THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

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TO OUR READERS

We are happy to report the pleasing pressure of a backlog of articles that is beginning to accumulate. In terms of material we are not far away from moving to monthly publication. Two things, however, keep it far beyond our capability. One is finances. We would need considerably more subscriptions and contributions to make monthly publication possible. Two is labor. We simply do not have enough people in the Detroit area to type the stencils and mail the Bulletin.

* * *

Meetings of Facing Reality in Detroit have been changed from Tuesday evenings to Sunday evenings to make possible the attendance of afternoon shift workers. Business meetings begin at 7 p.m. The educational meeting begins at 8:15 p.m. and ends at 9:30 p.m. Readers are invited to attend business or educational meetings or both. No meetings will be held on Christmas Day or New Year’s Day. Monthly public forums are still held on the third Friday of each month. The December meetings have the following subjects: Dec. 4, automation; Dec. 11, existentialism and Marxism; Dec. 18, American history; Dec. 28 (Wed.), Part II on State Capitalism and World Revolution.

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THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

AFTER TEN YEARS

When the masses of the people intervene directly in making history, the event becomes a guide to mankind for many years - in fact, until it is superseded by the next such massive participation in politics. The Hungarian Revolution is no exception. Ten years after the event it is more relevant now to an understanding of the industrialized world than it was then.

In 1956 it was quite natural that most people examined the Hungarian Revolution for what it showed about the Russian bloc. Today, its meaning extends far beyond the confirmation of the theory of Russian state capitalism.

In Hungary the working class established its Workers' Councils and thereby transformed street fighting into a social revolution. In the Workers' Councils the Hungarian workers illuminated a stage in history. They showed that a modern population could establish a new society directly without any intervention by the huge bureaucratic political parties that had destroyed the revolutions of the past. They showed that a modern working class was so advanced, so unified, so powerful, that it could transform a nation in one day without a press of its own, a party of its own, a union of its own. They showed thereby the essential form of the modern struggle for a socialist society.

The current Negro struggle began in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955. People are still trying to fathom its meaning and its direction. Hungary is the surest guide. In times past an explosive new stage in the struggle would have resulted in the expansion of the one mass organization of Negro Americans (the NAACP). This did not happen. Instead the Negro struggle has been characterized by the formation of any number of organizations, national and local, permanent and temporary. What this represents is what the Montgomery bus boycott indicated at the start and what Watts and what followed Watts indicates today. The basic form of the Negro struggle is the total mobilization of the Negro community in massive struggles. It gains its strength from being based on direct democracy (participatory democracy, as the New Left calls it) rejecting the limitations of the single mass political party or organization. This is what Black Power means. It is a theory that is derived from the event, not the other way around. It is a slogan that embodies what Negroes have in fact been doing. It reflects the total mobilization of a community to establish its own collective power. It establishes the universal significance of Hungary: each illuminates the other.
The same thing is reflected in the American New Left, the current youth movement. One of its most attractive features is the popularity of the concept of participatory democracy. That concept was not taken from the Hungarian Revolution. It was taken from a deep-felt need of American youth, from a profound sensitivity to what is corrupt and what is sound in American Society. What it establishes is not the Hungarian source of the idea but the common impulse toward direct democracy, that is, toward a society of workers' councils, in all industrialized societies.

Finally, Hungary is most important in understanding the American working class. Hungarian workers established the capacity of the modern worker to manage production and society. They did exactly that. Capacity, however, is not yet will, Where will the workers of the United States (or Russia or France or Czechoslovakia) get the will to attempt what the workers of Hungary did? From the same place that the Hungarians got it: from their life in production. Hungarian workers were not bought off by security. American workers will not be bought off by affluence. Hungarian workers were not limited by having no press, no organizations of their own. American workers will similarly not be limited. (Only intellectuals are limited by the absence of a workers' press or a workers' party. They automatically assume that the union press reflects the American worker as they assumed that the Communist press reflected the Hungarian worker.)

Marx said that the main lesson of the Paris Commune was its own working existence. For years the Marxist theory of the state and of revolution was based on that experience. After 1917 the Soviets replaced the Commune as the basic source of revolutionary theory and practice. Today, what wing of socialism is prepared to pay more than lip service to the Hungarian Revolution? All that proves is the low level to which socialism has sunk throughout the world. Working class socialist revolution is not so common that we can afford to forget the last and the greatest. Any serious socialist theory must begin from there.

Martin Glaberman.

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COMING IN NEXT ISSUE
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SLAVERY AND ITS HISTORIANS

A Critique and Some Notes Toward a New Historiography

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A PUBLISHING FUND

Asking for money is never easy. One thing we can do, however, is to make our request as plain and truthful and simple as we can.

Our Conference of last September voted to establish a $5000 Publication Fund. The purpose of the Fund was to make possible a continuing list of books and pamphlets, in part through the purchase of printing equipment. Some of the publications we intend to publish are still being worked on. Some, however, are awaiting only the financial and technical means. Here is an indication of the kind of publications we would like to finance:

A pamphlet on the populist movement by William Gorman which would contain a reprint of a fine old article and a new introduction.

The Civil War Centennial lectures by William Gorman, including lectures on Abolition, Gettysburg and Reconstruction.

Modern Politics by C. L. R. James, a finished book that was published in Trinidad and then immediately suppressed. It contains a view of the sweep of Western civilization as a guide to understanding the world of today.

State Capitalism and World Revolution - a third edition of this important work with a new introduction.

This is an indication of the kind of publishing program we need your help to finance. But it is only a partial indication. With the purchase of printing equipment, we can achieve a flexibility which will make it possible to respond more directly to events in the publication of pamphlets on current questions and in the publication of popular leaflets.

We need the support of our readers in this project. Could you send us your contribution as soon as possible. If you cannot contribute at the moment, a pledge toward a future contribution will help us to budget our expenses.

CONFEERENCE OF "POUVOIR OUVRIER"

On September 9, 10 and 11, 1966 there took place a conference of the militants and sympathizers of the "Pouvoir Ouvrier" (Workers' Power) group. The following subjects were discussed by this French organization.

1. The transformation of capitalism.
2. The modern proletariat and the class struggle.
3. The crisis of the international communist movement.
4. The revolutionary organization.
5. The task of "Pouvoir Ouvrier."

Decisions were made to improve the Bulletin, to publish pamphlets, two of which will be done before the end of the year, to coordinate the union activity of the militants of Paris and the province, to develop and deepen relations with foreign revolutionary groups.
When I arrived here in July, the long strike of the students of the National University (See: "Mexico University Struggle"; Speak Out; No. 6) threatened to erupt again. The new university rector, Javier Barros Sierra, tried to install a director of the Law School unacceptable to the students. It was only when Flores Zavala, a director whom they apparently accepted, was installed in September that peace finally descended on the campus - at least for a few weeks!

At about the same time, in July, several other student strikes were occurring. The students of the Normal schools had been out for more than two weeks when they finally went back on the 7th, with most of the school grievances granted.

In Durango, some 500 miles north of Mexico City, the students engaged not in educational struggles but in economic ones. They seized the huge hill of iron ore of the Cerre de Mercado Mine, demanding that the ore be processed in Durango instead of being taken to the Fundidora de Monterrey mills in Monterey. When federal troops tried to take the hill, some 30,000 civilians rushed to the hill to help the students.

Puebla University, 86 miles south of Mexico City, contributed its own "civil war" when on July 26 a feud between different schools broke out into open warfare. Almost 1,000 students seem to have been involved, using Molotov cocktails, sticks, rocks, and chains. Forty were injured, five seriously enough to be hospitalized.

Unlike Durango where the students had drawn the civilians into the economic struggle, in Merida, 1,000 miles away in eastern Yucatan, a demonstration of 3,000 henequin workers to get justice from the Federal Agrarian Bank was soon joined by students. When government officials refused to listen to the workers, violence broke out in which traffic lights were broken, shop windows smashed, and autos over turned. Federal troops finally had to be called in.

The most spectacular of the outbursts was in Morelia, about 200 miles west of Mexico City. Here the threat to raise bus fares at the end of September a few contavos led the students of the University of San Nicolas de Hidalgo to protest. Private citizens joined the protest and some 2,000 were now involved. When two off-duty policemen fired some shots, killing Everardo Rodriguez, a student, the
movement grew in intensity. Frightened by the fury of the populace, which began to call for the resignation of Governor Arriaga Rivera, police remained quartered in their barracks, leaving the city to the students and civilians. When students from the National University went to help their colleagues, the "wheel had turned full circle": when some of them were arrested those back in Mexico sequestered city buses to pressure the government into releasing their comrades in Morelia and, once again, the National University was up in arms. Finally, for the first time in Mexican history, federal troops were sent in, violating the long-honored autonomy of a university.

When I asked some of the "hip" students at N. U., if this kind of behavior was common, they all replied, yes, that the students traditionally played a role in their country - as in the rest of Latin America - all out of proportion to their numbers or position. When necessary they regularly commandeered buses to pressure the government. But when I stressed the frequency, range, and intensity of the present movement, they acknowledged that this was something new.

What, then, did these student uprisings mean?

The national government of Diaz Ordaz, like all true bourgeois governments, would deal with this movement as the product of "extremists." The ones most often singled out here in Mexico for such exaggerated honors are not the Communists, as in the States. Many of these have been absorbed into the bureaucratic structure of government or unions. It is the Trotskyists of various and conflicting groups, and Castroites who seem to be most often credited with leading this or that strike or demonstration. But they, no more than the Communists, deserve the credit.

Though the scattered claimants to the mantles of Trotsky and Castro can be dismissed, the influence of Castro and the Cuban Revolution cannot. It surely constitutes one of the important, though intangible, elements in the restiveness of the population and especially the students. A march was called on July 27 to honor the Cuban Revolution and condemn U. S. aggression in Vietnam. The students of the National University began to gather at six. The police had not yet given official permission for the march. Apparently the authorities were hoping to discourage it but they waited to see how the response to the call would shape up. Within an hour the small sprinkling of students that had gathered on a street corner had grown to a full 3,000 or more, not only winning approval for their march from the police, but taking both sides of the main avenue of downtown Mexico, San Juan de Letran. As John O'Neill, one of the astute reporters for The News, Mexico's English language
newspaper, observed: "...there was a new note in the mood and slogans of the
marchers: class warfare... the angry voice of the far left was heard in the
center of Mexico City...."

The Cuban Revolution smashed once and for all the myth of U. S. capitalist
omnipotence. The bristling of threats, bombs, blockados, and final invasion
itself, instigated by the greatest power on earth, only hardened the Cubans'
resistance. That they could do this and at the same time advance the lot of
the ordinary Cuban campesino and worker cracked the fear and doubts which had
held the Latin American in thrall. This miracle was achieved, too, by a pop-
ulation not much larger than that of Mexico City itself!

It is the youth who have understood this, either as a whole or in part.
They expect far more out of life than their parents did. Many have already
reached that stage without which no real revolution is possible: to give them-
selves, to give their lives to achieve what they think is possible. Two of the
students of the N. U. had done as much this spring in the guerrilla fighting
of Guatemala. They are the new martyrs; the new breed of Mexican who hold the
unity of Latin America more dear than their own lives.

But the reality as much as the expectations impel them.

The N. Y. Times recently completed a survey of the Latin American Univers-
ity in an attempt to understand what motivates the students. It concluded that
many of the universities are or are becoming "intellectual slums." (How close
all this is to the deterioration of the public schools in the inner cities of
the States would make an interesting question to examine.) When I studied at
the National University last summer some hint of what this meant became clear
to me. The physical plant of the buildings, for example, though beautiful in
architecture, like so much of Mexico, is also worn-at-the-hoels: broken windows,
unpainted walls, fading colors, and all the other evidences of neglect. If
the top authorities seem to neglect the appearance of the buildings, the pro-
fessors and instructors seemed to do the same thing to their classes. Very
often they were late. Sometimes they didn't come at all. What was worse,
no one seemed to know or care just where they were (except the students, of
course). True, this was summer school and, at that, for "Americanos." But -
still...!

Along with the inferior education as a factor in the militancy of the
student might also be added the general poverty. This is apparent and even
more glaring in the "American section" of Mexico City. Here the shops display
the best of goods at higher-than American prices. All is spic, span and ex-
pensive - but at our feet thoro is always the cry of the bedraggled shoeshine
boy, the whine of the shrunken Indian woman with outstretched hand, and the
twang of the guitar-strumming blind man, singing off key.

This, in fact, is as much a part of the developing social crisis as the
deterioration of education, the Cuban Revolution, or the general poverty.
Bureaucracy, the response of the ruling classes to the rising demands of the
masses, itself becomes a cause of the acceleration of that movement. What
student does not see the rightward swing of governments throughout Latin Am-
erica? Even as the Mexican students were being subjected to the repressiv-
ness of the conservative Ordaz regime, those in Argentina were also being
regimented by the military dictatorship of General Ongania. The story, in
fact, with minor variations, was the same throughout Latin America: students
protesting against their rightist-bureaucratic governments in Brazil, Argent-
ina, Colombia, and elsewhere.

In Mexico a similar trend is evident. Diaz Ordaz, the president, is
viewed as one of the most conservative presidents since the time of Porfirio
Diaz, the dictator who was overthrown by the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Just
as in the Argentine situation Ongania violated the ancient tradition of the
autonomy of the universities, so too, Ordaz has violated this autonomy in the
case of the Morelia student strike. In both instances students have been
killed by police.

To be sure, Ordaz warned the students. In his "state of the union"
message of September 1st, it was the students whom he singled out for attack.
They must be "responsible," he said, and intimated that the autonomy was not
inviolable. Did anyone believe then that only a few weeks would pass before
he would make good his threat? Is it not significant too that the remains of
dictator Porfirio Diaz, buried in France, where he was exiled after the Mex-
ican Revolution, are now being permitted to be re-interred in Mexico?

Already the Mexican students' present struggle transcends past struggles
in which they were often the unwitting foils of contending political groups
of the right and left. What is difficult to assess, however, is how much of
what motivates them is strictly "Hecho (made) en Mexico" and how much reflects
broader Latin American and even world pressures. It is significant that of
the 41,000,000 Mexicans some 22,000,000 are under 20. It is expected that
by 1980 there will be 33,000,000. What has come to be called the population
explosion might just as well be called the youth explosion. It is character-
istic not only of Mexico, certainly, but of Latin America.

But it is as distinctive an aspect of the second half of the 20th cen-
tury as is the enormous concentration of capital into super-national state
capitalist blocs. The epoch of state capitalism, whether disguised as English
Welfare State, U. S. Free Enterprise, Russian Communism, or Mexican Mixed Economy,
is characterized by what young Marx described as "universal envy, constituted
as power is only the secret guise in which greed has arised and is to be satis-
fried in merely another way... The vulgar communist is only the consummation of
this envy and leveling...." It is this world wide strangulation of human vital-
ity, hiding behind grandiose abstractions, which presses especially hard on
youth. How else explain the amazing phenomenon of youth in rebellion, with or
without causes, almost everywhere in the world?

Certainly many of the Mexican youths who have been involved in the student
uprisings are indistinguishable in appearance, taste, and manners from their
peers in N. Y., London, Paris, Moscow, Tokyo, or Hong Kong. The individualized,
flamboyant hair-dos; the tight, narrow trousers or jeans; rock and roll; go-go
discotheques; miniskirts; beards; folksinging - those, along with student strikes
and demonstrations, are as apparent here as they are elsewhere and though they
may vanish as quickly as they appeared, they are the moment's symbol of youth's
world-wide revolt. The dull, grey world of "universal envy" which adults in
position of power would press upon the youth; this world can hold them no
longer. And it is by the frequency, range, and intensity of their present
struggle, that Mexican youth has made clear that they are moved as much by
Mexican issues as by world ones. That they would change both Mexico and the
world is clear. That they cannot do this alone is also clear. But that they
will change it - this is inevitable.

Detroit Facing Reality Forum

MARTIN GLABERMAN

on

CHINA: THE MEANING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Friday, Dec. 16, 1966 8:30 P.M.
Free Admission Discussion
14131 Woodward Ave.
Room 229
A REVIEW

NEW NATION IN A NEW WORLD

BY GEORGE P. RAWICK


Produced by plantation slavery, contract labor, colonialism, and the never ending struggle of people to be masters of their own fate, the people of the West Indies are a most unusual people. They struggle today to gain a vision of themselves, of their past, of their present, and of their future. In this task the new intellectual journal, New World - with both a quarterly magazine and a fortnightly journal - has begun to play a significant role. While the West Indies have produced a gallery of writers and artists who unite the strength of European civilization with the self-possession and grasp of reality of non-European peoples - and do this in a way that transcends all the sources - until now these men and women have known mainly the pleasures of exile. New World is part of the crucial task of bringing that galaxy of West Indian writers and scholars home from their exile in England, in the United States, in Canada.

That rich intellectuality and artistic sensitivity is being raised to newer and more problematic heights by the reality of national independence, by its successes and its failures. A host of younger men and women today begin to build upon the tradition of their great predecessors and older contemporaries. The first generations of West Indian intellectuals sought for the solution of the problem of the West Indian people in the freedom of Africa. Edward Elyden, born in the Danish West Indies, the free descendant of slaves, was in the years before World War I the outstanding voice of African nationalism. Marcus Garvey of Jamaica fought to forge a unity in philosophy and action of the aspirations of Africans, West Indians, and black Americans in the United States. George Padmore united the struggle for the freedom of Africa and the Caribbean with proletarian internationalism. And C.L.R. James, the mentor of this present generation of West Indian intellectuals, and one of the founders of the African Bureau, the center of the agitation for African Freedom, has built upon the legacy of Elyden, Garvey, and Padmore. He today unites both concretely and philosophically the
struggles of West Indians, black Americans, Africa, and the working classes of
the metropolitan countries.

All of this - and more - has gone into the making of the Guyana independence
issue of New World, edited by the outstanding Guyanese poet Martin Carter and
that wonderful novelist and poet from Barbados, George Lamming. They have pro-
duced an issue which, article for article, is probably more exciting and commit-
ted to a vision of a new society than anything that has appeared in Europe or
the United States in recent years. The issue has the "Distinction, Gaiety,
grace... Virtuos of the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean, city states, islands, the
sea and the sun" which C.L.R. James, in one of his two articles in this issue,
sees as the outstanding characteristics of West Indian life.

Only an indication of the contents of the issue can be given. There are
26 articles. There are poems by seven authors including Wilson Harris,
L.E. Braithwaite, Martin Carter, Nicolas Guillen, and Aime Cesaire. The articles
include a statement for this issue by Mr. L.R.S. Burnham, Prime Minister of
Guyana, and a section of the autobiography of his political opponent, Cheddi
Jagan, as well as articles and sections of fiction works in progress by George
Lamming, David Decaires and Miles Fitzpatrick, Raymond Smith, Lloyd Best, James
Millette, Wilson Harris, Orlando Patterson, and Wilfred Carty, among others.
One article, "Pioneers in American Freedom" by John Henrik Clarke, the editor of
Freedomways, the Afro-American journal, deserves special mention. In it, Clarke
discusses the role of West Indians in the North American freedom struggle.

The poems, in particular those of Wilson Harris and Martin Carter, will be
now to most non-West Indians - and they are splendid. There is a fine article
by Braithwaite that helps explain some of the inner meanings of the poetry of
Harris and Carter. That wondrous poem by the outstanding contemporary Cuban
poet, Nicolas Guillen, "Ballad of My Two Grandfathers" (one a black slave, the
other a white master), captures in strong, simple lines the inner tension of
all the peoples of the Caribbean.

Everyone will have his own favorite articles. I want to comment about
three. Perhaps the outstanding article in this issue is the one by the Guyanese
teacher and Marxist scholar, Sidney King. In it King writes a history of the
Berbice Revolution of 1763, a history which while very short has many of the
qualities of that great Caribbean history, C.L.R. James' Black Jacobins. King
takes this slave uprising, 12 years before the American Revolution, and places
it in the orbit of the revolutionary developments of the modern world. He knows
what a revolution is about; he is part of it without reservation. This article
is only a beginning. King calls for a book on the Barbico Revolution that will be the companion of James' *Black Jacobins*. There is no question that King is the man to perform this job.

C.L.R. James' article "Tomorrow and Today: A Vision" is a further contribution that the author makes to his continuing dialogue with the West Indian people, one that began many years ago and most recently reached a high point with his major address to the second Conference on West Indian Affairs in Montreal: "The Making of the West Indian People." James jams two concepts together boldly and without apology or polemic. The first is the statement that the West Indian people, the average West Indian, is prepared and ready "for achievements and creativity in contemporary civilization more spectacular than any the modern world has seen." Of this he has no doubt. Here James continues to emphasize that which he for so long has understood as the center of the Marxist understanding: the inevitability of the self-activity of the mass of humanity in the struggle for a new, free society.

He then proceeds to a discussion of some proposals "which our whole past falsely teaches us to think of as organically removed from the ordinary person." Among the proposals are: the creation of a Faculty of Philosophy at the University of the West Indies; a faculty of Caribbean studies with professors of different nationalities publishing a multilingual journal; distinguished West Indian authors teaching one - or two - year courses at the University; an independent newspaper (not owned abroad) and an independent publishing house.

James' reason for these very specific proposals should be made clear. That the masses will do their task, of this there is no question. That the intellectuals and scholars will do their task, that of helping "to release and consolidate the consciousness simmering among the people," of this there is some grounds for concern. The task of the intellectual, the scholar, most particularly of the Marxist, is not to make proposals as to what the masses should do in their spheres. The task is for them to do what they have to do with the greatest directness, creativity, and boldness. Then everything else will proceed.

James makes one last proposal which requires some attention. He suggests that the outstanding West Indian cricket players, such as Sobers and Kanhai, be enabled to do whatever they want to do when they are not playing cricket through funds provided by public subscription. In his *Beyond a Boundary* and in his second article in this issue of *Now World*, one entitled, "Kanhai: A Study in Confidence," James gives us the clue to the significance of this proposal.
Sobers and Kanhai represent in the most meaningful form the totality of the
West Indian people. James writes of Kanhai, "in Kanhai's batting what I have
found is a unique pointer of the West Indian quest for identity, for ways of
expressing our potential bursting at every seam." Moreover, his playing is a
manifestation of that "distinction, gaiety, grace" of the West Indian people of
which James speaks. The cricketer pulls together for the whole West Indian
people their sense of their power and their identity.

The insight of James on these matters far transcends the usual discussion.
Apply it for a moment, for example, to the meaning of Joe Louis and Cassius Clay
for black Americans and suddenly our understanding of the political significance
of Joe Louis for black Americans in the nineteen thirties and forties and why
thousands of black teen-agers flock to see Cassius Clay wherever he appears in
public becomes clear. Louis and Clay demonstrate to the black Americans who
they are, what they must be, what can occur. These are not minor achievements.
(The Guyana Independence Issue of New World may be purchased from Facing Reality
Book Service at $2.00 per copy, post paid.)

NOTES ON THE DIALECTIC

by

C. L. R. JAMES

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"BE HIS PAYMENT HIGH OR LOW"

THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IN THE SIXTIES

by

MARTIN GLABERMAN

21 pages

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I read the notes on the Conference in S.O. and I feel the group is at last stepping out. We know more than most. The world is in movement... Bureaucracies are falling and new ones forming. The mass of the workers, youth, students are boiling. Anything can happen within the next decade. The smoke screens the establishments throw up are being seen through here as well as behind the so-called iron and bamboo curtains. People are not as easy to steer as before. The Establishments are worried.

Where will it all begin and end -- as Omar the Tentmaker said, I can only answer, "I do not know," but I do not think we are moving back to any of the dark ages. I only wish I was a helluva lot younger as my years have flown and despite all the wrongs to be corrected, there is a lot to live for.

The Old Optimist
New York, N. Y.

SUBJECTIVITY IN CONTEMPORARY AESTHETICS

"Face, Perception and Painting" in SPEAK OUT (July, 1966) is an excellent study of how painting is affected by the speed and focus of modern transportation, and it's a pity there aren't more like it being written constantly. There's a real need for such short analyses - either concentrating on isolated relationships between painting and the modern world, as this article does, or looking for more complex developments.

However, Staes' concluding paragraph not only doesn't explain very much about what he said in the rest of his article, but fundamentally limits any deeper analysis of modern painting. He writes: "It, the canvas, yet and perhaps more so today, is the challenge of communicating the penetration and depth of an individual's depth and meaning." This, of course, is very true. He is discussing one of the main tendencies of modern art and aesthetics which contributes to the fact that in no other period has painting reached such a stage of crisis. Here are two examples which are immediately available, to me, but they are two of many:

1. From Susanne Langer, Problems of Art (1957); Creativity is "to make an outward image of the inward process" or "to give the subjective events an objective symbol". The central theme of her book revolves around her term
"expressive form" in art, which is form expressing individual experiences by symbolic or pictorial presentation. Her interpretation of the effect or meaning of art is than it provides insight into human feeling.  

2. Two quotes from a Canadian artist, from a recorded talk given a few years ago about his exhibit reveal not only the continuation of this theory, but also its logical conclusion in the alienation of the artist and his painting from a large section of the public: "You go through different reactions to it (the painting). but once you get all the reactions sifted out, then it takes on an identity and you can separate yourself from it a little bit and at the same time be more involved with it, because you enter into the experience." "As I was coming up the stairs down here one day, a man grabbed my coat and said, 'What is the meaning of that painting?' I told him to go get a brochure...First you separate out whether they are talking about their problem or the art problem. That man was talking about his problem and I'm not concerned with that. He wasn't talking about the painting."

Staas has written something very interesting and very important, and it should be developed further, but his last paragraph makes this impossible. As it stands, his article (minus the end) is a single part of a potential examination of modern art within the framework of modern society. Rather than examine the problem within the limitations of the tendencies discussed above, it might be more fruitful to try and discover what forces within the capitalist system are responsible for the subjectivity of a greater part of contemporary aesthetic experience. The problem of the division of labour in capitalism might be used as the base of such a study. The relations of people in social production determine the economic foundation of any society. From this rise all political, judicial, religious, philosophical and artistic activity. These activities are not directly conditioned by the economic structure, but if a wide enough perspective is taken, particularly with investigations of artistic problems, it is possible to trace relationships between major tendencies in art and the development of the social structure. Marx, Engels and Trotsky all have plenty to say about art and society, and they might be a guide in overcoming the influence of subjectivism in the study of modern painting. The relations of art to the division of labour and the economic structure are discussed by Marx in A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, and by Engels in a letter to Heinz Starkenburg, Jan.25, 1394 (in Marx: Selected Works, Vol.I). The German Ideology discusses consciousness with regard to the division of labour, and the method of approach for all ideological studies, including aesthetics. Trotsky, in Literature and Revolution, through his analysis of Russian literature, examines art in general in the context of social class. There is a great deal of work to be done to understand how, and more important, why certain artistic tendencies develop within a particular social environment and historical time.

H. Kolinsky
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Mention without end is made of the fact that the ancient Athenians were able to establish the foundations of all democracy because they were residing in an area the size of some small township. Townships in New England are also given as a further instance of practical democracy. By contrast, modern society peopled by three millions on a world scale is unwieldy, unmanageable, impossible of rule by the masses of people.

This leads to the matter of the missing button on the television set (or radio, if that is all you have). Leaving aside all other media of self-government, decisions involving every kind of public question can now be made with a near maximum of ease. It requires, of course, not only a special button on the TV set but an overall social transformation. But steeped in the singular fact that America now has more TV sets than it has that ubiquitous symbol of the high standard of living—the bathtub, it is not only possible but absolutely inevitable that approach towards government by popular mass rather than specialized caste is inherent in the invading socialist society. All around us is the modern communications system by which 20 policy matters a day could be decided by hundreds of millions in referendum absorbing little more than a half-hour total time. Visionary? Only for those who believe that the mass of any population was made to be milked emotionally, bilked financially, and deceived politically. But that man who spoke of government of, for and by the people also made the well-known notation that all the people cannot be fooled all the time.

Lincoln's remarks hardly carried to the outer edge of a massed crowd. Today's media can carry everything, almost anywhere and anytime. The considerably talked-of grey eminence of the mass media, Marshall McLuhan, has written pages upon pages to make this profoundly simple point. He goes on at length to demonstrate that the turning on of an electric bulb is an act of communication, of social sharing, an announcement differentiating day and dusk, rain and shine, summer and winter as well as a cue to those abroad that someone is at home. If this is true about a mere bulb what endless commentary can be made about typewriters, postage stamps, automobiles, leaving aside the obvious telephone and telegraph and so on down the line?

If children march in demonstrations it is because there is a mass if information
and example at the merest touch of their fingertips. Even if left unused, the extreme accessibility of the media spurs on the impulse to self-liberation from handed down notions of what can and cannot be done. TV channels and radio stations can no longer be considered as purely means of communication when they have already become the stationways and channels of social revolt. With transistor radio at the ready, a population considers itself modern both as to means and to ends. "The media is the message," says theorist McLuhan.

Yes, indeed, much more than theory can recognize. Who would have expected that a community such as Watts, "isolated Watts," according to all the analysts, would carry on its explosive business in the streets, individual members returning home to view the effect of their actions and thereby to decide if a return to the street was called for? Long, long ago to quote a relevant example from theory, Marx gave bourgeois society full credit for entangling the whole world in its network of communications, presumably for facilitating the procedures of its economy and thereby drawing whole populations into relations with each other which otherwise would never have known of each other's existence.

It is the most unwitting mark of the fixed dullards of bourgeois society that when social tensions are tearing everything apart it is lamely attributed to "a failure of communications." The most immediate source of their complaint is the absolute over-abundance of communications in every shape and form, compounded by the existence of immovable grievances amidst a population made mobile by visions of rapid change at least from the mechanical mode of the communications explosion.

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The very speed of the evolvement of the mass media can mislead our comprehension of our world as differentiated from any other. Thus McLuhan speculates that all of man's five senses are now swallowed up into one—the sense of touch. Perhaps. But nowise dare he look at the tens of millions who are in manual operation gagging every motion of their hands not only to produce the employer's particular product but so as to avoid the fitful collision of hand and machine, altogether a very tactile business. The particular coloration of an average person's life, the occasion and inherent tempo of work as well as leisure, the sequence in which particular jobs are carried out, the self-distinguishing newness of emergent generations, the ethos of millions co-operating in tasks large and small: these are some of the elements constituting a developed sensibility. What underlies mass sensibility is the making of a particular stage in the growth of a population as a particular society.

One stage of the development of the people of the U.S. helped produce the
penny newspaper. Another stage produced the comic strip and a third the audience for film, and yet a fourth the gate for million dollar sports. Faithful and consistent in his ignorance of all this McLuhan presents the media as an automatically self-expanding leviathan swallowing people up and reducing even the best of us to so many helpless Jonahs in the whale's infinite belly. Hero, an ordinary schoolboy may know what an over-extended scholar cannot bring himself to say: the expanded frontier of the North American continent by quasi-military means lent a certain great weight to the business of communications.

This clarifies the matter internationally. If the American Civil War hastened the supremacy of the telegraph, World War I did it for the radio. World War II did likewise for radar and made the radio portable while advancing the basis for television. The prospectus for World War III is seemingly enclosed in the altogether non-domestic and non-human computer. Two whole modes: a population attempting to re-create for itself the scope and depth of its most intense and extensive experiences and projections for the future. And a class of near authoritarians, or fully developed ones, who are enmeshed in endless coils of wire without beginning or end, which in and of themselves are to hold society together through wire-tapping and filming by secret order, television screens in company bathrooms, microphones hidden even in the offices of the self-same dignitaries seeking some means of coercion against each other. Now these two whole modes are undoubtedly inter-penetrated and give the impression of being a mixed bag of tricks but sooner or later a choice will be made.

Such a choice is ready made. If each Harlem in America were armed with mobile camera loaded with film, and with prior right of pre-empting the TV screen in the instance of major grievances affecting its people, there would be a no more powerful guarantee for the hasty destruction of all racial exclusiveness. And if every wild-cat strike were armed with the same civil tools - and social priority workers control of production would be the most overwhelming large-scale experience in the whole of recorded civilization.

Consider a filibuster on Civil Rights in that supposedly august Senate of the United States which cannot be halted because no two-thirds majority can be found. A murderously honest and even artistic portrayal of this type of non-event would arouse a majority of more than two thirds of the population and display who is more fit to govern and who is unfit even to fill up a TV screen.

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 Much of the grievance about the mass media is heard from performers and directors within that framework itself. Except for sports, which have so much of the forceful immediacy compelling attention, the major dull content of the media
is rapidly dividing itself into two halves: the silly and the brutal. The working members of these media, like the working members of the press, will have much to tell, almost all of it unalterable ground for the century-tested truism that the constant revolutionizing of technology produces as its most lasting result a differing type of civilized personality.

In specific terms, McLuhan insists that the communications explosion has also produced an even more impressive "implosion," it has made a vital difference as to how people feel about themselves. My own daughter, barely four years old, appeared together with her mother on a TV news program. She was holding up a sign, "We want housing." Her relations as an individual to public life will happen as a matter of course, But our estimate of the day of reckoning for our misery-formed social order will be based on such incidents as her demonstration and the power of its recreation; that is the common future not only of father and daughter but of the family of man mastering the great globe itself.

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RECOMMENDED READING

Facing Reality
Book: rvice
14131 Woodward Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48203

BOOKS FROM OTHER PUBLISHERS

The Making of the English Working Class by E. P. Thompson, 848pp. $2.95
The Black Jacobins by C. L. R. James, 426 pp. 1.95
The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848 by E. J. Hobsbawm, 416 pp. .95
Three Negro Classics (Up From Slavery, Souls of Black Folk, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man), 511 pp. 1.25
The Other America by Michael Harrington, 186 pp. .95
The Berkeley Student Revolt, Lipset and Wolin (eds.), 585 pp. 1.95
The Revolution at Berkeley, Miller and Gilmore (eds.), 348 pp. .95
Marx & Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy, L. S. Feuer (ed.), 497 pp. 1.45
The Russian Revolution by Leon Trotsky, 524 pp. (abridged) 1.45
The Necessity of Art by Ernst Fischer, 234 pp. 1.25

* Books of All Publishers *
FRAINA-COREY

AMERICAN SOCIALIST HISTORY—TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY
PAUL BUHLE

(NOTs: The author, a young radical scholar, hopes this article will stimulate a dialogue on the nature and future of American Socialism. He also hopes that specific comments on Corey will be sent to him at #2C Knollwood Acres, Storrs, Conn. 06268.)

As the New Left grows into significance in American life, the questions that young radicals ask about their position in society and their future reflect dialectically to the past— not the past of their parents but the past of American Radicalism. Without falling into obscurantism or tired factionalism, New Left scholars must deal seriously with the whole of American Socialism's history, and— whatever their final judgment of their antecedents— find a means of reconciling their lives to it.

One place to begin is with the man who, more than anyone else, has been the mirror to radical intellectuals in this country in the first half of the twentieth century: Fraina-Corey. Louis C. Fraina, an Italian immigrant born in 1896, had by his eighteenth birthday passed through street-corner agitating, union-organizing, the Socialist Party, Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Labor Party, and the I.W.W., and was ready to become an editor of the most significant Left-Socialist journal in the United States, the New Review. Within three years he had become the ideological father of American Communism as well as its leading intellectual, and the first prominent American to call for the building of a Third International; in another five years he had dropped from sight and was living in Mexico under an assumed name and out of politics. In 1926, after a few years as a proof reader at the New York Times, he re-emerged as Lewis Corey.

Fraina had been a synthesizer of Lenin, Trotsky, and DeLeon into a new, if unclear theory, calling primarily for "Mass Action" against existing institutions; Corey became quickly and easily the foremost popularizer of Marxist economics in the United States; his 1934 book, The Decline of American Capitalism, won him the title of "the American Strachey," But in personal politics, Corey was not a leader like Fraina, and in fact moved with the political tides. He was prominent in the Professional Groups for Foster and Ford in 1932, and quit only shortly before the chairman, James Rorty, gave up entirely on a Marxist intellectual organization being able
to exist independently of the C.P.'s sway. He was among those who looked forward to the building of a new revolutionary party, and took part in what was perhaps the most significant independent attempt at systematic Marxist analysis, the short-lived Marxist Quarterly. But soon he came into collaboration with the Lovestonites, and repudiated Marxism entirely by 1940. As a professor at Antioch College, 1942-50, he continued to call for a people's fight against monopoly—but this became increasingly less important than his adoption of Marshall Plan, anti-Communist Liberalism. By the time of his death in 1953, he had come to defend the status quo in unions and renew his pledge of faith in the future of American "pluralist" capitalism—his most radical position was the hope of a British-style Labor Party in this country. In a final irony, he died waiting for his deportation papers, issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, despite his total change of loyalty from the previous fifteen years.

Corey's personal history—totally obscured in the rubble of personal animosity and factionalism—was at last unearthed by Theodore Draper in his 1957 book, The Roots of American Communism. In doing so, Draper rendered American Radicalism a great service. But he used Fraina-Corey's history as a weapon against all American Marxism, showing that the "Revolution Devours Its Children"—implicit, any revolution directed against American capitalism and its ideological arm, Liberalism.

One need not, however, be a professional anti-Communist to fit Corey's life into the larger context of American Socialist history. It is quite applicable to a relatively new, developing theory of American capitalism and its Marxist opponents: the theory of "Corporate Liberalism" closely associated with Studies On the Left and an editor of that journal, James Weinstein. Weinstein and others have begun to demonstrate that Progressivism and finally New Deal Liberalism were and are primarily directed not to the needs and desires of the people, but rather as a prophylactic against radicalism. "Corporate Liberalism," as the ideological structure is known, prescribes more poverty-funds at home, but certainly not more freedom; acceptance of trade unions, but only as reactionary bodies which contain the workers' radicalism; state-directed "efficiency" alterations within American Capitalism but the continuation and strengthening of corporate monopolies and oligopolies; and more subtle but equally blood-sucking imperialism abroad. More important for our purposes, "Corporate Liberalism" played upon the internal weaknesses in Socialism and Communism to make the would-be Marxists of the '30's generation and after accept the psychological implications of monopoly capitalism as inevitable: instead of addressing themselves to the worker's needs to end alienation, to make his own factory decisions, and run his society, Marxists
looked for ways to manipulate the workers in a way that was "good" for them; they thought and talked about the coming of socialism as a New Efficiency, not a New Freedom; and they implicitly denied the right of the workers to build and run their own party.

How did this degeneration come about? Weinstein has demonstrated* that, to a large extent, Debsian Socialism (that is, the pro-1919 Socialist Party) was indeed concerned with freedom; and, contrary to myth, it had neither collapsed after 1912 nor turned into an opportunistic, anti-Negro body. Without going beyond the scope of this article, we can guess that basically, the tribulations of the 1920's weakened the already flimsy roots of Marxian thought in America sufficiently to allow the permeation of New Dealism into the Marxist's Weltanschauung when the time came.

If the above general theory is true, then the otherwise mysterious deviation of Fraina-Corey seems quite transparent. Fraina was in fact never steeped in the Debsian tradition, and rejoined the Socialist Party in 1917 only to lead its Left Wing into a split. In the late twenties, Corey moved back into the picture only to destroy falsehoods about capitalist "prosperity" and praise the Soviet Union, not to talk about the growth of freedom and the end of alienation in the future Socialist America. In the 'thirties, no matter what his faction, this emphasis did not change: he moved from free-lance intellectual to labor bureaucrat to anti-Communist professor relatively easily, by changing his mind primarily about the Soviet government. And he moved on to the ranks of Corporate Liberalism to defend "pluralism" in which various undemocratic organizations supposedly exert equal strength on each other in order to reach an "equitable balance."

Summing up, Corey's case presents good evidence that "Marxism" is not necessarily compatible with the search for freedom and workers' power. This we knew all along. More crucially, we see our true oppositeness to Liberalism, and the necessity to re-establish a sense of community among truly radical forces in the U.S.; we see the need to help the New Left understand (analytically, not propagandistically) the two different strains in the past of American Socialism and be able to choose the right one. Without disavowing all those idealists who fought with wrong ideas, or in the wrong way, in earlier decades, the New Left must be able to chart its own course on the stormy sea of American politics, and head for freedom.

*See Weinstein's very important article, which is also a review of the important works since 1950 on American Marxism: "Socialism's Hidden Heritage: Scholarship Reinforces Political Mythology," in Studies on the Left III, #4 (Fall, 1963), pp. 88-108.