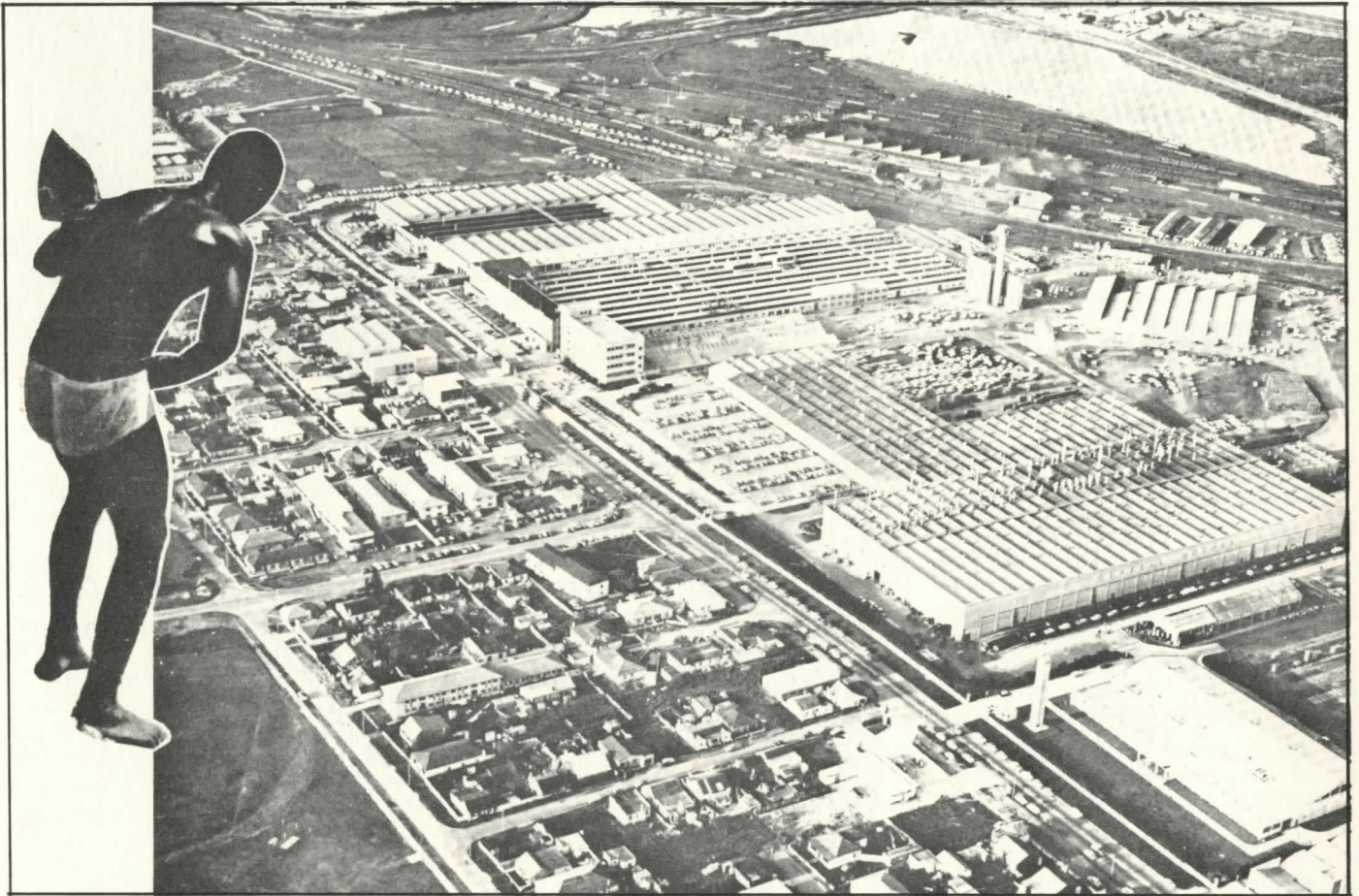


Summer 1965

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

The Vietnam Protest
Movement and the
Johnson 'Consensus'



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Apartheid Arrests Continue

By Robert Langston

Executive Secretary of the Alexander Defense Committee

On March 25, 1965, the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court rejected the appeals of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten comrades. Arrested in July, 1963 and indicted under the "Sabotage Law," the Eleven were convicted on April 15, 1964 and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. In reality, they have been sentenced to indefinite terms: Under South African law, any prisoner can be held *after* having completed his sentence as long as the Minister of Justice deems his further detention to be in the "public interest."

Dr. Alexander and his friends were never accused of having committed any act of violence; nor even of having planned one. The prosecution sought to prove only that they had formed study groups to investigate various possible methods of conducting the struggle against apartheid and had read and discussed Marxist literature and works on guerrilla warfare. Nor had any of the defendants a long political past. Dr. Alexander, it is true, had been active at the University of Capetown in student groups affiliated with the Unity Movement of South Africa. But his initiative in forming the study groups was his first act of political leadership. For the other defendants, joining the study groups was their first political action of any sort. That such severe penalties were imposed on such novices, whose efforts were still in the stage of general discussion, demonstrates how terrified the South African regime is of *any* potentially serious opposition.

Since November, 1963, the male defendants have been held in the maximum security prison on Robben Island. Despositions of former inmates and smuggled information indicate that conditions there are not very different from those of a Nazi concentration camp. In June, 1964, Dr. Alexander suffered a serious ear injury as a result of a beating administered by guards. At last report, all except one of the defendants were in solitary confinement, and Dr. Alexander has been held in solitary almost continuously since his arrest. In spite of the atrocious conditions, Dr. Alexander's mother, who was allowed to see him briefly on March 6th, was able to report that "although he is still kept in solitary confinement, he looks well, is in high spirit and has hope for the



Dr. Neville Alexander

future."

No further legal steps are possible in the Alexander case. But funds are still needed. The families of the victims are destitute. The case itself must continue to be publicized as widely as possible. Not only the Alexander Eleven, but the thousands who will follow them into the dungeons of South Africa, must have the assurance that their families will be cared for and that their plight and their cause will not be forgotten. The knowledge that there is sustained international concern surely nourishes that courage which enables Dr. Alexander and his comrades to suffer the agony of uninterrupted solitary confinement "in high spirit" and with "hope for the future."

In the case of the Alexander Eleven, draconian punishments were imposed on a group of young men and women just taking their first steps toward political involvement. A case which has recently come to the attention of the Alexander De-

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Cover: The General Motors plant at Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and an alluvial diamond digger.



Dr. Neville Alexander

EDITORIAL

The Vietnam Protest Movement and the Johnson "Consensus"

The opposition of the American academic community to the foreign policy of his administration has irked and annoyed Lyndon Baines Johnson no end. It runs counter to the myth that his administration rests on the solid foundation of a broad "consensus," based on the results of the 1964 presidential campaign, when he ran as the candidate of "all the people." Enlisted in his corner were the most disparate elements: big business and labor, Negro leaders and white supremacists, Dixiecrat reactionaries and northern liberals, coexistence radicals and cold war conservatives.

With the ineffable Goldwater as his opponent Johnson was able to coast to a landslide victory without resort to serious discussion or debate of basic policy questions. A tiresome repetition of vote-catching platitudes sufficed to corral the support of the overwhelming majority, a great many of whom cast their ballots for Johnson as the "lesser evil" candidate. This is the ramshackle "consensus" upon which Johnson set out to blueprint his version of the "Great Society."

"His objective," writes William

Shannon, editorial board member of the *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1965, "is to keep intact the broad-based coalition that elected him. This involves holding the confidence and good-will of influential businessmen and of modern conservatives without endangering the support of the trade unions, the Negroes, the low-income voters and the liberal intellectuals who together comprise the hard core of the Democratic party's strength. As a Southerner who was once suspect among dominant Northern elements of his party, Mr. Johnson is jealous of his liberal reputation."

"His strategy," observes Shannon, "is to hold liberal support at the cheapest possible price in terms of dollars." This involves generous hand-outs to the greedy rich and minimum concessions to the disinherited of the "affluent society." "Supporters of 'Great Society' programs," says Shannon, "are beginning to complain that the Administration is making very little money available to back up its impressive rhetoric."

Lyndon B. Johnson took office under conditions most favorable to

the preservation of the "broad-based coalition" that elected him. The economic boom kept churning up ever greater profits to feed the insatiable maw of big business. The labor leaders kept a tight checkrein on the ranks in line with the restrictive wage "guidelines" of the administration. The conservative Negro leaders, bowing to Johnson's "civil rights" program of gradualism and tokenism, urged moderation in the struggle for equality. The avoidance of conflict over "controversial issues" became the *sine qua non* for the continued existence of Johnson's "consensus."

The utopian vision of creating the "Great Society" within the boundaries of the United States without regard to what happens in the rest of the world is of a piece with Stalin's utopian "theory" of building socialism in a single country. Both assume as a basic prerequisite the maintenance of the status quo. But the epoch in which we live is pregnant with social change. We are living, as Lenin long ago affirmed, in the epoch of wars, revolutions and colonial uprisings. Events have fully confirmed Lenin's prognosis.



Student Demonstrators. Slogans . .

American prosperity, which casts a superficial aura of class peace and "national unity" on the "affluent society," rests on the exploitation and oppression of less favored lands and peoples. Only the wealthier nations of the capitalist world can afford even those feeble measures of reform, political and economic, which enable them to maintain some semblance of social stability. But these are only the favored few. The overwhelming majority of mankind eke out a miserable existence under conditions of grinding poverty, unremitting toil, and savage repression. For them there is no hope of achieving a decent standard of living, let alone a "Great Society," except through the road of social revolution.

Because of its awesome military, political and economic power, American capitalism is today the bulwark of the world capitalist system. While it uses its preponderant power to exploit its dependent and satellite states it must assume primary responsibility for curbing or crushing any social eruption that threatens the stability of the world capitalist order. It is cast in the role of world policeman because there is none other capable of playing that role. To maintain the status quo in a world in which the pressure of rising discontent continues to mount to explosive proportions is like trying to hold back the tide with a broom.

But no ruling class in history ever abandons its power, its privileges and its prerogatives, without

a violent struggle. It is a common complaint among advocates of the theory of "lesser evil" politics to bemoan the fact that Johnson today is carrying out the Goldwater line in the field of foreign policy. The illusion that it could be otherwise is based on a refusal to take cognizance of objective reality. Given the position of American imperialism in the world capitalist system no occupant of the White House, committed to the preservation of the so-called "free enterprise system," can act otherwise than as gendarme to bribe, bully, blackmail or to club into submission any revolt against the existing capitalist order.

As president, John F. Kennedy sought to cheat history by advancing the Alliance for Progress gambit designed to counter the spreading influence of Castroism in Latin America. The scheme held out the promise of using Yankee power and money to promote agrarian and social reform under democratic regimes responsive to the needs of the people. The scheme died aborning. Even the feeblest gestures toward reform threatened to open the floodgates of social revolution. The result was a series of right-wing military coups, aided and abetted by the Central Intelligence Agency, with the blessing of the White House.

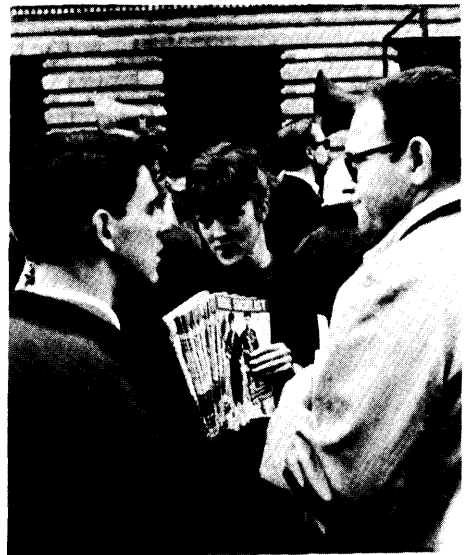
In a recent television interview, Richard Bissell, former director of plans for the CIA, frankly stated it was U.S. policy to support police-state dictatorships — providing they were "anti-communist" — "not because we are rightists," he affirmed, "but because there were no alternatives to chaos." This same line was clearly enunciated by Thomas C. Mann, now Under Secretary of State, who was named by Johnson after his inauguration, as chief administration adviser on Latin American affairs. It was the line applied by Johnson in directing the massive military intervention against the popular revolt in the Dominican Republic that overthrew the repressive military junta. Mass action for democratic rights and social reform is stigmatized as "chaos" and equated with "international communist conspiracy," to justify a policy of brutal military repression. Such is the "new" Johnson "doctrine."

In this day and age, the policy of naked imperialist aggression cannot win popular support unless all voices of critical dissent are stilled. The "brainwashing" propaganda of the administration and its apologists, so crassly at variance with the known facts, is an insulting affront to the intelligence of even those who want to believe. For the critical-minded it engendered an attitude of cynical contempt and rejection of the gross distortions and flagrant falsifications of government spokesmen that led, inevitably, to outspoken opposition.

Academic Outcry

The growing opposition to U.S. foreign policy is most widespread among students on campus across the nation. It culminated in the April 17 student March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam with some 20,000 participants, double the number anticipated by the organizers of the march. Opposition ferment among campus students could not help but affect the entire academic community. As a corollary the teach-in movement spread rapidly from one campus to another and led to the national teach-in debate in Washington on May 15, attended by some 5,000 and broadcast over radio and television to a large viewing audience across the country.

The opposition of the academic community was undermining



. . . and Sales of Literature



Washington, April 17, 1965

Johnson's prized "liberal reputation" and threatened to upset the coalition "consensus" fabricated during the election campaign. The great "I am" in the White House was plainly irked. He first decided to ignore the barbed shafts of criticism directed at administration policy in Vietnam, to pretend it didn't exist. It didn't work. Then administration "truth teams" recruited from the State Department and Pentagon were dispatched to campus "hotbeds," to quell the opposition movement. It was a disaster! Leading spokesmen of the opposition were then subjected to the smear treatment and stigmatized as "extremists" in the hope of witch-hunting the movement into silence. It backfired.

To salvage his "liberal reputation" and prop up his tottering "consensus," Johnson hastened to enlist the aid of his labor lieutenants who head the AFL-CIO. As always, they proved ready, able and willing, to play the role of political hatchet-men for their "friend" in the White House. George Meany, AFL-CIO president,

rushed into the fray flailing his forked tongue at "those in high places, those in the academic world, who are either a little woozy upstairs or are victims of Communist propaganda — those students who fall for the leadership that is imposed upon them by local cells of the Communist Party." Truly it has been said: The harshest sound is the braying of an ass!

Tagging along behind Meany came another stalwart labor champion, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, screeching like a hoot owl at "these self-styled liberals [who] never get tired raving against our Government for attacking Communist military installations in North Vietnam . . ." The labor statesmen were rewarded for services rendered by a telegram from the White House thanking them "for saying to the world that this nation of ours, the United States of America, speaks in unity with one voice from one heart." But two

chicken-hearted jackasses hardly constitute a "consensus," the Texas corn merchant to the contrary notwithstanding.

Jay Lovestone

Never in history has the world witnessed so servile a gang of craven lickspittles as the present crop of labor statesmen who head the American union movement. These are sell-out artists of the first water, devoid of even a single spark of solidarity with the oppressed and exploited workers of the world. Jing-oism is their creed and treachery their stock-in-trade. When it comes to serving the reactionary interests of U. S. imperialism, of advancing the counterrevolutionary aims of their capitalist rulers, they truly speak "with one voice from one heart." And of the whole lot of cynical blubberheads who play toady to the bloated profit-hogs in Washington and Wall Street probably the most revolting are Meany



Washington, April 17, 1965



George Meany

and Dubinsky. For lurking in their shadow is the sinister figure of Jay Lovestone, recently elevated to the exalted post of international affairs director of the AFL-CIO.

There is not one union member in a thousand who is aware of the existence of Jay Lovestone or of the role he plays in the labor movement. "His role in the AFL-CIO," observes the May 15 issue of *Business Week*, "includes the maintenance of close contacts with labor's own version of the Central Intelligence Agency — a trade union network existing in all parts of the world and in all factions."

"In recent weeks," says *Business Week*, "Lovestone has conducted a series of regional conferences for U. S. unionists to outline the federation's views on critical world tensions — and to offset some outside arguments (!) that the U. S. should concentrate more on domestic affairs than on world."

How did the renegade Lovestone climb so quickly to such lofty heights in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy? In the latter part of the 1920's, Jay Lovestone was general secretary of the American Communist Party. He was ousted in 1929 by the Stalin faction after having been identified as a supporter of the Bukharin group in the Communist International. Upon their expulsion from the American CP the Lovestoneites set up shop as a pro-Kremlin group hoping that the

shifting winds of Moscow's foreign policy would waft them back into Stalin's favor. The outbreak of war in 1939 however, sounded the death knell of the Lovestoneites clique. They disbanded in 1940 and Lovestone and Company drifted over to the support of the American State Department policy.

Lovestone had close connections with a faction of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which had been in opposition to David Dubinsky. In a deal with the leader of the faction, Dubinsky put Lovestone on his payroll as "anti-communist" specialist and foreign affairs expert. In 1943 he became international affairs director for the ILGWU and upon recommendation of Dubinsky he was named the following year as executive secretary of the AFL Free Trade Union Committee set up to fight "communism" in the world trade union movement.

With the advent of the "cold war" Lovestone came into his own. A number of his cronies went on the payroll, the most notorious of whom, Irving Brown, was dispatched to Europe as part of the Marshall Plan to split the European trade union movement along ideological lines. Lovestone now has at his disposal a huge slush fund and a proliferation of agents active throughout the world, working in close collaboration with the State Department, the CIA, etc., to further the aims of American imperialist policy. It is estimated that about one-quarter of the AFL-CIO annual income of nearly \$10 million is spent in the "foreign field."

In Latin America, Lovestone and Company operate a far flung network of labor agents through the American Institute for Free Labor Development partly financed by the AFL-CIO but, according to an article by Stanley Meisler, in the Feb. 10, 1964 issue of *The Nation*, "principally with money made available by the Alliance for Progress and private enterprise."

"The institute," relates Meisler, "does not publish full financial details, but it is known that its 1963 budget was for \$1,141,509. The institute says this income came from three sources: \$500,000 from government, \$300,000 or so from the AFL-CIO, and \$300,000 or so from foundations and business. All the

government funds, according to the institute, came from the Alliance for Progress program. The institute is also close-mouthed about its private donors and the size of their contributions. But representatives of W. R. Grace & Co., Pan American Airways, the Anaconda Company, and the Rockefeller foundation are on the board of trustees, and the institute offers their names for a sampling of contributors. The United Fruit Co., Meisler observes, "symbol of imperialistic big business to many Central Americans, is not a supporter, but the institute has said that it would accept United Fruit money if it were offered."

For whom do the labor jingoists of the AFL-CIO speak? Certainly not for the workers of this or any other land. The hated bureaucrats are as remote from the ranks of working men and women as the most distant speck of light in the furthest galaxy is from the earth. When Johnson lauds their voice he applauds the voice of treason to the interests of the workers at home and abroad.

The repeated assertion that there is in this country a "consensus" in support of administration policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic is a patent fraud. The opposition to Washington's war in Vietnam continues to mount. The Dominican invasion is a scandal arousing universal revulsion. The intellectuals, — professors, teachers, students, — are a sensitive barometer recording the storm signals of a social ferment already making its influence felt in Washington. In one of his speeches in opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam, Senator Wayne Morse made a prophetic prediction: That if the present administration continues its present foreign policy course, Lyndon Baines Johnson will leave office the most discredited man that ever occupied the White House.

ERROR

We regret that we printed the wrong date of Malcolm X's birth on the front cover of the previous issue of this magazine. The correct date is May 19, 1925.

American Sociology

An Article Review of two recent studies of modern sociology: WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY? by Alex Inkeles, and THE NEW SOCIOLOGY edited by Irving Louis Horowitz.

By William F. Warde

Sociology is one of the booming departments in the universities. The United States leads the world in the amount of activity and money devoted to this branch of learning. In 1960 the American Sociological Association had more than 6,000 members and has been growing at the rate of 10 per cent in the postwar period. The total national expenditure for social science research in 1959 was \$215 million.

These figures are taken from *What is Sociology?** by Alex Inkeles of Harvard University. This is a new textbook written as an introduction to a series on the *Foundations of Modern Sociology* he is supervising for this publisher. It throws considerable light on the special features and most pronounced limitations of current American sociology, especially in theory and method.

The first question Professor Inkeles essays to answer is: what is sociology all about? His exposition shows that the expansion of sociology as an academic specialty has been attended by a contraction of the conception of its proper province and an impoverishment of its content. This narrowing stands out clearly when the views of the founders of sociology are contrasted with the outlook of its present professional practitioners.

Auguste Comte gave sociology its name. Imitating Newtonian

physics which provided the supreme model of scientific method and knowledge in the early nineteenth century, he divided its subject matter into two main parts: social statics and social dynamics. Social statics investigates the laws of action and reaction of the different parts of the social system. The sociologist singles out the major institutions of society—the economy, family, political, legal or military systems—as fundamental units of analysis and studies their interrelations.

Social dynamics investigates how the entire social structure made up of these components changes in the course of time. Comte himself concluded that all societies pass through three stages of conquest, defense and industry, while man's thought progressed from the theological through the metaphysical to a positive or scientific view of the world. Whatever the inadequacies and errors of Comte's social philosophy, it at least had the merit of historical comprehensiveness.

The Englishman Herbert Spencer likewise took a broad view of his subject. He stated that sociology dealt with the reciprocal influences between the different elements of society and compared societies of different kinds and in different stages in order to arrive at an overall conception of the development of social life from its most primitive to its most complex and advanced manifestations.

The sights of social science in the Western world have been lowered as the twentieth century has advanced. The scholars who have

most decisively shaped contemporary sociological theory, Emile Durkheim of France and Max Weber of Germany, both added impetus to this trend which has deep-going social causes. Durkheim defined sociology as "the science of institutions." He regarded comparative sociology as the essence of the science and stressed the need for greater specialization.

Sociology could not become a science, he said, "until it renounced its initial and overall claim upon the totality of social reality (and distinguished) even more among parts, elements and different aspects which would serve as subject matter for specific problems." He and his disciples focused upon studying the kinship of social phenomena in particular social formations.

Max Weber likewise subordinated consideration of the full scope and dynamics of social development from primitive times to the present to concentrate upon the interrelations among different institutions in a specific social order and the comparison of the features of one social structure with those of another. In the name of the *specificity* of all social phenomena he denied that there were any general laws of social evolution.

The specialization and miniaturization of sociological investigation have been pushed to an extreme in the United States today. The lofty aim of the founders to encompass the whole of social development within the purview of the science has been abandoned as a hopeless enterprise and rejected as

* Prentice-Hall, 1964, 128 pp., \$3.50 cloth, \$1.50 paper.

a worthless relic of nineteenth century evolutionism.

Micro-sociology, which examines what is here and now and concerns itself exclusively with tiny segments of social activity and relations, is taken as the center of sociological interest. The academicians have gone from a bird's eye to an insect's eye view of their speciality.

"The size of the social group studied is constantly being diminished," points out Irving Louis Horowitz in *The New Sociology*. * "In the decade of the 'twenties, large-sized cities like Chicago were being tackled *en bloc* by the famed ecological school. In the decade of the 'thirties, it was middle-sized cities that were studied, as in the Middletown studies of the Lynds. In the decade of the 'forties, small towns became the fashion, as the work of Hollingshead and Kaufman revealed. By the decade of the 'fifties, the size of the community had been reduced to dormitories, hospital wards and laboratories."

This dwarfing of sociology has engendered absurd abstractions. Straining to snare some ultimate unit of social relationships, sociologists have set up "two-man groups" as the molecule and the "social act" of the individual as the atom of social life. Such a parody of physical phenomena results from suppressing or ignoring the fundamental characteristic of human existence—the economic interrelations which involve every individual in a determinate social organization.

Horowitz bitingly observes that the logical sequel to the minutiae of two-person groups would be to enter "one-person" analysis. This would take the abstractionists "out of sociology altogether and into psychology pure and simple." And even this is not quite true since even the psyche of the individual is socially conditioned.

The diversification and specialization of a science are part of its growth and evidences of its enrichment. A sociologist may investigate the phenomena of a small group or a small group of phenomena; the reasons for changes in the relations between the administration, faculty and student body in a given university; or the buying preferences of housewives in a middle-

* *Oxford University Press, 1964, 528 pp., \$8.50.*

class suburb. However, the scientific worth of the results is not likely to be great.

And when such lightweight work is esteemed and counterposed to the study of society in its evolution it has less justification than the telescope viewer who would dismiss the value and validity of cosmology in order to exalt the inspection of a square inch inside a crater on the moon's surface. The differentiation of any branch of knowledge should go hand in hand with an increased integration of its structure of thought and the generalization of its principles.

Static Comparisons

While Inkeles admits that sociology may examine society as a whole, he interprets this in a highly restrictive way characteristic of the Weberian school. "Its purpose then would be to discover how the institutions which make up a society are related to one another in different social systems." Beyond this static comparison of specific institutions sociology cannot go.

This self-imposed limitation upon the scope of sociology is tied up with the anti-evolutionary bias of the ordinary American sociologist. It is paradoxical that as the ideas of evolution, of universal and all-pervading change have more and more penetrated the physical and biological sciences in our century and been confirmed by their achievements, the evolutionary outlook has receded from the social sciences in this country. Here is a meaningful problem for the sociologist of knowledge to ponder!

Instead of regarding this retrogression as a problem, Inkeles endorses it. He holds that thinking in evolutionary terms is merely one style of sociology among others, and not the indispensable cornerstone of an up-to-date scientific method. He approvingly asserts that "the evolutionary model of social development in all its aspects has . . . largely been abandoned by sociologists."

He claims that it is pointless to inquire whether societies go through definite stages of development or whether humanity has followed any specific line of social progress. "Sociology has largely turned its back on such global theories of change." At most it is legitimate to explore whether certain partial sequences

of social change really exist, the most extensive being the shifts from pre-industrial to an industrialized type of society.

Sociologists who have given up the search for an all-encompassing theory of evolution "seek to deal with change more concretely, one might say more realistically, as it manifests itself in different types of social organization under various conditions."

Example? A study at Bennington College in Vermont in which Theodore Newcomb explains why some girls discarded their more conservative views under the influence of the liberal faculty while others continued to adhere to the values of their home and community. It is interesting, though hardly world-shaking, to find out how and why one small set of students modified their social ideas. But this sort of research hardly warrants ruling out the Marxist theory of history (or any of its rivals for that matter) as Inkeles and his empiricist co-thinkers propose.

Marxism Rejected

The sociology of Marxism aims to discover and set forth the laws of evolution in social life from the earliest form of social organization to the contemporary world contest between capitalism and socialism. Inkeles doubts whether it is possible to discover any general laws of social phenomena, although he concedes that Durkheim may have formulated one in his well-known proposition that the suicide rate varies inversely with the degree of social integration characteristic of any group. He believes that "the staggering complexity of social phenomena" presently precludes any other such generalizations, although he hopes that mathematical modes of analysis and computers may enable future social scientists to disclose a few more.

Most revealing is Inkeles' position on the major purpose of sociology. The basic problem of the science, he says, is how to explain the nature of social order and disorder. There are those who advocate an "equilibrium theory" on the ground that the forces making for order are stronger than those making for disruption and those who urge the adoption of a "conflict theory" on the ground that society is constantly struggling to

overcome chaos and achieve some stability. He attempts to mediate between these tendencies by insisting that a rounded sociology must study both the processes of order and disorder and of orderly and disorderly change. But he avows that he prefers "to assume order as man's basic condition."

He writes: "Yet with change, as with continuity, the sociologist assumes that the sequence of events is inherently orderly." He here confuses and plays upon two quite different meanings of the term "order": one signifying lawfulness of development, the other social stability. The most unruly and explosive events such as civil wars, international wars, revolutions and economic crises can have lawful explanations, however much they upset a given social structure.

It would be understandable for a Russian peasant inhabiting a remote village in the early nineteenth century to assume that order was "man's basic condition," though his twentieth century descendant would hardly share that view. How can a learned scholar uphold this outlook in a convulsive epoch like ours marked by world wars, revolutions, fascism and colonial uprisings?

This attitude is no less untenable in face of the facts of American history. The aboriginal tribal order was wiped out and a new colonial order installed in North America following fierce conflicts among the European maritime powers. This colonial regime was overthrown by revolution and an independent bourgeois-slave republic took its place.

The Civil War and Reconstruction shattered the Southern slave system. Since that time there has been no lack of conflicts within the plutocratic order from the struggles of labor to the Freedom Now movement.

The proponents of the "conflict school" at least have some inkling that antagonism and change are as much part of capitalist society as harmony and stability. However, they regard any cataclysmic events such as economic crises, wars and revolutions as avoidable and remediable rather than as built-in phenomena of the system. They envisage the role of the sociologist and the policy-makers guided by their analyses to divulge ways and means of relaxing tensions and

reducing conflicts in order to maintain the existing order.

Max Weber, the mentor of most contemporary American sociologists regardless of their divergences, urged that sociology be "value-free." Inkeles, too, champions a pure social science which pursues the quest for knowledge without being swayed by extrinsic considerations. He admits that this is hard to come by and "may in fact be unattainable."

Professor Inkeles, who is also a well-known Sovietologist, favorably contrasts freedom of thought in the United States with the lack of it in the Soviet Union. Yet his concluding chapter offers instructive data on the difficulties in the way of social scientists who wish to be politically neutral, socially detached and strictly objective.

The universities where they teach receive as much as forty per cent of their annual income today through federal grants. Since World War II more and more professors have become advisers to or grantees of the government, "often moving back and forth between the university town and the seats of power."

Large research funds come from industrial and commercial organizations, which in 1959 spent \$137 million, or almost 64 per cent of the national total, for public opinion and marketing surveys. The sponsors of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan comprise a "who's who" of the business world. "Especially well represented are chemicals, oils and refining, communications, public utilities, banking and investment, philanthropic foundations, food and drug manufacturers, auto, steel, aircraft, insurance corporations and leading federal agencies," writes Horowitz. "Interestingly enough, the list does not contain a single labor union, and, with the exception of the Boy Scouts of America, no non-corporate agencies or societies."

Controlled Research

These corporate and government clients regulate what the sociologist studies and influence, if only indirectly, how he handles his subject matter.

Imagine, for example, the outcry that would greet a projected study to estimate as accurately as possible the total volume of waste in the

American economy today resulting from the \$55 billion military budget, unemployment, underutilization of productive plant, monopolist price-fixing, lack of planning, deterioration and destruction of agricultural surpluses, advertising and other swollen selling expenses, calculated obsolescence, needless duplication of facilities and products because of competition, etc. Especially if this provided the basis for a companion calculation showing how the national resources thus salvaged could be reallocated to socially useful purposes and really promote the war on poverty and inequality.

What group of reputable economists and sociologists would risk undertaking this sort of investigation? What university, government body or foundation would subsidize it? And if it could be completed and published, how fairly would the magazines and newspapers, TV and radio networks and other propaganda media owned and controlled by big business and supported by corporate advertising deal with its conclusions?

It would be a bold investigator who proceeded from premises or submitted findings detrimental to his powerful patrons. The few who dare get out of line are subjected to economic squeezes or academic freeze-outs. C. Wright Mills received none of the awards given yearly by his professional colleagues for his remarkable portrait of *The Power Elite* and after its publication was with one honorable exception turned down for every request of a grant from the big foundations. It is needless to speak of lesser figures if a Columbia professor of Mills' world reputation was treated this way.

A case in point involved the late Paul Baran, Professor of Economics at Stanford and one of the very few avowed Marxists on an American faculty. The March 1965 issue of *Monthly Review* in homage to his life and work presents personal testimony on the harassment Baran suffered from his superiors after his courageous defiance of Washington and declaration of solidarity with the Cuban revolution. In answer to the campaign mounted against this highly qualified scholar the university President sent out a "despicable" letter. "It did not point out that the University was committed to the principle of academic freedom or

anything of the sort," wrote Baran, "but stressed its having the very difficult problem of my having tenure. The business of freezing my salary, far from being treated a secret, is being widely advertised (among donors) to show that nothing would be done to 'encourage me to stay here.'"

Equally indicative of the atmosphere in this "liberal" private university is the reported remark of the chairman of the Sociology Department who, in response to a suggestion that C. Wright Mills be offered a professorship at Stanford, said: "But Mills is not a sociologist, he is a Marxist." The chairman was wrong on both counts.

Community and classroom inhibitions reinforce conformity and stunt inquiry to what is safe — and insignificant. "The consequences of the atmosphere of suspicion, of thought control and of punitiveness which prevailed during 'the McCarthy era' cannot be realistically assessed by pointing to the small numbers of professors actually dismissed, nor even by proving that they were really subversives," observes Inkeles. "Much more important is the effect on the free expression of those who were not subversive and who were not dismissed."

Lazarsfeld-Thielen Study

"These effects are well-documented in Lazarsfeld and Thielen's study, completed in 1955, of almost 2,500 social-science teachers, including historians, carefully chosen to represent all the colleges and universities in the United States. Of those teaching in larger schools rated as of higher quality, 70 per cent reported that they were familiar with at least one 'incident' involving an attack on a fellow faculty member for his views or associations. In the smaller and less outstanding schools, 28 per cent of the teachers knew of such incidents. It is not surprising, therefore, that 40 per cent of college teachers in the social sciences reported that they worried lest some student inadvertently pass on a warped version of what they said, and 22 per cent admitted direct self-censorship of one kind or another."

Professor Inkeles, who typifies the moderate liberal, is worried lest our people get "that kind of sociology which guarantees, in advance, to

produce results which affirm the established order and confirm received doctrine." According to Professor Horowitz, that is precisely what the main body of American sociologists is producing. He expands upon this thesis in *The New Sociology*.

Most of the contributors, who are aligned with the New Left in the social sciences eminently represented by Mills, are severely critical of the trends in American sociology over the past twenty-five years. Their viewpoint is most vigorously presented in the editor's introduction.

The New Left

These dissidents oppose the methodologies of the two dominant camps: the formalistic "Grand Theorists" who shuffle and reshuffle hollow and unproductive abstractions about human behavior, and the empiricists who shy away from any systematic theory of social development and are immersed in the trivial treatment of diminutive assignments.

They complain that, along with IBM cards and computers, an IBM-type hierarchy and mode of work have been instituted in the social science departments and research organizations. Academic sociology now has its own "power elite" which governs a "feudal structure" of graduate education. The department heads in the few higher-degree-granting universities control degrees, teaching posts and promotions, publications and jobs with swank foundations and corporations. They exalt the means of research — the questionnaire, sampling techniques, computers, etc. — at the expense of ends which are uncritically taken over from the military, governmental and business establishments. This forces students and researchers into standardized molds and deters deviation from the prevailing norms.

The "new sociologists" deny that a "value-free" social science is feasible or desirable. They cite as the most horrible example of such an approach the "crackpot realism" of civilian militarists like Herman Kahn. He brushes aside ways of preventing nuclear war in order to calculate how rapidly its survivors can restore their previous patterns on the assumption they will have learned nothing from the doomsday holocaust.

The formalists, they say, are conservatized by their presuppositions that integration, functionality, stability and harmony are the constant conditions of social life. The technocratic procedures of the empiricists are likewise designed to soothe the powers-that-be. To purge the discipline of its lingering associations with social protest or "socialism" and assure a free flow of funds from foundations and corporations, the academicians have renamed sociology "a behavioral science."

The New Lefts maintain that swift change and convulsive conflicts are not marginal but central and unavoidable features of the history of our revolutionary epoch. The deepest need of the profession, writes Horowitz, is for a "sociology of wide range, an historically-anchored sociology" which will revive the broad perspectives of the classical tradition without sacrificing modern techniques of research. In Peter Worsley's words, the enlightened sociological imagination should have "a place for the typical attitudes of the salesgirls in Macy's; for the academics' illusions about power in so far as they stem from their 'middle level' structural position; and for the macroscopic encounters of the giant powers."

Global Outlook

Such a far-ranging science, unfettered by the big money, could come to grips with such master-problems of the age as "the multiplication of social forms of capitalism and socialism, the social costs and benefits of economic development, the new nationalism and the rise of polycentric doctrines of socialism, the relation of racial competition to democratic norms, the connection between industrial life and anomic [i.e. unlawful] responses, the problem of world population and human health, and, above all, the question of world conflict and conflict resolution . . .," says Horowitz.

American sociologists shudder when Russians speak of a Soviet physics but fail to see their own national-mindedness and "ethnocentrism." Sociology must acquire a global outlook and foundation. "You can no longer settle any major sociological problem within the boundaries of the United States." This necessitates the creation of a world sociology.

Finally, instead of chasing the chimera of a value-free, bloodless and inhumane body of knowledge, sociologists ought to reappraise the going value-systems and, if need be, bring forward new and better criteria for public consideration. They should not only examine and clarify but help formulate solutions to social problems. Ideological blindness or moral cowardice should not deter them from taking firm stands on controversial issues or devising proposals for social reconstruction.

The first responsibility of the professional scientist is to his fellow human beings, not to any official wielders and abusers of authority. Personal courage, integrity and honesty is required "to carve out a social science of present meaning."

This diagnosis of the ailments of the sociological profession in the United States is penetrating and justified. The measures prescribed should infuse new vitality into the study of social affairs. But the debate about the future of American sociology cannot halt at this point. The questions remain: do the criticisms of the "new sociologists" go deeply enough into the weaknesses of their profession? Will their proposals for reform place sociology upon solid scientific foundations and give it a correct orientation which will assure steady advancement?

C. Wright Mills

After dealing with their colleagues to the right, they still have to settle accounts with the Marxists on their left. C. Wright Mills stated in *The Sociological Imagination* that "so much of modern social science has been a frequently unacknowledged debate with the work of Marx, and a reflection of the challenge of socialist movements and communist politics." The New Left thinkers can hardly evade this confrontation.

At best they display an ambivalent and at worst an ambiguous attitude toward scientific socialism. Horowitz who evolved from Marxism to eclecticism has the same estimate of its current worth as Mills who moved from pragmatic liberalism toward a greater appreciation of Marxism.

Mills rated Marxism above liberalism. It was that part of the classical heritage most pertinent to contemporary issues. He further

asserted that sociologists and students could learn very much about the times they live in from the writings of Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky. He was about to edit a Trotsky anthology when he died. He endeavored to break down the blockade around Marxism and accord it the same rights of citizenship in our halls of learning that it has elsewhere.

At the same time Mills taught that Marxism was no longer an adequate theory for explaining the novel features of what he called "The Fourth (or post-industrial) Epoch" in which the values of the Enlightenment: reason, democracy, freedom and humanism, were threatened by the monstrous bureaucratism of mass society. After assimilating whatever insights socialists and communists had to communicate, it was imperative to go beyond Marxism to construct a world sociology suited to our times.

He was embarked on such a project when his life was cut short at the age of 45. Here Mills was more the seeker than the finder. He candidly confessed in *The Sociological Imagination*: "I do not know the answer to the question of political irresponsibility in our time or to the cultural and political question of the Cheerful Robot." These were not the only questions that stumped him. He drafted only fragments of a program for the New Left and did not promote its organization one step.

His admirers who subscribe to similar aims illuminate diverse subordinate aspects of social science and our social problems in this volume. But they have come no closer to fulfilling the grand scheme of a world sociology based on a superior system of sociological thought. The wish is there but not the deed.

Lack of Achievement

Is their paucity of achievement due to the immensity and complexities of the undertaking — or have they misjudged the nature of the crisis in official sociology and the way to overcome it? That depends to a considerable extent upon the truth or falsity of their cardinal dogma that Marxism is so out of touch with the world today, and especially with conditions in the United States, that it must be sup-

planted by some theory not yet brought to birth.

"Sociologists have been too willing to assume a neutralist posture in the face of ethical choices," says Horowitz. "Confronting a world of conflicting standards, some sociologists have decided to take the courageous leap to the top of the fence! Equivocation will not suffice. 'Objectivity' is not the consequence of standing between two subjective truths . . . it was Mills' importance to see that scientific truth may just as easily reside at the extremes as in the middle."

These fine words ought to be applied not only to moral choices but to choices in sociological theory and political practice. These thinkers have examined the roles, ideology and psychology of officials in different societies and specialists in many walks of life. They should also turn the instruments of critical analysis upon their own professional postures and motivations.

The Young Turks do not hesitate to accuse the Old Guard of taking positions which unwittingly placate the men of property and power. Yet they have no doubt that their estimate of the shortcomings and obsolescence of Marxism is predicated upon purely scientific considerations exempted from extraneous pressures, unconscious prepossessions or class partisanship. They would characterize that claim from any other source as a naive and illusory expression of false consciousness.

Wouldn't a deeper probe inquire why, despite their greater benevolence, these middle class intellectuals ultimately concur with all shades of conservative opinion that the main tenets of scientific socialism are passé? Is it just happy coincidence that such an attitude is least likely to jeopardize academic preference? Why is their aversion to espousing Marxism invariably coupled with refusal to identify with any revolutionary current or grouping in this country? (Mills, the most courageous among them, who pictured himself as an unreconstructed "Wobbly," never voted or belonged to any political organization.) How is this uniform disaffiliation among the New Lefts, which is not so widespread in England or Western Europe, to be explained?

The "new sociologists" unquestionably put up stronger resistance to the plutocratic environment than

their more respectable fellows. Yet they are not totally unaffected by encircling social circumstances and pressures. The limits of their theoretical and political commitments, individually and collectively, are fixed by the swollen power of the big money, the political immaturity of organized labor and the weakness of the anti-capitalist movement in this country. This configuration of class forces underlies their beliefs that American life and thought have already bypassed Marxism and therefore sociology must surpass it.

In reality our theoretically and politically retarded nation has yet to come abreast of its full application. Although the American economy has evolved from competition to monopoly in consonance with the laws set forth in *Capital*, the class struggle and its political and ideological reflections in the United States have still to catch up with other sectors of the modern world. The timidity and eclecticism of our better sociologists are tokens of this.

Horowitz's colleague, Byron Fox, declares that: "In this struggle of man against his environment, reaching out into space, the social scientist cannot be neutral. To attempt neutrality is to place one's weight on the side of the old order which is on the way out. The only alternative is to place sociological science at the service of the order which is being born."

As soon as this option is adopted, the question arises: What kind of order is coming out of the breakup of capitalism and colonialism? Marxism teaches that the only progressive outcome is socialism.

The New Lefts are not so sure or clear about the nature and prospects of the next stage of historical development. On the dark side they fear the advent of an oppressive regime presiding over a stupefied herd of Cheerful Idiots. On the brighter side they scan the horizon for the appearance of a virginal social system never before seen on land or sea.

Why, they ask, should historical creativity stop at what exists in the super-industrialized United States or Soviet Union? Why can't further upheavals guided by intelligent leadership bring about a novel social order? Just as in the domain of theory they seek a third way

apart from liberalism or Marxism and in politics steer a course somewhere between the center and the extreme left, so in the evolution of modern society they visualize the dawn of something essentially different than any existing capitalist or socialist-oriented nation.

The most radical, like Mills and Da Costa Pinto, anticipate the emergence of such a fresh model from the travails of the Third World, made up of the underdeveloped and newly independent countries liberated from imperialism and not yet in the clutches of bureaucratic gigantism. Is this expectation well-founded?

The countries of the Third World are in turbulent transition. They exist in different stages and on disparate levels of economic, social and political development. They have extremely variegated social structures in which tribal, feudal, capitalist and post-capitalist relations are unequally and often incongruously intermingled.

The archaic tribal and feudal institutions are surely doomed to destruction. That leaves the field open for the contest between the pro-capitalist and the socialist forces which is in full blast. Which will prevail in the death-grapple between them?

That question has already been settled in countries such as China and Cuba which have cast off colonialism and capitalism and are building the foundations of socialism. Where, even in embryo, is the third alternative heralded by the New Lefts to be found? The only possible place is in those areas where the struggle between the capitalist and anti-capitalist camps has not yet been fought to a conclusion and remains undecided.

Cuban Example

Here the case of Cuba is most relevant. Mills, Sartre and others like them expected something unprecedented in theory and social reconstruction to come out of the Cuban revolution along the lines of their preconceptions. The July 26th Movement did break much new ground. It headed the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere and the first since Lenin's day to be untrammelled and uncontaminated by Stalinism.

No less significant is the fact, that with all its singularities, the course

of the revolution in Cuba ran "true to type" for a thoroughgoing social and political overturn in our time. Its leadership passed from a combative democratic humanist ideology over to Marxism as the revolution advanced and deepened. The overthrow of Batista's dictatorship shattered the old state and military apparatus and the worker-peasant government replaced foreign and native capitalist ownership with a socialized and planned economy.

Cuba provided a first-rate laboratory for a comparative test of the ideas projected by the New Left theorists and the Marxists. It has invalidated the hypotheses of the former while confirming the insight and foresight of the latter. Cuba's transition from revolutionary nationalism to Marxism-Leninism and from anti-imperialism to anti-capitalism is so far the best prototype of progress for the entire Third World. Faraway Zanzibar has recently demonstrated how a small people can suddenly break out of colonialism and in one spectacular leap head for socialism.

The Cuban leaders and masses have set a precedent for social theorizing as well as revolutionary action. They have done so, not only for Latin America, but for the savants of North America, too, who admire their achievements. In combatting imperialism and abolishing capitalism they did not evolve a new sociology or world outlook which bypassed scientific socialism and superseded it. Instead they came to Marxism. They have taught those who are ready to learn that the more acute the disorders of our society and the more urgent their solution, the more relevant and necessary the method and ideas of Marxism become.

The major task before progressive American social analysts is not to downgrade or discard Marxism or treat it as a grab-bag from which to extract whatever is convenient for a particular purpose. They need to assimilate the doctrines developed by world Marxism in order to create a world sociology. Applied to American conditions, such a sociology can help work out effective solutions to the problems of economic growth, poverty, automation, alienation, bureaucracy, discrimination and the threat of atomic annihilation.

March 30, 1965

Soviet Management Reform

What economic problems does the Soviet Union face today? What is the significance of the management reforms proposed by the Soviet economist Liberman?

By Ernest Germain

In September 1962 *Pravda* printed an article by Professor Liberman of the University of Kharkov proposing that profits should be made the index of performance for Soviet planning, as well as the basis for bonuses to the personnel and directors of Soviet enterprises. For two years the discussion touched off by this article has continued to widen in the USSR and in other workers states as well as in the capitalist world. A decision of the Supreme Economic Council of the USSR on August 25, 1964 ("On improving the system of economic stimulants for enterprises and increasing the material interests of workers in the development and introduction of new techniques") converted some of the conclusions in this discussion into law. And a group of enterprises has begun to function experimentally "on the basis of profits."

In order to understand the reasons for this discussion and the resulting practical measures, we must start with the pragmatic character which it bore from the beginning. What Liberman and Co. have sought is not an "enrichment" of Marxist

theory, nor a modification of the theoretical concepts in vogue under Stalin or advanced under "de-Stalinization." What they have looked for above all is an improvement in important mechanisms of Soviet economy, which have been functioning more and more haltingly and with increasing breakdowns.

Certainly, even taking into account its serious deficiencies, Soviet industry continues to progress, and to progress at a rate considerably higher than that of the "mature" imperialist countries (USA, Great Britain, West Germany, France). But with the passing years, obstacles which are increasingly hard to surmount have appeared in the road of this progress. Some of these obstacles are, moreover, the result of the very successes previously achieved. Having attained a high level of industrial development, the USSR can less and less afford the luxury of retaining the bureaucratic methods of leadership and planning for its economy that have existed (in various guises) from the first five-year plan up to the present.

Three deficiencies are particularly serious in Soviet economy:

(1) The rate of industrial growth appears to be continuously falling; according to official figures, it was 11.4% in 1959, 9.5% in 1960, 9.1% in 1961, 9.7% in 1962, 8.5% in 1963, and 7.1% in 1964 (figures for 1959-1963 in *Pravda* of March

14, 1964; figure for 1964 in *Pravda* of January 30, 1965). In the other industrialized workers states of East Europe — East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland — this tendency of the growth rate to decline has taken even more serious forms; industrial production has increased by no more than 3% or 4% (less than in West Germany or France, and even less than in the United States since 1961!), or has even declined (as was the case with Czechoslovakia in 1962).

(2) In a series of consumer goods sectors, the phenomenon of "overproduction" has appeared, sometimes revealing itself as an absolute drop in sales from one year to another, and in any case, as an accumulation of stocks over and above the target figures of the plan. These phenomena have recently assumed extraordinary proportions. Thus, in the case of sewing machines, sales dropped 30% between 1960 and 1963; sales of watches dropped 10% between 1962 and 1963, cotton goods 6%, linen fabrics 10%, ready-made clothing 1% ("Economic Survey of Europe in 1963," Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva 1964, pp. 45-6.)

At the beginning of 1964, unsaleable stocks of ready-made clothing in Soviet shops exceeded 500 million rubles (*Sovietskaia Torgovlia*, No. 1, 1964). During the first four years of the seven-year plan, un-

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saleable stocks of textiles, clothing and shoes more than doubled; they increased on the average four times as fast as sales. On January 1, 1964, the total value of unplanned stocks (that is to say, of unsaleable products) had reached 2 billion rubles; and an additional 1.4 billion rubles had been spent by the state up to that date in "sales" of goods below their estimated prices (*Voprossi Ekonomiki*, No. 5, 1964). In Czechoslovakia, a similar drop took place in the sales of textiles, radio and television sets, and washing machines in 1962 and 1963.

(3) Shocking errors in planning appear side by side with a further aggravation of deficiencies that have existed for a long time. Thus the amount of investment funds "frozen" in unfinished projects assumed increasingly dangerous proportions in the course of the last years of the Khrushchev period. Each year between 1958 and 1963, additional billions of rubles were "frozen" without any kind of "return" whatsoever; their total amount reached 25 billion rubles by 1961 and passed the 27 billion figure by 1963 (these two figures represent 75% of the respective total investment expenditures for the two years in question).

This enormous mass of "frozen" resources is a combined result of excessive decentralization of investments under the regimes of the *Sovnarkhozes*,¹ and serious *disproportions* in industrial development (in the chemical industry, a lack of machines and equipment caused the volume of uncompleted investments in 1964 to rise to 1-1/2 times the volume of annual investments, that is to say, the plan is a year and a half behind its schedule for bringing the new enterprises into production). In 1963, for example, the USSR produced 206 million tons of crude oil, but the total annual capacity of Soviet oil refineries reached only 50% (!) of this level of production.

There are cases where these delays in completing investment projects reach the proportions of a real scandal. Thus, the chemical combine of Gurjec has been under construction for ten (!) years. Seven

(1) All in all there were no less than 195,000 (!) uncompleted industrial objectives in the Soviet Union at the end of 1963 and beginning of 1964.

large wood and cellulose combines in Siberia have been under construction for thirteen (!) years; machinery imported from Great Britain in 1952 was never used and has by now become obsolete and gone to rust, etc., etc.

In addition, many investments appear to be unprofitable. An analysis of modernization investments in 39 enterprises manufacturing machinery showed that in 10 of these enterprises, the ruble cost of merchandise produced had increased after modernization, while production per ruble of invested funds had decreased (*Pravda*, March 15, 1964).

The fundamental aim of the discussion which was initiated by the Liberman article, and of the practical measures taken by various Soviet authorities since then, has been to change this state of affairs.

A Bureaucratic Reform of the Bureaucracy

The scope of the proposed reforms, as well as the reforms already introduced, is essentially *technical*; ideological considerations or a desire to "reform" either the economic infrastructure or the "political" superstructure have nothing whatever to do with it. On the contrary, what is involved here is an attempt to change only some purely technical, or so to speak, "surface" aspects of the functioning of Soviet economy, in order to preserve its social infrastructure and its bureaucratic forms of management and leadership. Just as in the case of the 1955-57 reforms (introduction of the *sovnarkhozes*, etc.), we are here confronted with a bureaucratic reform of the bureaucracy. The effects of this reform are not hard to foresee; those which we predicted at the time *sovnarkhozes* were introduced have, in fact, taken place in exact conformity with our forecasts.

Measures of a purely technical nature can undoubtedly overcome some of the most flagrant contradictions in bureaucratic management; but they can only bring this about by simultaneously provoking or exacerbating other contradictions. Thus, introductions of the *sovnarkhozes* unquestionably eliminated some of the major flaws of extreme centralization; steel was no longer shipped from Leningrad

to Vladivostok, while being simultaneously shipped from Vladivostok to Leningrad. But in place of this defect, another appeared; each "autonomous economic region" having a *sovnarkhoze* tried to "duplicate" enterprises existing in other regions as much as possible. Instead of wasting means on useless transportation, they were wasted on superfluous investments. "Regional egoism" supplanted "ministerial egoism."

Prior to Professor Liberman's attempt to "rehabilitate" profits within the managerial mode of Soviet enterprises, these same profits had already acquired an increasingly important place in Soviet economy. During the course of the first five-year plans, industrial investments were in the main financed from the central budget by means of *indirect taxes* (turnover tax), which mainly hit consumer goods bought by workers and peasants.

But as Soviet industry became consolidated, the profits of the enterprises (that is to say, the difference between cost prices and selling prices fixed by the state) increasingly supplanted the yield from turnover taxes as the main source of Soviet accumulation. Between 1950 and 1955 the total volume of profits in industrial enterprises increased by 330%; from 1955 to 1963, it doubled again; in 1964 alone, this profit should show an increase of 19.5%, and the plan for 1965 forecast an increase in industrial profits of 24% (*Ekonomitsheskaia Gazeta*, No. 14, 1964).

The major part of planned profits (74% for the budget year 1964-5) is paid to the state by the enterprises; the remainder goes to increase their fixed and circulating investment funds, to liquidate debts, or to cover losses from preceding years. As for non-planned profits (profits over and above the planned figure), which is obviously much less than planned profits, from 60% to 90% remains with the enterprise and, in particular, furnishes the basis for the "enterprise fund," bonus fund, etc.

All in all, Soviet enterprises retained possession of 5.8 billion rubles of profit in 1955, 9.9 billion in 1960, and should be able to keep 12 billion rubles in 1965. These funds are earmarked for economic investment objectives as well as for social investment and

distribution in various forms. But the relatively modest sum which is distributed from this amount is indicated by the fact that the "enterprise funds," which issue individual bonus, vacation and medical care checks, etc., reached a total of only 134 million rubles in 1950 and 644 million rubles in 1962, and that only one-half is used for individual distribution (shared, obviously, by the bureaucrats as much as by the workers, if not disproportionately by the bureaucrats).

Professor Liberman's article, and even more so the August 17, 1964 article by Professor Trapeznikov, director of the Institute of Automation of the Academy of Soviet Sciences, proposes to make profit the principal index of planning performance for Soviet enterprises. In other words, he proposes that a Soviet enterprise should not be considered to have exceeded the target goals of the plan simply because it produces greater quantities than those projected by the plan, but that the costs of production, and the relationship between the achieved production and the resources employed by the enterprise (to take only these two examples), should also be taken into account.

Avoiding Waste

What is really involved here is a technique of avoiding the abuses and waste which have proliferated under bureaucratic management in the Soviet economy and which Marxist critics of this management have pointed out many times. Thus, in the previous system of management, directors of enterprises had an interest in systematically under-evaluating the productive capacity of "their" plants, because target goals of the plan were set in accordance with declared capacities, and the bonuses received by the directors were proportional to the amounts by which they surpassed these target goals; the lower the capacities set, the easier it was to earn larger bonuses.

Similarly, under this old system of management, factory directors had an interest in stockpiling raw materials and equipment (the famous "hidden stocks") as an insurance against difficulties in securing supplies in time or the unavailability of spare parts for making essential repairs; since

investment expenses had no bearing on planning performances (the enterprises did not figure interest on invested funds as part of their cost price), an increase in production of 2 or 3%, secured even at an exorbitant cost, would earn bonuses! This same system of management was also a hindrance to technical progress, for the introduction, especially in large enterprises, of new manufacturing processes, with the inevitable concomitant of a period of experimentation and adjustment, resulted in a temporary quantitative decline in production, and consequently in a loss of bonuses.

Liberman and Trapeznikov would eliminate this waste and disorder by making one factor, profit, (which constitutes a kind of *synthesis* or common denominator of all economic relations closely or remotely involved in the considered production) the measure of planning performance. For Trapeznikov, however, the question is not so much that of a single index, but rather one in which the system of "indexes" is replaced with a system of *economic levers*; by means of such a set of economic levers, the Soviet authorities will be able to count on inducing the managers of enterprises to act for the common good through their own private interest. The scope of the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms (as well as those introduced in other European workers states) boils down to this: to replace planning based on administrative directives by planning founded on the use of economic levers.

The use of profits as the basic index for planning performance does not, however, give a complete picture of the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms. We have already stated that it implies a calculation of interest on invested capital (!) (the term is Trapeznikov's), major objective of which is to reduce excessive immobilizations (hidden reserves) and the time lag for those immobilizations which are yielding no "return" (unfinished investment projects). It also implies a certain flexibility in prices (we will return to this later).

Implicit evidently in these reforms is greater independence for the enterprises in the use of state funds placed at their disposal; also in setting prices; and, at least in the consumer goods sector, they result

in new relations between the customer and supplier, enabling the enterprises producing consumer goods to adapt more readily to customers' tastes and thereby to arrest the mounting trend to accumulate unsaleable stocks.

Actually this has been the direction of the practical reforms introduced into Soviet economic management since August 1964.

In a letter to the British weekly *The Economist* (October 31, 1964), Liberman himself cites the example of a group of enterprises in the garment industry in Moscow and Gorki, for whom the plan goals are now established by the competent *sovnarkhozes* in the form of the over-all turnover figure to be reached. The enterprise is free to select the styles and sizes of the garments to manufacture in order to achieve this figure, and it con-

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cludes contracts with the stores along these lines, adapting to the tastes of the public. In this way, the enterprise has an interest in increasing its *effective sales*; and since the stores, too, no longer have quantitative goals to achieve but a sales figure to increase (bonuses are paid on profit, especially on "unplanned" profit, that is to say, on a greater turnover than the goal fixed by the plan), they, too, have an interest in buying with discernment, so as to promote maximum sales. It is easy to see how strictly pragmatic this reform is, that is to say, how it serves to overcome a practical deficiency which appeared in Soviet economy long ago.

Prices set in the contracts between the factories and stores in the garment industry are flexible, that is to say, they fluctuate around the *average prices* set by the government but can go slightly above or stay somewhat below the indicated prices.

The Soviet press has devoted many articles to this new independence for enterprises, which, let us repeat, has been introduced so far only on an experimental basis and on a rather modest scale. Thus *Izvestia* of December 26, 1964 tells us that in a group of enterprises in the Lvov (Eastern Ukraine) *sov-narkhoze*, planning performance will henceforth be measured by two indexes: the quantity of production in its usual meaning, and profit.

More Cheaper Products

An article in *Pravda* October 4, 1964 about the Moscow garment firm mentioned by Liberman includes an initial balance sheet, drawn up by the assistant director, covering the first four months of the experiment. We find, on the one hand, that radical changes have been made in order to conform to customers' tastes. But there is also an indication that the practical effect has been a drop in the average selling price, that is to say, that the firm produced more low-priced garments and fewer expensive garments than before.

This sheds a revealing light on the real social structure of the Soviet "market," as compared with the "ideal" structure anticipated by the planners, and this revelation is not without interest. It relates closely to the conclusions of a sociological

study carried out in some typical Leningrad factories: out of 11,000 workers queried by means of questionnaires, about 30% expressed discontent with their living conditions and housing, about 24% expressed discontent with wage levels (*Trud*, Dec. 2, 1964). The prolonged wage freeze before the end of Khrushchev's rule is not unrelated to this dissatisfaction. Not unrelated to the dissatisfaction, too, was the haste with which Khrushchev's successors put an end to the wage freeze.

This example demonstrates how these "technical" reforms are by themselves incapable of solving the real problems posed at the present state of development of Soviet economy. For it is obvious that the presence of enormous stocks of unsaleable merchandise in the stores is not due solely to the poor quality of many of these products, but also to the inadequate level of purchasing power of wide layers of the population. If this were not so, it would be impossible to understand the new policy of holding special "bargain sales" in order to dump these stocks periodically! And the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms do not change much for this particular level of purchasing power.

Another aspect of the reforms is the reintroduction of the "firm" into Soviet economy, that is, the reorganization of a certain number of similar or closely related enterprises into a unit, thereby effecting certain rationalizations (especially in administration). Products of these firms are sold under a "registered brand name" (for example, the firm "Majak" in the ready-made garment industry at Gorki). In the Leningrad-Pskov region, six plants making electrical equipment have been reorganized into the firm "Elektrosila" and this has made it possible to achieve considerable economies through rationalization and specialization.

Finally, the reforms also imply a growth in the rights of factory managers and an improvement in the bonus system for managerial personnel. A "major material incentive" in favor of the bureaucracy will help it regain the efficiency which it lost in recent years — at least that is what the ideologists of the bureaucracy think! Beginning with 1964, the new bonus system

for "managerial personnel" ties the bonus amounts to the degree of utilization of installed capacity, and to the percentage of growth in this utilization from one year to another.

These bonuses are often of very great value: they amount to 23.5% of salaries in the machine-building plant "Krasni Proletarii" in Moscow, 26% of the salaries of highly skilled technicians in the "Voikov" foundry in Moscow, 30% of salaries for the managerial personnel of the fine cloth factory in Kupavino, etc. (*Trud* of Dec. 1, 1964).

What the Liberman-Trapeznikov Reform Does Not Mean

In a great many places, the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms provoked sensational comments which are not in the least bit justified. Commentators in the capitalist world have interpreted the reforms as an initial step in the USSR on the road leading back to capitalism. Others in the working-class movement have viewed them as an initial step towards the introduction of workers' control in Soviet industry, and towards a return to Soviet democracy, at least in the economic sphere. These interpretations are devoid of all foundation.

The fact that profit is used as an index of planning performance has nothing to do with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. As we have said, what is involved is a simple technical measure from which, by itself, no institutional conclusions whatever can be drawn. The funds invested in Soviet enterprises do not belong to the enterprises but to the state. The profit earned by these enterprises returns to this same state to the extent of 75%. The remainder can only be invested in the enterprises in conformity with targets of the plan.

The low or high level of this profit depends to a very large extent on the prices of raw materials and of the finished articles — once again fixed by the state. Under these conditions, the nationalized character of the means of production and the planned character of the economy are not fundamentally changed by using profit as an index of the efficiency of enterprises.

It is true that the fundamental formal difference between capitalist profit and Soviet profit now disappears: henceforth, one like the other

will flow from a calculation which includes interest for utilizing invested funds as an element in "cost." But this identity is purely formal. The capitalist enterprise which ends up without profits is compelled to close its doors and dismiss its personnel. The Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms do not imply (or should we say: do not yet imply?) a return to these delightful by-products of market economy.

Moreover, the *operating* independence of the enterprises hardly represents a step backward by Soviet economy towards capitalist economy; it serves only to correct the tumor of over-centralization dating back to the Stalinist period, when the desire to dictate every detail from a single "decision-making center" existed. The real danger begins when one passes from this operating independence to independence in decisions about prices, investments and employment; but the Liberman reforms do not imply this either (at least not for the moment).

Adaptation in the variety, quality and price of consumer goods is in and of itself a positive reform, so long as it does not end up by *hiding* social inequality behind a spread in prices, tailored to a spread in incomes ("something for every purse"). This "adaptation" exists in the capitalist system, too, but it can hardly be considered as a stage on the road to socialism . . .

In general, a *certain* use of the "laws of the market" is undoubtedly inevitable in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism; but in using these "laws," the leaders of a planned economy must understand that there is a basic and unavoidable *conflict* between the "law of value" and the principle of planning. The former tends to direct *investments*, and consequently production itself, in accordance with "effective demand" (that is to say, in accordance with the law of supply and demand), which would give a structure to this production identical with that of capitalism; whereas the latter tends to direct investments, and consequently production, in accordance with the criteria of social priority determined by the interests of the proletariat.

Just as the evaluation of the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms as "steps towards capitalism" is erroneous, so also is their evaluation as "steps towards Soviet democracy."

Far from being instruments of struggle against the bureaucracy, they really constitute methods of *materially interesting* the bureaucracy in a more efficient organization of management in the enterprises, are consequently methods of raising the bureaucracy's share in the distribution of the national income; they therefore fundamentally favor the bureaucracy.

This demonstrates once again how simplistic it is to equate "centralization" with "bureaucracy," since the bureaucracy really constitutes a *privileged caste*, which gets its privileges by virtue of the fact that it *controls the social surplus product*; consequently, as the economy grows, develops and becomes increasingly complex, this control may be exercised more effectively in a decentralized way than in a centralized way.²

The reforms which have been put into practice in the USSR, as a result of the Liberman-Trapeznikov proposals, are not limited in their consequences solely to a considerable increase in the incomes of the bureaucrats; they are often accompanied by an increase in their powers and prerogatives within the enterprises as well. Thus, according to an article which appeared in *Ekonomicheskaja Gazeta* (No. 39, 1964), directors will henceforth have the right to change certain of the workers' wage norms and forms of payment without prior approval by the central agencies; it is true that they will have to obtain the consent of "social organizations at the enterprise level" (that is to say, mainly of the trade union leaders); but the independence of the latter relative to the directors is well known . . . It is true that the director, who until recently had the habit of speaking of "my plant," now prudently says "our enterprise"; but as a Soviet journalist herself writes, at bottom "nothing has changed" (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*

²We must not forget that in *The Revolution Betrayed* Trotsky foresaw that in the event of a victory by the counterrevolution, neither planning nor nationalization of the means of production would be eliminated all at once, but that this would be accomplished in stages and essentially by way of "decentralization."

of March 5, 1963).

The Dangers of the Liberman-Trapeznikov Reforms

If these reforms are essentially of a technical character and do not change in any way the fundamental nature of Soviet economy, or its system of bureaucratic management, does this mean that they represent no danger to the normal functioning of the economy? We believe that the dangers are real ones. Today it is still a matter of *potential* dangers; but the logic of these reforms themselves will operate in the direction of reinforcing the dangers, rather than of overcoming them.

In this connection, moreover, it is significant that the economic reforms which were carried out in Czechoslovakia and which go much further than the reforms so far introduced in the USSR, clearly reveal this logic and exhibit a tendency which clearly points up these dangers.

On the purely social level, a "share in earnings" by the bureaucrats — and in the final analysis, this is what the new system of managerial bonuses "as a function of profit" boils down to — will tend to increase social inequality, not to reduce it. Even in Yugoslavia, despite the fact that the "share in earnings" is widened to include the workers collectives and is controlled by workers self-management, the result has been

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an increase in social inequality, not a decrease.³ In the USSR, where such control through workers self-management does not exist, the chances are that this tendency will be all the more pronounced.

Whenever acute shortages exist, the use of "economic stimulants" is no more democratic, nor do consumers find them any "more just," than the use of "administrative measures"; this is a well-known fact in capitalist economy itself. Working-class militants have a habit of calling it "rationing by the pocket book" and criticizing it as more unjust than egalitarian rationing. What is true in capitalist economy does not in the least cease to be so in Soviet economy. In the sphere of housing, for example, an application of "flexible prices" inspired by the "law of supply and demand" would lead to enormous injustices in the USSR, as it has already in Yugoslavia.

Market Laws

The effectiveness of the "laws of the market" should not be exaggerated; otherwise what becomes of the whole Marxist criticism of capitalism, not only of monopoly capitalism but also of "free competitive" capitalism, which is the application of the "laws of the market" *par excellence*? Adapting production to the tastes of the consumer can most assuredly eliminate the unsaleable stocks which are the result of stupid planning; but it is precisely the *determination* of production (of its range, variety, quality) by the market, under the conditions of "healthy competition," which winds up in periodic overproduction and equally scandalous waste. Driven out through the door, the "unsaleable stocks" return by the window.

It will be said that the whole problem is precisely that of *combining*

³In *Socialism and Worker-Management — The Yugoslav Experiment (Editions de Seuil, 1964)*, Albert Meister cites Yugoslav sources which indicate that between 1951 and 1961, the spread in salaries and wages widened greatly; in 1961 it was 10 to 1 (pp. 112-113); Tito speaks of a spread as great as 20 to 1 (pp. 358-359). And the author adds: "The widening spread in salaries has been accompanied by greatly increased 'fringe benefits' for the cadres." (p. 359).

a production which is, in the final analysis, *determined* by the plan (especially in the investment sphere), with a freer functioning of the market as a guide and inspiration to the planners. That is completely correct. Only, in the Liberman-Trapeznikov reform, the market inspires the plan (and is the remote control of production) *through the intermediary of the material interests of the bureaucrat*. This cannot be otherwise in a regime based on the bureaucratic management of industry. But this particular channel, in its turn, reacts on the basic elements of the problem and becomes a source of serious new contradictions.

When the bonus of the bureaucrat depends on the profit of "his" enterprise, he will have a natural tendency to seek out those conditions which will produce a maximum profit. This particularly implies a free search for suppliers (in the case of the previously cited Moscow firm making ready-made garments, the assistant director complained that the expected profit could not be fully realized because fabric suppliers did not make deliveries on time), and a free discussion of prices with them (without which such a search does not make much sense).

From that point on, directors will endeavor to establish the same relations between supplier enterprises and client enterprises that exist between enterprises and stores, or, in other terms, they will try to *carry into the sphere of the means of production, the same "flexibility"* (in the matter of prices as well) as is already allowed in the sphere of consumer goods.

The amount of profit does not solely depend on the flow of merchandise and on securing adequate supplies of tools and raw materials; it also depends on efficiency and on the scale of investments. From the moment that the scale of investments "materially interests" the bureau-

crats, they will seek to control and determine it along with the aim of the investments more and more directly. From then on, the Liberman-Trapeznikov reforms will create a continuously growing pressure on the part of the bureaucrats *in favor of a free determination of the quantity and quality of goods to produce, their prices, and of the amount of investment in each enterprise*. The logic of "bonuses as a function of profit, the common denominator of all the economic processes of the enterprise," must exert its force in this direction.

But what is rational from the point of view of each enterprise taken separately is not at all so from the point of view of the economy taken as a whole. And the formula of the academician Nemchinov, according to which "the general return is the sum total of the individual returns of each enterprise" (*Kommunist* No. 5, 1964), constitutes too flagrant an error to be explained simply as a lapse in understanding on the part of this famous scholar; what is involved is a typically *ideological* error, that is to say, one arising from a "bad conscience" and reflecting an obvious social interest.

Far from increasing the rationality of Soviet economy, the principle of autonomy for the enterprises, and of profit as the inspiration and guide to economic behavior, simply replaces one irrationality by another, that of a Pharaonic hypercentralization by that of particular egoism (of enterprises or of individuals).

The solution should not be sought in the *technical* side of management (although the matter of technique does have its importance!) but in its *social content*. What the apparatus was never able to avoid ("hidden reserves," waste, unproductive immobilizations, lost time), can only be progressively solved by workers self-management, mass control, free public discussion, the competition of different Soviet tendencies and parties for the right to direct economic policy. It is not a substitution of the market for the plan, but a combination of both with soviet democracy, at the plant level and the political level, which will restore order to the economy and give it a new start with unequalled verve.

March 1, 1965

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South Africa Freedom Struggle

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS delivered at THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the AFRICAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. April, 1962, in Cape Town

By I. B. Tabata

This is the first National Conference of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, which was founded at the beginning of last year. The name itself is aptly chosen. Anyone approaching the organization sees on its banners the central theme of its program. The organization stands firstly for democracy for all those who accept this country as their home and therefore regard themselves as Africans. Every human being who lives in this country and contributes to its welfare is a citizen and is therefore entitled to an equal say in the Government and management of the affairs of the country. In short, he is entitled to full democratic rights.

Clause 2c of the Constitution states that one of the aims of this organization is:

To struggle for the liquidation of national oppression of the oppressed people in Southern Africa, that is, the removal of all disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and color and the acquisition by the whole nation of those democratic rights at present enjoyed by only a small section of the population, namely, the white people.

The program shall be the Ten Point Program (for democratic rights) of the Non-European Unity Movement, as laid down by the founding conference of the NEUM in December, 1943.

This, then, puts the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa fairly and squarely within the fold of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). As a child of the Unity Movement it inherits the policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor, and the boycott as a weapon of struggle. It inherits also all the traditions of the Unity Movement, its intransigence in matters of policy, its unflagging devotion to principles. It treasures the experiences of the Unity Movement accumulated over the years of hard struggle.

In the coming battles APDUSA will draw from the arsenal of ideas of the parent body, but, like all children who grow up under the tutelage of their parents, APDUSA must expect and prepare itself for situations that have not been met before by the parent body. For this reason APDUSANS must steep themselves in the fundamental ideas and the guiding principles of the Unity Movement; for only thus will it be able to face up to the new situation.

From the start I would like to warn the Conference that this address may seem rather sweeping in scope and not coming down to the day-to-day problems that face the people. This is deliberate. We have recently held a Conference of the Unity Movement in which all the burning questions of the day were dealt with. I have been made

to understand that the papers read at that Conference are going to be published, if not separately, at least in the minutes.

Since APDUSA was part of that conference and will receive its share of the minutes, I deem it not only unnecessary but wasteful to cover the same ground. In addition to this, I have attempted to avoid anticipating the papers that will be read in this Conference. In view of these considerations I have decided to limit myself to directing the thoughts of the Conference towards certain aspects of our political life in this country.

Role of Workers and Peasants

The central theme of this address is chosen to bring home to the membership the importance, the vital importance, of those classes who are generally accorded a lowly status in society, the toiling masses who carry society on their backs. Clause (c) of our Constitution, under Program and Policy, states:

The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount in the orientation of the APDUSA in both its short-term and its long-term objectives. This is the first time to my knowledge that such a clause has been included in the Constitution of any of the organizations in the Unity Movement. This alone marks a de-

I. B. TABATA

I. B. Tabata, the President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, has devoted a lifetime to the struggle for liberation. In the early thirties, he joined the African Voter's Association, which was fighting for extension of the vote to all Africans over the age of twenty-one.

At that time, no nonwhite could sit in Parliament, but Africans and Coloreds had a limited franchise in the Cape Province. However, with the so-called Native Representation Act of 1936, Africans — who comprise nearly three-quarters of the population — were deprived of the last vestige of political rights.

Faced with the crisis of the proposed bill, Africans came together from all over the country to protest this attack and to form the All-African Convention, capable of welding the whole African population into a single unit. However, certain African leaders with a long attachment to liberals did not realize the necessity of severing *all* ties with white parties and launching an independent struggle.

For more than a decade they were caught up in actually operating the bogus Native Representation Act, occupying seats on a purely advisory Native Representation Council and urging the African people to take part in the dummy elections of three white "Native Representatives" to speak for nearly three-quarters of the population in a parliament of 150 representing the whites!

The formation of the Non-European Unity Movement (now the Unity Movement) during the Second World War marked a turning point in this struggle. The Unity Movement had a program for full democratic rights for all irrespective of race, a revolutionary demand in the political conditions of South Africa. From this program followed the policy of non-collaboration with



Tabata, 1942

the oppressors, meaning the complete rejection of the myth of inferiority and refusal to operate the segregated governmental institutions for a "child race."

Throughout the forties and early fifties, Tabata played an important part in the resistance which the All-African Convention was helping the peasants to organize against the "Rehabilitation Schemes," designed to deprive them still further of land and cattle.

As the fascist Nationalist Government in the fifties and still more since 1960, the year of the Pondoland revolt and the Sharpeville massacre, has mounted a ferocious attack on the Africans in the "Reserves," their spirit of resistance has deepened: Peasant Committees send leaders from Northern Transvaal and Zululand in Natal to the Transkei in the Cape Province, because they

have learned that united struggle under a correct program is the first necessity in the long, grim struggle that lies before them.

Harassment and Exile

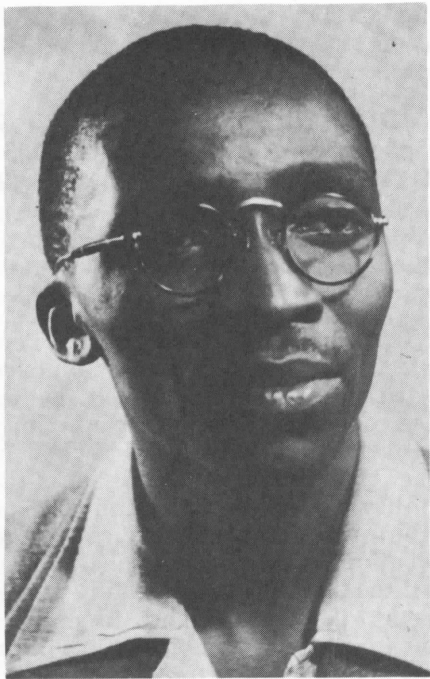
In 1955, the Nationalist Government placed Tabata under a five-year ban and confined him to the city of Cape Town. On the midnight that it ended, in the critical year 1960, he resumed his organizational work throughout South Africa under conditions of heightened government repressions and police activity, both in the towns and still more in the "Native Reserves."

A mixture of audacity and luck enabled him to escape continual police pursuit. But by May, 1963, he was advised that he should make his escape, since under the 90-Day Detention Act arrest was imminent. The police-van sat outside his door, but he escaped through Natal to Swaziland, a British Protectorate inside South Africa.

In 1961, in face of mounting political tensions, with the government applying both bribery and force to spread confusion among non-white leaders of various groups, the leadership of the Unity Movement established a national political organization, APDUSA, The African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, and made Tabata its president.

APDUSA was born in secret on the mountainside, but its influence has spread quickly among African, Colored and Indian workers and intellectuals in the towns, chiefly of the Cape Province and Natal. Many peasant committees in the Transkei, in Zululand and the Northern Transvaal have become affiliated to it.

Today, Tabata has found refuge in Lusaka, Zambia.



Tabata, 1942

velopment in the outlook of the Movement and in a way also reflects the times we are living in. If this address should succeed in illuminating the full meaning of the clause I shall be satisfied.

APDUSA Born in Time of Crisis

APDUSA is born during a time of crisis. If it is to survive, it will have to learn to adapt itself not only to the present conditions but to develop such foresight as to be able to anticipate events and adjust itself accordingly. This presupposes a knowledge of the various forces at work and therefore of the environment in which it has to live. Social crises are not accidental phenomena. They follow certain laws that govern the development of men as social beings. They are part and parcel of the evolutionary process of mankind.

Contrary to popular opinion, evolution is never in a straight line, gradual or peaceful. It is sudden, dramatic and convulsive. This is true of natural objects, such as plants and animals, and equally with the social organization of society. What is more dramatic than the appearance of a mutation which, thanks to its superior adaptability to the changing or changed environment, supersedes its original stock? Is there anything more productive of convulsions than the dramatic transformation of a social order during a social revolution? Yet these events, so different in form and appearance, obey each in its own way the laws of change and development.

In nature changes are taking place all the time unnoticed by us. The natural forces operating on our planet, the climate which is itself changing, and the intervention of the animal kingdom and other living things all produce a change of environment and this lays the basis for the appearance of new species. In human society man alters his own environment, chiefly by developing the means of producing his food and other necessities and comforts. These productive forces in turn acquire such a powerful influence that at a certain stage they impose on society the necessity for a drastic alteration of the social structure.

A social change differs from what one may call the "blind" evolution

in nature in that it involves a conscious intervention of man in his own destiny. And this intervention is of the very essence of progress. Now there is a unity in nature, and man being part of that nature lives in unity with it. In order to survive man has through the ages tried to adjust himself to nature. To do this he has sought to discover the laws of nature. All of science is devoted to this pursuit.

But it has taken a long time for man to discover that in the same way as natural phenomena obey strict laws, so does human society itself. Its development is governed by strict laws and it is the task of those who have undertaken to change society to discover the laws that govern social evolution.

If APDUSANS take their work seriously, they will have to realize that politics is a full-time job. The organization of the people is an essential task, but at the same time APDUSANS must find time to study. Politics is a science and those who do not understand this are lost. For they are unable to understand what is involved in the events taking place before their eyes. Science gives us conceptual tools to predict the future and it is this ability to predict that will enable us to survive.

In a time of social ferment many organizations spring up; society becomes prolific in producing its political offspring, but then the mortality rate also rises steeply. Many organizations die out and only those furnished with the proper means of adaptability survive. In other words, only those organizations which arm themselves with correct theory are able to live on and assist in guiding the struggles of the people towards a higher plane. We are at this moment living through such a state of ferment.

When capitalism is faced with an acute crisis it tends to move towards a totalitarian dictatorship. But a totalitarian regime of the fascist type is a condition of an unstable regime. By its very essence it can only be temporary and transitional. Naked dictatorship is a symptom of a severe social crisis, and society cannot exist permanently under a state of crisis. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period but it is incapable of perpetuating

itself.

A ruling class, like a wounded lion, becomes more vicious as it feels itself drawing near to its extinction. The more vicious it becomes, the more monstrous become the laws against the oppressed, the greater grows its sense of insecurity. The very condition of an acute social crisis means that the forces operating in society can no longer be accommodated within it. It is time to change the old social relationships.

Only that class that is called upon to do so, by virtue of its historical role, can help to solve such a crisis. It is the toiling masses, and in this country in the main the non-European oppressed, those millions of workers and peasants toiling on the land, in the mines and factories, who are destined to lead the country out of the crisis and create a more rational social order. It is they who create the civilization and lay the basis for a cultural development.

They, by virtue of their contribution, should be accorded their rightful place of dignity and worth in society. They should participate in the governing of the country for which they have done so much. Without their labor, all this magnificence, all this spectacular development, this wealth and progress would have been impossible. We shall try to convey to you how all society is indebted to the labor of those it so often despises.

Myth of "Western Civilization"

When illustrating a point it is often a good plan to direct the attention of the people to events far away; for distance enables us to see events in clearer perspective. It is often difficult for people to perceive the historical significance of their own activities; they are not able to step aside and examine with the eye of a historian the implications of their own action. Thus it is useful to refer to well-known events in the past in order to illuminate current history. I am here going to digress a little and bring to life the drama of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

As we take a cursory view of this period I hope in passing to demolish the whole myth of what is called "Western Civilization." It is time that our people recognized that they are not step-children of the so-called civ-

alized nations and that there is no such thing as "Western Civilization" created by the Westerners alone. There is only human civilization to which man all over the world contributed.

The people of Africa made as large a contribution to the sum total as any others. If, as we hold, human labor is the originator of all wealth, then we might justifiably claim that the people of Africa contributed a lion's share in laying the basis for the emergence of what is known today as "Western Civilization." This may seem a tall claim, so it becomes necessary for us at once to define our frame of reference. By the basis of "Western Civilization" in this context we mean the series of events that led to the emergence of industrialism in Europe, with its accompany Industrial Revolution.

It is our contention that the Industrial Revolution would have been impossible at the time and in the manner in which it took place, if it had not been for limitless slave labor drawn from the continent of Africa.

The discovery of the new world with its vast potential of sugar, cotton and tobacco had the effect of accelerating the slave trade. As countries like the West Indies, Cuba, Haiti — the whole of the Caribbean Islands — and Central and North America were developed by means of slave labor, the slavers intensified their rape of Africa with a ferocity hitherto undreamt of in history. It is estimated that in four centuries covering the 16th to the 19th century, fifty million slaves were transported across the Atlantic from the continent of Africa. So great was the concentration of slaves in some parts of the recently discovered New World, that in countries like Brazil and Venezuela more than half the population consisted of African slaves, ex-slaves and "Mulattoes."

Basil Davidson in his book *Black Mother* reports that by the end of the 18th century "the value of British incomes derived from trade with the West Indies was said to be four times greater than the value of British income derived from trade with the rest of the world." It was not only the profits made on the sale of slaves as commodities that made the slave trade so lucrative. It was the profits made from the

slave-grown sugar and cotton.

As Davidson states: "For many European merchants the rest of the 17th century was almost literally 'the century of sugar.' Tobacco became important and so did rum and West Indian coffee and cotton, but the grand consumer of slaves . . . and the great maker of profits for Europe was 'King Sugar.'"

By this time the economy of the European countries, which was a mercantile economy, was dynamically and inseparably linked up with the slave trade. Speculation was the great fury of the age. Great profits were made, the average being 300 per cent on investment. Davidson continues: "Little men climbed to power on the profits of sugar, tobacco and slaves. In 1720 England imported just over half a million tons of sugar and by the end of the century the average import was about five times as large. In Britain's rising accumulation of capital the West Indies was even more important than India."

With this dramatic rise in the slave trade there was a tremendous impetus in shipbuilding. In 1719 the port of Liverpool had only 18,371 tons of registered shipping, but by 1792 "this rose to 260,832 tons, and it was the Great Circuit trade of consumer goods, slaves, sugar, tobacco and rum that commissioned most of the tonnage."

The Great Circuit Trade

We might explain here what is meant by the Great Circuit trade. Slaves in the main were bought from African potentates. The media of exchange were all sorts of trinkets and other European manufactured goods. Chief amongst these were cotton goods and textiles. Slavers' ships on their outward journey were laden with cotton goods and yarn to be sold mostly in exchange for slaves in Africa. On their return journey the ships crossed the Atlantic Ocean laden with the slave cargo which was sold in the Caribbean islands, where depots had been established for supplying the rest of America with its quota of slaves.

From this point the same ships carried back to Europe the products of slave labor in the form of sugar and cotton to be sold at high prices on the home market. This completed the circuit. It is not difficult to imagine how with this rapid exchange of commodities en route

and with quick turnover, tremendous profits were made, sometimes reaching the fantastic figure of 700 per cent on the original capital investment.

This slave trade had a powerful effect on the European economy. It was not simply that it earned large sums of capital for reinvestment in the citadels of Europe. It also created new demands which in their turn set in motion tremendous activity directed towards the building of factories for manufacturing goods. New towns sprang up with their shops, banks and business houses; commerce thrived, providing a home market for the newly created cheap merchandise. Cecil Williams, quoted in *Black Mother*, writes: "What the building of ships for the transport of slaves did for 18th-century Liverpool, the manufacture of cotton goods for the purchase of slaves did for the 18th-century Manchester."

The same development took place in France and indeed the whole of Western Europe. To the merchants the Great Circuit trade was returning a regular high profit. Private profits were made, public opulence appeared, industries were founded, towns were built and a new class, the bourgeoisie, appeared on the scene with all its glory.

This was the time of the great Industrial Revolution. It was the time of the industrial inventions. New factories had created a demand for more coal. This could be met only if new and more efficient methods were devised. It was this new need that led to the discovery of the steam-pump for pumping water out of the ever-deepening coal mines. Out of this was developed the steam locomotive to run on rails, that is the train that carried goods to the seaports and to the other industrial centers.

In the textile industry, too, the same growth took place and gave an impetus to the discovery of new inventions. The inexhaustible demand for textiles called forth new and more efficient methods of production. In 1733 John Kay invented a mechanical shuttle to replace the hand-thrown shuttle. Five years later Lewis Paul came out with the means of spinning by rollers. In 1768 Hargreaves combined various inventions into his spinning jenny. Then Arkwright followed

with his "throstle" for spinning by the use of animal or water power.

By 1811 Britain had more than 300,000 spindles working on Arkwright principles. All these inventions were the work of craftsmen struggling to meet an apparently inexhaustible demand for cheap consumer goods. Export figures provide eloquent testimony to the extent that Britain benefited by this demand by way of accumulation of capital during this period. At the beginning of the 18th century British exports in textiles stood at about 23,000 pounds sterling. At the end of the century the export had grown to five and a half millions. "Industrialism was born," writes Basil Davidson, "and it was the West African trade in all its ramifications that presided over the event."

We have drawn this picture not merely to establish our claim to the sum total of the civilization and culture of mankind today by virtue of the contribution made by our forbears, but also for a much more important reason, namely, that it was the labor of the millions of nameless slaves that made possible the transformation of a mercantile economy in Europe to an industrial manufacturing economy, that is to say, from a primitive economy of a backward society to advanced industrialism. And this gave birth to new ideas that were to transform the nature of the society itself.

A new and powerful class, the bourgeoisie, had emerged. It could no longer tolerate the autocracy of the feudal aristocracy. It demanded such reorganization of society as would give it state power commensurate with its economic power. With this in view philosophers from this class worked out a system of ideas that were to be the guiding principles in their fight for dominance in society. Democracy was demanded as a condition of existence, without which no self-respecting man could live. The great revolutions in Europe were the logical sequence of the Industrial Revolution.

These, then, were some of the consequences of the great slave trade. Those nameless slaves who died in the sugar plantations, the cotton fields and the coal mines did not know that their labor was to lay the foundation for this magnificent structure, today known as "Western

Civilization," with all its culture, science and technology. The ignorant *backvelders* [white rurals] may claim that his forbears alone built it, but the facts give the lie to his boasts.

If we have not mentioned the contribution made by the millions of equally nameless white wage-slaves who were consumed by the Moloch of industrialism, it is because time and space do not permit us. We have no reason to minimize their contribution. We claim them as brothers to our forbearers in suffering, fellow slaves who lost their lives in the march of the progress of mankind. The point we are making is that labor, and labor alone, whether it be manual, intellectual or technical, is the creator of wealth and civilization. Only those who are actively engaged in the complex of production, administration and research are necessary to human progress. The rest are drones and parasites that feed on society.

Non-White Labor in South Africa

We are in a position to see by looking into the past what labor had done for mankind. Let us now turn our attention to our own country, South Africa. It was mainly the labor of the nonwhites that transformed the economy of the country in a short space of time from a pastoral agricultural economy to a mining industrial economy. The curious thing in our country is that while industrialism has taken root, the social relations insofar as the nonwhites are concerned are those of a feudal economy.

While the non-Europeans have contributed a lion's share in creating wealth and civilization in this country, the *herrenvolk* ["master race"] have excluded them from enjoying the fruits of their own labor. Flying in the face of history, they are at this moment desperately trying to legislate into being a dead and long-buried tribalism or barbarism. About this later . . .

It is almost a platitude to say that wealth in this country has been and is being built up by the slave labor of the nonwhites. This is easy to see. What, however, is not sufficiently appreciated, even by the non-Europeans themselves, is that the whole of the industrial life with all its ramifications rests almost en-

tirely on the African, Colored and Indian sweated labor.

If we accept this to be the truth, as we shall presently show, then it follows that all the superstructural activities, such as trade and commerce, communications, aviation, defense, social and cultural services, education (including "white" education) and all those activities which flow from an industrial economy are made possible in this country, thanks to the existence of a vast depressed nonwhite labor force. This means that the national income itself, which provides luxuries for a section of the whites and the protected higher wages for the white worker, rests on the sweated black labor.

In his book, *The South African Predicament*, F. P. Spooner devotes a whole chapter to what he calls the vulnerability of the economy. The word "vulnerability" is well chosen. We, too, shall devote a chapter to the vulnerability not of the economy but of *herrenvolkism*.

Spooner states: "The progress and strength of a country's economy are usually measured by the growth of the national income . . . A special feature of this development (in South Africa) has been the growth of the manufacturing industry, which today contributes more to the income of the country than either mining or agriculture. Its contribution for the year 1956-7 was not far short of the contribution made by the other two taken together. The following table shows the relative contributions made during that year.

	Income in Millions	Percentage of Total Geographical Income
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	277.1	14.4
Mining	259.7	13.5
Manufacturing (private)	452.9	23.5
Total Geographical Income	1,930.7	100.0

Spooner goes on to say: "These figures disclose that 51.4 per cent of the geographical income of the country are derived from agriculture, mining and manufacturing, the sources of income which constitute the foundation of the country's economy, the rest being mainly superstructure."

There are three things to note here:

- (1) that three industries, name-

ly, agriculture, mining and manufacturing constitute the foundation of the country's economy.

(2) that only 51.4 per cent of the national income comes from these three industries. The rest comes from the superstructure, that is to say, from those activities which are themselves dependent upon those three.

(3) that the income from manufacturing industry alone is almost equal to the other two together.

From this last most people draw the wrong conclusion, that it is the manufacturing industry that sustains the country's economy today. That this conclusion is wrong is revealed when we examine the balance sheet of exports and imports of the different industries. It must be remembered that all groups in varying degree depend upon the importation of raw materials and equipment. Spooner gives us the credit balance sheet of 1955 as follows (in millions of pounds sterling):

1. Agricultural industry	23
2. Pastoral Industry	76
3. Precious Mineral Industry	215
4. Base Mineral Industry	36
5. Others	8

But secondary industry shows a debit balance of 175 million pounds, leaving an overall credit balance of only 183 million available for direct imports. These figures reveal that, far from sustaining the country's economy, manufacturing industry is in fact being carried by the other two, namely, agriculture and mining industries. The latter alone earns a sufficient credit to pay for all the import requirements of the manufacturing industry.

In short, then, the manufacturing industry in this country is running at a loss in so far as external balance of trade is concerned. That is to say, it is unable to stand on its own feet. Yet insofar as society internally is concerned, it is the manufacturing industry that provides the biggest national income, the bulk of which goes to the white section of the population, who constitute a minority in the country. It is from this source that the extravagant salaries are paid to cabinet ministers and parliamentarians.

It is from it that the grand buildings and other luxuries are paid

for of the whole army of functionaries and hangers-on. It is this that pays for amenities for whites-only, the holiday resorts for whites-only, the swimming pools, civic centers, entertainments and other luxuries for whites-only. In brief, it is out of this income that whites are afforded an artificially high standard of living, while the great majority, the nonwhites, are languishing in poverty and perishing from preventable diseases, because they earn less than a living wage.

Agricultural and Mine Labor

We have already shown that the manufacturing industry is carried by the agricultural and mining industries. The question then is, who are the producers in these industries? For it is they who, in the last analysis, carry the whole country on their backs.

In the agricultural and pastoral industries, which, according to Spooner, earned 99 million pounds for imports in 1955, there were in 1957, 11,071 white employees, but 952,551 nonwhite workers. In the mining industry, including gold, diamonds and coal quarry mines, the biggest earner of foreign exchange, which made available for direct imports a sum of 251 million pounds in the same year, there were in 1959 a total of 62,025 whites, but 487,982 nonwhites. That means eight times as many nonwhite workers as white.

These figures leave not a shadow of doubt that it is the nonwhites of South Africa who carry the country on their backs. But figures at the best of times are cold and give only a shadowy picture of the reality. They have to be translated in terms of life itself, and this requires knowledge and a certain amount of imagination.

Earlier on in this paper we had digressed in order to deal at length with what happened during the 17th and 18th centuries when slave labor laid the basis for a new civilization, a capitalist civilization that was to lead to the present-day wonders and achievements in all branches of human knowledge. We showed how the sweat and sinews of those anonymous slaves built the foundations for a social structure that was to be the pride of man.

The sole purpose of doing this was to hold, as it were, the mirror

up before our own anonymous millions in South Africa today. It was to illuminate their own position of importance and worth in this country. They, too, in their turn, with their labor, slave labor, are laying the foundations for a yet more wondrous future. If only the oppressed people of South Africa knew their importance in the present social setup, they would not continue for another moment to tolerate the lowly status imposed on them. They would not remain Calibans to White Prosperos.

When dealing with the one-sidedness of the South African economy, Spooner inadvertently uses the phrase, "vulnerability of the economy." We say "inadvertently," because the term is charged with far greater implications than he thinks. In fact, if he had thought about it, he would have considered the picture he presents of the economy of the country as frightening in the extreme. As an economist he was concerned only with figures. He followed them with relentless logic, without considering the political implications of the situation.

We take these same figures, give them flesh and blood, and behold we see before our eyes the picture of the whole structure of South African society emerging with all its social, economic and political ramifications. Here we have a whole society, a prosperous White society, precariously perched on the backs of a discontented Black labor force. The implications of this situation are frightening enough to them, particularly as the nonwhites are now beginning to be aware of their worth and power. But this is their problem, not ours. What we are concerned with here is to show how this economic structure dictates a certain course of action on the part of the *herrenvolk*.

The Mines and Cheap Black Labor

Long before Verwoerd came to South Africa, imperialism had mapped out a political and social order that would maintain and perpetuate the existing economic structure. Every *herrenvolk* government is charged with the duty of protecting the mining industry as the primary industry round which others revolve. All laws passed by every parliament of the *herrenvolk* had to bear this in mind. Gold mining consumes a

terrific amount of unskilled labor. Therefore Parliament had to see to it that the whole of the nonwhite population, from which its labor is drawn, was kept mainly illiterate or semi-literate.

This became the policy of every successive government since Union. That is why, long before the Nationalist Party was formed, there was already a separation in education between the various racial groups. That is how it came about that the educational monstrosities known as "Colored Education" and "Native Education" were born. The mines demanded cheap labor. They had to make huge profits for the investors as well as provide foreign currency for import requirements for secondary industry. Therefore the wages of the whole nonwhite population have to be depressed.

It became the task of whatever government was in power to keep the non-European wages low, no matter in what category or industry they were employed. The mining industry, by virtue of its primacy in the economic life of the country, dictates the wage policy for all its potential employees, no matter where they happen to be temporarily working. This is the source of wage differentiation according to racial groups in South Africa.

In the eyes of the *herrenvolk* every child who is born black is a potential mine worker. If, on growing up, he is fortunate enough to escape the mines and find employment in some other occupation or profession, he nevertheless does not escape the implications of having been born into that section of the population that constitutes potential mine-labor. A nonwhite clerk or teacher may have the same or even better qualifications than his white counterpart, but he cannot climb over the wage barrier that barricades him in the same camp with the mine workers.

The mines demand an inexhaustible source of labor. Therefore the government of the country has to make laws to make this labor available. Long before the term "*apartheid*" was known of, the government of the day created a special department, the Native Affairs Department (NAD) to work day and night at this problem of labor. It had created what are known as the "Native Reserves" in which they

enclosed that section of the population which was expected to work in the mines. It was not for lack of land that these reserves were made small. They were overcrowded by design, so that the population, unable to support itself, would be forced to seek work in the mines at low rates of pay.

As the mining industry expanded there sprang up secondary industry. Trade and commerce also grew and towns sprang up, increasing in size as the various industries increased. These in turn demanded more labor. The government had to legislate for these new demands. Thus more laws against the non-Europeans came fast and furious on the statute book.

For a time, when South African economy was mainly agricultural and mining, it had been hoped that African labor alone would suffice. Consequently the Governments of period concentrated their racial laws mainly on the Africans, leaving the attack on the other nonwhite sections in abeyance. But when the economy changed into an industrial manufacturing economy, it became obvious that the African population alone would not be sufficient and that the other two sections of the nonwhites, the Coloreds and the Indians, would have to be roped in.

Labor and Legislation

The tremendous expansion that took place after the last world war did not alter the basic structure of the economy. It merely expanded it. There was a great boom in secondary industry resulting in the building up of heavy industry, the growth of many factories and the springing up of many towns. And all of these demanded more and more labor. Then there was the discovery of new gold mines in the Free State, far richer than those in the Transvaal. This created an acute shortage of labor.

The *herrenvolk* were faced with an insoluble problem — insoluble within their own frame of reference. The boom in industry, trade and commerce gave them huge profits, and to their sons and daughters lucrative positions. But all this expansion of activity drew its labor from the same limited source. Since the very existence of the secondary industries depended on the gold mines, they could not afford to de-

prive the golden goose of its life-blood. Parliament had to make available other sources of labor.

It will be remembered that in 1943, when the United Party was still in power, steps were taken to form the Colored Advisory Council (CAC) to work with a subdepartment under the Department of Social Welfare. This was the beginning of the present-day Colored Affairs Department (CAD) and the Union Council of Colored Affairs. It was already known that there were rich deposits of gold in the Free State and that double the size of the existing labor force would be necessary to extract it. Thus the United Party set about a "Native Affairs Department" for the Colored and the Indian sectors. It was to be a department of state that would specialize in the field of making labor available.

The 1948 elections that brought the Nationalist Party into power relieved the United Party of the task. When the Nationalist Government took over it created nothing new. It had no plans different from its predecessors. How could it? It was faced with the same problems that were dictated by the economic structure of the country. What was new in the situation was the greater urge for super-exploitation and a much more acute labor shortage.

The Broederbond [inner corps of the Nationalist Party] government, unimpeded by any necessity to pay lip service to democracy, took the machinery created by its predecessors and used it with a ruthlessness beloved of fascists. They did not depart one whit from the policies of the previous governments. If anything, they pursued them with a brutal logic characteristic of men with a narrow vision, untrammelled by the wider implications of their policies.

The point we are making is that without a radical alteration of the socio-economic setup in this country, it is not possible for any *herrenvolk* government to depart from the so-called traditional policy, whether it is called *apartheid*, segregation, multi-racialism, or by any other name. For it is not the names politicians give to their policies that matter, nor is it the smooth, oil tongues or vulgar formulations that decide the issue. It is the hard economic factors that dictate the

policy and program of the government in power.

Those woolly-minded non-European politicians who fail to grasp this fact will always remain abject sycophants of this or that section of the *herrenvolk*. Those simpletons who cry nostalgically for the return of the United Party days, on the ground that they are the "lesser evil," reveal an abysmal ignorance of the forces at work. If the "lesser evil" of yesterday were in power today, under the pressure of the prevailing urgent problems it would long ago have transformed itself into the "greater evil."

That is why it is so ludicrous to see some non-European intellectuals and politicians denouncing the Nationalist Party and in the same breath appealing to and even aligning themselves with the United Party and the ex-United Party now organized as the Progressive and Liberal Parties. This is tantamount to appealing to the old Nationalist Party of more peaceful days as against the present-day Verwoerdian (Nationalist) Party, as though there were any intrinsic difference between the two.

It is not that the Nationalist Party is especially vindictive towards the nonwhites, nor that it is actuated by a desire to settle scores with them for some past grievance, nor is it actuated by hatred against all people of color. Such motives and feelings are irrelevant to the practical questions of government. The Nationalist Party happens to be in power at a time of crisis both internal and external. For the moment we shall pursue the internal problems which it is desperately trying to solve.

We have shown above how the whole economy of the country is precariously perched on the mining industry. This is to say in plain language that all social life and all the activities of society in this country as we know them today are made possible by the smooth running of the mining industry. But events today, both internal and external, are threatening this main prop. The mines, unable to find sufficient labor within the Union of South Africa, had been in the habit of recruiting labor from the neighboring countries beyond its borders.

For years the Portuguese government has been making a roaring



SHARPEVILLE, South Africa, March 21, 1960. For two days Verwoerd's police had machine-gunned unarmed crowds demonstrating against apartheid laws. The event showed the complete savagery of the white fascist South African government to the oppressed black masses. Before the slaughter, the demonstrators announced the march would be nonviolent in the Ghandist tradition.

trade with South Africa by hiring out its black colonial subjects — slaves — to work in the mines. The Tomlinson Commission reports that 60 per cent of the labor force in the gold mines of South Africa comes from the countries outside its borders. Now, with the revolt of the oppressed Africans under the Portuguese iron heel, coupled with the agitation against the South African *herrenvolk* government by all the emergent African States, the danger to the South African economy becomes apparent. If all the neighboring states decide to broaden their boycott of South African goods so as to include stoppage of their labor supplies, it is not difficult to imagine the reeling blow that would be dealt to South Africa by such a decision.

With things as they stand today, a sudden dislocation of the mines would send the whole economy of the country toppling down with a crash. It is the threat that this situation holds that hangs over the *herrenvolk* like the sword of Damocles. It is the fear of the collapse of the country's economy that is haunting the *herrenvolk* and

making them act like demented men.

We are not at the moment dealing with the larger and more important cause of their apprehensions, namely, the political upsurge threatening to abolish *herrenvolkism* itself. We are still pursuing the economic aspects of the matter, the threat of an economic collapse. The *herrenvolk*, acting through the ballot box, handed over the state power to that section which has distinguished itself by its ruthlessness in dealing with the oppressed. The Nationalists are in power to defend *herrenvolkism* in a time of crisis. They make no bones about their plans. They make no secret of their intentions. They have no qualms about brandishing their sabres. They have been entrusted with the task of running the State. They have declared a holy war on all those dissenters who do not believe that it is the sacred right of the *herrenvolk* to live off the sweat of the "stepchildren of God."

Their first duty was to ensure that they removed the threat to the economy of the country coming from the neighboring territories. They have to do everything in their

power to make the mining industry independent of foreign labor. For this they have to comb the population of every able-bodied male and female amongst the nonwhites and make them available for work in the respective places of employment, the mines, the white farms and industry. The Broederbond Government passed the Group Areas Act and promptly declared the whole of South Africa one huge White Group Area, throwing all the nonwhites into little enclaves labeled respectively "Bantustans," "Colored-stans," and "Indian-stans." These are labor reservoirs from which they will be able to draw all their labor requirements.

The Group Areas Act enables them to comb the country with a fine comb, to drive every nonwhite out into his group area. Those who own property and have an independent means of livelihood, like the Indian merchants for instance, will have to lose all that and move into the concentration camp. It is decreed that the only legitimate means of livelihood for the children of Ham is to serve the congregation, that is, the *herrenvolk*. These Bantustans and Colored-stans, so-called townships or homelands, are nothing else but reservoirs of labor with high-sounding names.

Within these enclaves law as it is known in any civilized country, with the right of habeas corpus, will be abolished and the policemen-chiefs in the reserve will wreak their vengeance on the people, controlling and regimenting their lives. For only in this way will they be put in a position to supply the required quotas of labor at any given time. The same system of drafted labor that the Portuguese used before the revolt in West Africa will be introduced into these segregated "stans." There the plantation owners and other employers used to send to the Native Affairs Department their quotas for supplies of labor, in the same way that one puts in orders for groceries or so many bags of sugar and potatoes.

The Native Commissioner would pass on the order to the chiefs, who were bound to supply the required number of laborers. In many cases the chiefs received special bribes to encourage them to execute the orders quickly. It requires little imagination to picture

what methods these barbarous chiefs used in order to force the people out of the villages to go and work in the slave gangs. The *herrenvolk* are never overscrupulous about the methods used to obtain labor. Their only concern is that they get sufficient labor supplies.

The Portuguese always denied with sanctimonious indignation any charge of ill-treatment against the blacks. They hotly asserted that the blacks came voluntarily to work in the gangs; they were sent there by their own chiefs, who have their welfare at heart. In this way the Portuguese master who had handed over the whip to his lackey, the chief, could deny that he was responsible for the welts of the whiplash on the bodies of his workers. This is the system that is being recreated in South Africa under the grand name of "Self-Government."

Bantustan "Law"

It is not accidental that in the "Bantustans" (for Africans) the system of law itself is going to be changed. To cover this up they pretend that there will be law courts with a hierarchy of Appeal Courts leading up to the Appellate Division, but the fact is that cases are going to be tried by ignorant chiefs under tribal law — the same chiefs who are the servants of the *herrenvolk* agency. The introduction of that tribal law is one of the most sinister aspects of the whole plan. First it is intended to deprive the population of the protection of law, as known in any civilized community.

Secondly, it is designed to enable the chiefs to carry out any order against the people issued by the *herrenvolk* Government. Thirdly — and this is important — it is designed to abrogate the legal rights to property, together with all those property relations which are established by law in any capitalist system. It is designed to throw the whole population into a tribal milieu, to be governed by a tribal law wherein individualism and individual effort are outlawed.

The judicial system imposed upon the "Bantustans" brings into bold relief all the enormity of what is called Bantu Education. It is a logical sequence and complement of that iniquitous system. Bantu Education seals off the whole population from the intellectual life of the world. The judicial system com-

pletes the process. The present lawyers will be useless in the Bantustan courts. There is no written tribal law. For precedents the court will have to refer to some decision in a similar case taken centuries ago by a Chaka, Hintsá or Moshoeshoe [famous African chiefs], and these decisions are brought down by folk law.

Litigants who require legal advice will seek out some old octogenarian who may still remember what his forbearers told him in his youth. These will be the lawyers in demand in these courts. In such a situation what need will there be for any child to take up law as a profession? This, taken together with Bantu Education and the whole system of retribalization, means the strangulation of the people. There is no depth to which the *herrenvolk* will not sink in order to make sure of the maintenance of *herrenvolkism* with all the oppression that that implies.

These are like those schemes of mice and men which history in its relentless march sweeps into the limbo of forgotten things. And the non-European oppressed of South Africa will be only too glad to assist in that process.

South Africa and World Crisis

The *herrenvolk* of South Africa have far greater problems to worry about the local ones. They are caught in the grip of a world crisis. While they are still struggling to maintain feudal relations in South Africa, the world in general has reached a stage in which capitalism, having attained the highest peak in its development, imperialism, is now engaged in a battle for survival.

The East, with its socialist economy, headed by the Soviet Union and China, is locked in a life and death struggle against the capitalist West under the hegemony of America and Britain. The two systems cannot exist side by side indefinitely. Either socialism or capitalism must survive in the end. The battle of these two systems, as represented in these opposing Titans, is rocking the world. All countries are being drawn into it in one way or another. South Africa is now feeling the effects of this war.

South Africa is divided into three main political camps. The two *her-*

renvolk camps, having the same aims, differ only in their methods of achieving those aims. The third camp, that is the oppressed, is fundamentally opposed to the other two. The divisions amongst the local *herrenvolk* are sharpened by external events which flow from the larger war between capitalism and socialism.

This war takes many forms. It sometimes breaks out into a shooting war, limited in scope, and at other times it shifts back to the "cold war" in its various aspects, economic, political and with threats of nuclear warfare.

The "Cold War"

Both sides are preparing for an all-out war which will settle the dispute between the two systems. In these preparations each side is trying to win over as allies the so-called uncommitted countries. This is of the very essence of the "cold war." The UN, as a public forum, reflects the maneuverings of the two camps and affords the world an opportunity of gauging the varying fortunes in the battle for the so-called uncommitted countries.

The West finds itself with certain definite disadvantages. All the emergent states still remember the centuries of oppression and humiliation to which they were subjected by Western imperialism. To them colonialism is not dead. Every act on the part of the Western powers is watched with grave suspicion.

The colonial and ex-colonial peoples have not forgotten the feel of the whiplash administered by those same people who today offer the hand of friendship. The socialist East presses home its point of vantage. It accuses the West of hypocrisy. It argues that imperialism has not changed and cannot change its rapacious nature. If it can no longer afford to hold down its colonies by force, it will enslave its colonial peoples by economic means.

It was imperialism in its hunt for super-profits that originally introduced the color-bar and placed a stigma on all people of color. It was imperialism that originated the theory of the inferiority of nonwhites. To this accusation the West has no reply. It is now trying its best to bury its past. It is in a hurry to establish new exploitive

relations with the ex-colonies under the guise of this new so-called independence.

In this way they seek to establish capitalist exploitive relations without the stigma of racism. In the battle to win over the nonwhites throughout the world, imperialism is trying to forget its racist policies. It is in this respect that South Africa has become the polecat in the community of Western nations.

The South African government under the leadership of the Nationalist Broederbond, untrammelled by the wider considerations of the "cold war," has taken a granite stand on its racial policies. It upholds *herrenvolkism* as a noble ideal and defends it with the fanaticism of a people waging a holy war.

But this 18th-century mentality is an embarrassment to imperialism. It would like a more enlightened section of the *herrenvolk* to take over the reins of government and bring South Africa into line with the rest of Western policies.

It is this intervention of imperialism that has sharpened the division between the two *herrenvolk* camps. The Progressive and Liberal Parties, acting as agents of imperialism, are offering crumbs to a section of the oppressed nonwhite leadership in order to win them over to the camp of imperialism. That is why a number of intellectuals, together with nonwhite merchants, are veering over to these parties.

In so doing, they are renouncing the battle for liberation of the oppressed and throwing their lot with imperialism in its fight for survival. It is not necessary here to explain that a replacement of one *herrenvolk* government by another would not make the slightest difference to the sufferings of the workers and poor peasants. Neither the Progressive Party, nor the Liberal, nor any other *herrenvolk* party can bring about a radical change as long as the present economic and social structures remain unchanged.

Verwoerd with his Broederbond sees the salvation of *herrenvolkism* in the retribalization of the nonwhites, splitting them up into various ethnic groups and presenting each one with its own policeman-chief. These policemen-chiefs are going to be the front line in the defense of *herrenvolkism* in this country. In the same way the in-

tellectuals constitute the front line in the defense of imperialism.

The Path of Liberation

The rest of the oppressed must turn their backs on both sets of agents, on those defending *herrenvolkism* and those defending imperialism. APDUSANS recognize that neither imperialism nor South African *herrenvolkism* will ever assist them in the struggle for liberation. Only the oppressed people themselves, together with those who have irrevocably cast in their lot with them, can solve the problem.

APDUSA believes that in any society people who create wealth and civilization, and are therefore responsible for the progress of mankind, are those who provide labor in its many forms. Here in South Africa the bulk of the people who create the wealth of the country are precisely those despised and neglected workers in the gold and the coal mines, those workers on the sugar plantations, the white farms and in the "Native Reserves."

We are not saying that the white worker does not make his contribution, but we are saying that it is the majority of the oppressed nonwhites who contribute the lion's share to a civilization, the fruits of which they are not permitted to enjoy. It is those nameless millions who have been reduced to a position of Calibans who carry the whole of South African society on their backs.

This is the first lesson that every APDUSAN must learn. For it is only when we realize the supreme importance and worth of the toiling masses that we shall be able to adjust our attitude properly towards them. Only then will the intellec-

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tuals in our midst rid themselves completely of any suggestion of condescension in their dealings with the masses. This is the *sine qua non* for the proper integration of the leadership with the oppressed masses.

APDUSANS turn to the masses not with the idea of using them or their numbers but of identifying themselves with them, drawing strength and inspiration from them, while at the same time imparting to them that feeling of confidence, self-esteem and pride in their own achievements. Our belief is that those who create must decide what is to be done with what they have created. The producers of wealth in a society must be in the government of the country. That is our attitude.

We have spent some time analyzing the economic and social structure of the country in order to show how this determines the policies of every *herrenvolk* government in power. The picture that emerges suggests a solution to our problems. It suggests an approach to the task of *organization*. It reveals the weak spots in the armor of *herrenvolkism*, as well as our own sources of strength.

I shall sum up this address with a few remarks on the Trade Union question. But let me first emphasize the theme of my address by quoting once more Clause (c) of our Constitution:

"The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount in the orientation of

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APDUSA, both in its short-term policy and long-term objectives."

Our Constitution enjoins us to put in the forefront of our work the problems of the workers. In order to gain their confidence we must not only find out their special problems but actively participate in their daily struggles in the factories, the mines, the sugar plantations and the farms.

Trade Unions

First of all we must examine those organs which are supposed to belong to the workers, namely the trade unions. As things stand today, every officially recognized trade union has agreed to partition its members according to race. This alone renders them incapable of performing the function of true trade unions.

In this sense it is justifiable to say that there are not, and never have been, true trade unions in South Africa. What does exist are workers' organizations created by law and ringed round with legislation in such a manner that they serve only the interests of the bosses. The law of the country excludes the majority of workers from trade union organizations.

The minority who are allowed to organize themselves can only have their trade unions recognized if they split themselves up according to their racial groups. From this alone it is clear that such organs cannot possibly serve the interests of the workers. They are emasculated bodies kept for the convenience of the bosses and the ruling class as a whole.

The so-called trade union movement in South Africa is merely part of an intricate machinery for negotiation created by the bosses themselves for the control of the workers. The leadership cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as leaders of the working class. Its function is not only to deceive the workers into thinking that they have organizations to fight for their rights, but to curb their militancy and direct it into harmless channels of negotiation.

Such leaders are the policemen who stand guard over the interests of the employers. The very fact that the leadership of the official trade unionism has agreed to the partitioning of the workers according

to color, as a condition for recognition, means that they have consciously sold themselves to the bosses. It means that they have agreed to the tying of the workers hand and foot and placing them at the mercy of the employers.

It is time that the whole concept of "recognized" trade unions was examined. APDUSANS should pose the question before the workers. What does the term "recognition" mean? It means that only those trade unions would be recognized by the government and the employers which have committed themselves in advance to be the tools of the bosses. Only those unions would be recognized which agree to the terms and conditions laid down by the government, including the renunciation of the strike weapon.

It is obvious from this that if the workers are to build effective organs for their protection, they can only do so outside the framework of "recognized" trade unions. The only legitimate recognitions which must be the concern of the workers is not recognition by the government but by the workers themselves. *For a trade union is their own weapon.*

APDUSANS, then, must go to the factories to discuss these matters. When the workers understand what a trade union should look like, they will build their own organs of defense and attack and fight for their rights. In these organs they will have no *color bar*.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I should like to say that if this address succeeds in directing the thoughts of the Conference towards the necessity of finding a solution to the crisis that faces this country, and convinces the members that only through the efforts of the toiling masses is it possible to put an end to this crisis, I would be satisfied.

We believe that only that class which has a historical future can lead society out of the crisis. History has placed the destiny of our society in the hands of the toiling masses. If we are to succeed in our task of liberation, we must link ourselves dynamically and inseparably with the laboring classes.

Without them we are nothing. With them we are everything, and nothing can stand in our way. No power on earth can hold us back in our march.

Russia vs. Germany

By Milton Alvin

RUSSIA AT WAR, by Alexander Werth, E. P. Dutton, 1964, 1100 pp., \$10.00.

Twenty years have passed since the end of the Second World War, a new generation has grown up and yet there is much regarding Soviet participation in the conflict that is unknown to Americans. The details of the war from the Russian side were not well publicized here during the course of the war. The elapse of two decades and all that has happened in that time has served to push the events of 1941 to 1945 far into the past.

All the more to be welcomed, therefore, is the work of Alexander Werth who makes these times real again and provides us with little known and barely remembered events of great importance. Werth was war correspondent for the London *Sunday Times* and the BBC. A native of Russia, (he emigrated to England at the age of 17) he speaks the language. He was in the Soviet Union for the entire period of the war except a few months. He traveled widely to many parts of the country including the fighting fronts, spoke to many disparate elements ranging from top political and military figures to rank and file soldiers and workers. First hand experiences, interviews and impressions give the book the stamp of a truthful account of what he saw and heard.

Staggering Destruction

The vast destruction of lives and property that marches across the pages of this book in seemingly never ending cadence is staggering. Russia lost an estimated 20 million dead, very likely more than all the other combatants put together. Numerous cities and towns were completely destroyed and much of the countryside ruined. An estimated one million people starved to death in Leningrad alone during the time it was virtually surrounded by the Nazi armies.

When Hitler launched his invasion in June 1941 he got the jump on the Soviets and quickly overran a large portion of European Russia. The Nazi legions soon stood at the gates of Moscow, encircled Leningrad and penetrated deep into the Caucasus. In the process, a vast amount of Soviet industry was captured or destroyed and many hundreds of thousands of its armed forces captured or

killed. It was a staggering blow, one from which few, if any, thought the Soviet Union could recover.

Yet it did recover, girded itself for more blows to come and went on to ultimate victory. How did this happen? Werth's account gives us the details of the battles, of the reactions to the events from many quarters, even how and why certain decisions were reached, sometimes far-reaching decisions that affected not only the conduct of the war but the post-war period as well. But in writing a narrative history of the events he does not probe all the way to the bottom into the reason why the Soviet Union triumphed in the end.

The answer lies in the different social bases of the two nations. The Nazi army was a true reflection of German capitalist society. Organized not only by class but also by caste it represented the specific capitalist society of the Nazis. The Russian army, despite certain bourgeois trappings grafted on to it by the Stalin regime, in the final analysis reflected the Soviet society. Hence the war between nations was at the same time a social struggle between two different and irreconcilable systems. This class struggle aspect of the war determined its final outcome in favor of the historically progressive side.

An example of the way the Soviet economy was geared to the war after the initial onslaught of the Nazis tells us a great deal about the different social characters of the contending sides. The Russians, operating with a nationalized economic system, quickly moved enormous numbers of manufacturing facilities out of the road of the Nazis to the relative security of eastern regions. At the same time they mobilized huge numbers of workers and built entirely new war production industries in remarkably short order. Such steps taken with a minimum of hesitation, actually with great speed and effect, are inconceivable under a capitalist system where even "total" mobilization for war requires long negotiations with private owners of industry. American experience during the Second World War is illuminating in this respect.

The Russian mobilization of industrial facilities must be put down as one of the principal reasons for ultimate victory. This, in turn, was a product of

the Revolution that established the nationalized economy. More than any other single feature of the struggle, this served to delineate the different social systems contending in this bitter life-and-death struggle.

There could have been an even more important cause for the Soviet victory, one that Stalin did not choose to utilize: a revolutionary appeal to the German soldiers.

After World War I

The War ended in 1945 in an entirely different way from the First World War in 1918. After the 1917 Russian Revolution had established the Lenin-Trotsky regime in power and after a precarious peace had been negotiated at Brest Litovsk, the new Soviet regime continued to make revolutionary propaganda among the German troops. This had its effect. When the war-weary Germans ended the conflict in 1918 they overthrew the Kaiser and established a parliamentary republic.

The Second World War did not end in the overthrow of the Hitler regime by the Germans. Instead, the Russian, American and British troops invaded the country from several sides and destroyed the Nazi regime from without, so to speak.

The principal reason for this failure to overthrow the Nazis from within lies in the attitude of the Stalin regime towards the German people. For the most part the Stalinists adopted a chauvinistic attitude towards ALL Germans. Led by Ehrenberg, who became Stalin's main spokesman, the Soviet publicists conducted a nationalistic orgy against Germans one and all that must have struck fear of a Soviet victory into the hearts of anyone on that side. It was not until Soviet troops stood well within Germany that this chauvinistic campaign was leashed and such propaganda played down.

This nationalistic attitude of the Soviet leaders had its effect too. It inhibited any tendency to cooperation between rebels on the German side and the Soviet Union and left a political void when the hostilities finally came to an end. In these circumstances, with no independent force on the scene, the allies carved Germany up and occupied its parts. This deplorable situation, which could have been prevented, exists to this day.

The contrast between the Lenin-Trotsky attitude towards Germany and Stalin's bears within it all the lessons of the differences between a revolutionary Marxist regime and a nationalistic and bureaucratic one which seeks under all circumstances, even war, only to defend its own interests, even when such interests come into conflict with those of the world revolution. There is a lesson here on the present behavior of the new Russian rulers of the post-Stalin era with regard to China, Vietnam and other nations that formerly were colonies or semi-colonies.

Arrests...

(Continued from Page 66)

fense Committee illustrates a different pattern of repression: a gradual intensification of persecution over a period of many years, culminating in the sentencing of the victims to long (in reality, indefinite) prison terms.

Leo L. Sihlali was born and reared in Cape province. By dint of extraordinary ability and energy, he was able to win one of the rarest possessions that a black in South Africa can acquire: a university education. Along the way, he also gained something more dangerous than all else to the ruling powers of that Republic: an intense and lucid political consciousness.

After completing his university studies, Mr. Sihlali became a secondary-school teacher. For some years, in the face of the increasing oppressiveness of the tyranny and in spite of his political and civic activities, Mr. Sihlali's personal life was spared. An outstanding teacher and an exceptional leader, he advanced rapidly in his profession and was elected President of the Cape African Teachers' Association.

Then, in 1955, the Bantu Education Act was implemented in the Cape. This law, passed in 1953, re-organized the South African educational system in such a way that Africans of different groups would be isolated from each other culturally and linguistically and that all Africans would remain "uninfected" by any ideas through which they might understand and change the world which oppresses them. The Cape African Teachers' Association had been in the vanguard of the opposition to the Act. As a consequence, all members of the Executive of the Association, including Mr. Sihlali, were summarily dismissed from their teaching posts and were black-listed throughout South Africa. From the day of his discharge, Mr. Sihlali's life became an unending struggle to feed his family and to find the opportunity to continue his political work; it became a struggle for a chance to struggle.

He was expelled from the city of his birth: because he had grown up elsewhere and was unemployed, he had no right of residence there. He was expelled from the city in which he had grown up, owned a house, and had taught for many years: because he had been born elsewhere and was unemployed, he had no right of residence there. As soon as he had found a job as a construction worker, his employer was visited by the police; Mr. Sihlali was fired immediately and without explanation.

Finally, with the aid of friends, he was able to open a small business. This enabled him to get the precious residence permit, to eke out a living, to continue his political work, and to be reunited with his family. (After his dismissal from the teaching profession, Mr. Sihlali had sent his wife and children to live with his mother, where they were at least assured of shelter, if not food. His children became seriously ill; later, when they were able to receive adequate medical attention, they were found to be suffering from malnutrition.)

The harassment continued: His home and shop were raided by the police again and again; books, letters, business papers were confiscated. His shop was frequently burglarized, but the thieves were never caught nor his property recovered. During the General State of Emergency, declared after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, Mr. Sihlali escaped to Bechuanaland. After a few weeks he returned to South Africa and, as President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, worked underground in Johannesburg, in Natal, and in the Cape. In 1964, he was finally caught by the police, banned, and placed under house arrest.

Louis L. Mtshizana has had a similar fate. Mr. Mtshizana is a lawyer who has defended hundreds of persons charged with political "crimes." His skill as an attorney as well as his own political activities — he was formerly Chairman of the East London branch of the

Society of Young Africa, an affiliate of the Unity Movement — made him particularly disliked by the police. He was framed on a weapons-possession charge and, although acquitted and awarded damages for false arrest, he was placed by the police under ban for five years.

In 1963, he defended some school-boys indicted under the Suppression of Communism Act. He advised them of their constitutional right to refuse to answer certain questions. This advice, in the opinion of the police, was tantamount to "attempting to defeat the ends of justice." For this "crime," Mr. Mtshizana was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Pending the outcome of the appeal, which has not yet been decided, Mr. Mtshizana was released on five hundred pounds bail and placed under additional banning orders. And he was not even able to appear for the school-boys in court: At the time their case came to trial, Mr. Mtshizana was in jail, held under the "Ninety Days' Detention Clause."

On February 24, 1965, Mr. Sihlali and Mr. Mtshizana were again arrested. On April 28, they were found guilty of violating the Suppression of Communism Act and of seeking to leave South Africa without valid documents. Mr. Mtshizana was sentenced to 4-1/2 years imprisonment, and Mr. Sihlali to 2-1/2 years. Only through vigorous international action is there a chance to save Mr. Mtshizana and Mr. Sihlali from Robben Island. They must have funds for an appeal, and anyone within South Africa soliciting money to support the defense in political cases is himself liable to be prosecuted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The families of the Alexander Eleven must be supported. The legal defense of Mtshizana and Sihlali must be financed. The world must not be allowed to forget the plight of these brave men and women. International action must continue until they and the thirty five hundred other political prisoners in South Africa are free to maintain their families in dignity and to work for a new and better South Africa. Contributions and correspondence should be sent to: Alexander Defense Committee, P. O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

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