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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Exchange of Views on Deutscher Biography

Editor:

I strongly disagree with Joseph Hansen's review of the final volume of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky (*ISR*, Winter 1964). Although Comrade Hansen lists many of the points on which Deutscher is wrong and misleading, and answers some of them, he is on the whole too soft, too conciliatory. An example of what I object to is his footnote about Deutscher's reference in *The Prophet Outcast* to an attack on his views by James P. Cannon in 1954. Hansen attempts to "clear this up" in the following way:

"Some harsh and even unjustified things were said of Deutscher." His explanation is that "at the time Deutscher's theory about the possibility of the self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy figured in an internal crisis of the Socialist Workers Party." A minority, which eventually split away, was strongly influenced by Deutscher's theory. "To many Trotskyists, Deutscher's position appeared as an alternative program which could be a bridge to Stalinism. It therefore was viewed with hostility. It turned out, however, that Deutscher was not interested in recruiting from the Trotskyist movement or in organizing a sect of his own, still less a cult. This spoke strongly in his favor."

After the Hungarian uprising, Hansen continues, "another phenomenon" became noticeable. Many Communist Party members, still afraid to read Trotsky's writings, began to read Deutscher. "Having begun dipping into Trotskyism in this way, they thirsted for more. Through Deutscher, some of them eventually found their way to Trotskyism." Thus Deutscher's position proved to be "a bridge from Stalinism to Trotskyism. Trotskyists could not be against that kind of public facility. They therefore began undertaking their own self-reform — in relation to Deutscher."

Deutscher and the Cochranites

But it is simply not true that "harsh things" said about Deutscher in our press can be attributed to the undoubted fact that the Cochranite minority of the Socialist Workers

Party embraced Deutscher's views in 1953. That embrace and its consequences were the main reason why Cannon attacked Deutscher's position at that time, as he himself pointed out (*Fourth International*, Winter 1954), but harsh things had been written about Deutscher long before then. In 1949, when his Stalin biography appeared, I wrote two articles in *The Militant* sharply condemning it, despite its positive features, for its false analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy as fundamentally progressive. This had nothing whatever to do with any internal situation in the SWP.

In 1953, *The Militant* printed two more articles by me on the development of Deutscher's ideas after Stalin's death (in *Russia: What Next?*). By this time Deutscherism was an internal issue, but I would have written exactly the same criticism if it hadn't been. In the spring of 1954, when the first volume of Deutscher's Trotsky biography appeared, the Cochranites had broken with revolutionary Marxism completely and were no longer of interest to me. But *The Militant* printed six more articles by me on the pernicious errors and distortions of Deutscher. They were harsh, all right, but I cannot find anything unjustified in them, even ten years later; and I see that I correctly predicted then just what position Deutscher would take now in the final volume on the formation of the Fourth International.

Hansen now makes it appear that our common hostility to Deutscher 10 and 15 years ago was based on a belief that he was interested in "recruiting" Trotskyists to a sect or cult of his own. This was never my opinion at that time, nor did I hear of anyone expressing such an idea until, after the publication of the second volume of the biography in 1959 Hansen began to revise his attitude toward Deutscher. It never occurred to me 10 years ago because, on the face of it, Deutscher was essentially a commentator and bystander. He could not have any interest in recruiting anybody to any organization because he thought and thinks organization is useless or harmful. All he was interested in doing was refuting Trotsky's ideas, while praising Trotsky was a genius and prophet.

What Deutscher wanted to recruit members of the Fourth International to was not another organization but to the conception that it was a waste of time to build such organizations. Personally, I think it would speak more "strongly in his favor" if he had tried to build an organization to put his ideas into effect, as Trotsky did. In this connection, I do not understand why Hansen finds it "hard to know exactly what Deutscher thinks" Trotsky and his followers should have been doing. Everything Deutscher writes testifies to his belief that Trotsky and his supporters should have been writing against fascism, Stalinism, imperialism, etc., and that's all. Analysis and propaganda, yes; building a revolutionary party or international, no.

I also have serious reservations about Hansen's contention that "through Deutscher, some of them (Communist Party members) eventually found their way to Trotskyism." It is true that some of them found an introduction to Trotsky's ideas in Deutscher, but in a distorted form. To find "their way to Trotskyism," they would have had to go around or over Deutscher, not through him, and, in this country at least, few did. For most of them, Deutscher served as a stopping point; as a justification for breaking with Stalinism, but also as a justification for rejecting Trotsky's conclusion on what to do.

For most readers of the Trotsky biography, I believe, the conclusion will be that Trotsky was a great man but that "Trotskyism" is utopian and impractical. As a "public facility," Deutscher is more like a detour or dead end than a bridge, and I not only could be against that kind of facility, but am. If this is what led Hansen to "reform" his attitude to Deutscher, I would recommend that he take another and closer look at where this facility has led most readers.

Finally, I question the use of Hansen's analogy of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky with a portrait that might be painted of Trotsky by an artist. ("Let us not ask too much from them (artists), but take gratefully what they can give.") If Deutscher gives a portrait, that is only

(Continued on Page 90)

Which Road for Chile?

By Luis Vitale

IN RECENT months the world press and particularly the United States press has paid special attention to the political situation in Chile. This unusual interest stems from the fact that Chile, hitherto considered of little importance in world affairs, may possibly be transformed into Latin America's second Cuba, right here in the "backyard of Yankee imperialism." On March 15 of this year, Oscar Naranjo, a Socialist Party candidate, was elected to a seat in the national assembly in a special election held in the small rural province of Curicó. Since that time an acute interest has been evident in the probable "Castroite" future of this long, thin strip of land on the shores of the South Pacific Ocean.

Naranjo received 9,529 votes against 7,889 for Ramirez (Right Wing) and 6,600 for Fuenzalida (Christian Democrat). More significant, however, was the shift in percentages since 1963. The Frente de Acción Popular (FRAP, Popular Action Front, a coalition of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and Democratic Party, whose candidate in the presidential election this November is Salvador Allende), which in 1963 obtained 29 percent of the vote, went up to 40 percent. The Democratic Front (Conservative Party, Liberal Party and Radical Party), went down from 48 percent to 32 percent, and the Christian Democrats' share went up from 22 percent to 28 percent.

Should the FRAP, this September, face the same political alignment it met at Curicó, its victory in the national elections would be assured. A sweeping FRAP victory at the polls would in turn imply that, for the first time, Communists and Socialists may come to power through "the peaceful electoral road" advocated by the Khrushchevites. Therefore the Naranjo election has caused a political crisis which has tended to unite and regroup the bourgeois forces.

Before drawing any conclusions about the future course of Chile's political evolution we must investigate the matter more thoroughly. First of all we shall take note of the over-all situation in Chile and analyze the socio-economic forces underlying the present political crisis which has been such a headache for the Yankee State Department and its junior partner, the Chilean bourgeoisie.

What Is Chile?

Chile, with 8 million inhabitants, is a semicolonial country — not "underdeveloped" as it is hypocritically characterized by modern bourgeois economists. It is semicolonial because:

1. The main wealth, copper, which represents 70 percent of exports and accounts for 60 percent of the income from exports, is in imperialist hands. Three North American companies control copper production: Braden Copper Company, Anaconda Copper

Mining and Kennecott Copper Corporation. These companies made an initial investment of \$3.5 million and have taken more than \$3 billion out of Chile since they came to the country. On the other hand, other sectors of the Chilean economy, such as steel, nitrate, iron, the Electric Company, the Telephone Company, etc., are controlled by North American finance capital which displaced English imperialist investments during the 1930's. *Chile, an English semicolonial until the world crisis of 1929, has been converted into a Yankee semicolonial.*

2. Chile must pay the imperialists, on interest and amortization for capital loans, an annual amount larger than their investments. From 1944 to 1956, Chile received \$800 million in investments and had to pay back to the U.S.A. \$1 billion in interest on loans and remittances from utilities.

3. The price of copper depends on the fluctuations of a world market controlled by imperialism. The Yankee companies which operate in Chile have no interest in obtaining higher prices for copper since they are subsidiaries of other enterprises which use this product in the manufacture of various commodities. They are the kind of combined industries analyzed by Lenin in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. These combined enterprises establish low prices for raw materials which are extracted by their own subsidiaries; at the same time, with this low price they avoid paying higher taxes to the Chilean Government for the right to export. For the last decade, the price of copper has remained stationary while that of imported articles has risen more than 500 percent. This unfavorable change in the relationship of prices has meant a \$9 billion loss to Chile in the last 30 years, an

LUIS VITALE, a leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist), wrote this article under difficult circumstances. He was ordered confined for 541 days to Curepto, a town of 2,000 inhabitants in the south of Chile, after conviction by a bourgeois court for his role in leading militant actions in defense of the Cuban revolution. Vitale played an active role, as a national leader of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (Workers General Union), in these struggles. He writes, that due to the precarious conditions under which he lives in this small town, he was unable to make use of sources of information which he would have liked to make available to the reader.

amount equal to that promised by the Alliance for Progress to all of Latin America for 5 years.

4. This economic colonial relation is reflected in the political sphere by a military pact with the USA and membership in the OAS (Organization of American States), both of which impose conditions on Chile which infringe upon its sovereignty. All this has created strong anti-imperialist sentiment among broad layers of the population.

Retarded Development

Chile is a country of *retarded capitalist development*, subject to the laws of combined and uneven development which Leon Trotsky applied in characterizing colonial countries. Since independence from Spain in 1818, the ruling classes have been incapable of realizing the democratic-bourgeois revolution which the advanced capitalist nations accomplished during the nineteenth century.

One percent of the landowners hold over 2,000 hectares, or 70 percent of the entire area under cultivation. Meanwhile, 75 percent of the small proprietors have no more than

5 hectares. *Along with latifundia, Chile has the grave problem of minifundia*, small parcels that cannot provide the necessities for a family. On the other hand, twelve big industrial, financial, and commercial corporations monopolize the majority of the national enterprises. During the last few years the workers' share of national income has fallen while that of the employers has risen to more than 62 percent. Runaway inflation cut deeply into the purchasing power of wages under the governments of Ibañez and Alessandri.

The median daily wage of a Chilean worker is 75 cents and the daily earnings of a farmer, 30 cents. Poverty and malnutrition is widespread. According to statistics of the National Health Service, the daily Chilean diet falls short of normal requirements by the following amounts: milk, 32 percent; meat, 35 percent; eggs, 62 percent, and green vegetables, 46 percent. That is why Chile has such a shockingly high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy figure.

	Infant Mortality	Average Life Expectancy
Chile	122 (per 1,000)	50 (years)
United States	26	66
Sweden	17	71

Dr. Mardonas, a Catholic doctor from the Manuel Arriaran Children's Hospital, said that in 1960 "of 30,000 newborn infants, 20,000 had died of hunger before reaching one year of age." "Died of hunger" — take note.

Government of Alessandri

The situation has been aggravated under the present pro-imperialist oligarchic government of Alessandri. His regime is supported by the Conservative, Liberal and Radical parties and fundamentally, by the industrial bourgeoisie (the so-called "national and progressive bourgeoisie," about which we hear so much from the "official" communists). From the subjective outlook of the Chilean bourgeoisie, Alessandri was their best man and the failure of his government signifies the bankruptcy of the capitalist system in the eyes of the masses. Prices were inflated by 45 percent in 1963 and by almost 25 percent in the first months of 1964, according to the conservative official figures. The government's much vaunted "social welfare" program, its Housing Plan, is paralyzed with the resulting dismissal of many employes. Industrial and agricultural production is stagnating.

It must be pointed out that this *crisis of the bourgeoisie takes place*

after two years of full cooperation with the "Alliance for Progress." And note must be taken of the fact that Chile ranks as one of the countries which received the most benefits from the "Alliance" dollars. Agrarian reform, recommended by the "Alliance" and approved by the Chilean Parliament more than a year ago, is still snarled in red tape; and if it is carried out, it will benefit most the landowners who want to sell their uncultivated land. The Chilean ten-year plan, approved by the "alliance against socialism," proposes a tiny increase in production, an annual growth which was not even accomplished in the first two years. The several million dollars earmarked for these approved plans have been used by the government mainly to help finance its budgetary deficit.

Role of Christian Democracy

The parties of the Right — *Conservative* (224,000 votes) and *Liberal* (260,000 votes) — along with the *Radical Party* (430,000 votes), a name that might fool the North American public, have formed a bloc called Frente Democratica (Democratic Front). The bloc decided in mid-1963 to run Julio Duran (Radical) as candidate for President of the Republic. But after the electoral defeat in Curicó, mentioned above, they abandoned their front, thereby ushering in one of the most serious crises of bourgeois leadership in Chilean history. Duran resigned in order to bring about a regroupment of the bourgeois tendencies; but when he failed in his attempt he was again nominated by the *Radicals* in order to prevent the middle-class militants of his party from voting for Allende. The Conservative and Liberal parties, which have resisted naming Duran again, are seeking an agreement with the Christian Democratic candidate, Frei, with the object of overcoming the crisis of bourgeois leadership and preventing the victory of "Castroism."

The Christian Democracy (CD) thus emerges as the party for the bourgeoisie to fall back upon. The CD, as with other similar parties in Latin America, has grown tremendously in the last ten years and has become the leading political party in Chile, with 455,000 votes, or 23 percent of the total, in the municipal elections of April 1963. It controls the student movement and the cooperative movement. It has influence, though not the predominant in-

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fluence, in the unions. Its penetration is marked among salaried employes, professionals and technicians.

With the old bourgeois parties' inability to cope with present-day social struggles, important industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors see the CD as the only possible political vehicle to save the capitalist structure. Since the Cuban revolution, large sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie have understood that, in order to forestall the next proletarian revolution, certain social reforms must be undertaken; and they believe that the only party capable of carrying these out is the CD. These factors have determined the growth of the CD. To them must be added the erroneous policy of the Community Party (CP) and Socialist Party (SP), for in previous attempts to arrive at a popular front type of political agreement with the CD, they facilitated its penetration into the unions and mass organizations.

As I pointed out in *Essence and Appearance of Christian Democracy** — a book which I think has served to clarify for workers the demagogy of the C.D.:

"The CD is a petty-bourgeois party which in action follows a bourgeois and pro-imperialist policy. It proposes a lukewarm agrarian reform which touches only public and uncultivated lands. Its program does not call for the nationalization of copper, the key question for Chile's development, but on the contrary the CD has voted in favor of the "New Copper Treaty" (1955) and the "Nitrate Referendum" (1956) which meant a greater giveaway of the country's riches to the imperialists.

"The CD also does not propose the abolition of the Military Pact and other agreements which bind Chile to the United States. The CD is not a complete lackey of imperialism, that is an over-simplification; but it reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie of a semi-colonial country, at the present stage of capitalism incapable of freeing itself from foreign monopolies, able to play only the role of junior partner. In this sense, the CD only proposes better prices for raw materials, a steady market, and ample foreign credits and investments. That is why in a party

congress the CD joyfully greeted the "Alliance for Progress" in the following terms: 'The Chilean CD receives with pleasure and inspired spirit the so-called Kennedy Plan, which in substance accepts the points of view which we have constantly expressed for the last fifteen years.'

"The CD, aided by the Vatican, which is tied to imperialism in a worldwide anti-communist alliance, is a new card that can be played by the capitalist ruling circles. It is a party that is not formally tarnished by the ruinous past of the traditional bourgeois parties; it offers 'essentially' all kinds of guarantees to foreign investors and to the local capitalists; and, at the same time, encourages illusions about 'social peace.' Due to its demagogic program, 'apparently' leftist, it has penetrated certain sectors of the working and middle class."

Composition of Classes

THE GROWING state of misery, the experiences of the traditional parties, the growing world pressure of the masses and especially, the triumph of the Cuban revolution, have begun to increase the class consciousnesses of the Chilean workers. This is reflected in the aggressiveness of general and local strikes and political awakening in a leftward direction.

The proletariat, composed of almost a million workers, whose most important sectors are miners, textile workers, construction workers, metallurgical workers, railroad workers and food workers, is the key social grouping in the nation. Chile differs from other Latin American countries like Cuba, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru in which the *campesinos* (working farmers) are the most important social force — in some

countries numbering over 60 percent of the population. In Chile, as in Argentina, the sector with the most specific weight is the proletariat, because the working population of the Chilean countryside does not exceed 27 percent. If the Chilean revolutionary process begins in the countryside, it must count upon the joint action and resolute participation of the proletariat in the mines and cities. This proletariat, which lives in *poblaciones Callampos* (mushroom settlements), is unionized and has joined together in a national labor confederation, the (CUT) *Central Unica de Trabajadores* (National Workers Center).

A process of relative industrialization which began in the 1940's has brought a new influx of workers from the countryside who merged with the older generations that voted for the CP and SP twenty-five years ago. The new workers remained apolitical and without class struggle experience for a number of years. They voted for bourgeois candidates such as Carlos Ibanez in 1952. As a result of political apathy and difficult voter registration procedures, only 1.8 million persons were registered in 1958, among them only 25 percent of the proletariat. But this apolitical attitude and apparent indifference began to disappear in 1958 with the rise of the Allendist movement which gained wide support from workers of both the old and the new generations.

By 1964, the electoral relationship of forces has changed greatly. There are now 3 million voters registered and the newly registered are mainly workers and *campesinos*. That is the reason the bourgeoisie is fearful of the forthcoming elections.

On the other hand, the Chilean proletariat has had a wealth of experience in the class struggle from the beginning of the century, when Recabaren founded the first union and political organizations, up to Clotario Blest's founding of the CUT in 1953. General strikes, sit-ins, street battles, miners' marches on the cities, during which workers' blood flowed in more than one heroic action, mark the history of the Chilean working class. Along with that, the bitter experience of the Popular Front in 1938, in which workers' parties practiced class collaboration with the bourgeois Radical Party, opened the eyes of the proletarian vanguard and makes open betrayal by the CP and SP more difficult.

The *campesinos* are composed of

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200,000 small proprietors, 230,000 renters (working farmers who are caretakers of large estates and receive housing and a small plot of soil in return.) The rural proletariat (180,000) does not have the same specific weight as it does on the plantations of Central America, their concentration is low and unionization is slight.

Finally, there is the large native Indian population, *mapuche*, (250,000) which, because of racial solidarity and a traditional struggle to recover its ancient lands, is a force which plays an especially important role in the revolution of the countryside.

These rural forces began to stir after the Cuban revolution. They lost their political apathy and fear of the landlord when they voted for Allende in 1958. Since 1960 they have occupied estates and engaged in strikes, culminating in 1961 with the organization of the *Congreso Nacional Campesino* (National Farmers Congress) which adopted the slogan "Land or Death." These same *campesinos* gave Naranjo his victory in the recent Curicó elections.

The salaried employees of commerce, industry, banks, etc. (150,000) and state employees (250,000) have begun a left turn and sharp struggles. Traditionally, the salaried employees have constituted the electoral clientele of the bourgeois parties, particularly the Radical Party. But now they are beginning to lean toward the CD and *Allendismo*.

The small artisans and shopkeepers, both in established shops and on the streets, which constitutes in semi-colonial countries a numerous group, are augmented daily by unemployed (who try petty commerce as a last resort). They are beginning to understand that the big commercial monopolies are exploiting them more and more. Five years ago they started to organize unions and conduct mass strikes.

Communist and Socialist Parties

The strongest working-class parties which have come out for the candidacy of Allende are the Communist Party (260,000 votes, 12 percent of the national electorate), with 4 Senators and 14 Deputies, and the Socialist Party (225,000 votes, 11 percent), with 5 Senators and eleven Deputies. Both have equal forces in the CUT and the unions. Press reports that the CP is much stronger than the SP are not based on fact.

The CP, founded by Recabarren in

1920, is proportionately the strongest CP in Latin America. It publishes a daily, *El Siglo*, and several magazines. It has important financial resources and a large number of professional activists. After having been the third party of Chile during the 1940's, with ministers in the government of Gonzalez Videla, its active membership fell because a measure enacted by the very president they had supported, put them "outside the law" in 1947. The party began to recover in 1955 and is today the third most important party.

The Chilean CP had a revolutionary orientation in the decade of the 1920's, but since that time it has pursued the same Stalinist line of class collaboration as the rest of the CP's. With the pretext of supporting the national "progressive" bourgeoisie, it has betrayed the revolutionary struggle of the workers, especially during the Popular Front which lasted from 1938 to 1947, during which the CP helped elect three bourgeois presidents of the Radical Party. Due to the attitude of the Radical Party and others, such as the Christian Democrats, rejecting collaboration with the CP in a new version of the Popular Front, the CP set out in 1956 to form FRAP with the Socialist Party and the National Democratic Party (the party of the middle bourgeoisie with about 100,000 votes).

The CP supports the Khrushchev line, especially the thesis that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be made through the "peaceful, electoral and parliamentary road." This reformist orientation has caused a number of internal crises (1950, 1957, 1963) which, although minor, have caused militants to break with them, some joining the Trotskyists and others forming pro-Peking groups. The line of the CP toward the next election poses great risks

for the working class since it puts confidence in the army and bourgeoisie, expecting them to peacefully relinquish power in case of Allende's victory. It does not prepare the ranks for a defense of the victory, apparently ignoring the military coups which Yankee imperialism has promoted in Latin America in similar circumstances (Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, etc.) and refusing to take into account the historical reality that the bourgeoisie has never peacefully given up power, a reality which Fidel Castro pointed out to a delegation of CP leaders in 1962.

The Socialist Party, founded in 1934, actually has a "more leftist" position than other socialist parties of Latin America. It is not as well organized as the CP and has fewer publications. It has only one weekly paper, *Izquierda*, and one monthly magazine, *Arauco*. After having led one revolution in the decade of the 1930's which led to a "Socialist Republic" lasting only twelve days, it became more and more reformist; it even collaborated by providing ministers in various bourgeois governments, a capitulationist position which caused various splits within it.

Left-Wing Split

In 1957, the socialist groups united and a relatively strong party emerged which worked out a sharper anti-imperialist and anti-colonial position than the line of the CP. In that way, a left-wing current began to develop, influenced on some points by Trotskyists, pro-Cuban and pro-Peking elements. This still unorganized tendency demanded more aggressiveness in Allende's campaign and conducted a fight at the last Socialist Party congress in February 1964; but it was defeated by the bureaucratic petty-bourgeois leadership. A crisis

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resulted which caused a substantial number of militants to leave the SP, the majority of whom joined with the Trotskyists of the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Workers Party), the pro-Peking *Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista* (Revolutionary Communist Movement), the group of Clotario Blest, and others, in founding a new revolutionary Marxist party. Within the SP, a strong group of left-wingers continues to fight, reflecting the revolutionary aspirations of the ranks.

The FRAP is an anti-imperialist movement. This front has the peculiarity of being composed mainly of two workers' parties, which is different from what happened in other Latin American countries where the "nationalist" movements are in the hands of a section of the bourgeoisie. In 1955, two years after its founding, the FRAP was on the verge of taking power, but Allende lost the presidential election by only 40,000 votes.

A distinction must be made between the FRAP itself and *Allendismo*. The mass of the politically independent workers supporting Allende is much more militant and influential than the parties that compose the FRAP. Nevertheless, leadership remains in the hands of the FRAP. Thousands of independent Allendist committees have been formed in which the workers can express their revolutionary views. For the workers and *campesinos*, voting for Allende means voting against the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie; it means voting for socialism, for Cuba, for a new social system. Despite the fact that the CP and SP leadership maintain they do not intend to form a socialist government, the workers have taken seriously the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy promises of the Allendist program, which briefly are:

- 1) nationalization of copper, nitrates, and iron;
- 2) agrarian reform; expropriation of the large estates, turning the land over to the *campesinos* in conjunction with the collectivization of estates with a high capitalist investment;
- 3) nationalization of credit, banks, foreign commerce, insurance companies, public utilities, telephones, electricity, food monopolies;
- 4) planned economy;
- 5) wage increases; an end to unemployment; eradication of ill-

literacy; schools, hospitals, and housing construction for the people, through an urban reform program; the right to strike;

6) trade relations with all the countries of the world, especially Cuba; disavowal of the Military Pact with the USA and other treaties that tie Chile to imperialism.

The workers seek to ensure the carrying out of this program through written "agreements" between their committees and Allende. These Allendist committees are not merely electoral units as in the past. The questions of domestic program, national and international policy, etc., are discussed in the committees. Even more important, measures are being undertaken to defend the victory if the vote for Allende at the ballot box is not recognized. Some *campesino* committees have resolved immediately to take over the large estates in the event of Allende's election without waiting for bureaucratic procedures.

The bureaucratic leadership of the FRAP, the CP, SP and DP, has attempted to conduct the campaign along exclusively electoral lines. It does not mobilize the workers against the present rise in prices nor for urgently needed wage increases. With the object of attracting the middle bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy of the FRAP has minimized pro-Cuba propaganda. It talks of expropriating copper alone, instead of all foreign enterprises and adds that this nationalization will be gradual, that the constitution will be respected, as well as juridical procedures, etc., etc.

Revolutionary Marxist Strategy

THE revolutionary Marxist groups, the Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Marxist Vanguard, the pro-Peking groups and the groups that left the SP, have fused with the rank-and-file of the mass Allende Committees without seeking factional advantage; they bolster and encourage the radicalization now taking place among the Allendist workers and help prepare them for the necessary transition of the electoral process into a direct revolutionary mass struggle. The Trotskyists have distinguished themselves as the first to unmask the Christian Democrats as the main enemy. The revolutionary Marxists differentiate themselves from the FRAP bureaucracy by posing three main tasks:

- 1) to convert the Allendist Com-

mittees into revolutionary committees of action for carrying out the promised program;

2) to transform the rank and file Allendist Committees into a vanguard to conduct the struggle for immediate demands: against inflation, for increased wages, occupation of lands, and a campaign in support of socialist Cuba;

3) to prepare politically and practically to counter the anticipated refusal of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to relinquish power in the event of Allende's victory.

This program of action which elicits a great response from the workers, enables the Marxists to root themselves in the mass movement. It prepares the groundwork for the creation of a strong revolutionary party through the fusion of the revolutionary Marxists with the dissident elements coming out of the CP-SP

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crisis and the politically unaffiliated militants in the Allendist Committees.

The Electoral Alternatives

The two candidates with real possibilities for winning on September 4, 1964, are Allende (FRAP) and Frei (CD), although at the time this article is written there are two other candidates: Duran (Radical) and Jorge Prat (pro-fascist). The right wing forces (Conservative and Liberal) will finally support Frei.

Possible results of the elections are:

1. *In case of the victory of Allende by a plurality:* The bourgeoisie and the imperialists may refuse to accede and will select the second candidate, Frei, in a "Plenary Congress." (The constitution of Chile states that if the first candidate does not get 50.01 per cent of the votes, that is, an absolute

majority, the "Plenary Congress" — a meeting of the senators and deputies — may select a president from those who received the most votes.) In that event, the Allendist masses will take to the streets to defend their electoral victory.

2. *If Allende obtains an absolute majority:* The pro-imperialist forces may attempt a *coup d'etat* which will be openly resisted by the workers. In the event a coup should fail, Allende could assume the presidency, probably on the basis of some deal with the bourgeois sections of the Radical Party, which will try to modify the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy program — a sellout that the masses will react against.

3. *The imperialists may try to organize a military coup against Allende* if he is allowed to take office and begins to carry out his promised

nationalizations; in which case, the workers will demand arms in order to combat the attempted coup.

4. *Finally, if Allende is defeated at the polls:* The peaceful electoral road in Chile will be closed. The militants and rank-and-file workers of the CP and SP who feel that this election is the last *bourgeois* election will, along with the revolutionary Marxists, take the road to power "a la Cuba."

In short, from whatever angle the electoral alternatives are analyzed, it leads to one conclusion: *the existence of a pre-revolutionary situation.* If the combination of electoral activity and organization and preparation of the struggle for workers' power continues to march ahead, Chile can become the second Cuba of Latin America.

Curepto, Chile
April 23, 1964

Chilean Marxists Form New Party

The following two articles, from World Outlook, are published to provide supplementary information on the political crisis in Chile. Vitale's contention that a pre-revolutionary situation exists is confirmed by the ferment affecting all political formations.

WORLD OUTLOOK, March 6 — The *Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista* together with the grouping associated around *Polémica* with the Trotskyists of the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (POR) united to form a new Chilean party February 1. The new organization decided to continue the name *Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista* (MRC).

The original MRC group was composed of young students, workers and employees, who were formerly members of the Communist party. With the development of the Chinese-Soviet conflict, they began to form a pro-China tendency about a year ago. Some of them broke with the CP; others were expelled; and others tried to stay in the CP to develop a left wing. The initial nucleus of the MRC was then formed. It published bulletins which attracted much attention in the bourgeois press and which were harshly attacked by the CP.

At the end of 1963, the MRC joined another pro-Chinese group, *Espartaco* (Spartacus), and the two groups staged a pro-Chinese meeting in the *Teatro Baquedano* which attracted a crowd of some 700 persons.

This meeting was supported by the Trotskyists of the POR.

The two groups soon split, however. The reason for this was that the *Espartaco* group turned out to be both pro-Stalinist and pro-Chinese. Its membership was dominated by old bureaucrats, little interested in the national scene, who did not care to unite with other groups, who held anti-Trotskyist prejudices and whose main activity was the distribution of Chinese documents. The building of a revolutionary party was beyond them.

In view of this, the MRC broke with the *Espartaco* group and at the beginning of the year called for the unification of all revolutionary groups. The POR and *Polémica* accepted.

The *Polémica* group was made up of members who had left the organized Trotskyist movement for one reason or another and by others who had left the Communist and Socialist parties.

The POR was a Trotskyist group, linked to the working class, whose trade-union and political leaders are well known for their activities in defense of the Cuban Revolution. They have suffered police persecution for this in recent years. The Trotskyists joined the young Communists in their ideological struggle, offering them help in their meetings and publications. This greatly facilitated the unification.

The new party has now been joined by Clotario Blest and his group. This is of great significance. Clotario Blest is the outstanding leader of the Chilean working class. He served as president of the confederation of trade unions for nine years and has been hauled into court many times for participating in demonstrations in behalf of the Cuban Revolution. He had previously joined with the POR in common actions.

Marxist Position

The *Revolutionary Communist Movement* is based on Marxist-Leninist principles: Struggle for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a stage of transition in order to arrive at a classless society.

It rejects the Stalinist policy of class collaboration and supports the Cuban Revolution, attempting to draw the best lessons from it for the Chilean revolution.

The new party supports the most revolutionary and progressive Chinese positions in the Chinese-Soviet conflict (the problems of peaceful coexistence, support to the colonial revolutions, the revolutionary road versus the peaceful and parliamentary in order to achieve socialism, etc.).

This support to the Chinese revolutionary positions, appealing to the best militants who have appeared in

the crisis of the Communist Party, does not constitute unconditional support to all the Chinese positions. In order to make this clear, the Unification Plenum of the new party adopted a resolution against Stalinism as a political and organizational concept, and opposed the mistaken positions of the Chinese with regard to the Indonesian Communist Party, and with regard to Yugoslavia which

the Chinese contend is a capitalist state, etc.

As for national policy, the new Marxist-Leninist party is struggling for: (a) widening of the process of unification to include other revolutionary groups; (b) supporting with revolutionary methods the Allendista movement attempting to develop a revolutionary tendency within this

movement through rank-and-file Allendista unions, CUT (trade-union confederation), peasants, poor people, pro-Cuba committee, etc.; (c) improving already existing links with rank-and-file Communists and Socialists.

The newspaper of the MRC is *El Gallo Rojo* (The Red Rooster), a biweekly of which three numbers have already appeared.

Political Crisis Splits Chilean SP

WORLD OUTLOOK, April 3 — In the middle of February, the twentieth congress of the Chilean Socialist Party was held. The bureaucracy refused to seat the regularly elected delegates from Santiago, Concepción and other provinces who had organized an "Opposition" on a platform demanding a revolutionary attitude corresponding to the feelings of the rank and file and greater militancy in the presidential campaign of Salvador Allende. This Socialist Opposition has been called "pro-China" or "pro-Pekin," because of its critical attitude toward the slogan of the "peaceful and parliamentary road" supported by the reformist leadership.

The bureaucratic leadership won the congress but did not resolve the crisis facing the Socialist Party. As a result of the reformist resolutions adopted by the congress, significant sectors of activists split from the party.

The Socialist Youth of Concepción broke away with an appeal for "preparation of a National Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Party."

In the province of Talca, sixteen

sections, of about 300 members, had already split. In the provinces of Maule and Linares, various others broke with the Socialist Party. Likewise in the province of Coquimbo, about 100 left, most of them leaders of the working class.

In Valdivia a city councilman walked out. In Llanquihue, the Socialist Youth made a public declaration that it was splitting with the bureaucracy. In Santiago, Waldo Grez broke publicly. He is one of the main leaders of the "Opposition" and secretary of San Miguel, the most important working-class zone of the country. Some dozens of militants joined him there in similar action on March 22.

The crisis in the Chilean Socialist Party is not a mere struggle between wings of the bureaucracy, one rightist the other leftist. It reflects the contradiction between the revolutionary aspirations of the ranks and the reformist policies of the leadership. Behind this is the much greater crisis that has shaken the whole traditional political superstructure since the Cuban revolution. The Chilean Communist Party is affected like the

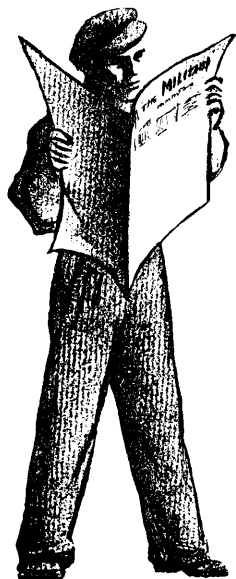
Socialist Party but, for the moment, to a lesser degree.

As a result of the crisis in the Socialist Party, the socialist groups that broke away (Talca, Coquimbo, Santiago, Concepción) met at the beginning of March with the *Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista*, a fusion of young Communists who broke with the Communist party over the Sino-Soviet conflict, a group around the magazine *Polémica*, and the Trotskyists of the *Partido Obrero Revolucionario*.

The groups signed a document which, among other things, called for the following: "(1) To convoke a Founding Congress of all the revolutionary sectors and elements for May 1, 1964, in the city of Talca with the aim of creating a Revolutionary Socialist Party. (2) To set up an Organizing Commission with representatives from the supporting organizations and those that may adhere during the revolutionary preparatory process for the congress. (3) To appeal to all the revolutionary Marxist groups, sectors and elements to join in creating this party. (4) To express our support for the popular candidacy of Salvador Allende, developing a revolutionary tendency in the movement of the Allendista masses."

Documents are being prepared to serve as the basis for the unification of these groups and it can be anticipated that the Marxist-Leninist program and tactic of struggle that will be worked out, will mark a step forward in overcoming the crisis of leadership for the Chilean proletariat.

The possibility is close at hand for the formation of a relatively strong revolutionary Marxist party. This process of revolutionary regroupment, opened in the final analysis by the impact of the Cuban revolution, offers to revolutionary Marxists a wide perspective for the construction of the party and Latin-American socialism.



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IS NATURE DIALECTICAL?

By William F. Warde

ON DECEMBER 7, 1961 six thousand young people gathered in a Paris auditorium to listen to a debate on dialectics by four noted Frenchmen.* Such a meeting would be as unlikely in New York as the outdoor recitals poets give before large crowds in Moscow. Different countries, different customs — and different levels of cultural and intellectual development.

The participants in the symposium represented the two most widely discussed philosophies of our time: Existentialism and Marxism. Neither trend of thought has the following in the United States that the first has in Western Europe or the second in Communist countries. America's ideological life is provincial and lags far behind the most advanced movements elsewhere.

Jean-Paul Sartre, possibly the most influential living man of letters, and Jean Hyppolite, Sorbonne Professor and Hegelian scholar, upheld the existentialist viewpoint. Roger Garaudy of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, director of its Center for Marxist Studies and Research, and author of numerous philosophical works, and Jean-Pierre Vigier, one of France's leading theoretical physicists, spoke for Marxism. Their topic was: "is the dialectic solely a law of history or is it also a law of nature?"

It is possible to hold three main positions on this question. One is that dialectics is sheer metaphysics, a vestige of theology, an aberration of logic, or meaningless verbiage which has no reference to reality and is useless for scientific thought in any field. This is the opinion of almost all scholars, scientists and those trained by them in the universities of the U.S. and England where empiricism, positivism and pragmatism hold sway.

A Second View

Another is that dialectics is valid in certain domains but not in others.

* The stenograph of this debate was published as "Marxisme et Existentialisme," Librairie Plon, Paris, 1962.

Adherents of partial dialectics usually maintain that its laws apply to mental or social processes but not to nature. For them a dialectic of nature belongs to Hegelian idealism, not to a consistent materialism. This position has been put forward by some Marxists such as the German Karl Korsch, the Hungarian George Lukacs in his well-known book *History and Class Consciousness*, who later abandoned this standpoint, and at one time by Sidney Hook in this country. This is the view taken by the existentialists Sartre and Hyppolite.

The third position is that dialectical materialism deals with the entire universe and its logic holds good for all the constituent sectors of reality which enter into human experience: nature, society and thought. The laws of dialectics, which have arisen out of the investigation of universal processes of becoming and modes of being, apply to all phenomena. Although each level of being has its own specific laws, these merge with general laws covering all spheres of existence and development, which constitute the content and shape the method of materialist dialectics. This view, held by the creators of scientific socialism and their authentic disciples, is defended in the debate by Garaudy, Vigier, and the chairman Jean Orcel, Professor of Mineralogy at the National Museum of Natural History.

An American would consider it strange that the controversy on the question should take place only between two schools of dialecticians: one piecemeal, the other thoroughgoing. He would first have to convince his countrymen that dialectical logic of any kind is worth serious consideration.

A broad spectrum of attitudes toward Marxism is exhibited by the Soviet Union, the United States and France. In the U.S., where capitalism reigns supreme, anything associated with socialism and communism is depreciated, if not tabooed. Marxism is regarded as obsolete, its philosophy false.

In the Soviet Union, where the socialist revolution abolished capitalism decades ago, dialectical materialism is the state philosophy. Under Stalin, in fact, it became scholasticized and ossified, as Vigier admits and Hyppolite testifies. The French professor tells how during a recent visit the Soviet Academy of Sciences contrived to have him talk to the students about the machine instead of existentialism, as he wished. However, all the questions after his lecture related to existentialism. "It seems to me that the youth was strongly interested in Sartre's existential philosophy," he dryly observes.

The intellectual and political climate of France stands between those of the major Cold War antagonists. There is lively tension and continual intercourse between Marxist and non-Marxist currents of thought, and especially between the politically oriented atheistic existentialists like Sartre and various exponents of Marxism. Sartre and C. Wright Mills reflect the ideological differences between their two countries. Mills held a place among radical intellectuals in the English-speaking world like that of Sartre in Europe. Yet in his last work *The Marxists* Mills dismissed the laws of dialectics as something "mysterious, which Marx never explains clearly but which his disciples claim to use." Indeed, even this footnote reference was an afterthought added to his original manuscript in deference to friendly critics.

Such a blackout of dialectics would be unthinkable for Sartre. He was educated and lives in an environment where both Hegelian and Marxist philosophies are taken seriously, on a continent where scientific socialism has influenced intellectual and public life for almost a century, and in a country where the Communist Party gets a quarter of the vote and has the allegiance of much of the working class. He has developed his own ideas in contact and contest with Marxism from the time he propounded the philosophy of ex-

istence as its rival, to the present stage, when he conceives of existentialism as a subordinate ideology within Marxism which aspires to renovate and enrich it.

Mills took from Marxism only those elements that suited his empirical sociology and New Left orientation. He cut the dialectical heart out of the Marxist method of thought and presented what was left as the still-living organism. Sartre has a higher esteem for dialectics. But, as we shall see, he, too, accepts only what can be fitted into his neo-Marxist existentialism.

This Paris debate between existentialists and Marxists is worth examining at length because many of the chief objections to materialist dialectics were posed and answered in the light of present-day scientific developments.

SARTRE'S CASE against a dialectic of nature is quite different from that of an American pragmatist or positivist. His arguments are distinctively existentialist.

He agrees that history and knowledge are dialectical processes because they are created by man and man is involved in their development. There is an historical materialism but no dialectical materialism. Dialectics is internal to history. The province of dialectics cannot go beyond human practice. It is illegitimate to extend dialectical laws to non-historical, non-human phenomena. Sartre presents three main reasons for this restriction:

1. Dialectics deals only with concrete totalities which man himself "totalizes" through his practice. History and society are such. Nature, on the other hand, does not constitute a single integrated whole. Nature may be infinite, even contain an infinity of infinities. But it consists of fragmented totalities which have no inner unity, no universal and necessary interconnection. The disunity of nature forbids any universal dialectic.

2. The contradictions operating in history cannot be the same as antagonisms in nature. Social contradictions are based upon the reciprocal conditioning and organic interpenetration of their contending sides through man's mediation. The opposing forces inside a physical-chemical system are not interactive and interrelated in this way. Brute matter, the "practico-inert," is disjointed, dispersed, resistant to dialectical movement.

3. We can know society and history from the inside, as they really are, because they are the work of man, the result of his decision and action. Their dialectical linkages are disclosed through the contradictory interplay of subject and situation. But physical phenomena remain external to us and to other objects. They are opaque to our insight. We cannot penetrate to their real inner nature and grasp their essence.

In sum, nature must be non-dialectical because of its disunity, its lack of contradiction, its insurmountable externality and inertia. The only possible dialectical materialism is historical materialism which views man's establishment of his relations with the rest of reality from the standpoint of his action upon it.

Orthodox Marxists revert to theology and metaphysics, says Sartre, by extending dialectical laws over nature on purely philosophical or methodological grounds. He does however concede that dialectical laws may at some point be found applicable to nature. But only by way of analogy. This presently involves a risky extrapolation which must await verification through further findings by the natural scientists. But even if they should discover that physical processes resemble the dialectical type and use dialectical models in their research, this would provide no insight into the nature of nature, no true knowledge of its essential features.

Thus the Existentialist Sartre turns out to be a positivist in his last word on the possible relations of dialectics to the physical world. For him the ideas of this logic can be no more than handy hypotheses in metaphorical dress that may help scientists order and clarify their data but can not reflect the content of nature.

Sartre is not consistent in his effort to imprison dialectics in the social world and strike it out of pre-human and non-human phenomena. His arguments against the dialectics of nature are more fully set forth in his 1960 philosophical work of 755 pages, *Criticism of Dialectical Reason*, of which the first part was published here in 1963 under the title: *Search for a Method*. There he admits that living matter at least may develop dialectically. Sartre writes: "The organism engenders the negative as that which disrupts its unity; disassimilation and excretion are still opaque and biological forms of negation in so far as they are a movement oriented toward rejection." This

exception opens a breach in his position. Garaudy correctly observes that once Sartre has recognized that negation and totalization exist in the pre-human state, it will be difficult to stop halfway and keep dialectics confined to biology without extending its jurisdiction to the rest of nature.

IN HIS rejoinder to Sartre who wishes to see only partial unities or specific totalities in nature, Vigier points out that nature is a whole made up of myriad parts. The reality of the universe we inhabit is both material and dialectical. Its unity is expressed in an infinite series of levels of existence. Each of the specific realms of being which collectively constitute the material universe is finite, partial and incorporates only a limited aspect of the whole. In itself nature is endless and inexhaustible. It forever generates new properties, modes and fields of existence. There are no limits to what it has been, to what it now is, to what it may become.

One of the major errors of mechanical and metaphysical thought about nature, Vigier says, is the notion that it is based upon ultimate elements from which everything else issues and with which the rest of reality can be built up. This conception, which goes back to the Greek Atomists, has been carried forward by natural scientists who believed that molecules, atoms and now "elementary" particles were the basic building blocks of the entire universe.

Actually science has been developing along different lines, both in regard to the universe at large (the macrocosm) and to the subatomic domain (the microcosm.) There is no foreseeable end to astronomical phenomena or our discovery of them, as the recently discovered puzzling pseudo-stellar masses indicate. New micro-particles keep turning up which reveal more profound movements and antagonisms. What appears immobile on one level is really in flux at another level. There are in principle no irreducible or immutable elements in nature. This has just been reconfirmed by the acknowledgment that the so-called "elementary particles" can no longer be considered the ultimate objects of microphysics.

The history and practice of the sciences demonstrate that various totalities exist in nature as well as in human history. Vigier points out that living organisms are totalities which

are decomposable into finer totalities such as the giant molecules. The earth, the solar system, our galaxy, and all galactic systems taken together can be approached and analyzed as totalities with a disregard for their detailed fluctuations. The distinct totalities which are found all around us in nature are relative, partial and limited. Yet, far from negating the unity of nature, they constitute and confirm it.

Experiments show that however complicated the bio-chemistry of life, its processes are fundamentally the same from the algae to the human organism. We ourselves are made of star-stuff. It has been ascertained that the universe has a common chemistry, just as all the diverse forms of life on earth share similar biological laws. The same elements that make up the earth and its inhabitants are present in the most remote stellar regions.

The substantial unity of nature is asserted, not only in its structural components, but in its stages and modes of development. Science is rapidly filling in a vast panorama of cosmic advancement. It is uncertain how the observable universe originated, if it did at all. But it has evolved from the creation of the elements, the constitution of the stellar galaxies and other celestial phenomena to the birth of our solar system and the formation of the earth's crust and atmosphere. Then it proceeded to the chemical conditions required for the primary reactions leading to the first manifestations of life on through the transformations of organic species up to the advent of man. All this has been climaxed by the birth and forward movement of society over the past million-odd years.

This unified process of development is the real basis for the universality of the dialectic which maintains that everything is linked together and interactive, in continuous motion and change, and that this change is the outcome of the conflicts of opposing forces within nature as well as everything to be found in it.

To assert that everything is in the last analysis connected with everything else does not nullify the relative autonomy of specific formations and singular things. But the separation of one thing from another, and its qualitative distinctions from everything else, breaks down at a certain point in time and in space. So long as the opposing forces are in balance, the totality appears stable,

harmonious, at rest — and is really so. But this is a transient condition. Sooner or later, alterations in the inner relation of forces and interactions with other processes in the environment upset the achieved equilibrium, generate instability, and can eventuate in the disruption and destruction of the most hard-and-fast formations. Dialectics is fundamentally the most consistent way of thinking about the universal interconnections of things in the full range of their development.

No Unbridgeable Gap

In addition to denying the unity of nature, Sartre attempts to erect impassable barriers between different orders of existence by splitting nature from human history. Is this justified by the facts? There was a profound interruption in the continuity of natural evolution, a qualitative jump, when mankind lifted itself above the other primates by means of the labor process. There are basic differences between nature and society; they have different laws of development. But there is no unbridgeable gap between them.

Just as the inorganic gave rise to the organic, that in turn and in time engendered social life, the distinctive field of human action. But all three sectors of reality which have come from one another remain in the closest communion. The chemical elements (nitrogen, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen) which enter into the total metabolism of organisms through food consumption, inhaling, exhaling, internal utilization and breakdown, excretion and elimination, return to the atmosphere, earth and water for reuse. Our economy as well as our physiology exhibits the unbreakable unity of the diverse levels of being. The farmer furrowing the soil with an animal-drawn plough and seeding it brings together mineral, botanical, biological and human forces in the unified process of producing food.

The inanimate, the animate and the social belong to a single stream of material existence and evolution with endless currents.

ARE THE OPPOSITIONS in nature so radically different from contradictions in the life of man as Sartre contends? Contradictions on every level of existence have their peculiar characteristics which must be found out in the course of practical experience and formulated in scientific inquiry. The sociological law that, as technology expands, the productive

forces of mankind tend to grow beyond and conflict with the relations of production and property forms in which they have been encased is very different from Newton's laws of motion.

Does this mean that physical and social processes have no common denominators? Marxism maintains that general laws of being and becoming exist which allow both for the identities and differences, the persistent and the changing, in the real world. They embrace both nature and the life of man and are capable of expression as laws of logical thought. Included in the inventory of the laws of dialectics are the interpenetration of opposites, the passage of quantity into quality, the negation of the negation, the conflict of form and content, and many others. They are as relevant to nature as to society because they are rooted in the objective world.

Vigier observes that "internal antagonisms (that is to say, the assemblage of forces which necessarily evolve in contrary directions) illustrate the nature of contradiction . . . The unity of opposites is understood as the unity of elements on one level which engenders the phenomena of a higher level. The transformation of quantity into quality is interpreted as the sudden rupture of equilibrium within a system (for example, the destruction of one of the antagonistic forces) which modifies the equilibrium and gives rise to a qualitatively new phenomenon in the midst of which new contradictions appears."

Vigier cites the advances of modern physics as evidence of the intrinsically contradictory properties of analyzed systems, which contain simplicity and complexity, inertia and violent motion at one and the same time. "The material elements considered inert at one level, for example the macroscopic bodies described by classical physics, are revealed upon analysis to be prodigiously complex and mobile as scientific knowledge progresses. On our scale this table can appear to me inert but we know it is composed of molecules in extremely complex and violent motion. These molecules themselves can be decomposed into mobile atoms when I push analysis much further. Finally, the atoms themselves split into so-called 'elementary particles' which in their turn disclose equally mobile and complex internal structures."

The motion dealt with in contem-

porary microphysics is not considered as the simple shift of an inert element from one point to another but rather as a violent oscillating movement which develops at one point to the degree it is destroyed in the immediately preceding position. Each side of this dual process of annihilation and creation reciprocally condition each other.

Negation and Transformation

The new emerges from the old in nature by way of contradiction, that is to say, by negating the essential properties of the previous form of being and absorbing its reconstituted elements into a higher synthesis. The major leaps from one qualitative state to another take place on the borderlands of evolution when one state of matter passes over into another. Biochemists in their theories and laboratories are now seeking to ascertain the successive steps through which purely chemical reactions produced the first biochemical mechanisms. Although the inorganic is the matrix, the mother of life, life on earth is something radically novel. As a totality it is more and other than a chemical process; it has structures, properties and powers that go far beyond its predecessor. "It is necessary to seek in the mineral for the origin of the processes and materials of the organic world," says Prof. J. D. Bernal, the British physicist, "but life itself represents a capital stage in the evolution of matter: the containment of continual chemical processes in a limited volume."

The formal logic, which is based on abstract or simple identity (A equals A), is too one-sided to explain this negation of one state of matter and its transformation into its opposite, in this case the lifeless into the living, because it excludes from its premises real difference and contradiction which is the extreme development of difference. But the unity of opposites (A equals not- A), which makes contradiction explicit and intelligible, can explain this transition which actually occurred on earth. The emergence of life from the non-living in turn substantiates the objective basis in nature of this law of concrete contradiction which is a cornerstone of dialectical logic.

ACCORDING TO SARTRE, we are barred from knowing the inside of nature because it is not the work of man. Are physical-chemical phenomena inaccessible to us because we do not have such direct contact with

them as with history? To be sure, remarks Vigier, we have to make and employ experimental devices to delve into the thick of things. But through these instruments we do find out their real properties and inner relations.

How can we be sure that our ideas actually correspond to what nature is "in itself?" This is no new question for philosophy and Marxism developed a theory of knowledge to answer it. Sartre, like Kant, bases his agnosticism upon the supposedly impenetrable character of materiality. Garaudy points out that while relations between the subject and object, the human and non-human, may initially be opaque, they can be rendered more and more transparent by practice and theory.

The proof that we know what things really are comes from useful practice. From solar masses to subatomic elements we handle the materials and direct the operations of nature for our social purposes.

If we project through action an idea or scientific hypothesis about the material world or any portion of it, we receive a response, either negative or affirmative. The idea either fits the situation or it does not. Both responses enable us to deal with, and eventually to understand, the features and functions of nature. They disclose not only the movement but the structure of reality.

A new hypothesis does not simply destroy the old, leading to null results in the history of thought. The superior hypothesis which replaces the cruder and narrower one contains within itself whatever remains valid and valuable in its outworn and discarded predecessor, as an automatic shear retains the cutting edge of chipped stone and Einstein's relativity theory includes and explains what is true and useful in Newtonian physics. Knowledge progresses and accumulates in this dialectical manner. It is thus possible to deepen our understanding and extend our control. Even if man never gets to learn everything about nature, the verified knowledge actually gained through endless investigations enables us to probe ever more deeply into its recesses.

Knowledge of Reality

The issue in dispute is whether the structure and movement of nature disclosed by science and experiment is such that only a dialectical method of thought renders the phenomena intelligible and manageable. Sartre

evades a definite answer to this question by walling up nature in an unbreachable externality with no windows we can look and reach through. He rejects the Marxist conception that human knowledge reflects objective reality.

Garaudy is obliged to clear up two common misunderstandings about this theory which Sartre plays upon. The term "reflection" does not signify that knowledge is a passive phenomenon which merely duplicates the object, like a mirror image, or mechanically reproduces it, like a stamping machine. The process of conception is more complex and active. Arising out of work and everyday practice, stimulated by the predicaments of life, man's mind invents ideas and hypotheses and engages in various means of verifying them. Further, knowledge is not simply and immediately derived from direct contacts of sensation with the external world, as the original empiricists taught. It is essentially historical, the product of prolonged and intricate modifications of thought in its adjustments to reality which remain forever incomplete.

This is true of the dialectics of nature as well. It is not imposed *a priori* or willfully upon nature, as Sartre charges. It represents the verified conclusions, the systematic formulations of practical experiences, scientific investigation and critical thought extending from Heraclitus to Hegel. Like other theoretical acquisitions, it is projected into the future as a guide to further inquiry into concrete reality.

But if Marxism has discarded the passive, oversimplified and non-evolutionary versions of the thought process held by previous schools of materialism from Epicurus to the eighteenth century sensationalists, it asserts with them that conceptual reflection does bring out and define the essential qualities and relations of things. Nature is prior to consciousness. There is an internal bond between what exists and what is known — and even how it is known. The order of ideas, as Spinoza said, does correspond with the order of things.

HYPPOLITE makes two charges against the Marxist interpretation of dialectics. On the one hand it aims to make nature historical by importing dialectical laws into it and on the other it tries to "naturize" history by subjecting it to the same laws as the physical world. He wishes

to keep history and nature in totally separate compartments.

This is alien to reality. Nature is through and through historical. Vigier emphasizes how "proceeding from the history of biology and the human sciences, the idea of evolution has step by step invaded the whole of the sciences: after astronomy it is today breaking through into chemistry and physics . . . This idea of history, of evolution, of analysis in terms of development is for us precisely the profound logical root of the dialectics of nature. It can even be said that in a sense all scientific progress is being achieved along the line of abandoning static descriptions for the sake of dynamic analyses combining the intrinsic properties of the analyzed phenomena. For us science progresses from Cuvier to Darwin, from the static to the dynamic, from formal logic to dialectical logic."

Nature and society form two parts of a single historical process. But they are basically different, contradictory parts. Other living beings have history made for them; man makes his own history.

Animals depend upon the available food and other features of their environment for survival; they cannot alter or discard their specialized organs and ways of life to cope with sudden changes. Entire species can perish when their habitats change too rapidly and radically. Man, on the other hand, is not subjected to any particular environment or mode of adaptation. We can adjust to new conditions, meet changes, and even institute them by inventing new tools and techniques and producing what we need.

Up to now social development has carried over certain traits of natural development because by and large it has proceeded in an unconscious and uncontrolled manner. The course of society has been determined, not by the purposes of men, but by the unintended results of the operation of their productive forces. But human history has reached the point where it can discard its blind automatism and enter an entirely different type of development. By discovering the laws of social development and collectively acting upon them, man can take control of society and consciously plan its further growth.

HYPPOLITE and Sartre accuse Marxism of instituting a new dogmatism by presenting a fixed and finished system of thought about the

world. Hyppolite's last words in the debate are: "You risk giving us a sort of dialectics, under the pretext of dialectics of nature, which would be a speculative (i.e., idealistic) thought, in certain respects a theological thought, even though you disclaim such an intention." Sartre contends that Marxist dialectics is a frozen system based upon a limited number of laws, the three mentioned by Engels in "Dialectics of Nature."

Sartre is right in saying that the laws of logic are not limited. But so does genuine Marxism, even though some doctrinaires of the Stalinist school have sought to limit them. The French philosopher Henri Lefebvre ridicules one official of the French Communist party who smugly declared to him: "The house (of dialectical thought) is finished; there is nothing left to do but put up the tapestries."

"There does not exist a closed, finished, definitive list of dialectical laws," says Garaudy. "The presently known laws constitute a provisional balance sheet of our knowledge . . . Further social practice and scientific experiment will permit us to enrich and extend them." Although the dialectical laws discovered and formulated to date have a definite content and universal scope, they are neither completed nor unchangeable. The number and character of the laws of logic have changed over the past 2500 years. They will continue to be transformed along with the development of nature, society and knowledge and must keep in step with their advances.

Sartre strives to secure an objective basis for dialectics by locating it exclusively within human practice. "If we refuse to see the original dialectical movement in the individual and in his enterprise of producing his life, of objectifying himself, then we shall have to give up dialectic or else make of it the immanent law of History," he writes in *Search for a Method*. (p. 61) This is a very misleading description of dialectical movement even within human history. The dialectical development of society proceeds, not from the action and decision of the isolated individual in a concrete situation but from the work of the group, first in the struggle against nature, then in the conflict of classes. The subjective components of the whole, from the individual to his psychology, which so preoccupy the Existentialists, are integral and subordinate elements of this objective historical process and

derive their validity and significance from it.

Dialectics of Nature

In the reciprocal relationship whereby man's practice transforms and masters the environment, nature retains existential priority, however much this offends the subjectivity of the Existentialist philosopher.

The origin of human practice itself requires explanation. The distinctive activities that have separated man from the animal condition originated with the using and making of tools and weapons to obtain the means of subsistence. But this new kind of activity which is at the foundation of society grew out of natural processes which antedate human practice by billions of years.

In the evolutionary scale animal activity preceded human practice which was a qualitatively new offshoot of it. When the first fishes developed lungs, came to live on dry land and converted themselves into reptiles, that was a dialectical change in organic nature. Through the natural mechanisms of the evolution of species the fish, to use Sartre's language, "objectified himself" into the amphibian and reptile.

The dialectics of human history grew out of this dialectics of nature. It originated in the conversion of the ape into man, the most meaningful of all the contradictory developments of matter. The elevation of humanity above animality was the greatest rupture in the continuity of nature's evolution. The qualitative disjunction between man and other species is so deepgoing that Sartre takes it as the ground for excluding dialectics from nature.

He is here baffled by a genuine contradiction. Man is both a creature of nature and a departure from it. When man is low-rated as nothing but a high-grade animal, different in degree but not in kind from other living beings, the essential differences between ourselves and the animals are obliterated. Human life, which stems from the production of the means of subsistence by tools and weapons, is something radically new compared to animal foraging for food. The labor process is the beginning of society and provides the platform for the dialectical movement of history. Fundamental changes in the organization of the labor process are the decisive steps in the advancement of humanity.

But the processes which humanized our primate ancestor were both

a prolongation of brute nature and a level above and beyond it. Just as there is both continuity and discontinuity in the transition from ape to man, so there is a comparable continuity and discontinuity between the dialectics of nature and of history. The dialectics of nature has different forms and proceeds according to different laws than the dialectics of social evolution. It is the prehistory of human dialectics, the precondition for it. The one passes over into the other as man creates his own characteristics in distinction from the rest of nature.

The evolution of man through his social practice is only the culminating chapter in the evolution of matter. The dialectic of human history, which for Sartre is the be-all and end-all of dialectics, is the latest episode in the universal dialectic.

Sartre's subjectivist and anthropocentric conception of dialectical movement is belied by the latest findings of modern science. Scientists now say that billions of planets are suitable for the creation of life and may very likely be populated by intelligent organisms of some sort. There are 100 million eligible planets in our galaxy alone! Humanity is only one manifestation of life inhabiting a small planet of a solar system on the edge of an ordinary galaxy in an explorable universe of billions of galaxies containing other and, in some cases, higher specimens of life.

This remarkable addition to our knowledge does not detract from the value and significance of life on earth for us. After all, the improvement of our own scientific practice and theory has led us to it. But this discovery should serve to put our existence into proper cosmic proportion and perspective. Dialectics can no more be restricted to the people on our planet than life and intelligence can be.

The Existentialist resents and rejects the rationalism and objectivity of science. It supposedly leads us away from real being, which is to be perpetually sought, though never reached, through the ever-renewed, ever-baffled effort of the individual consciousness to go beyond our human condition. The terrible destiny of man is like "the desire of the moth for the star, the night for the morrow, the devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow."

So the exasperated Existentialist Sartre flings, as his trump card against the dialectics of nature, the

current crisis in science. "There has never been, I believe, as grave a crisis as the present one in science," he cries to Vigier. "So, when you come to talk to us about your completed, formed, solid science and want to dissolve us in it, you'll understand our reserve."

Vigier calmly replies: "Science progresses by means of crises in the same manner as history; that's what we call progress. Crises are the very foundation of progress." And he concludes: "The very practice of science, its progress, the very manner in which it is today passing from a static to a dynamic analysis of the world, that is precisely what is progressively elaborating the dialectic of nature under our very eyes . . . The dialectic of nature is very simply the effort of the philosophy of our time . . . of the most encyclopedic philosophy that Marxism is to apprehend the world and to change it."

This ringing affirmation will appear bizarre to Anglo-American scientists who may respect Vigier for his work as a physicist. They summarily disqualify dialectical logic on the ground that, whatever its philosophical or political interest, it has no value in promoting any endeavor in natural science. If the method is valid, the anti-dialecticians say, then purposeful application by its proponents should prove capable of producing important new theories and practical results in other fields than the social. Marxists are challenged to cite instances where the dialectical method has actually led to new discoveries and not simply demonstrated after the fact that specific scientific findings conform to the generalizations of dialectical logic.

The most splendid contribution of this kind in recent decades has been Oparin's theories on the origin of life which are widely accepted and have stimulated fruitful work on the problems of biogenesis and genetics. The Soviet scientist's theory is based on the hypothesis that the random formation and interactions of increasingly complex molecules gave rise to the simplest forms of living matter which then began to reproduce at the expense of the surrounding organic material.

Oparin consciously employed such principles of the materialist dialectics as the transformation of quantity into quality, the interruption of continuity (evolution by leaps), and the conversion of chance fluctuations into regular processes and definite properties of matter to initiate an

effective new line of approach to one of the central problems of science: how did inanimate nature generate life on earth? Such cases would undoubtedly multiply if more practicing scientists were better informed about the Marxist method of thought.

THE CRISIS of method within science is only one aspect of the more general crisis of modern civilization. This has become most excruciating in the deadly consequences of physical science under capitalist auspices. The dialectics of nature exhibited in the fission and fusion of atoms has merged with the dialectics of history in the most monstrous and momentous of all contradictions facing mankind: the threat of self-destruction by nuclear war.

Why have the immense strides in physical knowledge and technology designed to serve mankind become perverted into an intolerable menace to its continuation? The H-bomb exemplifies the sociological law that the fast-expanding forces of production and destruction (which are identical) have outgrown capitalist relations and are pounding against them for liberation. Used for good or evil, nuclear energy, the greatest source of power at man's command, is proving incompatible with private ownership of the economy and capitalist control over the government.

The imperative political conclusion is that the representatives of the money power in the United States must be prevented from pressing the button which can doom us all, as was nearly done in the 1962 missile crisis over Cuba. Capitalism is the last form of socio-economic organization dominated by laws which operate in an ungovernable way, like laws of nature. The aim of scientific socialism, the task of the proletarian world revolution is to subdue all the anarchic forces tied up with capitalism which generate insecurity and havoc in our society. The blind drives of class society have pushed mankind to the brink of extinction. Conscious understanding and application of the dialectical laws of evolution and revolution can help save us. Only through public ownership and operation of the economy and democratic direction of state policy can the working people introduce scientific enlightenment into the material foundations of life, overthrow the last entrenchment of automatism in social evolution, and clear the way for the rule of reason in all human affairs.

Defend the Cuban Revolution

By Ernest Mandel

A REVOLUTION that has transformed barracks into schools; that has given the luxurious mansions of the wealthy to government scholarship students; that has led a million adolescents and adults to education; a revolution that has radically suppressed racial inequality and segregation; that has achieved the miracle of eliminating, in three years, unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas — a notorious evil in all underdeveloped economies; a revolution whose ministers and officials do their allotted tour of guard duty in front of public buildings, as plain militiamen; a revolution that has eliminated from the army — which is now, moreover, called the Rebel Army! — all ranks above that of commandant (the only army in the world which does not include in its ranks colonels, generals and marshals); a revolution that, even according to reports of its U.S. enemies, has assured, for the first time, that all children have enough to eat and go to school. What socialist whose heart is in the right place could fail to be thrilled by such a revolution?

We had felt it for a long time, from the reports and the photographs that reached us from Cuba: the Cuban socialist revolution is today the most advanced bastion of the emancipation of man. After having traveled all over Cuba for seven weeks, seeing every aspect of its life, that general impression becomes specific and more and more confirmed. Nowhere more than in Cuba can one see the immense possibilities of radical social change, of human liberation, that socialism offers the human race.

An Underdeveloped Country on Road to Socialism

The most difficult problem of our time is that of underdeveloped economies. According to innumerable reports of international organizations, every year, every month, every day, the gap between industrialized countries and underdeveloped countries grows wider and wider. The former get richer and richer; the latter get poorer and poorer. This widening gulf of misery doesn't

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swallow up just a few scattered peoples living around the edges of the civilized world; two-thirds of the inhabitants of the globe must be placed in that category.

Now Cuba shows — after China, it is true, but in an infinitely more obvious and striking way — that this underdevelopment is not due to any fatal weakness, whether geographic, ethnic, racial or economic; that, thanks to a social revolution, a country can pull itself out of economic backwardness in the space of a few years and initiate a rapid climb; and that even before decisive economic successes have been won, the standard of living of the masses can be radically improved by means of a radical change in the use of existing resources.

The Cuban example doesn't apply only to Cuba. It goes for all of Latin America and, with certain limits, for the entire "Third World." The Cubans know this. They proclaim it boldly, regardless of what it costs them. And it costs them dearly, for, without doubt, that is the main reason for the fierce hostility that the government of the United States continues to show toward them. On the Plaza de la Revolución there is an enormous, permanent inscription, "Long Live the Latin American Revolution!" The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is decorated with a huge banner across its entire facade which proclaims, "Long Live the Workers of the World." One cannot talk with a leader, with a plain militant of this revolution, without becoming aware of the extent to which his destiny seems to be identified with that of the revolution on the American continent.

Evidently, the situation in Cuba was, from the beginning, a special one. In 1958, that country had a per capita income that was among the highest in all of Latin America, in third place, right behind Argentina and Uruguay. Today, it can be estimated to vary between \$400 and \$500 per year, while in the poorest countries of the world the annual per capita income hardly ever exceeds \$50.

However, that special situation, on closer examination, was not as significant as the figures cited would lead one to suppose. If the average income was higher in Cuba than in most Latin American countries, it was also more unequally divided. It is enough to compare the magnificence of Fifth Avenue in Marianao, the upper-class suburb of Havana, with the miserable slums of the working-class neighborhood of Santiago — slums which the Revolution has almost entirely eliminated — to realize the fact that a minority of ten percent of the privileged or semi-privileged was the recipient of a large part of this higher national income.

Besides, this higher income was for the most part a result of the special integration of the Cuban economy with that of the economy of the United States, an integration which was, in fact, a complete subordination. It had a paradoxical character: it was an obstacle to any attempted amelioration of the situation, to any definitive break with underdevelopment, to any diversification of industry, yet such a break would risk, in turn, having the initial result of a fall rather than a rise in the average income.

To the immediate economic risks of the social revolution was shortly added the burden of American reprisals: total economic blockade (the lack of spare parts for American-made transportation equipment constitutes one of the gravest problems of the Cuban economy), and military aggression which necessitates constant defense preparations — at a high cost to the Cuban economy.

Finally, it is necessary to take into account aid from the Soviet-bloc countries and from China which, no doubt, has succeeded in partly neutralizing the effects of this blockade. But it is extremely difficult to establish statistically the real effect of this aid on the Cuban economy, given the fact that it is partly military aid and that transactions are at prices and for qualities that make comparison with the situation before the revolution difficult.

Real Social Revolution

ALL this means that it is extremely difficult to strike a balance sheet of the economic advantages and disadvantages for Cuba proceeding from its particular situation and that, on the whole, its example remains very valuable for the "Third World." The gist of this example may be summed up in this formula: absolute priority to the solution of social problems, with the view to using the mobilization of the masses in the assault on underdevelopment!

The social revolution cannot rest principally in legal texts or written formulations. It must be carried out by a complete and dramatic social transformation which sweeps away the most flagrant injustices and raises to the top level of society those classes and layers which have been the most oppressed. Doing this, the revolution acquires the confidence, the devotion, the total adherence of millions of human beings who will be ready to give it their enthusiasm, their labor and their lives.

It is in this devotion that the grandeur of the Cuban revolution consists — a devotion symbolized by the *becado*, the scholarship student. Fidel has brought into the most luxurious mansions in Havana 80,000 sons and daughters of the poor peasants of the rural areas (just as, under another program, he gave to the servants of wealthy emigrés the cars of their former bosses, so that they could earn their living as cab drivers!). He has brought the seasonal agricultural workers — who formerly had to live a whole year on the wages of one harvest season — into people's farms, where they receive a salary every month of the year. And the result of this revolution is tangible: the consumption of meat, the consumption of textiles, have *doubled* in comparison with 1958. Since there is rationing and a lowering of consumption in the cities, one can easily imagine how greatly consumption has increased in the country.

The revolution has radically changed housing, clothing, food, medical care, education, leisure, for the majority of the Cuban nation — the agricultural work-

ers and the poor peasants. It has thus created an enormous potential, the effect of which was first visible in the political and military spheres: the militia, the Rebel Army, the crowd of a million people meeting as the General Assembly of the Cuban People to acclaim and approve the First and Second Declarations of Havana — they were, above all, the disinherited masses become master of their country.

Today, it is a question of drawing from this same potential the main forces for a leap forward in the economic sphere.

The Cuban Economy

CUBAN industry is in the process of rapid growth. In comparison with the situation before the Revolution, the annual increase in industrial production is well over 10 percent, probably closer to 15 percent, if the sugar industry is excluded. For the year 1963, the rate of increase in comparison with 1961 is 27 percent, and it is higher in light industry (30 percent) than in heavy industry (21 percent). In 1961, the increase in industrial production (still excluding the sugar industry) was estimated at 30 percent in comparison with 1959.

Certain branches of industry have been started from scratch or developed from embryonic elements. Branches like naval construction, manufacture of agricultural equipment, electrical equipment and leather products, have had the most spectacular development. The textile industry itself has doubled its production compared to the situation before the revolution, but that development was due to an already existing set up, unused before the Revolution.

Cuban industry has had to make a tremendous effort to substitute its own production of certain key elements, necessary to the economy of the country, which had previously been imported from the United States. Thus, spare parts for the machinery of the sugar industry are beginning to be manufactured within the country.

An effort of the same kind comes to the fore in the technical program. The Americans had built, in Moa, the most modern nickel plant in the world. It was just about to start operating when the Revolution broke out. The American technicians left, taking with them all the plans for putting the enterprise into operation. Today this plant is functioning.

Evidently a rather large number of foreign technicians — especially from the countries of the so-called "socialist camp" — have had to replace the technicians who left the country. But the government is trying to replace them as quickly as possible with Cuban technicians. That is why it has launched the "technical revolution," which has transformed Cuban factories into a vast school. Some tens of thousands of workers, young and old, are involved in this accelerated program to train Cuban technicians, mainly by the method of half-time apprenticeship, in schools attached to factories or in specially created institutes. When the crop of this tremendous training program is harvested, there will be a spurt in industrial production.

Difficulties in Agriculture

The situation in agriculture is less promising — and that has some effect on industrial production to the extent that the sugar industry is still the most important industry in the country. That is why the statistics on industrial production cited above do not include the sugar industry.

But when one talks of agricultural problems in Cuba, it is necessary to be quite specific: the economic difficulties are in large part a function of the solving of social problems. Two examples illustrate this point. Actually, there is a shortage of labor for the *zafra*, the harvest of sugar cane. The harvesting is done in large part with the help of volunteers, factory workers, white-collar workers and officials of other industries or public administration. This shortage of labor was caused precisely by the *elimination of underemployment in the rural areas*. Formerly, harvesting of the sugar cane was done mostly by seasonal workers who had no other employment. To the extent that unemployment and underemployment have disappeared, agricultural workers aren't rushing to do the hardest work — and cutting sugar cane in the broiling sun is certainly exhausting labor.

Another example: agriculture is operating at a loss, but at the source of this situation is the incontrovertible fact that the great mass of agricultural workers are now paid twelve months a year on the People's Farms, instead of receiving wages only three or four months of the year, as was the case before the Revolution. Since production has not increased in the same proportion as labor costs, there are significant operating losses.

Side by side with these structural problems, inevitable concomitants of the social progress brought about by the Revolution, there are problems due to errors made in the agricultural domain. These errors fall into two categories: errors of orientation and errors of organization.

In the period immediately after the victory of the Revolution, all the leaders were convinced of the necessity of freeing Cuba from the burden of *monoculture* (single-crop economy) with its twin evils of *close dependence* on the United States and *permanent economic instability*. But there are two ways of freeing an economy from monoculture: either develop other crops side by side with the cultivation of sugar cane, or cultivate other crops as a substitute for the sugar cane. In part, the second way was chosen, and it was obviously wrong. It proved especially wrong in that the rise in price of sugar on the world market created the possibility of building up a significant cash reserve for the country, thanks to heavy exports. The correct idea of developing a whole chemical industry based on sugar also involves an increase, not a reduction, in sugar production.

Besides, the new organization of Cuban agriculture proved itself too rigid, too bureaucratic, too badly directed. All this had bad results: crops spoiled for lack of labor while, on a nearby farm, labor was not being used productively at full time; workers were called upon so often to do heavy work that turned out to be unnecessary that their enthusiasm waned and they became indifferent to production.

Workers in Managing Enterprises

THese errors are now in the process of being corrected. The administration of agriculture is being restructured on the basis of some 80 districts (*agrupaciones*), in which a more rational use of labor will be possible and in which there will be more efficient administration. The workers will also have an interest in the progress of production because they will be able to share part of the profits, in excess of the plan, that are made in each district (or on each farm).

At the same time Fidel himself has given this program a vigorous push — so that sugar cane production will be increased and not reduced. The aim is ten million tons of sugar in 1970, which goal is to be reached by means of a general mechanization of sugar cultivation. Also, the diversification of crops and the raising of new ones (such as cotton) will be continued, and care will be taken that there be no fall in the production of coffee, vegetables and fruit — important for the present needs of the people. Tobacco cultivation is going well.

The fundamental problem posed by the mishaps in agriculture is basically that of making the workers, the producers, aware of the direction in which the economy is going. The directors of industry especially understand that socialist consciousness constituted the essential motor power for progress in production in the period immediately after the Revolution. That is why they attach so much importance to the problem of education and likewise feel that it is necessary to link the workers directly with management in the enterprises. This question will no doubt be resolved in the near future, but the solution calls for a radical reform of the unions, the prestige of which has been lowered in the eyes of the workers, many of the leaders being neither competent nor representative.

The battle to make agriculture self-sustaining is a battle for a more rapid increase in the national income of Cuba. Today, paradoxically, it is industry that is financing the agricultural deficit; tomorrow, it is necessary that agriculture finance the more rapid growth of industry as well as raise the standard of living of the workers. At the same time, the deficit in the balance of payments will have to be wiped out rapidly. Actually, it is covered by Soviet aid, but that is a rather unhealthy situation which will no doubt be overcome in a few years.

New Threats of Aggression

Since the defeat of the mass movement in Brazil — a temporary one, no doubt, but nonetheless fraught with serious immediate consequences — Cuba's international situation has rapidly deteriorated. From the time of his speech to commemorate the third anniversary of the battle of Playa Giron, on April 19, Fidel Castro has solemnly called the attention of the Cuban people and of international opinion to the new threats of aggression bearing down on Cuba. We do not believe that the international workers' movement has really become aware of this danger. It is therefore necessary to review the essential facts of the problem.

Since the consolidation of the Socialist Revolution in Cuba, i.e., since the defeat of the counter-revolution at Playa Giron, U.S. imperialism has stubbornly been pursuing the immediate aim of isolating Cuba from Latin America. To this end, it has systematically contributed to the overthrow of all the "liberal" bourgeois governments "guilty" of maintaining friendly relations with the Cuban revolution. That was the fate of Frondizi; that was the fate of the president of Ecuador; that was the fate of President Bosch of the Dominican Republic. This anti-Cuban policy has rapidly made a farce of the aims of the Alliance for Progress, namely that only the establishment of reformist governments could, as Kennedy put it, avoid revolutions. The most striking case was that of Venezuela, where the struggle against Fidelismo transformed the Betancourt regime

from a "reformist" regime to an ultra-reactionary dictatorship.

Last March, after a meeting in Washington of all the U.S. ambassadors to Latin America, the new under-secretary of State, Thomas Mann, officially buried the corpse of the Alliance for Progress. He announced that from now on Washington would no longer make distinctions between "constitutional" governments and dictatorial governments (provided they are anti-Cuban). That was the green light for the military coup in Brazil which burst forth a few days later, sweeping out constitutionally elected President Goulart who wanted to introduce the reforms recommended by the defunct Alliance for Progress "in order to stay the mounting waves of communism."

Blockade and Isolation of Cuba

Brazil will break diplomatic relations with Cuba, no doubt followed by Uruguay and Bolivia. Washington has taken care to have a new, ultra-reactionary presidential candidate in Mexico, one who will no doubt be fiercely anti-Cuban. There remains Chile, where everything depends on the result of the next elections. But the effects of the victory of the reaction in Brazil strongly limit Chile's chances for a legal victory of the socialist candidate, Allende, especially if the Socialist-Communist Popular Front continues to "have confidence" in the "loyalty of the army toward the Constitution."

It is true that the blockade of Cuba has failed. But the diplomatic isolation of the Cuban Revolution from the Latin-American continent will have many harmful effects on the Revolution. Particularly, there is the risk of this isolation being a prelude to open counter-revolutionary intervention.

Venezuela has already placed before the Organization of American States a motion condemning Cuba as an "aggressor" and recommending application of all kinds of sanctions, including "military" sanctions in case of a new "aggression." Actually the government of that country is trying hard to collect the necessary votes to get this motion adopted at the next session of the OAS. In the event that this motion is effectively adopted, the reactionary governments of Latin America will be well able to constitute a task force in the Caribbean, to try to isolate the Island commercially, to begin harassing and diversionary attacks on Cuban territory to support later attempts at landing counter-revolutionists, even to organize provocations (bombing attacks on counter-revolutionary bases in Nicaragua or in the Dominican Republic, disguised as the work of Cuban planes) with a view to unleashing against Cuba military operations on a much wider scale.

These harassing attacks would place the Cuban government in a very delicate position. If it answers in kind, it gives the reaction an opportunity to "punish the aggressor." If it does not take retaliatory measures, it has to remain passive in the face of the systematic destruction of factories, the burning of crops, the assassination of militiamen, a passivity which would finally (at least that's what Fidel's enemies hope) result in weariness, even demoralization, in the ranks of the revolution.

Threat of American Intervention

These counter-revolutionary projects on the part of the reactionary regimes of Latin America overlap the projects of the counter-revolutionary Cubans and those of the U.S. itself.

Even though Fidel denounced it in his April 19 speech, even though the Cuban government denounced it in a letter to the United Nations and will, no doubt, soon denounce it in a complaint before the International Court at The Hague, the government of the U.S. continues, without let up, since the October 1962 crisis, daily overflights of Cuban territory, by means of U-2's or a more modern type of plane.

These overflights are completely illegal. The statement that they are "indispensable to the security of the United States" doesn't hold water; everybody knows that the rockets remaining in Cuba are all of a defensive nature. Everybody knows too that it isn't Cuba that "threatens" to bomb the U.S., but that it's the U.S. that seriously and openly threatens to attack Cuba. Besides, important international documents, subscribed to by the U.S. government, precisely denounce and declare illegal any violations of the sovereignty of small nations under the pretext that such a violation is "indispensable to the security" of a large neighbor. Doesn't Cuba have a lot more right in this connection, to conduct overflights of U.S. territory to assure *her own security*?

American policy toward Cuba is based exclusively on "might makes right." This cynical attitude, which completely disregards international law, constitutes a permanent provocation toward Cuba. The Cuban revolution has decided not to tolerate these provocations forever. It is obliged to act along these lines, especially to the extent to which these overflights of Cuban territory serve as sources of information for military undertakings openly being prepared by counter-revolutionaries for launching from U.S. territory (Puerto Rico!) or from territories of governments allied with the United States.

But any retaliatory measures Cuba can take in this area risk unleashing a furious reaction from the Pentagon which, without assuming the form of open invasion (in order to avoid Soviet intervention), would nevertheless be bloody and cost Cuba dearly: certain U.S. circles are toying with the idea of launching 500 bombers against Cuban bases and towns.

The Cuban people are ready, standing alone, to bear the brunt of such aggressions. They are ready to give their lives to defend their Revolution. But it is the duty of the international working class to smash all efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution.

The struggle between Washington and Havana is not a struggle for or against "representative democracy." Anyone who can still doubt this should at least learn the lessons taught by events in Brazil! It is a struggle between the economic and social status quo, which involves the semi-slavery of millions of inhabitants of the countryside, which involves the atrocious misery of the slums side by side with the shameless squandering of riches by the millionaires in their "thousand-and-one-nights" palaces, and a social revolution which carries with it all the hopes of well-being and progress of the most oppressed of the oppressed — millions of the starving, Negroes without rights, Indians scorned and humiliated for four centuries.

In this struggle, the duty of every socialist, of every believer in progress, is to take sides without hesitation in favor of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, to defend this Revolution against all foreign intervention, to show toward this Revolution the same solidarity that we all showed to the Spanish people during the civil war.

The Lesson of Brazil

By Manolo Sarmiento

THE COUP D'ETAT organized by the "gorillas" [reactionary militarists] in Brazil is the logical continuation of the *coups d'etat* which have occurred in a number of countries in Latin America. This one is of greater significance than all the others put together.

Goulart stood in the center of the Latin-American nationalist stream. His efforts to resolve the burning problems of his country were sincere — insofar as his nationalism permitted him to move. In addition Goulart was practically the only Latin-American leader who took the Alliance for Progress seriously. The reforms he sought were all outlined in the Punta del Este Charter. These included a timid expropriation that involved about five percent of the latifundists' land, a timid control of rents in Rio de Janeiro, the expropriation of a few oil refineries, and the extension of the right to vote to illiterate citizens.

This touched off a violent reaction among the ruling classes, who supposedly support the Alliance for Progress. They unleashed a campaign in which they identified Goulart's moderate nationalism with "communism."

One of the outstanding features of the events in Brazil was the clarity with which it showed the depth of the revolutionary situation in Latin America and — the crying need for revolutionary Marxist leadership. By supporting Goulart as a nationalistic, reformist, progressive bourgeois, the leftist circles around the Communist party led by Luis Carlos Prestes, proved how blind they were to the reality in Brazil and what criminal misleadership they offered. To place confidence in Goulart as a leader of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, or at least that sector that stood for the "structural reforms" needed by Brazil, signified playing into the hands of reaction.

The catastrophe in Brazil was prepared by illusions sowed among the masses by the petty-bourgeois nationalists and the Khrushchevists. As they depicted it, the problem in Brazil was to struggle only against the "feudalistic landlords" who constitute the main obstacle to development. The way to fight imperialism, according to this school, is "democratically," "with a nationalistic struggle," by no means deepening the struggle to an anticapitalist level, since this would alienate the national bourgeoisie, the important ally for this "stage."

One of the crimes of Latin-American reformism is precisely to advocate this profoundly mistaken and antiscientific concept of a revolution in sealed-off stages; that is, first against "feudalism" and then — we will see. In Brazil two percent of the population controls eighty percent of the arable land. The struggle against this "feudal" structure, according to the reformists, thus involves the urban bourgeoisie as an extremely important element. The reformists placed all their cards on this nationalist, allegedly anti-feudal bourgeoisie.

Even a brief indication of the facts will show how erroneous this view is. The developments of Brazilian industry, above all in the south, in the São Paulo region, is due primarily to the dollars obtained from agricultural exports like sugar, cocoa, cotton, tropical fruits and above all coffee. In Brazil, a most common phenomenon is the urban industrialist who has his cattle ranch or coffee plantation.

This production of raw materials is directly linked to the world capitalist market. With the money received, the Brazilian landholder was compelled to begin investing as a capitalist. In feudal days it was quite different, but as in the rest of Latin America, the landlord of today is not a

feudal lord, but the descendant of feudalists. A big sector of the Latin-American bourgeoisie developed out of this landed aristocracy.

MARIATEGUI, Peru's great revolutionary Marxist theoretician, writes in his *Seven Essays*: "Thus it was that this caste [the landholding aristocracy], was forced by its economic role to assume in Peru the function of a bourgeois class, although without losing its aristocratic colonial views and prejudices."

The Brazilian landholder, like his kind in Peru, does not view his land as a feudal estate provided with serfs but rather as a capitalist enterprise producing for the market. Mariátegui says again: "Along the coast, the latifundist has reached a more or less advanced level of capitalist technique, although exploitation still rests on feudal practices and principles. The organization of the production of cotton and sugar cane is in correspondence with the capitalist system. Considerable capital is involved and the land is worked with machines and modern methods."

The Brazilian plantation owner, on receiving his profit in dollars, cannot accumulate them by simply storing them in his mattress. He has to invest. The enormous growth of exports and the consequent rate of import of dollars is evident in the rise of the banks and gigantic financial enterprises of São Paulo. This, then, is the origin of the finance capital of that city.

In view of its own origin, its present relations and its position (the most important in the country), this bourgeoisie is not against the status quo in the countryside. On the contrary. The composition of this bourgeoisie, its multiple links with landholding families, as well as the control of the banks by the big exporters, show how utopian (and therefore criminal) it is to advocate making a "revolutionary" alliance with it.

BRIZZOLA and Goulart are representatives of a tiny nationalist bourgeois sector that wants to avoid a revolutionary storm through reforms. But their bourgeois lucidity is such that an abyss exists between what they preach and what they do. They appealed for "structural reforms," but when the time came to act, they saw that the only forces that were with them were the popular masses and that their own class, as a whole, had abandoned them.

Goulart's aim was to save the bourgeoisie from a socialist revolution, not to build a bridge toward it. In announcing his reforms and appealing to the masses, he remained highly conscious of his role as a bourgeois leader. He refused to follow the example of the sorcerer's apprentice. He understood perfectly that the forces unleashed by "structural reforms" — under circumstances requiring a mass struggle against his own class — could not be confined to reformist channels but would burst over everything, opening up the process of permanent revolution and paving the way for the establishment of proletarian power. Before this perspective, Goulart preferred to look like a demagogue who was really only interested in maintaining himself in power. In that way he helped to keep the lock on the floodgates of social revolution.

The Brazilian bourgeoisie ruled out even the smallest reforms proposed by Goulart, immediately cancelling the minor measures he had taken. Is any better indication needed of its real position in Brazil? Its resistance to reforms, even those completely within the limits of the Alliance for Progress, shows what a profoundly conservative force it is.

The role of imperialism, utterly in contradiction with the objectives outlined in its own Alliance for Progress, shows once again what a farce this program is. What North American imperialism is interested in is the \$1,500,000 invested in Brazil. The scandalous and shameful events in Brazil show that Trotsky's words in 1938 are as timely as when they were first uttered: "The crisis now facing humanity is the crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

The Triple Revolution

By Ad Hoc Committee

We are publishing the text of the document: The Triple Revolution: An Appraisal of the Major U.S. Crises and Proposals for Action, as a means of acquainting our readers with this widely discussed contribution to the fundamental problems of American economic, political and social development. Subsequent issues of the ISR will deal with the various aspects of the questions raised in this document, released by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, over the signatures appended at the end of the document.

THIS statement is written in the recognition that mankind is at a historic juncture which demands a fundamental reexamination of existing values and institutions. At this time three separate and mutually reinforcing revolutions are taking place:

THE CYBERNATION REVOLUTION: A new era of production has begun. Its principles of organization are as different from those of the industrial era as those of the industrial era were different from the agricultural. The cybernation revolution has been brought about by the combination of the computer and the automated self-regulating machine. This results in a system of almost unlimited productive capacity which requires progressively less human labor. Cybernation is already reorganizing the economic and social system to meet its own needs.

THE WEAPONRY REVOLUTION: New forms of weaponry have been developed which cannot win wars but which can obliterate civilization. We are recognizing only now that the great weapons have eliminated war as a method for resolving international conflicts. The ever-present threat of total destruction is tempered by the knowledge of the final futility of war. The need of a "warless world" is generally recognized, though achieving it will be a long and frustrating process.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS REVOLUTION: A universal demand for full human rights is now clearly evident. It continues to be demonstrated in the civil rights movement within the United States. But this is only the local manifestation of a world-wide movement toward the establishment of social and political regimes in which every individual will feel valued and none will feel rejected on account of his race.

We are particularly concerned in this statement with the first of these revolutionary phenomena. This is not because we underestimate the significance of the other two. On the contrary, we affirm that it is the simultaneous occurrence and interaction of all three developments which make evident the necessity for radical alterations in attitude and policy. The adoption of just policies for coping with cybernation and for extending rights to all Americans is indispensable to the creation of an atmosphere in the United States in which the supreme issue, peace, can be reasonably debated and resolved.

Interaction of the Three Revolutions

THE NEGRO claims, as a matter of simple justice, his full share in America's economic and social life. He sees adequate employment opportunities as a chief means of attaining this goal: the March on Washington demanded free-

dom and jobs. The Negro's claim to a job is not being met. Negroes are the hardest-hit of the many groups being exiled from the economy by cybernation. Negro unemployment rates cannot be expected to drop substantially. Promises of jobs are a cruel and dangerous hoax on hundreds of thousands of Negroes and whites alike who are especially vulnerable to cybernation because of age or inadequate education.

The demand of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of society. The Negro is trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are in the process of vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white worker. Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines.

The United States operates on the thesis, set out in the Employment Act of 1946, that every person will be able to obtain a job if he wishes to do so and that this job will provide him with resources adequate to live and maintain a family decently. Thus job-holding is the general mechanism through which economic resources are distributed. Those without work have access only to a minimal income, hardly sufficient to provide the necessities of life, and enabling those receiving it to function as only "minimum consumers." As a result, the goods and services which are needed by these crippled consumers, and which they would buy if they could, are not produced. This in turn deprives other workers of jobs, thus reducing their incomes and consumption.

Present excessive levels of unemployment would be multiplied several times if military and space expenditures did not continue to absorb 10% of the Gross National Product (i.e., the total goods and services produced). Some 6-8 million people are employed as a direct result of purchases for space and military activities. At least an equal number hold their jobs as an indirect result of military or space expenditures. In recent years, the military and space budgets have absorbed a rising proportion of national production and formed a strong support for the economy.

However, these expenditures are coming in for more and more criticism, at least partially in recognition of the fact that nuclear weapons have eliminated war as an acceptable method for resolving international conflicts. Early in 1964 President Johnson ordered a curtailment of certain military expenditures. Defense Secretary McNamara is closing shipyards, airfields, and army bases, and Congress is pressing the National Space Administration to economize. The future of these strong props to the economy is not as clear today as it was even a year ago.

The Nature of the Cybernation Revolution

CYBERNATION is manifesting the characteristics of a revolution in production. These include the development of radically different techniques and the subsequent appearance of novel principles of the organization of production; a basic reordering of man's relationship to his environment; and a dramatic increase in total available and potential energy.

The major difference between the agricultural, industrial and cybernation revolutions is the speed at which they developed. The agricultural revolution began several thousand years ago in the Middle East. Centuries passed in the

shift from a subsistence base of hunting and food-gathering to settled agriculture.

In contrast, it has been less than 200 years since the emergence of the industrial revolution, and direct and accurate knowledge of the new productive techniques has reached most of mankind. This swift dissemination of information is generally held to be the main factor leading to widespread industrialization.

While the major aspects of the cybernation revolution are for the moment restricted to the United States, its effects are observable almost at once throughout the industrial world and large parts of the non-industrial world. Observation is rapidly followed by analysis and criticism. The problems posed by the cybernation revolution are part of a new era in the history of all mankind but they are first being faced by the people of the United States. The way Americans cope with cybernation will influence the course of this phenomenon everywhere. This country is the stage on which the Machines-and-Man drama will first be played for the world to witness.

The fundamental problem posed by the cybernation revolution in the United States is that it invalidates the general mechanism so far employed to undergird people's rights as consumers. Up to this time economic resources have been distributed on the basis of contributions to production, with machines and men competing for employment on somewhat equal terms. In the developing cybernated system, potentially unlimited output can be achieved by systems of machines which will require little cooperation from human beings. As machines take over production from men, they absorb an increasing proportion of resources while the men who are displaced become dependent on minimal and unrelated government measures — unemployment insurance, social security, welfare payments. These measures are less and less able to disguise a historic paradox: that a growing proportion of the population is subsisting on minimal incomes, often below the poverty line, at a time when sufficient productive potential is available to supply the needs of everyone in the United States.

Distribution of Products

The existence of this paradox is denied or ignored by conventional economic analysis. The general economic approach argues that potential demand, which is filled would raise the number of jobs and provide incomes to those holding them, is under-estimated. Most contemporary economic analysis states that all of the available labor force and industrial capacity is required to meet the needs of consumers and industry and to provide adequate public services: schools, parks, roads, homes, decent cities, and clean water and air. It is further argued that demand could be increased by a variety of standard techniques, to any desired extent by providing money and machines to improve the conditions of the billions of impoverished people elsewhere in the world, who need food and shelter, clothes and machinery and everything else the industrial nations take for granted.

There is no question that cybernation does increase the potential for the provision of funds to neglected public sectors. Nor is there any question that cybernation would make possible the abolition of poverty at home and abroad. But the industrial system does not possess any adequate mechanisms to permit these potentials to become realities. The industrial system was designed to produce an ever-increasing quantity of goods as efficiently as possible, and it was assumed that the distribution of the power to purchase these goods would occur almost automatically. The continuance of the income-through-jobs link as the only major mechanism for distributing effective demand — for granting the right to consume — now acts as the main brake on the almost unlimited capacity of a cybernated productive system.

Recent administrations have proposed measures aimed at achieving a better distribution of resources, and at reducing unemployment and underemployment. A few of these pro-

posals have been enacted. More often they have failed to secure Congressional support. In every case, many members of Congress have criticized the proposed measures as departing from traditional principles for the allocation of resources and the encouragement of production. Abetted by budget-balancing economists and interest groups they have argued for the maintenance of an economic machine based on ideas of scarcity to deal with the facts of abundance produced by cybernation. This time-consuming criticism has slowed the workings of Congress and has thrown out of focus for that body the inter-related effects of the triple revolution.

An adequate distribution of the potential abundance of goods and services will be achieved only when it is understood that the major economic problem is not how to increase production but how to distribute the abundance that is the great potential of cybernation. There is an urgent need for a fundamental change in the mechanisms employed to insure consumer rights.

The Cybernation Revolution — Facts and Figures

NO RESPONSIBLE observer would attempt to describe the exact pace or the full sweep of a phenomenon that is developing with the speed of cybernation. Some aspects of this revolution, however, are already clear:

the rate of productivity increase has risen with the onset of cybernation;

an industrial economic system postulated on scarcity has been unable to distribute the abundant goods and services produced by a cybernated system or potential in it; surplus capacity and unemployment have thus co-existed at excessive levels over the last six years;

the underlying cause of excessive unemployment is the fact that the capability of machines is rising more rapidly than the capacity of many human beings to keep pace;

a permanent impoverished and jobless class is established in the midst of potential abundance.

Evidence for these statements follows:

1. The increased efficiency of machine systems is shown in the more rapid increase in productivity per man-hour since 1960, a year that marks the first visible upsurge of the cybernation revolution. In 1961, 1962 and 1963, productivity per man-hour rose at an average pace above 3.5% — a rate well above both the historical average and the post-war rate.

Companies are finding cybernation more and more attractive. Even at the present early stage of cybernation, costs have already been lowered to a point where the price of a durable machine may be as little as one-third of the current annual wage-cost of the worker it replaces. A more rapid rise in the rate of productivity increase per man-hour can be expected from now on.

2. In recent years it has proved impossible to increase demand fast enough to bring about the full use of either men or plant capacities. The task of developing sufficient additional demand promises to become more difficult each year. A \$30 billion annual increase in Gross National Product is now required to prevent unemployment rates from rising. An additional \$40-60 billion increase would be required to bring unemployment rates down to an acceptable level.

3. The official rate of unemployment has remained at or above 5.5% during the Sixties. The unemployment rate for teenagers has been rising steadily and now stands around 15%. The unemployment rate for Negro teenagers stands about 30%. The unemployment rate for teenagers in minority ghettos sometimes exceeds 50%. Unemployment rates for Negroes are regularly more than twice those for whites, whatever their occupation, educational level, age or sex. The unemployment position for other racial minorities is similarly unfavorable. Unemployment rates in depressed areas often exceed 50%.

These official figures seriously underestimate the true ex-

tent of unemployment. The statistics take no notice of under-employment or featherbedding. Besides the 5.5% of the labor force who are officially designated as unemployed, nearly 4% of the labor force sought full-time work in 1962 but could find only part-time jobs. In addition, methods of calculating unemployment rates — a person is counted as unemployed only if he has actively sought a job recently — ignore the fact that many men and women who would like to find jobs have not looked for them because they know there are no employment opportunities. Underestimates for this reason are pervasive among groups whose unemployment rates are high — the young, the old, and racial minorities. Many people in the depressed agricultural, mining and industrial areas, who by official definition hold jobs but who are actually grossly underemployed, would move if there were prospects of finding work elsewhere. It is reasonable to estimate that over 8 million people are not working who would like to have jobs today as compared with the 4 million shown in the official statistics.

Even more serious is the fact that the number of people who have voluntarily removed themselves from the labor force is not constant but increases continuously. These people have decided to stop looking for employment and seem to have accepted the fact that they will never hold jobs again. This decision is largely irreversible, in economic and also in social and psychological terms. The older worker calls himself "retired;" he cannot accept work without affecting his social security status. The worker in his prime years is forced onto relief: in most states the requirements for becoming a relief recipient bring about such fundamental alterations in an individual's situation that a reversal of the process is always difficult and often totally infeasible. Teenagers, especially "drop-outs" and Negroes, are coming to realize that there is no place for them in the labor force but at the same time they are given no realistic alternative. These people and their dependents make up a large part of the "poverty" sector of the American population.

Statistical evidence of these trends appears in the decline in the proportion of people claiming to be in the labor force — the so-called labor force participation rate. The recent apparent stabilization of the unemployment rate around 5.5% is therefore misleading: It is a reflection of the discouragement and defeat of people who cannot find employment and have withdrawn from the market rather than a measure of the economy's success in creating jobs for those who want to work.

4. An efficiently functioning industrial system is assumed to provide the great majority of new jobs through the expansion of the private enterprise sector. But well over half of the new jobs created during the period 1957-1962 were in the public sector — predominantly in teaching. Job creation in the private sector has now almost entirely ceased except in services; of the 4,300,000 jobs created in this period, only about 200,000 were provided by private industry through its own efforts. Many authorities anticipate that the application of cybernation to certain service industries, which is only just beginning, will be particularly effective. If this is the case, no significant job creation will take place in the private sector in coming years.

5. Cybernation raises the level of the skills of the machine. Secretary of Labor Wirtz has recently stated that the machines being produced today have, on the average, skills equivalent to a high school diploma. If a human being is to compete with such machines, therefore, he must at least possess a high school diploma. The Department of Labor estimates, however, that on the basis of present trends as many as 30% of all students will be high school drop-outs in this decade.

6. A permanently depressed class is developing in the United States. Some 38,000,000 Americans, almost one-fifth of the nation, still live in poverty. The percentage of total income received by the poorest 20% of the population was 4.9% in 1944 and 4.7% in 1963.

Secretary Wirtz recently summarized these trends. "The confluence of surging population and driving technology is splitting the American labor force into tens of millions of 'have's' and millions of 'have-nots.' In our economy of 69 million jobs, those with wanted skills enjoy opportunity and earning power. But the others face a new and stark problem — exclusion on a permanent basis, both as producers and consumers, from economic life. This division of people threatens to create a human slag heap. We cannot tolerate the development of a separate nation of the poor, the unskilled, the jobless, living within another nation of the well-off, the trained and the employed."

Need for a New Consensus

THE STUBBORNNESS and novelty of the situation that is conveyed by these statistics is now generally accepted. Ironically, it continues to be assumed that it is possible to devise measures which will reduce unemployment to a minimum and thus preserve the overall viability of the present productive system. Some authorities have gone so far as to suggest that the pace of technological change should be slowed down "so as to allow the industrial productive system time to adapt."

We believe, on the contrary, that the industrial productive system is no longer viable. We assert that the only way to turn technological change to the benefit of the individual and the service of the general welfare is to accept the process and to utilize it rationally and humanely. The new science of political economy will be built on the encouragement and planned expansion of cybernation. The issues raised by cybernation are particularly amenable to intelligent policy-making: cybernation itself provides the resources and tools that are needed to ensure minimum hardship during the transition process.

But major changes must be made in our attitudes and institutions in the foreseeable future. Today Americans are being swept along by three simultaneous revolutions while assuming they have them under control. In the absence of real understanding of any of these phenomena, especially of technology, we may be allowing an efficient and dehumanized community to emerge by default. Gaining control of our future requires the conscious formation of the society we wish to have. Cybernation at last forces us to answer the historic questions: What is man's role when he is not dependent upon his own activities for the material basis of his life? What should be the basis for distributing individual access to national resources? Are there other proper claims on goods and services besides a job?

Because of cybernation, society no longer needs to impose repetitive and meaningless (because unnecessary) toil upon the individual. Society can now set the citizen free to make his own choice of occupation and vocation from a wide range of activities not now fostered by our value system and our accepted modes of "work." But in the absence of such a new consensus about cybernation, the nation cannot begin to take advantage of all that it promises for human betterment.

Proposal for Action

AS A FIRST step to a new consensus it is essential to recognize that the traditional link between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work. Wealth produced by machines rather than by men is still wealth. We urge, therefore, that society, through its appropriate legal and governmental institutions, undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and every family with an adequate income as a matter of right. This undertaking we consider to be essential to the emerging economic, social and political order in this country. We regard it as the only policy by which the quarter of the nation now dispossessed and soon-to-be dispossessed by

lack of employment can be brought within the abundant society. The unqualified right to an income would take the place of the patchwork of welfare measures — from unemployment insurance to relief — designed to ensure that no citizen or resident of the United States actually starves.

We do not pretend to visualize all of the consequences of this change in our values. It is clear, however, that the distribution of abundance in a cybernated society must be based on criteria strikingly different from those of an economic system based on scarcity. In retrospect, the establishment of the right to an income will prove to have been only the first step in the reconstruction of the value system of our society brought on by triple revolution.

The present system encourages activities which can lead to private profit and neglects those activities which can enhance the wealth and the quality of life of our society. Consequently national policy has hitherto been aimed far more at the welfare of the productive process than at the welfare of people. The era of cybernation can reverse this emphasis. With public policy and research concentrated on people rather than processes we believe that many creative activities and interests commonly thought of as non-economic will absorb the time and the commitment of many of those no longer needed to produce goods and services. Society as a whole must encourage new modes of constructive, rewarding and ennobling activity. Principal among these are activities such as teaching and learning that relate people to people rather than people to things. Education has never been primarily conducted for profit in our society; it represents the first and most obvious activity inviting the expansion of the public sector to meet the needs of this period of transition.

We are not able to predict the long-run patterns of human activity and commitment in a nation when fewer and fewer people are involved in production of goods and services, nor are we able to forecast the overall patterns of income distribution that will replace those of the past full employment system. However, these are not speculative and fanciful matters to be contemplated at leisure for a society that may come into existence in three or four generations. The outlines of the future press sharply into the present. The problems of joblessness, inadequate incomes, and frustrated lives confront us now; the American Negro, in his rebellion, asserts the demands — and the rights — of all the disadvantaged. The Negro's is the most insistent voice today, but behind him stand the millions of impoverished who are beginning to understand that cybernation, properly understood and used, is the road out of want and toward a decent life.

The Transition*

WE RECOGNIZE that the drastic alterations in circumstances and in our way of life ushered in by cybernation and the economy of abundance will not be completed overnight. Left to the ordinary forces of the market such change, however, will involve physical and psychological misery and perhaps political chaos. Such misery is already clearly evident among the unemployed, among relief clients into the third generation and more and more among the young and the old for whom society appears to hold no promise of dignified or even stable lives. We must develop programs for this transition designed to give hope to the dispossessed and those cast out by the economic system, and to provide a basis for the rallying of people

* This view of the transitional period is not shared by all the signers. Robert Theobald and James Boggs hold that the two major principles of the transitional period will be (1) that machines rather than men will take up new conventional work openings and (2) that the activity of men will be directed to new forms of "work" and "leisure." Therefore, in their opinion the specific proposals outlined in this section are more suitable for meeting the problems of the scarcity-economic system than for advancing through the period of transition into the period of abundance.

to bring about those changes in political and social institutions which are essential to the age of technology.

The program here suggested is not intended to be inclusive but rather to indicate its necessary scope. We propose:

1. A massive program to build up our educational system, designed especially with the needs of the chronically undereducated in mind. We estimate that tens of thousands of employment opportunities in such areas as teaching and research and development, particularly for younger people, may be thus created. Federal programs looking to the training of an additional 100,000 teachers annually are needed.

2. Massive public works. The need is to develop and put into effect programs of public works to construct dams, reservoirs, ports, water and air pollution facilities, community recreation facilities. We estimate that for each \$1 billion per year spent on public works 150,000 to 200,000 jobs would be created. \$2 billion or more a year should be spent in this way, preferably as matching funds aimed at the relief of economically distressed or dislocated areas.

3. A massive program of low-cost housing, to be built both publicly and privately, and aimed at a rate of 700,000-1,000,000 units a year.

4. Development and financing of rapid transit systems, urban and interurban; and other programs to cope with the spreading problems of the great metropolitan centers.

5. A public power system built on the abundance of coal in distressed areas, designed for low-cost power to heavy industrial and residential sections.

6. Rehabilitation of obsolete military bases for community or educational use.

7. A major revision of our tax structure aimed at redistributing income as well as apportioning the costs of the transition period equitably. To this end an expansion of the use of excess profits tax would be important. Subsidies and tax credit plans are required to ease the human suffering involved in the transition of many industries from manpower to machinepower.

8. The trade unions can play an important and significant role in this period in a number of ways:

a. **Use of collective bargaining to negotiate not only for people at work but also for those thrown out of work by technological change.**

b. **Bargaining for perquisites such as housing, recreational facilities, and similar programs as they have negotiated health and welfare programs.**

c. **Obtaining a voice in the investment of the unions' huge pension and welfare funds, and insisting on investment policies which have as their major criteria the social use and function of the enterprise in which the investment is made.**

d. **Organization of the unemployed so that these voiceless people may once more be given a voice in their own economic destinies, and strengthening of the campaigns to organize white-collar and professional workers.**

9. The use of the licensing power of government to regulate the speed and direction of cybernation to minimize hardship; and the use of minimum wage power as well as taxing powers to provide the incentives for moving as rapidly as possible toward the goals indicated by this paper.

These suggestions are in no way intended to be complete or definitively formulated. They contemplate expenditures of several billions more each year than are now being spent for socially rewarding enterprises, and a larger role for the government in the economy than it has now or has been given except in times of crisis. In our opinion, this is a time of crisis, the crisis of a triple revolution. Public philosophy for the transition must rest on the conviction that our economic, social and political institutions exist for the use of man and that man does not exist to maintain a particular economic system. This philosophy centers on an understanding that governments are instituted among men for the purpose of making possible life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and that government should be a creative and positive instrument toward these ends.

Change Must Be Managed

THE HISTORIC discovery of the post-World War II years is that the economic destiny of the nation can be managed. Since the debate over the Employment Act of 1946 it has been increasingly understood that the Federal Government bears primary responsibility for the economic and social well-being of the country. The essence of management is planning. The democratic requirement is planning by public bodies for the general welfare. Planning by private bodies such as corporations for their own welfare does not automatically result in additions to the general welfare, as the impact of cybernation on jobs has already made clear.

The hardships imposed by sudden changes in technology have been acknowledged by Congress in proposals for dealing with the long- and short-run "dislocations," in legislation for depressed and "impacted" areas, retraining of workers replaced by machines, and the like. The measures so far proposed have not been "transitional" in conception. Perhaps for this reason they have had little effect on the situations they were designed to alleviate. But the primary weakness of this legislation is not ineffectiveness but incoherence. In no way can these disconnected measures be seen as a plan for remedying deep ailments but only, so to speak, as the superficial treatment of surface wounds.

Planning agencies should constitute the network through which pass the stated needs of the people at every level of society, gradually building into a national inventory of human requirements, arrived at by democratic debate of elected representatives.

The primary tasks of the appropriate planning institutions should be:

— to collect the data necessary to appraise the effects, social and economic, of cybernation at different rates of innovation;

— to recommend ways, by public and private initiative, of encouraging and stimulating cybernation;

— to work toward optimal allocations of human and natural resources in meeting the requirements of society;

— to develop ways to smooth the transition from a society in which the norm is full employment within an economic system based on scarcity, to one in which the norm will be either non-employment, in the traditional sense of productive work, or employment on the great variety of socially valuable but "non-productive" tasks made possible by an economy of abundance; to bring about the conditions in which men and women no longer needed to produce goods and services may find their way to a variety of self-fulfilling and socially useful occupations.

— to work out alternatives to defense and related spending that will commend themselves to citizens, entrepreneurs and workers as a more reasonable use of common resources.

— to integrate domestic and international planning. The technological revolution has related virtually every major domestic problem to a world problem. The vast inequities between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries cannot long be sustained.

The aim throughout will be the conscious and rational direction of economic life by planning institutions under democratic control.

In this changed framework the new planning institutions will operate at every level of government — local, regional and federal — and will be organized to elicit democratic participation in all their proceedings. These bodies will be the means for giving direction and content to the growing demand for improvement in all departments of public life. The planning institutions will show the way to turn the growing protest against ugly cities, polluted air and water, an inadequate educational system, disappearing recreational and material resources, low levels of medical care, and the haphazard economic development into an integrated effort to raise the level of general welfare.

We are encouraged by the record of the planning institutions both of the Common Market and of several European nations and believe that this country can benefit from studying their weaknesses and strengths.

A principal result of planning will be to step up investment in the public sector. Greater investment in this area is advocated because it is overdue, because the needs in this sector comprise a substantial part of the content of the general welfare, and because they can be readily afforded by an abundant society. Given the knowledge that we are now in a period of transition it would be deceptive, in our opinion, to present such activities as likely to produce full employment. The efficiencies of cybernation should be as much sought in the public as in the private sector, and a chief focus of planning would be one means of bringing this about. A central assumption of planning institutions would be the central assumption of this statement, that the nation is moving into a society in which production of goods and services is not the only or perhaps the chief means of distributing income.

The Democratization of Change

THE REVOLUTION in weaponry gives some dim promise that mankind may finally eliminate institutionalized force as the method of settling international conflict and find for it political and moral equivalents leading to a better world. The Negro revolution signals the ultimate admission of this group to the American community on equal social, political and economic terms. The cybernation revolution proffers an existence qualitatively richer in democratic as well as material values. A social order in which men make the decisions that shape their lives becomes more possible now than ever before; the unshackling of men from the bonds of unfulfilling labor frees them to become citizens, to make themselves and to make their own history.

But these enhanced promises by no means constitute a guarantee. Illuminating and making more possible the "democratic vistas" is one thing; reaching them is quite another, for a vision of democratic life is made real not by technological change but by men consciously moving toward that ideal and creating institutions that will realize and nourish the vision in living form.

Democracy, as we use the term, means a community of men and women who are able to understand, express and determine their lives as dignified human beings. Democracy can only be rooted in a political and economic order in which wealth is distributed by and for people, and used for the widest social benefit. With the emergence of the era of abundance we have the economic base for a true democracy of participation, in which men no longer need to feel themselves prisoners of social forces and decisions beyond their control or comprehension.

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Bulletin of Marxist Studies

DOCUMENTS ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

65¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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

Exchange of Views on Deutscher Biography

(Continued from Page 66)

incidental. His is a *political* biography, that is, political analysis, not art (however well Deutscher writes). Perhaps Hansen's review would have been better if he had treated it primarily as false political analysis rather than as a work of art marred by the obtrusiveness of a gesticulating brush.

George Breitman
Detroit, Michigan

* * *

Reply:

If I understand Comrade Breitman correctly, it is his opinion that the third volume of the biography calls for an attack on the political and theoretical views of Isaac Deutscher — not only an attack, but a “harsh” one; and that any other way of proceeding signifies an unjustifiable concession. I disagree, of course.

The immediate problem, it appears to me, is to decide whether Deutscher's biography of Trotsky, especially the third volume, is in over-all balance, an asset to the world Trotskyist movement or not. Comrade Breitman fails to state his opinion on this.

The question could scarcely arise, of course, if it were not for Deutscher's handling of Trotsky's relation to the Fourth International and his depreciation of the movement and its members. There is, I am well aware, anger in the Fourth International over this aspect of the third volume, particularly among young comrades who see with clear vision the historic import of Trotsky's work in founding the movement. But then anger is not the best counselor in politics.

The truth is, in my opinion, that the biography is a valuable, even monumental contribution, but that it has flaws. These stem from Deutscher's own theories which he frankly states. For the Trotskyist movement, a first review, it appears to me, should indicate in what way and to what degree the flaws affect the portrait that is offered of Trotsky, but that it should leave no doubt on the main point — that the biography as a whole is a very positive contribution. This is what I sought to do in the review.

Importance of the Biography

If I may venture a prediction, Trotskyists throughout the world will give this biography a prominent place

in their bookstores and literature racks and advise contacts to read it. They will also indicate their differences with the biographer, particularly on the question of the Fourth International, undoubtedly engage with him in further polemics, and suggest that those who are interested will find it fruitful to consult other writings, not least of all Trotsky's own works. And this attitude, I am sure, will prove sound.

Comrade Breitman and I obviously disagree on the possible effect of Deutscher's biography on the growth of the Trotskyist movement. No doubt a good many readers, in the United States “at least” — under present political conditions — will accept Deutscher's estimate of the Fourth International uncritically. But I do not believe that this will hold to the same degree elsewhere, or that it will hold in the United States with a rise in the class struggle. If I judge the biography correctly, it will provide rebel youth with a sufficient appreciation of Trotsky to want more; to arouse interest in going to original sources; and, as the question of constructing a revolutionary party grows still more acute, they will be less and less inclined to pay attention to what Deutscher thinks should or should not have been done in 1938.

The possible influence of the biography must be judged on a wider basis than is provided by the United States. Countries like Italy and Japan where Deutscher is widely read should at least be brought in, not to mention some of the workers states where his writings have become known and where they constitute a first introduction to Trotsky.

* * *

On a couple of specific points related to the footnote which Comrade Breitman questions:

I made the statement, with specific reference to an article written by James P. Cannon in 1954, “Some harsh and even unjustified things were said of Deutscher.” Taking issue with this statement, Comrade Breitman defends the “harsh” things which James P. Cannon said in his article of 1954 and widens the defense to include things said by Breitman in many articles beginning in 1949. I do not understand why Comrade Breitman feels it necessary to take in so much territory unless he feels something fundamental is involved.

But this is not the case, as I think can be shown without great difficulty. First of all, as to my failure to use a “harsh” tone in considering Deutscher's views. I see no factional fight in the Fourth International today which involves Deutscher's views *in the way some of us thought they were involved in 1953-54*, a feeling which I am convinced was reflected in Comrade Cannon's article of 1954. Am I mistaken in this estimate of the situation in the Fourth International today? I do not think so.

Secondly, on Comrade Cannon's article as an expression of Trotskyist programmatic positions — I think that it stands up well if it is borne in mind that the harsh tone was due to special circumstances. But, thirdly, I believe that it must be admitted that the article included some “unjustified” statements. These were not deliberate, since Cannon's standard in the sharpest conflict — it long ago became even his style — is to maintain scrupulous fairness toward an opponent even if he feels that political harshness is demanded in a situation. Inaccurate information was involved in the “unjustified” remarks. My footnote was intended as a rectification for the record since Deutscher had called attention to it in the biography.

Possible Deutscher Cult?

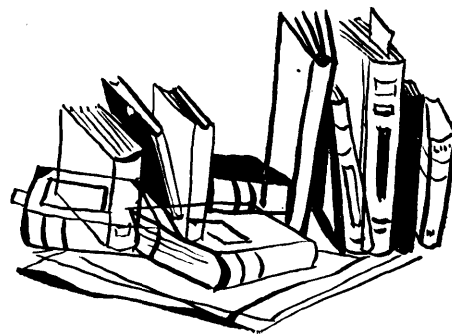
Comrade Breitman considers that I am mistaken in the view that there was a fear in the Socialist Workers Party during the faction fight with the Cochranites that a sect or cult might form around “Deutscherism.” “This was never my opinion at that time,” Comrade Breitman writes, “nor did I hear of anyone expressing such an idea until, after the publication of the second volume of the biography in 1959, Hansen began to revise his attitude toward Deutscher.”

All I can say to this is that it was my own opinion at the time that the danger existed. I came to this opinion in the New York local where the fight first flared up in an acute way and where I had some influence from the beginning in shaping its development and final outcome. At the time I was under the impression that others shared this opinion, especially those involved in the brunt of the struggle in New York. Evidently Comrade Breitman neither shared this view nor heard about it at that time. As

(Continued on Page 95)

Labor's Revolt Against Industrial Oligarchy

By Tom Kerry



LABOR'S GIANT STEP: TWENTY YEARS OF THE CIO by Art Preis. Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1964. 550 pp. with index. Pre-publication price \$5.00.

Readers of *International Socialist Review* will welcome the announcement by Pioneer Publishers of a major publishing event. *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO* by Art Preis, is a unique contribution to the history of the American union movement. There is nothing like it in print — and with good reason. Major publishing houses, to whom books are marketable commodities to be sold for profit, shy away from authors whose concern for truth spares none of the sacred cows of our social system.

It has been my privilege to know and work with Art Preis for some 30 years. He is not one to mince words — not where the interest of the working class is concerned. Like a master surgeon he applies his scalpel to men and events to lay bare many a rattling skeleton in the closets of our myth-makers. Deified capitalist politicians and sanctified labor skates; zig-zag artists and twisters of the Stalinist and Social Democratic variety; pure and simple union fakers of the Gompers-Meany school; all are given their just due.

The real heroes of Preis' book are the union militants and radicals who refused to knuckle under when the going got tough. The men and women who fought to preserve the crusading spirit, the militant methods of struggle, the democratic tradition, of the early and heroic days of the CIO. Many succumbed to the fleshpots of the union bureaucracy as the apparatus extended its sway over the ranks in the period of "stabilization" following the establishment of union power in the mass production industries. Others fought and are still fighting for the ideas and ideals that girded American labor's first giant step toward emancipation from capitalist wage slavery.

For those who made possible its publication Preis' book is a labor of love. When no major publisher could be found with guts enough to publish this work, many individuals answered an



Art Preis

appeal for contributions to make its publication possible. Despite volunteer workers who gave freely of their time, energy and talents, we are informed that there is still a deficit of approximately \$1,000 which will have to be met before publication date now tentatively set for September 15.

This short appreciation is not intended to be a review of the book. It is, rather, in the nature of an appeal for contributions to make up the deficit and for pre-publication orders to ensure enough income to pay the printer before it comes off the press. (The *ISR* will probably carry a review in its next issue.)

This is a big book of 550 pages. To give some idea of its scope we list here the chapter contents:

Part 1, Nine Chapters: The Rise of the CIO (1929-1940). Part 2, Five Chapters: Prelude to War (1940-1942). Part

3, Eight Chapters: CIO in the War (1942-1945). Part 4, One Chapter: The Post War Strike Wave (1945-1946). Part 5, Two Chapters: The New Offensive Against Labor (1945-1947). Part 6, Five Chapters: The Cold War in the CIO (1946-1950). Part 7, Four Chapters: The Korean War Years (1950-1953). Part 8, Five Chapters: After the New Deal-Fair Deal Era (1953-1955).

Art Preis spent six years in writing *Labor's Giant Step* and 30 years in acquiring the material. Born in Philadelphia, he attended the University of Pennsylvania, 1928-30, and Ohio State University, 1930-32. At Ohio State, he published an anti-war magazine, *Free Voice*, which was banned from the campus.

In 1933 he helped to found the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo, Ohio, which grew into the largest organization of its kind in the country. Throughout the Thirties he participated in scores of labor and unemployed struggles.

From 1935 to 1938, he was chairman of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Union of Toledo which organized 23,000 workers in militant struggle. He was a charter member and legislative agent of an AFL teachers local in Toledo, founding chairman of Local 29, CIO United Office and Professional Workers, and a delegate to the Toledo CIO Council.

Since 1940, Art Preis has been a staff writer and labor editor of *The Militant*, for which paper he has reported many of the outstanding labor events of the past 22 years. A number of his longer articles on labor and the socialist movement have been published in the *International Socialist Review* and its predecessors, *Fourth International* and *New International*, including several chapters of *Labor's Giant Step*.

We urge our readers to send their contributions to help publish *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO*, to Art Preis, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. Send your advance orders now and save \$2.50 on each copy to: Pioneer Publishers. (See announcement on back cover of this issue.)

Revolt Against Stalinism

By George Saunders

THE STORY OF A LIFE by Konstantin Paustovsky trans. Joseph Barnes. Pantheon Books, New York, 1964. 661 pp. \$10.00

This is a big book with many facets. On one level, it is a fascinating and moving account of the life of an extremely observant, perceptive and thoughtful individual. At the same time, this life serves as a parable of our tempestuous century — era of wars, colonial uprisings and social revolution. We see the epoch-making paroxysms which seized Russia in the first decades of our century through the eyes of a “little man,” one of the millions of molecules forming the human waves of those years. Yet such a life — full of dislocations — has relevance for every country, where world-wide war and revolution may touch.

Besides these things, the book offers a description of life in Russia that a sociologist might value. It is peppered with commentary on art and literature. A gallery of portraits of human characters, famous and obscure hangs between its covers. And the whole thing breathes with a deep, creative sympathy with nature and love of human beings. This last feature is no accident. An emphatic concern with humanist values is the hall mark of anti-Stalinist intellectuals throughout the Soviet bloc today.

Fortunately, Paustovsky is a writer of skill and charm and these qualities come through adequately in the translation. So, despite its length, this is not a boring book to read.

For the purposes of this review, I will concentrate on what this book has to say about the Russian intelligentsia both at the time of the revolution and today.

The whole style and approach of the work is colored by the period in which it appeared — that is, the post-Stalin period of anti-bureaucratic ferment among Soviet intellectuals.

The Soviet reading public, especially the young people, are extremely interested in the literature of memoirs. This is part of the process of restoring the truth of their past, which was “re-written,” falsified and buried under a mountain of lies by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That bureaucracy, of course, has not disappeared, though it has had to partially retreat from the total coercion of Stalin's day. The struggle for the truth about Soviet history remains an uphill fight.

It is the writers — rather than the historians or political leaders — who are delving most deeply into the truth of the past. That is why memoirs like those of Ehrenburg and Yevtushenko

become explosive and are denounced by the bureaucratic leaders. To be sure, truth is brought out in a literary way, incompletely, inadequately. Still, the dozens of autobiographical works of recent years have helped inform the new generation about the past and correct the official version of the “glorious building of socialism in one country.”

The honest writers and intellectuals today are reflecting the anti-bureaucratic moods and pressures of the mass of Soviet working people. They are starting to fill the gap created by the purges of the 30s. Those purges wiped out a whole generation of political activists who had consciously and clearly articulated the need for struggle against the bureaucracy. In the absence of any such group now, history is using an imperfect mouthpiece. Certain artists, remained able to sense and express the popular mood and to identify with the mass of people rather than the managers, officials, and cops who assumed the benefits of the revolution for themselves. They now have become the nearest thing to popular spokesmen.

Paustovsky has certain qualities which suit him for this role. He is one of those rare things among survivors of the Stalin era — a simple, honest, humane individual. He is a quiet writer. Perhaps that is why he was not noticed and rooted out by the fearful Stalinist officialdom, jealous of any independent spirit. In the thirties he concentrated on themes of nature and provincial life, avoiding dangerous topics of the contemporary political scene.¹

Yet even at a time when parroting of the party line was obligatory for all writers, the sharp eye of Trotsky was able to discern special qualities in this writer. In his *Diary in Exile*, of 1935, Trotsky recorded his impressions of a short novel by Paustovsky which he happened to read. “A gifted man,” he wrote, “technically superior to the so-called ‘proletarian writers.’ He paints nature well; you can discern the sharp eye of a seaman. At times, in his description of Soviet life (in the Transcaucasus) he reminds one of a good gymnast with his elbows tied. But there are some stirring pictures of work, sacrifice and enthusiasm.”

1. For an excellent description of Paustovsky and his works I strongly recommend the chapter on him in the recent book, *A History of Soviet Literature*, by Vera Alexandrova, Doubleday, 1963, 369 pp., \$5.50. Alexandrova is an excellent critic, although as a Russian Menshevik her politics leave much to be desired. She was a monthly contributor on Soviet literary matters to the now defunct Russian-language Menshevik monthly, *Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik*. Her book is a high-quality treatment of Soviet literature in the light of Soviet Society, including chapters on most of the important contributors to that literature.)

These qualities have endeared Paustovsky to Soviet readers. His works are bought up immediately. For example, a recent anthology edited by him appeared in an edition of 75,000 and sold out in two days.

His popularity has grown in the post-Stalin era as he has become one of the active spokesmen of the anti-bureaucratic section of writers. He has especially gained note for his defense of the young, nonconformist writers against the “neo-Stalinist” official critics.²

In a recent article for example, he wrote:

“The youth are accused of falling easily into so-called ‘deviations.’ There's nothing frightening in that. I cannot imagine a young man who never protested or got upset about things. Our own entire youth was spent in such a state of restlessness.”

Undoubtedly, one of his main considerations in writing this autobiography is to tell the generation of the fifties and sixties what these days of “restless youth” were really like. He explains some of the difficulties he went through in finding his way to a clear perspective, in support of the revolution. And he emphasizes honesty and devotion to the people as the key to finding one's way.

Reflecting on his youth up to the First World War he comments, “I remember those quite recent times as if they were long, long ago, shrouded in the mists of the distant past. It is as if a thundering, stormy century lay between two eras of history . . .

“I had come from the middle-class intelligentsia . . . From my earliest childhood I heard from my father and his friends generous-spirited words about freedom, the inevitability of revolution, and the misfortunes of the people . . .

“Naive childish conceptions and my passionate attraction to literature explain why, until the February Revolution, I knew nothing useful about the revolutionary movement among the workers . . .

“I saw for a long time the inner meaning of events as something very dim which might have been defined as the ‘struggle for freedom.’ It was with notions like these that I lived right up to the 1914 war. It was only at the start of that war that I began slowly and with difficulty, to become aware of the social forces which were working in Russia.”

Further on he writes about the initial naivete with which he greeted the February Revolution:

“The idyllic aspect of the first days of the Revolution was disappearing. Whole worlds were shaking and falling to the

2. An example of Paustovsky's work in helping new, young writers is *Pages from Tarusa*. This was the anthology that sold out so quickly. Along with his own writings, the book includes many of the best young writers. The theme of the whole is to give a true, unvarnished picture of life in the small town of Tarusa, free of any pushing of the party line. The book has just been published in English, but with only one third of the original contents, and excluding Paustovsky's contribution. Publisher is Little, Brown & Co., Boston, \$6.75.)

ground. Most of the intelligentsia lost its head, that great humanist intelligentsia which had been the child of Pushkin, and Herzen, of Tolstoy and Chekhov. It had known how to create high spiritual values, but with only a few exceptions it proved helpless at creating the organization of a state . . .

"I had always been convinced that the seeds of good were planted in every man and that all one had to do was to help them grow . . . (but) every day hurled hard evidence in my face that men did not change so easily, and that the revolution so far had eliminated neither hate nor mutual distrust . . .

"I was more and more often angry. I began to hate the smooth, liberal intelligentsia who were growing stupid so quickly because, in my opinion, of their ill will toward their own people. But this did not mean that I myself was prepared to accept the October Revolution completely. Much of it I took, but other parts I rejected, especially all that seemed to me neglectful of the culture of the past.

"It was my idealist education which kept me from accepting the October Revolution in its entirety. This was why I lived through its first two or three years not as a participant, but as a deeply interested spectator.

"It was only in 1920 that I realized that there was no way other than the one chosen by my people. Then at once my heart felt easier. A time for faith and for big hopes started. From that point on my life developed . . . more or less firmly along the path of service to the people in that province . . . where I could use my strength most effectively — in literature. I still do not know which road is the better — the road from doubt to understanding, or the road which knows no doubt at all. In any case, a deep devotion to freedom, justice, and humanity, together with an honesty toward oneself, have always seemed to me the essential qualities of a man in our revolutionary times."

This theme of honesty and identification with the people is a constant thread in the development of his life story. It is also a theme in a speech Paustovsky made at a writers rally in Moscow in 1956 — a speech that, outside of Trotskyist literature, is one of the sharpest all-round condemnations of the Stalinist bureaucracy that I have seen. (I strongly recommend the full text of the speech to readers. It can be found in *The Year of Protest, 1956*, ed. by H. McLean and W. Vickery, N. Y., Random House, \$1.45.)

The rally was called in defense of the anti-bureaucratic "exposé" novel, *Not By Bread Alone*, by V. Dudintsev, which was then under official attack. Paustovsky used the name of "Drozdov," — chief villain of the novel, and a venal bureaucrat, — as a symbol of the bureaucracy as a whole.

"The problem," he said, "is not merely the portrayal in literature of a few careerists . . .

"The problem lies in the fact that in our country there exists — unmolested and even to some extent prospering — an entirely new social stratum, a new caste of petite bourgeois.

"This is a new group of acquisitive carnivores, a group which has nothing in common either with the revolution, or with our regimen, or with socialism. They are cynics, black obscurantists, who . . ., without any embarrassment or fear, quite openly . . . [carry on] anti-Semitic talk worthy of pogrom-makers . . .

"Where did all this originate? Where do they come from, these profiteers and bootlickers, these men of intrigue, these traitors, who claim the right to speak in the name of the people — of a people whom they really despise and hate? . . .

"Where did these people spring from? They are the result of the cult of personality — a term by the way which I consider extremely euphemistic. This is the fertile soil on which these people have sprung up — from 1937 on . . .

"And all this is camouflaged by empty words about the happiness of the people. In their mouths these words are a sacrilege and a crime. These men dare

to claim the right to represent the people — without the people's consent. They dare to dispossess our country of its human and material wealth for their own personal interests — and to dispossess it with no small amount of brazenness.

"But I think that the people, which has now come to feel the dignity of our way of life, will before long firmly sweep away the Drozdovs! We must fight this battle to the end. This is only the beginning!"

This, then, is the man whose life story we are dealing with. The three sections of his autobiography included in this translation make up only the first volume, bringing his story down to 1920. Parts of the second volume have already appeared in Russia, taking him as far as the mid-twenties.

We will await with great interest to see what this courageous figure will have to say — and how much he will be allowed to say — when his story reaches the dark years of the consolidation of Stalinism, the counter-revolutionary ebb tide that drained so much vigor out of the first wave of the world socialist revolution. That vigor is only now slowly being restored. This man and those for whom he writes are doing much to help that restoration.

The Struggle for Power

By Jay Garnett

STILLBORN REVOLUTION: THE COMMUNIST BID FOR POWER IN GERMANY, 1921-1923 by Werner T. Angress. Princeton University Press, 1963. 513 pp. \$10.00.

The vital importance of a determined Bolshevik party in carrying through a revolution is the key lesson of the period dealt with in this book. Germany, in the early part of this century the key to the world revolution, proved again what the Russian Revolution had proved, although in reverse.

During the World War German socialist leader Rosa Luxemburg refused to split with the conservatized Social Democracy, which had supported the capitalist state during the war. Lenin, on the other hand, had broken with the supporters of the war and educated the Bolsheviks in a resolute opposition to compromisers on this matter. Luxemburg, believing in the spontaneous ability of the masses to make a revolution, opposed the formation of a programmatically clear, centrally organized party.

The upshot was that Lenin's party made a revolution in late 1917 and the German revolutionists missed the revolutionary up-surge in their country a year later. Early in 1919, they formed

the German Communist Party. But it was too late; The workers did not know these Communists and would not follow them.

In 1921 the Communist Party mistook the increase of anarchist tendencies among a minority of the workers for a revolutionary situation and attempted to lead a seizure of power. Again, the lack of organization made itself felt. Attacks on the institutions of power were so uncoordinated that, by the time the date set for the seizure of power arrived, Germany was under the open rule of the police.

In this period, Lenin wrote his pamphlet "*Left-wing Communism — An Infantile Disorder*", attacking the concept that power can be won without first winning over the masses. Through the Comintern, which with the end of the civil war in Russia, only in 1921 began to be an effective aid to the Communist Parties of the world, Lenin and Trotsky sought to educate the international movement in the strategy and tactics which their experience had proven correct.

After the 1921 Congress of the Comintern, the German party learned this lesson and began to grow.

In 1923 the tactics designed to win

over the masses became no longer enough. The evidence mustered by Angress' book shows that it was time for the German Communists to prepare the struggle for power. A pre-revolutionary situation began.

With the occupation of the Ruhr industrial region by France and Belgium as a sanction against Germany for lagging reparations payments, the bankrupt Weimar government tried to meet the crisis by printing money. In seven months, the ratio of the mark to the dollar was inflated by 230 times; workers' wage shriveled to nothing. Labor resorted to mass strikes.

Angress writes, "It would appear that the Communist Party now stood an excellent chance of reaching its objective, i.e. to launch a revolution in Germany which would culminate in the seizure of power by the proletariat."

The party, however, became involved in what Angress calls an "intensified united front," including a campaign during the early summer to win over the nationalist middle-class by praising the heroic death of a fascist who had been murdered by the French occupation; confusion went so deep that they labeled the bourgeois government revolutionary "in spite of itself."

The strike wave culminated August 10 in a mass political strike when the bourgeois Kuno government announced its utter incapacity to solve any problems. Three days later, the capitalists formed a coalition government with the Social Democrats.

Trotsky argued that "by the middle of 1923 the question became posed . . . After all the German proletariat had gone through in recent years, it could be led into the decisive battle only in the event that it became convinced that this time the issue was posed, as the Germans say *aufs Ganze* (all now!), and

that the Communist Party was capable of securing victory.

"True, in the month of October a sharp break occurred in the party's policy. But it was already too late. In the course of 1923 the working masses realized or sensed that the moment of decisive struggle was approaching. However, they did not see the necessary resolution and self-confidence on the side of the Communist Party. And when the latter began its feverish preparations for an uprising, it immediately lost its balance and also its ties with the masses."

The tragedy of 1923 in Germany proved Trotsky's point in *Lessons of October* that if, during a pre-revolutionary situation, resolute preparations for the seizure of power are not carried out and that if the insurrection is not launched within a definite period measured in days or weeks, then the revolution may be postponed not months but years and perhaps decades.

But it also points up the complete default of the leadership of the Communist International, a default which was the first major reflection of the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Communist Party. In early 1923, control of the Soviet CP had passed into the hands of a clique adapting to pressures from the apparatus of privileged functionaries who made up the Soviet state machine and were a source of conservatism. The clique — made up of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin — gained a majority in the Politburo and isolated Trotsky, who with the now ill Lenin most clearly represented the interests of the revolution.

Angress's book is a wealth of information and the facts he assembles are reported objectively. He also deserves credit for focusing on this period, the lessons of which still bear validity.

An Heroic Chapter

By Ralph Levitt

THE SIEGE OF LENINGRAD by Leon Goure. Stanford University Press, McGraw-Hill Paperback, New York, 1964. 363 pp. with bibl. and index. \$2.95.

The life, and near death, of the city of Leningrad, during the encirclement and siege by the Nazi Wehrmacht, is the subject matter of this Rand Corporation study. It details the horrors which took the lives of approximately a million people: famine, freezing and bombings; and describes the memorable supply line across the ice of Lake Ladoga. Goure's research, drawn mainly from Soviet and German sources, is impressive. But, the author makes numerous questionable evaluations and political estimates. He is openly contradictory on

several occasions and balances his material poorly on others.

One crucial point, however, is made clear. The suffering of the USSR in general, and Leningrad in particular, was gravely exacerbated by the unpreparedness of their defenses. Stalin and the bureaucracy believed, and used the resources of the state to try to convince the Soviet citizenry, that the Nazi-Soviet Pact was a guarantee against surprise invasion. When precisely that invasion occurred, the country had to pay dearly for the folly of the bureaucrats. If read critically, *The Siege of Leningrad* is a vivid picture of what was, for the Soviet people, both a devastating and heroic chapter in its history.

Slave Revolt

SPARTACUS: THE LEADER OF THE ROMAN SLAVES by F. A. Ridley. Frank Maitland, Kent, England, 1963. 90 pp. 7s. 6d. (Available from Pioneer Publishers, New York. \$1.00.)

Newly revised and expanded, this book was originally published some twenty years ago as *Spartacus, A Study in Revolutionary History*, by the Independent Labour Party.

Written from an avowedly Marxist standpoint, it describes the social and economic background which gave rise to this heroic slave insurrection.

The introduction makes reference to other studies of the rebellion, including those of Leslie Mitchell, Arthur Koestler, and Howard Fast. Although these were cast in the form of novels, they derived much of their historical background from the few available historical sources.

Ridley, however, is principally concerned with the class forces and tensions that sparked off this rising. For Ridley, Spartacus had the same significance in a different and more ancient context, that Lenin has today.

This book first sketches the historic background of ancient Roman society and the "sequence of social revolution which sought to overthrow that society." The second part reconstructs "what can be known with certainty of the course of the revolution itself," beginning with the escape of a band of professional fighting men from a Capuan training center in the early summer of 73 B.C.

Succeeding chapters trace the course of this and other sporadic outbreaks which led to the coalescence of a mighty slave army, which challenged the very foundation of the Roman Empire. The victory of the counter-revolution, and the reasons for that victory are explained in terms of the "inherent weakness" of a slave army.

Ridley comments, "To keep a slave army together is almost impossible . . . Only an overwhelming personality and a military genius could have done what Spartacus did." It is this section of the book, perhaps, that needs a deeper treatment than the author has given it.

The final chapters deal with the lessons of the revolt. The close connection between the rise of Christianity and the defeat of the Spartacist revolution is brought out with a quotation from Archibald Robertson who observed: "From the moment that Spartacus failed, Jesus was bound to win."

The book is dedicated to the memory of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and the German Spartacists who fell in the cause of revolutionary socialism, in 1919.

H. S. E.

Reviews in Brief

WASTE: AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT ON SOME ASPECTS OF WASTE IN WESTERN SICILY by Danilo Dolci, trans. R. Munroe. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1964. 352 pp. \$6.75.

In *Waste*, Danilo Dolci combines personal conversations with statistical data to give a startling picture of poverty-stricken Western Sicily. There is waste of natural resources and domestic animals, because of the backward traditions of the farmers and shepherds, and there is waste of human life, in the predatory warfare of the power-hungry *mafiosi*.

Dolci suggests that these problems may be solved by bringing a higher level of understanding to the people through supervised group conversations (examples of which are recorded in the book). These discussions will provide the people with a desire to change their situation and the technical knowledge necessary. The theory will be put to practice in cooperative work sessions, called "reverse" strikes, because workers will not be paid.

The weakness of *Waste* is not in the description, which convinces one of the difficulty of the conditions confronting Western Sicily, but in the solution Dolci advances. Dolci seems willing to believe that the political corruption tradition in Sicily is also permanent. He rejects the path of unionizing the agricultural workers, apparently because previous trade unions have been unsuccessful in organizing the farmers, rather than because the Mafia has been successful in terrorizing those who might join it.

Unpaid employment can hardly be a long term solution for Sicily. What finally will stem the rule-by-assassination of the Mafia? What type of political party ultimately will guide Sicily to an advanced and equalitarian society? Dolci's penetrating presentation of Sicily's dilemma prompts one to raise many questions that Dolci, himself, does not answer.

Edward Smith

THE NEW COLD WAR, MOSCOW V. PEKIN by Edward Crankshaw. Penquin Books, Baltimore, Maryland, 1963. 167 pp. \$65.

The thesis of this book, by a leading British student of the Communist movement, is that the Sino-Soviet dispute is profound in origin and definitely here to stay. When the author deals with clearly factual material, such as the two conferences at Bucharest and Moscow in 1960 at which the breach between the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China widened, the account is quite interesting.

The book is worth reading for this historical illumination of the Sino-Soviet dispute, but Crankshaw's attempt at a theoretical analysis is of doubtful value.

ON THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF SOCIALISM by Oskar Lange and Fred Taylor, edited by Benjamin E. Lippincott. University of Minnesota Press, McGraw-Hill Paperback, New York, 1964. 143 pp. with bibl. \$2.15.

This is a paperback edition of a work first printed in 1938. It consists of Professor Taylor's presidential address to the American Economic Association in 1928; a long article by Oskar Lange, noted Polish socialist economist, first published in 1936; and an introductory essay by University of Minnesota political scientist Benjamin E. Lippincott, summarizing in laymen's language what these two technical works demonstrate.

The books offers a valuable analysis of how a nationalized planned economy might operate. It demonstrates in terms of bourgeois economics that in such an economy the consumers could determine what was produced, and that resources would be allocated efficiently,—in brief, that all the advantages of a free competitive economy would be maintained,

while eliminating economic crises and poverty.

The authors show that all of this could be done using a price system and defined rules of management, rather than an elaborate bureaucratic apparatus. Their system offers an interesting model by which the deformations introduced into the Soviet economies by the Stalinist bureaucracies may be evaluated.

David Herman

THE QUEBEC REVOLUTION by Hugh Bingham Myers. Harvest House, Montreal, 1964. 109 pp. \$2.00 paper, \$4.00 cloth.

The *Quebec Revolution* brings us up to date on the now five year old vigorous (and sometimes violent) controversy between the French Canadians and their English Canadian colonial masters. Mr. Myers gives a running account of the specific political and social issues, the viewpoints of leading spokesman and newspapers, and the important literary documents, which comprise this initial stage of "revolution" in Quebec.

Exchange on Deutscher Book

(Continued from Page 90)

to the change in my views on this specific point, it began in 1955 — not 1959 — and was due in part to what happened in the faction fight and to new evidence which by 1958 had become definitive in my mind. This involved no change on basic political and theoretical questions; I saw certain individuals and tactical questions differently.

I still think it speaks in Deutscher's favor that he did not respond to any overtures or opportunities to sponsor a sect based on his special views. I am looking at this from the standpoint of the political interests of the Trotskyist movement. On the other hand, I share Comrade Breitman's view that Deutscher's depreciation of the launching of the Fourth International and the effort to build it has nothing in common with Trotskyism. I sought to voice this in the review: "Deutscher's deep skepticism was not to be found in Trotsky, not a trace of it. On the other hand, Trotsky was thoroughly familiar with the skeptical attitude, considered it without foundation objectively, held it to be a deadly danger and did his best to immunize his youthful followers against this disease." This is "too soft, too conciliatory?" All right, but the political position is evident, isn't it?

As for the objection about considering the portrait of Trotsky created by the biographer, I fail to get it. What's a biography for if not to give

us a portrait as well as a history? Is art necessarily at war with politics? How apt Deutscher is when he says of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*: "Whereas Marx towers above the disciple in the power of his abstract thought and gothic imagination, the disciple is superior as epic artist, especially as master of the graphic portrayal of masses and individuals in action. His socio-political analysis and artistic vision are in such concord that there is no trace of any divergence."

Trotsky as "epic artist!" Well, why not? And in the same way it is perfectly legitimate and proper to apply the same criterion to the work of his biographer and ask how well he meets it. I think that on the whole, he did very well; save that when it came to Trotsky and the Fourth International his "artistic vision" failed him.

Joseph Hansen

Correction

Editor:

I was just reading the "Freedom Now" resolution of the Fall 1963 ISR and noticed a serious typographical error. On page 106 at the bottom of the third column I read: "equality through integration, or equality through segregation, or both." This is clearly an error, the correct word being *separation*. Perhaps a correction should be mentioned.

**Walter Lippmann, Jr.
Madison, Wisconsin**

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