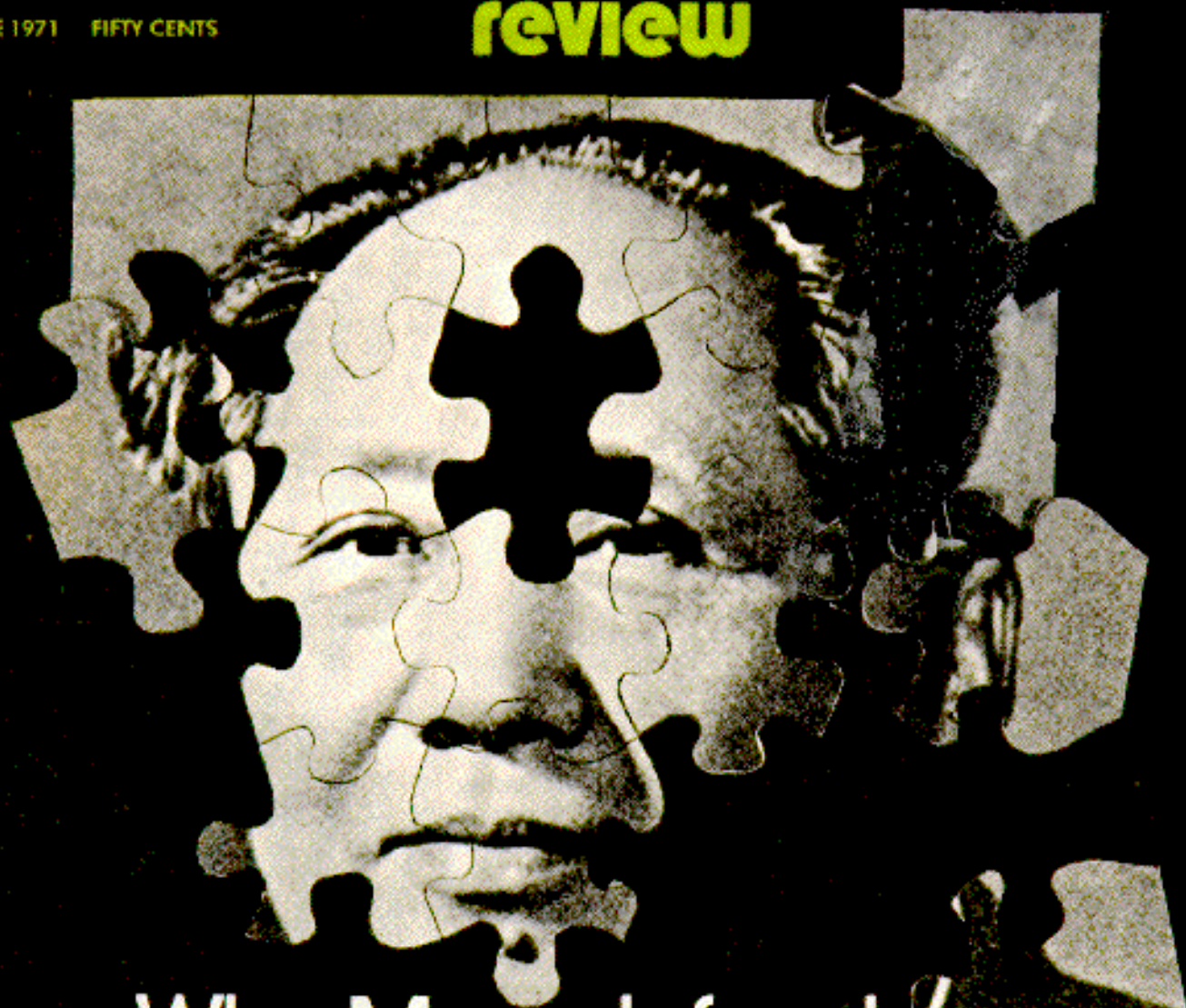


international **socialist** review

JUNE 1971 FIFTY CENTS



Why Mao defends
Bengal bloodbath

also: What's wrong
with the People's
Peace Treaty

The massive demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington on April 24 were followed in the ensuing weeks by continued antiwar activity throughout the country.

The depth of opposition to the war expressed by the participants and revealed in their large numbers was an indisputable answer to those commentators who only weeks prior to the actions were explaining how sentiment against the war was dying down. The April 19 *Washington Post*, only five days before the demonstrations, carried an article, "Campus Emotions Found Subsiding," a view in the same vein as the much publicized "The Cooling of America" which appeared in *Time*. However, rather than a subsiding interest, there has been a growing readiness to act.

On the July 2-4 weekend the National Peace Action Coalition, made up of a broad range of individuals and organizations against the war, and the initiator of the April 24 actions, has called a nationwide conference in New York City to continue to organize and reach out to the forces in opposition to the U. S. aggression in Indochina.

Sales of the *International Socialist Review* and the *Militant*, a weekly socialist newspaper, at the April 24 demonstrations indicated a lively interest in revolutionary socialist ideas. In Washington, 8,000 *Militants* and 1,000 ISRs were sold and in San Francisco 2,400 *Militants* and 400 ISRs.

The May ISR sold at the two demonstrations features an article, "Abortion: The fight of women to control their own bodies against the politicians, the church hierarchy and the United States government." Copies of the issue can still be obtained. The analysis answers the attacks of the right wing against the struggle for abortion and discusses how women can counter these attacks and build

a mass movement to win this basic right.

A 30 per cent discount is available to groups, instructors and bookstores on bundle orders. All orders must be prepaid.

The slogan "set the date" for U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam and the proposal of a People's Peace Treaty have been put forward by various forces in the antiwar movement as ways to end the war. The Communist Party among others has strongly supported these approaches. "What's Wrong With the People's Peace Treaty" by Dave Frankel, antiwar director of the Young Socialist Alliance, takes up arguments for "set the date" and the treaty and shows how they play into Nixon's hands.

"Why Mao Defends the Bloodbath in Bengal" by Les Evans, editor of the ISR, details the oppression of the Bengalis as the basis of their national struggle and analyzes Mao's unprincipled support of Yahya Khan in opposition to revolutionary struggle.

The roots of the contradictory nature of Mao's foreign policy—which combines revolutionary rhetoric with political support to reactionary capitalist regimes—are to be found in the Stalinist experience in the Soviet Union. The article by Leon Trotsky written in June 1939, "The Riddle of the USSR," and appearing here, in "Our Revolutionary Heritage" for the first time in English, predicted the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Trotsky finds the origins of Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers in the subordination of the interests of the world revolution and of the Russian workers to the narrow interests of a privileged bureaucracy. The article is a valuable tool in understanding the "peaceful coexistence" policy of both Mao and the Kremlin.

Trotsky's article is an example of one of the ways we want to use "Our Revolutionary Heritage," to examine past experiences of the revolutionary movement which have value for to-

day. We have recently received a number of items for this department, and we encourage readers to send in more.

Recent victories this April in Crystal City, Texas, by La Raza Unida Party, and increased efforts by Chicanos in building the party throughout the Southwest are confirmations of the viability of an independent Chicano party. "How We Built La Raza Unida in Crystal City" is by Jose Angel Gutierrez, a founder of the party in Crystal City. It first appeared in the magazine *La Raza* (vol. 1 no. 4, 1971) and is reprinted with their permission.

Gutierrez's account describes how Chicano nationalism, pride and militancy became organized into a political force.

"Progress: Reality or Illusion?" is part of a new book being written by Marxist philosopher George Novack, entitled *The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View*. George Novack is the author of many books and articles, an associate editor of the ISR, and a well-known lecturer.

Many new readers who bought an introductory subscription during our February-March six-week drive will find their subscriptions running out. Those who purchased the introductory offer or have since become acquainted with the ISR are urged to take advantage of a year subscription. The first issue you would receive would be the expanded, double issue we publish for July-August. We will resume our regular monthly schedule in September.

"Nixon's 'Solution' to the Pollution Crisis" which was advertised for this month has been held over to a future issue.

DAVE PRINCE

international **socialist** review

JUNE 1971 Vol. 32 No. 6

contents

- 7 **WHY MAO DEFENDS THE BLOODBATH IN BENGAL** By Les Evans
Peaceful coexistence with capitalism means opposing revolutions.
- 11 **PROGRESS: REALITY OR ILLUSION?** By George Novack
A noted Marxist philosopher looks at conflicting views on social evolution.
- 17 **HOW WE BUILT LA RAZA UNIDA IN CRYSTAL CITY** By Jose Angel Gutierrez
A participant's account of the new Chicano militancy in Texas.
- 21 **WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY** By Dave Frankel
A reply to the Communist Party.
- 28 **FEMALE INSANITY AND WOMEN'S OPPRESSION** By Stacey Joslin
A review of "Zelda" and "The Bell Jar."
-

- 2 **UP FRONT**
- 4 **PERSPECTIVES ON WORLD REVOLUTION**—Ceylon: Behind the socialist mask.
- 38 **BOOKS**
- 40 **OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE**—"The Riddle of the USSR" by Leon Trotsky. Here for the first time in English, a penetrating study of the Kremlin's diplomacy in which Trotsky predicted the Stalin-Hitler Pact.
-

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"How We Built La Raza Unida In Crystal City" by Jose Angel Gutierrez is reprinted with the permission of "La Raza" magazine (P.O. Box 31004, Los Angeles, California 90031).



Mao and Bengal. See page 7.

perspectives on world revolution

Ceylon: Behind the Socialist Mask

Elections last year in two widely separated countries raised considerable discussion about the possibility of achieving socialism without a mass working-class revolution. In Chile and Ceylon "leftist" coalitions—in both cases including liberal bourgeois parties as well as the Communist Party—took office promising to begin the construction of a socialist society.

Even many advocates of the doctrine of armed revolutionary struggle in Latin America announced themselves as supporters of the Allende regime in Chile, citing as justification the radical social program put forward by the Popular Front coalition that backed Allende.

The equally radical platform of the three-party coalition that swept to power in the May 27, 1970, elections in Ceylon had a similar effect in disorienting many radicals in Asia. But in less than a year the world witnessed the so-called leftist government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike engage in the wholesale execution of youthful revolutionists who had dared to challenge the sanctity of capitalist private property in Ceylon.

In both Chile and Ceylon the key to the "socialist" victory at the polls lay in an alliance of working-class parties with capitalist coalition partners, not in mobilizing the masses. This was evident from the absence

of mass struggles in the preelection period and in the relatively small shift in the vote that permitted the victors to take office. In the case of Chile, Allende won only a plurality, receiving even a smaller percentage of the vote than in the previous election when he was defeated. It was only the fact that the vote was split three ways instead of two that allowed Allende's Unidad Popular to win. At that, the bourgeois Radical Party holds the balance of power in his coalition.

The case in Ceylon was similar. The so-called United Front coalition—dominated by Sirimavo Bandaranaike's bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and including the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the renegade ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP)—won an overwhelming majority, but the real shift in allegiances was not significantly greater than in Chile. An examination of the voting patterns indicates that among older voters no great radicalization occurred and the ruling right-wing United National Party (UNP) received substantial support. It was among the youth, eighteen to twenty-one, who were first given the vote in 1965, that the greatest backing for the left-sounding United Front appeared. Of 700,000 young people participating in the 1970 election, almost 600,000 voted for the Bandaranaike coalition.

Yet it is precisely these youth who in the next year moved into open opposition to the government when it failed to carry out its socialist promises. Bandaranaike and her coalition partners, faced with the rapid erosion of their social base, were forced to choose between carrying out the nationalization of industry and the break with imperialist financial institutions they had pledged or silencing their critics on the left.

The most vociferous voices raised against the government came from the real Ceylonese Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)] and from the

young radicals grouped in the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front).

Because of their base among the urban working class—Bala Tampoe, who heads the LSSP(R), is also general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, one of the largest unions in the country—the genuine Trotskyists were not an easy target. The JVP, which was only formed a few years ago, is still mainly student-based and therefore more vulnerable.

The stage was set by a March 6 "attack" on the U. S. embassy in Colombo, attributed to the previously unheard of "Mao Youth Front." This is now widely believed to have been a deliberately fabricated provocation by either the government or the American embassy staff. In the aftermath, despite their denial of any responsibility for the alleged attack, hundreds of JVP members and leaders were arrested throughout the country.

On March 16 the Bandaranaike government declared a state of emergency and the crackdown became even more severe. Afraid of being decimated without a fight, the JVP, which commanded the loyalty of some tens of thousands of young people, threw its forces into determined armed resistance against the government's 25,000 troops and police.

In the weeks that followed, the tenacious fight put up by the young rebels lay bare the weakness of the class-collaborationist regime. To compensate for its lack of popular support the government began to use wholesale terrorism against large sections of the rural population in areas controlled by the insurgents. It also appealed to the most reactionary sources to secure military aid for use in restoring capitalist law and order.

Britain supplied small arms and ammunition as well as acting as intermediary for the sale of American helicopters at bargain prices. India and Pakistan suddenly composed their acrimonious differences over Bengal

to both send helicopters and, in the case of India, warships, to aid another capitalist regime in trouble with its people.

The greatest betrayal came in the actions of the workers states, which at least claim to be in favor of socialism. Ceylon's army commander confirmed April 21 that the Soviet Union was supplying six MIG-17 jet fighters with complete ground crews and flight instructors. It was later reported that the Kremlin was sending armored cars as well and that Yugoslavia was supplying automatic weapons. Peking published a series of diplomatic communiqués declaring its continued friendship for the Bandaranaike regime.

Moscow's policy of promoting pro-capitalist "People's Front" governments reached its nadir in Ceylon where in the name of unity and "peaceful coexistence" probably the broadest counterrevolutionary front in history was assembled to stop a revolution from succeeding. Truth was the first casualty of the Stalinists' drive to hang onto their bourgeois ally. Ceylon's housing minister Pieter Keuneman, who is head of the pro-Moscow CP, was quoted by the April 15 Colombo weekly *Ceylon News* as calling the left-wing JVP "potentially fascist" and saying that it "serves the interests of sinister forces who have not yet declared their hand." Inasmuch as American and British imperialism had already extended their hands to Keuneman and Bandaranaike, who was this phony scare supposed to refer to?

The real question is not who is behind the revolutionary struggles of the youth, but how was this counter-revolutionary governmental alliance formed, and how did it come to include a party that once considered itself Trotskyist?

Until 1964 the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The bourgeois press in the United States still persists in labeling these renegades as "Trotskyists." Nothing could be further from the truth. The counter-revolutionary course they chose to follow in 1964 has nothing in common with Trotskyism, and at that time they were expelled from the

Fourth International. Since then they have had no ties whatsoever with world Trotskyism.

A minority of the LSSP did refuse to abandon Marxism and fought against the LSSP entering the coalition. When that perspective was adopted, the minority left the LSSP and formed a new party, the LSSP(R). That party is now the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The LSSP (Ceylon Equal Society Party) was the oldest and largest working-class party in the country. It founded most of the large unions in the 1930s. Many of its leaders, well known as Marxist thinkers, were imprisoned during World War II for continuing to demand independence from British rule. The pro-Moscow party, a small splinter from the LSSP, was thoroughly discredited by its uncritical support to British imperialism during the war.

In 1953 the LSSP led a massive general strike, organizing the struggle to gain immediate improvements in workers' living conditions while clearly stating its perspective of a socialist overthrow of the capitalist regime.

At the same time, there were serious weaknesses in the LSSP leadership that were well known to the Fourth International and strenuous efforts were made over the years to correct them, although these proved unsuccessful.

In the years of relative stability following independence in 1948, LSSP leaders such as Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene began to adapt to the idea that the transition to socialism could be achieved through parliamentary means. This reformist outlook was implicit rather than explicit until the late 1950s.

Unfortunately, objective conditions made it difficult for the world Trotskyist movement to participate fully in the discussion going on in Ceylon. During the years of the Cold War the movement everywhere was isolated and persecuted. Travel was difficult and in many cases prohibited altogether for radicals. The situation was made worse by a ten-year split in the Fourth International that was only healed in 1963—hardly a year before

the LSSP finally capitulated to Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

From the time of independence from direct British rule, capitalism maintained its control in Ceylon through the instrument of the openly reactionary United National Party. The LSSP leaders came to expect that as the ruling party was discredited, their own vote would grow and the government would eventually fall to them in a general election (this was Allende's perspective also in his years in the wilderness). They saw mass workers' struggles as merely an adjunct to this electoral process.

But the capitalist ruling class was not so simple-minded as to have only one alternative. The victory of the newly emergent liberal SLFP in the 1956 elections shattered the expectations of the LSSP leadership. Instead of coming to Trotskyism, the masses, hemmed into the electoral channel, chose an alternative that seemed to promise more within that narrow framework. The LSSP triumph was deferred, perhaps for years or even decades to come. After 1956, the theoretical leaders of the party, de Silva and Goonewardene, rapidly lost their authority to a more "practical" reformist politician, N.M. Perera.

The LSSP still had a commanding base among the urban proletariat, but no great support among the poor peasantry or among the Tamil-speaking landless agricultural workers of Indian origin. Perera saw a shortcut to a mass peasant base in a merger with the bourgeois SLFP. That party, meanwhile, began to see the value of getting a grip on the throats of the workers by tying the hands of the working-class parties.

The turning-point came after 1959, when S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the prime minister, and the most authoritative leader of the SLFP, was assassinated. His widow, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, took the leadership of the party and sought to hang onto power by forming a coalition with the LSSP and a smaller centrist party led by Philip Gunawardena. The cynical aims of this maneuver were spelled out by Bandaranaike in a May 10, 1964, speech:

"However much progressive work

CONTINUED ON PAGE 46.



Why Mao defends the bloodbath in Bengal

BY LES EVANS

"The Chinese press followed the lead of the muzzled Karachi newspapers in refusing to report the mass resistance . . . Not a word appeared . . . of the tens of thousands of unarmed men, women and children machine-gunned to death by Yayha's forces."

*If they cut me into the finest mince-meat,
all of me—every bit of my flesh and blood—
will remain Bangla, all my heart's love and pain,
sorrow and solace will remain Bengali.*

—Niamat Hosain, East Bengal poet

In the first free general election ever held in Pakistan, last December, the Bengali masses of East Pakistan—who constitute a numerical majority of the geographically divided country—voted overwhelmingly for the candidates of the Awami League of Sheik Mujibur Rahman. This party won 167 of the 313 seats of the National Assembly to only 88 for the western-based Pakistan People's Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The military dictatorship of Yayha Khan refused to accept an electoral verdict that would shatter the privileged dominance of the country by the capitalist rulers of the Urdu-speaking western sector. On March 1, two days before the scheduled opening of the National Assembly, Yayha announced an indefinite postponement. A massive general strike spread among the outraged workers and peasants of East Pakistan—renamed Bangla Desh, Bengali homeland, by its inhabitants. Yayha replied with a bloodbath aimed at decimating not only his political opposition in the East but at exterminating any possible source of leadership among the oppressed Bengali nationality.

Although the West Pakistani generals made every effort to hide their crime from the world by imposing strict press

editorship, the scale of the killing was so vast that it could not be kept secret. One graphic description of the slaughter was provided by T.J. S. George, writing from Chuadanga, East Bengal, in the April 24 liberal Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

The full story of the atrocities that started in East Pakistan on the night of March 25 has not been told. First, the story is still unfinished; second, the authorities put a blanket ban on reporters. But evacuees have described what reporters were barred from witnessing. It is a story of extreme cruelty.

In the first few days the killings were particularly gruesome. Dacca and Chittagong were in the first line of fire. Tanks and mortars were used in densely populated areas, followed by a rain of incendiary bombs. Houses were bombed with residents shut in, crowded bazaars completely gutted, pavement sleepers shot in their sheets. Small groups of people who had sought refuge in nooks and corners were bayoneted. Those who saw the weird tableaux of dead bodies said the groups included little children.

The attitude of the troops was summed up by the comment of an air force officer who was asked by a British evacuee on her way to the Dacca airport why his men were killing children. He answered: "If we leave the children orphan, they will grow up to be anti-West Pakistan." . . .

Some 200 girl students of Dacca's university were said to have been killed in one lot. The troops then ran bulldozers over the heaped bodies for easier disposal. Often slogan-shouting Bengalis were tied to military trucks and

dragged bleeding behind them at full speed until they died. Bombs and grenades were dropped from transport planes.

The genocidal savagery of the West Pakistani troops is starkly reminiscent of American "pacification" efforts in Vietnam. Gérard Viratelle, writing in the April 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, relayed the story of one of the thousands of Bengali refugees forced to flee into India:

"In the countryside, entire villages are being razed. They are murdering families in cold blood. Without leaving the roads the soldiers are machine-gunning peasant huts from military vehicles. At other times, the soldiers surround the villages, setting fire to the homes and shooting at all those who try to flee."

The army, consisting entirely of West Pakistani troops, has made a special point of executing students, intellectuals, and trade-union leaders, whether or not they were directly involved in the nationalist movement.

The well-oiled military machine—built up by \$40 million worth of American matériel since April 1967 alone, including a big shipment delivered only a few days before March 25—quickly took all the major towns of Bangla Desh. The hastily organized Bengali Mukti Fauj (liberation army) was not destroyed, however, but retreated into the countryside. A prolonged struggle appears to be developing, in which the leadership of the Bengali masses is already beginning to pass from the bourgeois Awami League to much more radical forces who are demanding that the national struggle be linked to a socialist revolution.

If war, in Clausewitz's dictum, is only the continuation of state policy by other means, it is also true that the cauldron of war, civil war and revolution constitutes the acid test of the peacetime declarations of all the parties involved.

The Bengali people have laid bare the ugly reality of the self-professed anti-imperialist Pakistani military regime of Yahya Khan and in the process shown some revealing things about those who chose to support the dictator's bloodbath in East Pakistan. That these supporters included the American government probably surprised no one. More unusual was the spectacle of the Maoist regime in China lining up on the same side as Washington, in support of a reactionary capitalist government engaged in the brutal repression of a popular revolution.

But there was no ambiguity about Peking's stand. The Chinese press followed the lead of the muzzled Karachi newspapers in refusing to report the mass resistance to the army in Bangla Desh. Not a word appeared telling of the tens of thousands of unarmed men, women and children machine-gunned to death by Yahya's forces. Instead, on April 4 the Chinese government press agency Hsinhua issued its first report on Pakistan after the outbreak of violence. It did not mention the revolution in progress in East Bengal, but restricted itself to favorable quotes from Yahya Khan protesting alleged Indian interference in Pakistan's affairs, as though the Bengali independence movement was nothing but a creation of the Indian government.

The Chinese position was made even more explicit in a letter from Premier Chou En-lai to the Pakistani dictator made public by Peking April 12. "We are certain that, thanks to the contacts which you and your collaborators are increasing and thanks to all your efforts, the situation in Pakistan will be restored to normality," Chou wrote. The letter, quoted in the April 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, continued:

"The unity of Pakistan and the peoples of the eastern and western provinces of the country is essential to guarantee that the nation will survive and achieve prosperity and power. A distinction must be made between the great mass of the people and a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging Pakistan's unity."

Open support for the military regime was also expressed in a prominent article in the April 11 Peking *People's Daily*, reprinted in the April 16 English-language *Peking Review*:

"The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference."

In fact, from the creation of the country in 1947, "Pakistan's unity" has been a myth aimed at disguising the colonial domination of the Bengali-speaking majority in the eastern wing by the Punjabi military caste of West Pakistan. There is no historical, ethnic, economic, or even geographical basis for the unification of the two sections of the "country," separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The only thing the two regions had in common was the Muslim religion. From the beginning Pakistan was an artificial creation—a theocratic Islamic state cooked up by the politically reactionary Muslim League under the auspices of British imperialism.

Broken promises

Yet even the founders of Pakistan never envisaged the unitary state in whose name Yahya Khan is conducting his massacre with the blessing of the imperialist powers and of Peking. In 1940 in the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League which set forth the basis of the projected country it was declared that the two areas "should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign."

This pledge of regional autonomy was never fulfilled. It was nothing more than a demand for its enforcement by the leaders of the East Pakistan Awami League that prompted Yahya to send in the army.

A majority of the population live in the east—75,000,000 of the country's 120,000,000 inhabitants. But the division of political power and economic resources has never reflected this fact. Even taken as a whole the two regions are, after more than twenty-three years of independence, extraordinarily poor: the yearly per capita income is \$89. Illiteracy stands at 80 per cent of the population.

At the time of independence what little industry existed in East Pakistan was mainly owned by Hindu businessmen who were expropriated and deported to India. The

capitalist government in Karachi, however, did not nationalize these businesses, nor did they pass into the hands of Bengali entrepreneurs. Instead, the West Pakistani capitalist class, with government backing, including the army, took possession. The result was a steady drain of profits from the East to the West. In 1947, the total regional income of West Pakistan was slightly lower than that of East Pakistan (which then produced 80 per cent of the world's jute, used in making burlap, the bipolar country's major export). By 1970, the West was disposing of a 25 per cent greater income than the East. In recent years West Pakistan's growth rate has been 6 per cent; East Pakistan's only 4 per cent.

Of the country's total currency reserves, the western wing holds some 12 million rupees (4.76 rupees equals US\$1) compared to only 3 million for the East. Although most of the country's foreign exchange is earned by jute exports (a crop produced entirely in the East), the bulk of the income from this source is banked in the West and used for development of that region. During the last twenty years, for example, West Pakistan imported nearly \$6 billion worth of goods—three times as much as the more populous East. Furthermore, two-thirds of this amount was paid for with profits drained from the Eastern jute workers.

During the country's second five-year plan, 1960-65, the West Pakistani regime allocated a per capita expenditure for development of its own region of 521.05 rupees, but only 240 rupees for the Bengali East. The disparity in allocations for social services was even more gross: 309.35 rupees per person in the West compared to 70.29 rupees in the East. Worse, although the West always got its share, the full amount allocated was never spent in the Bengali sector.

The two regions have been "united" by classical colonial relations. The East has been a supplier of raw materials and financial resources to West Pakistan, and has also been forced to act as a market for the products of West Pakistan's industry. The actual arrangement has been that the East has been required to buy 60 per cent of the West's industrial output, at prices sometimes three times higher than on the world market. A further sore point for Bengalis has been the Pakistani dictatorship's decision to fix national prices for the benefit of the Punjab. Under this arrangement rice grown in East Pakistan is sold there for 50 rupees per maund (82.28 pounds) but costs only 25 rupees in the West.

This pattern of discrimination against Bengalis is even more severe in areas such as employment and political representation. Only 15 per cent of all government employees are Bengalis and less than 10 per cent of the armed forces. There is not a single Bengali general. It is small wonder that the Bengali masses regard Yahya's troops as a foreign occupation force!

All popular opposition to the Punjabi ruling class has been stifled since independence. The coup d'etat of October 1958 by General Ayub Khan was staged to prevent the holding of the country's first general election, scheduled for April 1959. All political parties were banned and permanent press censorship imposed. Direct elections were abolished even in theory and the vote restricted to 80,000 hand-picked "basic democrats" selected by sup-

porters of the dictatorship. (After friendship began to blossom between Peking and Rawalpindi in 1964, Marshal Chen Yi during a visit to Lahore declared that "Basic democracy is very similar to our Peoples Communes.")

The reactionary Ayub regime pursued ties with China as a means of blackmailing Washington into providing more aid. This aim was in essence successful and the U. S. is still Yahya's major source of armaments.

Peking had its own reasons for cultivating the relationship. Mao was looking for diplomatic allies. When the Sino-Indian clashes of 1962 ruled out New Delhi, China was quick to give its support to Pakistan against India. But the quid pro quo for such an alliance included political concessions on Peking's part.

The government of the People's Republic of China has, of course, every right to seek diplomatic recognition and trade agreements with capitalist or imperialist states. What is unprincipled is for the ruling caste in Peking to use its influence to subordinate or derail the legitimate revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples or of the working classes of other countries in trade for concessions from capitalist heads of state. This policy of class collaboration which goes by the name of "peaceful coexistence" was initiated by Stalin in the mid-thirties and marked the abandonment for the Soviet Union of the defense of revolutionary internationalism practiced under Lenin and Trotsky.

In Lenin's lifetime the Soviet Union sought diplomatic recognition and commercial treaties from capitalist countries, but in no case did it mute its call for the overthrow of capitalism or put pressure on Communist parties abroad to support the ruling class in order to advance the aims of Soviet diplomacy.

Mao and his colleagues, all thoroughly trained in the school of Stalinism, have made no secret of their desire for "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. In the period after the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, however, the imperialist centers, particularly Washington, refused to deal with Peking, in the illusory expectation of an early restoration of capitalism on the Chinese mainland. Because Mao has had few opportunities to show in practice what he means by peaceful coexistence with imperialism, many radical youth throughout the world—some of whom call themselves Maoist—have taken his revolutionary rhetoric as good coin.

The truth is that the Maoist leadership represents a conservative bureaucratic caste at the head of the Chinese workers state, ready to defend its parochial interests against the Chinese workers and peasants as well as against external foes. This contradictory phenomenon first appeared on the world scene in the form of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy led by Stalin, which decimated Lenin's Bolshevik party in the purges of the thirties. On the one hand the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies defend the gains of their respective revolutions—the abolition of capitalism, nationalization of industry, etc.—from the attempts of imperialism to reimpose its domination. But at the same time, to protect their own material and political privileges, the bureaucracies in the workers states

C. CONTINUED ON PAGE 26.



Progress: Reality or Illusion?

BY GEORGE NOVACK

“The crux of the controversy between the upholders and the detractors of social progress is not so much whether it has shaped the past as along what lines and on what terms it can be prolonged into the future.”

Has humanity augmented its powers, improved its conditions, enlarged its freedoms, chances of happiness and possibilities of development over the ages? That is to ask, is social progress a fact? Historical materialists have no hesitation in answering this question affirmatively. The human species has made immense advances since it left the animal state and is capable of making incomparably more.

Quite different responses are forthcoming, however, when this same question is presented to others. Many writers on social affairs nowadays doubt the reality of progress and its prospects. Some deny that it has existed or can be demonstrated.

Their discarding of the idea of progress is all the more anomalous in view of the impressive achievements of the twentieth century. Progress is in the air; it is a daily topic of conversation. The idea is common in newspaper headlines, political speeches, economic articles and history books. Indeed we can hardly think about the world and talk about scientific matters today without referring to the term. How, then, is their skepticism to be accounted for?

The source of these doubts and denials will become apparent when we examine the evolution of the idea of progress in connection with the rise and decline of bourgeois society over the past two hundred years. The essence of the idea of progress is that humanity has climbed from a lowly state to higher levels through successive stages and benefited thereby.

There have been three main stages of thought about progress, that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, that of the Enlightenment and that of Marxism. This view of the past and present was suggested as early as the sixth century B.C. by the philosopher Xenophanes. Many of the Atomists, Sophists and Epicureans recognized that progress was a characteristic of history, that it resulted from human beings' inventive powers and that it was possible and desirable to work for improvements in the most important sectors of social life. However, the pictures of progress presented by thinkers from Xenophanes to Lucretius and Seneca were crude and narrow and not central to the outlook of the ancient Greeks and Romans. While they recognized the rise of humanity from primitive conditions, they did not extend the process far into the future. Their attention was directed backward more than forward.

The first comprehensive and systematic expositions of the idea that history has moved upward and onward and that this process could be indefinitely extended belong to the eighteenth century, as J.B. Bury has shown in his classic work on its germination and growth: *The Idea of Progress*. The concept gained currency in Western Europe around the time of the French revolution through the formulations of French thinkers from Turgot and Condorcet to Saint-Simon and Comte.

It was a logical inference from the vast changes in the western world brought about through the prodigious expansion of the productive forces and wealth created by capitalist trade and manufactures. Capitalist relations had

a dynamism unmatched by any previous form of economy and their revolutionizing consequences had a profound impact upon the outlook of the most advanced elements. The unparalleled development of the natural sciences and technology removed much mystery from nature and made its processes more and more manageable. The exploration and exploitation of the globe that went along with the formation of the world market widened their horizons. The contacts and collisions with native peoples in other parts of the newly-discovered planet disclosed the existence of disparate levels of social and cultural development.

Finally, the upheavals in social relations and political structures arising from the bourgeois democratic revolutions broke up the petrified institutions of an archaic past and led to the formation of radically new ones. These innovations drove home the changeability of what was once regarded as immutable and everlasting. For the first time it appeared feasible, with the new means of production and knowledge at its disposal, for society to overcome age-old poverty, misery and inequality. The limits that apparently enclosed human activities and ambitions in a narrow and repetitive round fell away and began to be replaced with the supposition that the ascent of humanity from crude beginnings was a reality and there were no insuperable obstacles to further growth.

Breaking out of the squirrel cage

This vision of the continuous growth of humanity inspired by the forward march of bourgeois society was put into theoretical form by various representatives of the Enlightenment. They took the method of the lawfulness of development that had achieved such successes in explaining natural phenomena and sought to extend it to the sum total of human actions. They had the rational and scientific objective of deciphering the riddle of universal history.

From the time of the Greeks peoples' minds had been cramped by the conception that history moved in circles and was eternally recurrent. The imagination had to break out of this cyclical squirrel cage to visualize the idea of persistent progression.

The cohabitation of the old outlook with the new can be seen in the "New Science" of Gianbattista Vico (1668-1744), the innovative transitional thinker of Naples who blazed the trail for a lawful approach to history. He saw and stated that humanity had passed through a definite sequence of causally related stages, of successive historical epochs having a progressive character. For Vico these started with the theocratic and poetical and culminated in the human and rational stage, each of which had its characteristic set of institutions and ideas. However, Vico did not cast off all the blinders of tradition since he still construed this pattern of historical development as a perennially repeated one.

In his philosophy of history, as in his cosmology, Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804) stepped further along the evolutionary path. In his *Idea of a Universal History From a Cosmopolitical Point of View*, published in 1784, Kant maintained that a regular march could be ascertained in the movement of history, demonstrating that the human species has experienced a continuously advancing, though

slow, unfolding of its original capacities and endowment. He believed that humanity would eventually achieve unity and peace through some sort of world federation. Like other ideologues of the Enlightenment, Kant did not clearly distinguish between natural and social laws, regarding the second as an extension or subspecies of the first. He interpreted the course of history and its ultimate goal as a plan of nature or providence.

Kant was among the first to emphasize that, although individuals make history without a plan of their own, history as a whole has a determinate result. "Individual men, and even whole nations, little think, while they are pursuing their own purposes—each in his own way and often in direct opposition to another—that they are advancing unconsciously under the guidance of a purpose of nature which is unknown to them, and that they are toiling for the realization of an end which, even if it were known to them, might be regarded as of little importance."

Hegel placed this contradiction between the strivings of the particular components of the historical process and its overall outcome in the center of his dialectical conception of history. The providential purpose of history was worked out through the myriad cross-purposes of its participants. The "cunning of reason" uses the passions and actions of people to fulfill a hidden design which is always different from what any of them intended. The eventual result of the travail of history transcends the conscious aims of the people and powers who are its ostensible agencies and even runs counter to them, though it conforms to the will of the Absolute Spirit.

Before Hegel the Marquis de Condorcet had drafted the key manifesto of progress in *Sketch of the Intellectual Progress of Mankind*, written in prison before his death in 1794. In this work he envisioned human history as the progressive evolution of the species from savagery through civilization up to the French revolution that would lead on, after nine great epochs, to a tenth of unrestricted well-being.

The Frenchman held that the progress of the past, which he depicted in detail, was the ground and guide for its continuance. "If there is to exist a science of foreseeing the progress of the human species, of directing and accelerating it, the history of the progress already made must be its principal foundation." He further asserted that: "We shall find in the experience of the past, in the observation of the progress that the sciences and civilization have made thus far, in the analysis of the human mind and the development of its faculties, the strongest motives for believing that nature has set no limit to our hopes."

This confidence in the perfectibility of humanity and the improvement of its lot, projected by the rationalists and materialists of the eighteenth century and acted upon by its revolutionists, took hold of the broad masses in the next century and came to rival the influence of religion upon them. The major forces of bourgeois society inscribed the watchword of progress upon their banners. Despite periodic waves of disenchantment among some intellectuals of Western Europe that followed the Restoration and the defeats of the revolutions of 1848 and 1871, ruling circles and masses alike in the industrialized countries shared the sentiment that the forward movement on

so many fronts was destined to bring peace, prosperity, enlightenment and fraternity to all humanity.

This bourgeois-based optimism of progress reached its crest during the capitalist expansion and imperialist aggrandizement from 1870 to 1914. It was the cornerstone of the credos of liberalism and reformism.

Americans were more thoroughly imbued with this feeling than any other nation since their civilization had been largely built upon bourgeois foundations from early colonial times. They had subsequently enjoyed the fruits of two victorious democratic revolutions and received a greater measure of the bounties of capitalist development, however inequitably these had been distributed. It became an unquestioned article of American patriotism that in the land of opportunity tomorrow would be better than today and the day after tomorrow still better. The tangible proofs of progress in the everyday lives of millions rendered any extensive theoretical justifications of the idea superfluous. Those at the end of the line who were still denied its blessings, the poor, the Blacks, the Native Americans and the immigrants, were advised to be patient; their deferred demands would be taken care of in time. The important thing was to be forward-looking.

Roots of today's pessimism

A reversal of attitude toward the idea of progress set in after the shocks of the first world war and the Russian revolution. These cataclysmic events corroded the conviction that capitalism and progress were synonymous. Then the Great Depression of 1929, fascism, the second world war and the threat of nuclear annihilation made it increasingly difficult to retain the former easy belief in uninterrupted progress.

The program and perspectives of socialism might have acted as an antidote to this disillusionment. But the crimes of Stalinism rendered that alternative less and less attractive and persuasive in the industrialized countries.

The pessimism about the course of civilization and even the chances of human survival emanating from the death agony of world capitalism deepened doubts about the reality of progress.

As E. H. Carr observed: "In the nineteenth century British historians with scarcely an exception regarded the course of history as a demonstration of the principles of progress; they expressed the ideology of a society in a condition of remarkably rapid progress. History was full of meaning for British historians, so long as it seemed to be going our way; now that it has taken a wrong turning, belief in the meaning of history has become a heresy."¹

Feeding upon these disconsolate moods, certain conservative tendencies in learned circles started to ridicule even a halfhearted belief in progress as unfounded, naive and old-fashioned, an obsolete leftover from the special and episodic conditions of the Victorian era. They took their cue from the nineteenth century Swiss scholar Jacob Burckhardt who contended that progress is an "optical illusion" which merely manifested the "ridiculous vanity" of the modern bourgeois mind.

After the second world war the most concerted attacks upon the theoretical premises of the belief in progress

came from such unorthodox Protestant theologians as Reinhold Niebuhr and writers like Erich Voegelin. These scholars, along with the German philosopher Karl Löwith, denied that progress was an observable or verifiable historical fact. It was nothing but an illusion, a dream, a Utopian hope.

The belief in progress, they stated, was not based upon empirical evidence nor a conclusion that could be validated by scientific methods of investigation. This fetish of modern man had no better foundations than a religious conviction based on faith.

After disqualifying its scientific character, they went on to argue that the belief in progress itself was derived from religion. It was no more than a secular version of the notion of salvation, of the redemption of humanity's hopes at some future date. The main difference was that the progressivist expected to see its future realization on earth through the work of humanity rather than at the apocalypse through the grace of God. But since such fulfillment was a vain dream, they recommended abandoning the inferior substitute of modern humanity and reverting to the original path of salvation offered by the prophets of Christian revelation.

By this stratagem the theologians emptied the idea of progress of all scientific content and stuffed it with an antithetical and incompatible religious meaning. Whereas the proponents of progress had viewed human beings as the central creative force in making and promoting history, they reassigned that role to the divinity. They misrepresented much else in the bargain. Thus Karl Marx is depicted not as a materialist-minded social scientist, but as "a Jew of Old Testament stature" who brought a similar messianic message to the people.

This school embarked upon a genuine counterrevolution in regard to the concept of progress. They repudiated the vision of the progressive bourgeois philosophers from Bacon and Descartes to Kant and Hegel that enlightened humanity could master the forces of nature so as to give equal opportunities to everyone and ensure freedom of the individual. By relegating its rational content to utopianism and religion they sought to undo all the gains made since the eighteenth century in ascertaining whether humanity had moved forward, what that progress consists of, and what has to be done to maintain it. Whereas the rationalists of the Enlightenment used the idea of progress as a weapon against revealed religion, these antirationalists eviscerated it to salvage religion.

Along with them, positivist thinkers like Karl Popper tried to remove all objective supports from the belief in progress by claiming that it was not an observable fact but an arbitrary value judgment about the meaning of history that could not be substantiated. History, they said, had no meaning except what the individual assigned to it.

Flimsy as the case of these opponents is, it is understandable that the terrible events of the past half century have raised questions about the prospects of social progress and even its past validity. These have to be dealt with. Whereas the demoralized defenders of a decaying bourgeois order seek to discredit and destroy the idea of progress, Marxism presents the most profound and comprehensive theory of social evolution. Its proponents

are called upon to rescue the interpretation of history as progressive development from its would-be executioners. The law of progress is one of the principles of historical materialism and its revolutionary outlook. There is ample evidence and convincing arguments for the objective reality of progress in human history.

The idea of the historical progress of humanity was elaborated before the broader conception of cosmic and organic evolution and helped prepare its advent and acceptance. But the theory of universal evolution, which has since become the granite foundation of the scientific view of the world, also provides strong underpinnings for the truth of social evolution. It has been securely established that the evolutionary process as a whole has passed through three main stages, the cosmological, the biological and the social. These levels of development, the inorganic, the organic and the human, are all integrally interconnected and constitute an unbreakable though distinguishable unity.

This is the background for the reality of progress. The idea of progress has an objective basis—but it also has an intrinsically and irremediably social component and human criterion. From our standpoint whatever in the aimless flux of nature has led up to the emergence of the human species, from the constitution of the chemical elements to the formation of the earth's crust and atmosphere and its fauna and flora, must be accounted progressive since it prepared the way for the birth of humankind.

Bertrand Russell once wrote, half in jest, that we exalt the evolution from the amoeba to ourselves as progress but we do not know what the amoeba's opinion is. However, we cannot and should not take an amoeba's eye view of the universe for our standard of judgment. Our standpoint has to be that of the most fully informed and discerning human beings.

Humanity did not appear on this planet, as Kant and Hegel still believed, in accord with any natural or providential plan; it happened to work out that way. But once our species was born, the processes of change were put upon an entirely new and very special footing. Then progress in the proper sense of the term as cumulative development came into existence.

Henceforward progress was to be reckoned by the degree of control humans acquired over the environment, the extent to which its materials could be adapted to their uses, and the scope of the realization of their capacities this allowed. Humans' ability to cope with their surroundings far surpasses that of any other species. "Actual control of environment, as opposed to the ability merely to move about in search of suitable environments, means of escape from unsuitable ones, or the ability to get along in varied and varying environments, is almost exclusively a human ability," observes George Simpson.²

This unique faculty is derived from the fact that human beings do not passively submit to the exigencies of nature but actively transform its resources to serve their wants through the processes of production. They thereby create and recreate the conditions for further development.

The hypothesis that humanity had a progressive devel-

opment immediately posed the problem of what the steps in this process were. In the latter half of the eighteenth century Adam Ferguson and other Enlightenment figures set about to introduce a logical order in the evolution of society. They divided the historical process into three main epochs: savagery, barbarism and civilization. In the next century these successive stages of advancement were linked up by Lewis Morgan, the founder of American anthropology, with decisive improvements in the means of producing the necessities of life.

A step backward

The anti-evolutionary sociologists of the twentieth century have rejected these discoveries of the pioneer proponents of progressive development. They deny that the human race has advanced from one stage to the next in any lawful manner or determinate sequence in its ascent from animality to the highest grade of civilization. This retrogressive viewpoint flouts the elementary principles of evolution. Once it has been proven that the hominids came out of the animal condition, then our ancestors must have evolved by successive steps from the most primitive to the most developed forms of social life. Science then has to ascertain what these stages were and what caused one to replace another.

However obscure, unknown or unverified the details of this long march may be, its reality can be disputed only by those who refuse to correlate the findings of the sciences and come to any general conclusions about them. The most influential school of anthropologists in the United States, headed by Franz Boas and Margaret Mead, fall into this category. They disavow historical development behind the shelter of a pure relativism. They say that each people, each culture has its own distinctive characteristics that are unique and incommensurable. These are merely varying responses of human nature to the environment that have no unity or continuity of development. They cannot be arranged in any evolutionary order from lower to higher or assigned a place in a series according to objective criteria. None is to be considered superior to any other since judgments of comparative status are utterly ethnocentric and subjective.

It is difficult to take this viewpoint seriously when its advocates show such little consistency. They do not disqualify the proofs that nature has evolved from the earliest forms of life to the animals and then to the human species. Nor are they prepared to deny that the using and making of tools and weapons and the acquisition of speech, thought and fire distinguish us from the animals or that the innovations of stock-breeding, agriculture and metallurgy represented steps forward for humanity. They do not refuse to recognize the significance of stratigraphy in paleontology and archaeology whereby fossils and artifacts found in certified lower layers are judged to be of earlier origin and more primitive than those in the upper layers.

They propose to repeal the principle of progress only when the causal interconnection of different forms of social organization is to be evaluated. They refuse to perceive any coherent pattern of development in the historical process as a whole.

Is the belief in progressive levels of social development a purely arbitrary assumption, as the skeptical empiricists insist, or are there objective determinants by which progress can be gauged? According to historical materialism the source and impulsion of progress resides in the growth of the social productive forces. This is registered on the scale of material productivity which rises in response to the production of more use-values, more wealth, in a shorter time with a lesser expenditure of labor. The productivity of labor is the fundamental test for measuring the advancement of humanity because this is the basis and precondition for all other forms of social and cultural advancement.

Other schools of thought have selected different fundamental criteria for evaluating social progress. Thus the late archaeologist, V. Gordon Childe, affirmed that the stages in human progress can best be measured by the rate and extent of population growth. He wrote in *Man Makes Himself* that revolutions manifest themselves "in an upward kink in the population curve." He noted five such revolutions extending from neolithic times, when humanity first began to produce and control its food supply, to the Industrial Revolution.

A sharp increase in population is certainly a most significant index to the place occupied by a particular social unit in the procession of history. But it is secondary to the growth of the productive forces as a whole of which it is a consequence and concomitant.

On a broad historical scale the density of population is a function of the increase in the available forces of production and an outgrowth of the effectiveness of the means of labor. Childe singled out only one of the two major aspects in the process of production, the quantitative, the number of working human beings and the mass of accumulated instruments of labor, and slighted the crucial importance of qualitative changes. An increase in productive power through improvement in the techniques of labor, embodied both in the acquisition of new skills and knowledge and superior means of production, is the prime cause of the greater size of the population that can be supported by a particular economy on a given area. That is why the introduction of stock-breeding and agriculture led to so marked a growth in the human species—and why agriculture permits many more inhabitants than pastoral pursuits.

Each economic formation has its own laws of population growth which depend in the last analysis upon its intrinsic powers of production and special relations of production. Thus the Stone Age economy of the Native Americans dependent upon hunting, fishing and gardening permitted little more than a million people to subsist on the territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific now inhabited by over two hundred millions. Modern means of industry and agriculture have enabled the planet's population to shoot up to three-and-a-half billions.

Although present-day Malthusians see far more dangers than advantages in such multiplication of humankind, the presence and perpetuation of more members of homo sapiens is an objectively measurable sign of historical progress. What was once a rare species is now the dominant one. The relation of humanity to the animal world has been radically altered; we not only outnumber all

other species but possess the malign power to destroy them—as well as ourselves.

So many solid and substantial achievements have been made in such multifarious areas of human endeavor that it seems superfluous to itemize them in order to refute the deniers of progress. One need only contrast the conditions of primitive tribespeople with contemporary civilization to see how much historical progress humanity as a whole has made from the provision of food and shelter to a knowledge of the world around us.

Historical materialism identifies the epochs of humanity's progress according to the economic structure of society as shaped by its relations of production. One socio-economic formation is more advanced and progressive than another by virtue of the greater scope provided for the development of the productive forces. Marxism distinguishes six main types of labor organization that have contributed to the progress of the economic formation of society. These are primitive communism, the Asiatic mode of production, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and nascent socialism. The dominance of each one of these specific modes of production in the historical process marks off an epoch in the expansion of the productive powers of social labor and thereby represents successive steps in the fuller development of humanity's capacities and the realization of human individualization.

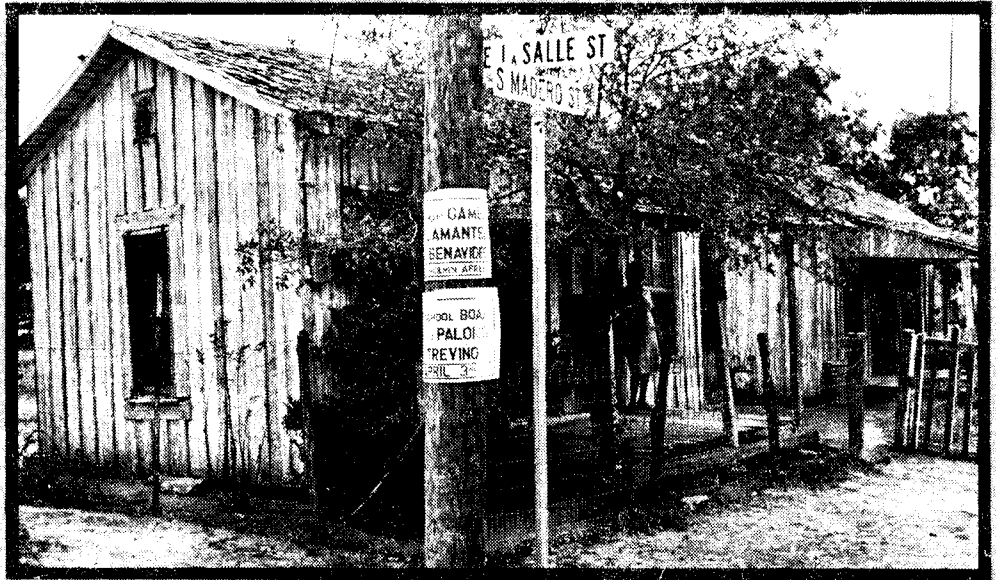
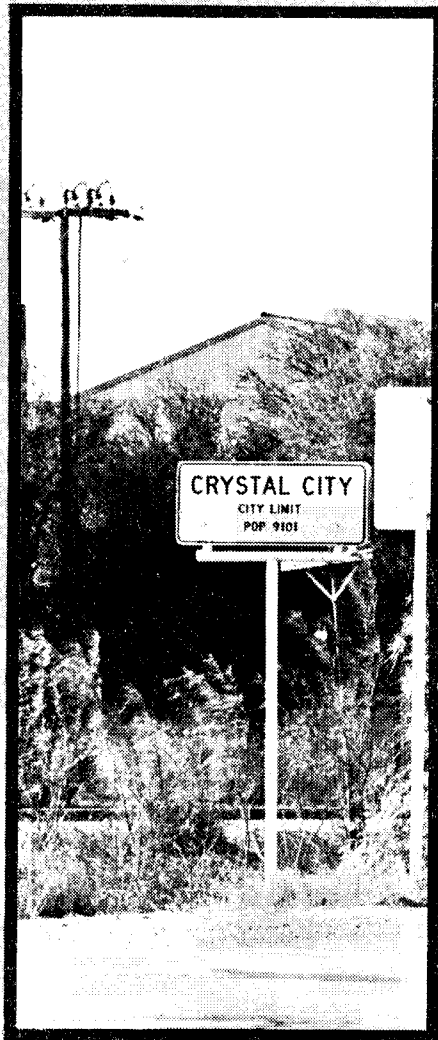
Whatever reservations they may have in other respects, most people accept the reality of technical progress from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age because of the obvious superiority of modern technology and the ways in which its instruments and appliances have transformed everyday life. A steam shovel is more efficient than a spade; an electric hoist lifts loads better than bare hands and back; people can transport themselves much faster by plane and rocket than by foot. In this connection even opponents of progress are constrained to admit that our knowledge of nature and control over its operations far surpasses that of earlier times.

No advances in the social sphere?

But many contend that no comparable advances have been made in the comprehension of historical and social phenomena. Marxism takes sharp issue with the skeptics on this point. In addition to the emergence of new subsidiary branches of social science such as demography, statistics and numismatics, its main departments of sociology, economics and history have all made big strides forward. Archaeology and anthropology have vastly expanded our knowledge of the past. They have drawn the curtains from precivilized life, from the story of the peoples of Africa and from the early civilizations of the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley and China as well as the Americas.

The study of history has not only been immensely extended in time and in space but its underlying motive forces have been brought to light. The materialist conception of history has disclosed the mainsprings of development by demonstrating that economic activities rather than politics, law, religion, morality or philosophy have been the prime determinants of progress. The science of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 30.



UNIDOS VENCEREMOS

Nº 00000

SAMPLE BALLOT

DATE: APRIL 6, 1973
CITY COUNCILMEN ELECTION

CITY OF CRYSTAL CITY
COUNCILMEN ELECTION
(3 To Be Elected)

ROBERTO CORNEJO
PAULINO R. MATA
 FRANCISCO C. BENAVIDES
RAPHAEL RALON M. GARCIA
SANTOS NIETO
 ROBERTO GAMEZ
GILBERTO SALAZAR
 JOSE TALAMANTEZ

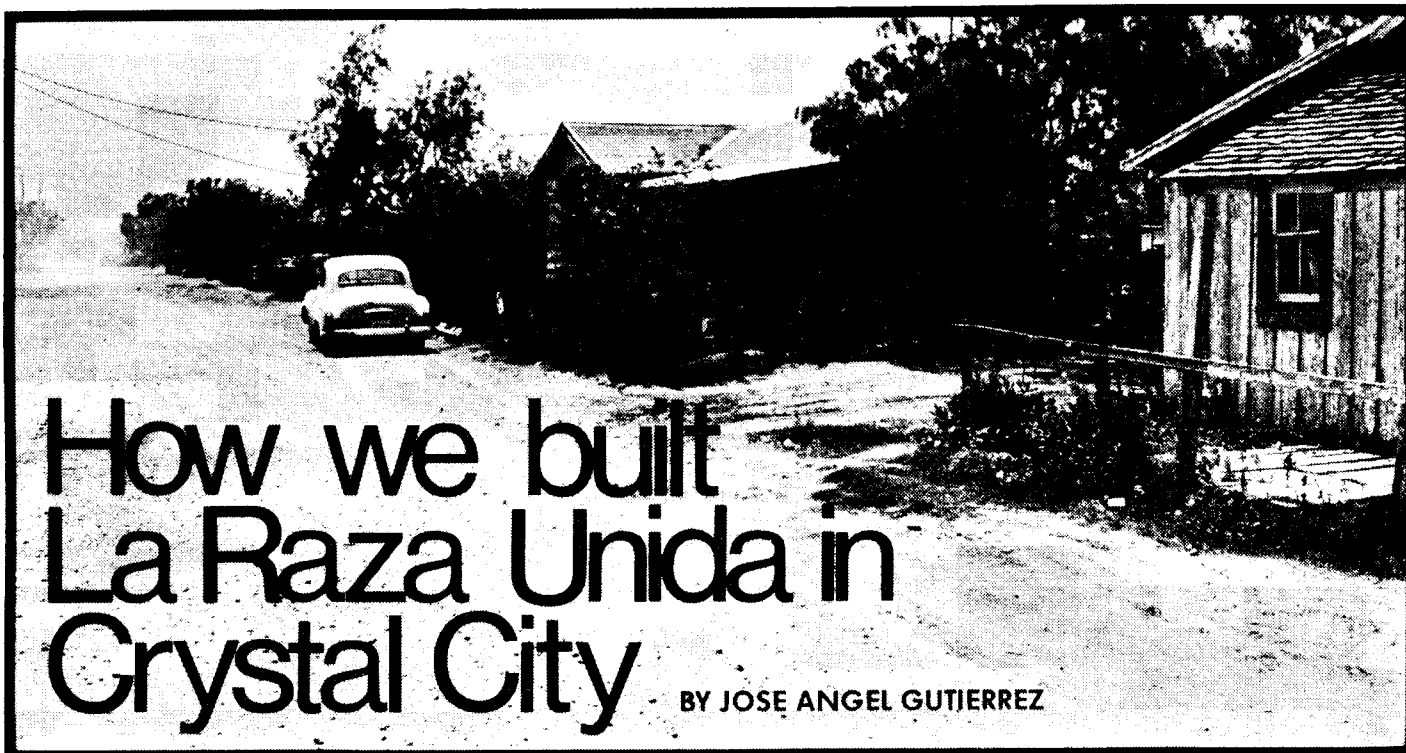
Nº 00000

SAMPLE BALLOT

DATE: APRIL 6, 1973
SCHOOL TRUSTEE ELECTION

FOR SCHOOL TRUSTEE
Crystal City Inv. School District No. 904

TEODORO MUÑOZ JR.
ALFREDO RAMON
 EDDIE TREVIÑO
 RODOLFO PALOMO



How we built La Raza Unida in Crystal City

BY JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

“The alarmists judged the party to be un-American, nationalistic, racism in reverse, and a Mexican segregationist movement. . . . Those that were enthusiastic knew that with La Raza Unida Party, the Mexicanos of Texas would certainly have a chance for victory.”

As we unpacked our car in the 99 degree temperature of Crystal City, Texas, we vividly recalled the typical suffocating south Texas weather. It was June 20, 1969, and we realized that this sweltering summer before us was to be our orientation course in community development. My wife Luz and I had returned to my hometown of Crystal City, Texas (population about 10,000), for the purpose of helping create a model city for Chicano activity.

We wanted to begin Aztlan. Aztlan is a Nahuatl word in the Aztec language for the Northwestern region of Mexico and, according to Aztec traditions, the place where their tribe originated. Presently this geographical area is described as the Southwest in the U. S.

Dimmit, La Salle and Zavala Counties were to be our community for the next few months and possibly years. This community, known as the Winter Garden area, centers in Dimmit and Zavala Counties. It is north of Laredo and the area is irrigated from wells and streams to produce vegetables in late winter and early spring. These three counties are dominated by a farming-ranching economy.

Immediately after I had concluded my term as president of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Incorporated of Texas) Mario Compean, the new president, tapped me for his staff.

Mario, Luz and other staff members, as well as myself, agreed that this area should be the model for Chicano activity. This area was chosen because the economic

and political conditions Mexicans are subject to is typical of Texas in general and south Texas in particular.

For the past three years MAYO has engaged in various projects of the state; however, all projects have been mostly experimental and educational in nature for MAYO. It should be clarified that MAYO was not intended to be a mass membership organization; nor, a constipated civic group of reformists.

We wanted to be a group of active crusaders for social justice—Chicano style. This demanded that MAYO members be well versed in one or more problem areas confronting the Mexicano; but more important it meant that the members of MAYO had to experience the frustration of defeat; the joy of victory; the grind of day-to-day work as well as learning to be real Mexicanos. We wanted to begin Aztlan!

Thus, with three years of experimentation, a broad and ambitious program and no money, the Winter Garden area was officially declared a MAYO project and Aztlan would soon become a reality.

Immediately Luz and I set upon the task of locating other MAYO members in order to begin our model city. The first persons recruited were Linda and Guillermo (Bill) Richey, a VISTA couple from Austin. They joined us in July while they were in La Salle County with their VISTA program.

The four of us pushed the program along in the two counties until November. In November we recruited Maria Ynosencio from Crystal City and Severita Lara and Bea-

triz Mendoza, two high school students. In the neighboring county of Dimmit, David Ojeda and his wife Rosa joined our efforts. A month later, after the national MAYO convention in Mission, Texas, we recruited the needed additional staff: Vivian Santiago, Ruben Barrera and Alberto Luera.

As each addition to the group was made, our efficiency and prospects for success were increased. Our range of expertise grew, and consequently, our offensive strategy was better implemented. In military slang we were "combat ready." We now had five full-time workers, three counties (with population of about 30,000) to cover; plus 4,133 square miles; a small grant and very few friends in the Winter Garden area.

MAYO did have some friends in the area prior to our arrival in Crystal City that summer. Mario Compean, our leader, had repeatedly visited Cotulla and La Salle County. Juan Ptlan, another MAYO member, had retained his Chicano leadership in his hometown of Carrizo Springs in Dimmit County. And also I was still fresh in the memory of many Mexicanos due to the publicity acquired through the media during my tenure as president of MAYO. The term "outside agitator" was not voiced because I was a native of Crystal City in Zavala County. This fact allowed us to do our basic power-structure research uninhibited all summer and early fall.

In addition, the Chicano community saw us as college educated Chicanos who had returned to their hometowns in behalf of La Raza. La Raza means "the race," but La Raza is also a self-descriptive term used among most Spanish-speaking people in this hemisphere.

We were not misguided and malinformed VISTA volunteers; nor were we white-knight Latin Americans who sought to manage the affairs of the gringo for the gringo. We were young Chicanos who saw and felt things like Chicanos should. We loved and accepted our Mexicanism and saw brighter things for La Raza.

These brighter things were radical ideas indeed to many who heard our comments that long hot summer. To others our ideas were empty dreams long ago abandoned. It seemed to them that a Mexicano was destined to that predicament of always tasting the better fruits of life but never having them. Too many have tasted the strawberries in the field but never with cream and cornflakes. Many of our people have watched over the sirloins and rounds while still on the hoof but never cooked them for an evening meal.

Yet, these same ideas seemed very realistic and positive goals. The primary goal was to force the educational system to extend to the Mexican student. Over 70 per cent of the Mexican students in the schools of Crystal City are pushed out or termed "drop-out" if you believe the Mexicano students have some inherent deficiency. These students do not finish the twelfth grade.

The median education of Mexicanos 25 years old and older in Zavala County in 1960 was 2.3 grade levels. The median a decade earlier had been 1.8 grade levels. The rate of progress has been one-half a grade level per decade. Should that rate triple this decade and contin-

ue to the year 2000, the Mexican community will finish junior high school by the next century. The white median has been well over 9 grades since 1950 and 11 grades since 1960.

The second goal was to bring democracy to those counties—in other words, rule by the majority. The Mexican population far outnumbers the white population. There is not a significant number of Black citizens. In most cases, the ratio of Chicanos to gringos is about 70 per cent to 30 per cent.

One of the state's voting procedures requires annual voter registration in person or by mail. The voter registration is open between October and January. Ironically, the filing deadline for candidates is early February. In spite of this antidemocratic procedure and impractical timetable some Mexicanos do register to vote. However, these few are faced with all-white ballots in the primary or nonpartisan elections because Mexicanos have failed to file for public office. This failure to file is not a result of apathy, ignorance, or irresponsibility. It is a result of fear—economic fear.

In 1960, the median income of Mexican families in the sorry state of Texas was \$2,913. A white family earns \$200 less than double the amount of earnings of a Mexican family. In Crystal City, there were 359 families who earned less than \$1,000 per year in 1968. That same year some 764 additional families earned yearly incomes of \$1,000 to \$2,990. And if income was not enough, the average Mexican family had 5.6 members.

Obviously the average Chicano could not afford the luxury of running for public office. This is one reason why there is only one Mexican state senator, Jose Maria Bernal. Senator Bernal represents the San Antonio district plus two million Chicanos in Texas. There are only two Spanish surnamed congressmen in Washington, D. C.

Locally in Texas the number of Chicano officeholders is limited even beyond tokenism. Texas has 254 counties and a total population of about 11 million people. In 1966 La Raza had 4 county sheriffs; 4 county judges; 3 district attorneys; and 38 county commissioners (4 elected per county). In all of Texas only 18 cities had Mexican mayors in 1967. A total of 67 Chicano officeholders represented the two million and more Chicanos that live in Texas.

Next to our educational and political goals our third goal was a direct confrontation with the gringo. We sought to expose, confront, and eliminate the gringo. We felt that it was necessary to polarize the community over issues, into Chicano versus gringos.

Basically, the difference between the Chicano and gringo, aside from the bad-good guy criteria, is one of attitude. The attitude gringos have of racial superiority, of paternalism, of divine right, of xenophobia, of bigotry, and of animalism is well-known to La Raza.

After the gringo was exposed publicly, the next step was to confront their security—status, business, and morality—in order to recognize the enemy in all their involvements of policies, roles and power manipulations. Once the Chicano community recognized the enemy, then it had the power to eliminate gringo attitudes by not voting for the gringo and not buying from the gringo. Hence, the Chicano community would limit the primitives.

Consequently, the Chicano would take power available to the gringo and then attack the colonists' states so evident in south Texas.

The fourth goal of our Aztlán model would be a program of rural economic development since colonialism still exists in south Texas. Under this economic development the first step would be to replace the existing white managerial functions with Chicano expertise. The transfer of existing businesses from gringo hands to Chicano hands would be the second step. In the last step, La Raza would set upon an agribusiness, the oil and gas industry, and the modern-day land and cattle barons—the real subversives in America today. In 1967, the agribusiness income in Dimmit, La Salle and Zavala counties totaled about \$31 million.

Our program unfolded the evening of November 9, 1969, at the school board meeting held in the superintendent's conference room. Over 450 Mexican parents and students tried to crowd into the twelve by fifteen foot room but were unsuccessful.

On the agenda was the discussion of a petition by the Chicano students for relevant and equal quality education. In this document the students stated that the election of the homecoming football queen and coronation be canceled this year. It seemed that the Chicano students were furious over the use of a 1969 version of the infamous grandfather clause as an election procedure. The clause stated that the homecoming queen candidates' parents must have been former graduates of Crystal City High School. This eliminated several Chicano girls because the late 1930s and early 1940s did not yield an over-abundant supply of Chicano graduates.

Out of about 2,300 students only six Mexicanas were qualified to run in spite of the fact that 95 per cent of the student body were Chicanos. This unfair qualification for homecoming queen was one of the grievances brought before the school board.

During the meeting the crowd became very angry because the five white and two Mexican school board members refused to second the motion made by Eduardo Trevino to move the meeting to a much larger area. Finally after some three hours of much heated legal and orderly paternalistic insults and bitter antigringo denunciation, the school board saw the need to stop the coronation from taking place on school grounds. In protest, however, the former students association, sponsors of that event, held the coronation in a fitting safe place—a vegetable shed well-ventilated by winter.

The school board had postponed deciding on the other and educationally more important points of the petition until the next regular meeting. Then they refused to hold a special scheduled meeting which infuriated the Chicano community. On December 8, 1969, the school board held a five minute business meeting which was attended by several Chicano students and parents. The meeting was bogged down by "you're out of order" didactic procedures. Because nothing was accomplished at this meeting the students and parents instantly organized into action—a boycott of classes.

The following morning some 230 students and parents

stood in front of the high school in picket line fashion. Several days later over 1,700 students were out of school; several persons came to Crystal City to see what the problem was. They included members of the department of justice community relations services, Texas education agency representatives, and the Mexican-American legal defense fund lawyers. The Chicanos had embarked on the first successful boycott in Texas!

The Chicano community had participated in numerous exuberant rallies during the month-long boycott. These rallies made me recall the rallies that had been held on April 2, 1963. On this day Crystal City Chicanos had cheered themselves hoarse over "los cinco candidatos de la raza" (the five Mexican candidates), who defeated a gringo mayor of 38 years tenure and a gringo councilman of mixed tenure.

The rallies of Christmas 1969 provided the happiest times for La Raza. Since the boycott La Raza had maintained the upper hand in media, in tactics and in morale. The mood of eminent victory was exemplified by speaker after speaker during the rallies.

During this time the Mexicanos of Crystal City were one in thought, action and goal—they were La Raza Unida. No longer did the slogans for unity need shouting; nor, did the songs of solidarity need heeding—La Raza had gotten it all together.

During the school boycott the farm workers opened their modest homes to the strangers from TEAM (Texans for the Educational Advancement of the Mexican Americans).

The members of TEAM came to teach the boycotting students; the truckers provided the bus services for liberation classes; and the parents joined their children at the daily marching around the school and through the city's white business sector.

One day while marching by the Minimax Store two part-time employees of the store were fired by the owner. This local bigot, well versed in the class methods of Mexican intimidation, fired the two Chicanos on the spot. This type of employment insecurity has prevailed in south Texas for years. It has prevented any meaningful endeavor toward social justice in south Texas.

No sooner had J. D. Speer, owner of Speer's Minimax, finished dropping the last nickel of wages into the hands of those two boycotting students, when he learned that La Raza had declared a boycott of his grocery store. In a matter of days, reports came in, demonstrating the economic might of the Chicano consumer—the Minimax was financially sinking. The owner usually sold over 300 pounds of ground beef per weekend and now he was selling about ten pounds. Not a single loaf of name brand bread was sold. The store was strictly off-limits to the Mexicanos of Crystal City. Shortly thereafter, La Raza began to collect funds for the establishment of a Chicano store.

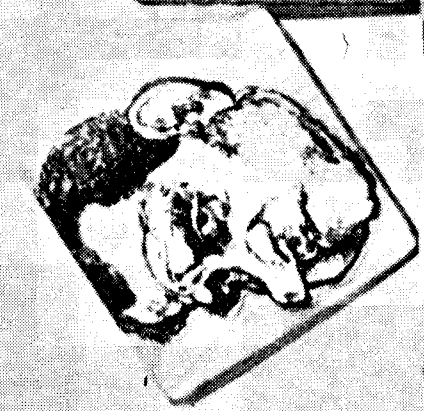
This economic boycott was not the only one in effect. The Lone Star Beer distributor came under attack because of a racist statement made publicly by his sister-in-law. The sister-in-law, a high school teacher in Crystal City,

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What's wrong with the People's Peace Treaty

A reply to the Communist Party

BY DAVE FRANKEL

A look at some key questions facing the antiwar movement: Why does the demand to "set the date" give Nixon a loophole to prolong the war? Do the Vietnamese really support the "peace treaty"? Why did the CP wait three months to endorse April 24?

The hundreds of thousands of people who marched in Washington and San Francisco April 24 to demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Southeast Asia provided a rude shock for the politicians and opinion molders who had announced the demise of the antiwar movement. Something could also be said about the trend watchers at *Time* magazine and their discovery of the "Cooling of America."

Though the press has generally sharpened its criticism of Nixon's war policy, few big newspapers were prepared to say anything that might encourage the giant assemblies of outraged citizens that took place April 24. The more overtly right-wing sector of the capitalist press—evidently unconvinced by the champions of the "new apathy" who said the demonstrations would be small—even opened a red-baiting campaign aimed at keeping the faint-hearted from marching. This proved to be completely unsuccessful, as shown by the overwhelming turnout in both cities. But the target of the attack showed some important things about the relationship between the various organizations on the left and the mass antiwar movement.

Usually the favorite target for a red-baiting smear campaign is the Communist Party, because its uncritical defense of every twist and turn of the Soviet bureaucracy makes it appear alien to the American scene. This time, however, the red-baiting press was unable to discover any noticeable trace of the CP in the organizations most prominent in building April 24—the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee.

We were treated instead to an "exposé" of something every antiwar activist has known for years: that the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have been among the best builders of the antiwar movement. As reported by journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their nationally syndicated column April 19, this well-known political fact came out sounding like this:

"Well-organized and purposeful, the Trotskyists take the trouble to plan nationwide demonstrations, and liberals such as Muskie feel compelled to cooperate. The result is what would have been unimaginable a few short years ago: Hundreds of thousands of Americans marching in their capital under Trotskyist command."

The truth is that April 24 was built by a broad coalition including people of many political persuasions united on a nonexclusive basis around the demand to bring the troops home now. What the Evans and Novak attack did represent, in a distorted way, was the degree to which the SWP and YSA have become identified as champions of the tactics of continued mass mobilization against the Vietnam war in face of all and sundry attempts to derail the antiwar movement either into the dead end of ultraleft "confrontationism" or into the swamp of capitalist electoral politics.

There was another, even more curious, newspaper article that appeared only two days before the Evans and Novak piece, also on the subject of the role of the Trotskyists in the antiwar movement. This was published in

the April 17 *Daily World*, which reflects the viewpoint of the Communist Party, under the title "Peace builders and splitters." The author, W.W. Weinstone, is a member of the CP's Political Committee.

Could this mean that the CP was going to explain its recent inactivity in the antiwar movement? Unfortunately, no such revelations were forthcoming. It was the "Trotskyites" who were to be cast as the "splitters." Of course it is an elementary canon of Stalinist demonology that Trotskyists are splitters, but in this case it must be said that it was not immediately evident from whom the Trotskyists were supposed to have split. Surely not from the 800,000 people who marched in San Francisco and Washington April 24—not "under Trotskyist command" to be sure, but at least in good part because of months of hard work by the Trotskyist movement in helping to hold together all the disparate forces that finally came together in those massive actions. Weinstone explained:

"The Trotskyites of the U.S. oppose the peace treaty which was drawn up between the students of this country, as represented by a delegation of the National Students Association, and the students of South and North Vietnam, signed in Hanoi."

Quite true. The YSA and the SWP have consistently criticized the proponents of the so-called People's Peace Treaty for hedging on the question of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and blurring the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

Weinstone's high moral flutter over the SWP opposition to the treaty, however, seems somewhat ingenuous considering the fact that the CP itself came out against the idea when it was first proposed.

Since Weinstone evidently thinks he can get some mileage out of the treaty question, it is worth some discussion—but we would prefer to put it in the context of the CP's whole approach to the antiwar movement.

The crux of the debate over the People's Peace Treaty is whether the central demand of the antiwar movement should continue to be "Bring the Troops Home Now," or be changed to "Set the Date." It should be said at the outset that in line with their defense of a policy of non-exclusion in the antiwar movement, the YSA and SWP have worked closely with peace treaty supporters in many local areas to build April 24. The debate is not over the need to unify all possible opponents of the war—which is being done—but over the central policy of the movement.

Catching eels

Weinstone professes to see no contradiction between immediate withdrawal and "set the date": "It [the treaty] does not counterpose immediate withdrawal and the matter of setting a date as the reader can see. It declares clearly that the Americans shall withdraw *immediately* and *totally* and 'publicly set the date for total withdrawal.'"

Setting the date, as Weinstone puts it in his folksy way, "is intended to catch the slippery eel—Tricky Dick." Here is how the mechanism is supposed to operate:

"Nixon has deliberately avoided setting a definite date for withdrawal. In fact he has never said there would be *total* withdrawal. If Nixon agrees to set a date in the distant future, then he exposes himself—if it is a reasonable date, justified only by the necessary time for the task of actual withdrawal, then the Vietnamese agree to a cease-fire. Nixon's fraudulent 'cease-fire' slogan is thereby also exposed and turned against him."

The trap seems hardly less slippery than the eel it is supposed to catch. Immediate withdrawal is unambiguous. It demands a specific action from the government that is not contingent on any agreement or concession extracted from the Vietnamese. What, for example, does Weinstone mean by a "reasonable" date? This has already become a topic of endless and fruitless abstract debate among all those who adopt this approach. Most serious, it blurs the distinction between those who are for and against the war. It is a bridge to Nixon's continual pleas for "just a little more time" to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

There is hardly a day in the next five years that someone has not suggested as the terminal date for U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The assumption basic to this approach is that the U.S. has the *right* to remain in Vietnam until such a date.

When the "treaty" was first announced in November it did not call for immediate withdrawal but proposed a pullout by June 30, 1971—then eight months away. Is this what Weinstone would call "justified only by the necessary time for the task of actual withdrawal"? And is a new "treaty" to be issued with a different "deadline" now that the original one is on the verge of expiring?

Even the *Daily World* itself likes to argue the "reasonable" question both ways, depending on what point it is trying to make. Thus on February 12 the paper wrote: "Some members of the Senate and House are demanding that all U.S. troops be withdrawn by Dec. 31, 1971. That date—ten months from now—implies months more of invasion and bombing and defoliation and slaughter."

Naturally reasonable people want to do anything possible to make the war end faster, but conceding that Nixon has the right to stay in Vietnam for any length of time at all only gives the government the room it needs to maneuver to stretch that time out indefinitely. It is to trade the antiwar movement's power of continued mass mobilization for a promise that withdrawals will be completed at some time in the future.

This is not a debate over semantics. Nixon has shown no evidence that he really intends to pull out of Vietnam. But he is faced with a political crisis at home because of the rising antiwar sentiment. He was himself forced to admit in his interview with C. L. Sulzberger that appeared in the March 10 *New York Times* that he was "certain a Gallup poll would show that the great majority of the people would want to pull out of Vietnam."

The antiwar movement is leading ever larger sections of the population in an increasingly sharp political confrontation with the government. The demand that Nixon set the date gives him an easy escape

hatch any time things get too hot. By setting a date, Nixon could hope to achieve a moratorium on antiwar action until the date was passed. It can relegate the millions of people mobilized by the antiwar movement to the position of waiting to see what the government is going to do. Then when the date arrives, Nixon goes on television and explains, with a pained expression on his face, that the "other side" failed to keep its part of the agreement and the war will have to continue for a while. In the meantime the antiwar movement has lost six months or a year and succeeded in confusing and demoralizing the very significant forces it had already drawn into action.

It is not as though Nixon is a novice at making promises he has no intention of keeping in order to extract immediate concessions from his opponents, including the Vietnamese. Nixon, after all, was vice-president under Eisenhower at the time the Geneva Agreements were signed. Under these accords the victorious Indochinese, under heavy pressure from both the imperialists and from the Soviet and Chinese governments, accepted the "temporary" division of their country in exchange for the promise of elections that were never held—canceled on the order of the Eisenhower administration. But old eel catcher Weinstone accuses the Trotskyists of being ultraleft for demanding the real thing and not an IOU. "Of course you can't trust the imperialists," he writes, "but where they pledge publicly before the whole world, in conditions of tremendous peoples' movement, it is not so easy to violate such agreement."

Not so easy, but it happens often enough. The ruling class is expert at finding pretexts for breaking its "agreements." And here is the second major flaw in the peace treaty proposal: it provides a ready made pretext by promising certain specific actions by the Vietnamese in exchange for the projected American withdrawal. As Weinstone himself puts it, after Nixon proposes a "reasonable date . . . then the Vietnamese agree to a cease-fire."

The proponents of the treaty argue that this and other promised actions by the Vietnamese are no violation of self-determination because they were agreed to by student organizations in North and South Vietnam and were discussed with the Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation to the Paris talks. Weinstone makes much of this point:

"For Americans to support propositions worked out by the Vietnamese themselves—that is compromising the right of self-determination; Americans must not butt in, say the Trotskyites. But for the Trotskyites to oppose propositions put forward by the South Vietnamese themselves—that presumably is real recognition of the right of self-determination! What hypocrisy! [sic] What arrogance!"

Before departing for the stratosphere Weinstone might at least have explained to us why the *Daily World* not so long ago was denouncing the peace treaty idea with almost as much vehemence as it now uses to defend it. In the interests of combating hypocrisy we might refer Weinstone to a column by Eric Bert in the October 21, 1970, *Daily World* entitled "Rhetoric as opposed to mass action for peace."

Quoting Rennie Davis' statement that "We are going to Vietnam to sign our own treaty," Bert makes a number

of relevant observations. "What that means is not clear," he says. "It does not mean that there will be peace. . . ." He correctly points out that if Nixon chooses not to promise the withdrawal of all troops by June 30 Davis is not in a position to carry out his threat of shutting down the government.

Bert also points out that the peace treaty does not lead to a sharpened confrontation with the government.

"The bypassing of Nixon, which Davis proposes, does not recommend itself as effective," Bert says. "Nixon could relax if the peace movement decided to 'bypass' him.

"Actually, the issue is not to 'bypass' but to confront Nixon anew, with a mass movement of the millions of Americans who oppose the continuation of the war."

It was not any action by the Vietnamese that led the CP to switch its line to endorse the peace treaty. The turn came only after a number of liberal capitalist politicians latched onto the idea as a useful way to divert the antiwar movement from its immediate-withdrawal thrust. The CP, long committed to support of liberal Democrats and up to its ears in Democratic Party reform politics, trailed along afterward.

Where do the Vietnamese stand?

But is the Peace Treaty a proposition put forward by the South Vietnamese as Weinstone asserts? The evidence for this view is not very persuasive. Many delegations from all parts of the world visit North Vietnam every year and messages of solidarity are exchanged which are not looked on by any of the signers as definitive "treaties." The North Vietnamese press reports of the meetings in November at which the People's Peace Treaty was adopted make no mention of a treaty at all and do not say one word about the American antiwar movement making any special use of the statement that issued from the meetings. The December 28 *Vietnam Courier*, published in Hanoi, carried only a small report on the incident on an inside page under a headline that suggested none of the significance attributed to the event by the American participants on their return.

"An American Students' Delegation Visits North Vietnam," was *Vietnam Courier's* headline. The pertinent section of the report follows:

At the invitation of the Viet Nam Students Union and the Committee of Solidarity with the American People, a delegation of American students visited the DRVN. It also met with a delegation of the South Viet Nam Liberation Students' Union in Hanoi.

After exchanges of views, the delegations of the three organizations of American students, North Vietnamese students and South Vietnamese students signed a joint communique denouncing the policy of aggression of the US ruling circles, their criminal "Vietnamization" program and the insidious charges contained in Nixon's five points.

The report states that the communiqué—nowhere called a treaty or agreement—was signed by unspecified representatives of Vietnamese and American student organizations. That is, neither the National Liberation Front, the

Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, nor any representative of the Hanoi government chose to sign the statement. It seems clear that at most the so-called peace treaty is an informal declaration against the war, like hundreds of others, and was apparently not intended by the Vietnamese to have any special relevancy to the debate over tactics or slogans in the American antiwar movement.

The difference between a communiqué and a treaty is of no small importance. A treaty is, after all, a contract. Most people's understanding of contracts is that they obligate both signers to carry out their part of the bargain, or the agreement can be declared void. And it is here that we come to the heart of Weinstone's argument that it would be a show of respect for Vietnamese self-determination to make the proposals of Vietnamese organizations part of the demands of the American antiwar movement.

The so-called peace treaty includes a lengthy set of things the Vietnamese promise to do if the U.S. government will withdraw its troops. But these are basically a restatement of pledges made in the Paris talks, extracted under the terrible pressure of the American imperialist aggression and subject to change if the conditions of the war should change. The antiwar movement should never put itself in the position of making any concession by the Vietnamese in any way a condition for ending the genocidal war being waged by the American government. It is worth noting, in this context, that the *Vietnam Courier* report of the signing of the communiqué makes no mention whatever of the pledges by the Vietnamese incorporated in it, much less any suggestion that these are viewed in Hanoi as part of a binding international agreement. Yet point four of the People's Peace Treaty states: "The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. government publicly sets a date for total withdrawal. . . they will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops." Nixon is withdrawing some troops now, but the Vietnamese are continuing to fight. It is not hard to imagine a case where the same situation would pertain after a "date" had been set and the Vietnamese would find it impossible to fulfill this pledge. Is there any doubt that Nixon could then use the "safety of the remaining American troops" as a pretext for halting the pullout?

Point seven of the treaty pledges the Vietnamese to "guarantee the safety and political freedom of those persons who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime." Obviously the National Liberation Front cannot guarantee the safety of Saigon troops that continue to fight during the American withdrawal. Here is another pretext for Nixon to remain in Vietnam to protect the "political freedom" of his puppets.

Other provisions are equally subject to deliberate misinterpretation if the White House chooses to do so, such as pledges to hold democratic elections, to set up a coalition government, to accept the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Accords, etc. If these are treaty "obligations," will Nixon demand to maintain a "residual" American force in Vietnam to see they are carried out?

Weinstone's version of "self-determination" would have required antiwar fighters in 1954, when Vietnam was first

divided, to drop their demands that imperialism get out of Indochina on the grounds that this would be opposing "propositions worked out by the Vietnamese themselves." He even says as much when he asserts that the 1954 accord "was not imposed on the Vietnamese. It was achieved by the victory of the Vietnamese over the French." But it left half of Vietnam in imperialist hands — a peculiar idea of self-determination indeed!

The CP's record on self-determination

But then, concern for the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination has never been a strong point of the American CP's antiwar policy. In the early days of the antiwar movement in 1965 the CP openly opposed the demand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops as too radical, counterposing the slogan "Negotiations Now."

Then as now the CP's demand — because it was designed in the first place to appeal to capitalist politicians who did not want to confront the government — played into the hands of the warmakers. What right, after all, did or does the United States government have to negotiate anything to do with the future of Vietnam? Had the CP succeeded in imposing its slogan on the antiwar movement the logic would have been for everyone to pack up and go home when Johnson agreed to negotiate with the Vietnamese in 1968.

It was not until a year and a half after the beginning of mass protests that the CP for the first time formally endorsed the demand for immediate withdrawal — at its June 1966 convention. The CP at that time stood to the right of virtually the entire student antiwar movement and its concession to the withdrawal sentiment on the campus was made under heavy pressure. However, more than a year later, in the summer of 1967, the *New World Review*, a magazine which reflects the CP's views, opened its lead editorial with this sentence:

"The bitter summer of 1967 grinds towards its end: *instead of peace negotiations* in the Vietnamese war, our planes continue remorselessly to bomb. . . ." (August-September 1967 issue. Emphasis added.) We are now in the third year of simultaneous bombing and negotiations.

Furthermore, in spite of its formal position in favor of immediate withdrawal, the CP has always been ready — in fact, indecently eager — to lend its support to liberal capitalist politicians who openly oppose immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. One choice example of the CP attitude on this question was their reaction to a speech given by the late Robert Kennedy in the Senate on March 2, 1967. Kennedy called for a temporary halt to the bombing of North Vietnam as a means of forcing the Vietnamese to the negotiating table. If the Vietnamese refused to negotiate, Kennedy suggested "the possible erection of a physical barrier to block infiltration. . . ." The main point that he made was that in the event the Vietnamese did not negotiate to his satisfaction, Washington could then further escalate the war: "Our effort at that time, after such a dedicated effort to secure peace, would

have the increased understanding and support of our own people."

On the matter of basic war aims, no disagreement was raised. "And even though we debate, as we must, the wisest course towards settlement in Vietnam, there is no comfort for our adversary in these councils," Kennedy said. "Nearly all Americans share with us the determination and intention to remain in Vietnam until we have fulfilled our commitments.

"There is no danger of any diversion . . . which will erode American will and compel American withdrawal."

The March 12, 1967, issue of *The Worker*, predecessor of the *Daily World*, bore the headline: "RFK Stand Seen Opportunity for United Peace Campaign." The speech, "calling on the President to halt the bombing of North Vietnam to clear the path to peace negotiations," was enthusiastically hailed.

The March 21, 1967, *Worker* continued in this vein with—of all things—a review by Douglass Archer of Barbara Garson's play, *MacBird*. Archer lamented the fact that "in venting justified anger on the heads of our power-hungry politicians, Miss Garson throws the whole establishment into one pot and the Johnsons and the Kennedys in the same bag to boot." He went on to say that "the Kennedys need no protection from us and we're not offering it." (How could anyone have gotten that idea?) "But the fact of the matter is that Robert Kennedy has raised the banner of virtually open opposition to the Johnson administration's dirty war."

It is the CP's courtship of liberal politicians that makes it ambivalent toward the independent antiwar movement. The very fact that the antiwar movement is not subservient to the Democratic Party—one of the movement's major sources of strength—constitutes an obstacle to the CP's electoral strategy. This is at the root of the CP's refusal to participate in the coalition that built April 24—the forces assembled in the National Peace Action Coalition and in the Student Mobilization Committee.

The American Stalinists, while they talk now and then about the need for mass antiwar mobilizations, have proposed a course for the movement that runs counter to that in practice. This strategy was outlined by our same eel catcher Weinstone in an article called "To Stop That War . . ." which was featured in the April 24 issue of the *Daily World*, distributed in Washington at the demonstration.

After reiterating his "set the date" thesis, the CP "theoretician" gets to the heart of his proposal to the assembled antiwar activists. And it had nothing whatever to do with continuing mass actions in the streets, but focuses almost exclusively on "mass political actions on the electoral front."

What is needed is an electoral realignment to win the liberal wings of the Republican and Democratic parties to form a new "People's Party." Weinstone leaves no doubt that the people he is most concerned with winning to this proposed formation are the liberal capitalist politicians.

"The struggle is not between the two major parties," he writes, "but within the two parties. The differences, because of the two party set-up, cut across political lines."

"What the people need—what has been urgently needed for some time," he continues, "is a People's Party based primarily on the working class and the oppressed minorities. Such a party will be established as conditions become more acute and particularly as the Communists and progressives vigorously agitate for it and prepare a real substantial mass base from below. Elements for such a party are gradually maturing."

This, then, is the task the Communist Party has set for itself: to turn the antiwar movement into a "real substantial mass base" capable of attracting the liberal capitalist politicians from "within the two parties," who would provide the program and leadership for a new reformist capitalist party like the abortive Progressive Party of the late forties and early fifties.

The first step, as proposed by Weinstone, is to destroy the united-front character of the antiwar movement by adding to the number of issues on which the movement would demand agreement in order to participate—in essence to turn the antiwar movement itself into an amorphous political formation with a full program on all social questions. Obviously since the majority of participants in the antiwar movement today are not revolutionary socialists, such a formation would not be likely to adopt a revolutionary program—the CP's calculation clearly being that the lowest common denominator on which a majority could agree would be sufficiently reformist not to alienate the leaders of the "struggle . . . within the two parties."

Here is how Weinstone proposes to carry out the metamorphosis:

While putting the demand for immediate total withdrawal and ending the war "NOW" in the foreground the peace forces should also support the fight against racism and repression and for improving the living standards of the working class, the organized, the unorganized and the unemployed—issues important in themselves and directly related to the war. In that way the people's coalition can be truly vast and militant.

It is also clear that only all-sided mass fighting methods—mass demonstrations on the streets, mass delegations to the legislators and mass political actions on the electoral front can win the peace.

It is not clear that the CP actually believes that its reformist "People's Party" has any chance of being formed. It may merely be the bait needed to give a radical coloration to business as usual among the reform Democrats. As Weinstone puts it, "until then and even after such a party is established, full use must be made of the differences among the capitalists."

The way in which the CP advocates making full use of "the differences among the capitalists" is best illustrated by the article featured on the front page of the October 31 *Daily World Magazine* shortly before the last general election. Billed as "Elections 1970—New Style Peace Strategy," it approvingly described the efforts of the liberal Democrats.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 34.



suppress all expressions of proletarian democracy and real mass decision-making at home, and put their own narrow national interests ahead of defense of revolutionary movements abroad.

If the reactionary side of Maoism is more obvious today, it is in large part because of shifts in the attitude of the leaders of American imperialism who now seem ready to negotiate the same kind of *modus vivendi* with Peking that they have had with the Kremlin for many years.

But there is nothing unprecedented in Mao's present policy. We need only remember China's role in 1954 in helping the Soviet Union to pressure the Vietnamese into accepting the Geneva Agreements that gave away half of their country after they had won a decisive military victory over the French at Dienbienphu. This division gave imperialism the foothold it needed in Southeast Asia to lay the groundwork for the massive American intervention in later years that has cost the Indochinese people so much blood. It might be pointed out that Nixon was Eisenhower's vice-president at the time of the Geneva conference. His sudden interest in ping-pong undoubtedly stems from the hope that a few well-considered diplomatic concessions to Peking can elicit a repeat performance that would enable U. S. imperialism to secure the Korea-type settlement it is seeking in Vietnam. It is true that Peking is still a major supplier of arms to the Indochinese revolution, but its sudden friendliness for Washington combined with its right-wing policy elsewhere in Asia are not reassuring signs that Nixon has calculated wrongly.

Insofar as there is any attempt at a "theoretical" justification for the bureaucracy's pursuit of its own national self-interest at any cost, it is expressed in the Stalinist theory of the revolution by stages—adopted in toto from the Menshevik leaders who advanced it as an argument against the Bolshevik-led socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917.

In Maoist doctrine the revolution by stages is put forward in the guise of the need for a "bloc of four classes." The essence of this theory is the subordination of the independent organization of the working class to an alliance with the so-called progressive national bourgeoisie. To keep the liberal capitalists in the coalition, the revolution must not be socialist but only "anti-imperialist," and if it should succeed, capitalist private property must be guaranteed for a whole historical period afterward. This provides the rationalization for supporting all kinds

of capitalist governments, particularly in the Third World, with whom the bureaucracy hopes to conclude some advantageous agreement.

A graphic illustration of this policy in practice was seen in Indonesia, where Maoism led the masses into a "bloc of four classes" with Sukarno. The result was the slaughter in 1965-66 of as many as 1,000,000 Indonesian peasants and workers at the hands of the very same "progressive" national bourgeoisie Mao had urged them to unite with.

The Indonesian catastrophe was the most decisive test to date of Maoism's claim to be a revolutionary strategy. With 3,000,000 members and 20,000,000 supporters in unions and other mass organizations, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was the largest Communist party in the capitalist world. In addition, it was a Maoist party—one of the few mass parties anywhere to follow Peking rather than Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Instead of opposing Sukarno, the PKI subordinated itself completely to the bourgeois regime on the grounds that it was "anti-imperialist." In the decade before 1965, Sukarno placed steadily heavier restrictions on civil liberties and political rights, including dissolving the elected Constituent Assembly in 1959, and thereafter ruling by decree like an absolute monarch. In this he received the full support of the PKI. (The motion to dissolve the Constituent Assembly was made by none other than PKI Chairman D. N. Aidit!) The class-collaborationist line of the PKI was put as bluntly as it could be in a speech to the party's Central Committee in December 1961 by Chairman Aidit.

"In carrying out our national struggle," he said, "we must hold firmly to the basic principle: place the interests of the class and of the Party below the national interest, that is, place the national interest above the interests of class and of the Party." (Cited in *The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951-1963* by Donald Hindly, University of California Press, 1964.)

When its bourgeois allies turned on it, the PKI was completely unprepared and its leaders and members were exterminated virtually without a fight.

During the "cultural revolution" in China in the late sixties the Peking pundits tried to place the blame for the Indonesian debacle—as for so many other failings—on the "renegade, scab and traitor" Liu Shao-chi. But Mao's direct involvement in encouraging the PKI's prostration before Sukarno is easily established. Here is the key passage from Mao's personal message of greetings to the PKI Central Committee on the forty-fifth anniversary of the party's founding, May 20, 1965—only a few months before the cataclysm—as issued by Hsinhua in an official translation May 23, 1965:

"The central committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by Comrade D. N. Aidit has skillfully and creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practice of its own country; it has Indonesianized Marxism-Leninism with outstanding success, independently worked out its revolutionary line and policies which conform to the basic interests of the Indonesian people, and led Indonesia's revo-

lutionary struggle from victory to victory. The Communist Party of China is very proud to have such a close and staunch comrade-in-arms as the Communist Party of Indonesia."

Of the PKI, hardly a trace remains, and Mao has been somewhat reticent in recent years on the subject of the skill and creativity of D. N. Aidit in Indonesianizing Marxism. But this does not mean that Peking recognizes that an "error" of policy was committed in Indonesia. From the standpoint of the narrow interests of the Chinese Stalinists, the goal in Indonesia was never a socialist revolution in the first place, but merely to exert pressure on the existing ruling class to come to a useful accommodation with Peking. The eventual extermination of the PKI was predictable if it did not prepare a struggle for power, but that was of no concern to Mao.

The proof of this is that Peking learned nothing from the Indonesian massacre. In 1966, the Pakistani Maoists in the National Awami Party opposed a massive railroad strike in West Pakistan because of the "anti-imperialist nature of the Ayub regime." The Maoist leader Mirza Ibrahim was asked by the government to use his influence to call the strike off. He agreed on the condition that his union and not the one leading the action be recognized as the official union. The government consented and Ibrahim pleaded with a mass meeting of railway workers in Lahore to go back to work. When his appeal was rejected, the government threw him in jail for not trying hard enough. The Chinese press reported neither the strike nor the arrest of Ibrahim.

Beginning in the fall of 1968, mass opposition to the Ayub regime mounted rapidly. Led by revolutionary students, giant demonstrations and strikes were held in both wings of the country, finally forcing Ayub to announce on February 21, 1969, that he would not stand for re-election. At this time, by the government's count, seventy-six student and worker demonstrators had been killed by police and troops. Opposition sources put the toll much higher.

Ayub's concession failed to demobilize the masses. By mid-March, tens of thousands of Bengalis had begun to seize village police stations and take reprisals against the regime's "basic democrats." On March 17, some 2.5 million workers in West Pakistan staged a general strike against the government's restrictions on union rights. Finally, on March 25, Ayub was forced to hand over power to the army in the person of its commander in chief, Yahya Khan. "Every problem of the country," Ayub lamented in his farewell address, "is now being solved in the streets and on corners."

No one could have guessed from Peking's conduct toward the Pakistani dictatorship that a near revolution was taking place. On March 23, only two days before Ayub was forced to resign, Chou En-lai himself joined vice-premier Hsieh Fu-chih in praising the beleaguered dictator at a reception in Peking given by the Pakistani ambassador.

"His excellency the ambassador," Hsieh declared, "has just said that the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency. This is indeed true. . . . We

have sympathized with and supported each other in our common struggle against imperialism and expansionism. In our mutual relations we both firmly abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. . . . The development of the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan is the result of the joint efforts made by our two governments and peoples, it is also inseparable from the active endeavours of President Ayub Khan. The people of both countries are pleased about this." (Hsinhua, March 24, 1969.)

The Maoist official discreetly refrained from mentioning the victims of the Pakistani dictatorship's repressive drive.

This whitewash of Ayub was carried over to Peking's treatment of his successor. It might be added, however, that the Chinese government waited long enough after the current bloodbath began to see who appeared to be winning before coming out so wholeheartedly behind Yahya.

But if peaceful coexistence is possible with the butcher of Bengal, with whom is such shameful collaboration excluded? And what then is left of the revolutionary pretensions of Maoism?

We have already seen evidence that Mao is ready to join the counterrevolution in other countries besides Pakistan. The youth rebellion that broke out in Ceylon on April 5 provided another measure of Mao's foreign policy. In this case Peking chose to desert a leader of its own international tendency in order to stay on the good side of one of its capitalist partners. The sequence of events is illuminating.

On March 28, Hsinhua printed in full a message from "Comrade Nagalingam Sanmugathanan," general secretary of the pro-Peking Ceylon Communist Party, congratulating the Maoist regime on its successful launching of an artificial space satellite. ("It is yet another victory to Mao Tsetung Thought. . . . It will give a great impetus and inspiration to all those struggling for national liberation, against U. S. imperialism and its running dogs.")

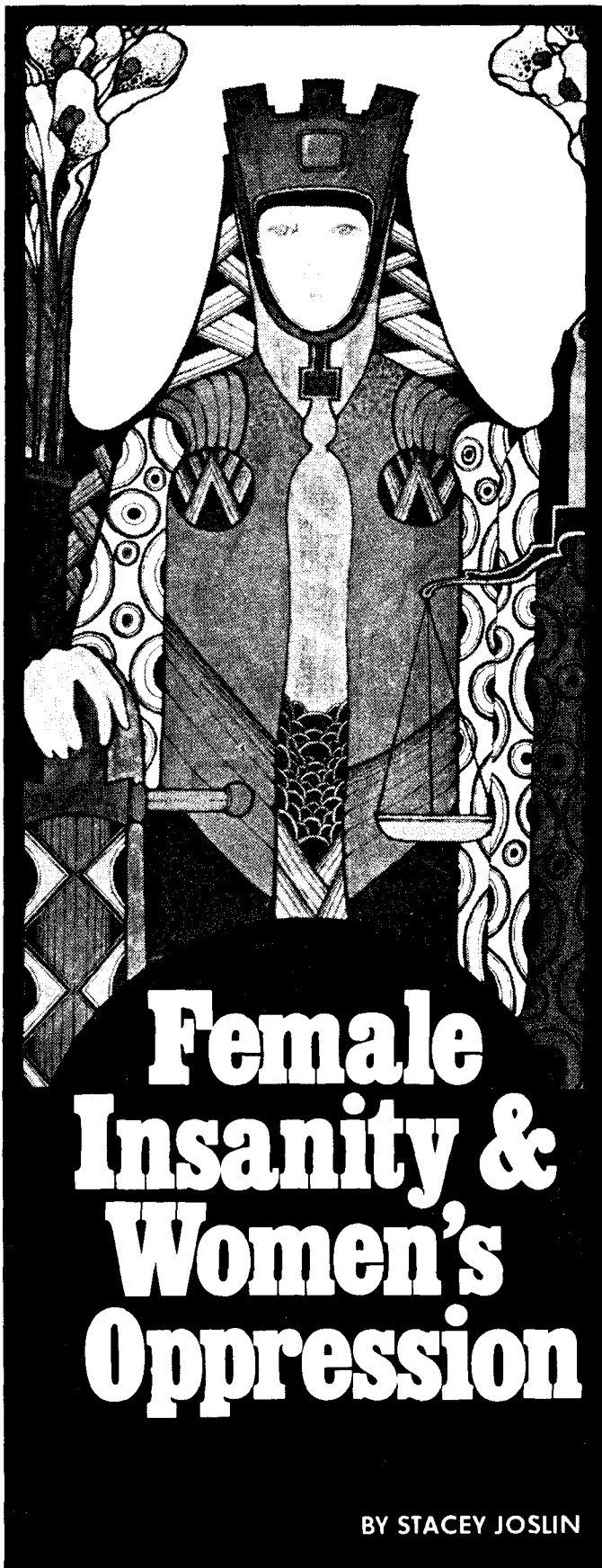
On April 15 the world press reported that the Bandaranaike government had jailed this same Sanmugathanan as part of its savage repression of the insurgency led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front). The pro-Peking party in Ceylon reportedly did not support the uprising.

Hsinhua did not bother to report the arrest of Mao's luckless Ceylonese protégé. Nor did it report the outbreak of a rebellion in Ceylon. The Maoist news agency's first report on the subject of Ceylon after the fighting began did not appear until April 20. Here is the dispatch in full:

"Colombo, April 18 (Hsinhua)—Ceylon Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike today received Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Ma Tzu-ching.

"They had a cordial and friendly talk. End item."

Both Ceylon and Pakistan are ruled by neocolonial regimes in the orbit of American imperialism. We can hardly be expected to believe that Peking's decision to support these governments in armed conflicts with their own peoples is entirely unrelated to the simultaneous rapprochement taking place between the Chinese government and Washington.



THE BELL JAR by Sylvia Plath. Harper and Row, New York, 1971. 296 pages. \$6.95.

ZELDA, A BIOGRAPHY by Nancy Milford. Harper and Row, New York, 1970. 411 pages. \$10.00.

Zelda and *The Bell Jar*, a biography and a novel, are books both by and about women. *Zelda*, a biography based on painstaking research, is a mass of details about the life of Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald, known primarily as F. Scott Fitzgerald's wife and as the model for Nicole Diver in Fitzgerald's *Tender Is The Night*. *The Bell Jar* by Sylvia Plath is a thinly disguised autobiographical account of the author's nineteenth summer, her mental breakdown and apparent recovery. Central to the novel's impact is the reader's knowledge of the author's suicide in 1963 one month after the book was originally published in England.

These books relate the stories of two twentieth century American women. Additionally, they both deal with female insanity.

Neither *Zelda* nor *The Bell Jar* is feminist in intent. Nonetheless, they are profoundly feminist in effect, for they present portraits of female reality in its starkest guise: female insanity.

Zelda Sayre was born in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 24, 1900. She died in 1948 in the fire that destroyed the mental hospital where she had chosen to remain. Before reading Nancy Milford's well-written biography I had an impression of Zelda as a brilliant, mad woman, who along with her husband used life up too quickly. The bitter contrasts between the 1920s and the 1930s seemed the essence of the Fitzgeralds' fame and doom. I loved them both. I knew Zelda had died in a fire because the information was tacked on to the end of Arthur Meizer's biography of Scott.

Zelda was the mysterious, exotic schizophrenic whom Scott loved, as Dick Diver loved Nicole in *Tender Is The Night*. Nicole's schizophrenia was rooted in incest, a deep, hidden childhood trauma of which her husband, the psychiatrist, cures her; then she leaves him. Their marriage is portrayed as her cure, Dick being her victim-husband and savior-doctor. In real life, of course, Zelda was never saved; what we can learn from her biography is that, in fact, she was Fitzgerald's victim. She was, as well, a victim of her own inability to declare herself free of him; that is, she was bound by the oppression which women are now fighting.

It seems clear that Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald was not insane, although everyone, including herself and her biographer, believed that she was.

The central conflict which emerges in Milford's account of Zelda's life with Scott was her need to be independently creative and productive. Both she and Scott lived hard and were demanding of themselves and the world. They spent too much money. They drank too much. Scott Fitzgerald, however, could work hard when he had to; he was a talented writer who knew and respected his own talent.

But Zelda too was a talented person. When she studied dance she worked diligently, and might have succeeded as a professional dancer. She also wrote. The problem

was that whatever she did, Scott Fitzgerald believed she did it out of competitiveness with him. He wanted a woman who would be devoted solely to him. One of the bitterest episodes between them occurred when Zelda wrote a novel (published as *Save Me the Waltz*) in which she drew heavily on the same experiences which Scott was using in *Tender Is the Night*. Moreover, Zelda sent her manuscript directly to editor Maxwell Perkins without showing it to Scott. Scott considered her a thief; there was no doubt in his mind that he had first claim to the material.

Nancy Milford recalls that on May 28, 1933, Zelda, Scott, a stenographer and Dr. Rennie (a psychiatrist) sat down to discuss the Fitzgeralds' troubles. The sequence lays open the truths of Zelda's alleged insanity with remarkable precision.

Scott began the session by comparing himself as a writer to Zelda. "'Now the difference between the professional and the amateur is something that is awfully hard to analyze, it is awfully intangible. It just simply means the keen equipment; it means a scent, a smell of the future, in one line.' Zelda, Scott said, had written some 'nice little sketches'; she had a satiric point of view toward her friends, and she had certain experiences to report, 'but she has nothing essentially to say.'" Scott went on to blame Zelda for the fact that he had not published a novel in eight years, because he had to take care of her.

"Finally Zelda interrupted him: 'You mean you were drinking constantly during those years . . . Well, that is the truth . . . it is just one of the reasons why I wanted to be a ballet dancer, because I had nothing.'"

Later Scott "turned to Zelda and told her outright what he thought of her talents: 'It is a perfectly lonely struggle that I am making against other writers who are finely gifted and talented. You are a third-rate writer and a third-rate ballet dancer.'

"'You have told me that before.'

"'I am a professional writer with a huge following. I am the highest paid short story writer in the world. I have at various times dominated . . .'"

Zelda again broke in: "'It seems to me you are making a rather violent attack on a third-rate writer then.'"

They continued to argue about how hard it was for Scott to support her, especially while she was sick. Then Nancy Milford notes that "Scott had very fixed ideas of what a woman's place should be in marriage: 'I would like you to think of my interests. This is your primary concern, because I am the one to steer the course, the pilot.'"

Zelda answered, "I tell you, my life has been so miserable that I would rather be in an asylum. Does that mean a thing to you?"

Scott: "It does not mean a blessed thing."

Scott then told Zelda she must stop writing. "Zelda insisted that she did not want to be dependent on Scott. Dr. Rennie asked her if she meant financially dependent, and Zelda said: 'Every way. I want to be, to say, when he says something that is not so, then I want to do something so good, that I can say, "That is a bad damned lie!" and have something to back it up, that I can say it.'

"Scott said, 'Now we have found rock bottom.'

"Dr. Rennie said he thought they had.

"'And I think it is better to shut yourself up in an institution than to live this way,' said Zelda."

Nowhere is Zelda characterized by her biographer as more "insane" than she appears in this episode. The "rock bottom" of her insanity was her inability to subordinate herself in order to maintain their marriage.

Scott Fitzgerald kept Zelda in an asylum in Ashville, North Carolina, while he went to Hollywood to try to write screenplays. The financial burden on him was huge, as he let Zelda know in a dozen ways. He died of a heart attack on December 27, 1939.

Zelda lived on for nine more years. In March of 1948 a fire broke out in Zelda's hospital. Nine women were killed; Zelda's body was identified by a charred slipper lying beneath it.

Dilemma of the female choice

The *Bell Jar* is a complex, unevenly paced novel by Sylvia Plath. It begins in the summer of 1953 in New York where Esther Greenwood, the novel's narrator, is working for a month as a guest editor of a girls' magazine. The novel follows Esther back to her suburban Boston home where she tries to commit suicide, is saved, institutionalized and, in the end, cured.

Despite the novel's structural ambiguity it is a profoundly meaningful book for, like *Zelda*, it chronicles the central conflicts of womanhood. *The Bell Jar* does not deal with the genesis of Esther's madness; it may be there was none beyond her own inability to accept the mutually exclusive choices facing her.

The novel's central image is that of death-in-birth, of life finished before it is begun. Further, the image is extended to encompass all the choices available to Esther, for she feels she must choose: "I saw myself sitting in the crotch of this fig tree, starving to death, just because I couldn't make up my mind which of the figs I would choose. I wanted each and every one of them but choosing one meant losing all the rest, and as I sat there, unable to decide, the figs began to wrinkle and go black, and, one by one, they plopped to the ground at my feet."

Esther's choices, though, are not posed as sharply as *Zelda's* were: there are no ultimatums. In a real sense, *Zelda* chose the asylum; *Esther* did not choose death, nor did Sylvia Plath. Death was her response to a world into which women are never truly allowed to be born.

Esther essentially refuses to accept sexuality as it is offered to her. She despises both male and female sexuality as well as the female social role. She hates children and will not have any. She hates her mother, with her "pin curls on her head glittering like a row of little bayonets." But she reserves a certain sympathy for women; it is men she ruthlessly exposes in her book, perceiving their hate, describing in scene after scene the countless ways men mildly, smilingly, drive women insane.

The most clear-eyed, cruel man in *The Bell Jar* is Doctor Gordon, Esther's first psychiatrist. His eyes are "two green, glacial pools." At the end of their first interview,

which he has spent tapping a pencil on his blotter, he asks her where she went to college. She tells him and he says how well he remembers her college, he was there during the war, didn't they have a WAC station there then?

"Yes," he says, "a WAC station. I remember now. I was a doctor for that lot, before I was sent overseas. My, they were a pretty bunch of girls."

At the end of the second session—Esther not having improved—Doctor Gordon recommends shock treatment. When Esther arrives at the hospital, Doctor Gordon wires her up and afterward, as she sits in a wicker chair, he asks her how she feels and then: "Which college did you say you went to?"

She told him.

"'Ah!' Doctor Gordon's face lighted with a slow, almost tropical smile. 'They had a WAC station up there, didn't they, during the war?'"

The Bell Jar is a truthful novel, rather like an X-ray, the inverse of one of those insipid, depressing books about warm starry nights and beach parties, written for teenage girls about love, boys, growing up, becoming a woman. Esther, at the beach with a pretty, blond boy, tries to drown herself.

But the dreary conflicts of those teen-age novels are a real part of Esther's world. In fact, her deepest disappointment with Buddy, her boy-friend, is that he had a summer affair with a waitress. She feels betrayed and bitterly resents the double standard which gives him that freedom and denies it to her.

Further, she resents Buddy's mother, whose philosophy of life prescribes a role for Esther she cannot play: "What a man is is an arrow into the future and what a woman is is the place the arrow shoots off from."

The disaster, of course, is that Sylvia Plath was a most straight, singing, high-flying arrow—it cost her her life.

Could it not be said that in this society the conditions of female oppression are themselves perhaps the major factor contributing to so-called psychosis among women?

The problem of reevaluating the role of society in creating—or creating by defining—insanity is a complex one that has been the subject of much discussion in recent years among psychologists. R. D. Laing (especially in *Sanity, Madness and the Family*), Carl Rogers and Eugene Gendlin, among others, have raised important challenges to the traditional attitudes on these questions.

Both Zelda Sayre and Sylvia Plath were feminists whose rebellion against their assigned social roles faltered for lack of self-confidence and ended in self-destruction.

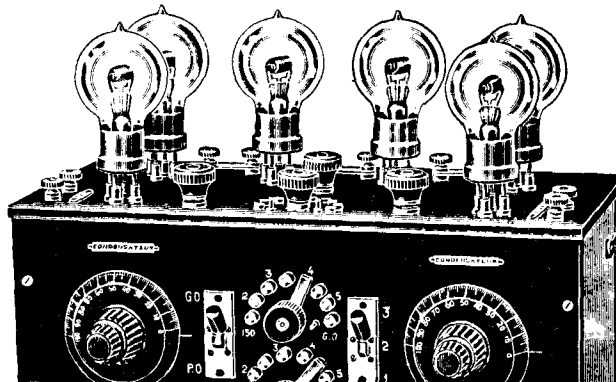
The madness of *The Bell Jar* and *Zelda* is constructed of things so familiar and so much a part of female reality that it is no more than what faces all of us written a little larger. Both books center on the dilemma of the female choice: I can choose to be a person or I can choose to be a wife. If I can't choose, I will be destroyed, torn apart. Each and every woman is trained from birth to believe there is something wrong with her when she finds that her personal integrity and her lifetime training are incompatible. Every choice involves a battle to balance what cannot possibly balance.

Zelda and *The Bell Jar* are chronicles of women who

sought, in isolation and alone, a way toward liberation. How many others have died like them, never knowing what was killing them?

We recognize Sylvia Plath and Zelda Sayre as sisters in struggle. It is too late for them, but at least today many of us have found a way to fight our oppression. The women's liberation movement changes our perceptions: we recognize the commonality of our oppression and the collective struggle we must make to win our liberation.

PROGRESS/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15



political economy has grown from the first glimmers of understanding the essence of labor, value, money and the commodity in precapitalist times to the systematic exposition of the decisive factors and laws of motion of capitalism and its transition to socialism found in Marxism.

Among the profusion of skeptics in this profession, there are still contemporary historians in England and the United States who defend the idea of progress. One of them is E. H. Carr, who writes: "Historiography is a progressive science in the sense that it seeks to provide constantly expanding and deepening insight into the course of events which is itself progressive."³ The expansion of insight into the motive forces of history since the birth of that science can be gauged by contrasting the knowledge of social change, wars and revolutions displayed by Thucydides in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* with Trotsky's analysis of *The History of the Russian Revolution*.

The antimaterialists and anti-evolutionists may concede that agriculture and industry are more productive, that more goods are available, that people are materially more comfortable, live longer and are healthier, know more and travel faster. Since it is so difficult to dismiss such observable facts, they contrive to discount them. How much progress has really been made, they ask, in such values as equality, liberty, goodness, happiness and culture?

The question raises for consideration the contradictory character of historical development. The ascent of humanity has been far from steady, harmonious and uninter-

ruptedly upward; it has been extremely uneven and intermittent. Social progress has not followed a straight line but a complicated path with many relapses and detours. Regress has been mingled with progress and a certain price, sometimes a high one, has been exacted for every advance. For example, whatever benefits the two hundred million inhabitants of the United States now enjoy were achieved at the expense of the destruction of the Native Americans and their culture and by forfeiting the hospitality, equality and closeness to the natural wilderness characteristic of the collectivist tribal hunters of the Stone Age.

Rousseau wrote that "iron and wheat have civilized man — and ruined him." His paradoxical assertion focused attention upon the contradictory consequences of all the advances history has recorded. These endowed humanity with new powers which could be—and were—used both for good and for evil.

Agriculture and metallurgy which are at the base of civilization did bring on class society with all its train of evils, as Rousseau noted. Yet humanity cannot go back to the hardships of precivilized life, as the Cynics once proposed to do. The historic process is irreversible; its accomplishments, good and bad, cannot be undone nor can its acquisitions be discarded or disregarded.

The net worth of the historical balance sheet is very differently judged by the incurable romantics and reactionaries who consider that the sum total of human endeavors to date shows a deficit and by the partisans of progress who believe that the accrued advantages far outweigh the penalties. These opposing estimates of the results and prospects of progress reflect antithetical world outlooks. A healthy and rising class (and its representative ideologists) has confidence in itself and the future whereas adherents to an outworn and disintegrating order are filled with misgivings and forebodings.

Here politics merges with the historical and moral issues involved. For the future has to be included in the calculations as well as the past and the present. The agonies of history can find their justification only in the realized freedom and happiness they will ultimately make possible for humanity. The socialist movement aims to ensure that humanity will receive the full benefits of the colossal labors that previous generations have expended to enable it to reach its present point of development.

Professor Popper, the antagonist of historicism, does not agree with this sort of reckoning. He acknowledges progress in the natural sciences because we can learn from mistakes in that field (why people cannot learn from mistakes in social and political experimentation, he fails to tell us). But, he says, "in most other fields of human endeavor there is change, but rarely progress (unless we adopt a very narrow view of our possible aims in life); for almost every gain is balanced, or more than balanced, by some loss."⁴ On this view history has been a losing game in which humanity is lucky if it holds its own.

Popper is a severe critic of Hegel's dialectics. Yet the illustrious idealist of the nineteenth century had a more correct and rounded conception of the realities of progress than the liberal professor of the twentieth.

In his *Philosophy of History* Hegel emphasized that

all forward movement in history has been double-edged. The creation of the new inescapably entailed the destruction and transcendence of the old, its particular virtues included. Progress has come about only through struggle and suffering. "The history of the world," he wrote, "is not the theater of happiness. Periods of happiness are blank pages in it, for they are periods of harmony, periods when the antithesis is in abeyance."⁵

Kant had previously pointed out in his essay on Universal History that progress did not come from harmony or slothful ease which gave rise to lethargy and contentment but rather from work, strife, opposition. "The means which nature employs to accomplish the development of all faculties is the antagonism of men in society, since this antagonism becomes, in the end, the cause of a lawful order of this society."

Contradictions of progress

Marx integrated this profound idea of the classical German philosophers about the mode of progress in history into the structure of historical materialism. Late in life he was asked by an American journalist what single word would best sum up his philosophy of life. He answered: "Struggle."

Marx was not a vulgar evolutionist who believed that progress was all of one piece. Its course has been far from pure and simple; it was alloyed and complicated. The chief contradictions in progress are the result of antagonistic social relations. Struggle has been the spur to forward movement at all stages of historical development. Primitive humans struggle to wrest their livelihood from nature with the rudimentary means at their command.

Once the improved productivity of labor generated by agriculture, stock-raising and craftsmanship provided a substantial social surplus product, the struggle against nature was supplemented and overlaid by the conflicts between the ruling orders and the producers over the division and disposition of that part of the total product. Thenceforward the struggle between the contending classes, the exploiters and exploited, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the possessors and the dispossessed, became the propulsion of history.

The exploits of class society through history were accomplished, Engels observed:

. . . by setting in motion the lowest instincts and passions in man and developing them at the expense of all his other abilities. From its first day to this, sheer greed was the driving spirit of civilization; wealth and again wealth and once more wealth, wealth, not of society, but of the single scurvy individual—here was its one and final aim . . .

Since civilization is founded on the exploitation of one class by another class, its whole development proceeds in a constant contradiction. Every step forward in production is at the same time a step backwards in the position of the oppressed class, that is, of the great majority. Whatever benefits some necessarily injures the others; every fresh emancipation of one class is necessarily a

new oppression for another class. The most striking proof of this is provided by the introduction of machinery, the effects of which are now known to the whole world.⁶

Marx cited the British conquest of India to illustrate how capitalist accumulation and imperialist aggrandizement, nevertheless became the involuntary vehicle of progressive change. The miseries inflicted by British rule broke up the stagnant archaic Asiatic organization and introduced the elements of modernity which opened up new perspectives for the people on that subcontinent.

That is the characteristic and inevitable mode of progress under the rule of capital in the bourgeois period of history, he commented. And not until "a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol who could not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."⁷

It is pointless to bewail the pains and penalties of progress and wish it to have been otherwise. Our ancestors did not have a free choice of alternatives; they were hemmed in by the insurmountable necessities of their grade of material development and the rigors of the class struggle. Humanity has crawled up from apedom on its hands and knees, improvising as it went along. It climbed out of savagery by savage methods and out of barbarism by barbaric methods—and now has to cast off the shackles of private ownership by class struggle methods.

How could it have been otherwise? There was no benevolent deity supervising the process and directing its ends, who through some magic or miracle could extend a helping hand to the struggling mortals. There was only an ex-animal humanizing and civilizing itself and realizing its hidden capacities at each step along the way as best it could. Every weapon wielded during this upward climb had a dual character and forked consequences. Fire could heat a dwelling and burn it down; trade exchanged goods and provoked wars: agriculture led to specialized crafts and to slavery.

It is essential to distinguish between two aspects of the historical process: its motive forces and ways and means which could be sordid, cruel and costly and the results which brought benefit to humanity, furthered its progress and, above all, paved the way for future betterment. Without the avaricious aims of capitalist accumulation the progress registered over the past four centuries would not have been possible. Competition fostered the most infamous egotism and fanned "the furies of private interest" at home and abroad. Yet it was the foremost stimulant to economic progress in the early phase of capitalism. The violence that accompanied this development was not uniformly bad; the democratic rights we possess today are the result of the revolutionary violence of the oppressed against their oppressors.

This form of progress seems abhorrent, wasteful and absurd to enlightened people—and so it is. But our predecessors had no broad range of options available to choose from, like articles in a well-stocked department store. The limits of their actions were rigidly established by the level of their economy.

The contradictions of progress in class society have reached their culmination under monopoly capitalism. As it revolutionizes science, technology, industry, agriculture, transport and communications, imperialism conducts the most counterrevolutionary policies. It piles up wealth while accentuating the contrasts between rich and poor at home and the inequality between the underdeveloped and developed countries. It cannot master the forces of nature without despoiling and depleting its resources wastefully and polluting the waterways and atmosphere. Its millions of private autos facilitate mobility and exchange while congesting the cities and highways, fouling the air and killing tens of thousands yearly. It releases nuclear energy, generates it in reactors for power supplies—and stores it in nuclear warheads. The dictates of the privileged few who dominate the United States and a large part of the planet ride roughshod over the social needs of the masses.

These aspects of capitalist civilization are so appalling and frightening that they induce despair about progress and produce a very ambivalent attitude toward its possibilities. On the one hand, the average individual demands and expects a continuous improvement in his or her lot. People presume that the growth rate of the economy will increase from year to year and each generation will enjoy more prosperity than the preceding one. This is the normal philosophy of history among Americans. On the other hand, capitalist insecurity and its threatened catastrophes make them fearful that this promise will be snatched from them.

The perplexities arising from this predicament permit the opponents of the idea of progress to play an insidious role. The problem of progress is not a purely theoretical one; it involves weighty class interests. The crux of the controversy between the upholders and the detractors of social progress is not so much whether it has shaped the past as along what lines and on what terms it can be prolonged into the future.

There are two opposing answers to this question: either the world will remain under capitalist domination or it will go forward under socialism. Those who doubt or disavow progress are impelled to do so because they feel that history is moving in an undesirable direction away from what they hold most dear. The source of their disbelief is less scientific than social. They are apprehensive about the fate of bourgeois society. When they denounce communism as the new barbarism carried by the insurgent working masses, when they identify the highest cultural values with the preservation of the established order, when they voice objections to the law of progress, they become willy-nilly ideological shielders of the possessing classes which have everything to lose in the event of a revolutionary change.

The practical political effect of their philosophical positions is to block the spread of socialist ideas. From the former socialist Reinhold Niebuhr to Professor Popper, the liberal champion of "the open society" based on imperialist democracy, they stand on the side of capitalism in its worldwide contest with the forces of socialism. *These opponents of Marxism turn anti-evolutionary in regard to the law of progress because they are antirevolutionary.* In the hostility they express to futurism, historicism and

socialism, they resemble the paladins of the royalist regimes, the apologists for British crown rule in the colonies or for the southern slaveholders, or the spokesmen for the Russian propertied classes who were likewise antagonistic to the progressive revolutionary movements of their times.

Changes in concept of progress

The concept of progress has not stood still since it was originally enunciated by the ancient materialists or the thinkers of the Enlightenment. Its content has undergone a progressive development and been given a more ample and correct definition.

The bourgeois exponents of progress in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries confused it with the unlimited advancement of bourgeois institutions. Many people in the United States still believe this to be the case. They cannot picture social progress outside the capitalist framework.

This amalgamation was challenged first by the utopian socialists and then dissociated in theory by the more far-reaching analyses of social-historical development presented by scientific socialism. Its historical limitations have been exposed and certified in practice by the victories and accomplishments of the anticapitalist revolutions since 1917. These developments demonstrate that the basis of social progress has been shifted from the bourgeois forces to the world socialist movement.

The view of progress held by the rationalists of the Enlightenment had three serious methodological defects. 1) They mechanically construed progress as a natural law similar to the law of gravitation. 2) The source of progress or stagnation was to be sought in invariant characteristics of human nature. 3) The progress of society in the last analysis depended upon the progress of ideas which in turn was determined by the accumulation of knowledge.

Thus Condorcet believed that the principal obstacles to progress were prejudices, discredited ideas upholding obsolete institutions, chief among them religious superstitions. The spread of fuller knowledge and clearer reason among the masses were the keys to progress. Even though he viewed history as a conflict of ideas and not of interests, he could not explain why new ideas originated and old ones lost their hold upon the mind nor why certain ideas came to influence the masses more than others.

Historical materialism controverted and corrected the false assumptions of this philosophy of history.

Progress was not a property of nature but exclusively a feature of social life. It was a social-historical phenomenon based upon humanity's creation of the conditions of development through production. While Marxism agreed that this process was governed by laws, these were of a qualitatively different type from the laws of motion in the physical and biological realms because their groundwork was different. The forces of production are subject to different laws of development than the forces of nature that are incorporated into them.

There is no such thing as an unchangeable human

nature. The nature of human beings is highly plastic and has changed considerably from one epoch to another. The rationalists put the relations between human nature and society upside down. Human nature is not the cause of progress but its final result. The characteristics and capacities of the human species have varied according to the changing circumstances of its historical development from savagery through civilization.

Finally, it is an idealist illusion that opinions have ruled history, that progress has primarily and principally emanated from the growth of humanity's knowledge, and could be assured by the dissemination and application of reason. Although our knowledge of nature, society and the human mind have increased from one age to the next, the possession of such knowledge or lack of it has not governed the course of history. Its prime motive force to date has not been the intelligence of the collectivity, and still less of the individual, but the struggle against nature and between classes on the basis of historically developed productive forces.

Reason played a small and subordinate role in the total process which has unfolded in an irrational manner, even though the road it took can be rationally explained. The irrationality of past history need not be dominant in the future. The historical process can be more and more subjected to conscious collective control. But that has to be the work of the socialist revolution.

The standards of progress are not to be found in the first place where the rationalist looked for them, in the increase of knowledge and the spread of enlightened ideas, although these are important and among its criteria. The primordial criterion of progress has to do with humanity's relation to nature expressed in technology. The extent of the human species' control over the forces of nature, and therewith over its own nature, has been the substructure of all progress.

The second criterion is the degree of collective control that humanity has over its own development in its liberation from the class oppression that has been the mark of civilized formations since the disintegration of primitive communism. These two aspects of historical development are inseparably intertwined. The greater the command over nature, the less is the necessity for the imposition and perpetuation of the mastery of one segment of society over the rest.

Capitalism has promoted the conquest of the forces of nature far more rapidly and extensively than any other system of exploitation. That is the immense service it has performed for the advancement of humanity. At the same time it has intensified the servitude of the masses and augmented the privileges and wealth of a minority of property owners more excessively and unjustifiably than any earlier system. The most progressive task of the progressive forces in our epoch is to clear away this parasitic obstacle to progress.

The masses today sense that modern technology, science and industry contain unlimited possibilities of progress that can transform the lives of themselves and their children for the better. More and more of them suspect that capitalism is mismanaging these prodigious forces, is not distributing their benefits equitably, and is incapable of releasing their full potential for the welfare of humanity. These feelings are soundly based. They can provide a

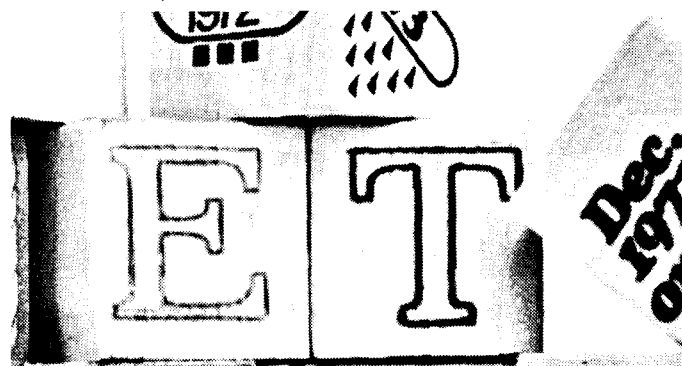
powerful stimulus to the creative activity of the working people once they are consciously connected with socialist perspectives.

This is the class basis for the optimism of the Marxist movement. "Marxism sets out from the development of technique as the fundamental spring of progress, and constructs the communist program upon the dynamism of the productive forces," wrote Leon Trotsky. "If you conceive that some cosmic catastrophe is going to destroy our planet in the fairly near future, then you must, of course, reject the communist perspective along with much else. Except for this as yet problematic danger, however, there is not the slightest scientific ground for setting any limit in advance to our technical productive and cultural possibilities. Marxism is saturated with the optimism of progress, and that alone, by the way, makes it irreconcilably opposed to religion."⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage, 1956), p. 52.
2. George Gaylord Simpson, *The Meaning of Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 251.
3. Carr, *What Is History?*, p. 165.
4. Karl Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations* (New York: Basic, 1962), pp. 216-217.
5. G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, trans. by J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), pp. 26-27.
6. Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York: International, 1942), pp. 161-162.
7. Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II (Moscow: Foreign Languages), p. 664.
8. Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (New York: Pioneer, 1937), p. 45.

PEACE TREATY/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25



"Pinned to the wall of the 'Referendum 70' office here is a list of 105 congressional candidates across the nation seeking election or re-election to Congress on antiwar, anti-racist platforms."

The "new style peace strategy" was explained in detail.

"If President Nixon can defeat Senators Joseph Tydings (D-Md), Vance Hartke (D-Ind), Albert Gore (D-Tenn), Philip A. Hart (D-Mich), Stuart Symington (D-Mo), Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me), Edward W. Kennedy (D-Mass), and other incumbents, he can take the majority in the Senate. The GOP will then appoint all the chairmen of all the Senate Committees—the most critical positions of all in Senate parliamentary rule."

The strategy outlined by the CP for radical youth to follow—so fresh, so new, just bursting with vitality—is to hustle votes for liberal Democrats. In case anyone was left in doubt as to their duty the *Daily World* ran a cartoon in the same issue. The first panel—captioned "I'm gonna sit it out"—shows a character sitting with folded arms in front of an empty voting booth. The second panel depicts the wages of sin, with the hapless abstentionist sitting in a jail cell and holding up a newspaper with the headline: "Ultra-Rightists Elected—Radical Liberals Jailed."

The CP gives lip service to independent mass action and to defense of the rights of the Vietnamese to self-determination. But genuine mass antiwar action not geared to promoting the CP's electoral maneuvers draws a decidedly cool response from the party. This can be seen from the CP's role in the preparations for April 24.

The April 24 actions were called by the National Peace Action Coalition at an open conference of 1,500 antiwar activists from all over the country held in Chicago December 4-6. The Student Mobilization Committee voted to support the call for the April 24 demonstrations at its steering committee meeting immediately following the Chicago conference.

But the *Daily World* carried virtually no coverage of the proposed action and certainly did not endorse it until March 3, fully three months afterwards. This was after two three-quarter-page advertisements for the demonstrations had appeared in the *New York Times* on February 14 and 17 signed by some sixty prominent figures in the Black, Chicano, women's liberation, trade-union, and antiwar movements.

Instead of joining the NPAC coalition, the CP chose to ally itself with the collection of radical pacifists and ultraleftists of the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression (NCAWRR), later renamed the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). This formation had broken from the groups that came to make up NPAC precisely because they were moving away from the conception of continuing to build mass mobilizations in the streets.

The *Daily World* tried to justify its refusal to support the April 24 proposal by repeating the same kind of red-baiting slanders of NPAC as appeared in the capitalist press. The January 7 *Daily World*, for example, reprinted in full a statement by the CP's fraternal youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), that had been distributed at the December YSA convention. Here is what the YWLL had to say about the antiwar movement:

Today there are two peace movements: the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, made up of groups like the National Rank-and-File Workers Movement representing thousands of workers, the Welfare Rights Movement, the Young Lords, etc. On the other hand there is the National Peace Action Coalition controlled by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Its last conference showed that it is entirely white and student. What then has the Y. S. A.'s divisive work accomplished? Only the isolation of the students from the rest of the movement.

This isolation of the students and division of the movement clearly reached its apogee on April 24.

In addition to its despicable use of red-baiting in attempting to undercut the program decided upon by NPAC, the CP also supported a series of alternative actions which it unsuccessfully attempted, along with some others in the movement, to counterpose to April 24.

The first of these was a call for a mobilization sometime in the first week of May, adopted at a World Conference on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia held in Stockholm, Sweden, just prior to the NPAC conference. The December 4 *Daily World* pushed this proposal in reporting a press conference held by peace activist Sid Peck, who had attended the Stockholm meeting. It might be noted in passing that the *Daily World* went out of its way to stress "set the date" rather than immediate withdrawal:

There "will be a national mobilization some time in the first week of May, which will be coordinated with demonstrations throughout the world to focus on the demand that the U. S. set a definite date for withdrawal of all troops from Indochina."

It wasn't until January 8-10 that this plan was adopted by a sector of the antiwar movement—then called the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR)—at a conference attended by 361 persons. The January 12 *Daily World* article reporting the NCAWRR decisions did not mention April 24. The major antiwar action of the spring, it explained, was to be "massive, sustained, non-violent action in Washington on May 5-8, in a week of varied and multiple actions."

However, by early February NCAWRR had changed its name to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and its date to May 2. The May 2 date was pressed in a *Daily World* article on the protests against the Laotian invasion February 9. The February 11 *Daily World* editorial, inappropriately entitled "To Tell It As It Is," included a spring antiwar calendar which deleted any mention of April 24 in favor of "the May 2 massed assembly in Washington." This editorial had the nerve to "urge, again, that every bit of news about the peace movement from today's events to May 5 be speeded to the *Daily World*, as a service to the entire peace movement."

This was followed by articles and editorials which appeared on February 20, 23, and 24, which reflected an abortive attempt to move the date for the major spring actions to March 20, despite the work already done around April 24, and the lack of time to build another major action from scratch.

On March 2, after finally concluding that April 24 would be big with or without them, the People's Coalition for

Peace and Justice decided to cosponsor the action. This is what prompted the *Daily World's* belated March 3 article supporting the San Francisco-Washington plans. It must be said, in regard to the CP's choice of coalition partners, that the PCPJ's backing turned out to be minimal. The CP itself proved to be the most energetic of the PCPJ forces, although its position of political and organizational hostility to NPAC gave it considerable embarrassment.

The essence of the CP's politics cannot be understood from its professions that it is seeking to build a socialist society. Since the consolidation of a conservative, privileged bureaucratic strata under Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union of the late twenties, the CP has made its first priority the effort to promote "peaceful coexistence" between the liberal wing of a presumably eternal and unchallengeable capitalist ruling class in the United States and the entrenched bureaucratic leadership in the Soviet Union. This has meant avoiding direct confrontation with that sector of the American capitalist class the CP hopes to influence. This policy of accommodation can be seen in the CP's endorsement of the 1954 Geneva Accords, in its "Negotiate Now" efforts in the mid-sixties, as in its support today to the peace treaty and the doves in the Democratic Party.

The corollary to these reformist views can be found in all areas of the CP's policies as they relate to other mass movements as well. We need only cite the Stalinist's opposition to Black and Chicano nationalism, their impassioned defense of the alleged progressive nature of the bourgeois family, their refusal to support independent *socialist* electoral action such as the SWP's presidential campaigns, ad infinitum.

The fact that today the CP is forced to openly polemicize against the main contingents of the antiwar movement by accusing them of being "controlled by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance" reflects in part the growth of Trotskyism in the course of the present radicalization. More important, it is a measure of the incompatibility of the CP's program and the independent thrust of today's young radicals. The CP is straining with every resource to keep the burgeoning independent mass movements within the confines of reformist electoral action. But in abandoning the antiwar movement in favor of its mythical "People's Party" it is the CP that is being left behind in the liberal swamp.



said that Chicanos ought to return to Mexico or shut up. She felt that Chicanos should be grateful for the opportunity to attend schools with whites and sit next to them.

Also on the boycott list were two additional establishments: a drive-in grocery and a dry cleaners. The grocer's family had instituted disbarment proceedings against the students' Chicano lawyer, Jesus Gamez Jr. (They were later dropped.)

The fact that several businesses were the object of effective boycotts made the white business community cool the rhetoric of racism and reflect a bit for fear that their businesses might be hit next.

In fact one white store manager sought to employ a leader of the walkout in order to obtain boycott insurance. That leader turned down the offer. So did the two students who refused Speer's offer to pay for their college education in exchange for the boycott and their labor.

The boycott received publicity and favorable editorials from *La Verdad*, the only Spanish-language newspaper in the area. *La Verdad* had been originally totally operated by us, but by boycott time the paper was being managed by a local school teacher, Ignacio Lozano, and the walkout leaders. The paper was being subsidized by the Chicano businessmen of the Winter Garden area. The creation of a Chicano news organ occurred at the same time as did the emergence of a new civil rights organization: Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens).

Members of Ciudadanos Unidos were parents of the boycotting students—they were the men who worked daily; the men who earned the dollar; the men who experienced being pushed down just as their sons were experiencing. These were the men who would collectively limit the power of the gringo over La Raza.

TEAM kept the students in class part of the day while the parents kept TEAM in their homes during the night. The protesting Chicano students went out in the evening and registered Chicanos who were eligible to vote. "Registration, registration," was the word uttered daily by the young Mexicanos. As a result all-time voter registration records were set in all three counties.

The youth in their voter registration travels around the area organized themselves into a tricounty organization (YA meaning "now" in Spanish).

School had let out for the Christmas holidays and no settlement had been reached. School began after the holidays on January 7, 1970, and no settlement had been

reached yet. The school board had prevented any settlement by insisting on private discussion pertaining to the petition with parents of students still in school.

Later as if reminded how to handle Mexicans, the board offered to meet with parents of boycotting students individually. After all this folly the board finally decided that enough money had been lost in average daily attendance funds to the district; and perhaps that in the negotiations between the parents and students that La Raza would fumble.

La Raza did not fumble and with the exception of freedom of the press in the high school and more liberal dress code, all other demands were granted. On January 6, 1970, the Crystal City Independent School District returned to normal school attendance.

In the surrounding areas administrators and school board members relaxed at the news because there had been talk of sympathetic walkouts in their schools; however, that relaxation turned into bitter resentment because the gringos realized that they had conceded victory to La Raza. What would happen next? Where would it all end?

The new political party

Not long after capitulation by the school board did the gringos in the area learn what was next. The entire state of Texas also learned. For in this decade Aztlan would have its own political party. The new political party organized in Texas would be named La Raza Unida. The Chicano party was legally filed with the county judges of the three counties in the Winter Garden area and also in Hidalgo County deep in the Rio Grande Valley.

La Raza Unida Party caused much alarm, debate, and enthusiasm throughout the state. The alarmists judged the party to be un-American, nationalistic, racism in reverse, and a Mexican segregationist movement.

The debaters argued hot and heavy over the merits of a Chicano party for Chicanos versus the opportunities available as liberals in a Democratic Party or as liberal Republicans.

Those that were enthusiastic knew that with La Raza Unida Party, the Mexicanos of Texas would certainly have a chance for victory. They had been Mexican long enough to know that La Raza, in addition to being wealthless, had always been voiceless and voteless.

By the filing deadline in early February all county offices up for election were being contested by La Raza Unida candidates in four counties. The following month the city hall offices up for election and school board seats in the Winter Garden counties were being sought by candidates identified with the new party. These nonpartisan elections were to be held in April. La Raza Unida had a grand total of sixteen candidates seeking election.

However, in late March Pablo Puente, a Crystal City candidate for city council, was disqualified a few days prior to the commencement of absentee balloting. Supposedly, the disqualification came as a result of not being a real-estate owner in Crystal City.

Immediately, Jesus Gamez, a Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund Corresponding Attorney, filed suit in the

state court. Pablo Puente lost the case. The judges agreed that ownership of property should not be a prerequisite for public office but the court pointed out that absentee balloting had already begun and the question of putting Puente on the ballot was not moot. Attorney Gamez and the Fund appealed the case into the federal court system where they were given the opportunity to explain how such a practice opened the door to unlimited fraud.

The court stated that any candidate could be disqualified for any reason a few days prior to absentee balloting and by court ruling could be kept off the ballot because the question was moot with the casting of the first absentee ballot. (All federal legislation regarding voting rights excludes the Mexican American from protection.)

The federal judge ordered that new ballots be printed and Puente agreed to forfeit all 150 absentee ballots that had already been cast.

The court decision of April 3, 1970, could not have been timed more perfectly. La Raza was on the ballot. The following day saw the largest turn-out of voters for the school board election.

The city of Cotulla in La Salle County was no exception. Cotulla set the pace for the city—two candidates for the school board won and of the four city council seats contested, four now belonged to La Raza. The city government was now under new Chicano leadership. In Carrizo Springs, the county seat of Dimmit, two school board seats were won by La Raza sponsored candidates. La Raza Unida candidates in Crystal City won the school board election.

The score at the end of the day read: Raza 11, gringos 1. On April 7, 1970, a repeat performance occurred. All Chicano candidates for the city council of Carrizo Springs and Crystal City won by an even larger margin. The score now read: Raza 15, gringos 1. Included in the fifteen were two new mayors, two school-board majorities and two city council majorities.

Eleven months later, some of the radical ideas of the previous summer had become a reality. Our Chicano community of Aztlan was indeed accomplishing the goals we had declared.

The newspapers flashed the news across the state and invitations began coming in from many organizations, communities and universities. In an attempt to raise much needed funds and to accept as many invitations as possible, the Chicano office holders accepted several speaking engagements. Excluding the Wesleyan crowd, all others were proud-blooded Mexicanos, full of emotions because Aztlan had begun in the Winter Garden. As dramatically as it had surfaced, La Raza's movement continued within the new structure.

The school system in Crystal City quickly approved bilingual and bicultural education from kindergarten to the third grade. New Mexican counselors were sought and hired. New Chicano principals, teachers, administrators and a new school attorney were hired. A free breakfast program for all elementary students was in operation by the last six weeks of school. A teacher housing package is being developed and so is the contract agreement for community control of school facilities. An additional summer educational program for departing farm workers' children was implemented.

Crystal City cheerleaders elected were all Chicano girls and the only white girl elected refused to accept the position of being the new minority.

Mexican Independence Day (September 16) is now being considered as a school holiday.

In nearby Cotulla, the new mayor has begun preparations for a close to one million dollar housing project, a feasibility study of street improvements; a summer recreation program; and the creation of a city manager's position.

Although the Cotulla school board does not have a Chicano majority, it has eliminated a discriminatory English proficiency examination which had been used to classify Mexicans as mentally retarded. The board also dropped the prohibition on speaking Spanish on school grounds. Proposals for federal funds are being submitted. In short progress is being made as quickly as possible.

Soon after the celebrations and last shouts of victory Raza Unida Party began preparations for the upcoming nominating conventions of May 2. Usually the positions open had only one candidate filed, so the value lay not in the operational procedures of the convention, but in the alternatives now available to the voters of the area.

In other words by participating in this convention, a voter (particularly if he is a Mexican) can vote in a convention rather than on a paper ballot. Secondly the candidates of Raza Unida have not paid a filing fee to run; hence, the voter knows a potential candidate has not been excluded on the basis of finances. Thirdly, the voter can enjoy the entire convention in a familiar language, Spanish, as well as in English.



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books

Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells. Edited by Alfreda M. Duster. 434 pp. \$14.50.

With the recent publication of *Crusade For Justice*, written in the 1920s, the autobiography of one of the most influential Black leaders from the turn of the century is available now for the first time. From the end of Reconstruction through the early 1920s, Ida B. Wells was a leader in the struggle to unite Black people against racial injustice.

Born a slave in Holly Springs, Mississippi, during the Civil War, Wells was brought up in the spirit of Black independence which developed during Reconstruction. Her father, a skilled carpenter, was an example of this spirit. When his boss tried to tell him how to vote, he rebelled, left the business, bought a set of tools and set up his own carpentry shop.

Ida had been well-educated in schools set up through the Freedman's Bureau, and when her parents died in a yellow fever epidemic she supported the seven-member family by teaching school in Mississippi and Tennessee. On weekends she came home to do the household chores.

She vigorously resisted the Jim Crow laws which were being instituted in the South at the time. For example, she once refused to leave her seat on a railroad coach, defending herself until she was outnumbered three to one. As she was being dragged to the smoking car, she observed the attitude of the white passengers: "Some of them even stood on the seats so that they could get a good view and continued applauding the conductor for his brave stand."

Wells sued the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, winning \$500 in damages, but the case was bitterly challenged by the railroad and reversed in the state supreme court. As the first case involving a Black since the repeal of the Civil Rights Bill, the railroad re-

alized that the case would set a precedent. Wells ended up having to pay for the railroad's court costs.

But the fighting nettle of Ida Wells was not diminished by this failure to secure justice, it only made her more determined. Although she lived during a period when most struggles by Blacks for liberation were systematically stamped out by Jim Crow laws and other racist policies, she nonetheless organized opposition to the oppression of Blacks.

After seven years of teaching, she lost her job because of her outspoken views on conditions in Black schools, which she had openly expressed as editor of a Black newspaper, *Free Speech*. She then devoted all her energies to the paper, speaking out on every aspect of the Black struggle. She criticized Black congressmen who allowed the state's Black male population to be disenfranchised by the Mississippi Convention of 1890. She examined the double standard, which allowed white men to rape Black women, but which lynched Black men accused of desiring white women.

She was a founding member of the NAACP and a founder of Black women's clubs which worked to secure the passage of the nineteenth amendment.

Perhaps her best known contribution to the Black struggle was her lifelong campaign against lynchings. When young, she published an account of how three Black men from Memphis, Tennessee, were murdered by the white community. She pointed out that their "crime" had been daring to open up a grocery store in the Black community, and thereby compete with a white grocer. She proved that all the forces of law had provided the white mob with the legal justification for the murders. While she was on a trip East, speaking out against the Memphis lynchings, the office of *Free Speech* was destroyed. The saboteurs left a note warning that anyone trying to publish the paper would be punished

with death. Wells continued her campaign without the paper.

Lynchings were often justified by the atrocity story that they were necessary to keep Blacks from destroying the South. In combatting that myth Wells documented the facts of contemporary lynchings. She exposed the fact that in many cases whites admitted lynching someone who could not have been guilty of the alleged crime—but someone had to be punished, they pointed out. She documented the number of lynchings during the early 1890s in her book, *A Red Record*. The book caused a scandal in the press—not so much against lynchings, but against the boldness of the book.

Wells toured England (as the abolitionists had done before the Civil War) and the United States, explaining the incidence of lynchings, and organizing antilynching societies. Although she married a successful Black lawyer in 1895 and raised four children, she continued without pause her career as an agitator.

Wells was a mighty warrior. This autobiography is an historical account of the courage and commitment of a Black woman who devoted her life to the struggle against the oppression of Black people.

DIANNE FEELEY

Black Nationalism And The Revolution In Music

by Frank Kofsky



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The Riddle of the USSR

BY LEON TROTSKY

INTRODUCTION

The following article which has not before been available in English was written by Leon Trotsky on June 21,

1939. It was intended for publication in the general circulation press. This translation was made by John Fairlie from the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition (79-80), August-September-October 1939.

It analyzes the diplomatic maneuvering of the great powers in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of the second world war. This was a period marked by considerable uncertainty about their respective alignments accompanied by feverish behind-the-scenes negotiations among the various capitals.

Since 1934 Moscow had been publicly promoting an international policy of "collective security" hinged upon its

participation in the League of Nations and alliances with the Western democracies against the menace of fascism. In obedience to this line the Communist parties in these countries were engaged in seeking or cementing a "Popular Front" with the so-called progressive, peace-loving sectors of the capitalist class. In the United States this meant political support to the Roosevelt administration.

The Stalinists then stigmatized as "agents of Hitler" any left-wing critics of this subordination of the socialist forces and the interests of the working class to the representatives of the monopolist rulers. The members and followers of the Communist parties, animated by opposition to the fascists and the war danger, accepted this

orientation of Moscow at face value. Meanwhile the Kremlin was pursuing quite different aims.

As Trotsky pointed out in this article, Stalin had sought to come to an agreement with Hitler ever since he came to power in 1933. After the British Prime Minister Chamberlain had handed over Czechoslovakia to Hitler's extortion, Trotsky wrote in an article dated September 28, 1938: "One may now be sure that Soviet diplomacy will attempt a rapprochement with Germany."

Hitler did not however find it expedient to respond favorably to Moscow's diplomatic overtures until he and his generals had decided upon the direction of their next military moves in Europe. Once they opted to strike first at Poland, the ally of France, and then against France and England, Hitler dispatched his Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop to Moscow to conclude a military and diplomatic deal with Stalin.

A few days after the signing of the German-Soviet Pact on August 23, 1939, Hitler's airplanes and tanks invaded Poland and the second world war had begun.

Moscow's abrupt and unexpected turnabout from a coalition with the Western democracies to complicity with the Hitlerites caught the world and the working class unawares. It created tremendous consternation within the Communist ranks which had sincerely believed in the antifascist propaganda propagated for years by the Soviet leadership and its parties and which had taken no note of the advances made to Germany. Any hint of such a possibility was denounced as slanderous and an "imperialist-Trotskyite" invention.

The international Communist movement was thrown into convulsive crisis and disarray that was not overcome until Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, at the second stage of his strategy, rallied all partisans of the first workers state to its defense.

Trotsky did not deny the right of a workers government in danger to choose its allies among the imperialist

powers or play off one against another. What he condemned as a betrayal was the Kremlin's policy of ideological solidarity and sympathy with the temporary partner. Thus Stalin extolled the German-Soviet friendship as "cemented in blood" and his foreign commissar Molotov declared that "fascism is a matter of taste."

Stalin of course was not primarily concerned to help the Third Reich to victory. He sought rather to keep the Soviet Union out of the bloodbath as long as possible and to have a free hand in the Baltic states and the Balkans. For this he was willing to sacrifice the prestige of the Communist parties, offend the feelings of the workers and all antifascist forces, and violate the fundamental interests of the world revolution. As Trotsky elsewhere observed, he was ready to sell out the labor movement "as if it were petrol or manganese ore."

(Peking's backing this year to the Western Pakistan dictatorship in its suppression of the independence struggle of the Bengali people of East Pakistan and Moscow's sending of MIG planes and crews to the Ceylonese government to help crush the young rebels of the People's Liberation Front demonstrate that this is a constant feature of the foreign policies of the nationalistic leaderships of the bureaucratized workers states.)

Trotsky's analyses were guided by his Marxist evaluation of the interests and intentions of the contending imperialisms on one hand and the aims of the Soviet bureaucracy on the other. He was not misled by outward appearances but probed beneath them to expose the devious diplomacy practiced on all sides. He underscored the limitations and unreliability of the alliances of the workers states with either the "democratic" or dictatorial imperialist powers. He understood the duplicity of the Kremlin which in its pursuit of self-preservation was not only heedless of the international working class but weakened the defense of the Soviet Union itself.

He clearly saw and stated before the fact that Stalin was working to arrive at an accommodation with Hitler. The whisper of such a suggestion was then considered by naive people as unthinkable, out of the question,

another evidence of Trotsky's malicious hatred of Stalin. Yet subsequent events confirmed in almost every respect the forecasts Trotsky made on the coming war in this and similar articles written during this period. (See Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-1939), Pathfinder Press, New York, 1970. \$2.95.)

It was grimly ironic that in the infamous Moscow Trial frameups Stalin's stage managers accused Trotsky, among other crimes, of entering into a secret accord with Hitler and the Mikado as alleged proof of his anti-Sovietism. Yet in 1939 the Soviet dictator himself signed such an agreement with the Nazis, giving them the green light to carve up Poland and launch a new world war. It was Stalin, not his arch-opponent, who was self-exposed as Hitler's accomplice.

Trotsky's clear-sighted, penetrating review of the strategic-diplomatic elements of world politics at that critical turning point is a superb example of the insight and foresight that the Marxist method in the hands of a master can provide.

EDITORS

Two features are characteristic of the present international policies of the great powers. First, the absence of any system or consistency in their actions. Particularly fantastic oscillations have been exhibited recently by that country which has historically been the model of ponderous stability, namely Great Britain. At the time of the Munich agreement, in September of last year, Chamberlain proclaimed "a new era of peace" based on the cooperation of four European powers. The unofficial slogan of the Conservatives in those days was: "give Germany a free hand in the East." Today all the efforts of the British government are concentrated on concluding an agreement with Moscow — against Germany.

The London stock exchange, which at the time welcomed the Munich agreement with an upward movement in stock prices, is now adapting the state of its nerves to the course of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. France obediently follows England in these zigzags: There is nothing else it can do. The

constant element in Hitler's policy is its aggressive dynamism, but that is all. No one knows where Germany will strike next. It is possible that at this moment Hitler himself does not know. The ups and downs of the "Neutrality" Act in the United States illustrate the same theme.

The second feature of international politics, closely connected with the first, is that no one believes what anyone else says or even what he himself says. Any treaty presupposes a minimum of mutual trust, and a military alliance even more so. But the conditions of the Anglo-Soviet talks show only too clearly no such confidence exists there. This is not at all a question of abstract morality; it is simply that the present objective situation of the world powers, for all of whom the globe has become too small, excludes any possibility of a consistent policy which can predict the future and be relied upon. Each government is trying to insure itself against at least two eventualities. Hence the appalling duplicity of world politics, its insincerity and its convulsiveness. The more inexorably and tragically emerges the general forecast that mankind is advancing toward a new catastrophe, with its eyes closed, the more difficult does it become to make detailed forecasts as to what England or Germany will do tomorrow, which side Poland will take, or what position Moscow will adopt.

There are especially few data for an answer to the last question. The Soviet press scarcely bothers with international politics. Precisely why Mr. Strang came to Moscow and what he is doing there are no business of the Soviet citizens. Dispatches from abroad are usually printed on the back page and usually are given a "neutral" presentation. The conclusion of the Italo-German alliance or the fortification of the Aaland Islands is reported as if these events happened on Mars.

This sham objectivity serves to leave the Kremlin's hands free. The world press more than once in the past has written about the "impenetrability" of Soviet aims and the "unpredictability" of the Kremlin's methods. We shall get nearer to solving the "impenetrable" enigma the more decisively we replace speculations about Stalin's

subjective sympathies and antipathies by an objective evaluation of the interests of the Soviet oligarchy which Stalin merely personifies.

Mainsprings of the Kremlin's policy

Nobody "wants" war and many, above that, "hate" it. This only means that everyone would prefer to gain his ends by peaceful means. But that does not at all mean that there will be no war. The ends, alas, are contradictory, and do not permit reconciliation. Stalin wants war less than anyone since he is more afraid of it than anyone. There are sufficient reasons why. The "purges," monstrous both in scale and methods, reflect the unbearable tension in relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the people. The flower of the Bolshevik Party, the leaders of the economy and the diplomatic service, have been exterminated. The flower of the general staff, the heroes and idols of the army and navy, have been exterminated. Stalin carried out this purge not as the vain caprice of an oriental despot; he was compelled to do it by his struggle to preserve power. This must be thoroughly understood.

If we follow the life of the USSR from day to day in the Soviet press, reading attentively between the lines, it becomes perfectly clear that the ruling stratum feels it is the object of universal hatred. Among the popular masses the threat runs: "When war comes, we'll show them." The bureaucracy trembles for its recently won positions. Caution is the predominant characteristic of their leader, especially in the field of world affairs. The spirit of daring is utterly alien to him. He does not stop, it is true, at the use of force on an unprecedented scale, but only on condition that he is assured in advance of impunity.

On the other hand, he easily resorts to concessions and retreats when he is uncertain of the outcome of a struggle. Japan would never have got involved in a war with China if it had not known beforehand that Moscow

would not take advantage of a favorable pretext to intervene. At the party congress in March of this year Stalin openly declared for the first time that, economically, the Soviet Union is still very far behind the capitalist countries. He had to make this admission not only in order to explain the low standard of living of the masses but also to justify his retreats in the field of foreign policy. Stalin is prepared to pay very dearly, not to say any price, for peace. Not because he "hates" war but because he is mortally afraid of its consequences.

From this standpoint it is not difficult to evaluate the comparative benefits for the Kremlin of the two alternatives: agreement with Germany or alliance with the "democracies." Friendship with Hitler would mean immediate removal of the danger of war on the Western front, and thereby a great reduction of the danger of war on the Far Eastern front. An alliance with the democracies would mean only the possibility of receiving aid in the event of war. Of course, if nothing is left but to fight, then it is more advantageous to have allies than to remain isolated. But the basic task of Stalin's policy is not to create the most favorable conditions in the event of war, but to avoid war. This is the hidden meaning of the frequent statements by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov that the USSR "needs no allies."

True, it is now being declared that a reconstitution of the Triple Entente is a sure means of preventing war. No one, however, explains why the Entente failed to secure this result twenty-five years ago. The establishment of the League of Nations was motivated precisely by the argument that, otherwise, the division of Europe into two irreconcilable camps would inevitably lead to a new war.

Now, as a result of the experience of "collective security," the diplomats have come to the conclusion that the splitting of Europe into two irreconcilable camps is capable of . . . preventing war. Believe this who can! The Kremlin, anyway, does not believe it. Agreement with Hitler would mean insuring the border of the USSR on condition that Moscow cut itself off from European politics. Stalin would like nothing better. Alliance with the

democracies would insure the borders of the USSR only to the same extent that it insured all other borders in Europe, making the USSR their guarantor and thereby eliminating the possibility of Soviet neutrality. To hope that a reconstitution of the Triple Entente would be capable of perpetuating the *status quo*, eliminating the possibility of any border being violated, would be to live in the realm of illusion. Perhaps the danger of war would, for a time, be less urgent for the USSR; but, in return, it would become immeasurably more extensive. An alliance of Moscow with London and Paris would mean for Hitler that henceforth he would have against him all three states at once, whichever border he violated. Faced with such a risk, he would most probably choose the most gigantic throw of all, that is, a campaign against the USSR. In that event, the "insurance" provided by the Entente could easily be transformed into its opposite.

In all other respects too, agreement with Germany would be the best solution for the Moscow oligarchy to take. The Soviet Union could systematically supply Germany with almost all the kinds of raw materials and foodstuffs it lacks. Germany could supply the Soviet Union with machinery, industrial products, and also necessary technical advice for both general and war industry. Gripped in the vise of an agreement between these two giants, Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States would have no choice but to renounce all thought of independent policies and to restrict themselves to the modest benefits to be derived from collaboration and transit-facilities. Moscow would willingly grant Berlin full freedom in its foreign policy in all directions but one. Whoever, in these conditions, so much as mentions the "defense of the democracies" would immediately be declared by the Kremlin to be a Trotskyist, an agent of Chamberlain, a hireling of Wall Street, and — immediately shot.

From the first day of the National Socialist regime Stalin has systematically and steadily shown his readiness for friendship with Hitler. Often this has taken the form of open declarations, more often of hints, mean-

ingful silences or, alternative emphases, which might be unnoticed by Soviet citizens but nevertheless unfailingly got through to where they were meant to go. W. Krivitsky, former chief of Soviet intelligence in Europe, recently described the work carried on behind the scenes in this direction. Only after a series of extremely hostile rejoinders by Hitler to this Soviet policy did the turn begin toward the League of Nations, collective security and Popular Fronts. This new diplomatic tune, supported by the big drums, kettledrums, and saxophones of the Comintern, has become over the last few years more and more a menace to the eardrums. But every time there was a moment of quiet one could hear underneath it, softer, somewhat melancholy, but more intimate notes intended for the ears of Berchtesgaden. In this apparent duality there is an undoubted inner unity.

The entire world press drew attention to the frankness with which Stalin, in his report to the last party congress, in March of this year, made advances to Germany while simultaneously hitting out at England and France as "provokers of war, used to lighting the fires with other people's hands."* But the supplementary speech by Manuilsky on Comintern policy passed completely unnoticed, although Stalin had edited this speech too. For the first time, Manuilsky replaced the traditional demand for the freeing of all colonies by a new slogan: "the realization of the right of self-determination of peoples *enslaved by the fascist states*. . . . The Comintern thereby demands free self-determination for Austria, . . . the Sudetenland, . . . Korea, Formosa, Abyssinia. . . ." As regards India, Indochina, Algeria and the other colonies of Great Britain and France, Stalin's agent confined himself to an inoffensive desire for "improvement in the position of the working masses." At the same time he demanded that the colonial peoples henceforth "subordinate" their struggle for freedom "to the interests of the defeat of fascism, the worst foe of the working people." In other words,

* In the British press this appeared in the approximately equivalent proverb, "getting other people to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them." — Trans.

the British and French colonies are obliged, according to the Comintern's new theory, to support the countries that rule them against Germany, Italy and Japan.

The glaring contradiction between the two speeches is in fact a sham. Stalin took upon himself the most important part of the task: a direct offer to Hitler of an agreement against the democratic "provokers of war." To Manuilsky he entrusted the frightening of Hitler with the prospect of a rapprochement between the USSR and the democratic "provokers," incidentally explaining to the latter the enormous advantages for them of an alliance with the USSR: No one but the Kremlin, the old friend of oppressed peoples, could inspire the colonies with the idea that it was necessary for them to remain loyal to their democratic rulers during a war with fascism. These are the mainsprings of Kremlin policy, the unity underlying the outward contradictions in it. From start to finish it is determined by the interests of the ruling caste which has abandoned all principles except the principle of self-preservation.

Hitler and the USSR

Mechanics teaches us that force is determined by mass and speed. The dynamics of Hitler's foreign policy has assured for Germany a commanding position in Europe, and to some extent in the whole world. For how long is another question. If Hitler were to restrain himself (if he *could* restrain himself), London would once more turn its back on Moscow. On the other hand, the reply which is hourly expected from Moscow to London's proposals depends much more on Hitler than on Stalin. If Hitler at last responds to Moscow's diplomatic advances, Chamberlain will be rebuffed. If Hitler vacillates or seems to, the Kremlin will do all in its power to drag out the negotiations. Stalin will sign a treaty with England only if he is convinced that agreement with Hitler is out of his reach.

Dimitrov, the secretary of the Comintern, carrying out Stalin's commands, announced soon after the Munich agreement a precise calendar of

Hitler's next campaigns of conquest. Hungary would be subjected in the spring of 1939; *in the autumn of the same year, Poland would be invaded.* Yugoslavia's turn would come in the following year. In the autumn of 1940 Hitler would invade Rumania and Bulgaria. In the spring of 1941 blows would be struck at France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland. Finally, in the autumn of 1941, Germany intended to begin its offensive against the Soviet Union.

It is possible that this information—in less precise form, of course—was obtained by Soviet intelligence. But it is also possible that it was a product of pure speculation, having the aim of showing that Germany intended first to crush its western neighbors, and only afterward to turn its guns against the Soviet Union. To what extent will Hitler be guided by Dimitrov's timetable? Around this question guesses and plans are revolving in the various capitals of Europe.

The first chapter of Hitler's world plan, the creation of a broad national base plus a springboard in Czechoslovakia, has been completed. The next stage of German aggression can have two variants. Either an immediate agreement with the USSR, so as to have his hands free for the southwest and the west; in that case, plans relating to the Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Urals would find their place in Hitler's third chapter. Or else—an immediate blow at the east, the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, securing the eastern rear. In that case, the attack on the west would be the third chapter.

A firm agreement with Moscow, fully in the spirit of the Bismarck tradition, would not only mean enormous economic benefits for Germany but would also allow it to operate an active world policy. However, from the day of his accession to power, Hitler has spurned the outstretched hand of Moscow. Having crushed the German "Marxists," Hitler could not, in the first years of his rule weaken his internal position by a rapprochement with "Marxist" Moscow. More important, though, were considerations of foreign policy. To induce England to close its eyes to Germany's illegal

rearmament and violations of the Versailles Treaty, Hitler had to put on a show as the defender of European culture from Bolshevik barbarism. Both of these factors have now lost a great deal of their importance. Inside Germany, the social-democratic and Communist parties, having disgraced themselves by their shameful capitulation to the Nazis, are now a negligible quantity. In Moscow, all that remains of Marxism are some poor busts of Marx.

The creation of a new privileged stratum in the USSR and the repudiation of the policy of international revolution, reinforced by the mass extermination of revolutionaries, have enormously reduced the fear that Moscow used to inspire in the capitalist world. The volcano is extinct, the lava has turned cold. The capitalist states would, of course, now as ever, willingly facilitate the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. But they no longer regard that country as a hotbed of revolution. No need is felt any more for a leader for a crusade against the east. Hitler himself understood earlier than others the social significance of the Moscow purges and show trials, for to him, at any rate, it was no secret that neither Zinoviev, nor Kamenev, nor Rykov, nor Bukharin, nor Marshal Tukhachevsky, nor the dozens and hundreds of other revolutionaries, statesmen, diplomats and generals were *not* his agents.

Hitler's need to hypnotize Downing Street with the notion of a community of interests against the USSR has ceased too, for he has received from England more than he had hoped for—everything he could possibly receive without recourse to arms. If, nevertheless, he is not meeting the Kremlin halfway, this is evidently because he is afraid of the USSR. With its 170 million people, its inexhaustible natural resources, its undoubted achievements in industrialization, the increase in its means of communication, the USSR—so Hitler thinks—would immediately overrun Poland, Rumania and the Baltic countries, and bring its entire mass up to the borders of Germany as soon as the Third

Reich was involved in a struggle for the redivision of the world. In order to be able to grab the English and French colonies, Hitler must first secure his rear, and is meditating a preventive war against the USSR.

True, the German high command knows well, from past experience, the difficulties of occupying Russia or even just the Ukraine. However, Hitler counts on the instability of the Stalin regime. A few serious defeats for the Red Army, he thinks, will suffice to bring down the Kremlin government. And since there are no organized forces in the country, and the White émigrés are quite alien to the people, after Stalin's fall chaos will reign for a long time, and this can be utilized, on the one hand, for direct economic plundering—seizure of gold reserves, removal of all kinds of raw materials, etc.—and, on the other, for a blow against the west. Uninterrupted trade relations between Germany and the USSR—today there is once again talk of the arrival in Moscow of a delegation of industrialists from Berlin—do not in themselves mean a long period of peace ahead. At best they mean that the date of the war has not yet been decided. Credits for a few hundred million marks cannot put off the war for a single hour, because in the war what is at stake is not hundreds of millions, but tens of billions, the conquest of countries and continents, a new partition of the world. Lost credits will, if necessary, be put down to petty expenses incurred in a bigger enterprise. At the same time, the offer of new credits not long before launching a war would be not a bad way of putting one's adversary off the scent. In any case, it is precisely now, at the critical moment of the Anglo-Soviet talks, that Hitler is deciding which way to direct his aggression—east or west?

Future of military alliances

It may seem that to distinguish between the "second" and "third" chapters in the impending German expansion is a pedantic exercise: a renewal of the Triple Entente would deprive Hit-

ler of the possibility of carrying out his plans in stages and alternating his blows, because, regardless of where the conflict began, it would immediately spread to all Germany's borders. This idea is true, however, only in part.

Germany occupies a central position in relation to its future enemies; it can maneuver by throwing its reserves along internal operational lines in the most important directions. To the extent that the initiative in military operations will be Germany's—and at the beginning of the war it will undoubtedly be Germany's—that state will at any given moment select the main enemy to be dealt with, treating the other fronts as secondary. Unity of action between Britain, France and the USSR could, certainly, restrict to a considerable degree the freedom of action of the German high command; and for that, of course, a tripartite alliance would be necessary. But this unity of action must be realized in fact. Meanwhile, the tense struggle going on over the terms of the pact has already shown how much each of the participants is striving to preserve its own freedom of action at the expense of its future ally. If one or another member of the new Triple Entente considered it more expedient to stand aside at the moment of danger, Hitler is quite ready to provide the juridical basis for a tearing up of the pact: for that purpose it would suffice to cover the outbreak of the war with such diplomatic maneuvers as would make it very hard to define the "aggressor"—at least from the standpoint of the member of the Triple Entente interested in clouding the issue. But even apart from this extreme case of open "betrayal" there remains the question of the *extent* to which the pact would be honored. If Germany strikes at the west, Britain will immediately come to the help of France with all its forces because, there and then, the fate of Britain itself will be at stake.

The situation would be regarded quite differently, however, if Germany were to transfer its main forces to the east. Britain and France would not be interested, of course, in seeing a decisive victory by Germany over the Soviet Union, but they would have nothing against a mutual weakening

of these two countries. Hitler's tasks in the east, in view of the probable resistance of Poland and Rumania, and in view of the immense distances and masses of population, are so immense that even with the most favorable course of operations for him, they would demand very great forces and considerable time.

During all this first period, which events may make longer or shorter, Britain and France would enjoy comparative comfort for mobilizing, shipping British troops across the Channel, concentration of forces, and choice of the appropriate moment—leaving the Red Army to bear the whole brunt of the German attack. If the USSR should then find itself in a difficult situation, the Allies could lay down new terms for their aid, which the Kremlin could find hard to reject. When Stalin said in March at the party congress that Britain and France were interested in kindling war between Germany and the Soviet Union, so as to appear on the scene at the last moment with fresh forces as arbiter, he was not wrong.

But it is equally true that if Hitler distracts attention by making a fuss about Danzig and then strikes with his main force at the west, Moscow will want to take full advantage of its position. The border states will help it to do this, willy-nilly. A direct attack by Hitler upon Poland would, of course, quickly arouse suspicion in the USSR, and the Warsaw government would itself call on the Red Army for help. On the other hand, if Hitler marched westward or southward, Poland, and Rumania too, would, with the tacit approval of the Kremlin, oppose with all their might the entrance of the Red Army into their territories. The main weight of the German blow would thus be borne by France. Moscow would wait it out. However precisely the new pact might be formulated on paper, the Triple Entente would remain not only a military alliance but also a triangle of antagonistic interests. Moscow's suspicions are all the more natural since it will never succeed in setting France against Britain or Britain against France; but these countries will always find a common language for joint pressure on Moscow. Hitler can make successful use of this antago-

nism among the allies themselves.

But not for long. In the totalitarian camp the contradictions will break out too, a little later perhaps, but all the more violently. Even leaving aside distant Tokyo, the Berlin-Rome "axis" seems firm and reliable only because Berlin outweighs Rome so much and Rome is directly subordinated to Berlin. This circumstance doubtlessly produces greater concord and faster action. But only within certain limits. All three members of this camp are distinguished by the extreme range of their pretensions, and their worldwide appetites will come into violent conflict long before they reach satiety. No "axis" will stand up to the burden of the coming war.

What has been said does not, of course, deny any significance at all to international treaties and alliances, which one way or another will determine the initial positions of states in the coming war. But this significance is very limited. Once unleashed, the war will quickly outgrow the framework of diplomatic agreements, economic plans and military calculations. An umbrella is useful as a protection against London rain. But it cannot protect against a cyclone. Before reducing a substantial area of our planet to ruins, the cyclone of war will break not a few diplomatic umbrellas. The "sacredness" of treaty obligations will be revealed as a trifling superstition when people begin to write amid clouds of poison gas. *Sauve qui peut* (every man for himself) will be the slogan of governments, nations and classes. Treaties will prove no more stable than the governments which made them. The Moscow oligarchy in any case will not survive the war which it so deeply fears. The fall of Stalin will not, however, save Hitler, who with the infallibility of a sleepwalker is being drawn toward the greatest catastrophe in history. Whether the other participants in the bloody game will gain from this is a special question.

Coyoacan, Mexico,
June 21, 1939.

CEYLON/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

we do, we cannot expect any result unless we get the co-operation of the working class. This could be understood if the working of the Port and of other nationalized undertakings are considered. We cannot go backwards. We must go forward. *Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows, must be eliminated*, and the development of the country must proceed.

"Some people have various ideas on these subjects. Some feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet. . . . My conclusion is that none of these solutions will help to get us where we want to go . . . Therefore, gentlemen, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class, particularly Mr. Philip Gunawardena and Dr. N. M. Perera . . ." (Emphasis added.)

Thus her concern was not that the just demands of the workers be granted but that industrial strife, strikes and slowdowns be ended.

Perera's stated goal in playing this game was to out-manuever the bourgeois government. By participating in the government the LSSP majority hoped to extract concessions for the working masses, to win over to socialism a section of the left wing of the SLFP and to prevent the return to power of the right-wing UNP. In this schema, the center of gravity in the coalition was supposed to rapidly shift to the left, and the LSSP was to emerge as the dominant partner.

The real relationship of forces was plain from the outset. The LSSP was nothing but a captive of the bourgeois coalition, which it voted to join in June 1964. Perera and all those who followed him into the bourgeois government were immediately expelled from the Fourth International. Here is how Ernest Germain, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, described the split in an article in the fall 1964 issue of this magazine:

"The decision of the majority at the June 6-7 special conference of the *Lanka Sama Samaja Party* to join the liberal bourgeois government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Ceylon was a heavy defeat for the Fourth

International. The fact that the worldwide Trotskyist organization decided unanimously to sever relations with the majority of one of its most important sections, because of this betrayal of the basic interests of the Ceylonese workers and poor peasants and of the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism, shows that the international Trotskyist movement as a whole remains faithful to the cause to which it is dedicated—the cause of world revolution."

Even after the betrayal of 1964, it was a long road for the ex-Trotskyists of Perera's party to the outright slaughter of revolutionary youth. The first coalition was in power for less than a year, losing a vote of confidence in parliament in January 1965 and going down to defeat in the ensuing election. During the five years in opposition, the pro-Moscow Communist Party joined up, and has proved one of the most enthusiastic defenders of capitalism in the present crisis.

The widespread illusions in the radical pretenses of the multiclass coalition were indicated by the almost universal support it won in the May 1970 elections among left groups. Even the JVP, the main victim of the repression today, worked to elect Prime Minister Bandaranaike a year ago. Only the Ceylonese Trotskyists of the LSSP(R) clearly understood the question of Popular Front politics and gave no support whatsoever to the SLFP-LSSP-CP bloc.

Even prior to the recent terroristic attack against the young rebels of the country, the actions of this government made plain that it had no intention of carrying out the socialist promises made in its election propaganda. During its first ten months in power, the coalition government increased the police force by 55 per cent and set up an antirevolutionary committee in the army. The government did nothing to ensure workers the basic democratic rights of joining or forming trade unions. Workers who resorted to strike action in struggling for union rights faced bullets from the "people's" police.

On the other hand, the government decided to extend a five-year tax holiday to several branches of industry:

those producing "essential commodities not previously produced in the country"; industries in rural areas; "export-oriented" industries; and industries that are "essentially of a pioneering nature."

Opposition to the government grew massive particularly among the young people of the country. Many college graduates were unable to find jobs in this country "on the road to socialism." Members of the JVP began to organize large meetings criticizing certain policies of the government and demanding that its election promises be carried out. On February 6, 10,000 people attended a rally in Colombo sponsored by the JVP, the LSSP(R) and the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU).

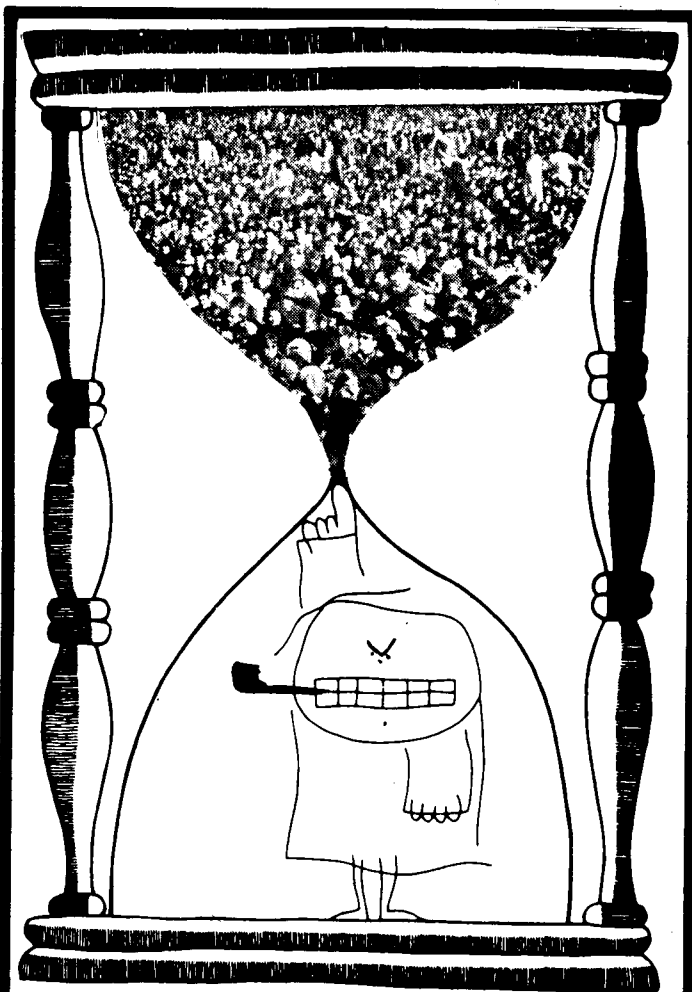
The meeting condemned setting up a U. S. imperialist base in the Indian Ocean, called for Ceylon to immediately leave the British Commonwealth, demanded nationalization of the banks, plantations and foreign trade, and appealed for defense of the masses' standard of living.

The government decided that this sentiment had to be crushed before it could reach mass proportions.

Because of the press censorship, no full reports on recent events are available at this writing and little has been heard from revolutionists within Ceylon. There are indications that the government's shift to the right has not yet run its full course. It has been reported that the SLFP is considering broadening the coalition still further to include the right-wing UNP. Meanwhile, the *New York Times* reported April 25 that UNP leader Junius Jayewardene was beginning to talk about the need for a capitalist dictatorship as a solution to the radical unrest: "Democracy is finished in this country. You have to have peace and stability to have democracy, and Ceylon has neither."

Events have come full circle. The working-class party that joined a bourgeois government in order to unseat the UNP and bring about socialism now finds itself on the same side as its lifelong enemy, acting as the left cover for the butchering of revolutionists.

N. ANTHONY



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