people suffer from malaria, 50 per cent are sick with tuberculosis. Infant mortality reached 50 per cent.

The brutal oppression of the colonialists, terrible poverty of the masses and absence of medical aid brought about a sharp decline in the population of the colonial countries. The share of Africa in the total population of the world dropped from 20 per cent in the 16th century to 8 per cent in the 20th century. During the half a century of rule by the Belgian colonialists in the Congo the country's population was cut by nearly

50 per cent. Sixty years of French rule cut the population of Madagascar by more than 50 per cent and in the Chad colony by 80 per cent.

The colonialists kept the peoples in darkness and ignorance. Africa, where the British, French and Belgian colonialists dominated, is today an area of almost total illiteracy. From 95 to 99 per cent of the adult population are illiterate in Somalia, the country of Equatorial and Western Africa. In the other African countries illiterates comprise from 60 to 80 per cent of the adult population.

Secondary and higher education in the African countries was inaccessible to the indigenous population. In 1957, altogether 363 Africans graduated from secondary school in Kenya, 87 in Northern Rhodesia, 75 in Southern Rhodesia and 54 in Nyasaland. In Mozambique no African has ever received a full secondary education.

All these facts—and countless numbers of them could be cited—sound like a death sentence on the disgraceful colonial system of imperialism which brought such hardship and suffering to the peoples.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolutions which are under way in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America represent a great progressive process. They are raising the peoples enslaved by imperialism to history-making endeavor, are striking powerful blows at the

system of imperialism and reducing the area of its undivided rule.

The national-liberation movement has scored great victories, but there are many hardships and trials ahead. Intricate problems have to be solved. Nearly 100 million people are still suffering under the heel of colonialism, 20 African countries are still shackled in the chains of slavery; determined and selfless struggle is needed to break these chains. The Algerian people have been waging for the seventh year now a heroic struggle for national liberation. They enjoy the sympathies and moral support of all progressive mankind. The flames of the national-liberation struggle are leading ever higher in Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, Tanganyika. "Freedom, independence at once!"—such is the just demand of the enslaved people.

The national-liberation struggle is far from complete even in many countries which have won political independence.

"The imperialists are already unable to break by force the striving of the African peoples for political and economic freedom and independence," stated Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea. "That is why they are trying to act in roundabout ways. They pretend that they regard favorably the striving of the African peoples for independence and at the same time seek to sign with African countries such agreements as would enable them to preserve in one or another form

their domination, their economic positions and their military and strategic bases on the African continent, are trying to get concessions in the economic and financial spheres."

Political independence is the first step towards achieving genuine freedom. The second, no less important is the attainment of economic independence, the building up of an advanced economy. Without this condition, independence cannot be considered secure. That is why the liberated countries see their cardinal task in building up their own economies independent of the imperialist powers.

* * *

Each people strives for the best of the most effective ways of social progress. After all, the peoples of the colonial countries have not won their liberation merely in order to wear again the yoke of colonialism, the yoke of imperialist exploitation only in a different form.

The peoples of the former colonies and dependent countries are at different stages of the struggle for complete deliverance from imperialist bondage, for national independence, the eradication of the consequences of foreign rule and for social progress. Many liberated countries have already made a number of important steps in developing their national economies and building up their own industries.

Great revolutionary changes have been made in Cuba in two years.

The Cuba
mayan pu
metaphori
head of th
ne treach
governme
uban pe
m of th
alist, dem
on stage
ing far
independ
y. The c
orth A
polished
onalized
monop
As a r
orm, the
p agricu
Over 100
ave nov
er cent
populati
social sec
enterpris
evolutio
reased
ultural
5,000 n
Within
governn
schools,
eding
country
atisfied
people
arried
Revo
front

the Cuban revolution, as the Uruguayan public leader Alba Roballo metaphorically put it, has cut off the head of three monsters: imperialism, the treacherous and blood-drenched government and social poverty. The Cuban people have solved the problem of the agrarian and anti-imperialist, democratic and national-liberation stage of the revolution and are going farther. Cuba is pursuing an independent home and foreign policy. The economic domination of the North American monopolies was abolished and all key industries nationalized. Foreign trade has become monopoly of the state.

As a result of the radical land reform, the land has been turned over to agricultural workers and peasants. Over 100,000 former tenant farmers have now been given land. Over 80 per cent of the gainfully-employed population are now working in the social sector, at state and co-operative enterprises. During the years of the revolution, industrial output has increased more than 35 per cent; agricultural production is growing; 5,000 new houses have been built. Within 20 months the revolutionary government has opened 10,000 new schools, twice as many as in the preceding 50 years. Cuba is the first country in Latin America which has satisfied all the requirements of the people in school education and has carried out major social reforms.

Revolutionary Cuba has opened front of consistent, active struggle

against imperialism in Latin America.

Of course, there are big differences in the forms and even in the nature of the struggle against imperialism in different parts of the world. But it has a general trend, an anti-imperialist trend.

Very important changes have been effected in the Guinean Republic. The institution of feudal tribal leaders which was actively supported by the colonialists to divide the nation, has been abolished. The government has instituted control over foreign and home trade. The Foreign Trade Board has been given the monopoly right to import prime necessities. The functions of the Home Trade Board include the sale of imported goods, the supply of the trading network, control over private retail and wholesale trade.

The first three-year economic development plan was adopted in 1960. Its main task is an advance in the living standard, economic decolonization and the beginning of the country's conversion into a developed state. Much importance is attached to the development of co-operation in industry and agriculture. The Government of the republic sees in this a means for liberating the Guinean people from colonial exploitation and ensuring their welfare. The right to own land has been abolished in the country, while the right to the use of the land for those who till it has been preserved. Land

has ceased to be the property of the French Government and has been declared the national property of the republic. Enterprises of former French companies are being nationalized on the basis of redemption of their stock by the Guinean Republic. Guinea has established economic relations with the socialist countries.

Important measures designed to strengthen the country's political independence have been carried out in Ghana. Such economic organizations as the Corporation for the Development of Agriculture, Corporation for Industrial Development and the Cocoa Marketing Board are working under the control of the government. At the end of December 1960, a joint meeting of representatives of the ruling People's Party, the Trade Union Congress, the Farmers' Council and the National Cooperative Council made recommendations on additional measures in economic planning and strengthening state control over the economy. Specifically it was recommended to set up a planning council, a development bank, a state trading company, a diamond marketing board, etc. The government of Ghana is seeking to develop the state sector of the economy. British officials are being replaced by Ghanaians. In two years the percentage of people able to read and write increased four times in Ghana. This year the government plans to introduce universal, compulsory and free elementary education.

An Export-Import Society has been set up in the young Mali Republic. It has a monopoly of the sale of export goods abroad and a monopoly of imports of some primary goods. Stable prices of basic agricultural commodities have been established in the country. The first national plant for the manufacture of farm implements is being built; it is planned to build textile mills, vegetable oil factories and other industrial enterprises.

In 1957, Indonesia adopted a law on the nationalization of Dutch property and in November 1959 a law regulating land rents which establishes a maximum rent of 5 per cent of the crop; this improves somewhat the position of the tenant farmers. Such important branches as the iron and steel, engineering and chemical industries are being developed in the country.

All these naturally are merely the first steps in creating a national economy. Even in the above-mentioned countries the influence of foreign capital is still very great. In most of the liberated countries the monopolies of the former colonial power still hold key positions in the economy. British capital investments in African countries amounted to 6,300 million dollars at the end of 1959, French to 6,900 million dollars, and Belgian to 3,500 million dollars. American capital investments in Africa increased more than 20 times over compared with the prewar period.

Former Vice-President Nixon of the United States cynically stated that the crisis of colonial policy in Africa was simultaneously a pretext and a chance to extend the direct influence of the United States. West German capital is reinforcing its positions in the former colonial countries. Whereas in 1957, direct private investments of the West German monopolies in Africa amounted to 89.4 million marks, in 1959 they already reached 152.9 million marks.

The so-called American aid, in effect, means, as even Harriman admitted, a program of aid to America. The United States has given underdeveloped countries 23,000 million dollars in military aid, but has compelled them to spend 141,000 million dollars for military purposes. Twelve Latin American countries which signed bilateral mutual assistance and defense agreements with the United States are spending for military purpose approximately 9-10 dollars of their own money for each dollar received from the United States.

The postwar period has confirmed that imperialism is doing everything in its power to preserve its privileges in, and control over, the underdeveloped countries. The entire arsenal of means and methods used by imperialism is employed to this end. Making use of economic instruments the imperialist powers headed by the United States are drawing the liberated countries into military blocs and are setting up military bases on their territories. The imperialists

want to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the liberated countries, to distort the meaning of self-determination of nations, to impose on them new forms of colonial domination.

The colonialists are trying to picture the situation as though the peoples of the liberated countries have to study for a long time the art of administering the state and that they will have to tolerate foreign administrators until they learn this art. The *London Times* writes that the African population must be told that several generations will pass before it gets sufficient experience to be able to take a real part in administering the country, while at present no one is adequate for this purpose. Mendirot, a member of the Belgian "Colonial Council," tries to prove in his book that the King of Belgium must also be the end of the independent Congo and that problems pertaining to defense, finances, the common market must be the object of joint agreements (i.e. agreements imposed by the Belgian Government) between Belgium and the Congo. Mendirot's book ends with the call: "May God enlighten and direct along this path the responsible leaders of the Congolese population."

It will be recalled that the people of the Congo have followed the path of setting up a genuinely independent state and wiping out the consequences of Belgian colonial rule. That is why they encountered the frenzied resistance of the Bel-

gian monopolists who are supported by the old and new imperialist colonialists.

The French *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens* wrote recently: "It is necessary to help the African countries which without assistance and support cannot become states in the full sense of this word. But we demand of them that they, in their turn, take a stand of active and sincere co-operation with France." Such tirades—"we will demand of them," "without assistance and support they will not get along"—are a shameless denigration of the capabilities of the liberated peoples and at the same time a threat to them: if you do not obey, you will be made to accept the decisions wanted by the imperialists.

The outward attributes of colonialism—residents, foreign governor-generals, and gendarmes—are already gone in most of the liberated countries. Today the colonialists are using more veiled and refined methods, chiefly through people they bribe or their stooges, through treacherous elements who do the bidding of the colonialists and are pursuing an anti-national policy. An example is furnished by the heinous traitors to the Congolese people, Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu. The poisoned weapons of national and tribal discord are widely employed to undermine the positions of the liberated countries. In many liberated countries, particularly African, the colonialists seek to retard

the process of consolidation of nations by inciting tribes against each other, to set up small states fully dependent on foreign bosses.

By enslaving economically the liberated countries and implanting there treacherous puppet regimes, the imperialists are trying, first, to continue exploiting these countries, and second, to keep them within the fold of capitalism. Seeking to direct the further development of liberated countries along the capitalist path, the imperialist politicians hope thereby to strengthen the positions of world capitalism which has outlived its day.

Today the U.S. imperialist circles have become the chief bulwark of colonialism, have become an international gendarme. They have no scruples to use all means, however foul and brutal, to crush the national liberation movement. They want to trample underfoot the flowers of the spring of the people's liberation. Wherever blood of the people's fighters is being shed—in Algeria, the Congo, Oman, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya—this is the handiwork of bellicose colonialists and their principal mainstay, the American monopolies. The U.S. imperialists have organized the outright piratical invasion of Cuba by mercenary gangs. These gangs of counter-revolutionaries were trained by American officers, supplied with American weapons and landed from American ships under the cover of American planes.

Why did the United States or-

ganize the
Cuban R
that the
Cuba wi
ica. The
out out t
ed in Lat
They wa
of freed
plunge th
oday th
strength
time an
re in
nable t
develop
s rotten
t. The
extingui
brighter
motion
chose t
developm
velopme
tion for
off the
What
develop
the lib
further
of the r
opolies
tionary
collabor
econom
Follow
ible to
in the
to ens
The ca
to the i

organize the criminal attack on the Cuban Republic? Because it is afraid that the example of revolutionary Cuba will sweep all of Latin America. The U.S. imperialists want to put out the beacon of freedom lighted in Latin America by heroic Cuba. They want to extinguish the beacons of freedom in all the continents and plunge the peoples into darkness; but today this is obviously beyond their strength. However the imperialists fume and rage, however cruel they are in their repressions, they are unable to repeal the laws of historic development. The tree of colonialism is rotten and no props can support it. The dawn of liberation cannot be extinguished. It will flare up ever brighter. The peoples have set into motion and they have the right to choose their own road of social development. The road of further development is the most crucial question for the peoples who have cast off the yoke of colonialism.

What does the capitalist road of development practically mean for the liberated countries? It means further and intensified exploitation of the masses by the imperialist monopolies and the upper local reactionary bourgeoisie and top feudals collaborating with them, to preserve economic and cultural backwardness. Following this road it is as impossible to solve the urgent problems in the interest of the masses, as it is to ensure national independence. The capitalist road does not conform to the interests of the absolute major-

ity of the population in the liberated countries. To the workers it can bring only greater exploitation and impoverishment; to the peasant, new taxes and ruin; the land for which the peasant fought would fall into the hands of the big monopolies. To the intelligentsia, it could bring only suffering and the torments of unemployment or joyless labor for the enrichment of the monopolies. For the country as a whole it could bring only the threat of enslavement by the imperialist pirates.

The laws of social development, too, are against the capitalist road. The young national states have won their independence in a period when capitalism is on the decline, in the stage of disintegration and dying. A new stage has arrived in the development of the general crisis of capitalism, testifying to the further weakening and decline of the world capitalist system. Historically, capitalism has outlived itself, it already can give mankind nothing but suffering.

More than 1,500 million people live in the young states which arose on the ruins of colonialism. The peoples of these countries have the real possibility of pursuing an independent foreign policy, of making social progress. This possibility is determined above all by the fact that the socialist states, to which the aspirations of the peoples yearning for freedom and independence are close and understandable, have become a tremendous international force which is exerting a powerful influence on the course

of historical development. The world socialist system is a reliable shield of the independence of the liberated peoples, their bulwark in the struggle against fresh imperialist intrigues. More than 300 industrial establishments have already been built in these countries with the assistance of the USSR. The Iron and Steel Works in Bhilai, the Aswan Dam in Egypt, power stations in many other countries are a concrete embodiment of Soviet assistance.

"We want these countries to stand on their own feet, to build up their own industry capable of producing not only consumer goods but means of production as well," N. S. Khrushchev said. "This will promote the establishment of their own industrial base and the acceleration of economic growth in the underdeveloped countries. We believe that any country seeking to strengthen its independence must develop its national industry, its economy, so as to raise the welfare of the people and advance their culture."

The new element in the contemporary situation is that now not only the Soviet Union but also the other socialist countries can render aid to the underdeveloped countries, that now the advantages of socialism are seen not only in the case of the Soviet Union, but also of the other socialist countries of Asia and Africa. The solidarity of the socialist states and the liberated countries which together represent more than two-thirds of mankind—this is a great

force which is capable of protecting mankind from the horrors of another world war.

Of great importance in choosing the historic road of development by the liberated countries is the growth of their progressive forces and the advance of the national-mindedness of the masses.

The peoples of the former colonies have passed through a great school of political education. They experienced the colonial oppression, became imbued with hatred for it and fought a valiant struggle against colonialism. The fact that in many of these countries, industry is developing and the working class is taking shape and growing is of great significance for the prospects of further struggle by their peoples. There are now large forces of the working class in India, Indonesia, in most Latin American countries. In Africa there are estimated to be ten to eleven million workers. Communist and Workers' Parties are functioning in fifty States of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Having thrown off the yoke of colonialism and won national liberation, the peoples came to know their strength, tasted the first fruits of freedom and beheld the truly boundless vistas for free development in conformity with their interests and aspirations.

* * *

(The concluding section of this article will appear in our September issue.)

By S

No
influ
Ame
John
shor
June
oph
been
as t
his
gird
from
pret
for
phil
dev
oph
to r
avo
har
law
am
and
fut
the
of
ism
So
ag
me
sw

Mi
refe
It
in

John Dewey's Philosophy of Art

By Sidney Finkelstein

NO PHILOSOPHER has played a more influential role in 20th century American life and thought than John Dewey, who died, five months short of the age of ninety-three, on June 1, 1952. And about no philosopher of recent times have there been more disputes and discussions as to what he really meant, so that his devoted followers periodically gird themselves to rescue his thought from what they regard as misinterpretations. Yet it is a hopeless task, for ambiguity is built into the entire philosophy of pragmatism as Dewey developed it. Essentially his philosophy proclaims a militant devotion to reality, and combines this with an avoidance and undercutting of the harsh and demanding problems and laws of reality itself. Thus, for example, he was a critic of capitalism, and had a vague belief in a socialist future. But he rejected and fled from the reality of the existence in society of social classes and class antagonisms. When he saw socialism in the Soviet Union, struggling for its life against internal enemies and even more powerful external enemies, sworn to destroy it, all the sharp pic-

ture of class struggle did was to make him an enemy of the Soviet Union. The state hadn't withered away, he said, as Marx had promised. This enmity did far greater service to capitalism than his criticism did harm. Perhaps this was not what he intended. Yet for his ideas to lead to quite different results from the intentions they proclaim is part of the Dewey ambiguity.

So it is with Dewey's theory of art, as expounded in his book, *Art as Experience*, of 1934.* This is one of the major works in which Dewey presented his philosophy, and the most important and influential book written by an American philosopher on art. In theory and intention, Dewey binds art to real life. In practice, Dewey's conclusions turn art away from life.

The very title of the book, *Art as Experience*, asserts that art is organically tied to actual life. And Dewey thunders against "elite" or esoteric concepts of art. "Why is there repulsion when the high achievements of fine art are brought into connection with common life, the life that we share with all living creatures?" (p. 20.)

Yet by "common life" and "experience" Dewey does not mean, as it turns out, the struggles for free-

* This book was first published that year by Minton Balch & Co. All quotations and page references in this article are from that edition. It was reprinted, in a cloth edition, by Putnam in 1959, and in paper by Capricorn, in 1959.

dom, against exploitation, poverty, unemployment, starvation, racism and war, that bind people together. On the contrary, he projects, as the kind of experience which becomes "esthetic," a dream of harmony, of an end to divisions.

The way in which Dewey does this is a devious one. He writes appealing half truth: a militant air of attacking anti-realistic philosophies followed by a picture of reality from which all the real problems faced by people disappear; a bold affirmation of a "social" approach to art which ignores the history of art and the actual way in which art has operated in social life. This is not contrived on Dewey's part, but the way in which his mind works. He wants to be a down-to-earth realist, but to escape or find a way out from the unpleasantness that the realistic philosophy of Marxism presents. It is as if class struggles were an invention of Marxism, not a creation of real life. It is important to trace this way of thought, for the reason that Dewey had so great an appeal, reaching its height in the 1930's, was that he appeared to be a philosopher bringing philosophy down to earth, an advocate of social reform, a critic of capitalism, not a supporter.

Thus Dewey presents an implied criticism of capitalism:

Wherever conditions are such as to prevent the act of production from being an experience in which the whole

creature is alive and in which he possesses his living through enjoyment, the product will lack something of being esthetic. No matter how useful it is for special and limited ends, it will not be useful in the ultimate degree—that of contributing directly and literally to an expanding and enriched life. The story of the severance and final sharp opposition of the useful and the fine is the history of that industrial development through which so much of production has become a form of postponed living and so much of consumption a superimposed enjoyment of the fruits of the labor of others. (p. 27.)

It is an inspiring vision; an end to the alienation between man and the products of his labor, an alienation which makes these products something opposed to and antagonistic to him. Dewey projects also the end of the alienation of man from man.

In a better-ordered society than that in which we live, an infinitely greater happiness than is now the case would attend all modes of production. We live in a world in which there is an immense amount of organization, but it is an external organization, not one of the ordering of a growing experience, one that involves, moreover, the whole of the live creature, toward a fulfilling conclusion. Works of art that are not remote from common life, that are widely enjoyed in a community, are signs of a unified collective life. But they are also marvelous aides in the

creation of such a life. The remaking of the material of experience in the act of expression is not an isolated event confined to the artist and to a person here and there who happens to enjoy the work. In the degree in which art exercises its office, it is also a remaking of the experience of the community in the direction of a greater order and unity. (pp. 80, 81.)

One need not ask of a treatise on esthetics that it outline for people the actual way in which they can end the situation in which some consume and enjoy the "fruits of the labor of others," and in which there is so fierce and all-embracing a competitiveness for these "fruits" that each individual engaged in the fight finds himself alienated from all other men. But one wishes that he would indicate something of the anarchic individual ownership of the social means of production, and the accompanying fierce competitiveness which tramples on the mass of people. Instead Dewey speaks vaguely of an "immense amount of organization," which is "too external." But he also goes further, to make art the bearer and instrument of harmony. Through art, people are brought together in a community, and classes and divisions are wiped out—in mind.

In the end, works of art are the only media of complete and unhindered communication between man and man that can occur in a world full of gulfs

and walls that limit community of experience. (p. 105.)

But art has faced the real world much more bravely and boldly than in Dewey's conception of it. Dewey makes a half-truth serve for the whole. Art has united people in a realization of their kinship, common humanity and common problems. But it has done so only to the extent that it has revealed with equal power the forces of destruction in human affairs, the "gulfs and walls" dividing people from one another. This is one of the secrets of the greatness of a Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Milton, Rembrandt, Goya, Beethoven, Daumier, Balzac and Tolstoi, to whom the expression of hope and triumph was always seen as the product of a fierce and bitter conflict. And it does no service to the appreciation of the vital place of art in human affairs, or to human beings themselves, afflicted with real problems, to give art so falsely inflated a status as Dewey does, when he suggests that art is the chief instrument in human unity and progress. To think so only evades the real question of just how people are to win progress and take a stride to freedom. The culmination of Dewey's thesis, put forth in the closing pages of the book, is the quotation from Shelley, "Imagination is the chief instrument of the good." (p. 348.) This is an important half of the

truth. Without imagination, the vision of unrealized possibilities, the glimpse of how the world can be changed to suit human needs, there is no progress. But imagination is not the instrument of change. All it expresses is the need for change, the dissatisfaction with what is existing, the new potentialities that arise when changes are made. The other side of the picture, the counterpart of imagination, and the inspiration for it, is real knowledge. People must know how to make the changes, whether of nature or of society. And to do this they must know the actual laws of nature and society, what they are regardless of what people wish them to be. Art and science thus go hand in hand. In both, imagination and knowledge are organically united. The difference is that in art, knowledge inspires the imagination. In science, the imagination inspires the drive to knowledge. But knowledge always has a tenuous place in the philosophy of pragmatism.

The key to Dewey's vagueness in this matter—and more than vagueness, rather a desire to read the problem itself out of existence—is in his concept of "experience."

Experience is a matter of the interaction of organism with its environment, an environment that is human as well as physical, that includes the materials of tradition and institution

as well as local surroundings. . . . Because every experience is constituted by interaction between "subject" and "object," between a self and the world, it is not itself merely physical nor merely mental, no matter how much one factor or the other predominates. . . . In an experience, things and events belonging to the world, physical and social, are transformed through the human context they enter, while the live creature is changed and developed through its intercourse with things previously external to it. (p. 246.)

Now in this interaction between "organism" and "environment," or "self" and "world," or "mental" and "physical," which side is decisive? Dewey slays again the long-slain doctrine of mechanical materialism, which saw the world as a rigid machine and the mind passively subject to it. The mind interacts actively with the world and can change it, as the whole history of scientific discovery, the development of productive forces, and the changes of social institutions, indicates. But how does this change take place? Is it solely through human wishes, or is it through the discovery of laws of nature? The answer indicated again by the whole history of society, is the latter. From the primitive tribal discovery that spring is the time for planting and that plants need water, through the modern splitting of the atom, it was the discovery of real laws of nature

which enabled people to change nature and thus to grow in their own powers. Erroneous views could not bring about real changes, but only result in frustrations. Never will there be full and complete knowledge, but what is known is true, and corresponds to reality, because it always operates as a tool in the hands of people to change the world. Each achievement necessarily brings up new problems to solve.

It would seem that in the passage noted above, Dewey might be saying that the outer world is decisive; that everything the mind or "inner" world knows comes from the "outer." But that reality has its own laws, and the mind grows by discovering and using them, has an elusive place in Dewey's picture. Sometimes we will seem to recognize it and sometimes he won't. And the reason is that for all the talk about "interaction" or "organism" and "environment," he ignores the crucial and decisive form of this interaction; namely the labor process, the process of production, the unending, progressively developing change of nature to fit human needs. Out of this comes the progressive knowledge of the laws of the outer world. Out of this comes the development of man's skills and powers, and the growth of the senses in response to the richness unfolded in the outer world. Out of this, because labor is a social process, comes his discovery of his kinship to other human

beings. Out of this comes his growing awareness of what he himself is and can be. There are all kinds of interaction. A person blown off his feet by the wind is one form. A person building a windmill to harness the wind is another form.

What distinguished mankind first from the rest of the animal kingdom, out of which it rose, was the ability to make part of nature into tools, an extension of the human body, and so to extend human powers over nature; by working on nature, to discover and create increasingly powerful productive forces, each resting on discovered truths and laws of the outer world. Since this process was carried on collectively, it gave birth to language, which both helped people to organize their social activity and enabled them to think about aspects of the world that were not present before their senses. The successive stages in the discovery of natural laws, in the ability to turn them to human ends, and in the accompanying reorganizations of society, gave birth to successive stages of human freedom, or the ability to grow in internal psychology and external powers. Only because people in real life were reshaping reality could the imagination grow, which is the ability to envision a change in the world in response to human needs, before that change is carried out.

To Dewey, however, consciousness is primary, Labor is ignored.

The distinguishing contribution of man is consciousness of the relations found in nature. Through consciousness, he converts the relations of cause and effect that are found in nature into relations of means and consequence. (p. 25.)

Since Dewey misses completely what people learn from their common activity, he makes language and art, which he uses almost interchangeably, the only means of making people aware of each other as human beings.

Men associate in many ways. But the only form of association that is truly human, and not a gregarious gathering for warmth and protection, or a mere device for efficiency in outer action, is the participation in meanings and goods that is affected by communication. The expressions that constitute art are communication in its pure and undefiled form. Art breaks through barriers that divide human beings, which are impermeable in ordinary association. This force of art, common to all the arts, is most fully manifested in literature. . . . There may be arguments ingeniously elaborated and plausibly couched about the moral and the human function of the other arts. There can be none about the art of letters. (p. 244.)

It appears to be a noble statement about the moral values of art. But it ignores the fact that the basis for these moral values also lies in the collective activity of people. It is as

if one were to say that the American War of Independence was a product of the Declaration of Independence instead of the Declaration being a crystallization and clarification of the thoughts and ideas engendered by an actual struggle for freedom or as if one were to say that working people learned of their common problems and humanity not through struggles against poverty, by forming trade unions and associations, but from works of art alone. If people did not work and act together for real reasons, springing out of their common conditions of life, no communication or art would make them do so. Once this is granted, the truth is also evidence that communication, social consciousness, and art play a most powerful, fruitful, creative and essential role. But Dewey misses this dialectic of the situation.

Pragmatism always undercuts and casts doubt upon real knowledge. Just as in his influential theories of education, Dewey overemphasizes the "experience of learning" at the expense of what it was necessary for people to know, so in what is offered as an exalted view of art, it consistently ignores the very real knowledge, or quality of truth in life, that makes art so precious in binding people together and so powerful a force in social progress. It ignores utterly the great step in art represented by the human portrait studied from life; the human being

seen by
the an
in soc
and t
new
relatio
ly tha
Remb
artist'
whole
But t
is not
whate
us, b
sight
to liv
way
and
portr
the
evoca
respo
psych
Rena
are
publ
tury
they
velo
only
tory
He
O
the
is c
serv
us
liter
raph
dra

seen both as "subject" and "object"; the artist disclosing how each stage in society, each new set of conflicts and their resolution, gives birth to new psychologies and new human relationships. Dewey will say vaguely that an actual portrait by Titian, Rembrandt or Goya, expresses "the artist's imaginative vision of the whole being of a person." (p. 92). But the greatness of such portraits is not the "whole being of a person," whatever that is, which they show us, but rather the typicality, the insight they give us into what it meant to live in a certain period, and the way in which society shapes people and they shape society. Thus the portraits (and for that matter all the paintings, with their profound evocations of a certain psychological response to life) of a Titian are psychologically as much a part of Renaissance Italy as Rembrandt's are of the 17th century Dutch Republic and Goya's of early 19th century Spain. They move us because they give us a stage in our own development. But since Dewey has only the vaguest conception of history, he cannot relate art to history. He will say:

Our conceptions of character and the manifold variations of these types is due mainly to literature. We observe, note and judge the people about us in terms that are derived from literature, including, of course, biography and history, with novel and drama. (p. 243.)

But it does not occur to him that "character" is created in real life before art can take it up, giving society a knowledge of how people have changed. He does not see that each psychological portrait is also a social portrait; that "character" does not exist in some vague stratosphere, with literature giving its various representative examples or "types."

And so Dewey's concept of art as "experience," with "experience" defined as the "interaction of organism with its environment," ends up by making the actual relation of art to life very tenuous. "Interaction" may seem to some of us to describe the artist entering actively and critically into social life, and embodying his discoveries and illuminations in a work of art. But the very ambiguity of the concept enables Dewey to make it a justification of the most subjective, anti-social and self-centered art. He sees "interaction" as the half-truth of the artist wrestling with the sheer physical materials of his art, the paints, canvas, spatial divisions, words, rhythms, tones, and finding fulfillment in what he makes of them. He obliterates the artist as thinker, and in characteristic Dewey style, he does so by appearing to praise the artist as thinker.

A painter must consciously undergo the effect of his every brush stroke or he will not be aware of what he is doing and where his work is going. Moreover, he has to see each

particular connection of doing and undergoing in relation to the whole that he desires to produce. To apprehend such relations is to think, and is one of the most exacting modes of thought. . . . Any idea that ignores the necessary role of intelligence in production of works of art is based upon identification of thinking with use of one special kind of material, verbal signs and words. (pp. 45-46.)

It is an important thought to Dewey, for he develops it later:

Thinking directly in terms of colors, tones, images, is a different operation, technically from thinking in words. But only superstition will hold that, because the meanings of paintings and symphonies cannot be translated into words, or that of poetry into prose, therefore thought is monopolized by the latter. If all meanings could be adequately expressed by words, the arts of painting and music would not exist. There are values and meanings that can be expressed only by immediately visible and audible qualities, and to ask what they mean in the sense of something that can be put into words is to deny their distinctive existence. (pp. 73-74.)

The half-truth here is that the artist must have a command of the special sensitiveness and materials of his art, or he is no artist. And thinking in terms of the materials, weighing the effect and reverberation of every brush-stroke, color

tone, line, nuance of musical sound, word-sound and word-image, is most exacting, hard, concentrated and controlled work. But the other side of the truth that Dewey ignores is that there is thinking about the materials and there is thinking about life. The artist does both. And for the latter, the language of words is necessary. When, as quoted previously, Dewey says that "consciousness" is the distinguishing contribution of man, and that through this, man "converts the relations of cause and effect that are found in nature into relations of means and consequence," he is talking about something that can be done only with the language of words.

For the language of words is central to thinking; so much so, that any thinking which goes on exclusively in terms of lines, colors, musical tones, sounds and word-images is of the most rudimentary kind by comparison. I am not saying that painters, composers of music, and poets, are not profound thinkers, but the contrary. It is Dewey who, under the guise of praising them as thinkers, makes them into no thinkers at all. For the truth—a very simple one but Dewey ignores it completely—is that painters, musicians and poets can be and are very profound, searching thinkers, but they do this thinking with the language of words. They immerse themselves in the life of their times, they read, they talk, they learn, they

weigh their experiences and the experiences of others, they consider what is happening about them, they think of the past as well as the present, and not simply of the past of their art. They think of human problems, moral problems and social problems. And to do this words are necessary. Some artists do this kind of thinking more than others, and granted that they have the command of their materials to start with, the ability to make the materials come to life, it is they who tend to be the greater artists. It is such profound thinkers about people and society that we recognize in the giants of art, who reshaped life and people, becoming an integral part of the thought of later generations, because they disclosed so much that was real and true, so much that had not yet become a part of social consciousness.

How artists translate or recreate the products of this thinking into an art work is a complicated problem. It is not a matter of evolving a conscious philosophical statement and then trying to find a counterpart for each word in terms of lines, colors, tones and images, as in didactic poetry or pictorial allegories. Rather it has to do with the human portrait, the psychological truth and typicality, the ability to relate the events and conflicts of the outer world to the conflicts that take place in the mind. It is because this tie to real life exists that it is possible,

contrary to what Dewey intimates, to discuss very illuminatingly, the world views, insights, psychological truths, discoveries, and quality of experience offered by a Shakespeare or Keats, Michelangelo or Vermeer, Beethoven or Wagner. One should not pretend that such discussion, however penetrating, can ever be a substitute for the experience offered by an art work itself. But it can help people to extract this experience. Of course, artists like Balzac and Tolstoi will sometimes put general political and philosophical statements in the midst of a work, and these views will clash with those that evolve from the portraits of human beings, their inter-relationships and growth, in the same art works. But this means only that there is more truth when these artists are thinking about actual people, their situation, and what happens to them, than when they are trying to arrange their social thought and conclusions into some complete, rounded logical system or ideology. As it happens, the arts also offer many examples of creative figures who do very little thinking about life and about people other than themselves. And one of the proofs of the relation between "content" and "form," a relation that Dewey asserts but does not pursue to its logical conclusion, is that we can recognize the nature of this thought in the form of the work itself. Much of the "non-objective" painting of

our time is of this nature. The painter does his thinking primarily in terms of the relationships of lines, color tones and areas, rhythms and divisions of space, and does this during the act of painting itself. Not only is the formal result flabby, weak, lacking in the organic strength and monumentality of great realistic and social-minded artists, what we can also gather from the work is that the artist has very meager human sympathies and social feeling, or that he has built up so restricted a concept of his art that he finds no way to bring his social thought and experience into his art work. So it is with musical works created with the view that the art consists solely of finding fresh combinations of tones, rhythms, sounds and silences. With a writer like William Faulkner, whose stylistic and sensuous evocation of life is very powerful but whose thought is on a low and primitive level, most of the thinking seems to be done in the process of creating the work itself. And what happens is that a simulated thought process, or stream of consciousness, takes the place of real thinking, while the all-over form of the novel tends to be inchoate and flabby. There is little to bind his images together.

Dewey arrives at a support of non-objective art in typical fashion, by first seeming to attack it. He says, "Art is not nature, but is nature transformed by entering into new

relationships where it evokes a new emotional response." (p. 79). Then Dewey takes on in combat the critic Roger Fry, saying, "The statement that subject-matter is irrelevant commits those who accept it to a completely esoteric theory of art." (p. 88) But what Dewey does is only to substitute Fry's theory of "no subject-matter" with one of his own. To him, non-objective art really has subject-matter. It is simply "nature transformed." He offers with complete approval a quotation from Albert C. Barnes:

When he cannot find in a picture representation of any particular object what it represents may be the qualities which *all* particular objects share, such as color, extensity, solidity, movement, rhythm, etc. All particular things have these qualities; hence we serve, so to speak, as a paradigm of the visible essence of all things when hold in solution the emotions which individualized things provoke in a more specialized way.

Dewey goes on, in his own words

Art does not, in short, cease to be expressive because it renders in visible form relations of things, without any more indication of the particulars than have the relations than is necessary to compose a whole. (p. 94.)

The astonishing aspect of this statement is not that Dewey says non-objective art can express something, which is perfectly true. It

at, as wit
oneselves,
all in his
people ar
it is "exp
interested
und, squ
fers "exp
sopher w
aimed his
from the
had been
ed to rev
on of art
ding the
complete f
ality.
This t
pragmat
reality,
ality and
ere Dew
the mo
ents in
nanciation
social-mind
l realism
of the
the pl
ings; a
aks to
ety itse
ing is
thing a
e his ex

The bu
nder ni
most diff
tempo is

at, as with some modern artists themselves, there is no distinction all in his mind between an interest in people and an interest in things. It is "experience." A person simply interested in whether things are round, square, red or green, also "experiences." Thus, this philosopher who has militantly proclaimed his intention of removing art from the ethereal realms in which it had been placed, who had promised to reveal the intimate connection of art to real life, ends by providing the theoretical basis for the complete flight of art away from reality.

This then is the character of pragmatism. Asserting its belief in reality, it is in practice blind to reality and fosters such blindness. Here Dewey is in the midst of one of the most challenging art movements in history, a bitter, angry renunciation of the entire tradition of idealism, humanism, critical realism, truth to life, the interest of the artist both in nature and in the plight of his fellow human beings; a movement with obvious links to the crisis in bourgeois society itself. But the remarkable thing is that to Dewey, it is as if nothing at all were happening. Here are his explanations of modern art:

The bustle and ado of modern life under nicety of placing the feature most difficult for artists to achieve. Tempo is too rapid and incidents too

crowded to permit of decisiveness—a defect found in architecture, drama and fiction alike. The very profusion of materials and the mechanical force of activities get in the way of effective distribution. There is more of vehemence than of the intensity that is constituted by emphasis. (p. 212.)

Industrial surroundings work to create that larger experience into which particular products fit in such a way that they get esthetic quality. Naturally this remark does not refer to the destruction of the natural beauties of the landscape by ugly factories and their begrimed surroundings, nor to the city slums that have followed in the wake of machine production. I mean that the habits of the eye as a medium of perception are being slowly altered in being accustomed to shapes that are typical of industrial products and to the objects that belong to urban as distinct from rural life. The colors and planes to which the organism habitually responds develop new material for interest. The running brook, the greensward, the forms associated with a rural environment, are losing their place as the primary material of experience. Part at least of the change of attitude of the last score of years to "modernistic" figures in painting is the result of this change. Even the objects of the natural landscape come to be "apperceived" in terms of the spatial relationships characteristic of objects the design of which is due to mechanical modes of production; buildings, furnishings, wares. Into an experience saturated with these values, objects having their own inter-

nal functional adaptations will fit in a way that yields esthetic results. (p. 342.)

Now Dewey is speaking of the art which appeared in a world in which small business "free enterprise" had turned into great monopolies, trusts and cartels. There had been looming clouds of war, tighter reins pulled by the "advanced countries" over "subject peoples," the explosion of the First World War, the reshuffling of colonies, the devastating world-wide economic crisis, and the rise of fascism. What, however, does Dewey see in the world, so far as its effect on art is concerned? How does this "environment" affect the "organism," and so affect art? He sees (passage one) a kind of fuss and hurry, bustle and ado, in modern life which makes it difficult for artists to find some central feature, some point of concentration, for their art. He also discovers that (passage two) since large numbers of people now live in cities, the rise of factories and the abundance of factory-made articles, have changed people's perceptions. They now see brooks, trees and people as if they themselves are machine-made articles. This, to Dewey, helps to explain modern abstract art.

An understanding of how "environment" really affects the human being, and how the results affect art, could throw some light on these modern trends. There are surface

aspects of reality, like "hustle and bustle," or factory-made articles. And there are the great events and movements, the crises that affect everybody. In these times, a host of artists felt that the world had turned upside down; that progress had turned into backwardness; that the concept of progress itself was a myth; that science had led the world astray, bringing only unemployment and weapons of destruction; that civilization was an illusion, and basically people were acting as in the cave age; that the world was really a chaos, in which no laws operated. Thus there could be an intense subjectivity, a withdrawal into self, with the terrible fears engendered by outer events seeming to come from within the mind itself. Or there could be a clinging to things that could be felt and touched, as if they were the only reality. So the materials of the arts would loom up, to be manipulated as if they had a life of their own. There could be a bitter grotesque humor; a flinging of images of primitivism into the face of a society still holding the illusion that it is a civilization; a sad irony in which the world seems to mock the individual and tell him his impotence. There could be a visionary flight to a sweet, decorative "order" in which problems and conflicts were seemingly erased. There could be a bitter contempt for humanity, and for the expense of bourgeois histo-

and art

ises."

Seeing

of capit

mind

the pre

of a d

might

were u

rational

re-estab

with t

ciety;

the wo

most f

power

plaitat

remov

of or

view

ponent

says,

proble

ple of

own g

which

tion i

experi

that

beauti

is to

ing a

of a

when

ity, a

the

other

in hi

Th

and art which held out "false promises."

Seeing the issues this way, a critic of capitalism and self-admitted social mind like Dewey might see both the presence and further possibilities of a different movement; one that might affirm that even these crises were understandable, and capable of rational solution; one that would re-establish faith in science, armed with the grasp of a science of society; one that would base itself on the working people, who suffer the most from these crises, and have the power to rid the world of all exploitation. But Dewey's view of art removes it as far from any influence of or effect upon such crises as the view of the most metaphysical proponent of "pure form." There is, he says, a "labor and employment problem." The control by some people of the labor of others, for their own gain, creates a bad psychology, which keeps the process of production itself from being an esthetic experience. Art has already shown that experience can be esthetic, or beautiful. All society needs to do is to transform itself by incorporating artistic values. The one mistake of art which Dewey reproves is when it assumes social responsibility, attacks social evils, and takes up the life of the working class; in other words, the movement known in his time as "proletarian art."

The labor and employment problem

of which we are so acutely aware cannot be solved by mere changes in wage, hours of work and sanitary conditions. No permanent solution is possible save in a radical social alteration, which effects the degree and kind of participation the worker has in the production and social disposition of the wares he produces. Only such a change will seriously modify the content of experience into which creation of products made for use enters. . . . The psychological conditions resulting from private control of the labor of other men for the sake of private gain, rather than any fixed psychological or economic law, are the forces that suppress and limit esthetic quality in the experience that accompanies the processes of production. . . . The values that lead to production and intelligent enjoyment of art have to be incorporated into the system of social relationships. It seems to me that much of the discussion of proletarian art is aside from the point because it confuses the personal and deliberate intent of an artist with the place and operation of art in society.

Typical of pragmatism is that it speaks of embracing reality but softens or clouds over the view of reality. The one kind of art which Dewey objects to, as wrong, is that which might throw light upon the way life is actually lived, with the forces for human destruction and the movements for human progress. He closes the book with a typical ambiguity:

Art is a mode of prediction not

found in charts and statistics, and it insinuates possibilities of human relations not to be found in rule and precept, admonition and administration (p. 349.)

By "rule and precept" does Dewey mean science? By "admonition and administration," does he mean any kind of government or social and collective action? He seems to say so. He doesn't quite say so. He might be, in his own admonitions, closing the doors in the mind of his readers to the real paths to human progress. He might be saying that art is the only expression of the possibilities of human relations. He might not be saying this. But missing from what he says is the all-important truth that the possibilities of human freedom are raised by what people are doing in real life. The great contribution of art to freedom is that it throws light upon this activity, impelling it forward by showing the implications to each person's life of the changes which people are collectively bringing about.

The contradictions discussed here, however, should not obliterate the fact that the aim and driving force of Dewey's *Art as Experience* is to bridge the theoretical abyss that has been raised between art and daily life. To fill in what is missing, namely, the real picture of history and social development, and the way in which art has actually operated in social life, would mean a drastic change in Dewey's conclusions, and the substitution for his pragmatism, of dialectical and historical materialism. The results would be useful. Such clarification of Dewey's pragmatic ambiguities, however, is not likely to be carried out by Dewey's disciples in these years of the "cold war," particularly when one finds among the leaders of these disciples, so rabid an exponent of the "cold war" mentality as Sidney Hook. For what people like this find most embarrassing in Dewey, and wish to forget, is one of the most valuable sides of his thinking; namely, that he was a critic of capitalism, and saw a socialist solution.

Victor

Upsurging
one of t
atures of t
tion mark
the status
that all are
new middle
threat to
class.
The evid
the "clear
of white-co
class" habi
rue. But th
ther evid
erial condi
or workers
blue-collar
g conditi
an anti-
ar and blu
lined, rep
majority o
Those o
artisans,
acts; with
realisticall
dence in
Wright
ublished
ng event
acts. It
analysis o
ctly wit
ollar psy
Mills' v
idered as
anxiety to
m, and
positive
ollar we
that was
not fully

On the So-Called "Middle Class"

by Victor Perlo

Upsurging white-collar employment is one of the most highly-publicized features of the technical-scientific revolution marking our time. The upholder of the status quo presents this as proof that all are becoming members of a new middle class, thus allegedly ending the threat to capitalism from the working class.

The evidence thus brought forward—the "cleanliness" and "respectability" of white-collar work, and of "middle-class" habits and ideology are partly true. But this is only a part of the story; other evidence demonstrates that material conditions are forcing white-collar workers ever closer to the status of blue-collar workers. These are creating conditions which must eventuate in an anti-capitalist unity of white-collar and blue-collar workers, who, combined, represent an ever growing majority of the population.

Those of us who are anti-capitalist artisans, must, of course, have all the facts; with them we can proceed more realistically, and with merited confidence in ultimate success. Professor C. Wright Mills' book, *White Collar*, published ten years ago, was a pioneering event in the effort to get at these facts. It began a materialist-oriented analysis of the problem, combining this deftly with important study of white-collar psychological problems.

Mills' work, however, must be considered as preliminary. In his apparent anxiety to avoid commitment to Marxism, and in his defeatism concerning positive political activity by white-collar workers, Mills drew a picture that was far from complete, and was not fully rounded. Moreover, his book

is ten years old; significant developments in this area have marked the '50's.

Andrew Grant's book, *Socialism and the Middle Classes*, first published in England some time ago has been issued by International Publishers (N. Y., 171 pages, \$4). While naturally basing itself on British data, the volume adds very much to our knowledge of white collar workers. It represents the vital data concerning their material conditions and political relationships. And it establishes a useful theoretical framework for the study of white collar workers. Many of his results are closely paralleled here. Until we have a better work using American data, Grant's book is a must for American progressives working in "middle class" organizations and neighborhoods, and trade unionists anxious to make some headway in realizing the formal calls of AFL-CIO conventions to organize white collar workers.

An important theoretical contribution is to clarify the difference between "middle class" and "middle strata." Under feudalism the capitalist class was the "middle class" lying between the landed and churchly aristocrats and the serfs and artisans.

Under capitalism this class became dominant, at least the more successful capitalists did. The lesser and newer capitalists, the small merchants, manufacturers and farmers in an era of large-scale production, became the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class of capitalism.

The petty bourgeoisie had a rather homogeneous relationship to the means of production—they were owners of means of production, they were usually

employers of small numbers of hired workers, and subject to control of markets by large capitalists. They have declined relatively, numerically, and in political and economic importance.

Instead, the term "middle class" now refers increasingly to the salaried administrative, managerial, and professional personnel in government and industry, and in many descriptions to the amorphous mass of white collar workers. A minority of professionals are independent, but rarely substantial owners of means of production or employers of labor on a significant scale.

The old middle classes are losing their grip on means of production. The new ones never had it, and are in a quite different relationship. Taken together, these groupings simply do not fit the definition of a social class. Grant refers to them as "middle strata," and uses this concept to refer to those groupings in the population standing between the workers and the capitalists in living standards and social status.

Mills, incidentally, used the same term in dealing with American white collar workers, but Grant elaborates the concept and puts it on firm footing.

Defining matters in this way, Grant divides the population of England as follows . . . capitalist 1%, middle strata, 15%, working class 84%. One might differ on details, but the general answer is justified, and decisively rebuts the propaganda about the working class as a shrinking minority.

In England there are 1½ million small manufacturers, traders and farmers. Only 300-400,000 of them are employers of labor. Grant analyzes their relationships with big business, the cooperatives, and the labor unions. He shows how, despite their frequent conflicts with big business, monopoly cap-

ital has succeeded in inculcating an labor, anti-cooperative, anti-social prejudices amongst them.

He criticizes the inadequacy of Labor Party programs in seeking the support. He calls for effective support to their immediate demands, and working out with them ways in which they can be integrated into a social economy, gradually, voluntarily, and with mutual advantage.

The growing stratum of professionals also numbers about 1½ millions in England. Grant's conclusion about them is applicable to American conditions

" . . . this is the most important section of the so-called middle class, not only numerically, but in terms of its influence and contribution it could make to building a socialist Britain. Because so many of the professions today are really professional workers employed by large-scale concerns, both in the public and private sectors, they are also the easiest sections to win away from capitalism. The understanding has been growing rapidly among employed professional workers of the need for superior organization, and particularly trade union forms of organization, if they are to gain improved salaries and conditions of work. The professions are ripe for the establishment of a close relationship with the working-class movement, thus enormously facilitating the path to socialism for Britain.

The main exception—trade-union consciousness has *not* been growing rapidly among American professionals.

The clarity of Grant's presentation suffers on occasion when he himself falls into the "muddle of middle class" of which he writes. He classifies about 100,000 of the 750,000 managers as part of the middle strata. No reason is given, nor any kind of analysis of their particular economic or political positions. This kind of classification shouldn't be left to guesswork. In today's corporate society the typical capitalist proper appears not as a "coupe-

clipper, partner official, on part do not be look profession

The and salous as together them h section working political these c strata

The enough and c whelm the ra politic most they r

Ear dispos opinic positio same confu direct

predc callin class

he p more phasi and izatic

Gr the a dle ; the I port work

clipper," but as a factory manager, department superintendent, government official, etc. Some of these may be allies on particular issues—e.g. peace—but I do not see how, realistically, they can be looked at in the same way as professionals and petty merchants.

The 3 and one-third million clerical and sales workers are almost as numerous as all Grant's middle strata taken together. In the chapter dealing with them he excludes them from the middle sections, and includes them with the working class (pp. 87-88). But in the political chapter he quite clearly treats these office and sales workers as middle strata (pp. 143-156).

The origin of his confusion is clear enough. In economic status the sales and clerical workers, in their overwhelming majority, clearly fall within the range of the manual workers. But politically they have remained aloof, most of them vote for the Tories, and they regard themselves as middle class.

Early in the book Grant effectively disposed of the relevance of subjective opinions to the reality of a person's class position. But here he falls into the same trap himself. C. Wright Mills confused the matter in the opposite direction. He started by denying the predominance of material factors, and calling all white collar workers middle class on psychological grounds. But as he proceeded to marshal his facts, he more and more turned towards emphasizing their objective identity with, and long-run tendency to turn organizationally to, the working class.

Grant's discussion of the politics of the alliance between labor and the middle strata is excellent. He shows how the Labor Party had considerable support among blue collar, white collar workers, and middle sections in 1945,

on the basis of a militant-sounding socialist program. This support was lost to the Conservatives in subsequent years because of the cold-war policies of the laborites, which hurt the middle strata economically, and because of the dilution of the socialist program to the point of no return.

He warns against two kinds of errors—the rightist error of weakening a program, cutting the heart out of it under the false premise that it will thereby become more palatable to white collar worker; and the leftist error, of concentrating exclusively on manual labor, while ignoring the specific immediate needs of white collar workers.

There is one startling omission from this book. The author deals with the political role of the middle strata in England almost exclusively in relation to economic issues. Nowhere, and especially in England, should one ignore today the question of war and peace, nuclear weapons, American bases. This range of questions is not only the most vital politically, it is at least on a par with economic issues in political influence, especially with white collar people. But except for a passing recognition, Grant ignores it.

The fight for peace is the best cement for welding together all anti-monopoly forces. An alliance of manual and mental workers, operatives, clerks and scientists, will put an end to nuclear wars and combine to be the gravediggers of the system which makes them.

It would be good to have a work which combines Grant's solidly Marxist approach and correct conclusions with Mills' wealth of social data and sprightly presentation. Meanwhile both of them, and especially Grant's later and more exact work, are most valuable contributions.

Lenin on Agriculture

By Erik Burt

The recently published Lenin collection, the "Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry" (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), can and should stimulate interest in a Marxist approach to the agrarian question. For a considerable time there has been little concern for this question in Marxist ranks in the U.S.

One fact alone should compel us to seek a more basic approach to the situation in the countryside than that to which we have accustomed ourselves. That fact is the perspective of the 17th national convention of "forging . . . an anti-monopoly coalition—an alliance of the people against big business."

The anti-monopoly coalition will include "farmers"; that is obvious. Less obvious are the answers to some related questions: "Will all farmers be included in the anti-monopoly coalition? If not, which ones?"

The 17th national convention resolution "On the fight for peace and the struggle against the monopolies" focuses its sights on the "small farmers" (*Political Affairs*, February, 1960, pp. 13, 21). The convention resolution "On the farm question," however, broadened the sights to embrace both small and middle farmers, the "family farmers." (*Political Affairs*, March, 1960, pp. 81, 82). This discrepancy should be resolved. The "small farmer" focus was

employed in the printed draft of the main convention resolution (*Political Affairs*, September, 1959, p. 34).

Prolonged inattention to the agrarian question has been compounded by the feeling that, since the farm population has declined precipitously in the last generation, both relatively and absolutely, not too much time should be wasted on the farmers. Such an attitude not only represents a rejection of Marxism, but is in effect a repudiation of the struggle for an anti-monopoly coalition.

The present Lenin volume is extraordinarily important for several reasons. It expounds the Marxist view of the agrarian question in the context of: the developing Russian revolution, the victorious revolution, and the early grim years of the first workers' republic.

Most of the articles and speeches were composed for the day-to-day struggle. They do not, therefore, provide a pattern to be applied mechanically to other times and places. Lenin gives a pointed warning in this respect from the revolution of 1905. Then the "Russian Marxists . . . committed the following mistake: instead of *applying* the theory of Marx to the peculiar [agrarian—EB] conditions prevailing in Russia they uncritically repeated the conclusions drawn from the application of Marx's theory to foreign conditions, to a dif-

herent
phasis)

The
viewpoi
in, are:

1. B
agraria
class di

2. T
the clo
toiling
the nat
the cla

3. T
with th
are ac
will de
are des

4. T
terest
middle
a fun
socializ
of the
farmer

From
publish
the bo
consci
is not

"peasa
class o
runs th
and E
keysto

Len
gels h
the pe
dle p
that "
vast m
even a

Suc
import
tsarism

ferent epoch." (p. 172, Lenin's emphasis).

The main elements of the Marxist viewpoint, which are elaborated by Lenin, are:

1. Basic to an understanding of the agrarian question is an analysis of the class differences in the countryside.

2. The working class must establish the closest possible ties with the various toiling sectors of the farm population; the nature of these ties will vary with the class differences in the rural areas.

3. The nature of these ties will vary with the historic period in which they are achieved, that is, their character will depend on what historic tasks they are designed to achieve.

4. The working class has no interest in expropriating the small and middle-size tillers; though it does have a fundamental interest in eventually socializing agriculture in the interest of the entire nation, small and middle farmers included.

From the first article in the volume, published in 1901, to the last, in 1923, the book is permeated by the Marxist consciousness that the rural population is not one undifferentiated mass of "peasants." The understanding of the class differences in agriculture, which runs through the whole body of Marx's and Engels' work, is in fact one of the keystones in the heritage of Marxism.

Lenin emphasized in 1919 that Engels had "established the division of the peasantry into small peasants, middle peasants, and big peasants" and that "this division holds good for the vast majority of the European countries even at the present day." (p. 276).

Such a class analysis was of urgent importance in the struggle to overthrow tsarism, then capitalism, and finally to

insure the security of the Soviet power. Throughout the volume there is the insistence on understanding the class character of the various strata of the rural population, ranging from the propertyless, the agricultural wage workers, the semi-proletarian poor peasants, through the small and middle peasants, to the rich peasants employing wage labor. Beyond all of them, in the pre-Revolution years, were the semi-feudal and capitalist landlords.

In the historic struggle of the Russian working class, its relations to the peasantry were of primary importance. The "question of the attitude of the workers to the peasants," Lenin held, was "fundamental." The issue was how "the working class is to lead the peasants forward to socialism." (p. 208). That is, in essence, the "agrarian question" as Marxism views it: how to lead the peasants, the farmers, the "independent" producers, to socialism.

The relations of the working class to the farmers (and to the other middle class or semi-proletarian sectors of the population) are no less basic to the achievement of an anti-monopoly coalition, and for the attainment of the state power which would represent such a coalition.

Always, even when, in the years after the revolution, the relations to the middle peasantry became a critical factor in the survival of the revolution, the keystone of Lenin's policy was reliance on the proletarian sectors of the rural population. In 1903 he wrote: "Our first, our principal and indispensable task is to strengthen the alliance between the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians and the urban proletarians." (p. 81, Lenin's emphasis.)

Sixteen years later, a year after the

October revolution, he said that "in all its work in the countryside" the Communist Party "will continue to rely on the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections of the rural population . . . exerting every effort to bring them closer to the urban proletariat and wresting them away from the influence of the rural bourgeoisie and petty-property interests." (p. 269).

It was not enough for the Bolsheviks to realize, as Marx and Engels had taught, the critical importance of understanding the class differentiation on the countryside. The party's activities had to be organized with this differentiation in mind. In the period prior to the October Revolution, the working class was allied with the peasantry as a whole, since the entire peasantry sought the abolition of landlord exploitation and semi-feudal oppression. That accomplished, through the victory of the proletarian revolution, the common purpose, which had allied the working class and the peasantry as a whole, ceased to be. That purpose had been fulfilled, the landlords had been expropriated, and the land was in the hands of the peasants.

The problem following the revolution was: how was the working class to establish those relations with the peasants—small commodity producers—which would enable the new Soviet state to withstand ruin, hunger, capitalist counterrevolution and foreign military intervention.

The rich peasants said: so far and no further; they put profiteering on a priority basis; and lent a hand to revolts against the Soviet government. The rural poor, on the contrary, became the outpost of working class power in the countryside. Between the

two poles lay a great mass of middle peasants who had gained much from the October revolution, who were dubious of the perspectives which the Bolsheviks presented, who saw their future, not in large scale, socialist production, but in their individual enterprises.

The answer lay in class solidarity with the agricultural workers; close fraternal relations with the small peasants; a unique alliance with the middle peasants; and repression of rich peasant subversion inspired by the big capitalists or foreign imperialists.

On the day following the overthrow of the capitalist government, the land was nationalized. Nationalization represented, not the advent of socialism, but the end of landlordism. The Decree on the Land (Nov. 8, 1917) provided that the land would be allocated among the peasants on the basis of either the amount of labor or the number of mouths to feed in the family.

There were objections that the Decree was in the spirit of the Social Revolutionaries' doctrine, and not of traditional Marxism. Lenin replied: so what? This was what the peasants wanted ("They want to settle all land questions themselves"); experience would show who was right; the Bolsheviks and the peasants could arrive at the proper goal, the Bolsheviks learning from the peasants and guiding them.

The development of large-scale production was imperative because it represented the most efficient utilization of agricultural resources, and because the meager funds which the Soviet state could allocate to agriculture could be applied most efficiently on large productive units. If these appropriations were distributed among the multitudes of individual peasants they would drib-

away, with almost no perceptible effect in producing a food surplus for the cities.

There was, however, a major obstacle to socialized production: the peasants would not go for it, especially the middle peasants, on whose cooperation much depended. They did not propose to trade in their emancipation from landlordism, their "independence," for socialist agriculture.

Marxism, which knew full well the superiority of large-scale over small-scale production, had also foreseen the probability that, following a proletarian revolution, the peasants would not be willing to amalgamate their individual operations into a single enterprise in which they would be collaborators. In such circumstances, Engels had said—his famous *Peasant Question in France and Germany*—"when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants," and shall give them a "protracted length of time," if that is necessary, "to think the matter over." Two months before the seizure of power Lenin had cited Engels' words with approval.

Impressive in the exposition of Lenin's position on the land question is the fact that he was not only consistently principled, but explicitly so. That is, he presented frankly to the working class and to the peasants the differences in principle between the position of the Social Revolutionaries, which the peasants supported, and the Marxist position; declared plainly that the Bolsheviks could and would go along with the peasants in the distribution of the land, though they differed fundamentally with the peasant viewpoint, because "power is in the hands of a

Workers' and Peasants' government." While believing with Marx that "every step of a real movement is more important than a dozen programs," he also held steadfastly to Marx' rejection of "bargaining about principles."

The differences were stated explicitly, and the basis for practical agreements for action equally so. The struggle on the countryside was dominated by the necessity of achieving an understanding with the middle peasants. The problem was neither a new one, nor peculiar to Russia.

The "fight for the middle peasant," Lenin said in 1903, "is going on everywhere, in all countries, wherever the Social-Democratic workers are fighting to emancipate the working people." (p. 46).

With the October Revolution the achievement of an alliance with the middle peasant became crucial for the continued existence of the Soviet Republic. "We must adapt our state economy to the economy of the middle peasant," Lenin said, in proposing the substitution of a tax in kind for surplus appropriation (p. 368). Lenin saw the vacillation by the middle peasants between the working class and the bourgeoisie as inherent in their economic position; condemned coercion against the middle peasant as impermissible and disastrous; proposed, instead, to "neutralize" him through concessions and assistance; stressed that socialist construction in the countryside would require a protracted period; declared that the middle peasant would take the socialist road only when convinced by example; and held that the Soviet government had the responsibility of providing the example.

Basic to the success of this policy,

and it did succeed, was the support of the Soviet power by the village poor: the repression of any attempts by the rich peasants to act the catspaw for the capitalist class; and consistent advocacy and support of socialized production (in various forms), despite the fact that for an appreciable period the overwhelming bulk of production would come from individual peasant farms.

The history of the Russian Revolution, specifically the years covered in the present volume, testifies that a Marxist analysis of the countryside is basic to the preparation of a working-class agrarian program, that such a program is fundamental to the advance of the working class, and to the achievement of socialism. (A year before his death Lenin said with prophetic vision—the words conclude this volume—“if we see to it that the working class retains its leadership of the peasantry . . . we [will], speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, to change from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of economy fit for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and cannot but seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification.”

The principles developed in this volume have basic implications for the theory of the anti-monopoly coalition. They require answers to the following questions: What is the class content of rural America today? How does monopoly affect the different rural class formations—the proletarians, cropper subsistence “residence,” and part-time farmers; the small and middle size farmers; the big farmers and farm corporations? How are the inter-class relations (say, between wage workers and the middle farmers who hire wage labor, if only for short periods) affected by monopoly and by the anti-monopoly struggle? Will all farmers go along in this struggle or are some irrevocably on the monopoly side?

And, among the wage workers and the poorest individual tillers—what of the differences in social condition between Negro, Mexican-American, and other minorities, on the one hand, and the whites on the other hand, important for the agrarian sector of the anti-monopoly coalition?

We have been satisfied to go along with loose concepts and looser programs. It is high time we utilize the principles and method of Marxism to correct our approach.

NEW PERMANENT BOOKS

THE MAGIC FERN

By Phillip Bonosky

A new novel mirroring the impact of automation on workers under capitalism. By the author of *Burning Valley*. Available now.

Cloth \$5.95

A PUERTO RICAN IN NEW YORK, and Other Sketches

By Jesus Colon

Fifty-five sparkling vignettes which tell "how Puerto Ricans in this city *really* feel, think, work and live." A delightful and wonderfully human book.

Paperback \$2.00

AMERICAN LABOR — WHICH WAY?

By George Morris

A critical analysis of the policies and practices, role and aims of the trade union movement, and new possibilities for big advances in the period ahead.

Paperback \$1.75

WORLDS OF COLOR

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Final volume of the great trilogy entitled *The Black Flame*, bringing the story of the Mansart family, their struggles, defeats and triumphs, to the present day.

Cloth \$4.50

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

By Blas Roca

The significant and profound report of the General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba to its eighth national congress.

Paperback \$1.25

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

Coming in August—

DARE WE BE FREE
THE MEANING OF THE ATTEMPT TO
OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By HERBERT APTHEKER

A fighting, polemical book which subjects to critical analysis the June 5 five-to-four Supreme Court decisions upholding the Smith Act membership clause and the McCarran Act registration clause. In weighing the opinions of Frankfurter, Harlan, Warren, Black and Douglas, the author probes the nature of the laws themselves, the significance of the decisions in the context of world developments, perspectives facing the Communist Party, and the impact of the decisions on general democratic rights, the Negro freedom struggle, the labor movement and the fight for peace. This important book will contain specific recommendations for converting the seeming victory for reaction into its opposite.

128 Pages: Paperback \$1.00

JUST PUBLISHED

- FREEDOM BEGINS AT HOME, by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn .15
- "A FATEFUL MOMENT IN OUR HISTORY": Dissenting opinion of Associate Justice Hugo Black in the McCarran Act Decision .15
- "I DO NOT THINK THE COURT'S ACTION CAN BE JUSTIFIED": Dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Earl Warren in the McCarran Act Decision .15
- RIDING TO FREEDOM, by Herbert Aptheker and James E. Jackson .10
- THE LESSONS OF CUBA, by James S. Allen .15
- NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

sis
he
on
en,
m-
rld
the
gro
ce.
for

.00

.15

.15

.15

.10

.15

. Y.