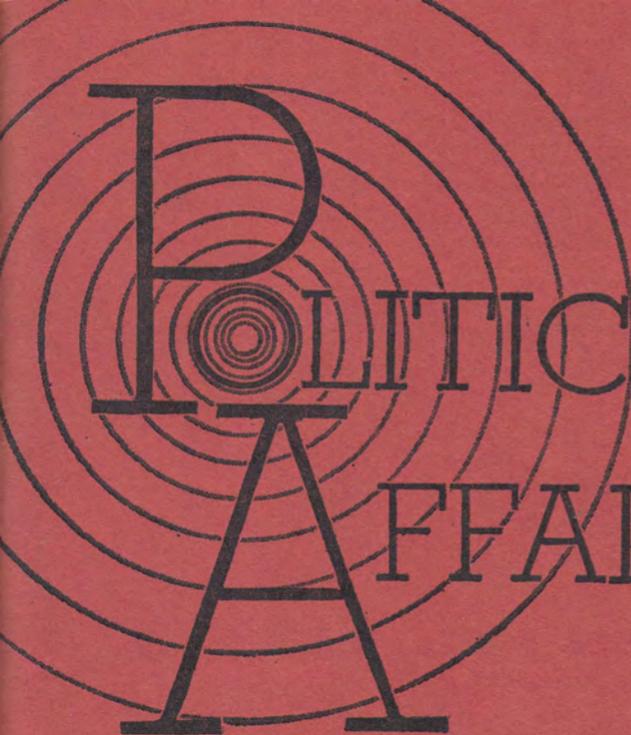


AUGUST, 1965



POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

Gus Hall

PARTY PROGRAM

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THE ALGIERS CHARTER

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ACADEMIC REBELLION

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THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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HYMAN LUMER, Editor

BETTY GANNETT, Executive Editor

Israel Gabin, Circulation Manager

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ALGERIA AND SOCIALISM

Elsewhere in this issue we present an article by the well-known Algerian Communist Henri Alleg on the Charter of Algiers—the program charting the “Algerian way” to socialism. Drawn up by the Ben Bella regime, the Charter takes on added interest in the light of Ben Bella’s ouster in the June 19 coup.

On that date, a group in the government headed by Houari Boumedienne, head of the Algerian army, and Foreign Minister Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, deposed Ben Bella from the presidency and placed him under arrest. Boumedienne charged him with “adventurism and political charlatanry” and declared that there would be no change in government policy. But it soon became apparent that this was no mere change of personalities, and that while Boumedienne declared himself for socialism, his concept of socialism was different from that of the Charter.

Further indications of the character of the change came with the occurrence of mass anti-Boumedienne demonstrations and the killing of demonstrators. Abroad, the coup was denounced by Nasser and by Castro. A number of countries, among them several African states and the Soviet Union, withheld recognition. The Asian-African conference, scheduled to be held in Algiers on June 29, was cancelled.

The coup, it is clear by now, was a reactionary step, a turning away from the Charter. Yet there is much which remains unclear and puzzling. The course of the new regime is marked by a certain amount of vagueness and ambiguity. Lacking in popular support at home and among the liberated countries abroad, the group which overthrew Ben Bella appears uncertain and unready to pursue a firm course.

Alleg’s article helps to shed some light on this. In his discussion of the diverse class forces in Algeria, he points out that this diversity is reflected in the government itself. This helps to explain why such a coup could occur, and it indicates that the group in power is by no means homogeneous. At the same time, it makes clear that such a coup aids reaction, whatever the good intentions of any of its participants.

The future, therefore, is at this moment uncertain. The Charter, though blocked, is by no means abandoned. The continuation of popular struggles in Algeria can reverse the present course. The picture which Alleg paints can become again the path of the Algerian people. We are confident that it will.

The Communist Party Program

(*Editors' Note:* The preparation of a program of the CPUSA is now under way. The article which follows presents the content of a speech opening a discussion of an initial draft outline at a recent national gathering. On the basis of this discussion a first draft is being prepared, to be completed within the next few months. With its appearance, full-scale discussion on the program will open both in the pages of *Political Affairs* and in a special discussion bulletin to be issued regularly. We feel, however, that the speech itself offers a number of important questions for consideration and that it is not necessary to await the appearance of the draft to open discussion. It has been agreed, therefore, that starting with next month a special section will be set aside for articles and communications on any questions having to do with the program. We invite our readers to contribute their views, to be published either in this magazine or in the discussion bulletin.)

* * *

What is the program of the Communist Party? What do the Communists stand for? What is the Communist solution to the difficult problems arising from automation? What is your answer to the continued stubborn resistance to ending discrimination against our Negro citizens? How do you propose to shield the world from a nuclear war? What will United States socialism be like? How do you propose to achieve socialism? How do you view the status of the United States working class, of the trade unions? What is your attitude to the struggle for democracy?

These are some of the questions our fellow Americans are asking us in ever greater numbers. They are questions rising from the experiences of battle, questions that reflect the probing of increasing numbers of people for more basic solutions. They reflect the political and economic currents, the rumblings of a social upsurge. They are the questions of people in struggle, of masses in motion.

Because of these demands, we cannot put off any longer the task of writing a basic program of the Communist Party of the United States.

How to Conduct Discussion

This is a very serious and difficult undertaking, which will require much study and discussion. At the outset, I want to say something about the process of discussion, because this will be in many ways the real test of our leadership. It can become a process through which our Party leadership can rise to a new height. If we conduct it properly, this discussion can establish our collective leadership on a new level. In other words, the discussion itself can be a historic "experience," as the youth called the school they recently attended.

I think we can start the discussion with the assumption that there are going to be differences among us on some questions. There will be differences because there are a number of areas in which we have not yet hammered out a unified position. There will be differences on emphasis, on approach to some questions, and on estimates of developments and problems. I think we can also assume that we will be able to resolve most of these differences. But we should assume further that there will be some questions whose solution will have to wait for more experience, and should not be disturbed if there are questions which we cannot resolve at this point.

Is it unusual for our Party to hold a discussion in which we know there will be differences? I don't think so. But it *is* somewhat unusual for us to say so openly. I think it is better, however, to approach the discussion on that basis. A discussion of differences can be dangerous to the Party only if we let it get out of hand. The first test of our leadership, therefore, will be to accept the responsibilities of a discussion of this nature. And there *is* a serious responsibility for each of us, individually and collectively—a responsibility not to permit the discussion to become subjective or personal, not to permit it to become unnecessarily polemical, and not to permit derogatory inferences from positions taken by comrades. It is especially incumbent on all of us not to conduct private campaigns for individual viewpoints or positions. Let these rest on their merits and let them be discussed openly in meetings, without private rounding up of support by anyone.

We should also assume that we will be discussing new positions in new areas; and here especially is where differences can develop. And we should assume that we are all going to change in the course of this discussion, because it deals with very fundamental positions of our Party. The fact is, of course, that one can-

not learn or mature politically without changing. Members of a collective gain understanding and stature from one another's experiences.

I would suggest, therefore, that during the discussion we each ask ourselves every so often: "Am I adding heat or ideas, invectives or concepts? Am I constructive or destructive?" We should bear in mind that the discussion must be comradely and without unnecessary heat. I mean *personal* heat—there is nothing wrong with *political* heat.

I say all this because our Party does not have much background of this kind of discussion. Too often, differences in the past have been discussed in a rather unhealthy, factional-like atmosphere. I do not mean that this is the first time we will be having this kind of discussion, but rather that this is a good opportunity for us to develop further this style of collective work and leadership. If we achieve it, we will both have a good program and attain leadership of a new stature. In many ways, this discussion is a school for all of us—a class in which we can achieve these two things.

Finally, I would say that the closer we get to formulating correct positions, the less disagreements we are going to have. In a general discussion there tend to be more disagreements, but as we formulate positions more precisely, we will narrow disagreements down to manageable proportions.

The Nature of the Program

Now, about the program itself. All of you have had the draft outline for some time. Let me briefly give you its background. The secretariat set up a special small committee of five in order to facilitate its drafting. Yesterday a meeting of the full program committee took place. A very spirited discussion occurred, which I will try to reflect, though of course within the confines and limitations of my own reactions to it. The outline is not a draft of a program. It is not even a draft of positions that will be the basis of a program, but simply a list of the questions on which we must develop positions, and it should be discussed in that light.

What is it that we are trying to achieve? Again, on the basis of past experiences, there are a number of misconceptions we should avoid. Among other things, a program is not a political resolution. Neither is it a political article or commentary. Therefore, it cannot go into elaborate detail. What we want is a fundamental programmatic statement of the Party's position. The

committee felt we should aim for the maximum statement, even though we may find later that we must lower our sights and be satisfied with less.

While the document to be prepared is the fundamental statement of our Party's position, it is also a program that the Communist Party offers to the people, to the working class. It must therefore have an "outer" approach and style. It must state the basic reasons for our existence as a party in an easily understandable fashion. Above all, the program itself should be an answer to the question: "Is there a need for the Communist Party?" It should be of such a character that anyone reading it will conclude: "Yes, there is a need for such a party. It does have a role and a very important one."

The program, of necessity, must be predicated on the needs of the people—on today's needs in the framework of longer-range basic solutions. It must reflect the new problems, new developments and new relationship of forces in our country and in the world. What is needed is much new and bold thinking by all of us. In our discussion, we want to maintain an atmosphere of probing and seeking, and a feeling of freedom of expression. We want to get the thoughts of as many of our countrymen as is possible.

Further, the program must rest upon the basic ideological and political pillars on which the Party's position is founded. It must reflect not only those ideological and political positions that we hold in common with other groups, and there are many such positions, but also those which are uniquely and peculiarly Communist, and there are many of these also.

The program must rest on and reflect our scientific concept of society. It must be based on the acceptance of the scientific concept that there are laws of social development, and hence there is a discernable direction of that development. Not only is there a direction of social development in general, but these laws enable us to understand the direction of development of classes, class positions and class relations. The program must show that it is this understanding of the laws of social development, and of the direction and flow of human society, that is the foundation of our socialist convictions and our long-range socialist outlook. It is the basis of our strategic concepts, of our conviction that capitalism as a form of human society is declining, and that it will be replaced not by just some other society but of necessity by a socialist society.

I believe that up to this point we are still on common ground with other socialist or Left groups—with many of them. But of

course, as Marxists we cannot stop here. There is much more to our position, and it is very decisive how this is mirrored in the program. Our Marxist science does not take a narrow, limited approach to the effects of these laws. We cannot accept the concept of mechanical determination of direction because ours is a dialectical understanding of these laws and of the social forces in which they are reflected. We recognize the existence of the main class forces that the operation of these laws projects, resulting in a central class contradiction, but we also recognize the existence of other, secondary forces and factors. And as Marxists we take into account the effects of the conscious human element on the affairs of society. We take into account, too, the interplay and inner relationships of all these factors and especially the element of time—the specific stage of development at each given moment.

I believe that this Marxist, dialectical understanding already separates us from many of the other Left groups. It is this which lies at the very root of our sharp tactical differences with such groups as the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyites or the Progressive Labor Party, which cling to a mechanical approach to the laws of social development. The program must reflect our correct Marxist understanding of these laws and of the forces reflecting them. There is a very important tactical flexibility that emerges from this full Marxist-Leninist understanding.

Class Nature of Society

This leads us to the next basic pillar of the Party's position, namely, the acceptance of the class nature of society, of the role of classes as central and decisive, and of the role of the class struggle as a vehicle of progress. Can we take this for granted in this program or in our discussion? I don't think so. On the contrary, I consider it a very important point to pin down, and for two reasons. First, it has long been my very firm conviction that part of the root of the differences in the world Marxist movement lies exactly in this area. Secondly, we cannot take this concept for granted because it is being challenged by Left forces in the United States. And this challenge is offered not merely by an occasional individual here and there. It has various sources and it is a challenge that our Party must exert itself to meet. Therefore, the program must not in any way equivocate on the Marxist concept of the role of classes and especially on the role of the working class.

In the August 1965 issue of *Ramparts*, Saul Landau, an editor of *Studies on the Left* and a close co-worker of the late C. Wright

Mills, quotes Mills as saying: "For Marx the proletariat was the history-making agency. Now any fool can see that is not true." And he adds that "in order to develop a New Left, we have to kick this labor metaphysic." But our program must rest precisely on the solidly established premise that the working class is the main "history-making agency."

Again, this does not mean that we can be satisfied with general statements concerning this role of the working class. Rather, we must so place problems that it emerges as the foundation for our approach to them. What must come through is that we are the champions of our class and strive to be the spokesmen for it, and that we try above all to understand this class, its role and its problems and try to find solutions for these problems. Once we do that, we are in a position to discuss the weaknesses as well as the strong points of this class. We then have the framework for the criticism of weaknesses in the trade union leadership. Undoubtedly we must discuss the organizational, ideological and political weaknesses in the ranks of the working class, but if we do not first have the framework for it, we are going to appear as outside critics, who do not understand or accept the historic role of the working class. Most liberals who are today so energetically criticizing the trade union movement are people who do not accept the concept of the progressive role of the working class in society. And there is a big difference in tone and method when it is approached from that angle. Criticism must be very concrete. It cannot be criticism of the leadership as a whole, because leadership in the trade union movement is a very broad category. It must be criticism of specific leaders, of concrete issues and positions.

What must come through in the program on this question is that we take pride in the achievements of our class, both historically and in the present. The program must reflect a certain pride in the achievements of struggle for economic standards and democratic rights. We must view these achievements not only as fruits of a developing phase of U.S. capitalism, which is done very often, but also as fruits of mass struggles. When we do this, the role of the working class stands in correct perspective and there is a correct understanding of its significance and role in our history.

The Anti-Monopoly Struggle

Our concept of the anti-monopoly struggle also flows from the laws of capitalist development. Anti-monopoly forces will increasingly emerge as a reaction to the development of monopoly. Since

our concept is based on such a process of development, everything that we project does not necessarily exist full-blown at this moment. In the program, the anti-monopoly concept must be developed as a concrete answer to the present problems of the victims of monopoly, and must not be confined to expressions of general opposition to monopoly.

Thus, the anti-monopoly struggle is a struggle for higher economic standards, for civil rights, for democracy. It is a struggle against the monopoly squeeze on its victims, a struggle to roll back the power and domination of the monopolies. And each sector of the victims joins this anti-monopoly struggle on the basis of the particular way in which it is being squeezed. The working class joins in the struggle to forward its class interest. The Negro people join with it in the specific interest of their own rights. But they join with it also because they are concerned with the overall struggle against monopolies. Therefore all progress, whether in terms of immediate reforms, more basic structural changes or the struggle for socialism, will gain from the all-class struggle against monopoly control. It is a necessary phase of the overall struggle for progress.

Increasingly this becomes the essence of all struggles in America because increasingly monopoly domination becomes an obstacle to all progress. However, the overall anti-monopoly struggle should not be confused with specific forms of struggle; for instance, the anti-monopoly struggle and the class struggle are not one and the same thing. It is true that they have a very close relationship and overlap. But they are distinct and separate, and we should not confuse them. The same distinction applies to the relationship of national liberation struggles and the question of socialism. There is a very close relationship and overlapping between them, and many of the same forces are involved in both, but one must not confuse the two. One does not replace the other. There are forces who join hands in the anti-monopoly struggle but who will be on opposite sides in the class struggle.

The program should present a fresh assessment of the ideological and political trends within the Left as they are developing today, and of the problems in its ranks. It should discuss such questions as what gives rise to the Left, around what issues it is developing, at what level it is manifesting itself. It should also deal with our relation to the Left—with the question of Left unity and our approach to current Left developments. It should show how the Left is developing in the ranks of the working class, the

trade union movement, the Negro people's movement and the peace movement. And it should examine the specific nature of the Left in each of these movements.

The program should express our basic ideas on the struggle for civil rights, our understanding of the special nature of the struggle of Negro Americans for equality, of their special status as an oppressed people, and of the special relationships of this people to the class structure of our society and to each class in America. For instance, it should deal with its special relationship to the working class in the struggle for jobs and economic security, and in the area of political action and the struggle for political power. It should deal with the relationship of the struggle for civil rights to the struggle for civil liberties.

Socialism in the U. S.

Next, a few words on how the program deals with socialism in the United States. I have a feeling that most people who want to see the Party program are going to turn to this page first. The program must give a picture of what U.S. socialism will be like. True, we cannot present a blueprint. Nevertheless, we will have to give some idea of what a socialist United States will be like and how it will attempt to solve some of the basic problems of the American people. It must also give some idea how we intend to get it. These are areas that we cannot avoid if we want to have a program that people will read.

On the question of peaceful transition to socialism, the program should state that we will seek the most peaceful path possible. We have to explain on what basis we think a peaceful path is even possible. Confidence in the Party and its leadership can be built if masses are convinced that the Party will seek the most peaceful path. They do not want guarantees that it will turn out that way, but they do want the guarantee that we will *try*—that we will seek that path. This is really the heart of the question. This applies not only to the question of socialism but to tactics in mass struggles generally. Whenever masses feel that a leadership is not going to seek the least painful path to victory, that leadership has lost contact with the masses, it is without confidence. For example, in the case of a strike, if one starts advocating violence in any way or gives any indication that he doesn't care whether there is violence or not, he has lost the leadership position right there.

It is the same with the question of socialism. The masses must have the assurance that we are going to do everything possible

to find the best path. In the light of this, struggle and the relationship of forces will determine the outcome at the proper time.

Another aspect of the problem of socialism that we have to think of in a new way concerns the negative effects arising out of the fact that socialist development took place in less-industrialized areas first, and therefore faced the very difficult problem of industrialization at a forced pace. There are also the effects of the fact that socialist development took place first in countries without much democratic tradition or experience. There are a number of other specific historical factors that have left their imprints on the societies in each of the socialist countries. Among these is the fact that socialism in its infancy was faced with the problem of defense against an antagonistic capitalist world. There are also the mistakes made in the pioneering periods of socialist construction.

The masses of Americans, in weighing questions of socialism in the United States, do not take these factors into consideration. We have now reached the point in the world socialist transition where, with one-third of the world socialist, they look at the concrete example rather than listen to what we are saying about socialism. We must reflect on this question. The program must try to foresee a number of things that U.S. socialism will *not* have to do, in addition to the very positive things it *can* do, because of the specific historical conditions American socialism will inherit. This is a difficult problem because the masses look upon socialism in the U.S. as they see socialism in other countries. We, of course, know that there are going to be some very big differences, but how to place these differences is a very important question.

We should also try to indicate which of our democratic experiences or democratic institutions can be either transferred, modified or improved upon in a socialist U.S.A. We are faced at the outset with the contradiction that here in the U.S. we have on the one hand the world center of imperialism and on the other hand long-standing democratic traditions and institutions. We must approach this contradiction on the basis that our democratic institutions by and large are *not* products of capitalism, that many are here in spite of capitalism and that present-day capitalism seeks to destroy them. We fight to preserve them both for today and for a socialist U.S.A. If we approach it in this way, we can achieve a different appreciation of these democratic institutions and their role in society. If there is a lack of appreciation and a reluctance to view these democratic institutions in any positive sense, it is because we look upon them as institutions that capitalism has "given us"

and therefore should be rejected. This is an area in which some fresh thinking is needed, and it should be reflected in the program.

The role of the struggle for bourgeois democracy will also come up in our discussion and in the program. In this area there are no great differences among us, but there are certainly misunderstandings by non-Communists about our position because we have not done enough work on this question.

Our approach should be that this struggle for bourgeois democracy determines the framework in which all other struggles take place.—the economic struggle, the civil rights struggle, the peace struggle. Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, as head of the U.S. delegation at the recent world peace conference in Helsinki, had to deal with this question. He had to state that we are not a fascist country in spite of the intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, that we still have the possibility and the right to struggle for peace—and that is very important.

The struggle for democracy involves many concrete questions that we have to find ways of expressing in the program. Among them are the reapportionment question, the voting rights in the South, civil liberties, the McCarran Act and a whole number of others.

The program must reflect the overall position of the United States in today's world, and the outlook of a U.S.A. in a world where colonialism is at an end. It must take sharp issue with the Johnson Doctrine, which expresses a long-range policy of U.S. insistence on determining what kind of government it will permit in any part of the world. From that standpoint the program must proceed to the question of the right of self-determination of all nations as a fundamental position of our Party. It is a world in which one-third is socialist that the U.S. must face. In projecting our program on the role of the United States, it is on this basis that we must raise the question of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence from the angle that these policies are in the interests of our people and our nation.

Areas of Study

So much for ideas on the content of the program.

What we want to do is keep drafting and talking simultaneously. The program committee proposes that we start publishing some of the reactions to the initial outline. We want to propose five

commissions for the purpose of working out concrete position papers in the following five areas:

1. The working class, its role and status; the trade union movement and its leadership; etc.
2. The Left: its nature, the question of Left unity, forms of action by the Left, etc.
3. Perspectives and problems in the civil rights struggle.
4. The correlation between democratic struggles and the struggle for socialism, including ideological and political questions involved in this relationship.
5. The nature of the U.S. state; state monopoly capitalism and the structure of the state; the struggles over states' rights versus federal centralization, executive power versus legislative power, checks and balances, etc.

We should encourage the broadest possible discussion on the problems of the program. It is not necessary to wait for a draft before one begins to formulate ideas.

The socialist revolution is not a single act, it is not one battle on one front, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e., on all questions of economics and politics, battles that can only end in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.

Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

The Revolutionary Character of the Algiers Charter

Ichtirakya! As soon as national liberation was proclaimed this word swept through the whole of Algeria. It was inscribed on every banner, it climaxed every demonstration, it was used to end every proclamation. It inspired the masses with the same enthusiasm as yesterday "independence" had done. It means: socialism.

For the workers and poor peasants, this watchword answered a profound desire to build a new society, free from the injustice and capitalist oppression of which the colonial regime had presented so cruel and repulsive an example.

To be sure, this affirmation, often repeated, that Algeria had chosen socialism was met with some skepticism even in friendly circles abroad. It was said, and truly, that before Algeria, many leaders of the countries of the Third World had brandished the flag of "socialism" —though it was intended only to disguise old wares and to deceive the masses by playing on their growing attraction towards socialism.

It was the Algerian people who replied to these fears and showed that what was happening in their country could in no way be compared to the course followed in certain other African states. They replied by building in record time a socialist sector of the economy based on thousands of agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises which had been abandoned by the colonialists.

This "spontaneous" action of the masses was subsequently legalized and institutionalized by the government, and also extended to other sectors. In this way all the French settlers were expropriated, as well as very many Algerian collaborators who had betrayed the national cause.

Thus, from the beginning of independence the revolution made its impact on life, but the actual "Algerian way" to socialism still had to be clearly defined. It was necessary to draw up a program which would formulate the perspectives leading to socialism not on a basis of idealistic and moral aspirations, but on the objective study of realities.

* Reprinted from *The African Communist*, April-June 1965.

Three million hectares of the best land were taken over under the collective control of the workers organized in self-management committees.

As regards buildings, in the Algiers area alone, more than 200,000 houses, flats, shops and offices became state property, and the new tenants pay their rent to the state.

The need for such a program, which had long been apparent to the most far-sighted revolutionary militants of the National Liberation Front (FLN) led to the FLN Congress of April 1964 which adopted the Program and Constitution now known as the Algiers Charter.

Some Special Features

Before I give a—necessarily brief and sketchy—outline of the Charter, I should give some picture of the particular conditions in which the Algerian revolution developed.

1. The far-reaching European penetration into Algeria prevented the formation of a strong national bourgeoisie there. Even the embryonic commercial bourgeoisie which existed at the time of the conquest was destroyed and the Europeans monopolized all the privileged economic positions. So the national liberation struggle was not led by the big capitalists, as had been the case in certain countries of the Maghreb; it always had strong roots among the people. The fight against the oppressor was at the same time a fight against the land-grabbers and the exploiting European bosses, and in the mind of the poor peasant and the worker action against foreign capitalist exploitation was soon identified with action against exploitation of all kinds. During the war years this popular feeling was reflected in the often repeated phrase: *We are not fighting in order to replace the French boss by an Arab boss.*

This explains why, straight after liberation, the movement for the complete transformation of society and a regime not based on exploitation took an extraordinary leap forward. It also explains the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and its inability to resist the powerful impetus of a nation which had been, so to speak, almost entirely “proletarianized” by the colonial regime.

2. Algeria was deeply attached to the traditions of Arab-Islamic civilization. In the face of colonialist attempts at Christianization and depersonalization, Islam was one of the factors that held the nation together and helped to keep alive the spirit of resistance to imperialism. Protests against colonial oppression, and in the same way after independence the aspiration for a society free from exploitation of man by man, expressed themselves under the banner of religion.

For most of the agricultural workers, for instance, taking over the land of the settlers and the traitors appeared not only as a revolutionary task but also as an action quite in accordance with their Islamic faith and with the “hadith” of the Koran: The land belongs to him who makes it bear fruit.

3. The Algerian Revolution has developed and is developing within the framework of the compromise Treaty of Evian. Contrary to what happened in Cuba, where the aggressive attitude of the U.S.A. speeded up the revolutionary process, there was no abrupt break with imperialism in Algeria. Indeed, the French Government seems to have drawn the lessons from the American failure in Cuba. The French Minister of Algerian Affairs stated when he replied to a senator who was asking for a tougher policy towards Algeria: “that we must not play in Algeria the same role that America played in Cuba”; “A different attitude,” said the minister in substance, would only result in the Algerian revolution going “further and quicker.”

Though the French rulers have followed a deliberate line, it should be said also that Algeria is looking for genuine co-operation, while being on her guard against the dangers that co-operation hides. The immediate consequences of an abrupt break with France would greatly complicate Algeria’s task, particularly in the economic field. Nevertheless, amidst this compromise, the ultimate goal is and will remain total disengagement from the economic grip of imperialism.

4. Finally, although today Algeria is resolutely advancing along the non-capitalist path of development, where socialism has become her watchword, she does not yet have a powerful vanguard party based on scientific principles which would be capable of leading the revolution. After independence, the FLN carried on as it had done during the war, as a union of all the patriotic forces interested in liberating the country. This does not mean that all the supporters of the FLN were necessarily partisans of socialism. It was possible to overthrow colonialism without a vanguard party, but everyone realizes that it is impossible to build the foundation for socialist society without such a party.

It was the task of the April Congress of the FLN to mark out the way to build this party, uniting on a class basis the people who were the most far-sighted and devoted to the revolution so that they could lead Algeria on her difficult march towards complete freedom from imperialist chains and towards socialism.

The FLN Congress and the Algiers Charter

While they take into account national conditions and are at the

same time impregnated with scientific thought, the texts which were adopted at the FLN Congress (the Algiers Charter), taken together, appear as *"a political social vision derived from our own values, fed on scientific principles and forearmed against mistaken attitudes of mind."*

Those who drew up the clauses of the Charter high-lighted the necessity for the revolution both to integrate itself into the world trend to socialism and to take root in Algerian national conditions.

Taking these conditions into account means primarily defining the stage which the revolution has reached in Algeria. Even though the Evian Treaty was imposed on Algeria by French imperialism at the end of an extraordinary struggle of eight years carried on against the largest colonial army of all time, it was nonetheless a compromise, and a compromise has its negative and its positive aspects for both sides. The negative aspect for Algeria is that the agreement preserves certain links and privileges to the benefit of France. Thus the Charter underlines that fact that, in the present situation, *"imperialism is still the major enemy"* but *"the struggle for the consolidation of independence and the struggle for the triumph of the socialist option are indissolubly linked."*

Since the essential aspect of the struggle is still the anti-imperialist fight, one must therefore take an energetic stand *"against those who want gradually to weaken our will to break away from imperialism."*

Imperialism has its allies in this country. A section of the Algerian bourgeoisie, even if a weak one, aspires not to help the country's progress towards socialism, but to take possession of part of the *"national heritage which was saved by the sacrifices of the peasants and workers."* Some of these elements have slipped into the machinery of the State and are hindering the advance of the revolution, thus objectively becoming allies of imperialism. It is necessary to attack them, but this does not mean that the middle and lower middle layers in the towns and in the country can all be "lumped together" since they themselves are victims of the capitalist system. Any mistake in this field could result in pushing them into counter-revolutionary positions.

How to Ensure the Final Triumph of the Revolution

Whom should the revolution rely on?

The Algiers Charters answers this question: above all on the workers in town and country. These are the people who took over the property of the settlers and the French employers, and who through their management committees in the farms and industrial enterprises

form the "spinal column" of the new Algeria, for of all people they are most interested in the success of socialism.

"The role of the urban workers," reads the Charter, *"together with the agricultural workers of the self-management sector, is going to become more and more important, for the revolutionary State can only have as its social foundation the working masses allied with the poor peasants of the traditional sector and with the revolutionary elements among the intellectuals."*

For the power of the working masses will be exercised—through the agency of the revolutionary State, a new kind of State: *"The choice of socialism includes the necessity to build a State of a new kind, which will express the interests of the peasants and workers and become more and more an instrument of production and not of coercion."*

In the meantime, the "producers' State" must be defended, and this is being done through *"the dictatorship of the poor, the fellahs, and the workers,"* in President Ben Bella's phrase.

Thus the Algiers Charter gives a class analysis of the State, which follows scientific socialism. This brings us to another question: what, at the present time, is the nature of the Algerian State?

Part of the answer is provided by the series of decrees which took away land and industrial enterprises from the European settlers and employers, seized wrongly acquired property and prohibited its passing into the hands of the Algerian bourgeoisie. However, it must not be forgotten that there is another strong deprived capitalist sector and that *"immediately following independence, the State structure and its human components formed in part, with the exception of the National Army of the People, one of the legacies of colonialism, of which objectively they expressed the ideas and methods. This heritage kept alive habits and manners of administration which make the State apparatus act as a brake on the realization of the aims of the revolution."*

The struggle between the revolutionary forces and the conservative forces which are directly or indirectly allied to imperialism is still being carried on at the heart of the State apparatus. That is why the Algiers Congress laid down as one of the necessary tasks not only the purging but the complete transformation of the administration. For *"this is the bureaucratic sector where the interests, customs and methods threatened by the revolution will endeavor to hide themselves."*

Elsewhere, the Charter lays down the economic tasks during the building of socialism, and points out: *"The suppression of economic exploitation and the abolition of colonial and neo-colonial ties, the*

expropriation of dominant foreign capital, the agricultural revolution, the socialization of the means of production, will enable us to put an end to economic anarchy and will make possible efficient and harmonious planning based on the true interests of the community."

Thus in order to ensure the final victory of socialism it is necessary in the political field to secure the power of the true and natural proponents of socialism, that is to say the power of the town and country workers together with the mass of poor peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals, progressively to abolish "exploitable private property" and to arrive at collectivization and the socialization of the means of production.

It is in the self-management sector that the battle can first be won, for as the text points out, it is "the real spring of the political and economic life of the country," and its development must "progressively lessen the role and influence of the private sector."

Parallel to this, a thorough-going agrarian reform must be carried out; in fact, it is better to speak of an agrarian revolution which will destroy the basis of feudalism and of the great landed properties, while drawing the peasant masses to the socialist revolution. President Ben Bella, in the speech he made on October 27th, 1963, to the Congress of Agricultural Self-Management, gave a general outline of his program which was later confirmed by the April Congress.

The question is, he said, "to set a limit to private property in such a way that the constitution of a privileged class becomes impossible, to lay down a modern land law for the whole of our country adapted to the demands of our revolution, and to create new ways for Algerian agriculture to work on these two foundations: collective cultivation through self-management, and small family farms."

In fact agrarian reform must take into account "the desire of the fellahs to own land of which they have been too long deprived. However, simple re-distribution of the land would be an uneconomic enterprise if it were not accompanied by measures which in the end go beyond this kind of expropriation."

Thus, as soon as the agrarian law becomes operative, co-operatives will be established alongside the farms under self-management, and these will become the centers of organization not only for the eventual beneficiaries of the reform but also for the remaining small proprietors.

As for foreign economic aid, the Charter observes that it must be considered as a palliative, merely as additional income which is contributed to the basic income from the national effort. It is clear that blind acceptance of foreign aid from capitalist countries can only compromise the political and economic independence of the country

in the more or less distant future. For this reason external trade must be started up "as soon as possible." Any formula like "a society based on a mixed economy" must be avoided at all costs, adds the Charter, for it would end in the resurgence of capitalism in the key sectors of the Algerian economy.

Foreign Policy

"Two facts dominate international relations: the advance of the democratic socialist forces shown in the stress on anti-imperialist struggles, the accession to independence of new States, the economic development of the socialist countries and the strengthening of the struggle by democratic movements on the one hand and the continual reduction of the imperialist sphere of influence on the other."

On the basis of this definition, the Algiers Charter could only reach one conclusion: internationally Algeria must stand on the side of the Arab, African and Asian peoples fighting against imperialism, on the side of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and on the side of the democratic forces of the world.

Socialism can only be built under peaceful conditions. Thus, the defense of world peace will be a constant factor in the determination of Algerian foreign policy: "The advance of the anti-imperialist forces to world stature is making imperialism seek forcible solutions to the problem of securing its hegemony; this is the origin of the arms race and the manufacture of atomic weapons with a capacity for massive destruction, whose existence puts humanity in grave danger. The elimination of the atomic menace and the final cessation of all experiments, including underground ones, would fulfill the spirit of the Moscow treaty. Peace and disarmament are necessary for extending co-operation between nations and would create favorable conditions for settling questions in dispute."

Thus the FLN Charter has appropriated the idea that the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation are complementary, not opposed. "In those countries which are not yet independent," reads the Charter, "armed struggle can be decisive in the attainment of national sovereignty... The people's revolutionary struggles are one of the surest and most efficient guarantees against the attempts of imperialism to loose a nuclear holocaust on the world."

Nevertheless, the FLN Congress points out that imperialism still has considerable capacity to adapt itself. The Charter says that the utmost vigilance must be observed over the "resources for adaptation that imperialism has at its disposal to modify its methods of exploitation and to slow up the course of events," which makes possible

"the preservation of the hegemony of the imperialist countries in new guises."

In Africa examples are not lacking to illustrate this proposition, and recent events in the Congo have shown what independence is worth in a country which has a Tshombe at its head. Neo-colonialism—meaning oppression adapted to today's conditions—threatens nearly all the countries who have recently won or rewon their sovereignty but who have not yet been able to break their former bonds completely. The Algiers Charter rightly emphasizes the need to struggle for *"structural disengagement from imperialism... an absolute condition for the consolidation of national independence and the liberation of oppressed countries."*

The Party as Mainspring of the Revolution

How can all these tasks be carried out? How can progress be made in building the new society?

As Ben Bella said in his report to the Congress, a new society *"needs a mainspring, the mainspring of one party only, one party which is fully aware of the needs of the working masses, which is determined, and capable of translating all popular initiative into its true course."*

However, the Congress did not set up this party. It only provided the political, ideological and administrative basis on which to build (though this is a considerable step forward). The Charter gives a general outline and a framework for action which is valuable for all revolutionaries who believe in socialism. It thus creates the conditions for organic fusion of *all* the revolutionary forces (including the communists) in a single powerful party which would be in the vanguard of progress and whose aim would be, as set out in the adopted text: *"to build a society from which all kinds of exploitation of man by man will be banned, to build a socialist society."*

Clearly this means that *"the elements hostile to this transformation"* who existed in the old FLN during the war will find no place in the party. In this connection clause No. 7 of the Algiers Charter underlines the proposition that *"the union of all forces which was an indispensable instrument of the armed struggle should be reconsidered in the light of the objectives and perspectives of the socialist revolution. Such a union has had its day. To keep it could only result in confusion and unhealthy compromise."*

Ahmed Ben Bella added in his opening speech: *"Today, there is no question of resuscitating the old structure of the FLN but of build-*

ing on what already exists to make an instrument fitted to defend and consistently to foster socialism."

When it was reconsidering the nature and objectives of the party, the Congress was also induced to define what social composition it should have to enable it to play its part. Clause 15, on the party, recommends *"scrupulous care to see that the social composition of the party is based on the producers and the urban and rural workers."* The General Secretary of the FLN also emphasizes in his report that *"the party cannot allow exploiters to penetrate its ranks without running the risk of degenerating and becoming a bourgeois party."*

However, there is a danger in the one party system. This danger has taken shape in certain African countries where the bourgeoisie, allegedly in the name of national unity, have used the single party to defend interests which are not the interests of the most exploited masses. In this regard the Charter states that the best way of eliminating this risk is to keep the party constantly in touch with the masses and controlled by them. Machinery must not be constructed, says the text *"which may express the aspirations of the masses at first but then evolves independently of them"*; which could only end *"sooner or later, either in the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie or in the establishment of a bureaucratic class using the machinery to further its own interests, or again in a regime of personal dictatorship making the party into a mere organ of the political police."*

No revolutionary can fail to grasp the importance of the Charter, for it places Algeria in the vanguard of the African continent. This brief analysis of the text shows that the Algerian revolution has not only assimilated the wealth of international socialist theory and experience but is also, out of experience in Algeria itself, making its own invaluable contribution.

This fact was underlined in the common communique signed at the outcome of the discussions between Algeria and the Soviet Union, which emphasized the positive contribution Algeria has made to international socialism.

The leaders of the revolution do not deny the influence of scientific socialism (as bourgeois Western journalists discovered with comical terror when they read these texts).

On several occasions President Ben Bella himself has said that he took his political and economic analysis from Marxism, though as a Moslem he could not follow Marxist philosophical conclusions. This is no doubt one of the most novel features of our revolution. A whole people is on the march, and a party is being forged which will ensure the victory of true socialism based on scientific principles (as Ben

Bella has said, "there is one socialism"). Yet the leadership rejects the materialist philosophy. However, this clearly will not provoke any split in the ranks of the revolutionaries. The important thing for them is to unite and fight together "*to build heaven on earth.*" The party, in its advance along the path mapped out by the Algiers Charter, is the rallying-point where they will gather and together wipe out all prejudice and sectarianism which might oppose or divide them, for the only valid criterion of a militant in the new party is devotion to the cause of socialism. Here communist Algerian militants will have a particularly useful role. Their knowledge of scientific socialist principles, their great experience of organization, their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the revolution will be of enormous value.

The Present Stage

It would be only too easy to elaborate on the gap which separates reality in an Algeria still suffering the consequences of 125 years of colonial domination and eight years of cruel warfare from the ambitious aims laid down by the Algiers Charter. But this would be unfair to Algeria. The proper question to ask is whether the chosen path is being followed and progress being made towards the objective.

The answer can only be in the affirmative.

The revolution is advancing and consolidating itself even though there are many difficulties and the path is not always straight. This is so both objectively on the facts and subjectively in the minds of the militants who are constantly gaining from the lessons of their experience a clearer and more realistic view of socialism and the ways to it.

Of course, all sectarianism and exclusivism has not been destroyed, nor all false ideas eradicated. In certain situations they could even start growing again, but then no one has ever thought that for a Congress to adopt a text was enough to transform it by magic into reality. Only the day-to-day struggle of the masses will defeat the egotistic interests and prejudices which hinder the march forward and especially the building of a progressive party which will act as the instrument of the socialist revolution and make the content of the Algiers Charter into a fact.

A quick look at the months following the April Congress will show that important steps along the way have already been taken.

The principal fact is the great success achieved through the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary army. Western circles (notably certain French and West German Right-wing groupings), hankering after *Algerie française*, as well as the reactionary wing of the local

bourgeoisie, had built a lot of hopes on this army. They saw Chaabani (a feudal land-owner from the South) and Ait Ahmed (son of a noble family), who stood out against the revolution, as potential Tshombes. However, the attempts to "Congolize Algeria" were thwarted after the People's National Army had captured the two men. In any case, they had never succeeded in attracting the masses to their support in spite of their demagogic appeals to the regionalist feelings that the colonialists had always nourished. The revolutionary government came out of this political battle strengthened and with increased prestige.

In the economic field, the socialist sector whose failure was forecast by the prophets has successfully withstood all attacks and all the attempts at sabotage inspired by foreign or Algerian private capital, and has extended its influence throughout the country.

During the last anniversary meeting on November 1st, President Ben Bella was able to announce that 70 per cent of agricultural production was now supplied by the self-management sector.

Nevertheless, Algeria still depends largely on France for her imports and exports. She is equally bound by the aid she receives from the U.S.A. in the form of food. The aim is obviously to break away from this dangerous hold.

This is particularly true of oil. In spite of threats and difficulties in this field, Algeria is going ahead with her plans: to recover her national riches and use them to develop the country. At the end of September, Ahmed Ben Bella inaugurated a factory for liquefying gas at Arzew and operations for laying a third oil-pipe at Haoud-el-Hamra-Arzew. In the near future this pipe-line will have alongside it another pipe for butane and propane gas. Both pipes will finish at the coast, for commercial purposes, but this time it will be for the benefit of Algeria and not for the capitalist companies.

The President of the Republic took advantage of this opportunity to reaffirm clearly the fundamental attitudes of the Algiers Charter, and the inspiration of his speech is to be found in the following passage:

Algeria made too many sacrifices for political liberation not to proceed as quickly as possible to economic liberation, which is what really counts in the eyes of the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We ourselves are convinced that we have chosen the right way, even though it may upset certain private interests, for the private companies take their methods from foreign soil and their inspiration from ideas bound up with the colonial tradition, and their only business is amassing profits.

In the case of oil, our position is clear and not open to any doubt. Algerian gas, like all national resources, is the property of the State, and the State will allocate it first for the use and conversion on the spot, and then for export to foreign countries who wish to sign long-term contracts with Algeria designed to guarantee the security of their supplies.

It is not only a question of selling raw materials, for Algeria must use these materials on the spot so that she can start industrialization and put an end to unemployment. Soon both a national refinery and a fertilizer factory will be built at Arzew. These two enterprises will constitute the nucleus of a large oil and chemical industry.

One of the most important factors in the struggle for economic liberation are the bonds of friendship and co-operation with the socialist countries. The training of numerous experts with experience of hydrocarbon is a necessity, for without them Algeria will never be able to exploit her wealth. Thanks to the Soviet Union, an African Hydrocarbon Institute started work in October at Bou Merdes (thirty-seven miles from Algiers) and more than 2,000 students are attending courses given by Soviet professors. At the same time, following the Algerian-Soviet agreement, a Textile Institute opened near Algiers at Bordj el Bahri. The first Algerian steelworks, whose annual production will be from 300,000 to 350,000 tons of steel, will be built at Annaba with the aid of a loan of 20 million rubles from the U.S.S.R. Other financial, commercial and cultural agreements have been or are to be signed with the socialist countries. They help develop the country, strengthen Algerian independence and frustrate possible imperialist blackmail.

In the field of foreign policy, Algeria has also kept to the Algiers Charter and has put herself at the head of the fight for national liberation and unity of the African and Arab peoples. At Addis Ababa during the OAU conference, at Cairo at the conference of non-aligned countries, and at the UN during the debate on imperialist intervention in the Congo, Algeria's voice has rung out for the cause of independence and in defense of peace. In spite of her own difficulties, Algeria has concretely demonstrated her solidarity with the Congolese patriots in the fight against Tshombe and his mercenaries. Several months ago Algiers became a place of refuge and support for patriots expelled from their own countries by colonialism and fascism.

Similarly, relations with working class movements in capitalist countries, especially Communist parties, are being organized and built up from mutual interest. Delegations from the French and Italian Communist parties have been received in the past few months

by the FLN party, and common communiques showing agreement on essential political problems and outlining ways of co-operation between each of the parties and the FLN have been signed. The Right-wing French press was astonished at these friendly links between the FLN and the French Communist Party. President Ben Bella replied that it is natural for men and parties who hold the same socialist beliefs to join their efforts.

The enthusiasm of the masses is bound to grow and pessimism and doubt bound to be routed when so much progress has been made in applying the Algiers Charter. The enthusiasm (even if it is not "explosive" as elsewhere) shows itself in voluntary work, such as the campaign for planting trees, when hundreds of thousands of men and women, young and old, gathered together to plant millions of trees to replace the forests which had been destroyed by the settlers or by French napalm bombs.

Workers in the town and country are the first to give an example of dedication, for they know that the revolution belongs to them and it is their task to defend it and make it advance. They know the necessity for strong vital trade union organizations and for a revolutionary party to lead them and of which they will constitute the essential foundation. Thus Algeria is now undergoing a period of organization: everywhere meetings are being held to form party branches; every week there is a conference for trade unionists, for young people, for women. People speak more and more openly of what is right and what is not right, they are not afraid to denounce faults or to criticize those responsible and the authoritarian methods which have not yet altogether disappeared.

It is true that enemy intrigue and sabotage, various obstacles, and the consequences of old methods and prejudices hindering the formation of a progressive party could slow up the revolution or even put a halt to it.

But one thing that is sure at the beginning of this new year is that Algeria has started out on the right path. From now on nothing can make her retrace her steps. She will advance irresistibly along the way marked out: the way of socialism.

Algiers, December 1964.

The Los Angeles City Elections

If one were to ask at what time in a four-year cycle a city election could be staged when people would be least inclined to be alert and active, the answer would have to be: immediately after the presidential election, when they are emotionally spent, physically worn out, and whether triumphant or disgusted, seeking a respite from "politicking." So that is when Los Angeles holds its city elections.

The city election is thus the great anticlimax, and the vote rarely goes over 50%. But despite the narrowed participation, it is useful in demonstrating the first post-presidential strategies evolving on each side among the forces that conducted the national contest, and thus may be of interest to other areas of the country.

There can be no doubt that California is the scene of a major counteroffensive of the ultra-Right. An analysis of the Goldwater-Johnson vote in the Congressional Districts throughout the country shows that L.B.J. won in 375, Goldwater in 60. Of these 60, 46 were in the South. Of the 14 non-southern districts, *six were in southern California*, and five in the Chicago suburban area. California was the only state in which a known ultra-Right (Murphy), posing as a moderate, was able to get elected to the U.S. Senate. Similarly the passage of Proposition 14, the initiative *against* fair housing, was a victory for the ultra-Right in developing and crystallizing mass resistance to progressive change.

In addition they are being aided by the new developments on the national scene. The escalation of the war in Viet-Nam, the big stick in Latin America, the reactivation of the HUAC, are giving the ultra-Right's broader acceptance. Despite the change in the national chairmanship of the Republican Party, the ultra's still have a firm grip on its lower bodies; and now Goldwater's Free Society Association will add to their presence in the political field.

The Los Angeles elections demonstrated the divided opinions on the liberal side of the fence as to how to deal with this threat. The forces around Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh have been carrying on a line that is apparently an attempt to apply in California the LBJ policy of the "consensus." In an article in *The Worker* last March, Al Richmond, Editor of the *People's World*,

characterized Johnson's policy of the "consensus" as the support of a vague "moderation" against "extremism of both Right and Left," a policy of no debate, giving the illusion of progress without struggle. This was the policy recommended to Californians in a speech by Unruh at the start of the campaign: "We must aim at the Center . . . against doctrinaire positions."

As against this strategy, progressive forces have been urging an offensive against the ultra-Right, active discussion of the issues, political independence based on mass struggle and political activity in the communities; and above all, the broadest possible unity against the ultra-Right.

Some aspects of this approach have been shown by Governor Edmund G. Brown's Administration (Attorney-General Lynch's exposure of the private armies of the ultra-Right, and the passage of a bill outlawing them); some, by the vigorous independent actions of the Convention of the California Democratic Council last March; some by the civil rights struggle. But what is mostly lacking is the broad over-all unity and a general strategy against the ultra-Right on a longer range than that of each situation by itself.

* * *

The city elections witnessed a new stage in the development of the strategy of the ultra-Right. Until that time, as with Goldwater and Murphy, they had always carried on a sectarian "all-or-nothing" fight for their own candidate; either he secured the nomination or they withdrew their participation from the campaign. In this campaign they showed they have developed politically to the point of merging with the Right and part of the Center to support reactionary candidates in general. Thus in the election for mayor, it was expected that after their victory with Murphy, they would put forward their own candidate. Instead it became clear as the campaign developed that they were satisfied to go along with the broad Right and part of the Center in supporting the politically shady opportunist and nominal Democrat Mayor Sam Yorty against the liberal Congressman James Roosevelt.

After the necessary brief apprenticeship as a liberal, Yorty became head of the State Un-American Activities Committee, then proceeded to Congress where, as an already experienced red-baiter, he was welcomed on the House Un-American Activities Committee. He then reached for the natural next rung—the U.S. Senate. Unfortunately for him, some years had passed since Nixon blazed the same trail, times were changing, the CDC had come into exis-

tence, and Yorty was defeated in the Democratic primary. In 1960 he came out publicly for Nixon for President, but after the Kennedy victory, he remained a politician without a home. The non-partisan city election in 1961 gave him the opportunity to solve his basic problem—that he was in the wrong political party.

In this election Yorty was the incumbent, with four years behind him. While he had done nothing to make himself specially hated by the people, he had certainly done nothing to antagonize the reactionaries. To the big business interests of oil and real estate he had shown himself at all times conformable.

The challenger was Congressman Roosevelt. Assured by his record of labor and progressive support, Roosevelt had a fair chance, provided that the unity that had brought about the state-wide Democratic sweeps in 1958 and 1962 was forthcoming.

It is this unity that has been the prime target of the maneuvers of Speaker Unruh. In his ambition to make himself governor, Unruh has set himself the objectives of destroying the leading role of Governor Brown, as well as of the CDC and the progressive forces in the Democratic Party. As the acknowledged channel for the campaign contributions to the legislators poured out by the big lobbyists, Unruh has made clear that his efforts are to bring the California Democratic Party into conformity with the "safer" type of organization in other states. Thus, while he has publicly pledged not to run in the primary, he is doing everything possible to make Brown's re-election impossible before the primary.

It is this overall strategy that explains Unruh's disruptive intervention in the mayoralty campaign. While technically not a resident of the city, Unruh persuaded two elected Negro officials, Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally and City Councilman Billy Mills, to campaign for Yorty (despite the disgust of the Negro community), and generally created as much disunity as possible. Dymally and Mills failed to win the Negro vote away from Roosevelt. But disunity itself is a great organizer—of defeat. This was borne out when Yorty, the candidate of a united Right, won with 56% of the vote in an unusually high turnout (62%) against a disunited liberal coalition. Unruh immediately announced that it would not be surprising if Yorty runs for Governor next year.

* * *

With the mayoralty disposed of, a completely new situation faced the people of the city for the final election. There remained

unsettled three council races and one place on the Board of Education.

In 1962 the Los Angeles Negro community, comprising some 14% of the population, first began to reap the fruits of twenty years of effort for representation climaxed by the heightened civil rights struggle of recent years. In that year it elected the first Negro congressman west of Chicago, and two Negro assemblymen. And in the spring of 1963, it elected three Negroes to the City Council of fifteen members.

At the start of the current campaign the Negro community announced its intention to try for a seat on the seven-member Board of Education. Among the different voices in the community, it was the United Civil Rights Committee that took the lead, calling a conference to select a candidate. That call resulted in one of the most impressive gatherings in the community in years. On a weekday afternoon and evening some 600 Negro representatives and leading individuals (with a sprinkling of whites) met and discussed the issues involved in education, adopted rules and discussed a number of candidates. Finally, by a two-thirds vote they nominated the Reverend James Jones, one-time union coal miner, now minister of a Presbyterian church and active in the education of "underprivileged" children, as the candidate of the community.

So authentic was the community voice that none of the disappointed candidates, nor any Negro that had not participated, filed against Jones in the election. Two filed for a different seat on the Board. Despite general efforts for unity, a Mexican-American, Ralph Poblano (a follower of Unruh) and a liberal educator, Robert Docter, filed against Jones, as did a few minor figures. The ultra-Right had two candidates: the Committee for Constitutional Government and the usual "fringe" outfits endorsed Emily Sims; but the new big financial names of the ultra-Right appeared behind Marion Miller, a former FBI stoolpigeon who had been swamped in a previous try for the Board of Education, but now filed again. Little was heard of Emily Sims, but suddenly the radio and other media were saturated with Marion Miller putting forward a mild program of the "3 R's."

The results of the primary were dramatic. Marion Miller swept into first place with 155,000 votes. Far behind came Jones with 101,000 and Docter with 99,000. Sims had 64,000, Poblano 58,000. The total for identifiable Rightists was 234,000; the total for liberal and minority candidates 257,000. The two candidates in the run-

off: the ultra-Right and the Negro. The situation seemed far from promising.

It is well known that education is one of the concentration points of the ultra-Right in the localities throughout the nation. Despite the Democratic sweep in California in 1962, the ultra-Rights were able to elect their candidate Max Rafferty to the (non-partisan) state office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In the past they had controlled the Los Angeles Board of Education almost by default until the period in the fifties when they made Los Angeles a national laughing-stock by proscribing books about the UN, denouncing UNESCO, etc. It was this that brought about their downfall, the foundation of the Committee for Better Education, the defeat of the two brash ultras and the election of three liberals. However, time has whittled away at the situation, and the post at issue in the final election this spring would decide the majority on the Board. In a revealing column in the *Los Angeles Times* early in the run-off campaign, Rafferty, after denouncing the appearance of Communist speakers on university campuses here, raised the old banner again, reminding his readers of the battle against the UN, defending the banning of UNESCO material in the past, and announcing that he is still opposed to UN materials in the schools.

* * *

The run-off election presented two alternative policies: to seek (in the current clichés) a "confrontation" — ultra-Right versus Negro; or to recognize the issue of Negro representation as being in this case included within the larger issue of an all-embracing struggle against the ultra-Right for democracy in education. This viewpoint in no way required the Negro community to lessen its own campaign for representation; but it acquired the added note that in the struggle to preserve democracy in education for the city of Los Angeles, the standard had been placed in the hand of a Negro citizen.

In addition, there was a special feature in this campaign besides the general struggle against the ultra-Right. No one could escape the question: What would it mean in the culture of a country to have an ex-FBI stool-pigeon on the Board of Education of Los Angeles? The response from all elements of the divided liberal forces to the broad placing of the issues began to mount. Dymally and Mills were among the first to announce their support, and to pledge that they would campaign for Jones. The Unruh forces, that had supported Poblano, offered support to the Jones campaign,

and it was necessary to dissuade some who were for rejecting it. Robert Docter, who had been nosed out in the primary, endorsed Jones and campaigned actively for him. The *Los Angeles Citizen*, official organ of the AFL-CIO, came out with a series of front-page banner editorials each week, exposing Marion Miller's identification with the ultra-Right, characterizing her campaign as "a Right-wing conspiracy to take over the schools," and ending with a presentation of Jones and his program. The *Los Angeles Times* which, since its original exposure of the John Birch Society, has generally opposed the ultra-Right candidates, supported Docter in the primary. But in the finals it announced its support of Jones on his merits.

A feature of the campaign was the work of the Jewish community. In the primary, Mrs. Miller had polled a suprisingly high vote there. Apparently her campaign had not been taken seriously in view of her previous overwhelming defeat. With memories of the Judenrat in mind, the Jewish Community set to work in the finals. The Jones headquarters there was the most active in the city outside of the Negro community.

In the final result Jones won by 28,000 votes. The total vote (with the mayoralty and other contests decided) had gone down from 610,000 to 524,000. Miller increased her vote by 60%, Jones by 172%. In this victory Jones became the first Negro in twenty years to be elected on a city-wide scale.

It was a fairly close victory, but nevertheless a striking one. It had been brought about more by the upsurge among elements in the white community than by any other single cause. But it had been built out of the unifying effect of the remarkable Negro community conference—the dramatic picture of a whole community assembling its own forces and speaking in its own name without benefit of politicians. It was this picture which had a certain reflection in the Jewish community when the responsibility seemed thrown to them by the appearance of Marion Miller as the victorious candidate of the ultra-Right. And certainly the intense activity in the Jewish community exposing Miller and in support of Jones played a decisive role.

A weak feature in the campaign was that it was not immune from the growing disease in California of handing over political campaigns to public relations agencies. This has grown to the ridiculous point where candidates fight for the services of touted agencies as if they were tantamount to nomination or election.

But politics is far more than image manipulation and public relations. Had the Jones campaign been left to the agency, it would have been lost. It was the mobilization of active volunteers in a number of key districts, not just posters and advertising, that was responsible for the victory. Nor does agency publicity have the authentic touch that comes only from volunteers immersed in their communities.

A lamentable feature of the campaign was the aloofness of the Mexican-American community. Poblano, as well as the Mexican-American Political Association, gave their endorsements only a few days before the election. The vote was particularly light. It seems inescapable, despite all rational and theoretical arguments, that a minority which is itself deprived, is not going to get too excited over the struggles of another minority until it itself has realized a number of gains. The large Mexican-American minority, nearly 10% of the seven million population of Los Angeles County, and 7% of the city population, has today one representative in Congress, two in the Assembly who are not particularly connected with the community, and none on either the five-man Board of County Supervisors, or the fifteen-man City Council. Neither the M.A.P.A. nor any of the older or newer organizations that play an active or desultory role in politics as the case may be, have yet succeeded in creating the political unity and drive that has won the gains made so far by the Negro community. This remains one of the most pressing problems of the people of Los Angeles.

The lesson of the Jones victory is so obvious as virtually to defy any attempts at obfuscation. The ultra-Right can be defeated only by unity. And the next engagement is already beginning. Ronald Reagan is already campaigning for Governor of California. Doubtless he figures that if a song-and-dance man can make it to the U.S. Senate, why shouldn't a movie hero who has been active in Right-wing politics for a dozen years, chairing the California Citizens for Goldwater-Miller last year, make it to the Governor's chair and—who knows?—beyond! Even nationally, where Goldwater's name has ceased to thrill, Reagan is becoming the new darling. It should be recognized at once that, ridiculous as it may seem to some, Reagan is a *serious* threat for the governorship.

* * *

It is altogether probable that the voters, including many who with mixed feelings support the reckless Johnson-MacNamara war-making, will express their discontent and apprehension by refusing

to vote for Democratic candidates in congressional and state elections next year. The coalition around the Democratic Party in California is in serious disarray. Opposition to the Brown Administration is being assiduously fed by Unruh. The shambles of the recent (heavily Democratic) legislative session was largely his doing. And the predictable Leftist reaction has already been voiced by Gene Marine in the June *Pacific Scene* (formerly the *Liberal Democrat*). In an article entitled "Pat Brown has got to go" (written, as the author says, after moving to New York and taking "a sedate lofty look at California politics"), he writes:

Don't wait until it's Brown or Reagan . . . as we waited until it was Brown or Nixon in 1962. Get yourselves another boy, now. No, I don't know who. That's your problem. But I suggest that we recall how we all worked our families off last year to keep Goldwater out, so we could sit around and watch that Texan madman out-Goldwater him anyway. Maybe you don't have to get anyone else; just sit down. Because—in all honesty—what would Jesse Unruh do that's worse?

What the radical and non-Communist Left should overcome, it seems to me, is this fetishism of politicians. Essentially it is the shallow idea that the politician is the leader of the coalition, its cutting edge. It is the unscientific belief that a progressive coalition, having elected a candidate can then expect him to function exclusively as a progressive among all the interplay of power sources and pressures in this capitalist system. The key thing is not whether the politician falls short but the continuous expansion and organization of the *independent political coalition* among the people, the mobilization of their pressures arising out of struggles on the basic issues, to overcome the pressures from reactionary sources, and to become the leading expression of a politically activated people.

This was the basic source of strength in the days of FDR, whose performance was also far from perfect at many critical junctures. Independent political action is shown not by the pettish rejection of individual politicians to be replaced by someone worse, but by activity in building the organized political strength and unity of the people. This, in essence, is the answer to the threat of the ultra-Right.

HERBERT APTHEKER

The Academic Rebellion in the United States

In form and content, no major American institution is so backward as the educational. This is true from kindergarten through university.

In terms of form, the most significant backward elements are: 1) an almost completely segregated and racist school system, reflecting and bulwarking a ghetto society; 2) an increasing proportion of education no longer is public and secular but increasingly is private and religious; today about 14% of American youth are educated in other than public schools; 3) a fantastic difference in all criteria of education exists between schools located where the rich live and those "serving" the poor; 4) higher education—both public and private—is dominated completely by a system of Boards of Trustees or Regents; the people making up these governing bodies, as we emphasized in these pages last month, are almost all white, Anglo-Saxon, elderly, notoriously reactionary, and grossly wealthy; 5) the widespread existence of various witch-hunting and "loyalty" requirements.

In terms of content, the most significant backward elements are: 1) the curriculum and instruction, generally speaking, are racist; i.e., either through errors of commission or omission, the vast majority of students are led to believe in the innate superiority of white people; 2) the assumptions of education are elitist, from I.Q. tests to so called "rails" to courses offered and expectations held out and efforts encouraged, the educational system operates in fact upon the assumption of the intellectual and moral superiority of the rich—i.e., of the "successful"; 3) anti-Communism is required by law for millions of younger students and is at least encouraged for additional millions; this systematized poison has been injected into texts and instruction for the past fifteen years and especially for the past five; 4) on the higher educational levels, the same end has been sought in more sophisticated ways, i.e., weeding out radical

and Marxist (not to speak of Communist) instructors; teaching "Marxism" generally by anti-Marxists; providing shamelessly biased texts; 5) philosophically, emphasis has been given to systems marked by cynicism, denial of causation, denial of progress, and concerted assaults upon democratic postulates.

All of the above must be placed within the context of an intensifying state monopoly capitalism characterized by an aggressive foreign policy. One of the most obvious—and ominous—results of this is an increasing financial dependence of educational centers upon Federal money, particularly as such money is earmarked for Cold War usage, either military, propagandistic or diplomatic.

Certain features of the above are as old as the United States; for instance, the racism. Others are as old as monopoly capitalism; for instance, domination of higher education by trustees all of whom are rich. Others are new and all are new in degree.

* * *

Throughout the Cold War period, however—even the coldest years of McCarthy—resistance never was extirpated. Communists in the first place, though battered and hounded, persecuted and jailed, never quit and kept alive some protest and did manage to reach several thousands of people among faculty, students and the general public. Others, equally devoted in their own ways to reason and science and the Bill of Rights, also never completely ceased resisting and they, too, reached thousands. The point is that never in post-war America has reaction been successful in fully stifling the sacred and radical "No."

With signs of diminution in the Cold War, particularly from about 1959 through 1964, the vigor of resistance to McCarthyism, notably among youth, students and scholars, mounted. Interlocked was the fantastic forward surge of the Negro people's movement. The battle against war, especially thermonuclear war, also intensified. Meanwhile, and again interlocked, the successes of Socialism—particularly the absolutely traumatic shock felt in the United States with Sputnik—and of the national liberation movements, in Africa (having special influence upon the twenty million Negro Americans) and in Asia and Latin America also reached and moved tens of millions of Americans. The impact of the Cuban Revolution and the fantastic ineptness—to use no harsher word—of official U.S. policy vis-a-vis the New Cuba, has been tremendous.

At the same time, "People's Capitalism" and the "Affluent society" did not amount to what the Ruling Class Rooters had insisted. The

Left consistently pointed to the reality and significance of poverty, but in the last five or six years this glaring fact—at a *minimum* there are thirty-five million impoverished Americans—has been generally discovered so that now even the President knows it. The denial and the reality deeply affected youth, students and scholars; this has been all the more true since the “prosperity” avoided the young especially and, of course, the Negro youth most particularly, so that, for example, the rate of unemployment of the former generally has been at least twice the average rate and of the latter from three to four *times* as great.

Moreover, the anti-rational and anti-democratic quality of the educational system affronts the life of learning and the principles of the United States in their deepest, most historic and best sense. Scholars worth their salt find it increasingly burdensome simply to *function* as scholars in such an atmosphere. Furthermore, the naturally evocative and maturing quality of youth was particularly appalled by the cynical, amoral and purposeless pose and content of the McCarthy “philosophy.” Hence, in a fundamental intellectual and moral sense, rebellion has been latent and with the sources and causes touched on above this rebellion has been sparked into a flame.

And a flame it is; it is growing into a bona fide forest fire, too. It now involves Negro and white—increasingly together. It involves every region of our vast country. It encompasses students and faculty—increasingly the latter. It is taking on associational forms—new student and professional organizations proliferate; new magazines appear almost daily, with their very titles conveying the point—*Controversy, Insurgent, Veritas, Nomos*, etc. *It is deepening*, too. More and more the movement questions the structural organization of education and its philosophy; more and more, also, questions are raised as to the structure of society and dominant assumptions. Not in twenty years has there been so avid an interest in Marxism; once again the alternative of socialism is being seriously weighed.

Increasingly, youth and faculty want sincerity, commitment, earnestness. They do not want cynicism, dogma, ritual. And they are dissatisfied with things as they are. They want to live; they do not want to kill or be killed for reasons either obscure or malicious.

The influence of the Left is growing; leaders of the Left are gaining wider and wider audiences. Not only are the numbers increasing; the intensity and respect of their attention are growing.

In the past months mass movements involving hundreds of thous-

ands have swept the student and faculty bodies. (In this connection, it must be kept in mind that today's campuses are populated by millions, not thousands, and that among them today are significant proportions of working-class and Negro youth.) These movements have taken wonderfully imaginative forms—teach-ins, sit-ins, learn-ins (and at Ohio State a read-in, so that while the Banned One sat in silence, others read from some of his works to thousands of students). Of course, old-fashioned forms—picket lines, demonstrations, etc.—also have been present. Those making up these movements and efforts are fully serious and most courageous; legal prosecution, illegal persecution, police brutality, have not daunted them.

* * *

Some specific, though necessarily very brief, notice must be taken of the radical character of the critique of the educational system that is becoming more and more widespread. John Holt, a teacher, has produced a significant examination of elementary education in his book, *How Children Fail* (N.Y., 1965, Pitman Publishers, \$4.50). This book deals not with public schools for the so-called “underprivileged” but rather with the private schools maintained for the children of the wealthy—children who, somehow, are never labeled “over-privileged.”

In *these* schools, Holt shows that children are processed very much like sausages in a meat factory; as a result, he declares, they “fail to develop more than a tiny part of the tremendous capacity for learning, understanding and creating with which they were born. . . .” Everything is standardized, made conformist, and the last thing desired or encouraged is thought. Furthermore, the fuel is fear—everywhere a pervasive fear: “Even in the kindest and gentlest of schools,” writes Holt, “children are afraid, many of them a great deal of the time, some of them almost all the time . . . afraid of failing, afraid of being kept back, afraid of being called stupid, afraid of feeling themselves stupid.” Success is the goal—and “success” is what is meant. Hence, “teachers and schools tend to mistake good behavior for good character”; the result, concludes Holt: “We have made them [the pupils] intellectually weak and stunted, and worse, dishonest.”

Description is stronger in Holt's book than is diagnosis or prescription; but the description is charged with wrath and augurs heroic therapy.

On the high-school level, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, a professor of sociology at the University of California, has produced an equally

searing work, *Coming of Age in America* (N.Y., 1965, Random House, \$5.95) beautifully subtitled: *Growth and Acquiescence*. So tyrannical and frustrating does Friedenbergs find high-school education that he compares the students to colonial subjects and the administrators to callous, brutal and bureaucratic overlords. He compares life within most of them to a bad book—"sentimental . . . emotionally and intellectually dishonest." Hence, "The animus is directed against those of the young who are too fully alive, too completely realized, to fit among its characters." Professor Friedenbergs thinks that, "The highest function of education is to help people understand the meaning of their lives, and become more sensitive to the meaning of other peoples' lives and relate to them more fully." This function is absent, he concludes, and observes:

The society that prefers the kind of man who has never examined the meaning of his life against the context in which he lives is bound to believe that it has a youth problem. For its own sake, and the sake of its social future, one can only pray that it really does have.

A few Commencement Addresses offered at the just-concluded graduation season—including one or two delivered by University Presidents—contained a new note of concern and warning and even discernment. Thus, the President of West Virginia University, Dr. Paul Miller, entitled his address "The Untidy Society"; rarely have I read a more unequivocal attack upon the accumulating deficiencies of this social order. For instance:

"The Untidy Society" stages great spectacles about the corruption in public and private life yet produces few great moral advances. It can turn dark-skinned people away at the church door, or use a courtroom to attack civility among men. It can make a ghetto out of the heart of the city and then desert it for suburbia. . . . It is no sudden wave of bitterness or cynicism that washes over me, but I am indignant. I want you to become the same way: over what we are doing to a beautiful country. . . .

Not the least remarkable element in this extraordinary speech is the fact that the University President offers the opinion that an important obstacle to overcoming this "untidy" society is "our preference for listening with greater attention to the claims of private interests than to those of public interests."

The President of Mercer University, Dr. Rufus C. Harris, speaking at Tulane's Commencement exercises in New Orleans, also demonstrated remarkable directness. Thus:

The thought lingers that at the point of graduation college students are probably nearer to good, and closer to the heart of truth, than they ever will be again. Almost everything will work, consciously or not, for their diffusion and corruption as they move out into the world.

Such unusual commencement addresses make a little less stunning the special Report prepared at the request of and with funds provided by the Board of Regents of the University of California and known as the Byrne Report after the Special Counsel of the Board which prepared it, a distinguished attorney, Jerome C. Byrne. Issued in May, 1965, this study of the campus uprising at Berkeley was so forthright that it was very nearly suppressed by the Board which paid for it. The whole, rather lengthy, document will repay careful study;* in generally exonerating the students and placing the main blame where it belongs—upon the Board of Regents—the Byrne report declares:

This generation of students acts from a dissatisfaction with the rate of change in American society and that dissatisfaction is pointed and intense. At the point of entry to the adult society, many students are deeply concerned about the commitment they can make to it. In the main, they ask not that the society be perfect but that they have the opportunity to help make it so.

* * *

The developments of the recent past are no "flash in the pan." The academic community in the United States has been qualitatively changed. These developments will go forward, not backward. This generation means to achieve the democratization of the educational system, from elementary school to university; the best among them—and their numbers grow—are fed up with rot, lies, racism, sadism, pornography, apathy, and killing. They are a non-factional youth; the splits of the thirties, the personalities of the thirties seem to them quite out-dated (they overemphasize discontinuity); they are broad in outlook, mood and behavior. Also, having lived with annihilation hanging overhead since they were born, they are quite fearless. They are angry, too; angry that the world into which they have been brought and which they now want to enjoy and enrich, is a world threatened with destruction.

This youth sees the absurdity of such dangers as well as their

* It has been reprinted by The Free Student Union of the University of California, in Berkeley, and may be obtained for ten cents.

reality; and the faculty have been given renewed courage by this Diogenes-like tribe.

Let no one believe that significant advances cannot be made. They can be and in fact they have been and are being made. While three years ago, a ban against Communist speakers was successfully invoked at the State University of New York in Buffalo, that ban was removed in October, 1964 and the battle against it had the overwhelming support of very nearly the entire university population; most recently, in June, 1965, the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York has rescinded altogether the non-Communist oath hitherto required of all its teachers. Nowhere, indeed, is the reality of the accomplishment more apparent than at Berkeley itself. William Trombley, of the *Los Angeles Times*, correctly concludes an article, "A Fresh Look at the University of California" (*New Republic*, July 3, 1965), with these words:

The stuffy atmosphere of the Board of Regents has been freshened by the wind of reform. This may not be precisely what the free speech demonstrators had in mind when they occupied Sproul Hall last December 2, but it is a fundamental change in the largest university in the world, one that may have effects on higher education everywhere.

It must be added that the several hundred students whose courage and understanding made possible this salutary change now stand convicted, in a municipal court, as criminals. Imperiled is the nation whose rulers condemn its noblest youth.

Deeply significant is the essay, "Toward a Democratic University," by Dr. Joseph I. Lipson, professor of physics at the University of Pittsburgh. This appears in the first number of a new magazine published by students of that university, called *Nomos*. Professor Lipson merits quotation at some length. He declares:

It is often stated that the size of the modern university is responsible for a sense of alienation in both the student body and faculty. Not size, but the application of formal business administrative theory to what should be a participative democratic enterprise, is the principal culprit . . . of the institutions of higher learning in the country there are no more than a handful that are not run like a frozen medieval barony.

Professor Lipson insists that, "The present discontent in the universities relates to the lack of democratic procedures which would permit the faculty and the student body to participate in generating useful changes." He continues: "Some means must be found to

allow students and faculty to participate in the decisions which so vitally affect them." And he concludes:

Therefore, it is proposed that the time and date of independence be set, and that a program of educating the faculty and the student body in their future responsibilities begin. It is proposed that the intelligence and character which cause society to trust the faculty to educate their children, which cause parents to allow their children to leave home and which justify the expenditure of huge funds on university education be trusted to make the democratic participative process a working reality.*

Exactly.

* * *

It is not possible to exaggerate the moral quality of the academic revolution now maturing in our country. I have tried to sketch its historic and social roots but I must not de-emphasize its moral manifestation. The movement is filled with a colossal sense of *indignation*—at waste, at dishonesty, at cruelty, at frustration, at an absence of hope and feeling and love.

This new generation is a beautiful one. Like the great Negro movement, it is bound up—more and more this is being understood—with the need for basic structural change in the United States. Hence, there will develop an increasing relationship among the civil liberties, peace and labor movements with the Negro, youth and academic movements. The national qualitative leap will occur when all these together transform the political apparatus in the United States and so make fully practical the achievement of a fundamentally significant program of social advance, equality and peace.

July 1, 1965

* See, also, the articles by Mervin B. Freedman, Assistant Dean at Stanford, "Roots of Student Discontent," *The Nation*, June 14, 1965; by Arnold S. Kaufman, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan, "New Force for the Times," *ibid.*, June 21, 1965; and by John Weiss, Professor of History at Wayne State University, "The University as Corporation," *New University Thought*, Summer, 1965.

Thoughts on "The Feminine Mystique"

Like Rachel Carson's *The Silent Spring*, Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique** is a book which cannot be read perfunctorily, laid down and forgotten. Like the other, *The Feminine Mystique* documents the existence of a basic evil of our society. Betty Friedan places under the philosophical microscope "The Problem That Has No Name"—the special (and inferior) position of women in our society.

The Reactionary Concept of Woman's Place

The book presents the position that women have been sold down the river into a way of living and being—and thinking—that limits her abilities, frustrates and throttles her capabilities. It is Betty Friedan's belief that an artificially created "Feminine Mystique" keeps women oriented within the small world of the home, thus attacking her growth as an individual and her ultimate happiness. This mystique inhibits her contribution to society as the bound feet of Chinese women at the beginning of the century distorted and prohibited natural growth.

In compliance with this mystique, the major portion of woman-kind believe that their basic reason for being is husband and family and home. It has kinship with the Nazi slogan: "Kirche, Küche, Kinder."

Magazines, newspapers, current fiction, television, and on another level, educators, sociologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts join together in creating and sustaining the mystique, in assuring women that the greatest fulfillment for the female is in withdrawal from the competitive realities of the work-a-day world. In accord with her basic female characteristic, she should devote her life to her family, and make her home a retreat for a work-weary husband and a warm, inspirational nest for her children. She must use her abilities to make her home beautiful, to push her husband onwards and upwards and help her children fulfill their careers. She should be passive, compliant, and play her role on the stage of the lives of others. To do otherwise will but bring her up a blind alley of personal futility.

*While *The Feminine Mystique* (Norton Publishers, New York, \$5.95) appeared several years ago, we print this article in the hope of evoking further discussion on a much-neglected subject.

This is the essence of "The Feminine Mystique" as Betty Friedan sees it.

She writes of the field of education: "It takes a very daring educator today to attack the sex-directed line, for he must challenge, in essence, the conventional image of femininity. The image says that women are passive, dependent, conformist, incapable of critical thought or original contribution to society; and in the best traditions of the self-fulfilling prophecy, sex-directed education continues to make them so, as in an earlier era, lack of education made them so."

Mrs. Friedan concerns herself with the generation of women, middle-class, who reached maturity after the end of World War II. Her middle-class orientation might, ordinarily, limit the book's implications. But the book precisely describes the dominant philosophy surrounding the woman question in the United States and, therefore, its implications apply to all women.

At a time when the problems of peace, Freedom Now and the well-being of mankind have reached a period of unparalleled significance for the future pathway of society, it is necessary for progressive forces to evaluate the application of this book, in order to enhance the contribution of women.

Effects on Young and Old

Mrs. Friedan became increasingly aware of the destructive force of the "feminine mystique" when she attempted to find out what had become of former college classmates. She found out that at the end of a ten year period, they were for the most part unhappy, bored, and disenchanted with their lives. They had for a short time, or never, made use of their skills learned in college, but under the aura of the "feminine mystique" had devoted themselves to domestic life solely. They felt life was passing them by. Bowling, dabbling in school and community affairs, extra-marital pastimes, and alcoholism were some of the answers they found. The psychiatrist's couch saw most of them regularly. "Is this all?" they asked in desperation.

Continuing her investigations, Mrs. Friedan directed questionnaires to girls about to graduate college. These revealed that the majority had no intention of pursuing careers of their own. They looked forward to marriage immediately upon graduation and raising large families in beautiful homes.

Small girls, even before their teen years, have already been caught up in the false femininity of the "feminine mystique." They are taught to require special cosmetics, perfumes, hairdressing aids, to

develop tastes which will result in cascading profits for the manufacturers of these commodities for many years ahead.

The little girl becomes a teen-ager, and now, subject to a sex-oriented milieu, she wants nothing more than to marry at a young age. Again, she spends more money on beautifying aids and clothes than her mother or grandmother did. She is, in fact, the cynosure of a sex culture which abounds around her—in the newspapers and magazines, on the television screen and in the movies. She does not worry about development of her abilities. The greatest reality for her is the boy-girl relationship that she hopes will develop eventually into the husband-wife relationship.

As wife, this woman of the "feminine mystique" engages in endless housekeeping tasks and cookery—the busier she can keep herself, the better. The more gadgetry she uses, the more time is taken up in a superstructure of petty tasks and the less time she spends on broader thought, or involvement on problems outside her door.

This woman wants more children than her mother had. She is described in the book as a woman taught to live without her own identity—"the woman behind the man," the mother, whose lack of development and long-term interests of her own urges her to participate to a large extent in the life of her husband and children. She is stultified and stultifying. She inhibits her children from self-sufficiency and teaches them to cling to her, sopping their personalities into her own, as a sponge.

"Many cultures pass on their conflicts to children, through the mothers," says Mrs. Friedan of the college women interviewed, "but in the modern cultures of the civilized world, not many educate their strongest, ablest women to make a career of their own children."

She points out that Dr. Spock noted that Russian children, whose "mothers usually have some purpose in their lives besides motherhood—they work in medicine, science, education, industry, government, art—seemed somehow more stable, adjusted, mature, than American children, whose full-time mothers do nothing but worry about them. Could it be that Russian women are somehow better mothers because they have a serious purpose in their own lives?"

And so we come to the middle age of this woman described by Betty Friedan. She has devoted her life to the full-time pursuits of being wife and mother. Now in middle age, her child-bearing days over, terrible emptiness besets her. Her reason for being, under the "feminine mystique," has run its course, and she is lost and without identity. The children have left home. The years are purposeless before her, and she has difficulty knowing what to do with her time.

Betty Friedan's conclusion is that there must be a new way of life for women, which will reclaim them and their abilities for the world around them. Women must have a life in which they perform work in which they have a sustained interest. With education the tool, women must become part of the world around them and make meaningful contributions to society. They will, thus, reclaim their identities and live happier lives.

In World War II and Today

The "feminine mystique" is actually a revival of an old, reactionary concept of woman's position in society. During World War II, women were making important contributions in every area, in the shops where the men had been, in the professions, on every job level. The woman in the factory went to work with the plaudits of society ringing around her. She was told her work was of the highest importance in the total war effort. How had it been possible to change this?

Betty Friedan attributes the change to a subjective response to the end of the war. She says that after World War II, the women, too long separated from their men, were very willing to devote themselves to keeping the home fires bright, to make comfortable homes for their husbands and start the large families that had been postponed. And the culture of the day fell into step.

Mrs. Friedan speaks of the motivational research people who chart human motivation in order to advise industry how to sell its products. She notes how they have advised industry to direct advertising to the women in the home so that she feels her home is a means of expression for her. But she does not see the conscious attempt after World War II to push women back into the home—at the dictates of industry.

The actuality was that women were given war-time opportunities because they were sorely needed in the war-time labor market. Once the need for women was over, they were shunted out of their jobs. The soldiers who were returning home were determined that industry should keep its promise to have their jobs waiting. It became desirable to funnel women out of the labor market again.

Once more fiction, movies, television, newspapers, magazines mobilized. They began discarding material on "career women." Women were told to go back to being women—that is, to go back to the home and concentrate on the holy career of being wife and mother.

The Special Burdens of Working Women

However, there is the fact that one-third of all women are working

at this time. Betty Friedan sees these working women as insignificant in number, and working, not because of a long-term personal commitment, but because these women want a few extra dollars to spend on new appliances or to help children go to college.

Her picture of the working women is, of course, out of focus. In spite of the all-out effort to push women back into the home, a sizable portion soon became wage earners again. Post-war inflation quickly shrank the dollar wages of the working man. Industry began producing the consumer needs which had so long been denied. There were electric washers, electric dryers, new automobiles, and television sets. Credit buying was encouraged.

There was an American dream of abundance, for those who could afford it. To achieve this dream of American life, which was flaunted on every billboard and in every magazine, it was clear that one salary was insufficient. Cash reserves disappeared with inflation. With the beginning of build-up of materiel for the cold war, high taxes completed the job. Two salaries were needed in many homes, not for luxuries, but for the upkeep of the family.

The women who went back to work received lower wages and worked in less skilled categories than men. The problems of the wife and mother at work escalated when automation became a major factor in American life. Thousands of men, found expendable in the production process, were dismissed from their jobs. Many women found themselves the sole support of the family.

These working women live under conditions which are a hundred-fold more difficult and complicated than the position of Betty Friedan's middle class woman. They suffer from some of the most severe contradictions of present day society. In the shops and offices today, the working woman endures the most severe speed-up, exhausting her physically and mentally. She is burdened, furthermore, by the pervading tenets of the "feminine mystique." She is not in a position to serve her husband and children as much as she would like. She can't keep her home in a manner which conforms with the standards of the non-working woman. She largely has the responsibility for the disposition of her children. They are in nurseries, if she can afford it, or cared for by older relatives and neighbors. Their condition, health and problems generally, are mainly her responsibility to handle. After her working day, the responsibility of house-keeping tasks also rests mainly on her shoulders, even though sometimes the husband shares some of this work. To this woman, every day means a family crisis, which takes its toll in weariness and nervousness.

And, for the most part, believing in the mystique, she hopes for the time when "things are better" so she can return to her home and her tasks there. She is still home-oriented.

If she is a member of an organization—trade union, fraternal or church group—she listens to someone she believes much wiser than she—a man—and if it is a woman, she feels this woman is "different."

Reports state that the largest segment of those unemployed are women, to add to the deepening of her problem. The Negro woman still finds only a token answer to her demand for equal job opportunities. She is low on the totem pole, indeed. In many cases she is the domestic help Betty Friedan urges the middle class woman to invest in, so she may have time for pursuit of her capabilities and identity. But what about identity for this domestic worker, and development of her capabilities? Betty Friedan is not involved in this problem. But we are.

This working woman rarely has time for anything but the most essential tasks. Yet the "feminine mystique" has spun a spider's web about her, telling her she is not able to concern herself with anything else—she is really not fit. She has no responsibility for policy in the organizations to which she may belong, she believes; her role is to be a follower and to do the most routine of tasks.

It would be stupid to say this picture paints all women. But we must agree that this describes the majority of working women. If we do not recognize the problem, we will be unable to cope with it.

Vital Role of Women

Is it important that these working women and working-class housewives make their contribution to society and find an identity?

The deep involvement and militancy of heroic Negro women in the marches and sit-ins of the Freedom Movement points up this need. The fact that the peace movement in the United States is composed largely of women points up the need for considering the problem of women in the present day more seriously. Would not a base of working-class women in the peace movement add additional significance and power?

Giving more attention to the problems of working-class women can only result in building a powerful reservoir for work in the peace and freedom movements, in the trade unions and other progressive organizations.

What, then, can be done?

Betty Friedan sees the answer in additional opportunities for education. Women should be subsidized, she says, so they can study

and develop themselves to perform a significant role in the professional and cultural fields. She sees the need of a GI-kind of bill for women, where, possibly, part-time college-level study can be organized so the woman with a family can pay attention to her family and yet continue her studies on a day to day basis.

There is certainly nothing wrong with this. Women with small children should, indeed, press for a recognition of their need for continuing education. With many working-class women, this will consist, not only of custom-built educational forms at a college level, but at a high school level. Basically required are free educational opportunities, which take into consideration that children must be cared for while the mother is studying. There could be staggered courses taking place at various hours of the day, baby-sitter cooperatives, television courses, accredited, during the day. All this would be useful.

For many working-class women, however, it is impractical to believe that they will have the time and money to spend to get their college degrees, even though the goal of further formal education, to be won individually and collectively, should not be ignored. Nevertheless it is of utmost importance for working-class women to receive education and training. An earnest and non-routine approach is necessary. In the trade unions and other progressive and working-class organizations, study groups and seminars should be organized specifically for women, aimed at broadening their knowledge of the political and economic life around them, and involving them in activities.

Committees of men and women should be responsible for this. They must realize that careful and persistent approaches must be made to recruit women into such courses. Concern about caring for the children so that she can attend such courses must be shared by such committees and methods created so that this can be achieved. This may mean working with husbands so that they understand this need for development of women's horizons.

Such attention to women will undoubtedly result in the strengthening of the organizations which promote it. These committees should work with individual promising women and promote them to leadership. But their main tasks should be pushing forward the more backward women who are slow to respond to the needs of the organization.

When women are aroused, they have made heroic marks on the canvas of history. From the days of slavery, through the days of fighting for the right to vote by women, to the women marching

on the picket lines for peace, or sitting down in the streets and courthouses of the country for an end to segregation, women can be proud of their militancy and their achievements. These women should be given consideration and help in their problems and assistance in these struggles. Hundreds and thousands more women must be involved.

Socialism Guarantees True Equality

It is hardly necessary to point out that, as with all problems of the working class, socialism with its true concern for the individual, is the ultimate answer for striking down the barriers which prohibit development of women.

When the Soviet Union was living through its earliest and most perilous years, Lenin gave his attention to this question. He cited as one of the "first and most important tasks" of the new country, overcoming the degraded position of women, particularly felt in every day family life.

He considered release from household drudgery a prime task: "...most of this housework is totally unproductive, most barbarous and most arduous. This labor is extremely petty and contains nothing that would in the slightest degree facilitate the development of women." He said, "As long as women are engaged in housework their position is still a restricted one. In order to achieve the complete emancipation of women and to make them really equal with men, we must have ... the participation of women in general productive labor. Then women will occupy the same position as men." He clarified, further: "This, of course, does not mean that women must be exactly equal with men in the productivity of labor and amount of labor, duration of labor, etc. But it does mean that women shall not be in an oppressed economic position compared with men." And in the Soviet Union working-class and peasant women went on to become university professors, doctors, factory supervisors, judges, and expert technicians in the production processes.

The health and safety measures for working women, which Lenin indicates when he discusses that equality, does not mean equal duration, etc., in labor—these measures exist in shops and offices in our own country, through government regulation. It is of prime importance that these measures of rest periods and safety measures are enforced by the trade unions. Trade unions might also be concerned with the need for well-run free, or low-cost nurseries, where children of working families can be cared for until the parent returns from work.

Women, who cannot attend formal classes, can meet with other

women in small study groups. There they can read and study in chosen fields. This applies both to women who are working and women in the homes. These women can decide among themselves how the baby-sitters can be taken care of in a joint effort. Husbands can help here, or joint baby-sitters can be hired, to take care of several children at once.

As Betty Friedan sees it, the "feminine mystique," is choking the potentiality of women by keeping them remote from the world and its work, and thus, in an inferior position to men. She is rightfully concerned about the unhappiness and futility felt by many, many women.

This is a very important consideration for fostering the development of women and stepping up their participation. But more important, is the fact that not only are her numbers needed in the important movements of today which may decide our country's course for years to come, but women's talents and abilities must be fostered and developed to enrich these struggles.

It is my hope that this article, which is only a beginning discussion of this problem, may initiate further discussion.

COMMUNICATIONS

ERIK BERT

Another Look at the TR Statement

Now that more than a year has elapsed since the publication of the Triple Revolution statement, it is worth while taking another look at the document and at some of the discussion inspired by it.

I

The discussion has focused largely on the "guaranteed income" proposal which was widely interpreted, by friend and foe, as a kind of national free lunch counter. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution had urged, in its statement of March 22, 1964, that "society, through its appropriate legal and governmental institutions, undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and every family with an adequate income as a matter of right."

Those who favored it saw the proposal as a necessary device for disposing of the goods extruded by the cybernated cornucopia, which would otherwise smother us. The opposition saw the proposal as a monstrous dole, undermining the struggle for jobs. In contrast, Michael D. Reagan, one of the TR signers, argues that the guaranteed income would

"strengthen the bargaining position of labor." Its impact would be similar to that of the minimum wage. ("For a Guaranteed Income," *New York Times Magazine*, June 7, 1964.)

It has been argued that the struggle for a "guaranteed income" for the jobless—the figure of \$3,000 per family has been suggested—will hamper the struggle against poverty, because the struggle against poverty must be a struggle for jobs. The same minimum guarantee has been condemned, on the other hand, as being inadequate.

Furthermore, the *Monthly Review* is fearful that the capitalist class will accept the guaranteed income proposal. This would "tend to dull the sense of anger and outrage," "would be, like religion, an opiate of the people, tending to strengthen the status quo," and would, thus, divert us from a "genuinely revolutionary movement." ("The Triple Revolution," *Monthly Review*, November 1964.)

The pros and cons cited above fail to deal with the central fact, that the poorest people of this nation are \$11 billion below the

poverty line in annual income, according to an estimate of the Council of Economic Advisers; that an addition to their income of \$11 billion is necessary to bring them up to the poverty line. The struggle for a guaranteed minimum annual income is not a struggle against jobs for all; it is a struggle for a minimum decent standard of living for all, with or without jobs.

The import of the guaranteed income proposal was suggested long before the Ad Hoc group appeared on the scene, in the title of a Communist Party pamphlet in the 1930s: *Work or Wages*. While the title limped theoretically, as was pointed out at that time, it did present, emphatically, the demand of the working class that the capitalist state assure jobs or, in the absence of jobs, the means to sustain life.

The TR statement deals with the guaranteed income idea in two variants; in one, as an extension of existing welfare assistance; in the other, as bridging the allegedly widening cleft between prodigious production and few or no jobs. One variant relates to the present, the other to the threatening future.

In the words of the Ad Hoc Committee, in the first variant: "The unqualified right to an income would take the place of the patchwork of welfare measures—from unemployment insurance to relief—designed to ensure that no citizen or resident of the U.S. actually starves."

On the other hand, Richard

Loring believes that the TR statement, in "taking its stand that consumption should be divorced from the employment and everyone should have 'the unqualified right to an income' . . . "is going even beyond the basic principles of socialism" . . . "is actually talking about what amounts to a future Communist society. . . ." (*Communist Commentary on "The Triple Revolution,"* Los Angeles, May 1964, mimeo.)

The fundamental significance of the TR guaranteed income proposal lies, however, in the demand that capitalist society should provide the 35 million living below the poverty line, with a decent livelihood—even if it cannot, will not, provide jobs for all. It is, in effect, a demand that the federal government appropriate the \$11 billion required to bring the 35 million who are under the poverty line up to the \$3,000 family income level.

The guaranteed income demand is a clear answer to a specific issue. It is incumbent on those who oppose it to provide an alternative answer to the specific issue: *how shall the millions who persist in poverty—with or without jobs — be provided a decent existence.*

The demand for a \$2.00 federal minimum wage, with pervasive coverage, is such a specific proposal. The demand for adequate federal standards of unemployment insurance and of welfare assistance is another such proposal. The demand for an adequate income, guaranteed by the federal

government, covers both areas. It would embrace, in addition, millions of poverty-stricken farmers and other self-employed persons.

In a speech last fall to the South Dakota Farmers Union convention, James Patton, National Farmers Union president, urged legislation guaranteeing "family farmers . . . annual net income, before income taxes, of not more than \$5,000 per family farm . . . after all costs of production have been taken into account." Patton offered this "new concept" because the programs for which the Farmers Union has fought have turned to ashes. The extinction of the small farmers, and of the middle-size ("family") farmers who constitute the base of the Farmers Union membership, goes on inexorably. That is why Patton demanded a guaranteed annual income for the "family" farmers, even though, he added: "We will be accused of socialism. We will be accused of seeking to destroy the free enterprise system." ("Proposals for Prosperity," *Congressional Record*, October 20, 1964. pp. A5389-5390.)

The guaranteed annual income proposal leads a double life in the Triple Revolution. It is offered on the one hand, as we have said, as an extension of existing welfare disbursements. On the other hand, it deals not with the ills of this world, but with the far greater ills that the Ad Hoc supporters prophesy. In its second variant the guaranteed income proposal relates to a world where only a few men work.

But the fundamental issue is the demand for a federally-guaranteed adequate income for all. This demand, which has been supported by the Ad Hoc group, should be distinguished severely from the extrapolation by this group into the wild blue. Otherwise it is possible, as has been demonstrated in the TR discussion during the past year, that the need, for say, an \$11 billion addition to the income of the poorest will be forgotten, while the battle rages on the Utopian fields which the Ad Hoc knights have chosen as the arena.

II

One of the crucial problems facing the Ad Hoc group is the relation between the struggle for immediate demands and the emancipation of humanity from the evils of capitalism. The TR statement holds, for example, that: "The demand of the civil rights movement" for jobs for Negroes "cannot be fulfilled within the present context of society" because the "social community" which the Negro seeks to enter, and which is based on the "tradition of work-and-income," is in the "process of vanishing" because "jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines."

In saying that the job fight for Negroes cannot be won, the Ad Hoc Committee declares, in effect, that the struggle for civil rights cannot be victorious under capitalism. Theoretically, this is

false. There is nothing in the nature of capitalist relations to prevent Negroes from acquiring the same rights as whites. Whether these rights will be won under capitalism is another question.

Capitalism breeds unemployment, that embraces the entire working class. Until the struggle for civil rights is won, the Negro people will suffer most under the "normal" functioning of capitalism. But that does not prove, as the Ad Hoc group implies, that the struggle for civil rights, including victory on the jobs front, cannot be won. The Ad Hoc committee is, therefore, wrong in asserting the *impossibility* of civil rights being won under capitalism. That position has serious consequences.

It is a call to inaction on the issue of jobs, though this issue is an integral part of the civil rights revolution which the TR statement endorses. Worse, it provides the basis for subverting the civil rights struggle from immediate democratic demands, and diverting it to so-called "revolutionary" objectives. George and Louise Crowley, in their article "Beyond Automation" make this plain. They, too, call for inaction on the job issue. They argue that it is not worth fighting for jobs for Negroes, for the jobs will "soon (be) lost to automation." (*Monthly Review*, November 1964.) Joblessness resulting from the automation should not be countered by attempts of the working class to "hold on to existing jobs and to create others,"

the Crowleys advise. They disdain the "little alleviating" that this would achieve, and urge the working class to hasten after the "desireable new state of society" instead.

They warn also that "all attempts to reclaim some of the lost jobs" from the capitalists by "reducing hours, etc., only serve to unleash new rounds of automation."

The Crowleys argue that the fight for jobs for Negroes is in vain because of automation. *But automation has nothing to do with their case. Thus, they preach fatalism and counsel passivity in relation to the right to vote and to integrated education.* They declare that it is not worth fighting for the right to vote, for the vote will be "nullified by class bias of the electoral system." Similarly, integrated schools are not worth the struggle, for such schools provide only "unsegregated indoctrination." Their position is, in short, that it is not worth fighting for jobs for Negroes since, even if such jobs were won, capitalism would remain; it is not worth fighting for the right to vote since, even if the right were won, capitalism would remain; it is not worth fighting for integrated education since, even if it were won, capitalism would remain.

The Ad Hoc position on jobs for Negroes implies that the struggle for jobs, for the shorter work week, even for the public works programs that the Ad Hoc Committee itself supports, is in

vain, because the world of jobs is vanishing. It implies not only that no gains can be achieved, but that no defensive battles can be won, to forestall further deterioration. The Ad Hoc no-jobs plank is, therefore, a call to inaction, to passivity, to acceptance of the repression which capitalism visits on the working class—all in the name of the coming "new society."

The Crowleys extend the opposition to reforms to the whole front. They argue that the reforms which the "enlightened wing" of the capitalist class advances, or accedes to, because it "sees advantages in social tranquility," are as much to be abhorred as the program advanced by the most reactionary wing of the capitalist class. They spurn such a reform program even though it "may alleviate poverty; it may end racial discrimination; it may thaw the Cold War and cool off the hot ones; it may considerably reform the economic structure." None of this shoddy merchandise for the Crowleys! For they know that the capitalist class will make these concessions only to "secure a more placid population, more conformable to its control." The Crowleys thus reject the struggle for concessions, spurn partial successes; and argue there is no crucial difference between a fascist and a non-fascist capitalist course.

III

The Ad Hoc group holds that "the industrial production system

is no longer viable"; that the contradictions in our situation demand a "fundamental reexamination of existing values and institutions"; that "fundamental changes" in our society are necessary. Its programmatic economic goal is "the conscious and rational direction of economic life by planning institutions under democratic control," a "political and economic order in which wealth is distributed by and for people, and used for the widest social benefit."

Underlying the Ad Hoc's perspective of planning and democracy is the "central assumption" that "the nation is moving into a society in which production of goods and services is not the only or perhaps the chief means of distributing income."

But, if we are to foresake capitalism as the Ad Hoc perspective implies, the question presents itself: *What is going to be done about the private ownership of the means of production?* The Ad Hoc supporters avoid that question. But without a resolution of capitalist private property, the perspective of social planning under democratic control is at best daydreaming.

The Crowleys disintegrate capitalist ownership with a few chosen words. The cybernation revolution, they say, "points away from private ownership of the means of production, but not toward their collective ownership"; there will be neither "ownership nor management" of the "fully automated productive complex." "Who owns the air?" they ask as a clincher.

The implication is that the expropriation of the capitalists by a socialist state is a futile gesture, or worse, for non-ownership is on the order of the day.

IV

While the Ad Hoc group has no idea how we are going to get off the capitalist spot, it is agreed on relegating the working class to an auxiliary role in social change. Its statement accepts the continuing, if declining, existence of the working class but considers its participation in social change only in its trade union aspect. It sees the trade unions playing "an important and significant role" in what they call the period of transition between capitalism and the "new society."*

But the role which the Ad Hoc group sees for the trade unions during the "transition" is in fact a program of liberal perspectives under capitalism. It has nothing to do with a transition from

* The "transition" program proposed by the Ad Hoc committee includes nationwide development of urban and interurban rapid transit facilities; a "public power system built on the abundance of coal in distressed areas" to produce low-cost power; rehabilitation of obsolete military bases for community or educational use; a "major revision of our tax structure aimed at redistributing income as well as apportioning the costs of the transition period equitably." The "transition" suggestions contemplate "expenditures of several billions more each year than are now being spent

capitalism to a new society. This is, in effect, a denial of the historic and necessary role of the working class in the replacement of capitalist society by a new social system. To this end, Alice Mary Hilton and the Crowleys provide substitute candidates for the vanguard role.

The crucial role in social change, Miss Hilton implies, belongs to the "unorganized consumer" (*Fellowship Magazine*, May 1964).

And contrary to Marx and Engels, the Crowleys declare, "the working class is not the class to bring about this revolution." The reason is that "the working class (is) mortally concerned . . . to preserve the value of labor power"; and the "institutions" of the working class, presumably the trade unions, "will work to preserve" the "continuance of the value of human labor power."

That is, the working class objects to having its wages cut by the capitalists and, through its

for socially rewarding enterprises" and a "larger role for the government in the economy."

Robert Theobald and James Boggs, in a footnote to the "transition" section of the TR statement, declare that "the specific proposals outlined in this section are more suitable for meeting the problem of the scarcity-economic system" — capitalism — "than for advancing through the period of transition into the period of abundance." They see that the TR "transition" is not a transition out of capitalism but a program for changes within capitalism. Theobald and Boggs, however, offer no substitute.

unions, resists such repression. As a consequence, the aim of the working class, according to the Crowleys, "will be to contain the revolution." The working class movement and the socialist movement "can only hinder" the "new society," and they "thus prove counter-revolutionary also" (my italics—EB). In brief, the working class, because it struggles against the capitalist class to maintain its living standards, is counter-revolutionary. The Crowleys' "truly revolutionary class" is the "lumpenproletariat," or "lumpens" for short. These "lumpens" "do not work; they do not expect to work again . . . they do not want to work." They have a "common aspiration to consume the fruits of humanity's conquest of nature without submitting to repressive social relations." They "simply adjust to living on welfare." To this "lumpen proletariat" the Crowleys assign the "transformation of society and the transformation of man."

Capitalism is to be overthrown, or superseded by, the lumpenproletariat, whose chief characteristic is absence of class consciousness or even elementary class feeling. The Crowleys attempt to disguise the nullity of their vanguard by dumping into it a mass of non-lumpen working people. To

this end they consign "the hardcore unemployed and the young people who will never find jobs; the ex-miners of Appalachia and the ex-auto workers of Detroit," a "great many of whom are Negro, many are Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Indian."

For those who will not accept the proposition that the lumpenproletariat will lead us into the new society the Crowleys offer a more appealing idea. It is that the revolution will be paced, on the national scene, by the "Negro struggle" and in the international arena by the "colonial movements." In the "ideology and tactics" of these two movements the Crowleys "read a forecast of the next step in man's humanization." The Negro people and the colonial people "prefigure the new society."

The purpose of this proposition is the same as that of the propositions that the revolution will be led by the consumers, or by the lumpenproletariat. It is to destroy the idea that the next step in society's advance can only be achieved under the leadership of the working class. The purpose, in respect to the international scene, is to scuttle the historic role played by the Soviet Union, and the role that must be played by the working class of the capitalist countries.

FRED DAVIS

The Soviet Judicial System

This book,* written by a young American who lived in Moscow for a year where he was studying and gathering material for a doctoral dissertation on Soviet Law, is a very interesting and at times absorbing presentation of trials and court procedure in the Soviet Union, and particularly in Moscow. Actual cases are reported as they were witnessed by the author and these human interest trials, often detailed with quoted testimony, speeches and remarks of judges and counsel, make the book of interest to the layman as well as to the legal profession. While divorces and some other types of civil cases are briefly discussed, the book deals mainly with criminal cases and primarily with those tried in the lower courts. The author has endeavored to report on the administration of the law as he witnessed it, in an objective manner and from the point of view of the Soviet people. However, one brought up in a system of jurisprudence such as we have here inevitably has set up minimum standards as norms by

which any other system is judged and these are difficult to discard. This was true for the author; it is equally true for this reviewer.

Soviet Society and the Courts

There are two significant characteristics of the Soviet juridical system that distinguish it from ours. The first is its relationship to the government; the second is its relationship to the community. Under our system, we consider the judiciary, while part of the government, to be outside of it, capable of dealing impartially between it and the individual who comes in conflict with it. Though this is partly a fiction, it is because of this dichotomy that the courts are called upon to strike down legislation or to enjoin administrative acts which are claimed to be unconstitutional or illegal. In the Soviet system, the courts are frankly declared to be an organ for carrying out government policy. Since the basic aim of its policy is to create a socialist society and to foster and develop socialist consciousness in its citizens, the court is required to function as one of the important means of such education and development. The goals sought and the

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relation of the courts to them is set forth in the Federal Fundamentals of Court Structure:

In all of its activity the court educates citizens of the USSR in a spirit of dedication to the Fatherland and to Communism, a spirit of strict and steadfast observance of Soviet laws, of concern for socialist property . . . of respect for the rights, honor and dignity of citizens and for the rules of socialist living and behavior.

It is thus a commonplace for the judge to chide a defendant, "That is an unheard of attitude toward work and life in our socialist society!" Or even to scold a witness, "You, the single Communist present—what did you do to stop the nonsense?" The educative process is not confined to the courtroom where defendants and spectators are often lectured by the judge on proper conduct and behavior, but seminars on crime prevention are held by the judges and often trials are held in factories or collectives, if the offenses involved arose there.

The other aspect mentioned, the relation of the courts to the community is manifested in many ways. Holding trials in the very places where offenders work or live is but one. In every court, the judge has two associates, called "lay assessors," elected by the workers at factories and other places of employment who sit for two weeks a year for two years. They have equal power with the judge to question witnesses and participate in all decisions that have to be made, including verdicts

and punishment. They can therefore outvote the judge whenever they wish to do so. Frequently, the factory where the defendant works or the house in which he lives, will vote to send a representative to appear at the trial in its behalf to express the views of his associates on his guilt or innocence, his character and reputation and on possible sentence.

Humanistic Due Process

These two basic characteristics of Soviet jurisprudence are reflected in the procedures at the trial. The defendant's background, his record at work, any previous offenses or complaints against him, are all explored in connection with the offense charged. It is the particular man who is on trial—not any man who is charged with an offense. This permits witnesses to testify who may know nothing about the circumstances of the particular offense, but as fellow-workers or neighbors do know a great deal about the man. This is unlike our system, where only after a person is found guilty does the court concern itself with the particular man in imposing sentence. In our courts, all such matters are generally deemed irrelevant and improper at a trial. Under Soviet procedure before the trial, every case is investigated by the police or procurator (like the District Attorney), including an examination of the defendant, and all his statements as well as those of witnesses are verified or disproved before the trial. If the examina-

* George Feifer, *Justice in Moscow*, Simon and Schuster, \$5.95.

tion discloses the defendant's innocence, he is discharged without a trial. The commission of the offense charged is therefore generally assumed or admitted by the defendant, and the trial concerns itself mainly with the cause and the circumstances thereof. Defendants frequently are unrepresented by counsel, for their function at a trial is much more limited than in our trials, where they at times can be most decisive.

In this country we pride ourselves on the "due process" and "fair trial" which every defendant is presumably guaranteed by our common and constitutional law. But in fact these safeguards are often observed in the most mechanical and superficial ways. Not only have they been generally meaningless in the trial of Negroes in southern courts, but indigent defendants throughout the country have all too frequently been "railroaded" through so-called trials.

The Soviet concern about the man involved in the offense—rather than the offense itself—reflected in the investigations which the prosecutor must make, the presence of lay judges and the invited participation of his neighbors and co-workers at the trial, afford a defendant a humanistic "due process" that is much more meaningful and profound than ours.

However, to this reader at least, some of the sentences meted out in the cases reported seem unduly severe and even harsh. For example, one year in a labor colony for at-

tempted theft of a pair of boots while apparently in a drunken state; the same for a taxi driver who hit and seriously injured an elderly man on a stormy day, when the man suddenly stepped off the sidewalk; three years to each of four youth who stole three rolls of tar paper from their factory; five years in a labor colony under strict regime for assault with intent to rape, under very provocative circumstances. These may be selected and atypical, but one gets the impression they are not unusual.

Nevertheless, the author's impression from conversations with people in many walks of life, seems to be that the administration of justice is generally regarded as fair and socially useful.

Socialist Consciousness

The perspectives with respect to criminal conduct in the developing future and its control seem to lie in two directions. On the one hand, there is the firm belief of those active in criminal administration, including defense lawyers, that the changing society in which they live is creating a changed man—a Socialist man—and that this will be reflected in his behavior. As one judge said to the author:

Only when everyone is fully conscious of what it means to be a Soviet citizen will there be no crime. There is no such thing as human nature. Man is the product of his surroundings, of the social and economic system which molds him. Change the mold and you change the man.

One of the functions of the courts, as was said, is precisely to help develop this socialist consciousness.

With this perspective there follows another development, that of community policing of crime or misbehavior. It is called "Obshchestvennost." At present, the community may participate at trials. With the gradual elimination of criminal practices, the need for government supervision will decline, the courts will wither away, and the "Obshchestvennost" will do its own disciplining of misconduct and unsocial behavior.

There are already in practice Comrade's Courts and Anti-Parasite Tribunals administered by factory, farm or apartment house.

These perspectives with regard to the social character of crime and social responsibility distinguishes even the present administration of justice in the Soviet Union from that of other countries. It reflects a belief in and a striving for a new kind of society where such perspectives can be realized. This is a tremendous challenge to the rest of the world. The author has performed a very useful service in bringing it to the attention of his readers.

A. W. FONT

The AFL's Formative Years

In its 80 years of existence the American Federation of Labor (now the AFL-CIO) has had only three presidents: Samuel Gompers, William Green, and George Meany. (We ignore a fourth who served 1894-5.) If you are, let's say, in your fifties or older, your life has spanned all three of them. And if your ideas are at all advanced, politically speaking, you have probably always been more or less in opposition to whoever happened at any moment to be president of the AFL.

Class collaborationism and political conservatism have been the hallmarks of AFL presidents and of the organization itself ever

since American imperialism matured—in other words, since the Twentieth Century began. The marvel is that so anachronistic an organization as the American Federation of Labor has so long endured.

Of course it is not enough to marvel over such a phenomenon, one should try to understand and explain it. To attempt to do so would take us beyond the intended scope of this review and further than space limitations permit. But a simple-minded stab at it could be stated in the following terms: For the protection of workers even a poor organization is better than none at all. In fact, the

absence of an organization would represent a vacuum which would inevitably have to be filled. Such is the law of class struggle. One thinks, for example, of the International Longshoremen's Association when it was under the leadership of the late "King" Joe Ryan. A less perfect instrument for the protection of workers' rights can hardly be imagined. Yet it cannot be seriously suggested that the longshoremen would have been better off without their union, Joe Ryan and all. Certainly the members didn't think so.

These random and rather gloomy thoughts are occasioned by two wholly unrelated events: on the one hand we have recently been reading the saber-rattling speeches of David Dubinsky and George Meany in which these two contemporary, aging, labor leaders took a position somewhat to the right of President Johnson in foreign policy; and on the other hand we have just read Philip S. Foner's *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Volume III*.^{*} This volume is subtitled: *The Policies and Practices of the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1909*.

* * *

Foner's opening chapters portray the opening of the Twentieth Century with its contrasts and contradictions; with its vigorous

^{*} Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: Volume III*, International Publishers, New York, 1964. Cloth, \$7.50.

boom of capitalist prosperity and expansion, and the accompanying misery and poverty of the masses of workers; the upsurge of unionism and of the socialist movement together with the employers' ruthless drive to break strikes and to crush the unions—through political power, bribery, and naked violence.

What follows in the *History* does not make a pleasant story. In fact, it is rather depressing, for it tells in documented detail, in case after case, how the legitimate aspirations of the workers, who were ready to fight for their rights, were repeatedly thwarted by the ineptness, the villainy and, basically, by the ideological backwardness and bankruptcy of their leaders.

Chapters three and four describe the unholy alliance between a section of the AFL top leadership and the leadership of U.S. finance capital as exemplified in the National Civic Federation. The NCF, that monstrous offspring of ill-mated parents, continued to plague the American labor movement for three decades until, during the militant drive of the 'thirties, it faded belatedly from the scene. But, at that, the NCF was the conspicuous symbol, not the totality, of the class-togetherness which marred the AFL.

In the history of the AFL during the first ten years of the present century is to be found the root—and sometimes the stalk and flower—of many of the ills which curb and distract the labor move-

ment to this day. Take "Business Unionism," for example. In an early chapter Foner shows how, in the 19th Century, this started as a serious attempt to introduce stability, firm financing, and proper accounting methods into the unions. But, before long, it was perverted into a system, essentially, of selling union service to the membership—a "business" in which the businessman ("leader") was often out mainly to enrich himself.

Then there is the chapter on "Craft Versus Industrial Unionism" in which we see the Federation sticking to its old craft lines despite the new development of huge industrial plants crying for vertical organization. And we learn of the destructive jurisdictional disputes and union scabbing which persist to this day where craft unions persist. We are told of the methods and policies which left women largely unorganized; of the Negro-exclusion policy which remains as a practice of many unions even where the law has nominally banished the policy. A chapter on immigrant workers pays tribute to the positive contributions the foreign born have made to the labor movement—at the same time as we are reminded of some shameful pages of labor history where immigrant workers were reviled and the exclusion of Asians advocated. Three chapters deal with the political policies of the AFL. These policies centered around a rejection of both socialist ideas and of independent

political action. And these policies remain, modified but not basically changed, in our own day.

* * *

The hundreds of pages which spell out the deficiencies of the old AFL, ranging from political backwardness to outright corruption, are brightened occasionally by a gleam, as of the proverbial good deed in a wicked world. The resurgent militancy of the workers, the incorruptible steadfastness of dedicated leaders, the selfless sacrifices of unsung heroes, the principled clarity of some of the socialist-minded—these are present too in a history which is dominated by the less worthy.

The last three chapters of the book afford partial relief from the prevailing picture of opportunism, error, and malice. They deal respectively with the socialist policy of "boring from within"; with the Western Federation of Miners (now surviving as the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers) and their brave resistance to overt military repression; and with the American Labor Union, a fighting organization which tried for a while to fill some of the gaps left vacant by the AFL.

Dr. Foner's plan for his book accounts in part for what may initially appear as a certain one-sidedness. Foner's plan for his multi-volume history of our labor movement calls for a sequel to the present volume which will partly overlap it chronologically. Reserved for Volume IV is the story of the Industrial Workers of the

World—the IWW—which is almost totally, and somewhat artificially, excluded from mention in the present volume. If it had been possible within the scope of Volume III to include the IWW and its surrounding movements, this might have served to offset to some degree the picture which evolves of a working class constantly frustrated either directly by the capitalists or indirectly by the lieutenants of the capitalists within the labor movement. The dissent, which manifested itself most conspicuously in the IWW, will be compartmented into a separate volume.

Dr. Foner's research for the present book took him, among other prime sources, to the archives of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C. There, for many years, working in the musty old basement, he had the opportunity to examine great piles of correspondence and irreplaceable copies of leaflets and pamphlets. Most of this material was later destroyed when the AFL moved to new quarters. The destruction of this material was an irremediable loss and Foner has done a great service, not only to the lay reader but also to future

historians, in preserving at least some of the treasure through his liberal use of documented quotations.

* * *

Philip Foner reminds us, and we say this in envy not in malice, of the important speaker who did not have time to make a short speech. In four volumes he gave us the *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*. He has turned out two volumes on the history of Cuba, and that's just the beginning. His first three volumes of labor history have not gotten past the first decade of the 1900's. These volumes are merely the introductory sections of a monumental work of fresh research and intelligent analysis.

A new, stirring, young generation could make good use of a one-volume history of the labor movement, up-to-date, emphasizing the inspiring, dogged, fighting qualities of the American working class and written with the keen Marxist insight of a Philip Foner. In fact, we'd like to see Foner take time out right now to write that book himself. In the meantime, we are told, Volume IV is in the works and we will be very happy to see it.

TO OUR READERS:

In the past several months we have noted a rising interest in *Political Affairs* among activists in the peace and freedom movements and, especially, among students on a number of campuses. Our February issue, containing the unpublished speech of Dr. Du Bois to high school graduates "On the Joy of Living" and a review of the struggles of the thirties in Alabama, was a sell-out. Requests for the May and June issues, with the series of articles on state monopoly capitalism in the United States, are still coming in. The remarkable letter to the Ecumenical Council by a group of Catholic worker-priests, which we reprinted in our June issue, has evoked considerable interest.

This response has been heartening. There is no doubt that a growing number of activists display a profound new social awareness and seek more fundamental answers to the problems of today. Many of them can be won to become readers of PA. But this cannot be done from our office alone. For this we need your active cooperation.

We know you are engaged in one or another of these current mass movements. Surely you are in direct contact with many activists to whom you can introduce *Political Affairs*. In every issue you will find one or more articles which you can use to interest them in the magazine.

Because we count on your help, we plan to secure 500 new readers in the period from Labor Day until the end of the year. Already a number of students have agreed to become volunteer sellers of the magazine on their campuses when the universities reopen. In New York City a group of young people are placing the magazine in bookstores close to the major campuses as a starter in getting subscriptions. We are offering a nine-month subscription to students for the special price of \$3.

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