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Editorial Appraisals:

Some qualified reviewers offer their own brief evaluation of the book. Otherwise most of our content represents the authors'-editors' own words as a preview to their approach to the subject, their style and point-of-view. <>

Ideology and Utopia in the Twenty-First Century: The Surplus of Meaning in Ricoeur's Dialectical Concept edited by Stephanie N. Arel and Dan R.

Stiver [Studies in the Thought of Paul Ricoeur, Lexington Books, 9781498577298]

This edited work is spurred by the 30-year anniversary of the groundbreaking work by Paul Ricoeur, Lectures on Ideology and Utopia (1986)—and the 40-year anniversary of the original lectures. Ricoeur took these concepts that continue to be enormously important in social and political analysis and connected them in a uniquely intricate dance. The ensuing interplay of these concepts provides a framework for a more deft and subtle evaluation than is common. Little has been done to engage Ricoeur's skill in interpreting ideology and utopia or their creative tension, perhaps due to his significant contributions in other areas. When one combines Ricoeur's intricate analyses of ideology and utopia, however, with his contributions in other areas of philosophy such as hermeneutics, anthropology, embodiment, and philosophy of religion, one has fertile grounds for reflection in many directions. The essays in this book draw on these resources not only to engage the strengths and weaknesses of Ricoeur's original work, but they also expand his understanding in creative new directions such as the social imaginary, embodiment, gender theory, immigration, and extremist political rhetoric. The text will bring to the fore how this aspect of Ricoeur's work has significance for the wider twenty-first century political landscape. Just as his original work, this book provides much-needed resources for critique of each term, along with their relationship to one another, while recognizing the positive dimension of their function.

Excerpt: In the fall of 1975, Paul Ricoeur delivered his lectures on ideology and utopia. A decade later, they were gathered into book form by George Taylor and published in 1986. Apart from students, the lectures were not widely known for some time. They were also overshadowed by other publications by Ricoeur in the areas of hermeneutics, metaphor, and narrative; his Gifford Lectures on anthropology and ethics; and his major earlier publications on a philosophy of the will. Yet, toward the end of Ricoeur's life, his work on political philosophy began to emerge as a major matter of interest. Some of this attention was due to Ricoeur's involvement in important political issues in France; some was due to the vigor and diversity of political philosophy especially after the end of the Cold War. The changing paradigm in politics led to a reassessment of entrenched polarities between Marxist ideology critique and western liberal democracies. French poststructuralist critiques also questioned the role of grand theory in general. Analytical assessment of prevailing political structures opened up a search for new models.

This search found that Ricoeur's work was situated in a surprisingly and impressively nuanced position, allowing for both ideology critique and utopian aspirations while eschewing grand theory. Ricoeur's characteristic dialectical complexity already pointed beyond the polarities of the past. Contrary to most Marxist thought, he argued that ideology

has a positive role to play; in fact, any large movement or group has a narrative, to use another term often used more positively, that helps constitute and protect their identity. At the same time and for a number of reasons, he agreed with Marxist thought that ideology has a gravitational downwards pull toward dissimulation and ossification. On the other side, contrary to many critiques of utopian thought, he saw the utopian imagination as immensely important, offering alternatives and providing grounds for protest against the status quo. Yet, he agreed that

utopia, too, has a tendency to be fanciful and even dangerous in its unreality. As was his wont, he put them into a dialectical relationship where the utopian imagination is a privileged standpoint for criticizing the abuses of ideology and ideology in its positive function constrains the excesses of utopia. Rather than finding some dialectical endpoint, a grand theory, however, Ricoeur emphasizes a continuing critical dialectic. Ricoeur deals with what he calls Mannheim's Paradox, namely, the uncomfortable realization for Marxists that their own view, and every other view, is subject to ideology critique and cannot escape its distortive tendencies. No one has an independent standpoint. Ricoeur says of this precarious situation:

My own conviction is that we are always caught in this oscillation between ideology and utopia. There is no answer to Mannheim's paradox except to say that we must try to cure the illnesses of utopia by what is wholesome in ideology ... and try to cure the rigidity, the petrification, of ideologies by the utopian element. It is too simple a response, though, to say that we must keep the dialectic running. My more ultimate answer is that we must let ourselves be drawn into the circle and then must try to make the circle a spiral. We cannot eliminate from a social ethics the element of risk. We wager on a certain set of values and then try to be consistent with them; verification is therefore a question of our whole life. No one can escape this.'

As one can see, Ricoeur offers a much more sophisticated approach to both ideology and utopia than most, especially in the way he brings them together. He offers three advantages. One is his complexity and nuance itself, moving away from more simplistic perspectives. A second, pointed out by George Taylor, the editor of the original lectures, is that a signal contribution by Ricoeur was the important role of the imagination in both ideology and utopia and especially the role of the productive imagination that has been neglected in relation to the reproductive imagination. One can see here the interrelationship between Ricoeur's work at that time on metaphor as not being reducible to literal language but offering irreducible creativity, a "semantic innovation.'" His later work in the eighties on narrative as reconfiguring reality points in a similar direction. To this, one could even add his "little ethics" in Oneself as Another, where an imaginative vision of the Good allows for the "sieve" of the deontological Right within it. Ricoeur himself did not explicitly connect these dots, but they have been a spur to ongoing productive—and imaginative—reflection, some of which is reflected in this book. A third point is that Ricoeur creatively brings into dialogue on ideology the Marxist tradition, including a critical theorist such as Jürgen Habermas, and approaches to legitimation and ideology such as those presented by Max Weber and Clifford Geertz.

Ricoeur loved the Kantian phrase, "the symbol gives rise to thought," which he emphasized in his early The Symbolism of Evil.6 About forty years after the initial lectures, the authors in this book have continued to be prompted by Ricoeur's Lectures to further thought. Despite Ricoeur's own complexity, there are helpful nuances and many more implications than what Ricoeur was able to accomplish even in his long life. The essays that follow demonstrate many of these implications.

In a first section, "Re-Encountering Ricoeur," John Arthos examines the Lectures in the context of Ricoeur's life. He outlines the shift in Ricoeur's political orientation from radical activist to liberal progressive over the course of his life and concludes that it is precisely the model of ideology and utopia that can serve as a springboard for a progressive hermeneutic theory of the political. Roger W. H. Savage places Ricoeur's emphasis on the surplus of meaning in his hermeneutics in relationship to the distortive surplus of meaning that Ricoeur indicates is at work in ideology. As mentioned, Ricoeur did not himself connect his thought in the Lectures to any great extent with his

larger projects, so this is an important creative connection to make. Savage also shows how the ambiguity of power that both enables action and can create abuse through ideology allows for protest and hope. The superabundance of meaning fuels imaginative hope and action. Dan R. Stiver fastens upon a small acknowledgment in Ricoeur that ideology in its positive meaning can help preserve the "period of effervescence" that helps constitute any movement. While Ricoeur sees utopia as the view from outside or nowhere as the key to ideology critique, Stiver points out how sometimes critique can stem from a return to the original vision, noting also Ricoeur's comment at one point that all ideologies arise from an original utopia. In this sense, critique can arise from stirring the fading embers of the "original effervescence," much as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States called upon American ideals of equality to be true to the original vision.

A second section does what Ricoeur often did, namely, the essays put Ricoeur in dialogue with key figures. Recep Alpyagil places Ricoeur in conversation with the thirteenth-century Muslim theologian Ibn `Arabi. Alpyagil shows how Ricoeur's views on metaphor compare to `Arabi's views on the imagination. He then explores how Ricoeur's view of the "criss-crossing" of ideology and utopia is resonant with ibn`Arabi's sense of the interrelationship between the knowability and unknowability of God. Linda Lee Cox connects Ricoeur with the Marxist theorist Fredrick Jameson, showing that both emphasize a dialectical approach and that the utopic imagination does not however manifest itself in a conclusive utopia. Cox employs Jameson, along with others such as Emmanuel Levinas, Joan Tronto, and Martha Nussbaum, to expand Ricoeur's view of the social imagination in the midst of ambiguity.

She shows that Ricoeur's emphasis on the acting-suffering agent points toward concretizing utopia in practical action. With the help of a case study of a transgender student, her analysis contributes concrete guidance in seeing how suffering is an unbridgeable gap yet also a summons to traverse the gap.

The third section turns to the more recent emphasis on embodied social critique to bring together two phases of Ricoeur's own thought: his earlier major work on embodiment in Freedom and Nature: The Voluntary and the Involuntary and his later work in the Lectures and on hermeneutics.' Nel van den Haak notes that Ricoeur's work on metaphor is more developed than his work on imagination, although it presupposes imagination, and then points out how Ricoeur's work as a whole is opposed to "body-hostile" philosophies, making space for political critique that is corporeal and concrete. With a close look at political gender questions, she also explores how Ricoeur's attention to tensions in discourse is important for dealing with the conflicts and plurality in any attempt to materialize the utopian imagination. To ignore these tensions is to fall into political evil. Stephanie N. Arel examines primary documents of extremist political rhetoric and actions such as those of 9/11 to show how power is concretized in human bodies where they become weapons, prepared through ritual action. As we have seen, Ricoeur saw utopia as a corrective for ideology, and vice versa. Arel notes how in these cases, the utopian imagination, such as the promise of bliss on the other side of martyrdom, can support and become part of the ideologies as affects deeply shaped for self-destruction.

All of the essays augment Ricoeur in some ways, but the final section explicitly expands on Ricoeur's thought in the Lectures. George H. Taylor, the editor of the Lectures, reflects on their ongoing vitality in the way they resonate with recent movements such as embodiment in behavioral economics, arising out of cognitive psychology; the way in which cognitive linguistics shows that the mind works extensively in terms of embodied metaphors; and the way that ideology has come to be seen in terms of a more holistic "social imaginary." Ricoeur's work continues to stimulate understanding of the way that political action is symbolic, embodied action. Taylor, moreover. indicates that the more traditional term of ideology is important to keep as well as the phrase "social imaginary" to maintain focus on the critique of power and its distortions. Annalisa Caputo in her essay translated by Lisa Adams turns to the burning issue of immigration and how it "gives rise to thought." She expands on Ricoeur's anthropology of "oneself as another" to draw out the ideology and fragility of the "foreign," noting that we are

foreign even to ourselves. In response, she asserts that we need the utopian imagination to reconsider our relations to others such as immigrants. Mature relations, she points out, also involve the work of mourning, a Freudian phrase much used by Ricoeur. She draws on Ricoeur's essays on translation as a way of imagining, utopically, a new and different hospitality and ways of narrating tales to each other. Greg S. Johnson asks if there can be a commitment to the "real politics" of Raymond Guess and the utopian thinking of Ricoeur. He gives an affirmative answer that involves fleshing out the intricacies of both, offering a way that ideology and utopia do not have to be seen as contradictory. Johnson draws attention to the way that Ricoeur's early political essays show how the utopian can be immersed in history, therefore not turning away from it, illustrating how utopias can be seen as embodied interruptions in concrete life rather than perceived as a theory about another life. He creatively applies his integration of the two to the beginnings of the Arab Spring in 2011 and, alternatively, John Ford's film Stagecoach.

One can see in all of these essays an appreciation of the way that themes in Ricoeur come together to construct new meaning, illustrating the value in re-reading the Lectures today. The authors reveal that imagination, symbolic action, suffering, and embodiment intertwine, uncovering how the crisscrossing of ideology and utopia is even more complex than Ricoeur brought out.

Ricoeur gave the Lectures right after the convulsions of the sixties with assassinations and worldwide uprisings. We re-read them now after the end of the Cold War yet with still tangled relations between Russia and the Euro-American alliance, with troubling challenges to democracies and leanings toward ideologies of the right, and with the dramatic rise of the global south and immigration in the global north. The dominant neoliberal Rawlsian consensus is waning. Racism and sexism of various kinds abound. In short, the challenge of ideology critique, and utopia-critique, remains as sharp as ever. Thus, the need continues for a utopian imagination that is grounded in embodied political realities, for a nuanced critique like Ricoeur's that allows for the positives of both ideology and utopia to put brakes upon the dissimulations of both. Notwithstanding the value of Ricoeur's own thought, from all accounts. Ricoeur's hope was not that people would simply take up his views but that they would do what these writers have done, namely, to use their imaginations to appropriate his thought in creative ways to respond to new challenges. <>

Paul Ricoeur's Idea of Reference: The Truth as Non-Reference by Sanja Ivic [Value Inquiry Book Series, Studies in Existentialism, Hermeneutics, and Phenomenology, Brill, Rodopi, 9789004375635]

This book investigates the importance of Ricoeur's hermeneutics and poetics in rethinking humanities. In particular, Ricoeur's insights on reference as refiguration and his idea of interpretation as a triadic process (which consists of mimesis 1 – prefiguration, mimesis 2 – configuration, and mimesis 3 – refiguration) will be applied to philosophy of science and to literary and historical texts. It will be shown that Ricoeur's idea of emplotment can be extended and applied to scientific, literary and historical texts. This multidisciplinary research will include philosophy of science, metaphysics, hermeneutics, and literary theory.

Excerpt: This book represents a contribution to philosophical inquires regarding the nature of reference from the perspective of Paul Ricœur's hermeneutic philosophy. The relation between 'word' and 'world' is always intermediated by intellectual idea, which is differently interpreted by various thinkers. This book aims at showing Ricœur's contribution to this old intellectual problem and, in particular, his idea of reference as refiguration. Ricœur argues, "whereas semiotic units are systems of inner dependencies, and for that reason constitute closed and finite sets, the sentence as the first semantic unit is related to extralinguistic reality; it is open to the world" (1991, 98).

Ricœur's theory of interpretation is the project that includes the close connection between the text and the reader. This engagement is a process of redescribing the world. His theory of interpretation includes both explanation – and its analytic power – on the one hand, and unitary power of understanding on the other hand. Consequently, all texts, not only scientific, but historical and fictional, have both sense and reference. Both methods – explanation and understanding – can be applied to all these kinds of texts as parts of the process of interpretation, which is universal.

The method that will be used in this study is predominantly philosophical. Thus, while it frequently draws from such related disciplines as history, literary theory, aesthetics, and methodology of science, the primary focus throughout this research remains philosophical.

This study will be of interest to humanities and social science researchers, as well as to research in the field of science and philosophy of science, because it provides evidence that forms the groundwork upon which future knowledge can be developed. This research fills in many gaps in the current literature, as Paul Ricœur's idea of reference has not yet been sufficiently explored.

Paul Ricœur is widely recognized as one of the most distinguished philosophers of the twentieth century. He made a substantial impact on different fields of the humanities by writing on a broad range of issues such as philosophy, literary studies, linguistics, theology, and history. His books and articles that were published before 1960 were in the tradition of phenomenology. During the 1960s, he made a methodological shift in light of the conclusion that combining the insights of phenomenology and hermeneutics is necessary to study human reality. His hermeneutics and poetics, provide a relevant framework for thinking about

questions that concern the humanities and social sciences.

Ricœur develops his poetics in his Time and Narrative and The Rule of Metaphor. He analyzes Aristotle's Poetics as a capacity of building emplotment (la mise en intrigue). Ricœur builds his poetics by broadening Aristotle's idea of mythos (plot) and by introducing his idea of threefold mimesis. His work in this field constitutes a novel form of exploring human action and social life. His approach has been elucidated in his Freedom and Nature (1966); Freud and Philosophy (1967); The Symbolism of Evil (1967); The Conflict of Interpretations (1974); Time and Narrative (1984–1988); From Text to Action (1991a); and Oneself as Another (1992).

Several major methodological shifts can be seen in Ricœur's work in response to the changes in the intellectual sphere and contributed new perspectives on the topics that he was exploring. His thought reflects his response to the major debates of the twentieth century–the relation of faith and reason, freedom of the will, the problem of language, the question of personal identity, the problem of evil, the unconscious, the question of justice, narrativity, time, and various other topics.

Ricœur's first publications after World War ii were influenced by existentialism, as represented by Gabriel Marcel, Karl Jaspers, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Søren Kierkegaard. He was also influenced by his study of Edmund Husserl's 'idetic method,' which he had begun before World War ii. This research greatly inspired his Freedom and Nature. He also introduced Husserl to French philosophical circles; he translated Husserl's 1913 Ideen zu einer reinen phänomenologie und phänomenologischen philosophie to French (1950).

By 1960, Ricœur's philosophical method took a different course–he concluded that a proper study of the various topics with which he dealt required a combination of phenomenological description and hermeneutic interpretation. In particular, after his book The Symbolism of Evil, his approach can be characterized as 'hermeneutic phenomenology.'

Ricœur's interest in hermeneutics was inspired by his investigation of myths and symbols. According to him, our perception of reality and self-understanding are mediated by signs and symbols (1991e). From the 1960s, he played a significant role in introducing hermeneutic thinkers (Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm Dilthey, Hans-Georg Gadamer) to the French philosophical milieu. As an editor at Éditions du Seuil, he oversaw the publication of a French translation of Gadamer's 1960 Wahrheit und Methode (Truth and Method) (Davidson and Valée 2016, xii–xiii).

While he recognized the importance of Gadamer's work (whom he had met at a conference in 1957), Ricœur held different perspectives on some topics, such as the question of tradition. Unlike Gadamer, who emphasized the significance of the idea of legitimate prejudices that refers to the prejudices embedded in a context of a tradition that makes understanding possible, Ricœur presented a more dynamic conception of tradition, which he defined as "dialectics between innovation and sedimentation."

This hermeneutic turn enabled Ricœur to see broader implications of his previous thought and to respond to new perspectives, such as structuralism, which he perceived as a challenge to hermeneutics. In The Rule of Metaphor (2008), he describes various other theories of metaphor, and he presents his own theory of metaphor. Charles E. Reagan writes in his biography of Ricœur:

> he contends that the loss of the literal meaning in a metaphor opens the linguistic reference to a new way of describing the world and our experience. In short, if a metaphor destroys the possibility of a literal meaning, it also destroys the possibility of a referent for the sentence. But this creates the new referent, a new world of the text.

Ricœur's The Conflict of Interpretations, first published in 1969, reflects further implications of hermeneutics to structuralism, psychoanalysis, and various other perspectives. The work also explains the transformation of his phenomenological approach into hermeneutic phenomenology. His collection of articles on hermeneutics, entitled From Text to Action, shows that his hermeneutics moves from the field of text to the field of action. Speaking of this work, Reagan says:

Ricœur's article, 'The Model of the Text : Meaningful Action Considered as a Text,' had a great effect on the social sciences in the US because it proposed to substitute a hermeneutic explanation of human behavior in place of the adherence to the 'scientific' explanations, based on physics or statistics models.

From the late 1970s through 1983, Ricœur worked on his three-volume Time and Narrative, which brought together philosophy, history, and literary theory from the perspective of threefold mimesis that connects the realm of text with the realm of life (action). In his later writings, Ricœur dealt with the questions of narrative identity, as evinced in Oneself as Another (1992), and ethics that applied to the individual and collective levels, elucidated in The Just (2000) and Memory, History, Forgetting (2004).

Ricœur's ideas are linked to the crucial questions of twentieth century philosophy, and his intellectual work is a productive dialogue with a number of philosophers: Aristotle, Augustine, Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Hegel, Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Husserl, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Martin Heidegger, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and many others. This study investigates Ricœur's studies focused on the text, which is viewed as a paradigm for addressing different problems–historical, scientific, ethical, and philosophical. According to Ricœur, the self can also be understood as the model of the text. He claims, "there is no self-understanding that is not mediated by signs, symbols, and texts, in the last resort understanding coincides with the interpretation given to these mediating terms" (1991b, 15). In Oneself as Another (1992), he ties the understanding of one's own self to narrative configuration. For instance, authors and readers make sense of various elements of literary texts by employing configuration. Ricœur discusses the narrativity of a person's life based on configuration (this subject is explained in Chapter One of this volume).

This book will explore how Ricœur's work is relevant to literary studies, art theory, philosophy of science, and history. Ricœur does not limit the identity of the narrative text to the text's autonomy with respect to its author's intention, its historical and social context, and its original audience. He found the identity of the narrative text in the interaction between the world of the text and the world of the reader. According to Ricœur, the ability of the text to transform human experience occurs in the act of reading. He understands the world of the text as the realm of possibility–a horizon of possible experiences and insights. The question of reference is just one aspect of his investigation into the world of the text. His idea of the dynamic nature of the identity of the text bridges the gap between the world of the text and the world of the reader. One of the central questions of Ricœur's hermeneutics is the relation between sense and reference. For him, the sense and reference of a narrative are produced by the integration of the world of the text with the world of the reader. The act of reading includes the ability of a narrative to transform the readers' experience.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the importance of Ricœur's hermeneutics and poetics in rethinking the humanities. His insights on reference as refiguration and his idea of interpretation as a triadic process (mimesis 1: prefiguration; mimesis 2: configuration; and mimesis 3: refiguration) will be applied to the philosophy of science and literary and historical texts. I will show that Ricœur's idea of emplotment can be extended and applied to scientific, literary, and historical texts. This multidisciplinary research will include philosophy of science, metaphysics, hermeneutics, and literary theory. In particular, this study aims at outlining Ricœur's conception of truth, which could also be perceived not only as reference, but as a non-reference. This perspective is one of the main contributions of his hermeneutical studies after the 1960s. Todd Mei argues:

> While there were several moments throughout his career when Ricœur devotes attention to the problem of truth–for example, in History and Truth, his conception of manifestation in his biblical hermeneutics, and when discussing convictions and non-epistemological beliefs in Oneself as Another–a more unified theory is never formulated. This can be seen as a somewhat odd omission given the emphasis he places on a herme-neutical form of reasoning.

However, this is not an omission, as a hermeneutician is never satisfied with making a final statement, but is always aiming at constant reinterpretation. This is why Ricœur did not formulate his conception of truth.

This book presents an aspect of Ricœur's account of truth that can address both the social and natural sciences. This is truth as a non-reference, which will be presented in Chapter One of this volume. This account of truth is open for various reinterpretations, as it is tied to the dialectics between sense and reference and the threefold structure of events (mimesis 1, mimesis 2, and mimesis 3).

Ricœur developed three separate models for these events in meaning: the symbol, the text, and translation. These are models in meaning that Ricœur developed in relation to the human sciences, though he always maintained that a similar approach might be possible with the natural sciences. Events in meaning for him are found by engaging with the sciences, by going through them, rather than by 'digging under' them.

This study brings together various disciplines such as hermeneutics, literary theory, philosophy of science, and aesthetics to reflect on the issue of reference and narrative knowing from the perspective of Ricœur's hermeneutics.

It also introduces a new perspective on the field of hermeneutics and Ricœur studies. Various significant studies on Ricœur's thought have been done in the past, but they are not dedicated to his idea of reference as refiguration, which is relevant for both human and natural sciences. In Ricœur across Disciplines (Davidson 2010), Ricœur's hermeneutics is applied to a variety of disciplines, such as theology, history, law, political theory, rhetorical theory, gender studies, psychoanalysis, and musicology. But that work does not sufficiently explore the significance of Ricœur's hermeneutics for the philosophy of science and art theory. The same can be argued for On Paul Ricœur: Narrative and Interpretation (Wood 1991). Recent publications on Ricœur studies, such as Alison Scott-Baumann's Ricœur and the Negation of Happiness (2013) and Hermeneutics and Phenomenology in Paul Ricœur: Between Text and Phenomenon (Davidson and Valée 2016), also neglect the topic of the further implications of Ricœur's hermeneutics and his idea of reference.

In his essay, "Paul Ricœur and the Hermeneutic Imagination" (1988), Richard Kearney analyzes the significance of productive imagination. However, Kearney does not inquire how Ricœur's idea of productive imagination can be applied to various fields of study. There are many studies (for instance, Dowling, 2011; Hall, 2007; Becanovic-Nikolic, 1998) that deal with Ricœur's narrative theory. However, these authors do not consider the wider implications of Ricœur's work for other disciplines, such as philosophy of science and science in general.

The vast majority of secondary literature published in the past years is focused on Ricœur's ethics and studies on theology; for example, Verheyden, Hettema, and Vandecasteele, 2011; Huskey, 2009; Uggla, 2010; Blundell, 2010]. Many studies have been published that deal with Ricœur's idea of 'cogito' (Wiercinski, 2003; Venema, 2000; Jervolino, 1990; Rasmussen, 1995). The most number of works that analyze Ricœur's conception of narrative and reference are on literary studies and hermeneutics (Amdal, 2001; Ghasemi, Taghinejad, Kabiri, and Imani, 2011; Ihde, 1971). However, these studies do not sufficiently explore the significance of Ricœur's account of narrative and reference to the philosophy of science, history, and literary theory. While much attention has been paid to analyzing and applying Ricœur's hermeneutics, no mature and comprehensive study of his conception of reference has yet been undertaken.

Chapter One presents truth as non-reference, which has been analyzed by Ricœur, who contends that there can be no truth beyond possible verification according to the positivist approach to truth and reality and that all verification is linked to the domain of facts. According to a scientific approach, literary fictional texts do not designate (refer), as they do not give information about facts and existing objects. Instead, he argues that literary texts speak about the world, but in a descriptive way, explaining that non-ostensive references point to possible worlds. He also holds that reference is opened by the text. The text projects the world

outside itself (the fictive world). Subsequently, to understand the text means to extend one's experience and one's picture of the world through the comprehension of those imaginative possibilities created by the text. 'Non-referring' concepts of rejected scientific theories and historical texts can be compared with non-referring concepts in literary texts. As their reference is opened by interpretation, they enlarge one's experience and reality. Ricœur's idea of reference is significant for the humanities as well because it broadens their focus.

In Chapter Two, I show that philosophers of science often neglect the hermeneutic aspects of reference. The notions of reference that realists and antirealists employ are too narrow, and they do not embrace the refigurative aspect of reference (and non-reference). Both realist and anti-realist conceptions of reference only consider the epistemological, ontological, semantic, pragmatic, and methodological aspects of reference. For instance, realist and anti-realist ontological conceptions of reference deal with ontological aspects in the narrowest sense. For a realist, when a term refers successfully, the object to which it refers exists. Nevertheless, when a theoretical term fails to refer, this is because the object of reference does not exist. This point of view is considered as an ontological aspect of reference. Both realists and anti-realists neglect the symbolic and philosophical dimension of reference, which has been emphasized by Heidegger (1996), Husserl (1977), Kockelmans (1972), and Ricœur (1977a). However, there are still the hermeneutic aspects of reference that realists and anti-realists do not take into account. Both realist and anti-realist philosophers do not include the idea of 'truth as non-reference' in their debates about the success of scientific theories whose central terms are non-referential.

Chapter Three reflects on how Ricœur's concept of reference can be applied to theories of scientific realism and how it can explain the success of theories whose central terms are non-referential. The non-referring concepts in the theories of scientific realism can be compared to non-referring concepts in fictional narratives and historical texts. Non-referring concepts (useful fictions and metaphors, ideal types, hypothetical constructs) are also part of accepted scientific theories. However, this study deals with non-referring concepts of rejected scientific theories and concepts that were perceived as referential (for instance, 'phlogiston') before it was proven that they are non-existent and non-referential.

Ricœur's idea of interpretation is explored in Chapter Four. His theory of interpretation includes the close connection between the text and the reader. This engagement is a process of redescribing the world. His theory of interpretation includes both explanation and its analytic power, and the unitary power of understanding. Consequently, all texts, not only scientific ones but historical and fictional, have both sense and reference. In the following chapters, it will be argued that the question of 'sense' adheres to the domain of explanation, while the question of 'reference' adheres to the domain of understanding. Chapter Four argues that Ricœur's conception of interpretation employed in his narrative theory embraces the dialectics between explanation (which he equates with mythos–emplotment) and heuristic fiction (which he links to the problem of sense) and understanding (which he equates with mimesis and redescription and the problem of reference). Ricœur's theory of interpretation unifies theory and praxis, method and life, science and human action. His theory of interpretation can not only be applied to narratives, but also to scientific theories. Both methods, explanation and understanding, can be applied to all these kinds of texts as parts of the process of interpretation, which is universal and omnipresent.

Ricœur's concept of hermeneutic interpretation embraces the dialectics between explanation and understanding. Dilthey (1996) distinguished between the method employed in the natural sciences, on the one hand, and humanities, on the other. According to Dilthey, explanation is the fundamental method used in the natural sciences, while understanding is the primary method employed in the human sciences. He argues that a scientist explains a particular event using causal relations, whereas a historian attempts to understand the meaning of a particular event.

Ricœur's idea of hermeneutic interpretation (based on the dialectics between explanation and understanding) unifies natural sciences and humanities. In "What is a Text? Explanation and Understanding" (1981b), Ricœur states that the terms 'explanation' and 'understanding' have undergone palpable changes. Explanation is no longer taken from the natural sciences, but also from the linguistic model. In contemporary hermeneutics, understanding has suffered alternations that estranged it from the psychological term 'comprehension' as used by Dilthey's.

In advocating the complementary characteristics of explanation and understanding, Ricœur argues that explanation cannot only be ascribed to the natural sciences and excluded from the humanities, giving an example of the myth that can be explained through structural analysis. However, this does not mean that we have interpreted it or understood it (Ibid.). Claude Lévi-Strauss (1976) divides the myth into its basic units, which he names 'mythemes.' Nevertheless, these basic units are parts of the sentences that bear meaning and thus require understanding. On the other hand, understanding should not be ascribed solely to the humanities and excluded entirely from the natural sciences.

Ricœur ties the problems of explanation to the domain of sense and the problems of interpretation to the domain of reference. He also connects mythos to the dimension of sense and mimesis to the dimension of reference. For instance, Ricœur argues that tragedy in the context of Aristotle's Poetics has both sense and reference (1974, 108). The sense of tragedy is constituted by plot (mythos). He understands the mythos of tragedy as its sense, because of its organization. The basic characteristics of Aristotelian mythos are unity and coherence. Aristotelian tragedy aims at imitating human action, which, according to Ricœur, builds the reference of the work. In this way, the Aristotelian concept of mimesis is linked to the dimension of reference. But, as Ricœur emphasizes, Aristotelian mimesis "does not mean duplication of reality; mimesis is poiesis, that is, fabrication, construction, creation" (1974, 109). According to Ricœur, mimesis represents the non-ostensive reference of literary work. He says, "by linking fiction and redescription in this way, we restore the full depth of meaning to Aristotle's discovery in the Poetics, which was that the poiesis of language arises out of the connection between mythos and mimesis" (1977a, 5–6). A poetic work, through its mythos, redescribes the world. In order to show how the works of art redescribe the world, he very closely links fiction (mythos) and redescription (mimesis).

Chapter Four also explores the implications of Ricœur's narrative theory to scientific, historical, and literary texts. I will affirm that all these texts embrace a configuration (mimesis 2) based on the productive imagination that represents a sudden insight that produces new logical kinds and new plots, which are based on the 'synthesis of the heterogeneous.' Scientific theories can also be regarded as a 'synthesis of the heterogeneous' (which is one of Ricœur's definitions of emplotment) because they combine diverse facts, observed phenomena, hypotheses, and laws. Therefore, the nature of science is also narrative.

Chapter Five investigates the possibility of the death of the narrative paradigm from the perspective of Ricœur's narrative theory. The postmodern era rejects grand narratives, and all kinds of narrative unifications of events and knowledge. The concept of 'grand narrative' (i.e., 'metanarrative') was introduced by Jean François Lyotard (1979/1984). It is a term often used by postmodernist authors, and is thought to be a comprehensive explanation of historical, social, political, scientific, or any other kind of knowledge or experience. Grand narrative is a totalizing explanation of events and concepts, which unifies them into a whole. Postmodernist authors apply this concept in order to point out unifications that justify various power structures. From the postmodernist perspective, science, religion and different political theories can all be viewed as grand narratives. Lyotard describes the 'postmodern condition' as skepticism toward all kinds of totalizing and unifying narratives that aim at absolute truth. Grand narratives tend to ignore heterogeneity and to render the whole human experience uniform. Lyotard's vision of politics is based on different 'language games,' and it implies the idea of pluralist truth. Language games construct different truths, as embedded in different contexts.

Postmodernists advocate pluralism of truths, discontinuity, and fragmentation. They transcend grand narratives by focusing on the diversity of human experience and specific local contexts. The entire postmodernist project aims at liberating various social groups, cultures, and identities from the terror of totalizing metanarratives. The fall of grand narratives led to the emergence of the postmodern fragmentary and shifting notion of identity.

According to Ricœur, the nature of entire human experience is narrative, and therefore narrative paradigm cannot die. In the second volume of Time and Narrative, he examines whether an order or a system of paradigms can be identified in the history of literature. He believes that such an order would not be an atemporal simulacrum that results from the theoretical assumptions of the structuralist narratology (Becanovic-Nikolic 1998, 76). On the contrary, he argues for the interweaving of the history of literature, or literary tradition, and narrative understanding. According to Ricœur, the theory of literature is not founded on a contingent set of literary artifacts (Ibid.). He studies the logic of narration, which is neither non-historical nor ahistorical, but, as he puts it, 'transhistorical' in the sense of cumulative and non-sequential order (Ibid., 77). He asserts that it is impossible for every configuration or innovation to arise fortuitously. They must always arise from, or in relation to, the existing paradigm, as long as it is configurative; i.e., as long as it has form and expression. Accordingly, there is only a hypothetical or rhetorical possibility for the narrative paradigm to die–it will survive in the number of continued transformations.

Chapter Six elucidates the idea of truth as non-reference in literature; for example, Mikhail Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita (1967/1997) and Jorge Luis Borges's "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" (1940/1962). Bulgakov's novel shows how history and fiction intertwine and that a sharp distinction between the real and unreal cannot be made–symbolic systems constitute and revise reality. According to Ricœur, the writer of fiction takes into account metaphysical possibilities, which are often neglected by conventional science and philosophy (1988). On the other hand, "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" exemplifies how non-existent concepts can shape and refigure reality and shows how ideas and collective imagination make reality:

> The story involves a discovery that secret groups have conspired to imagine a non-existent country and a non-existent planet and to write about them as they were actually real. These conspirators ... also attempt to insert their creations into reality by covertly distributing meticulous and ostensibly factual histories of the country of Uqbar and the planet Tlön among private and public libraries. The eventual result is that Tlön, the product of a secret group of imaginers called Orbis Tertius, enters the popular imagination, and aspects of that fictional world became real in this world. The idealist philosophers of Tlön are adopted and artifacts from the imagined world, made of materials never before seen, begin appearing in this one. Ideas became reality... .

In Borges's story, the mythology of Tlön as created by Orbis Tertius conspirators and embroidered by the press, by academics, and by the popular imagination takes over and displaces the 'real history. <>

Democratic State and Democratic Society: Institutional Change in the Nordic Model edited by Fredrik Engelstad, Cathrine Holst, Gunnar C. Aakvaag, Managing Editor: Dominika Polkowska, Language Editor: Adam Leverton [De Guyter, 9783110634082] OPEN ACCESS
After the optimism following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world has seen more of a democratic backlash. But despite the backlashes, in some societies the stability of democracy does not seem to be threatened. Why is this so? One common answer points to civic culture, a shared feeling of responsibility for the common fate of citizens. An alternative, to be explored in this volume, is that the stability of democratic rule is anchored in its integration in the large set of social institutions with both direct and indirect relationship to politics. These are linked to, give input to and are affected by democratic processes. Where these relations are ubiquitous and strong, democracy is stable. At the same time, institutions are slowly but constantly changing. Hence, in order to understand changes in the functioning of democracy at the level of the

state, it is necessary to explore the changes in surrounding institutions and the way they shape a democratic society.
The empirical focus of the book is institutional change in the Nordic model, with special emphasis on Norway. There are many reasons to pay closer attention to the Nordic, and Norwegian, case when it comes to analyses of changes in the functioning of democracy. On a par with the other Scandinavian countries, Norway is in the forefront in the world in the quality of democratic governance, as well as social trust and quality of life. As an extreme case, the most corporatist society within the family of the "Nordic Model", Norwegian society offers an opportunity both for intriguing case studies and for challenging and refining existing theory on processes of institutional change.
From a theoretical perspective this invites reflections which, to some extent, are at odds with the dominant conceptions of institutional change. Neither models of path dependency nor models of aggregate, incremental change focus on the continuous social bargaining over institutional change. Despite recent processes of differentiation and liberalization, common to the Western world as a whole, corporatism implies a close connection between state, economy, public sphere, cultural life, and knowledge production. This also means that institutions are intimately bundled, in a stronger, subtler and more wide-reaching way than typically assumed in the literature on varieties of capitalism.
The volume draws on, but transcends, two prominent theoretical strands: the civil society perspective (a locus classicus being Cohen and Arato 1992), and the more recent work on well-functioning civil service as a precondition for good governance (Rothstein 2011) pointing out the "road to Denmark", (Fukuyama 2014). By embracing more social fields than these two approaches, the institutional approach opens a broader space for democratic reflection. Moreover, institutional-historical case studies situated within Nordic societies as a specific social structural framework, demonstrate the diversity of links between democracy and social life outside of politics in a narrow sense, such as:
Policies of citizenship as a limitation to democracy
Democracy in working life
Democracy and policies of gender relations
Expertise and democratic governance
Social elites – a threat to democracy?
Welfare state institutions as core elements in modern democracy
Institutional perspectives on the emergence of capitalism and democracy
A detailed outline of contents and contributors is attached. The book rests on and further develops the former two volumes on institutional change. The first volume is centered on corporatist institutions, with emphasis on negotiations by civil society actors in interplay with the state. Concentrated on the public sphere, the second volume sought to locate processes of social deliberation within the contexts of a public sphere that embraces not only the media, but also fields such as voluntary associations, the arts, and religion. This third volume synthesizes these contributions by bringing them explicitly into the realm of democracy, without mainly focusing on the political institutions as such, but on the surrounding infrastructure.

Excerpt: Democracy, Institutional Compatibility and Change by Fredrik Engelstad, Cathrine Holst, Gunnar C. Aakvaag

Can democracy ever be perfect, Robert Dahl (1971) famously asked, and his answer was negative. He suggested replacing the concept of democracy with that of polyarchy and thereby admitted that the most salient issue is not attaining a perfect social order but rather measuring and evaluating popular participation in social and political decision-making. Assuming that Dahl is right, at least for the foreseeable future, a pressing task is the improvement of democracy. Increasing the quality of democracy is of course a challenge that presents itself very differently according to traditions of governance and social development in various parts of the world. The present book tackles this question at a point where it in one sense is the most challenging, namely in the northwestern corner of the European continent. The aim is analytic insight, not to posit the Nordic countries as ideal. Despite their high rankings on various measures of successful democracy, democratic governance in these societies is far from perfect. There may be signs that the quality of democracy in the present-day world is more tilted towards future deterioration than towards increased citizen participation and social inclusion. Illiberal winds are gaining strength in Europe and its vicinities; voter turnout is generally in decline (IDEA, 2016). The slightly intriguing question that arises in this context, then, sets the focus on what kinds of improvements could be feasible and relevant. Two possible answers have appeared in the last decades. One side calls for more direct democracy by replacing or supplementing existing forms of representative democracy. This may include participatory forms of local democracy at the municipal level or, alternatively, increased workplace democracy. In order to work, such reforms presuppose some sort of reconfiguration of existing political institutions. However, in well-established polities it is a demanding task to change political institutions that already enjoy a high degree of legitimacy. An alternative is to broaden the articulation of policy preferences by accepting and inviting popular voices, not only via traditional one-issue movements or interest organizations but by channels for closer contact between voters and politicians: regular meeting-places for politics and interest organizations, state support for the public sphere and local referenda around specific issues – on the internet or otherwise. All of these suggestions are interesting and relevant, but when tried out their effects have been somewhat limited up to now. Challenges to democracy may also be confronted from a different angle. The quality of democracy is not only dependent on the structures of the political institutions but also on the significance of democracy in the everyday life of citizens. This means that the quality of democracy is not only measured by voting, or by degrees of political participation, but also by links between democracy in the political sphere and other social institutions, such as workplaces, schools or health care institutions. By implication the perspective is broadened from ‘What is a democratic government?’ to ‘What is a democratic society?’, where a democratic society is a more encompassing notion than civil society organizations. Freedom is a core value of democracy, but the basic experiences of freedom for most citizens are located in these institutions and not only in political institutions. The leitmotif of the present book is how democracy shapes and is shaped by these other institutions and how they in turn are related to each other. The quality of democracy changes when these institutions are changing.

What Can a Democratic Society Be Like?

It has commonly been assumed that democracy was rapidly expanding after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall, while deterioration has taken place over the last two decades. Recent developments in Hungary, Poland, Turkey and Russia serve as illustrations, at least in the short run, of more illiberal forms of governance, varying in their distance to bogus democracy. Not that regular elections have been abolished, but they do

not live up to the requirement of being free and fair: oppositional politicians and groups are brought to silence, the power holders keep control over flows of information, electoral campaigns are biased or undermined by false information or elections are rigged. These challenges to the quality of democracy certainly call for great attention. At the same time, another question deserves to be raised: Given that free and fair elections are necessary conditions for democracy, are they also sufficient conditions?

One point for reflection is the case of India, the world's largest democracy, with more than 800 million prospective voters. Despite considerable logistical and organizational challenges, the formal aspects of elections are working admirably well. Serious irregularities or attempts at undermining elections are virtually non-existent; political institutions operate in accordance with general standards. Nevertheless, as a democratic society, India has serious deficiencies, leading the highly respected historian Ramachandra Guha (2008) to characterize it as a 50 per cent democracy. Why? The problem is not that of suppression of opposition; it is the inadequate basis for the majority of citizens to take part in democratic processes in a serious way. Education is very well organized for a minority but a catastrophe for the majority of poor people; the same is true for health services. While an elaborate set of employment regulations apply to less than ten percent of the workforce, the overwhelming majority of workers are deprived of virtually any rights at work. Likewise, the public sphere is a meeting place for the happy few who have the capacity to procure and process information necessary to participate in democratic processes.

The example illuminates the salience of institutions – for education, work, health, information – for the quality of democracy. In addition to the obvious requirement of standards of efficiency, this concerns their internal functioning: are they shaped in ways that recognize citizens as autonomous individuals? – as well as their relationship to politics: do they empower citizens and enable them to participate in society at large?

Alternative Views

A broad institutional conception of democracy stands in contrast to a recent, strong trend in political science, not least inspired by political developments over the last decade. Common to these is a focus on an assumed low competency among voters. The topic of 'civic literacy' among voters is not new (see Hesstvedt, this volume, for an overview); several recent contributions, however, are characterized by the more drastic underlying assumption that voters to a large degree are non-rational.

Based on a wide-ranging set of data and empirical studies, Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels conclude in Democracy for Realists (2016) that voters basically do not vote for parties that represent the best policies according to their own interests. On the average, the electorate is ill-informed about party programmes as well as the outcomes of their politics when in power. Voters choose their party for other reasons. Even if the distance between voters' interests and the policies of their preferred parties is glaring, they continue supporting their 'own' party. Hence, Achen and Bartels argue for the salience of party loyalty and identity politics; there is a strong tendency for people to vote for the party that people like themselves vote for. Thus, institutions and citizens' relationship to institutions are really of minor importance in this analysis. Group membership and group recognition is what counts in electoral processes.

Another, more philosophical, version of the ignorant voter approach is Jason Brennan's Against Democracy (2016). Brennan's main concern is the alleged unfairness that uninformed voters are accorded the power to impose unfortunate, 'wrong' decisions on other people, such as by voting for an incompetent person as president. In one sense Brennan is opposed to politics in general; it generates strife, and for most people life is better without it. More moderate tenets are those of selecting out potential voters who are deemed unsuited for participation in political decisions, leaving politics to those who understand what it is about, and his idea of letting experts rule, while sidestepping the question of how expertise must be institutionalized and held accountable to minimize expert biases and mistakes. Brennan thus exemplifies a broader tendency in much normative political theory to overlook institutional prerequisites and how institutions work.

A third contribution leaning to the dystopian side is Jan Werner Müller's study What is Populism? (2016). He depicts the rise of populist leaders that are strategically undermining democracy by making credible their own omnipotence to ignorant voters. Not that leaders appear as dictators; on the contrary, they are running for election. In principle they are siding with the people against elites; they represent the true interests and desires of the people. This goes together with anti-pluralism,

regarding 'elites', experts and quarrelsome oppositional politicians as the roots of a present mess that needs to be tidied up. Only the selected leader is able to do that.

Even though these three contributions have voters' ignorance as a common theme, they differ in their diagnoses and conclusions. Brennan is exceptionally outspoken; his ambition is to replace democracy with what he assumes a better form of government, namely what he refers to as epistocracy, governance by the best-informed. Achen and Bartels and Müller lament the present situation of democracy but see ways to improvement; Müller stresses the role of a pluralist civil society. Achen and Bartels assume that diminishing social inequality is a means to increase the level of information among voters and thereby the quality of democracy.

Yet, they all fail to fully recognize the importance of social institutions, albeit for different reasons. InMüller's perspective, political institutions are generally too weak to counter attempts at neutralization by charismatic leaders, whereas social institutions are obstructed. In Achen and Bartels' model, institutions are basically replaced by group identity. Brennan has no clear view on institutions, something that becomes problematic in regard to his idea of excluding large groups from political influence while keeping intact a well-functioning society.

Not so recent, but still holding a vital position in the literature, are works which indicate the salience of institutions to democracy in ways more directly relevant to the present book. A highly influential contribution is Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work (1993) on the conditions for democracy in the former city-states of Northern Italy. The point of departure is the building of reciprocal trust among citizens. This takes place by their participation in several organizations, which in their main orientation are non-political – anything from associations for bird-watching to chambers of commerce. Crucial is the high prevalence of such associations and their overlapping character. By participating in several associations, each citizen gets to know a wide variety of people, while at the same time many take part in organizations composed of several kinds of people. Out of these networks emerges trust across groups; in the next round it opens up for a generalized trust, which is a precondition for setting up democratic institutions by channelling conflict into frameworks that are possible to handle.

Putnam's bottom-up conception has been challenged by Bo Rothstein (2004), taking Sweden as his point of departure, and later by Francis Fukuyama (2014), recommending the 'road to Denmark'. Both underscore the importance of a stable and well-functioning bureaucracy for the maintenance of social trust and thus for the quality of democracy. Fukuyama directs attention to the political process. If civil service becomes too malleable for politicians, as in the US' replacement of top bureaucrats by incoming presidents, the frameworks for politics become unstable, and the long term result is political decay. Rothstein's model is more comprehensive. It includes the interplay between citizens and bureaucratic, public organizations, whether civil service, health care or fire brigades. Trust among citizens is dependent on citizens' trust in the state and in public agencies. Only if there is a common expectation that rules will be enforced for everyone does each individual expect others to live up to common norms (Rothstein, 2004). Recently this proposal has been linked to discussions on so-called epistemic democracy: Democracy should be institutionalized in ways that ensure citizens' inclusion and mutual respect but also include 'truth-sensitive' decisions – good democratic governance scores high on participatory and ethical but also epistemic dimensions, or what Rothstein has termed 'quality of government'.

John Higley and Michael Burton take as their point of departure the uneasy relationship between elites and democracy. Based on a broad historical survey they argue that a necessary condition for the emergence of democracy is a compromise between elite groups, channelling conflict between powerful groups into a situation where they 'agree to disagree'. The institutionalization of conflict and conflict resolution is further developed by differentiation processes leading up to modern societies characterized by a broad set of large organizations in various social spheres. The top leaders in the variety of large organizations form more or less integrated elite groups.

There is a certain overlap between Putnam's democracy model and that of Higley and Burton. In both cases, the development of democracy rests on a common understanding between groups that are sufficiently powerful to develop a sort of constitution. The main difference lies in the nature of the initial situation – in the former case common interests realized by criss-crossing memberships and in the latter by mitigation of conflict. In both cases, institutions are implicitly accorded a central

role, but the shape of political arrangements emerging from such types of citizen interaction is quite unspecified. They may take a democratic form, but in no way need to do so, to which the long term aristocratic republicanism of the Northern Italian city-states bears witness. The fragility of the social capital model is also demonstrated in Putnam's later works on civil society and democracy in the United States. Similarly, efficient bureaucracies and quality of government do not in themselves ensure democracy. A main point in Rothstein and Fukuyama is also that democratic governance emerges through long-term historical processes.

Broadening Focus on Democracy

If institutional aspects are present in the works cited above, the aim of the present book is to broaden the field to social institutions in a general sense. Before going into a more wide-ranging discussion of social institutions, the modes of interaction located in between those and political institutions are surveyed. This concerns who democracy is for, the kinds of citizen resources and rights and frameworks for interaction between them.

The demos, the who of democracy, obviously does not automatically consist of the total population in a society. Michael Walzer underscores that it is constituted via inclusion by those who already are posited as citizens, by 'the decisions they make in the present about their present and future populations'. A decisive thread in the history of democracy is the story of the integration of subjects into citizenship (Aakvaag, 2017; Engelstad, this volume, Ch. 17): property-less men, slaves and former slaves, peasants, workers, women and cultural minorities. As long as voters have to prove that they are qualified to vote, as has happened to many of them, contestations will go on. Further debates are turning around the question of minimum age for the franchise – during the last century diminished in many countries from 25 years in some cases even down to 16 years. The inclusion of immigrants is another controversial field (Olsen, this volume). The processes of inclusion may take the form of socialization, formally for immigrants (ibid.) or informally through others parts of the institutional landscape. Children and adolescents, as crucial parts of the population, will in time acquire full membership in the demos, whereas others remain in a hybrid position as 'denizens', who nevertheless may hold rather wide democratic rights, such as voting in local elections or various types of social rights. At any rate, the demos as a primordial democratic institution is upheld in a dynamic balance between too sloppy and too rigid boundaries.

Democracy may also be extended by the broadening of social and political rights. During the decades following T.H. Marshall's classical distinction between civic, political and social rights, human rights have been strongly consolidated. This has partly led to increased recognition of the elements in Marshall's taxonomy, partly also to their reinforcement. A significant example of the latter from Norwegian society is the strengthening of the freedom of expression, both by constitutional reform laying a special obligation on the state to secure optimal conditions for public deliberation and by transfer to other institutional spheres, such as working life. A relatively recent development is linked to the emergence of a full-scale welfare state in large parts of the Western world; the rights of patients, and socially needy citizens. At the same time, important rights are not included in Marshall's typology. A much debated topic is that of cultural rights; one salient question being who is the bearer of such rights, groups or individuals? In parallel, what are the rights of parents to bring up their children within the cultural frames of their special preferences? Other topics not touched upon by Marshall are consumer rights and employee rights in employment relations. In part, employee rights are related to the general citizen rights that are not to be annulled within the confines of employment; here there are demanding balances between loyalty to the employer and the civic rights of employees.

Political rights are, however, of limited value if citizens are lacking sufficient political knowledge and competence. Modern societies are complex and specialized and depend on a cognitive division of labour. This results inevitably in a reliance on expertise and the need to integrate different groups of experts in political processes to ensure rational decision-making. Yet, a competent citizenry is essential to hold experts to account, and a central empirical result is that inequalities in political competence among citizens are closely correlated with other forms of social inequality (Hesstvedt, this volume). Hence, the quality of democracy not only hinges on institutional factors in politics, such as voting systems, but in addition on the general distribution of social resources for the involvement of citizens in other social fields, such as culture, working life or voluntary organizations. Outside the Western world, new initiatives for increasing political involvement, particularly among less privileged social groups, have been

undertaken by developing reforms for popular involvement close to where important needs are felt. A much-discussed example is the introduction of participative budgeting at the municipal level in Brazil. Such initiatives have been transferred to the most developed parts of the world, even to Scandinavia. At present, experience indicates that the effects of such initiatives become relatively modest when they are introduced into political systems with a different mode of functioning (Legard, this volume).

A different bundle of factors broadening democracy concerns the channels between civil society and political institutions. In addition to voting rights, these concern the possibility to influence politics between elections. Allowing citizens to impact policies is desirable on normative grounds; open channels from voters to their representatives enable them to take better care of their own interests, whether of a personal nature, by lobbying on behalf of organizations, or more broadly by social movements (Mjøset, this volume). But it can also be important for social efficiency and decision quality. Open channels to power positions ensure the flow of ideas important for improving productivity and policy. Close contacts both with experts and interest groups are essential for the functioning of a modern government. This may be established by flows of information through a wide range of media or by temporary or permanent committees appointed to expound complex social and political problems.

These considerations point to the significance of the public sphere in a more general sense. The public sphere may be seen as a constellation of five institutional fields: media, arts and culture, research, voluntary organizations and religion (Engelstad et al., 2017). What they have in common is freedom of expression as a crucial precondition for their optimal functioning. Prominent discussions of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989; Alexander, 2006) tend to view it as basically anchored in initiatives among citizens. However, all of the fields sketched here are to some degree dependent on public policies, whether regulating or securing their economic viability, guaranteeing some kind of infrastructure, or even state subventions (Benson, 2009; Larsen, 2017; Furseth, 2017). The interplay between the state and the public sphere opens a wide range of compromises, and even state control, be it by means of formal regulations or conditions for economic support. An ideal would be a combination of a strong state issuing efficient guarantees for a well-functioning public sphere; but in the real world, this combination is rather uncommon. Effective freedom of expression is also dependent on the deliberative qualities of public discourse – reciprocal tolerance for a broad span of opinions. Counteracting bullying in the public sphere is basically the responsibility of the participants in it.

Taken together, rights and the competencies to make use of those rights are crucial elements in the freedom of citizens in a democratic society. Freedom must be taken in the double sense of negative and positive freedom – on one hand the absence of impediments to free action and on the other the accessibility to resources necessary to perform given actions (Aakvaag, this volume). Neither negative nor positive freedom can be realized without considerable social restrictions. This means that freedom in this double sense is constantly at play as it depends upon a negotiable balance between negative and positive liberties related to the restrictions and opportunities created by institutions.

Institutions in Modern Societies

The idea of basic social institutions originated in the sociology of the late 19th century. Emile Durkheim (1978) distinguished sixmain types of institutions, orbetter, institutional spheres common to all societies: religious, political, moral, juridical, economic and aesthetic. Since the advent of modern society and the subsequent processes of social differentiation, these broad categories have necessarily been further specified. What can count as a basic set of institutions in modern societies like the Nordic ones is not given but rather depends on the level of analysis; institutions have some similarity with Chinese boxes, inside one there are other, more specialized ones. But delimiting a fairly limited group of major institutions with particular characteristics is still possible on the basis of specificities of activities, role patterns and power structures.

The theory of social differentiation assumes that social fields are differentiated out, mostly by processes of fission, and acquire specific modes of functioning (Alexander & Colomy, 1990). This implies specific activities, internal norms, criteria of success and modes of recruitment into the institution. Among social institutions, politics is in a special position because it has its focus on citizenry as a whole, by legislation, the distribution of rights, taxation and welfare services and infrastructure. At the same time, politics is the field for handling large-scale social reform, renewal and change. Yet the other social institutions cannot be reduced to

politics because they produce goods that cannot be acquired by political means. Accordingly, politics does not exert full control over society. In this sense, the idea of society without a centre, understood as an institutional structure constituting a 'unity expressed by the forms of system differentiation' (Luhmann, 1990, p. 423), becomes meaningful. A further inference, elaborated by Michael Mann (1986), is that social fields vary greatly in their physical and social extension. As an example, legitimate political power is limited to the territoriality of a state, such as Norway; whereas the Norwegian economy reaches out to much of the world, and Norwegian culture is shaped by impulses from other parts of the world. By implication, societies are not 'systems' in any strong sense, and certainly not closed systems, but are better understood as constellations kept together by the interaction of governance and institutional interdependence.

To the degree that societies are delimited by politics and political legitimacy, it also makes sense to describe them in terms of configurations of institutions. Despite differences in extension, social institutions have common elements in their varying relationships to and dependence on the state. In the following, what may be regarded as the basic institutions in modern society emerged by combining three works elaborated independently of each other: (i) A recent conceptualization of a 'canon of function systems' inspired by Luhmann. The authors makes a critical survey of a large number of attempts to single out core function systems in modern society and end up with a list of ten specific social subsystems. (ii) A study of power elites in Norwegian society at the beginning of the 2000s intended to reveal similarities and differences between sector elites and thus the mode of integration of social power. (iii) A general discussion of theory of modern society with the specific aim of setting up an inventory of basic institutions in a modern society like those in Norway. This contribution is also informed by Niklas Luhmann and especially by his final work – however, not with the aim to develop further the concept of function systems but to reconceptualize it as a stepping stone for delimiting a set of basic institutions. A striking aspect of the institutions listed is the high degree of overlap between the three works despite their different approaches. Only the work by Gulbrandsen et al. focuses on the salience of power, pointed out by Mahoney and Thelen (2010) as a crucial aspect of institutions. And despite common inspiration from Luhmann, the function system aimed by Roth and Schütz speaks to a theoretical strand quite different from that of Aakvaag. The aim here is not an ex ante theory of communication, as in Luhmann, but an empirically based conception of production and power. A crucial point which is absent in Luhmanian theory is that institutions have normative components.

The institutions differ from each other in terms of the main 'goods' they produce. Therefore they differ in their criteria of quality in production as well as their internal norms guiding the production along with their arrangements for internal normative regulation. Even though institutions have their specific tasks and aims, they are interconnected in several ways. This is conceptualized by Hall and Soskice (2001) in their discussion of institutional complementarities, contributing to the stability of their constellation. As conceived by Hall and Soskice, it was used to distinguish institutional constellations across societies. However, it also makes sense to distinguish bundles of complementary institutions within a given society, such as between institutions in the economic, political, cultural and community/socialization spheres, much along the same lines as the AGIL scheme drawn up by Parsons (1967a) and the classification of four power networks by Mann (1986). At the same time, the dynamic character that Parsons (1967b) ascribed to his general typology should be noted: continuous interaction is going on between them. This is true as well for the basic institutions; interaction is taking place within each bundle as well as across the borders between them.

Given that specific institutions are built around specific 'goods', recruitment processes and success criteria, what is it that prevents them from falling apart, creating social chaos? Given that institutions are constantly, if mostly slowly and unevenly, in change, tensions between them are unavoidable. If they nevertheless are kept together, it is because single institutional fields are interdependent. Moreover, they are manned by large numbers of individuals, who necessarily act within several institutions at the same time: as employees, mothers, patients, and activists in voluntary organizations, to name a few. Minimal compatibility between these roles is necessary for individuals to be able to cope with them. In addition is the relationship of institutions to the state, which also necessitates compatibility with state government, directly or indirectly.

Accordingly, institutions in the state sector, also outside purely political bodies, contain salient

democratic elements both as concerns individual autonomy and collective decision-making. Among these elements are the defining characteristics of the institutions by the state; citizens' rights are issued by democratic bodies, which directly or indirectly cover all other social fields. This is equally true for bureaucratic regulation and control. Moreover, the monopoly of state institutions on physical violence is a precondition for political equality.

In the economic sphere democratic elements are located in the citizen's right to enter into contracts, and thereby bargaining relations, whether over goods, services or labour power, and in this context the right to association as well. Salient democratic features in the economy are also the protection of employees in labour relations along with their potential for the development of skills and competencies at work and accordingly their influence on decisions in the enterprise.

Common to the group of integrative institutions, from science to sports, is their close links to the freedom of expression. This leads to access to information necessary to make rational judgements, to form opinions on socio-political problems and aesthetic- and value-based questions as well as transcendental beliefs. As part of the public domain, sports function as a learning arena for a combination of competition and common rules, representing – like democratic politics – an agreement to disagree.

The fourth category, socialization, is no less linked to democracy: families constitute the foundations for the formation of autonomous individuals in the primary upbringing; these are carried on and generalized by educational institutions. Health care institutions maintain and if possible reconstitute the capacity of citizens to act as responsible individuals.

Even though there is considerable variation between societies in the extension and mode of the regulation of institutions, in no modern democratic societies are links to politics absent. Some institutions are related to political processes, such as the media, while the organization of the welfare state and basic education are subservient to politics. The economy and the markets are objects of political regulations, but this is often true also for sports or religion, as is the case of the Nordic model. Nevertheless, all these institutions enjoy considerable autonomy vis-à-vis politics. Without a certain degree of autonomy, institutions would stall and become subordinate to politics or to other institutions. In large parts of the world, voluntary organizations are closely controlled by the state or by political parties. In the Nordic societies, in contrast, even though voluntary organizations to a large extent are subsidized by the state, it is not to make them conform to given policies but to secure civil society commitment and open public debate (Engelstad et al., 2017). This degree of autonomy also presupposes the existence of formal or informal codes of conduct, regulated and handled within the institution itself. In this regard institutions may function as fields for professional intervention.

Institutions in Change

Despite their relative inertia, institutions are dynamic, in continuous change. One set of driving forces is found in the changes in the mode of functioning internal to a given institution. Three main types of change have been explored in the literature. (i) the theory of path dependency (Pierson, 2004) focuses on sudden ruptures of given developmental patterns serving as turning points for the development of new policies.

The timing and sequences of opportunities determine further changes. (ii) Theories of aggregate effects emphasize the long-term results of many separate actions, to a large extent emerging as unintended consequences. This does not preclude the salience of power relations for outcomes. (iii) Finally, political ideology decisively influences the shaping and changing of institutions due to long-term power games over the form of institutions. These theories are not incompatible but rather complementary; to a large extent they respectively refer to situations of crises and ruptures, long-term more or less unintended changes and political reform processes.

In addition to changes going on in one institution at a time, institutions are changed indirectly by their interaction with other institutions. In the sociological literature we find many different theories of such inter-institutional processes of institutional change. One cluster of decentred models assumes that institutions may change without overall coordination. For instance, Niklas Luhmann (2013) points out that due to the complexity and heterogeneity of institutions in functionally differentiated modern societies, no institution – not even politics – can monitor and regulate the others. However, according to Luhmann, institutions act as environments for each other and subsequently change as they mutually adapt to each other. Another version of decentred models is market-based models, which emphasize how the 'invisible hand' of the unintended aggregate consequences of economic and social transactions instigate

changes across institutions as organizations and individuals in one institutional field (such as the economy or media) adapt to changes in other fields (such as politics or religion) (North, 1990). Their obvious relevance for understanding change in any institutionally differentiated and complex capitalist modern society notwithstanding, decentred models fail to capture the significant amount of centralized coordination taking place in modern and, in particular, the 'coordinated' Nordic societies (Hagen, 2000). In part this follows from a disregard of social action. Other types of models emphasize how institutional change follows from different forms of centred coordination across institutions, such as the democratic power circuit (Aakvaag, this volume), elite compromises (Gulbrandsen, this volume; Engelstad, this volume, Ch. 17) and interactions between elites and social movements (Mjøset, this volume).

What decentred and centred models have in common is that change in one institution has potentially great significance for other institutions. The precise mechanisms through which such inter-institutional change takes place, such as institutional spill-over or the adaptation of given elements in one institution to changes in external institutional environments, are laid out in more detail in the Afterword to this volume, with a special emphasis on processes of democratization and the central role of the state.

Aspects of the Nordic Model

Updated overviews of Nordic politics and society are easily accessible. Readers can choose between several first-class outlines: related to political institutions, the relationship of the Nordic countries to Europeanization, the significance of social democracy , tripartite relations in the interplay of politics and the economy or a more general survey of Nordic societies.

The present book takes a different route as its main topic is to explore the relationship of political institutions to the broader set of social institutions. In large parts of the book, Norway is used as a representative example of the Nordic model, based on the assumption that this country most visibly embodies the neo-corporatist elements of the model. Even so, several of the contributions make references to the other Nordic societies to indicate parallels or dissimilarities. Moreover, the Nordic area is sometimes treated as a whole (Hesstvedt; Skorge) or, on the contrary, discussed via specific intra-Nordic comparisons (Mjøset; Trætteberg). Comparisons with non-Nordic countries are performed to exploit similarities (Krick & Holst on Germany) or differences (Engelstad on the US).

A general discussion of the Nordic model is found in the second volume of this series (Engelstad et al., 2017). Here the Nordic model is conceived as an ideal type in the Weberian sense, consisting of a set of core attributes. In real life, no country will perfectly represent all of these attributes. Political history differs, and, accordingly, specific processes of change will take place in each country. Nevertheless, as long as institutional bundles show a high degree of similarity, and significantly differ from other societies, the concept of a Nordic model makes good sense. As conceived by Engelstad et al. (2017) the model rests on four pillars: (i) a strong and at the same time liberal state, (ii) strong trade unions and a high degree of cooperation in wage formation between labour market parties and the state, (iii) a generous welfare state and (iv) a high degree of state intervention to guarantee the quality of the public sphere (ibid., p. 48). To this may be added specificities of the political system, such as parliamentarian governance and close relationships between the state and social movements and civil society organizations. As a whole, this model may be characterized as a neo-corporatist model even though it to a certain extent has been in decline.

The core question, which is also the most pertinent to democracy, is whether it is possible for a strong state to be truly liberal. Liberalism, of course, denies this possibility, on the ground that a strong state unavoidably will abuse its power at the cost of citizens. How, then, is the Nordic model compatible with democracy? The answer lies in the strong position of the public sphere. In socio-political versions of the Nordic model, which are the most common, the public sphere is not included (e.g. Dølvik et al., 2015), only wage formation and the welfare state. However, without a well-functioning public sphere, these would never have taken the form they actually do. Historically, the liberal Nordic state is based in the durable position of freedom of expression, constitutionally established in Sweden by 1766, in Norway by 1814 and in Denmark by 1848. Further reinforcement by freedom of assembly was closely linked to the growth of religious lay movements in the middle of the 19th century. Paternalist and autocratic currents, both on the right and the left – the social democratic hegemony in the mid-20th century was polemically characterized by historian Jens Arup Seip (1963) as a one-party state – were countered by the liberal heritage in the public sphere,

guaranteeing the presence of oppositional voices. In Denmark and Norway, furthermore, the need for cooperation with non-socialist parties, despite conflicts, influenced the political climate around the middle period of the 20th century.

A Brief Note on Methods

A strong trend in contemporary political science is a growing emphasis on large-scale datasets and advanced statistical analysis. The present book takes a different stand, but this is not due to a general scepticism in regard to quantitative analysis. These methods have made invaluable contributions to the social sciences, and several of the contributions to the book are based on quantitative analyses of large datasets. Rather, it reflects the persuasion that to understand social variation and change, a historical and institutional approach is required. Even though the case for the 'gold standard' of controlled experiments can also be made in the social sciences, most social phenomena are of a complexity that makes it highly improbable that large-scale theories based on such methods will emerge. Simplifications are a necessary condition for social science modelling. But the interpretation and, if possible, synthetization of complex social processes presuppose that institutions and historical context are taken into account. The implication is not that the crucial importance of social action is denied. On the contrary, institutions constitute the necessary framework for social action. The analytical strategy of the present book is that of combining micro and macro analysis and restricting analyses to limited aspects of a limited set of cases. Even with this modest proposal, interesting syntheses are still possible.

Challenges to Democracy in the Nordic Model

The sustainability of the Nordic model has been a preoccupation for many. Given its anchorage in central institutions the model will certainly continue to exist into the foreseeable future, but the long-term prospects are necessarily unpredictable. Certain, however, is that the model as a going concern will encounter challenges and is bound to make adjustments. In the following some of the central challenges are examined. The exposition is concentrated on Norwegian society; as the sturdiest case of neo-corporatism in the Nordic area, it is also here where the challenges are most visible. Emphasizing democracy as a characteristic of society also brings forth the idea that the governing capacity of the state is necessarily limited. This has earlier been pointed out as a consequence of globalization as the political governance of an increasingly internationalized economy has become problematic. However, internally as well, the growing significance of social institutions makes political governance more challenging. Fifty years after the introduction of the first elements of the full-fledged welfare state, the notion of 'society without a centre' to some extent is ringing true. Albeit of overwhelming importance, the state is not the summit of society. Even if the complexities of modern societies due to interdependence between institutions do not allow the types of governance once envisaged by socialists, political and social reforms still are possible, albeit mostly on a limited scale, at least in the short run.

A case illustrating the prospects for reform is the legislated gender quota of boards of listed firms (Teigen, 2015), introduced in Norway in 2003. On one hand it demonstrates that openings exist for new types of political initiatives; on the other hand it also shows the institutional limitations in regard to the extension of such reforms to other parts of the business world. This is not only a question of political aims but also of respect for the differences between norms specific to politics and norms pertaining to the economy (Teigen, this volume). More generally, this example demonstrates the possibility of reform through specification of property rights without abolishing their central character (Engelstad, 2015, this volume, Ch. 2). A somewhat different illustration of the crucial relationship between reform and institutions is the comparison of welfare state reforms in Sweden, Denmark and Norway (Trætteberg, this volume), which demonstrates that the presence or absence of viable civil society institutions is a precondition for the prevalence of market solutions.

In the electorate, there are moderate signs of all-embracing protest movements. One of the most encouraging findings about the Nordic model is its ability to strengthen the freedom of citizens, in both its negative and positive aspects. Policies systematically emphasizing social inclusion result in better life prospects for the large majority of 'ordinary people', maybe even the 99 percent. At the same time the quality of knowledge and competence in the electorate, albeit higher in Scandinavia than in most of the world, has hardly increased at the same pace. If it is correct, as indicated by the analysis here, that the level of inequality is inversely related to the level of political competence, improvements will to a large extent be an uphill struggle. Nevertheless, a more serious challenge may be the question of immigration and citizenship. On this question the

Scandinavian countries are deeply divided: Sweden has a very liberal policy of immigration; Denmark, at the opposite end, is highly restrictive; and Norway is somewhere in between, albeit closer to Denmark. In all three countries, there is significant support for political parties with a populist bent based on resistance to immigration, but there are few signs that these parties want to break away from the Nordic model – they are leaning towards reserving welfare state provisions for the indigenous population rather than abolishing the welfare state.

A significant possibility for the viability and further development of democracy lies in the possibilities of increased participation and characteristics of the channels of communication between the population and its political representatives. What prospects exist for the extension of democratic participation to make the voices of ordinary people heard? Social movements are the main source of popular articulation, and they have long traditions in the Nordic countries. Here there are distinct differences between the 'old' movements originating at the end of the 19th century and the 'new' movements emerging within the last decades . The old movements were related to policy formation in a way that strengthened national democracy. The new movements, however – around the issues of globalization, environmental issues and immigration – are directed to matters outside national borders. Even if they are successful at the national level, the problem does not disappear; prospective solutions will necessarily be international, negotiated at a far distance from national political processes.

Another type of channel between politics and civil society can be found in institutions connected to Nordic 'input democracy' (Goodin, 2004) – that is, the mobilization of civil society organizations and experts into an elaborate set of hearings and of permanent or temporary commissions. In many cases, the main aim is not that of voicing popular preferences but to draw as much as possible on professional expertise in finding solutions to demanding political problems (Krick & Holst, this volume). Allegedly, this may be seen as furthering epistocracy rather than democracy; even at best, such committees must handle difficult balances between political representation and expertise. However, these processes are also a way of coping with social complexity and ensure knowledge-based policies, while at the same time mobilizing significant civil society organizations and interests.

A source of increased participation creating enthusiasm on the left is reforms initiated in Brazil aimed at direct participation in budgeting at the municipal level. These experiments have to some extent been exported to large cities in the Western world, albeit in a diluted version. A few attempts at introducing them in Scandinavia have met with moderate success, the main reason being that such forms of popular participation collide with the institutional requirements of political processes.

Traditionally, workplace democracy has been regarded as the main way of increasing popular participation beyond elections. One of its roots in Scandinavia is the long-term establishment of national wage agreements between summit organizations in given industries; another is the broad engagement on the part of the state in regulating work-related conflict by legislating institutions for conflict resolution. In the long term, this has resulted in elaborate institutions for workplace democracy. The question remains, though, how efficient are these institutions after all? Data from Norway, where the unionization rate is high, about 50 per cent, indicate that even in enterprises where trade union officers are in place, the success may be moderate. Health and security issues are well taken care of, whereas institutions for participation in decision-making, either on company boards or in committees for cooperation, are clearly underutilized. However, the assumed effects of workplace democracy are not only direct participation but also the development of more general political interest and social integration. On this point, there are indications in other parts of working life that the institutionalized workplace relations have some positive effects.

Even if the welfare state is basically a public responsibility, the mix of public and private services and provisions is a much-debated topic in the Nordic area, as in the rest of the modern world. At this point, also, the Scandinavian countries differ significantly. In Sweden, the high prevalence of market-based reforms of the welfare state seems to have reached a point of no return, and the further marketization of welfare provision will continue. One reason for this difference lies in the variation of civil society institutions in the three countries; in Denmark and Norway decentralization of welfare provisions was captured by civil society actors, whereas in Sweden such actors were absent or unable to use the opportunity. This difference may widen in the future; however, this does not mean that the welfare state is being dismantled in Sweden; it is still a state responsibility – what is delegated to private actors is the delivery of the services, not the funding of them. The trajectories of

welfare state development depend not only on the structure of civil society but also on gender relations and family patterns. Welfare arrangements develop according to demands from voters. But their demands clearly differ, both across societies and across social groups within a given society. This can particularly be seen in the demands for child care and parental leave across a large number of Western societies. Consistently, women with higher education show the strongest demands for these provisions, which may mean that the development of the welfare state to some extent is driven by aims at gender equality in the upper middle classes. However, class bias in the distribution of child care facilities is assumed to be mitigated in countries with a relatively low level of income inequality and high level of female labour market participation, being more in line with the democratic ideals of universalism.
Ideally, the delivery of welfare state provisions should be equal to all citizens and thus fully predictable. But given that the core of welfare provisions is the alleviation of social needs, the use of discretion becomes unavoidable, not least at the street level. In Norway, this is strengthened by significant changes in the role of recipients from clients to 'users', or customers, of welfare provisions aimed at integrating them into the labour market. To a large extent this reform is anchored in democratic considerations. Thereby allocation not only takes place according to given rules but becomes dependent on developing motivation in the recipients.
Relationships between the elites and the population at large have already been alluded to above. One question is whether there is a marked contradiction between elites and democracy, or, on the contrary, whether elite compromises are a precondition for the development of democracy. If the abolition of the elites is impossible, the democratic challenge is that of obtaining an acceptable balance between the power of elites and that of the general population. The Nordic model in no way dispenses with elites, but their power is typically restricted by the broad set of social institutions in working life, the welfare state and the public sphere. It might be assumed that restrictions on their power would call forth resistance in elite groups, but the opposite seems to be the case. In Norway, the elite's support for the Nordic model has been shown to be generally very strong. The most critical among elite groups would normally be the business elite. However, in Norway, business leaders have shown a high degree of trust in government, and this trust has even been increasing over the last decade (Gulbrandsen, this volume). One hypothesis might be that this is an expression of increased social integration. Alternative reasons may be that a conservative government has come to power and the tremendous success of the Norwegian economy during the 2000s. At any rate, the advent of neo-liberalism during the last decades has not diminished the support for the Nordic model.
Adherents of the Nordic model may dream of exporting the model to other parts of the world. Taken as a general political project, this hardly makes sense. The Nordic system has emerged over two centuries, and other countries have their own historical preconditions. Thus, the main purpose of the present book is to use the Nordic experience as material for reflection on possible conceptions of democracy and the quality of democracy – in other words, what a democratic society, and not only a democratic state, can be. <>

US Trotskyism 1928–1965: Part I: Emergence: Left Opposition in the United States, Dissident Marxism in the United States edited by Paul Le Blanc, Bryan Palmer, Thomas Bias, Andrew Pollack [Historical Materialism Book Series, Brill, 9789004224445]

U.S. Trotskyism 1928-1965. Part I: Emergence -- Left Opposition in the United States is the first of a documentary trilogy on a revolutionary socialist split-off from the U.S. Communist Party, reflecting Leon Trotsky's confrontation with Stalinism in the global Communist movement. Spanning 1928 to 1940, this volume surveys important U.S. labor struggles in the 1930s, early efforts to comprehend the so-called "Negro Question," and substantial contributions to the study history and the development of Marxist theory. Also covered are confrontations and convergences with other currents on the Left, internal debates and splits among Trotskyists themselves, and repressive efforts by the U.S. government in the first Smith Act Trial. Scholars and activists will find much of interest in these primary sources.

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Preface to the Documentary Trilogy on US Trotskyism

This book and the next two constitute a documentary trilogy on us Trotskyism, and they are also the second, third and fourth of a currently projected six-volume series on Dissident Marxism in the United States. These are to be made up mostly of primary sources (reflections, reports, analyses, proposals, etc.) produced by us Marxists from the late 1920s through the early 1960s.

The first volume, edited by Tim Davenport and myself, has the title The 'American Exceptionalism' of Jay Lovestone and His Comrades, 1928–1940. The present contribution and the next two provide a three-volume presentation of materials – US Trotskyism, 1928–65, the first volume subtitled Emergence: The Left Opposition in the United States, the second subtitled Endurance: For the Coming American Revolution, and the third subtitled Resurgence: Uneven and Combined Development. The final volumes projected for the overall series will involve contributions which we are labelling 'independent Marxism' – representing individuals and small groups unaffiliated either with the mainstream Communist Party USA, or with the

Socialist Party of America, or with the Lovestone group and the Trotskyist mainstream.

In the history of the world, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have been among the central figures pushing effectively fora 'democratic breakthrough' that would give people – especially the labouring majority – a decisive say in the decisions affecting their lives, and that would ultimately (it was hoped) create a society of the free and the equal, which at different times they called socialism or communism.

The Marxist tradition exerted, from the late nineteenth century down through the late twentieth century, a powerful influence among those seeking to build working-class movements, struggling for a world better than that divided between powerful minorities and the exploited and oppressed labouringmajorities. Within this tradition, however, significant differences arose over how to properly understand and change the world. By the third decade of the twentieth century, an irreconcilable divergence had opened up between a reformist Social-Democratic wing and a revolutionary Communist wing of the Marxist movement.

As time passed, both major currents were overwhelmed internally by a bureaucratisation process that tended to stifle creative and critical-minded thinking and democratic politics. Ultimately, both had become largely discredited by the time the twenty-first century arrived. In the eyes of many, Communism was discredited because it became a repressive and often murderous bureaucratic tyranny which nonetheless proved incapable of surviving, while Social Democracy was discredited because it proved incapable not only of replacing capitalism, but even of maintaining its own modest social reforms in the face of pro-business assaults and austerity programmes.

A challenge for scholars, but also for activists and would-be revolutionaries, is to understand what happened – and also to locate strengths, positive lessons, and durable insights among the failures. In order to do this, it is necessary to engage with some of the best scholarship available, but also to consult primary sources to see what those who actually lived 'back then' had to say. There is a significant body of scholarship dealing with the two major left-wing currents (Social-Democratic and Communist) inside the United States, represented by the Socialist Party of America and the Communist Party USA, as well as some primary source material – much of this is cited in the preface for volume 1 of this series.

There is less material on the 'dissident' currents – those breaking off from and independent of these other two. It is these dissident currents that are the focus of this series. Marxist currents in the United States, both 'mainstream' and dissident, have actually had a significant impact upon labour and social movements that have been of some importance in the shaping of that country's history. This being the case, it strikes some of us as being reasonable and useful to produce such volumes as these, which maybe interesting to more people now than they would have been 15 years ago. They may become even more interesting to a greater number of people in the foreseeable future.

While the volume on the Lovestone group contained some illustrations to give a sense of what that particular group and its members looked like, similar illustrations of the us Trotskyists can be found in the just-republished volume by George Breitman, Paul Le Blanc, and Alan Wald, Trotskyism in the United States: Historical Essays and Reconsiderations (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016). That volume, combined with this one and the next two in 'Dissident Marxism in the United States', provide substantial resources for scholars and – we hope – for activists, but they by no means constitute a definitive account of the story of us Trotskyism.

The present volume, then, provides a documentary trilogy of us Trotskyism from the late 1920s to the mid-1960s, with the major introductions that start each volume offering – taken together – an historical and analytical overview. For this overview, I assume full responsibility. My co-editors may agree with much that I say there, but they may have different 'takes' on important questions in which I offer my own.

Of my co-editors for this volume, I have known Andy Pollack since the 1970s (when we were comrades together in the Socialist Workers Party) and Tom Bias since the 1980s (when we were comrades together in the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, a small group mostly composed of

people expelled from the Socialist Workers Party) – so the three of us have had the advantage of knowing 'from the inside' something of the political tradition we are helping to present in this book. There is an intimacy that comes from such comradeship, yet it is not always the case that this translates either into full agreement or actual friendship, but I feel fortunate to be able to count these hardworking and dedicated comrades among my friends. Bryan Palmer, an outstanding historian of labour and social movements, I discovered in the early 1990s through writings about one of his mentors, E.P. Thompson. Soon after, along with one of my mentors, Frank Lovell (once the trade union director of the swp), I actually connected with Bryan, when we found that he wanted to write a biography of us Trotskyism's founder, James P. Cannon. We were determined to assist him as much as we could, and found that, despite differences, we shared much common ground. I have had the good fortune to work with Bryan on two conferences dealing with the history of us Trotskyism, and he too is a close and trusted friend. It has been a great pleasure to collaborate with these three on this project, and I believe our collective effort has resulted in something that will be useful for those who want to understand and, in some cases, to make use of this particular 'dissident Marxist' tradition.

Naturally, although all of the editors share a common sympathy for the us Trotskyist movement, there are different 'takes' one or another of us may have on both minor and major questions, and in our signed introductions none of us presumes to speak for all of us. Paul Le Blanc

Excerpt: Left Opposition in the United States by Paul Le Blanc

'Left Opposition' refers to what was originally a current in the Russian Communist Party. It was in opposition to the corruption and betrayal of the communist ideal by a bureaucratic dictatorship, and it resisted the elimination of workers' democracy and internationalism from what had been the revolutionary Marxist conception of socialism.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had been the long-time leader of the revolutionary Bolshevik current in the Russian socialist movement, and it was this current which led the Russian Revolution of 1917 that gave birth to the Soviet Republic. After designating itself the Russian Communist Party, it helped create the Communist International, meant to facilitate a global transformation from capitalism to socialism. After Lenin's death, however, the Russian Revolution's goal of soviet democracy and the commitment to a liberating revolution worldwide gave way to a bureaucratic dictatorship preaching 'socialism in one country' and advancing cynical policies to enhance its own power and privileges. This change did not take place without a struggle – and the struggle was associated especially with what was called the Left Opposition.

While Leon Trotsky was one of the leaders in opposing bureaucratic degeneration, the oppositional current included a number of prominent revolutionary personalities and thinkers: Eugen Preobrazhensky, Karl Radek, Christian Rakovsky, Lev Kamenev, Gregory Zinoviev, Lenin's widow Nadezhda Krupskaya,and others collaborated in its efforts at various points, seeking to preserve and advance the original, heroic ideals and perspectives associated with the Russian Revolution, the early Soviet regime, and the Communist International.

By the late 1920s, however, powerful forces around the rising dictator Joseph Stalin, consolidating his domination of the Russian Communist Party, were able to smash the oppositionists, and many, including some of the most prominent, abandoned opposition to avoid expulsion from the Communist Party. The fact that Trotsky and a saving remnant of oppositionists held firm had ramifications in the world Communist movement in the late 1920s, including in the United States, giving rise to a small but important international movement.

The Central Figure

To understand this movement, then, one must give attention to the life and ideas of Leon Trotsky. There are a number of useful works that can be consulted to comprehend this brilliant and heroic figure, yet in Trotsky, A Graphic Biography, Rick Geary usefully summarises key aspects of the story in the book's first four frames:

> In 1917, Leon Trotsky burst upon the international stage as the brain behind the

> Russian Revolution. He presided over the complete transformation of his country, not merely a change of government but a total restructuring of society on every level. To many, he was the heroic St. George, slaying the dragon of capitalist repression. To others, he was the ruthless and Satanic purveyor of bloody rebellion, the cold, detached theorist gone mad with power. In truth, he fitted neither of these images. He was a writer, a thinker, a nation-builder – albeit a reluctant one – with deep roots in his Russia's agricultural heartland. Trotsky's dream was for a world free from injustice, inequality, and war, and in this he was absolutely single-minded. To him, the ideas of Karl Marx showed the way, and for one brief moment he set the machinery in motion to achieve that end ... He lived to see his work betrayed and his ideals perverted by those who seized power after him. He would be ejected from the government he helped to establish and hounded into exile and death.

Ejected from the Soviet Union in 1929, Trotsky laboured to build a global revolutionary current that would defend and advance the earlier Bolshevik perspectives. Not at all inclined to name the movement which he led after himself, he preferred to call it 'Bolshevik-Leninist', although a more common tag was 'Left Oppositionist' – but it was the name first given to it by its opponents that really stuck: Trotskyite or Trotskyist. The term 'Trotskyite' was particularly pejorative, used by those hostile to the movement, having the connotation that those in agreement with Trotsky were in cultish orbit around him. The last three letters made a difference – Trotskyist came to be a term acceptable to many of his co-thinkers.

Defining features of Trotsky's thought included his defence of revolutionary internationalism against Stalin's notion of 'socialism in one country' – understanding that in the global political economy, the fates of the working classes and oppressed peoples of the early Soviet Union were interlinked with those of the 'advanced' capitalist countries and with those in the 'under-developed' colonial and semi-colonial regions.

This tied in with his theory of permanent revolution, which saw struggles against everyday oppression in any country as being intertwined with the struggle for the genuine triumph of democracy, which must be led by the working class in order to be successful, and which would consequently result in the workers coming to power; this would result in continuing transformations in that country in the direction of socialism, but would necessarily also result in the spread of revolution to other countries. Such a successful spread of socialist revolution would be necessary for socialism's triumph in any single country. The failure of revolutions to spread to other countries, he argued, had resulted in the bureaucratic degeneration within the Soviet Republic, of the authoritarianism that accompanied it. Against such developments, he called for the renewal of genuine workers' democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

It was essential for revolutionaries to help build united fronts to advance the struggles of workers and the oppressed within each country for a better life, ultimately for liberation from exploitation, which must culminate in socialist revolution. To advance such goals he insisted on the need to develop a revolutionary party as a genuinely democratic collectivity of revolutionaries, guided by Marxist perspectives.

The Collective Project

Those who initiated what came to be known as the Trotskyist movement in the United States were in basic agreement with these ideas associated with Trotsky. Yet they did not see themselves as being in orbit around a particular personality. They were revolutionary socialists who had been engaged in the struggles of us labour, and had been centrally involved in creating what they hoped would be an effective Communist Party that would be capable of leading a transition from capitalist oppression. The pioneers of us Communism were inspired by the 1917 workers and peasants revolution in Russia, led by Lenin, Trotsky, and other outstanding revolutionary Marxists who went on to establish a Communist International in 1919. But many of them were also rooted in deep traditions of American radicalism and labour activism associated, for example, with the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs and the Industrial Workers of the World.

It is worth noting that in 1951 the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, the major force (small as it

was) representing Trotskyism in the United States, proposed that the label of 'Trotskyism' be set aside, that instead the party designate itself 'in broad public political agitation as "Socialist" or "Socialist Workers" or "Revolutionary Socialist", alternatively, as the occasion may demand'. Party leader James P. Cannon explained that the label could cause thoughtful workers to view the Socialist Workers Party as a sectarian movement, as followers of some individual, and a Russian at that. It is not a suitable characterization for a broad American movement. Our enemies will refer to us as Trotskyists, and we will, of course, not deny it; but we should say: 'We are Trotskyists because Trotsky was a true socialist.' What we are presenting against American capitalism and the labor bureaucracy is the principle of the class struggle of modern socialism ... Let our enemies within the movement, that is in the narrow framework of the more political movement, call us Trotskyists. We will not protest. But then we will say we are Trotskyist because he represented genuine socialism and we, like him, are the real Socialists ... We have to think of ourselves more and more as representing the Socialist opposition to the American bourgeoisie. I don't think we should do it under the handicap of what appears to the workers as a sectarian or cultist name. That is what the term 'Trotskyist' signifies to them.

For various reasons, however, both in the United States and globally, the name 'Trotskyist' stuck. Perry Anderson commented in 1976: 'One day this other tradition – persecuted, reviled, isolated, divided – will have to be studied in all the diversity of its underground channels and streams. It may surprise future historians with its resources'. A newly republished set of essays by George Breitman, Paul Le Blanc, and Alan Wald, Trotskyism in the United States: Historical Essays and Reconsiderations, provides broad outlines of the story of us Trotskyists, and some reflections on the meaning of this phenomenon. This stands as a useful companion to the primary sources provided in the present series.

Our co-editor Bryan Palmer has also initiated a rich and invaluable exploration of the central founding figure of us Trotskyism, James P. Cannon. More work obviously needs to be done, and it is hoped that what is offered here will help to stimulate such efforts.

American Trotskyists formed the Communist League of America (CLA) in 1928, standing as a beacon of early revolutionary-democratic ideals of early Communism against the corruptions, cynicism, and murderous authoritarianism of Stalinism. In Chapter 2, Bryan Palmer introduces materials giving a sense of the founding years of the cla, which naturally bear distinctive birthmarks of the struggle against Stalinism. Material in Chapters 7 and 9, introduced by Andrew Pollack, document the ongoing and often difficult efforts to come to terms with this increasingly horrific challenge to revolutionaries – which ultimately resulted in a deep fissure within Trotskyist ranks. Pollack goes much further in Chapter 9, however, in exploring the 1939–40 clashes among the us Trotskyists (with Trotsky himself in the thick of it) around matters having to do with Marxist philosophy and Leninist organisational norms.

Culture Clash

A sense of the dynamics within much of the Trotskyist movement in the late 1930s has been conveyed by Irving Howe, at the time a dedicated young recruit from the Socialist Party's youth group, the Young People's Socialist League, whose majority was won to the about-to-be-formed Socialist Workers Party. The milieu Howe describes was highly intellectualised: 'We took positions on almost everything, for positions testified to the fruitfulness of theory. Theory marked our superiority to "vulgar empiricist" politics, compensated for our helplessness, told us that some day this helplessness would be dialectically transformed into power'.

Adding that 'most of the time ... we discussed, debated, and did battle about matters beyond our reach, ... as if a correct formulation could create a desired reality', Howe nonetheless emphasises that 'these disputes often concerned issues of genuine importance, with the [Trotskyist] movement groping toward problems that more conventional analysts would confront only decades later. Sometimes these disputes produced vivid writing and speaking in which the talents of leaders, blocked from public outlet, were released through wit and invective'.

At the same time, he comments that 'the faction fights surely had another purpose we could not then acknowledge: they were charades of struggle, substitute rituals for the battles we could not join in the outer world.... Not more than two or three hundred people might be present at a discussion meeting, but who did not feel that in pulverizing opponents and smiting dunderheads there was just a touch of Lenin recalled, of Trotsky re-enacted?'

In roughly the same period, Paul Jacobs, another young Trotskyist from New York, experienced a harsh culture clash when he and some younger comrades transferred to Minneapolis, home of a very different species of Trotskyist led by Vincent Raymond Dunne and others who had also led the historic Minneapolis general strike of 1934.7 'They really were Bolsheviks, not dilettantes', he recalls, 'and we learned very quickly they were harsh disciplinarians as well'. Recalling 'the more easy-going radical atmosphere of New York' with 'the hours spent schmoozing over coffee in the cafeterias', Jacobs emphasised: 'In Minneapolis, if you were assigned to distribute leaflets at a union meeting, you went – for if you failed to show up without a very good excuse, like maybe dying, you had the prospect of facing Ray Dunne's cold eyes and implacable questions'.

Much of what he was used to in New York was considered 'kid stuff' in Minneapolis. Jacobs elaborates:

> The signs of this toughness were everywhere. When armed guards were needed to protect Trotsky from the expected (and finally successful) attempts of the [loyal-to-Stalin] Communists to assassinate him, the Minneapolis branch supplied the toughest of the volunteers. When Chicago gangsters had attempted to move in on the Minneapolis local of the teamsters, they had literally been thrown down the steps of the union office and told that they would be killed if they returned....
> The toughness of the leaders was combined with a hard, spare, ascetic quality that became a model for all of us. ...
> The very intensity and grimness of the radical movement in Minneapolis left little room for errors or weakness. After only a few weeks in Minneapolis, I understood very well how it was possible for this group of men to successfully run the teamsters' union and why the Minneapolis general strike had been run like a military operation: Ray Dunne and the people around him were very serious revolutionists.

These two reminiscences suggest that some dynamics coming into play in the factional disputes among the us Trotskyists may have been rooted as much in such cultural divides as in the undoubtedly substantial theoretical differences.

Diversity and Complications

As the 1939–40 factional dispute led to a permanent organisational split, it makes sense hereto clarify a decision of the editors. That decision was to focus our efforts on the development of what might be termed the 'mainstream' of us Trotskyism – stretching from the Communist League of America, the Workers Party of the United States, the Appeal Caucus in the Socialist Party of America, and the Socialist Workers Party. To follow dissident factions which split away could have involved a multi-volume work which would have been beyond our abilities. This tilts our account toward the majority current in the Trotskyist movement. Others must do the additional work to trace and elaborate on the story and the ideas of those who fundamentally disagreed and broke away. In some cases, this process has already begun – for example, with the very substantial current led by Max Shachtman that left the SWP in 1940.

[Fortunately, Shachtman and his co-thinkers are well served by Peter Drucker's fine biography

of the man. Robert J. Alexander's massive study of international Trotskyism has devoted a number of pages to the evolution of Shachtman's organisation. An immense amount of the Shachtman group's theoretical output on Stalinism and the nature of the ussr has been drawn together and sympathetically explicated in two huge volumes edited by Sean Matgama. There is also a good representation of the Shachtman group perspectives on a variety of issues (from the 1940s and 1950s), taken from the pages of its paper Labor Action, in the now all-too-rare 1963 collection edited by Hal Draper,

Introduction to Independent Socialism, and substantial discussion of the Shachtman group's later evolution is provided in Paul Le Blanc and Michael Yates, A Freedom Budget for All Americans.]

Throughout the 1930s, Trotskyists in the United States were certainly engaged with far more than simply anti-Stalinism – this was simply part of their effort to advance the struggles for a better future on the part of workers and all oppressed people. In tandem with efforts to advance revolutionary practice, us Trotskyists naturally sought to develop a deeper understanding of history and theory. Materials in Chapter 5, introduced by Bryan Palmer, provide a vibrant sense of Trotskyist contributions to class struggles in the United States, while materials introduced by Thomas Bias in Chapter 6 indicate some limitations with which Trotskyists wrestled as they engaged with complexities of the antiracist struggle. Chapter 10, with material introduced by Paul Le Blanc, provides a sense in which these militant activists sought to apply and develop their understanding of history and of Marxist theory.

While far smaller than the Communist Party and the largely reformist Socialist Party, the us ranks of the Trotskyists grew amid the labour radicalisation generated by the Great Depression. By 1935 – after playing an outstanding role in various labour struggles, especially in the Minneapolis general strike – they were able to merge with other radical labour forces to form the Workers Party of the United States. This was soon followed by a decision to enter the Socialist Party in order to link up with that organisation's growing left-wing, although they were soon driven out (along with much of the broader left-wing) by the reformist leadership – and all of these complexities are reflected in materials contained in Chapter 3, introduced by Paul Le Blanc.

The subsequent formation of the Socialist Workers Party, covered in materials introduced by Thomas Bias in Chapter 4, seemed to its members and supporters to be the beginning of an important new phase of revolutionary struggle in the United States. But this development – as is the case with life in general – involved complications. This is reflected in materials introduced by Paul Le Blanc in Chapter 8. On the one hand, there was a proliferation of political disagreements generating political splinter groups that denounced the Trotskyist mainstream for being insufficiently revolutionary, and that were in turn criticised by the Trotskyist mainstream as being 'ultra-left' and 'sectarian'. On the other hand, there was a trend toward de-radicalisation among once-sympathetic intellectuals who sensed that the hoped-for revolutionary triumph would not be realised.

The birth of the swp took place as part of a coming-together of like-minded groups around the world to establish, with Trotsky, what was called the World Party of Socialist Revolution – the Fourth International. The First International had been established by Marx and others in 1864 but was ripped apart by differencesbetween socialists, anarchists, and trade union reformers in the 1870s; the much more substantial Second International, or Socialist International, arose in 1889 but was largely discredited in 1914 when many of its adherents went along with the imperialist slaughter of the First World War. The Third (Communist) International, now hopelessly infected by Stalinism, was destined to be dissolved by Stalin in 1943, during the Second World War.

In 1938, Trotsky and his adherents anticipated that the traumas of that future global conflict would – as had been the case with the First World War – generate a worldwide radicalisation and revolutionary upsurge. They believed that this would powerfully impact on the three sectors of the world revolution – helping to bring about revolutionary insurgencies against colonialism in the so-called 'underdeveloped' regions, working-class socialist challenges to capitalism in advanced industrial countries, and a militant sweeping aside of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. In such a context, the Trotskyists' revolutionary Marxist programme was destined to prove its relevance to the rising waves of labour militants and revolutionary freedom-fighters.

While aspects of the Trotskyist prophecy came to pass, central aspects of it were borne out – at best – only in partial and fragmented ways. The Second World War was certainly incredibly devastating, and out of that came a global radicalisation and revolutionary upsurge. But although the wave of

anti-colonial revolutions began as expected, an unexpected stabilisation in the 'advanced' capitalist countries was achieved, largely due to the immense economic and military power of the United States.

At the same time, the role the Soviet Union played in the victory over fascism and Nazism helped give the Stalin regime a new lease of life and increased its influence in the Communist movement. Communist-led revolutions in China, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia were supplemented by more problematical Communist take-overs in Eastern Europe (in some cases, such as Czechoslovakia, with significant popular support, in other cases such as Poland, with little support, but in all cases with decisive assistance from the Soviet Red Army).

A Cold War confrontation between the capitalist 'Free World' led by the United States and the Communist Bloc led by the Soviet Union dominated world politics for decades, with the ever-present threat of humanity's destruction by the massive numbers of nuclear weapons that both of the great powers were accumulating.

The disappointments and difficulties – and, in some cases, quite unexpected opportunities – brought by the Second World War and postwar developments would generate crises and also new fissures, but there were important new experiences and insights as well. The second and third volumes of this trilogy will be devoted to this period.

Limitations and Strengths

It is worth concluding with an observation on at least some of the elements missing and present in the movement represented in these pages. As Tom Bias emphasises in his chapter on 'The Negro Question', there were – for most of the period under examination – very serious limitations regarding the understanding of the predominantly 'white' membership and leadership of the early US Trotskyists of the complex dynamics of race. The fact remains that there was an attempt to engage with 'the Negro Question', and over time deepening insights were developed, in part due to the work of C.L.R. James. It is striking that 'the Woman Question' is absent altogether from this volume – because it was more or less absent from discussions, and certainly the press, of the usTrotskyists from 1928 through 1940. Not only were questions of gender absent, but so were discussions of sexuality, nor were there clear signs of environmental sensibilities – all issues that have assumed central importance among radical activists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. What is present and vibrant are questions of economic justice and labour action, passionate concerns regarding democracy, a significant degree of intellectual integrity, and a stress on organisational seriousness. These too have been of great importance among activists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

It is interesting to consider the reflections on such matters of some activists who were associated with the SWP, and then with the political tendency associated with C.L.R. James. Having broken with both, they speak respectfully yet critically of each. At least two of them had been in the SWP from the start, then along with James had been in Max Shachtman's organisation after the 1940 split, then back with the SWP for several years (again with James) from 1947 to 1951 – so their comments reflect significant experience, and they touch on both the limitations and strengths just indicated:

> Cannon was an utterly forthright and courageous man. But Cannon knew almost nothing about blacks or about minorities in this country. He didn't know anything about complexities.
> He represented a proletarian quality which we could never have absorbed through, for example, someone like William Z. Foster. Because, although Cannon was a proletarian type, he was the kind of proletarian who could co-exist with a Max Shachtman or an intellectual like James Burnham as long as these intellectuals did not become too flighty. Cannon was not a small or a mean man; he had a basic faith in the proletariat, but he sensed that there was much more to life, to history, to politics and to revolution than just the proletariat. He welcomed intellectuals as long as they did not go off in all directions. C.L.R. James used to say of Cannon that he was not the kind of man who would trample on a minority. He would not line up his majority against you unless you got too far out of line and forced him to do it. Everybody who has a political party has to do that at a certain

> point. You can't let it be torn apart from whim. He was the kind of chairman who could sit back and not have to interfere with everything going on. He was not an insecure person....
> Cannon didn't give a damn about the Negro struggle – all he cared about was the class struggle. Not that he was prejudiced; he just took the old socialist position [that racism would be eliminated after the workers' revolution, so black and white workers should simply fight for workers' rights and socialism].
> C.L.R. came over [to the United States] in 1938 and while he didn't know what Cannon knew, he knew a lot of things that Cannon didn't know. ... We were able to go beyond the proletarian-ness of Cannon because of C.L.R. James....
> In many respects Cannon, who was thirty-eight at the time of the split between Stalin and Trotsky and who had been shaped by the experiences of the first World War, remained at the standpoint of the solidarity of the workers. But at the same time he understood his limitations as a proletarian and therefore welcomed intellectuals into the party....
> [In 1947] Cannon was glad for us to come in [to the SWP again] and permitted us a great deal of freedom, including trusting one of our members to put the paper [The Militant] to bed each week. C.L.R. thought we could now give greater breadth and meaning to revolution in the U.S. [and, in fact, James played a central role in reorienting the SWP on the question of race] ... Cannon knew we had ideas and it was understood that we could continue developing them, but we would also do our daily party work in a disciplined way ...
> But in 1953 C.L.R. was already becoming a Marxist egocentric, something which, strangely enough, Cannon never became. Cannon never tried to ballyhoo Cannon. ...

One need not accept all of these observations in order to conclude, nonetheless, that they reflect both limitations and strengths of the movement presented in the pages of this book, a movement which certainly merits scholarly examination. As for activists who wish to change the world for the better, it is always a good idea to blend a sense of one's strengths with a sense of one's limitations. By exploring the limitations and strengths of those who went before, it might be possible to overcome some of one's own limitations while enhancing the strengths one brings to the struggle. <>

US Trotskyism 1928–1965: Part II: Endurance: The Coming American Revolution, Dissident Marxism in the United States edited by Paul Le Blanc, Bryan Palmer, Thomas Bias [Historical Materialism, Brill, 9789004224452]

U.S. Trotskyism 1928-1965. Part II: Endurance: The Coming American Revolution is the second of a documentary trilogy on a revolutionary socialist split-off from the U.S. Communist Party, reflecting Leon Trotsky's confrontation with Stalinism in the global Communist movement. Spanning 1941 to 1956, this volume surveys the Second World War (internationally and on the 'homefront'), the momentous post-war strike wave, ongoing efforts to comprehend and struggle against racism, as well as the early years of the Cold War and anti-Communist repression in the United States. Also covered are internal debates and splits among Trotskyists themselves, including a far-reaching split in the international Trotskyist movement (the Fourth International) in the face of a persistent and expanding Stalinism. Scholars and activists will find much of interest in these primary sources.

Contents

Excerpt: The Coming American Revolution by Paul Le Blanc

This is the second of three volumes gathering together documentary materials on the US Trotskyist movement, a small but sometimes influential political current, arising out of the earlier Socialist and Communist movements. It was a political current powerfully influenced by such global revolutionaries as Karl Marx, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and especially Leon Trotsky, whose ideas the authors of the writings presented here did their best to utilize for the purpose of understanding and changing the world around them.

To understand the nature of a revolutionary organization, Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci once speculated on how the history of such an organization might be written. 'A simple narrative of the internal life of a political organization' – focusing on the first groups that bring it into being, 'the ideological controversies through which its program and conception of the world' are formed – will provide only an account of 'certain intellectual groups' or even 'the political biography of a single personality', but will not provide an adequate understanding of the political party. To develop such an understanding, much more is required:

> The history will have to be written of a particular mass of men who have followed the founders of the party, sustained them with their trust, loyalty and discipline, or criticized them 'realistically' by dispersing or remaining passive before certain initiatives. But will this mass be made up solely of members of the party? Will it be sufficient to follow the congresses, the votes, etc., that is to say the whole nexus of activities and modes of existence through which the mass following of the party manifests its will? Clearly it will be necessary to take some account of the social group of which the party in question is the expression and the most advanced element. The history of a party, in other words, can only be the history of a particular social group. But this group is not isolated; it has friends, kindred groups, opponents, enemies. The history of any given party can only emerge from the complex portrayal of the totality of society and
> State (often with international ramifications too). Hence it maybe said that to write the history of a party means nothing less than to write the general history of a country from a monographic viewpoint, in order to highlight a particular aspect of it. A party will have had greater or less significance and weight precisely to the extent to which its particular activity has been more or less decisive in determining a country's history.

This volume provides some of the raw materials for such an account, and historians of the US Left may want to make use of it as they seek to develop such historical monographs. At the same time, it could be argued that much of the writing reproduced here can – simply taken by itself – shed some light on the history of the United States, as well as the history of the world, with insights that might be useful in understanding aspects of our own times, and perhaps even future possibilities. In the first half of the period reflected here, many of the American Trotskyists are convinced (though a growing number are beginning to doubt) that 'the coming American revolution' is actually about to unfold, if not already in the process of unfolding. The second half of the period covered in this volume reflects the consequences of that failed perspective.

Many have scoffed at the very notion of a 'coming American revolution' as a utopian delusion. At the end of his life, in 1974, James P. Cannon was interviewed by Sidney Lens, an independent left-wing writer and activist (and himself a one-time Trotskyist). Lens challenged: 'Do you anticipate a revolution in America in the near future?' Cannon

responded, 'It depends on what you mean by near', and then added: 'I say anything is possible in this century in the years that are left of it. That's 26 years'. When Lens commented that this did not sound very optimistic, Cannon said: 'I don't want to make any categorical statements, but I say we're living in a time when capitalism is plunging toward its climactic end'. To which Lens asked: 'Didn't you say that in the thirties?' Cannon responded: 'I did, yes'. Lens: 'And in the forties?' Cannon: 'And in the forties'. At which point Lens commented: 'I mean, that must sound like something peculiar when you say it every decade'. To which Cannon countered: 'But when you stop to think, the history of humanity is a very long one, isn't it? And a quarter of a century is only an instant in the history of the human race.... I see one crisis piling upon another. I don't think the capitalists have ever been in such a jam in this country as they are right now, both politically and economically'.

The certainty of the coming revolution, however, seemed far more vibrant to many in the early-to-mid-1940s. The freshness of 1930s radicalism had not yet faded, and Trotsky's prediction of militant upsurges that the Second World War would bring still echoed, with genuine urgency, in comrades' ears. And to those who lost heart and could no longer believe in 'the coming American revolution', the stubborn adherents could respond that one must be guided by 'the long view of history'.

The attentive reader will note that Chapter 6 in this volume is not like the others – it is much, much longer and includes more excerpted and abridged material than usual. The chapter deals with a relatively momentous split in the SWP and the Fourth International in the early 1950s – a development which sheds much light on the nature and development of the Trotskyist movement, and one about which conflicting interpretations and bitter polemics have swirled for years. Rather than devoting an entire volume to it, or offering an overly truncated account, we are seeking a middle path. This is thanks to the immense labors of Bryan Palmer, who has sought to provide a representative sampling of these highly revealing documents (of those excerpted or abridged, most can be found in their entirety online). Given the complexity and centrality of this rupture, it makes sense that Bryan also presents this material with amore substantial interpretive introduction than is the case with the other chapters. Naturally, more than one interpretation can be gleaned from the material he presents (which is always the case with a serious historian). Readers should bear in mind the concluding comment from the first volume of this documentary trilogy: 'Naturally, although all of the editors share a common sympathy for the US Trotskyist movement, there are different "takes" one or another of us may have on both minor and major questions, and in our signed introductions none of us presumes to speak for all of us'. That holds for all three volumes – including the present introductory essay.

The Long View of History

The development of American capitalism has always been intimately bound up with international developments: from the first European explorers representing the tentative probe of a rising merchant-capitalism, to the establishment in the Americas of the European great powers' rival colonial mercantile

empires, to the development of the slave trade that was a key element, as well, in the triumph of the Industrial Revolution (slave-based cotton plantations supplying the English textile industry's 'dark Satanic mills'). Both the American Revolution of 1775–83 and the American Civil War of 1861–65 were part of the global sweep of 'bourgeois-democratic' revolutions. Industrialization and trade connected and transformed increasing numbers of peoples and cultures on all inhabited continents. The American working class was composed, and periodically recomposed, of immigrant waves generated by the 'push-and-pull' dynamics of the world capitalist economy. Capitalist developments and class struggles in the British Isles, France, Germany, and elsewhere had an impact on and found reflection in what was happening in the United States. And the United States, as it grew into the foremost industrial and imperial power, itself had a profound impact on international developments.

The understanding of such international dynamics resulted in the creation of the first three working-class internationals – the International Workingmen's Association (1864–76) led by Karl

Marx, the Socialist International (1889–1914), and the Communist International (1919–43). In each case, momentous developments of international importance provoked crises that resulted in decline but also created the basis for new advances. The revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871, and the brutal repression generated by this heroic but ill-fated workers' government, frightened away trade union moderates and led to a furious split between anarchists and socialists in the First International. On the other hand, a self-consciously socialist Second International, representing mass parties and left-wing trade unions, soon took shape. The weaknesses and divisions within this increasingly reformist-dominated Second International became evident when the eruption of the First World War literally tore it apart. But revolution-ary Marxists and working-class militants, in the wake of the devastating world war, and deeply inspired by the creation of a Soviet Republic in Russia, built the Third International.

These three internationals – and also the world historic events with which they were connected – had a profound impact on the development of the left wing of the workers' movement, and on the development of class consciousness, in the United States. The degeneration and collapse of the Third International as a revolutionary force, and the realities with which this was connected, had no less of an effect. The accumulation of working-class defeats in Europe (Italy, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Spain) and in China, coupled with the rise of fascism and Nazism, combined with the murderous, totalitarian corruption of Stalinism in the USSR and the world Communist movement, and the approach of a new, more massive round of imperialist slaughter that was the Second World War – all of this necessarily undermined the strength of the US working-class left, just as surely as revolutionary victories of the Chinese, German, or Spanish workers' movements would have generated soaring morale and renewed self-confidence.

The seeming collapse of capitalism in the 1930s did not result in the working class coming to power in any country of the world, but the Great Depression did generate working-class upsurges in many countries – in some cases forcing through important social reforms beneficial to working people (such as the right to form unions, the winning of higher wages and other employment benefits, as well as unemployment insurance, social security, etc.). It also helped the more powerful capitalists to eliminate less efficient practices and competitors – resulting in a strengthened capitalism. More than this, it encouraged the competing capitalist classes to expand their overseas operations, compelling them to harmonize their different interests – or, when this proved impossible, to turn to militarism and war. The Stalinist and Social Democratic leaderships of the labor movements in the 'democratic capitalist' countries of Western Europe and North America led the workers' organizations into afar-reaching alliance with their countries' capitalist classes during World War II.

Small groups of workers and intellectuals throughout the world sought to preserve perspectives that had infused the revolutionary wing of the young Second International and the original founders of the Third International. They joined with Trotsky to form the Fourth International, which was formally proclaimed in 1938. Four years earlier Trotsky had expressed his hopes and fears regarding the future Fourth International: 'It may be constituted in the process of the struggle against fascism and the victory gained over it. But it may also be formed considerably later, in a number of years, in the midst of the ruins and the accumulation of debris following upon the victory of fascism and war'. After the founding of this 'world party of socialist revolution', Trotsky optimistically predicted that the coming Second World War would generate an even greater wave of militant working-class insurgency than had been the case with the First World War. Working-class revolutions would sweep away Stalinism in the USSR and would also break the power of the capitalists in the advanced industrial countries. 'The new generation of workers whom the war will impel onto the road of revolution will take their place under our banner', he asserted on the eve of his death in 1940.

Things Turned out Differently

The devastation of World War II did generate revolutionary upsurges through-outthe colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin

America. But Stalinism took a renewed hold on life in the postwar period. It seemed as solid as ever in the USSR, given the immense authority gained through 'the Great Patriotic War' which drove back and destroyed the Nazi aggressor. Stalinism also took advantage of radical ferment in Eastern Europe to establish its hold on this area, setting up Communist Party dictatorships loyal to the USSR, to form a buffer zone between the USSR and its erstwhile wartime allies of the capitalist West. In the capitalist countries of Western Europe, devastated by war, masses of workers flocked to the already existing Communist, Social Democratic, and Labour parties.

To prevent the 'loss' of these lands, the unquestioned new world power – the United States of America – established the Marshall Plan to rebuild the economies of Europe on a firm capitalist basis; a North Atlantic Treaty Organization was fashioned to prevent the Soviet Red Army from expanding further westward, but also – and no less important – to prevent indigenous revolutionaries from replacing weakened bourgeois regimes with new workers' republics. The reformist Social Democratic and Labour parties still loyal to a reconstituted Second International decided to forge a firm alliance with what was left of their own capitalist classes, and with US imperialism, as the Cold War set in. The world seemed divided between capitalist versus 'Communist' superpowers: the 'Free World' bloc (which included many right-wing dictatorships) led by the US versus the 'Iron Curtain' countries (with Stalinist dictatorships but post-capitalist economies) led by the USSR.

Anti-imperialist and anti-colonial ferment in the 'third world' countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America created an equivocal and more-or-less left-nationalist 'neutralist' bloc. The revolutionary stirrings in the third world and the renewed power of Social Democratic and Labour parties in Western Europe (not to mention massive Communist parties in Italy and France) gave many hope that positive possibilities existed to move beyond capitalism. But this was largely overshadowed by the fact that world politics appeared to be locked into a grim 'superpower' confrontation that threatened to spiral into a new world war – an especially devastating prospect since both sides had developed nuclear weapons.

This complex situation – combined with the obvious incorrectness of Trotsky's prediction regarding postwar realities – generated sharp controversies inside the Fourth International, and also among Trotskyists in the United States, where two major Trotskyist formations had come into being in 1940 – the Socialist Workers Party led by James P. Cannon, and the Workers Party (WP) led by Max Shachtman. Shachtman's group had argued that the Soviet Union under the Stalin regime had been transformed into a new oppressive social system – bureaucratic collectivism – which was no better than capitalism, requiring that the workers and oppressed must cohere into a revolutionary 'third camp' independent of both systems. The SWP, on the other hand, continued to argue for Trotsky's position – that the social system in the Soviet Union contained progressive features won by the 1917 revolution (the foundations of a nationalized and planned economy) that must be defended from both imperialist threats posed by world capitalism and also the corrupt and murderous Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship, ultimately through a political revolution inside the USSR. But both the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party shared the view that a post-World War II revolutionary upsurge would set things right, bringing a global revolutionary upsurge that would sweep away Stalinism, imperialism, and capitalism.

A majority of the WP quickly perceived that a super-power Cold War confrontation was pushing Trotsky's revolutionary scenario to the margins. Elements within the Shachtman group, and finally Shachtman himself and a majority of his comrades, concluded that the bureaucratic-collectivist tyranny was not 'no better' than capitalism, but in fact was worse, with no impending revolutionary wave to dislodge it. This generated a drift into social-democratic reformism and a reluctant but increasingly firm alignment with the anti-Communist 'West'. Within the SWP, an initial fissure opened up as a small group that included Albert Goldman, Felix Morrow and Trotsky's secretaryJean van Heijenoort (using various pseudonyms) perceptively challenged the initial revolutionary optimism to which the party majority still adhered. They pointed

to the actual developments that were beginning to unfold, and they pulled in a direction similar to that of the Shachtman current. In fact, however, for them it soon led to an abandonment of revolutionary politics altogether.

It was in resistance to such pressures that Cannon and his co-thinkers staked out an orientation that rejected such adaptations to the non-revolutionary developments – reflected in his 'The Coming American Revolution'. Within the Shachtman group, a distinctive and remarkable cluster that had gathered around C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya (known as the Johnson-Forest tendency) responded with enthusiasm to this stance, breaking from the WP in order to throw themselves into the SWP. Their own analysis of the Soviet Union – that its socio-economic formation was actually a form of capitalism (state capitalism) – had cut across the theoretical dynamic at work among the Shachtmanites, but it also differentiated them from their new-found comrades in the SWP. What's more, the harsh realities behind the pessimistic devolution of the Goldman-Morrow group continued to bear down on the SWP. There were multiplying pressures to choose sides in the global Cold War confrontation, and the 'orthodox' position calling for critical defense of the Soviet Union inevitably stirred internal polemics, as did a growing inertia in the face of the seeming evaporation of revolutionary or class-struggle possibilities within the United States. Within four years the Johnson-Forest group fled from the SWP, breaking explicitly and definitively from Trotskyism, with high expectations – only to find themselves blocked and fragmented by the overarching political and socio-economic realities afflicting the world Trotskyist movement.

Those who remained in that world movement continued to wrestle with the question of how best to apply their revolutionary principles and convictions to the often confusing and increasingly difficult swirl of reality, as the 1940s gave way to the 1950s. Some of the European leaders of the Fourth International (the central one being Michel Pablo) predicted a third world war, with the Stalinist-led labor movement and bureaucratized workers' states on one side and US imperialism on the other. In such a situation, they believed, the Fourth International must critically support the Stalinists. Trotskyists should recognize, they asserted, that the path to socialism would probably lie through an extended period of Stalinist-led 'deformed workers' states' which would eventually become democratized partly through the work, on the 'inside', of the Trotskyists. They argued that Trotskyists should not maintain an independent, 'sectarian' small-group existence, but instead should carry out a 'deep entry' into the mass workers' movements led by either the Stalinists or the Social Democrats. Seeking to impose a fairly rigid conception of 'international democratic centralism', some of these leaders attempted to bring all the parties of the Fourth International into line with this general outlook.

The world Trotskyist movement was split by this issue. A minority in the SWP – in part agreeing with Pablo's perspectives, but in part feeling deeply demoralized by the disappointment of earlier revolutionary expectations – initiated a factional struggle in the US which resulted in a large section of the party's trade unionists and other valuable cadres leaving the organization. The SWP majority, led by Cannon, helped to spearhead a struggle inside the Fourth International against what they saw as Pablo's adaptation to Stalinism and tendency to liquidate the program and organization of the world Trotskyist movement. This crisis and the 1953 fissure in the Fourth Internationalist forces – both in the US and worldwide – greatly weakened the morale and capacity for effective political action of US Trotskyists. Even after the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, scars and partly unhealed wounds remained from the 1953 split.

The Rise and Fall of 'High Stalinism'

Decisive in the split and partial reunification were the rise and fall of what has sometimes been characterized as 'high Stalinism' or 'late Stalinism'. The USSR under the bureaucratic dictatorship whose central figure was Joseph Stalin had not only survived the German Nazi onslaught of 1941–2 (which killed over 25 million people out of a population of 200 million), but from 1943 to 1945 broke the back of Hitler's war machine. The Soviet Red Army, combined with heroic underground resistance forces indigenous to the various occupied

countries, among whom native Communists were a major force, liberated Eastern and Central Europe from the Nazi occupiers. Stalin's authority and power soared, as the Soviet Union rebuilt itself in the post-war period.

Along with and in confrontation to the United States, the USSR became a global super-power, as Communist Party dictatorships assumed control of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and Yugoslavia. In Asia, Communist-led revolutions and take-overs also triumphed in China, North Korea, and North Vietnam. Communist parties became influential and often politically powerful in a variety of other countries – in France, Italy, India, Indonesia, in the Middle East, in Latin America, and even in parts of Africa. For many workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, the Stalinist variant of Communism was seen as an unstoppable force for human liberation.

On the other hand, the bureaucratic-authoritarian and often brutal and murderous qualities of Stalinism had the opposite impact on many workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, some of whom had initially responded to Communism's positive appeal. Within the USSR itself, 'high Stalinism' was generating irrationalities and crises (economically, culturally, politically) from which – after the tyrant's death in 1953 – his erstwhile comrades sought to free themselves. In the wake of Nikita Khrushchev's semi-secret/semi-open denunciation of some of Stalin's crimes in 1956, policies of 'liberalization' and greater openness were initiated – although strictly within the parameters of maintaining bureaucratic control and Communist Party dictatorship. The collision of rising popular expectations with these authoritarian limits (perhaps most dramatically punctuated by the Hungarian revolution of 1956, brutally repressed by Soviet military forces), contributed to an ongoing crisis, and along-term fragmentation and erosion, of the world Communism that had been shaped under Stalin's reign.

As is evident in the pages of this volume and the next, such complex and contradictory developments powerfully impacted on US Trotskyists, among whom there developed divergent perspectives on how to interpret and respond to what was happening.

Social Process of De-radicalization

There were additional problems that undermined the ability of the US Trotskyists to realise much of the potential that had been evident in the 1930s and '40s. One obvious reflection of the Cold War was the development of afar-reaching campaign of domestic anticommunism. During the Second World War, Social Democratic and Stalinist currents in the US, both of which enjoyed substantial influence in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), had helped to rally militant and socially conscious working people to a broad patriotic, class-collaborationist war effort against an expansionist 'foreign menace' of German fascism and Japanese imperialism; this was facilitated by the earlier support which both had given to the Democratic Party's 'New Deal' coalition for social reform headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Any notion that US capitalism was also imperialist and expansionistic, fostering a foreign policy counterposed to the interests of the workers, was not then consistently voiced by any organized force in the workers' movement except for the small number of Trotskyists.

Developments during the New Deal and the Second World War periods – fraught as they were with left-wing and radical elements and potentialities – set the stage for along-term de-radicalization process. Frank Lovell, who lived through it, later reflected that World War II 'was like a chasm caused by an earthquake of unimaginable force', elaborating:

> The war changed the world. It changed almost everything about the world that we had known. It changed class relations among people around the world. And of course it left vast destruction and devastation in its wake. But this was the very condition needed for the recovery and expansion of the capitalist system. Capitalism as a world system gained renewed strength from the process of rebuilding.

The mind-set fostered during the New Deal and the Second World War facilitated the enlistment of the bulk of organized labor into a 'bipartisan' crusade against a new 'foreign menace', the USSR and the world Communist 'conspiracy'. The moderates and

Social Democrats inside the labor movement took the lead in advancing this perspective, while the trade unionists of the Communist Party – which for more than a decade had failed to build a working-class socialist base politically independent from the (now fiercely anticommunist) Democratic Party liberals – suddenly found themselves isolated. Anticommunist hysteria and purges swept the labor movement, workplaces, educational institutions, and cultural life throughout American society, wrecking the organizations and obliterating the influence not only of the Communist Party but also of other left-wing currents, including the Trotskyists. Working people were intimidated, in many different ways, from giving serious consideration to any and all left-wing perspectives.

This dovetailed with a double erosion of the radical working-class base that was also taking place. One aspect of the erosion was the fading out of immigrant radicalism, and of the vibrant working-class ethnic subcultures, that had been so important to labor's left wing since the mid-nineteenth century. The closing off of immigration in the 1920s combined with powerful cultural-assimilationist dynamics. This, in turn, combined with another significant change – the fact that the working-class struggles which had been led by radicals helped to make capitalist society a better place to live for many workers so that, in fact, they came to have much more to lose than simply the 'chains' of capitalist oppression. A Communist Party organizer with significant experience among foreign-born workers, Steve Nelson, described the realities he found in the late 1940s in a way that merits substantial quotation:

> We asked ourselves what was happening to the foreign-born in this country. Were they becoming integrated into American society? ... It was a fact of life – the older generation was not pulling the younger into the [Communist] movement. Increasingly, first and second generations not only spoke different languages but also opted for different lifestyles.... World War II was a watershed. Sons who went to high school and then served in the armed forces thought in far different terms than their fathers. Daughters who worked in the shipyards and electrical plants were a world away from their mothers' experiences with domestic service and boarders. Industrial workers after the war were no longer just pick and shovel men. Machine tenders who enjoyed the security provided by unions with established channels for collective bargaining could not appreciate the chronic insecurity of the pre-CIO era. Life was changing, and we had to urge the old ones to understand and accept it.
> But despite our recognition of these changing cultural patterns, we were limited in what we could offer, for we were still trying to present a socialist vision based on the model of the Soviet Union. The sons and daughters of immigrants, often far better-educated than their parents, couldn't accept our claim that the Soviet [i.e. Stalinist] model represented abetter life ...
> Although I experienced the changes in working-class values and culture primarily interms of the foreign-born community and their children, I can see now that the entire American working class was undergoing a transformation during and after the war. I was to learn this with a vengeance during the [anti-Communist hysteria of the nineteen] fifties. The Party, which had historically been rooted in a heavily immigrant workingclass culture characterized by economic insecurity and political alienation, was unable to adjust to these changes. We could not evaluate the significance of the changing composition of the work force and its new patterns of community life and consumption. In a sense the activities of the Left were undercutting the role of the [left-wing] fraternal groups in the ethnic community. Gains such as unemployment compensation and social security as well as the greatly enhanced sense of security brought by the CIO unions made the fraternal organization less necessary in meeting the needs of working people. At the same time, participation in the labor movement and especially the war effort ... eased the process of acceptance [into the 'mainstream' of US culture] of the foreign-born and their children.

While Nelson's focus here centers on how the Communist Party was affected, this has obvious significance beyond that. 'Life is not determined by

consciousness, but consciousness by life', Marx and Engels had argued. The description above traces the erosion of the material basis of class consciousness for an important sector of the American working class. It is also described in this 1953 discussion by James P. Cannon of developments within the once left-wing United Auto Workers union, led by the ex-socialist Walter Reuther:

> It is now sixteen years since the sit-down strikes made the new CIO unions secure by the seniority clause. These sixteen years of union security, and thirteen years of uninterrupted war and postwar prosperity, have wrought a great transformation in the unprivileged workers who made the CIO ...

The pioneer militants of the CIO unions are sixteen years older than they were in 1937. They are better off than the ragged and hungry sit-down strikers of 1937; and many of them are sixteen times softer and more conservative. This privileged section of the unions, formerly the backbone of the left wing, is today the main social base of the conservative Reuther bureaucracy. They are convinced far less by Reuther's clever demagogy than by the fact that he really articulates their own conservatized moods and patterns of thought ...

Some of the best militants, the best stalwarts of the party in the old times, have been affected by their new environment. They seethe old militants in the unions, who formerly cooperated with them, growing slower, more satisfied, more conservative. They still mix with these ex-militants socially, and are infected by them. They develop a pessimistic outlook from the reactions they get on every side from these old-timers, and unknown to themselves, acquire an element of that same conservatism.

'A new middle class arose which included a large number of young people of working-class background', wrote one radical sociologist, John C. Leggett, a few years later, noting that many prospering working people had moved out of traditional working-class communities to become homeowners in the suburbs. 'The class struggle abated with the end of the post-World War II strikes, although repeated flare-ups between management and workers occurred during and after the Korean War', he added in his description of the same auto workers discussed by Cannon. 'At the same time, another trend pointed up this harmony. Governmental boards and labor unions often helped minimize class conflict as unions grew more friendly toward companies which were willing to bargain with, and make major concessions to, labor organizations. Prosperity reached almost everyone. Even working-class minority groups [e.g. some African-Americans] improved their standard of living and sent sons and daughters into the middle class'. A Black auto worker named James Boggs, who had passed through the Trotskyist movement in earlier years, asserted in 1963: 'Today the working class is so dispersed and transformed by the very nature of the changes in production that it is almost impossible to select out any single bloc of workers as working class in the old sense'. By this 'old sense' he meant class-conscious workers: 'The working class is growing, as Marx predicted, but itis not the old working class which the radicals persist in believing will create the revolution and establish control over production. That old working class is the vanishing herd'.

Similar developments were taking place in all of the 'capitalist democracies', of course. 'Fear of revolution and a desire for social appeasement stimulated the governments of Western Europe', explained one French scholar, Maurice Crouzet, in 1970, to 'set themselves the aim of creating prosperity and expanding a prosperitywhichwould benefit all classes' in the post-World War II period, through policies providing 'higher wages, shorter working hours, paid holidays, full employment and the virtual disappearance of unemployment, construction of wholesome and cheap housing, social security protection against sickness, loss of work, and old age'. The dramatic development of the welfare state after 1945 – in large measure won through the pressure of labor movements led by Social Democratic and Labor parties – did not fully live up to this idealized picture, let alone reform all capitalist oppression out of existence. The same writer offers some clues as to its limitations: 'Generally speaking, the standard of living has risen in all European countries. Working conditions have improved – first, through the growing importance of mechanization which requires, on the whole, less muscular effort (though it increases nervous tension); and then through the

reduction of working hours and through paid vacations'. The mechanization of labor under capitalism, it should be stressed, involves the degradation of labor – introducing greater control by the employer over the labor process, not only increasing nervous tension among those keeping up with assembly lines, but also eroding their skills and power in their daily work. More than this, there are some sectors of the working class – especially foreigners and non-whites – for whom more traditional forms of working-class oppression were maintained: 'use [of] foreign labor ... has become so important that the expansion of certain industries is closely dependent on it. Immigrant workers provoke grave problems, even in Great Britain where a liberal attitude towards foreigners and the absence of racialism have been traditional ... These immigrants constitute a proletariat, often leading a wretched type of life'.

In the United States, too, there developed an increasingly severe stratification within the workforce, with African-Americans, Hispanics, and many Asian-Americans being pushed into substandard living conditions, more strenuous and lower-paying occupations, higher rates of unemployment, etc., this institutionalized racism being reinforced by cultural and psychological biases on the most personal level. (This had obvious implications for the rise of civil rights and Black nationalist struggles but that brought to the fore a consciousness of race far more than of class).

And for white workers as well as Black, technological developments imposed by the employers created increasing on-the-job alienation, undermining working-class power at the point of production. With little difficulty, astute social critics such as Harvey Swados (a former Shachtmanite) were able to puncture the 'myth of the happy worker' and the 'myth of the powerful worker'. The myth that the working class was simply evaporating altogether, being absorbed into a nebulous middle class, was also effectively refuted with ample facts and figures by more than one critical-minded writer. There was also abundant evidence that the American working class had a sense of being different from other classes – even though many working people referred to themselves as 'middle class' (certainly not 'lower class'!). Distinctive patterns of culture and consciousness continued to distinguish it in the larger society.

On the other hand, there is something to the assertion of Stanley Aronowitz that there has been a tendency 'toward the replacement of all the traditional forms of proletarian culture and everyday life – which gave working-class communities their coherence and provided the underpinnings for the traditional forms of proletarian class consciousness – with a new, manipulated consumer culture which for convenience's sake we can call mass culture'. Regardless of precisely what one wants to make of this, the fact remains that there had been flattening and fragmentation of much that had sustained the old radical working-class consciousness.

This hardly meant that workers' minds simply turned to mush, or that they simply accepted whatever their bosses or televisions told them. The distinctive philosophy of many disaffected workers, one observer commented, was not any of the traditional left-wing ideologies but cynicism: 'Cynicism is a variant of anarchism – anarchism without ideals or ultimate illusions, apathetic, easygoing instead of strenuous, non-sectarian, hence more broadly appealing and far more suitable to the conditions and mentality of contemporary workers than the older tradition of militant idealism and self-sacrifice'.

The class-conscious layers of the American working class – the key to understanding the Socialist Party of Debs and the IWW, the early Communist Party, and the pioneer Trotskyists – had, certainly by the end of the 1950s, ceased to exist as a distinctive social force. 'The surest way to lose one's fighting faith is to succumb to one's immediate environment; to see things only as they are and not as they are changing and must change; to see only what is before one's eyes and imagine that it is permanent'. This had been Cannon's appeal to his comrades, and many were able to accept that – but this was only a tiny fragment of the US working class.

The social basis for the kind of revolutionary party that the SWP had aspired to be, based on the model advanced by Lenin and his comrades in the early years of the Communist International, had

ceased to exist. All that remained for the stalwart veterans of the SWP in the 1950s was to maintain enough of an organization to keep alive the ideals and general perspectives of revolutionary Marxism, the understanding of history and the revolutionary tradition. If this could be accomplished, if the SWP could survive until the next radical upsurge that capitalism would inevitably generate, then American Trotskyism would have something to contribute to it.

Fragmentation and Insight

Especially from 1939–40 (the cut-off of our first volume), and extending down to the mid-1960s (the cut-off of our third and final volume on US Trotskyism), we can see a proliferation of controversies and splits within the ranks of the US Trotskyists. While this three-volume compilation focuses on the 'mainstream' of American Trotskyism – the organizational succession of Communist League of America, Workers Party of the United States, the Appeal Caucus within the Socialist Party of America, and finally the Socialist Workers Party – the breakaways whose beginnings we note in these volumes deserve volumes and additional studies of their own: those who followed Max Shachtman, the Johnson-Foresttendency of C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, the current associated with Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, and those associated with the group around Bert Cochran, George Clarke, Harry Braverman, etc.

Several facts stand out as we survey this scene with the critical distance that the passage of decades allows. Each of the dissident groups that evolved into breakaway currents – very sharply at variance with each other, on multiple points, as they certainly are – while hardly themselves constituting a coherent whole, represent a remarkable array of fertile insights into the realities of the society, politics and world around them, at the same time enriching Marxist theory. In the 2013 science-fiction film Cloud Atlas, a central character says: 'Truth is singular. Its "versions" are mis-truths'. This valid perception should not be allowed to block us from additional insights emphasized long ago by Henri Lefebvre:

> All reality is a totality, both one and many, scattered or coherent and open to its future, that is, to its end. ... Each moment contains other moments, aspects or elements that have come from its past. Reality thus overflows the mind, obliging us to delve ever deeper into it – and especially to be ever revising our principles of identity, causality and finality and make them more thorough.... Every truth is relative to a certain stage of the analysis and of thought, to a certain social content. It preserves its truth only by being transcended....
>
> In human terms, the energy of creation is extended and made manifest in and through the Praxis, that is the total activity of mankind, action and thought, physical labour and knowledge. The Praxis is doubly creative: in its contact with realities, hence in knowledge, and in invention or discovery.... Experience and reason, intelligence and intuition, knowing and creating, conflict with one another only if we take a one-sided view of them.

A shortcoming among those seeking to understand complex realities – in this case the history of US Trotskyism – is an inclination to identify with the perspectives of one or another of the contending tendencies or factions to such an extent that it is not possible to grasp and appreciate insights provided by opposing tendencies or factions. Instead, the opposing Other (whether it is one or another dissident grouping or the dominant majority) is flattened into a caricature from which little can be learned.

If we apply this to the repeated critiques of the so-called 'orthodox' Trotskyists of the SWP mainstream, the supposed brain-dead dogmatism, the theoretical rigidity, the sterility and lack of creativity, etc. turn out to be optical illusions as those so characterized wrestle with realities in ways that yield valuable perceptions and conceptualizations which can shed considerable light on the complex and evolving realities of their time and ours. Naturally, this was not always the case. We can also find false starts and blind allies generated by an uncritical embrace of one or another 'established truth' or illusory hope – something that crops up in all human groups, including among 'mainstream' Trotskyists and their dissident critics.

There is another issue worth considering. The revolutionary Marxist perspective positing 'the coming American revolution' – which could be labeled The Trotskyist Paradigm – clearly underwent a crisis from 1939–40 down to the 1960s, and beyond. The word paradigm here refers to a theoretical framework, a specific set of thought patterns (concepts, theories, expectations and methodology) guiding the activities of these revolutionary activists. Far from imposing a rigid or mechanical approach, this could be utilized flexibly, creatively, and fruitfully. But the broader political, socio-economic, and cultural realities that we have surveyed in this introduction seemed to generate an accumulation of critical anomalies challenging the paradigm.

Such a process, according to Thomas Kuhn in his classic The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, is characteristic of the evolution of thought and the expansion of knowledge within the natural sciences. As one summary notes, for Kuhn, 'When enough significant anomalies have accrued against a current paradigm, the scientific discipline is thrown into a state of crisis'. 'During this crisis, new ideas, perhaps ones previously discarded, are tried. Eventually a new paradigm is formed, which gains its own new followers, and an intellectual "battle" takes place between the followers of the new paradigm and the holdouts of the old paradigm'.

Something approximating this has characterized the history of US Trotskyism reflected in these three volumes. More than this, for the past half century there has been a parade of new paradigms, which have fairly quickly become passé within the dramatically rapid and recurring transformations characteristic of what Ernest Mandel once characterized as 'Late Capitalism' and what many now call the age of globalization (in which, with increasing velocity, 'all that is solid melts into air').30 There has yet to be the crystallization of anything sufficiently durable to replace variants of the old perspectives that animated the people we can find in these pages. Such a superior paradigm, when it finally comes into being, may end up synthesizing new conceptualizations with those drawn from the richness of the Trotskyist tradition.

The final volume of this documentary trilogy on US Trotskyism will reveal new stirrings and pathways of thought and activism that evolved and animated growing numbers of comrades within the SWP mainstream, as the 1950s flowed into the 1960s. We should conclude this 'middle' volume with the acknowledgement that such developments were inherent, as well, in the lives, perceptions, and perspectives of members of the so-called 'orthodox' mainstream even of the late 1940s and early 1950s. The perceptive cultural historian of the Left, Alan Wald, has initiated an excavation of what he calls 'Cannonite bohemians' of this period. There is evidence that this was more than simply a 'fringe' within the SWP. A clear example can be found in Detroit, as the SWP branch was rebuilt in the wake, and from the debris, of the damaging fight with the Cochran faction, with which this volume concludes, that tore apart the central core of the US Trotskyist mainstream. In the introduction to the next volume, some attention will be given to a 'case-study' of the Detroit experience.

Despite repeated denigrations about presumably stale, dogmatic, dead thinking aimed at the SWP mainstream – coming from those associated with Shachtman, Goldman-Morrow, Johnson-Forest, and Cochran – we find a recurrent re-affirmation of the memorable phrase from the 1993 film Jurassic Park: 'life finds a way'. Persistent infusions of 'heterodoxy' into the reigning 'orthodoxy', which seems to have kept Marxism alive and vibrant down to our own time, remained evident among mainstream Trotskyists in the United States. Changing realities continually generated new insights that significantly – if sometimes covertly – enriched older perspectives, at the same time anticipating and helping to create possibilities for new breakthroughs. <>

US Trotskyism 1928–1965: Part III: Resurgence: Uneven and Combined Development, Dissident Marxism in the United States edited by Paul Le Blanc, Bryan Palmer [Historical Materialism, Brill, 9789004224469]

US Trotskyism 1928–1965: Part III: Resurgence: Uneven and Combined Development, Dissident Marxism in the United States is the third of a documentary trilogy on a revolutionary socialist split-off from the U.S. Communist Party, reflecting Leon Trotsky's confrontation with Stalinism in the global Communist movement. Spanning 1954 to

1965, this volume surveys the Cold War era, the civil rights and black liberation movements, the "third wave" of feminism, and other social and cultural developments of the 1950s and 1960s. Documenting responses to a variety of anti-colonial and revolutionary insurgencies, the volume also gives attention to the crisis and decline of Stalinism. Attention is given to internal debates and splits, but also to the partial reunification of the international Trotskyist movement (the Fourth International), as well as substantial contributions to the study history and the development of Marxist theory. Scholars and activists will find much of interest in these primary sources.

Contents

Excerpt: A Party of Uneven and Combined Development by Paul Le Blanc

This is the concluding volume in a trilogy of documentary materials covering the history of Trotskyism in the United State from 1929 to 1965. It is part of a broader multi-volume project on 'Dissident Marxism in the United States', involving the development of US Marxism outside of the Communist and Socialist parties in the period from the late 1920s to the early 1960s. This includes an already published volume on the Communist Party Opposition headed by Jay Lovestone, and forthcoming volumes on 'independent Marxism' unaffiliated with the specific groups mentioned here.

The people who were drawn to the Trotskyist banner sought to forge a genuinely revolutionary pathway from the violence and oppression of capitalism to a better future of socialist democracy, the control of the world's economic resources by laboring majorities for the good of humanity – a cause which they believed had been betrayed by the bureaucratic leaderships and badly compromised programs of the mass reformist-Socialist parties and by the global Communist movement led by Joseph Stalin. The overall history of US Trotskyism is covered in a number of other works and cannot be rehearsed in this introduction (though the introductions of all three volumes provide some of the essentials). The most ambitious effort to date in mapping a general history is Robert J. Alexander's International Trotskyism, but also useful and serviceable is the recently republished Trotskyism in the United States: Historical Essays and Reconsiderations containing contributions by George Breitman, Paul Le Blanc, and Alan Wald.

A limitation of the three large volumes presented here is that they do not cover the subsequent history of those groupings which broke from the Trotskyist mainstream – such as those associated

with Hugo Oehler, Max Shachtman, C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, Bert Cochran, Sam Marcy, Clara Fraser and Richard Fraser, Tim Wohlforth, James Robertson, and others. The disputes which resulted in those splits are recorded here, and work by others provides much useful material on what happened next, but obviously there is room for more work on such matters.

It is hoped that these three volumes – and the entire set of 'Dissident Marxism in the United States' – will stand as a useful resource for scholars and activists. What is offered in the rest of this introduction attempts to provide ideas and information that may be helpful in making sense of the mass of documentary material that follows.

Using a Theoretical Construct

Leon Trotsky's 'law of uneven and combined development' (decisive in the development of his distinctive theory of permanent revolution) can be generalized to help elucidate many complex phenomena, including what happened to the Trotskyist movement as it made its way from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s.

Trotsky described uneven development as characterizing different areas and different countries which are just that – different. These different regions have had their own particular characteristics, and for various reasons, technological and cultural and ideological innovations arose first in one area and then had an impact on other areas at different times – leading to uneven development in the history of the world as a whole. This leads to another historical law expressed by Trotsky in this way:

> Unevenness, the most general law of the historic process, reveals itself most sharply and complexly in the destiny of backward countries. Under the whip of external necessity their backward culture is compelled to make leaps. From the universal law of unevenness thus derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of combined development – by which we mean a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms.

Similar dynamics can be found in a left-wing organization, particularly one spread over different geographic areas, with a diverse social composition, embracing different generations, and interacting with co-thinkers in various other countries as well as with the complex and evolving society within which it is embedded. The dialectical contradictions of such 'uneven and combined development' can sometimes be found not simply within a revolutionary organization, but even within an individual who is a leading member of such an organization.

Before exploring this further, however, it is worth considering the applicability of an additional conceptualization.

A Sect and Not a Sect

In the view of many, the Socialist Workers Party in the 1950s fits the classic definition of a sect. In a polemical analysis of 1954 – aimed precisely at the SWP – sociologist Lewis Coser wrote: 'A sect ... consists of men [now we would say 'people'] who have cut themselves off from the main body of society. They have formed a restricted and closed group which rejects the norms of the inclusive society and proclaims its adherence to a special set of rules of conduct'. Acknowledging 'fundamental differences between a [religious] fundamentalist sect and the political sects of the modern socialist movement', Coser explains:

> The original radical impulse of the sectarian was likely to be born out of a revolt against the injustice, the cruelty, the insensitivity of American capitalist society; it was nourished by moral indignation and Utopian idealism. The political sectarian, as distinct from the religious sectarian, didn't want to save his own soul; he wanted, out of the generous impulse of his conviction, to change the human condition of his fellowmen.

The problem, Coser notes, is that 'the twists of history in nineteenth and twentieth century America' resulted in the failure and isolation of the would-be social revolutionaries. 'The socialist movement either adapted itself to prevailing strands of opinion, thus losing much of its radical inflection, or was thrown into isolation and in a reflex of defensiveness accentuated its sectarian characteristics'.

At this point, patterns similar to what can be found in religious sects kick in. 'The sect, by its exclusive structure, creates a morality opposed to that of the rest of society', Coser explains. 'Since it regards the outsider as not participating in grace, as not belonging to the select, as not having the fortitude or capacity to adhere to revolutionary principles, it sees him as an exponent of a lower morality'. He adds: 'The sect does not strive for large membership. On the contrary it may even find it advantageous to suffer a loss of membership if this involves the elimination of men inclined toward compromise and mediation'. Hence the prevalence of factional fights, expulsions, and organizational splits among organizations aspiring to be revolutionary. Apparently, all such groups must be seen as sects.

This suggests a highly problematical aspect of Coser's analysis. If one is opposed to racism, gender and sexual oppression, war, and class exploitation and seeks to build a movement and struggles against suchthings – thereby 'creating amorality opposed to that of the rest of society' – then one is by definition a sectarian. This is the case, presumably, even if one's movement wins majority support and culminates in a successful revolution – since Coser quotes Lenin's writings as presenting classic sectarian perspectives.

In fact, Coser's sweeping generalities are challenged by Lenin's more precise discussion of sectarianism in Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder. Here Lenin identifies three key elements that are essential for what he considers to be a genuinely revolutionary party (in contrast to an ultra-left sect): 'First, by the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism'. By 'proletarian vanguard' he is not referring to a small self-proclaimed elite, but a minority layer of the working-class that is drawn to the party. 'Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact, and – if you wish – merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people – primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people'. Only then is it possible to refer to the final necessary element: 'Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, from their own experience, that they are correct'.

Lenin adds, significantly: 'Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end up in phrasemongering and clowning'. He concludes that 'these conditions cannot emerge at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement'. What is particularly important is this outwardlooking engagement with experience, which for the Russians from 1903 to 1918 was in fact a

> wealth of experience. During those fifteen years, no other country knew anything even approximating to that revolutionary experience, that rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement – legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, underground and open, local circles and mass movements, and parliamentary and terrorist forms. In no other country has there been concentrated, in so brief a period, such a wealth of forms, shades, and methods of struggle of all classes of modern society, a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the severity of the tsarist yoke, matured with exceptional rapidity, and assimilated most eagerly and successfully the appropriate 'last word' of American and European political experience.

What is projected here – reflecting the actual, historical experience of Bolshevism – is something that in no way conforms to the kind of sect that Coser discusses. It is in large measure because of his own engagement with and assimilation of this historical experience that James Cannon, writing to his friend V.R. Dunne in 1955, after reading correspondence of Engels regarding wouldbe Marxists in the United States, commented: 'I am on

the warpath against any sign or symptom of sectarianism myself. I intend to write about it too, in a "preventative" way, and to appeal to Engels for help'. Keenly aware of the larger social circumstances alluded to by Coser, Cannon asserted: 'I know that sectarianism – in one form or another – is an ever-present danger to any small organization of revolutionists condemned to isolation by circumstances beyondtheir control, regardless of their original wishes and intentions'. Like Lenin, however, he reaches for a greater precision than Coser's formulation will allow: 'The moment such an organization ceases tothink of itself as apart of the working class, which can realize its aims only with and through the working class, and to conduct itself accordingly, it is done for'. He elaborates:

> The key to Engels's thought is his striking expression that the conscious socialists should act as a 'leaven' in the instinctive and spontaneous movement of the working class. Those are winged words that every party member should memorize. The leaven can help the dough to rise and eventually become a loaf of bread, but can never be a loaf of bread itself. Every tendency, direct or indirect, of a small revolutionary party to construct aworld of its own, outside and apart from the real movement of the workers in the class struggle, is sectarian. Such tendencies can take many forms, and we should not delude ourselves that the well known illustrations exhaust the possibilities.

And yet this by no means exhausts the question of SWP sectarianism. While Cannon and his comrades may have assimilated the powerfully anti-sectarian tendencies associated with Russian Bolshevism, they were also immersed in the kinds of difficult US realities that both Cannon and Coser allude to, generating sectarian impulses which Cannon explicitly tagged as 'ever-present'. Careful observation reveals combined elements – non-sectarian and sectarian – blended within the reality of the SWP of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Case Study: George Breitman and the Detroit SWP

To get an adequate sense of this, it may be helpful to give some attention to the Detroit branch of the SWP in the period of 1954 to 1967.7 George and Dorothea Breitman moved to Detroit in the wake of the dispute and split with the Cochran faction, joining Frank and Sarah Lovell, who had transferred in during the last stages of the fight. Their collective political understanding and experience were certainly challenged by the situation in which they found themselves. Detroit had been a stronghold of the Cochranites, and young activist Evelyn Sell later recalled that the split 'left us with only eight members, no headquarters, [and] no mailing list or mimeograph machine or basic resources'. All of them had to get jobs to support themselves, but for Breitman his 'real' job was to function as an effective organizer of the Detroit SWP branch. In a 1958 letter to a comrade, he described his view of this work:

> Those who sent me to Detroit didn't intend that I should stay there; they thought in terms of a year or two, an improvement in the internal situation, etc. I told them I was going for good.... I had my heart set on ... helping younger comrades, so far as I could, to develop all their powers, to realize their potential. I think I make a beginning at it. I know some a little, some substantially, some not at all. I know that I helped to create a healthier climate in the branch, in which development could be encouraged in the right direction.

Over the next dozen years, the Detroit branch of the SWP attracted a growing number of people, especially with the youth radicalization of the 1960s. According to one observer, Breitman was 'adored by the younger party members'. Melissa Singler was a teenage activist involved in the 1960 picketing of Woolworths during the early days of the civil rights movement, and the first socialist class series she attended was taught by Breitman. 'I was terribly excited by the classes', she remembers. 'George was able to take a roomful of young people, most of whom had gone from six to sixteen in the silent 1950s, and have us hanging on his words'. Impressed by 'his straightforwardness and his creativity', Singler notes that 'there was tremendous admiration on the part of those teenagers for this man who could so easily and humorously tell us about a history we had not been told about before'.

Evelyn Sell recalled, 'he devoted special time, energy, and thought to helping younger comrades

realize their potential', and he 'paid extra-special attention to the development of women comrades'. Breitman's commitment comes through in his discussion of Simone de Beauvoir (the existentialist he 'admired the most'):

> In all of her novels there is much that is good, and some that's very good. ... But her best book, and I think the best of that school is her [pioneering feminist] study, The Second Sex. ... [I]ts dissociation from Marxism is feeble and quibbling, I think. The spirit and tone of the whole work is Marxist to me. It is the work of a truly talented and cultured writer. (Maybe I felt a special impact; it had long been one of my conceits that I understood the woman question better than anyone else, including most women; and I was shaken up to find that after all I didn't know much about how hard it is to be a woman).

Breitman's comprehension of working-class realities necessarily intersected not only with those of gender but also with those of race. As Michael Smith puts it, 'He learned about black nationalism in Detroit. It was all-pervasive in that extremely nationalist and political city, and he was thus able to educate others, many others, about black nationalism and about its shining prince and chief spokesman, Malcolm X'. Evelyn Sell captures an essential aspect of Breitman's achievement:

> His empathy enabled him to have unique insights into the feelings and aspirations of blacks – and this gave the Detroit branch a special advantage in responding to the exciting developments in the black community: the emergence of a generation of black youths seeking militant and revolutionary solutions to racism; the outpouring of almost the entire black population for the 1963 civil rights march through downtown Detroit; the nationalist character of the Michigan Freedom Now Party. George's ability to be in tune with these developments didn't come solely from his brain but from the very core of his being.

'I thought he was black like me', commented one reader of Breitman's works who was surprised, upon meeting him, to find that he was white. 'I felt as if he was in my skin'. Another young black student commented that initially 'I looked upon the world struggle and the world situation as that of black vs. white – as oppressive whites who were responsible for oppressing nonwhites'. Contact with Breitman contributed to a shift in perspective: 'The struggle is really against avaricious capitalists who use racism and sexism as weapons in order for them to continue their exploitation and oppression of the working class of the world'.

Paul Lee, in a perceptive discussion of Breitman's writings on Malcolm X, has added another important point:

> It has been rare in my experience to meet white people who define themselves as people before they define themselves as white. That is, most whites that I've known see themselves and their culture as the norm, which implicitly or explicitly expresses itself in an attitude of superiority.
> In George's case, I'm not sure if he had any attachment to his so-called whiteness or to his ethnicity. I am sure that I never felt judged or 'different' in his regard because of my so-called blackness. I've been told the
> same thing by other African Americans who knew him, including the late Wilfred Shabazz [brother of Malcolm X], who was an exceptionally perceptive person.
> I can't account for why this was so, but I do know that it gave him an advantage in dealing with people defined as black, who, after all, just wanted to be treated as people. He related to black people with an ease and unselfconsciousness that won him their respect and trust. Another revolutionary who happened to be white, John Brown, is said to have had a similar relationship with black people.

With his path-breaking work on Malcolm X, it became possible for Breitman to break out of two ghettoes. One ghetto was the rarefied circle of allegedly 'sectarian' politics to which small left-wing groups (especiallyTrotskyists) were often restricted, certainly in the conservative political and cultural atmosphere predominant in the United States during the 1950s and early 1960s. The other ghetto was much larger – that of so-called white America, which was traditionally sealed off from people of color in general and especially from African Americans. But this was consistent with

Breitman's distinctive qualities over a number of years, which involved the persistent integration of his creativitywith a deep and ongoing commitment to consistent revolutionary organizational work, which meant an engagement with more and more people across the boundaries of age, gender, and race. From semi-retirement in the mid-1950s, James P. Cannon went out of his way to hail the Detroit branch for its 'combination of all-sided activity' (which, according to Frank Lovell, was actually 'a tribute to George Breitman').

The Friday Night Socialist Forum was one key element in bringing everything together. 'Working closely with his wife Dorothea, along with Frank and Sarah Lovell and Evelyn Sell, Breitman converted the group's Friday Night Socialist Forum into a tool for discussion and recruitment, and he continued to oversee the forum from 1954 until he left Detroit in 1967', writes historian Angela Dillard. 'Although African Americans did not join the SWP in large numbers ... the forum and the Militant deeply influenced a number of young activists', Dillard emphasizes, commenting that the forum 'attracted dozens of young radicals, many of whom would go on to work with [the prominent black activist who led the Freedom Now Party] Reverend [Albert] Cleage and found some of the most important organizations of the late 1960s, including the League of Black Revolutionary Workers and the Revolutionary Union Movement (RUM), the West Central Organization (WCO), and the Black Economic Development Conference'.

Evelyn Sell described the Friday Night Socialist Forum as 'a primary means of party-building, of educating members and nonmembers, of developing young comrades as speakers, and of creating a center for political and radical activities in the Detroit area', elaborating:

> From its inception, the Friday Night Socialist Forum invited speakers from a range of organizations. Although most of the topics were political, there were many dealing with art, music, and literature. A humanities professor from Wayne State University not only gave talks about music but brought his portable keyboard and played excerpts to illustrate his points. A comrade who was a relatively well-known sculptor gave a series of talks on art, including taking the whole forum audience to the Detroit Art Institute for a guided lecture tour. The forum devoted a weekend to an exhibit of Daumier prints along with showing a film on the revolutions of 1848. The Friday Night Socialist Forum had theater nights when we presented portions of the writings and plays of Bertolt Brecht. As George wrote in a letter to me, Brecht was 'the creative writer with whom I identify the most closely'. He made Brecht fans out of many of us, and this was reflected in the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

The forums would be held at the SWP headquarters that Breitman and his comrades established, which combined offices and a modest bookstore with a large meeting room and was dubbed Debs Hall to honor the great socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. Independent radical Dan Georgakas, coauthor of Detroit: I Do Mind Dying, frequently attended the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 'the only regularly scheduled Left event in the city at that time'. The initial presentations 'were always followed by often spirited question/answer/statements/debate periods', an intellectually stimulating format that added to its appeal. 'Looking over the list of those who attended the various forums, one will find a virtual who's who of the Detroit Left in the period which immediately followed [from the late 1960s through the 1970s]', as well as 'individuals who became part of the liberal establishment: at least one congressman and several judges, college administrators, union leaders, and city officials'. Once the weekly forums became an SWP institution through the country, Georgakas notes, 'over a period of time, in any given location, hundreds of people might attend one or more such forums', and although most of those attending never joined the Socialist Workers Party, 'the cumulative impact of such forums was considerable'.

During this period of 1954–67, it should be noted, Breitman played several important roles. According to Ernest Mandel (well-known Belgian Marxist theorist and a central leader of the Fourth International), Breitman was 'one of the few in our movement who have made a genuine contribution to the development of theory, in his case in the field of black nationalism, and more generally the

nationalism of the downtrodden and the oppressed everywhere in the world'. Beginning in 1956, Breitman also played a key role in pushing forward the discussion that brought about a reconciliation among many Fourth Internationalists, culminating in formal reunification in 1963. Breitman's role in this, recalled Frank Lovell, was 'little known to most members of his branch in Detroit at that time'.

To most members of the Detroit branch of the SWP, however, Breitman did provide a model of what Sell called 'a well-rounded, professional revolutionary', who 'set an example simply by the way he did things' – specifically, as someone who was prepared to assume responsibility in all phases of political life in the branch, including the most 'mundane'. Sell emphasizes: 'He took a serious attitude toward every task and assignment, whether it was functioning as a branch organizer, or bringing a wealth of ideas to executive committee meetings, or mopping the hall floors as a member of the headquarters committee'.

Life and Leadership in the SWP

Tim Wohlforth had been a prominent activist in the Young Socialist League, youth group of the organization led by Max Shachtman – Independent Socialist League (formerly the Workers Party) – that was evolving from Trotskyism to social democracy and preparing to merge into the Socialist Party of America. Disagreeing with this perspective, Wohlforth and others broke away in 1957 in order to join the Socialist Workers Party and then to help create an SWP youth group, theYoung Socialist Alliance (YSA), which came into being in 1960. Serving on the SWP's central leadership body, the Political Committee (PC), for several years, Wohlforth offers an interesting perspective. 'The main problem

with the Political Committee was that it was not very political', he complains. 'Unlike the YSA, the Socialist Workers Party in general in the late 1950s was a dull place, and Dobbs's PC was no different. A typical PC meeting was a two-hour battle to keep awake'. (He also describes the SWP's weekly newspaper, the Militant, of this period as 'exceedingly dull'). Going on to describe political differences and factional tensions which he discovered in his new organization (some of which are indicated in the documents gathered here), he added:

> I do not want to suggest that the SWP in this period was some kind of factional jungle. Actually life in the party was peaceful to the point of boredom. Most factionalism was of an underground character, conducted by individuals who claimed to have no political differences with the leadership. Dues were paid and the Militant was always sold. The party was run in a modest, but smooth and professional manner. The problem was that the party comprised a generation of workers and intellectuals – those recruited in the 1930s and during World War II – that was getting old and tired. Cannon did a better job than Shachtman in holding on to his aging cadres, and on the whole, he and his followers kept the revolutionary faith. But because will and energy had departed, faith was about all they had left. Cannon could not defy the general trends affecting the working class in the 1950s.

Yet there were rank-and-file members who would not have accepted Wohlforth's characterizations. 'The Party has many needs. There is a constant and continuous whirl of activity', commented Ben Stone, an active member from 1945 to 1966. 'These activities include attending branch meetings at least once a week, attending special meetings – committee meetings, forums, classes'. He adds: 'Then there are the subscription campaigns (selling subs to the Party newspaper, the Militant, and other periodicals)'. Describing the Militant as 'the agitator for the Party and its best recruiting tool', he noted that it was 'sold at public places, rallies, demonstrations, meetings, factory gates, and on the streets'. More than this, 'the Party believes in proclaiming its ideas openly before the widest audience and election campaigns provide one of the best forums for dissemination of its views'. All in all, for an activist like Stone, 'life in the revolutionary Marxist party is one of total commitment', since 'the cause of socialism takes precedence over everything else'.

The fact remained that the first decade of Stone's membership was one of dramatic erosion and decline. Coming into the SWP and YSA in the late

1950s were Barry Sheppard and Peter Camejo. With fewer than 600 members (the largest concentrations in New York and Los Angeles), 'the party nationally was composed largely of blue-collar workers, along with some outstanding university-educated intellectuals, such as George Novack, and young people whom we were beginning to recruit from the college campuses', according to Sheppard. 'While the membership was small, it consisted of very dedicated people ("cadres" was the term we used) who gave a great deal of their time and money to the party'. Camejo described the Trotskyist leadership this way:

> The central core of the older party leadership had consisted mainly of several men who had all been involved since the early 1930s. In addition to Farrell Dobbs, who [as part of a team headed by V.R. Dunne] had led the Minneapolis Teamster strikes of the mid-thirties, and Tom Kerry from the seamen's unions on the West Coast, these leaders included Joseph Hansen, who had been Trotsky's secretary and was the SWP's main writer on international politics; George Breitman from Detroit, who undertook the publication of Trotsky's collected writings as well as the speeches of Malcolm X; and the party's principal intellectual, George Novack. A slightly younger second tier included Fred Halstead, Nat Weinstein, Harry Ring, and Ed Shaw. All these men remained active in the SWP after the transition to the younger team. The SWP's founder, James P. Cannon, had retired to Los Angeles in 1952 but occasionally sent his comments to the New York leadership until his death in 1974.

Another young recruit, Leslie Evans, has indicated the way some members sized up the national party leadership: 'Hansen and George Breitman were theoreticians, the highest superlative, while Tom Kerry and Farrell Dobbs were at best politicians, able to carry out policy but not to formulate it. George Novack ranked lower still, an educator'. In SWP branches throughout the country were worker-intellectuals (such as Larry Trainor in Boston) who played the essential role described by Barry Sheppard:

> Larry imbued us with three aspects of the SWP tradition, above all. First was fierce loyalty to the working class and confidence in its power. Second was recognition of the great importance that the Russian revolution of 1917 held for the future socialist revolution and support for the Leninist ideas that led to the victory of that revolution. Third was support for the ideas of Leon Trotsky and the Trotskyist viewpoint as an alternative to the perversions of socialism that had been brought about during the Stalin era and after. The SWP that we had joined embodied all three aspects of that tradition both in its ideas and in its members, even though we were a small group and we lived at a time during which the working class and the popularity of socialist ideas had suffered great blows as a result of the Cold War witch-hunt period.

The expectation of such stalwarts as Trainor, Stone, and others was that sustaining such steady outreach and radical educational efforts would attract precisely such younger activists as Wohlforth, Camejo, Sheppard, and Evans, as the natural functioning of capitalism (as it periodically seemed to) would yet again impact on new and youthful layers of the population and send them looking for precisely the sort of revolutionary organization that the SWP aspired to be.

Program, Method, Theorization, Reality

Camejo recalls: 'At one point SWP national secretary Farrell Dobbs told me: "The program has been developed. Our job is to implement it". In one form or another I heard this idea repeated by many SWPers, old and new'. Related to this is the way Cannon had begun a 1956 talk, 'Trotsky on America', with the comment: 'Original thinkers are as rare in the social sciences as in every other. In the hundred years of the modern movement of workers' emancipation we know only four genuinely creative minds. These are the masters of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, and their great disciples, Lenin and Trotsky'.

What might be termed the non-creative approach – perhaps related to the dullness of which Wohlforth complained – was seen by Camejo as

connected to a 'concept of the "program" [which] was a defining aspect of Trotskyism'. He explained:

> The early Trotskyists ... saw their primary role as trying to win people over from the mass Communist parties in order to fight for a return to the values of the socialist movement prior to its Stalinist degeneration. Gradually this fight led to a solidifying of the idea that the Trotskyists were the defenders of the true 'program'. This idea of the defense of the program became detached from the real, material development in the mass movement. Among Trotskyists the idea of the true 'program' gradually became its own icon to be defended.

Yet within SWP ranks – including in its leading circles – there was also a much greater intellectual alertness, political engagement, and theoretical creativity than this. Much of this finds reflection in materials gathered in this volume. In large measure it flows from a methodology described by George Breitman in 1964. Breitman insisted on the recognition of what he saw as one of the most important features of Marxism: 'its richness, its variety, its ability to cope with changing situations, its unfinishedness. Marxism is not only what Marx worked out a century ago, nor only what Lenin and Trotsky added when they applied Marx's method to the conditions of their time, but also what subsequent Marxists did, do and will do as they apply this theory to other situations, including some that do not even exist yet'. His elaboration pushes dramatically against the static approach to 'program' of which Camejo complained:

> Marxism is a theory in process of development, which grows in power and scope as it is applied to specific situations and to new conditions. It developed when Lenin and Trotsky applied it to the specific conditions of Russia in the epoch of imperialism ('Russianized' it). It developed further when the Socialist Workers Party applied it to the specific conditions of America ('Americanized' it). And it continues to develop as the SWP applies it to the specific conditions of the Negro community in the United States ('Afro-Americanizes' it, as the SWP put in the 1963 convention resolution, Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation ...).

The methodology personified in Breitman pushes uncompromisingly against the insular and 'purist' dogmatism to which Lewis Coser and others refer:

> Theory is derived from reality; the more closely a theory corresponds to reality, the better a theory it is. Marx studied the conditions and struggles of the west European workers, learned from them, and incorporated those lessons in his theory. Lenin and Trotsky did the same with the Russian workers and peasants. And from its inception the Socialist Workers Party has been doing this with the conditions and struggles of the American Negro people, which have always been unique in many respects. Embodied in its theory and program are many lessons learned from the Negro struggle, and from the ideas, feelings and outlook of the masses in the black ghetto.
>
> The SWP has been studying these changes, trying to understand their causes, find out their direction and fit their revolutionary aspects into a theory and program of action capable of replacing capitalism with socialism. It has been listening to and learning from non-Marxist figures – such as Malcolm X, Rev. Cleage, William Worthy, Jesse Gray, Daniel Watts, James Baldwin, the exiled Robert F. Williams and Julian Mayfield, even Harold Cruse sometimes – who to one degree or another express the thinking, feeling and aspirations of the black ghetto which, as Robert Vernon recently pointed out, is 'more solidly working class and revolutionary in outlook than the trade unions, or anything else in America today'.

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw an anti-racist upsurge spearheaded by the civil rights movement, anti-colonial revolutions and the triumph in Cuba of the radical insurgency of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, protests against nuclear weapons, a radicalization among college-age youth, the beginnings of protests against the Vietnam war, and more. This dramatically changing context brought an influx of radicalized youth into the SWP and YSA, which doubled and tripled the size of the US Trotskyist movement. By 1960, when he

was 48 years old, Ben Stone felt the political ground slipping from under his feet. 'Now the rank and file member was much younger, a generation removed, most of whom I hardly knew', he recalled. 'For the first time I began to feel like an old man in the Party, almost a stranger in my own house'. As the 1960s proceeded, 'the Party attracted even younger members, kids in their teens and early twenties.... The 60s was a time of radical ferment on the college campuses and the Party attracted some of these youth, certainly in greater numbers than ever before'.

The result was both revitalization and crisis. 'The older, primarily worker-based segment of the party had grown concerned that the SWP would be changed by its newer members, mostly middle-class youth', according to Camejo. 'Many of the older members opposed our support for what they saw as contemporary issues, such as gay liberation, and in general were nervous that the SWP might abandon its roots in Trotskyism and begin to alter its "program"'.

George Breitman emphasized a point missed by many at the time – that a significant working-class component was integral to the mass protest movements opposing racism, the Vietnam war, etc. 'It is idiotic and insulting to think that the worker responds only to economic issues', Breitman stressed. 'He can be radicalized in various ways, over various issues, and he is'. Breitman developed this point at length:

> The radicalization of the worker can begin off the job as well as on. It can begin from the fact that the worker is a woman as well as a man; that the worker is Black or Chicano or a member of some other oppressed minority aswell aswhite;thattheworker is afather ormother whose son can be drafted; that the worker is young as well as middle-aged or about to retire. If we grasp the fact that the working class is stratified and divided in many ways – the capitalists prefer it that way – then we will be better able to understand how the radicalization will develop among workers and how to intervene more effectively. Those who haven't already learned important lessons from the radicalization of oppressed minorities, youth and women had better hurry up and learn them, because most of the people involved in these radicalizations are workers or come from working-class families.

Factional Crises, Future Triumph, Eventual Collapse

The combination of uneven qualities explored here generated tensions and factional conflicts within the SWP, as comrades reached for the most effective and appropriate balance of political principle and political relevance, and as they struggled to understand the complex and changing world around them.

There proved to be sufficient strengths in the underlying political program and theoretical perspectives to enable the SWP to grow dramatically in the 1960s, to provide influential and often creative analyses of emerging realities, and sometimes to play a serious role in the social struggles of the time.

To many who were paying attention, the SWP of the late 1960s and 1970s seemed an incredibly vibrant organization: between 1,000 and 2,000 activists animated by high ideals and dynamic Marxism, with a conception of socialism both democratic and revolutionary, and a proven capacity to organize – in impressive united front efforts – effective social movements and struggles capable of bringing about positive change.

Among the new recruits were important clusters of African-American and Latino activists, and also a significant percentage of women, some of whom assumed a significant leadership role in the efforts of the SWP and YSA. The party's earlier work on issues of race and nationalism, and its serious-minded engagement with Malcolm X, contributed to the ability of some comrades to play a role not only in African-American but also in Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles.

The fact that in the 1950s and early '60s the SWP had seriously engaged with not only such works as Friedrich Engels's Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, but also Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex and Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, made it more sensitive and responsive to early feminist stirrings coming out of the new radicalization and enabled it to connect

very positively to the rising women's liberation movement. In addition, the recruitment of a growing number of gay and lesbian comrades – combined with influences and insights that were part of the new radicalization – enabled the SWP finally to scrap a narrow and destructive policy that had banned homosexuals from membership.

Perhaps the SWP's most profound accomplishment involved its central role in the creation of the massive and powerful anti-war movement, through persistent united front efforts, that proved capable of helping to end the US war in Vietnam. The details of that story were told in Fred Halstead's classic Out Now! A Participant's Account of the Movement Against the Vietnam War.

From 1965 to 1980 the SWP seemed in the process of becoming a hegemonic force on the US Left and within a variety of social movements. Along the pathway to this seemingly promising outcome, however, there was a glossed-over failure to fully resolve (or adequately combine) the uneven and contradictory elements that had been part of the party's experience in the 1950s and 1960s. Related to this, there was also a cropping up of organizational measures and norms that (in the words of James P. Cannon) had the potential to 'strangle the Party'.

After a new leadership drawn from the 1960s radicalization took control within the SWP, an extremely complex and difficult situation developed in the world and the country – as the 1970s gave way to the 1980s and 1990s. There are multiple sources and analyses of what happened next, as the SWP imploded. Amid growing political uncertainty combined with accumulating mistakes and disappointments, the new leadership became increasingly authoritarian in the name of 'Leninism', abandoning the historic program of Trotskyism in order to embrace a utopian understanding of Castroism, and initiated incredibly damaging waves of expulsions. What remained of the once-promising organization shriveled into what in the opinion of many on the Left, including a substantial number of once-dedicated members, proved to be a politically irrelevant sect.

Future Resources

The very nature of the capitalist economic system – whose incredible, undeniable global dynamism has the result, over and over again, that 'all that is solid melts into air', and that 'all that is holy is profaned' – blends equally dizzying creativity and destructiveness as one decade gives way to another. Multiple variations of corruption, pollution, tyranny, and violence seem to proliferate with the passage of time.

If it is the case, as some have argued, that this is necessarily and inevitably so, then there will continue to be waves of rebellion and resistance, organized by hopeful heroines and heroes seeking to create the possibility of another, better world. Even those who have no such hopes may find it enlightening to consider the perceptions, insights, and efforts of earlier generations of rebels to be found in these volumes. In many cases these can shed light on what happened in a past that has shaped our present. And those who struggle for a more hopeful future may also have something to learn from those who sought to pass on resources to such people as themselves. <>

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With an essay by Astrid Bähr and with contributions by Josef Albers, Walter Gropius, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, László Moholy-Nagy, Oskar Schlemmer, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Gerrit Rietveld et al.

The Bauhaus Journal, now published in this gorgeous facsimile, is the ultimate testimony to the school's diversity and impact

One hundred years after the founding of the Bauhaus, it's time to revisit Bauhaus, the school's journal, as a crucial testimony of this iconic moment in the history of modern art.

This gorgeously produced, slipcased, 14-volume publication features facsimiles of individual issues of the journal, as well as a commentary booklet including an overview of the content, English translations of all texts and a scholarly essay that places the journal in its historical context.

Even during its existence, the influence of the Bauhaus school extended well beyond the borders of Europe, and its practitioners played a formative role in all areas of art, design and architecture. The school's international reach and impact is particularly evident in its journal.

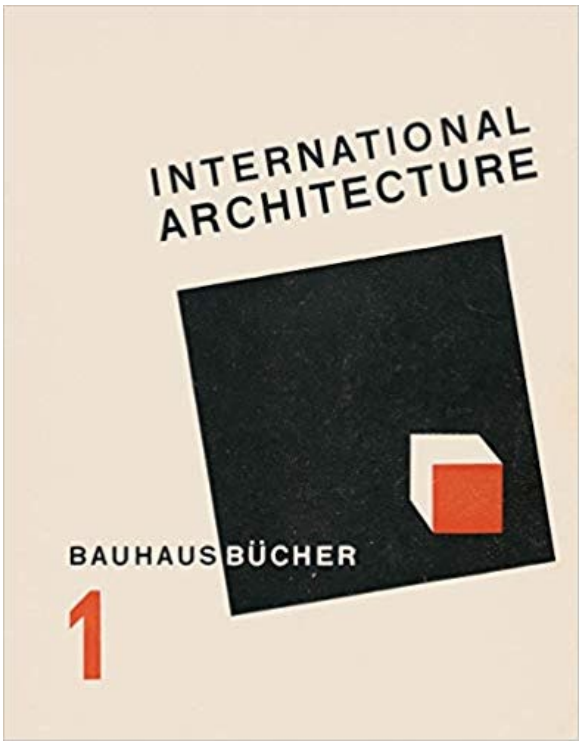
Bauhaus Journal was published periodically under the direction of Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy, among others, from 1926 to 1931. In its pages, the most important voices of the movement were heard: Bauhaus masters and artists associated with the school such as Josef Albers, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Oskar Schlemmer, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Gerrit Rietveld and many more. The centenary of the Bauhaus provides an ideal opportunity to reassess this history, to consider the ideals of the school and its protagonists through this graphically innovative publication.

They address the developments in and around the Bauhaus, the methods and focal points of their own teaching, and current projects of students and masters. At the time primarily addressed to the members of the "circle of friends of the bauhaus," the journal published by Gropius and Moholy-Nagy makes tangible the authentic voice of this mouthpiece of the avant-garde. The facsimile reprint is intended to give new impetus to international discussion and research on the Bauhaus, its theories and designs.

The exact replica of all individual issues are accompanied by a commentary booklet including an overview of the content, an English translation of all texts, and a scholarly essay which places the journal in its historical context. <>

Walter Gropius: International Architecture, Bauhausbücher 1 edited by Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy (original series); Lars Müller (facsimile edition) in collaboration with Bauhaus-Archiv/Museum für Gestaltung [Bauhausbücher 1, Lars Müller Publishers, 9783037785843]

This first English edition of Volume 1 of the Bauhausbücher allows the reader to broaden his or her view of German architectural history by placing the achievements of the Bauhaus in an international context and by documenting and capturing its philosophy of reform in an illustrative way. It appears in original design and with separate commentary.



When the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in 1924, it was finally possible to publish the first of the Bauhausbücher that Walter Gropius (1883–1969) and László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) had first conceived of in Weimar. The series was intended to give insight into the teachings of the Bauhaus and the possibilities it offered for incorporating modern design into everyday aspects of an ever-more-modern world.

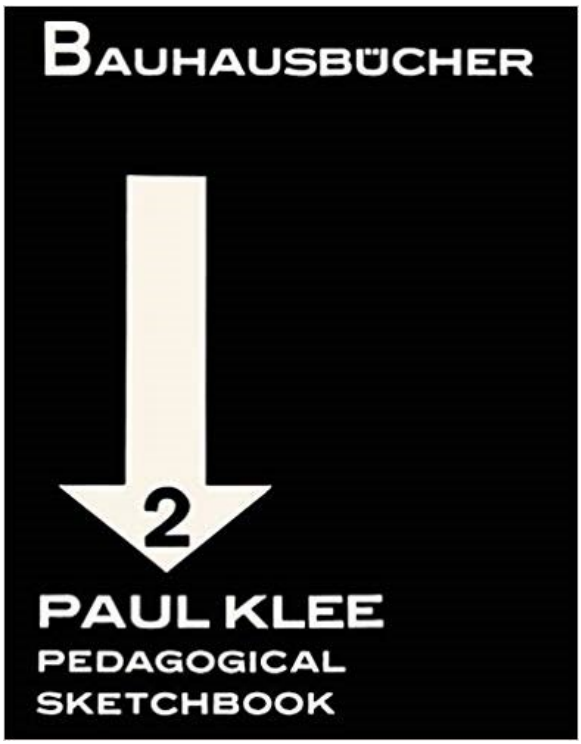
First in the series was Gropius' International Architecture, an overview of the modern architecture of the mid-1920s and an early attempt to articulate what would come to be known as International Style architecture. In a brief preface, Gropius summarized the guiding principles he identified uniting the avant-garde around the world. But the real thrust of the book is visual, with an extensive illustrated section showing buildings in Europe and the Americas. According to Gropius, these illustrations show the "development of a consistent worldview" that dispensed with the prior decorative role of architecture and expressed itself in a new language of exactitude, functionality and geometry.

Published for the first time in English, this new edition of the first of the Bauhausbücher is accompanied by a brief scholarly commentary. Presented in a design true to Moholy-Nagy's original, International Architecture offers readers the opportunity to explore the Bauhaus' aesthetic and its place in the world as Gropius himself was trying to define them.

In what he called his "illustrated guide to modern architecture," which starts off the Bauhausbücher series, Gropius gives an overview of the international architecture of the mid-1920s. A preface by the author explores, briefly but in detail, the guiding principles that unite the avant-garde in all countries. This statement is followed by an extensive illustrated section showing examples of architecture from around the world. According to Gropius, these illustrations bear witness to the "development of a consistent worldview" that disposes of the prior role of the architect and expresses itself in a new language of shapes.

Walter Gropius (1888–1969) was the founder of the Bauhaus and a pioneer of modern architecture. In 1919, he was appointed to succeed Henry van de Velde as director of the School of Visual Arts in Weimar, which he renamed "Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar". In 1924, the Bauhaus moved to Dessau; Gropius designed the school building and the masters' houses for the new location. In 1928, Gropius passed on the title of director to Swiss architect Hannes Meyer and became a self-employed architect in Berlin before emigrating to the United States in 1934. As a professor of architecture, he taught at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he founded The Architects' Collaborative in 1941. In his political efforts to industrialize. <>

Paul Klee: Pedagogical Sketchbook: Bauhausbücher 2 by Paul Klee Edited by Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy (original series); Lars Müller (facsimile edition) in collaboration with Bauhaus-Archiv/Museum für Gestaltung [Bauhausbücher 2, Lars Müller Publishers, 9783037785850]



Active at the Bauhaus between 1920 and 1931, teaching in the bookbinding, stained glass and mural-painting workshops, Paul Klee (1879 – 1940) brought his expressive blend of color and line to the school—and, with the second volume in the Bauhausbücher series, beyond its walls.

In his legendary Pedagogical Sketchbook, Klee presents his theoretical approach to drawing using geometric shapes and lines. Evincing a desire to reunite artistic design and craft, and written in a tone that oscillates between the seeming objectivity of the diagram, the rhetoric of science and mathematics, and an abstract, quasi-mystical intuition, Klee's text expresses key aspects of the Bauhaus' pedagogy and guiding philosophies. And while Klee's method is deeply personal, in the context of the fundamentally multivocal Bauhaus, his individual approach to abstract form is typical in its idiosyncrasy. In the Pedagogical Sketchbook, Klee presents his own theories about the relationships between line, form, surface, color, space and time in art in the context of the Bauhaus. The book testifies to Klee's intensive theoretical explorations of art and exemplifies how the Bauhaus masters interconnected the various realms of art and design.

In the present volume, the 1953 English translation of Pedagogical Sketchbook by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy is combined with the design and physical qualities of the original German edition from 1925.

Paul Klee (1879–1940) was a German painter and graphic artist. Prior to his influential work at the Bauhaus, he was a member of the artists' group Der Blaue Reiter. In 1914, while still working primarily as a draftsman and graphic artist, he traveled to Tunis with two fellow artists; their journey is considered by art historians to be a key event in German modern art. It was this journey that enabled Klee's international breakthrough as a painter. From 1920 to 1931, Klee was active at the Bauhaus until offered a professorship at the Art Academy in Düsseldorf. After Hitler took power, Klee and his family emigrated to Bern. In 1937, numerous works of his were displayed at the Degenerate Art exhibition, then confiscated and sold abroad. In 1940, about four months prior to Klee's death, the Kunsthaus Zürich hosted an anniversary exhibition of the artist's later works. Paul Klee's extensive oeuvre and his writings on art theory make him one of the most important practitioners of 20th-century early modern art.

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Paul Klee, December 18,1879, Münchenbuchsee, Switzerland, t June 29,1940, Locarno-Muralto, Switzerland. Paul Klee went to Munich in 1899 to study at the Kunstakademie (Academy of Art). His first solo show was held in 1910 in Switzerland. Klee subsequently joined the group Der Blaue Reiter. In 1912 he visited Paris and met members of the French avant-garde. His momentous trip to Tunis, in the company of August Macke and Louis Moilliet, followed two years later. In 1920, after a large solo show at Galerie Goltz in Munich, he was appointed master at the Weimar State Bauhaus, where he taught until 1931 as the head of various workshops. Following his time at the Bauhaus, he accepted a professorship at the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf (Academy of Art), but after Hitler rose to power Klee was dismissed from his post and subsequently returned to Switzerland. Klee, who had suffered systemic scleroderma for many years, died at the age of 60 while staying at a sanatorium in Locarno-Muralto.

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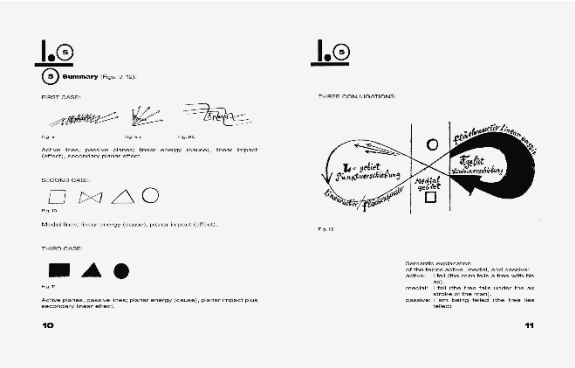


It is now 100 years since Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy made the grand gesture of initiating and publishing the Bauhausbücher series. Their intention to document and disseminate in book form the New Design philosophy in all areas of its application testifies to the enthusiasm that prevailed at the Bauhaus. However, only a quarter of the planned titles had been published by 1930. War and turmoil thwarted the further expansion of the series. The original editions are almost impossible to find today.

The goal of my initiative is to gradually make the fourteen Bauhausbücher available again in a form true to the originals and—in some cases for the first time—in English translation. With this project I am fulfilling my own bibliophile passion and my conviction that there is no future without a past. Only a solid knowledge of history can open up perspectives on how we can take advantage of the insights gleaned by modernism while perhaps also transcending them. Lars Müller

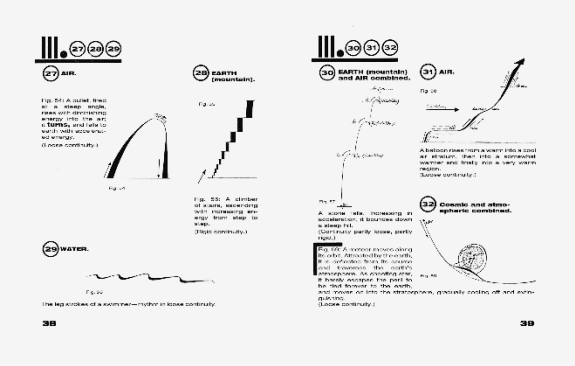
The Bauhausbücher in this edition are designed to resemble as closely as possible the German originals from 1925. The typographical layout and distinguishing elements were imitated, and the look of the lead typefaces used at the time was simulated as closely as possible using today's digital technology. A concession had to be made in the choice of paper, however. The pulp used one hundred years ago with its high wood content naturally led to a yellowish paper. We assume that at the time the designers chose the whitest paper available and have therefore selected a white paper in common use today for reprinting the Bauhausbücher.

With the aim of raising the profile of the Bauhaus at home and abroad, in 1923 Walter Gropius and his newly-appointed colleague László Moholy-Nagy—an artist already wellversed in both the design and the targeted use of media—conceived the idea of a series of books. Over the next three years, they planned altogether fifty-four titles by different authors on a wide variety of subjects, in slim volumes that could be quickly produced. Ranging from natural sciences, literature, politics and religion to almost all the "isms" of art, the series encompassed a spectrum testifying to little short of a utopian vision (one of the proposed volumes was indeed titled Utopisches): to forge a connection, in terms of content, between the entire phenomena of the modern world and the avant-garde school, and to harness this knowledge for the future design of every sphere of daily life. Due to financial problems, the first eight books in this ambitious program only appeared in 1925, published by the Albert Langen Verlag. A further four volumes followed in the years up to 1928, while Gropius and Moholy-Nagy were still at the Bauhaus, and even after their departure two more also appeared under their editorship up to 1930.The two subsequent directors of the school, Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, did not continue the Bauhausbücher. According to the original publicity leaflet of 1925, the fourteen published volumes in the series examine "artistic, scientific and technical issues ... from the point of view of their mutual relation." Six of the teachers at the Bauhaus—Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy, Paul Klee, Adolf Meyer, Oskar Schlemmer and Wassily Kandinsky—between them authored nine books on their respective theoretical and educational approaches and on Bauhaus products; the remaining volumes focused on trends in art closely akin to the Bauhaus. Available in both paperback and a linen binding, the editions of around 3,000 copies usually sold out quickly and were often printed a second time. Despite the different design of their covers, the volumes are recognizable as a series thanks to their uniform format, abundance of illustrations, and their distinctive design and layout by Moholy-Nagy, characterized by striking contrasts of blank space and sans serif font, as well as by letters and graphic elements deployed for visual effect. With

their compelling interplay of content and form, the Bauhausbücher are still today considered milestones of avant-garde book production.

Astrid Bähr, Bauhaus-Archiv / Museum für Gestaltung, Berlin

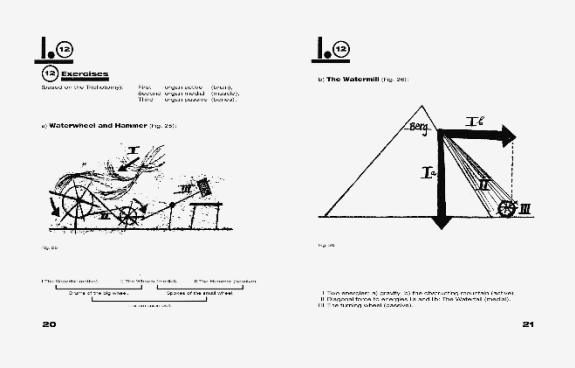
About Pedagogical Sketchbook



After Walter Gropius's International Architecture, Paul Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbook appeared the same year as the second volume in the Bauhausbücher series. Following Gropius's wide-ranging overview of modern architecture, its semiotic reflections by a painter provided an insight into instruction at the Bauhaus and the teaching methods developed there. As a manual clearly aimed at students of drawing, moreover, the Pedagogical Sketchbook could be assigned to an established art-historical genre and the instruction at the Bauhaus thus situated in an academic tradition, which further valorized its teaching methods.

With the appointment of Paul Klee in October 1920, Gropius succeeded in securing one of the most celebrated painters of the day in Germany as a teacher for the Bauhaus. Klee had recently attracted attention with major gallery shows; a number of monographs had also appeared on the artist, and he himself had just published his first art-theoretical text, Schöpferische Konfession ("Creative Credo"), as part of an anthology. In addition to his responsibilities as head, successively, of the book-binding, glass painting and metal workshops, Klee's remit in his first years at the Bauhaus included teaching the theoretical principles of design. He saw this as an opportunity, too, to gain a clearer understanding of his own artistic practice. From November 1921 to December 1922 he delivered a course of lectures, for which he prepared each session meticulously. He recorded his detailed notes in a manuscript volume, which was published—albeit only posthumously—under the title Beiträge zur bildnerischen Formlehre ("Contributions to a pictorial theory of form"). In summer 1924, when work began in earnest on the Bauhausbücher series as a means of publicizing, relatively rapidly, the methods taught at the Bauhaus to a wider audience outside the school, Klee turned to these preparatory notes and ideas in order to compile the Pedagogical Sketchbook. The slender volume is just 52 pages long and illustrated with 87 drawings, some of which had already featured in the 1923 Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar. Its condensed format may be the reason why the Pedagogical Sketchbook, although published in a prominent position within the Bauhausbücher series, has received comparatively little scholarly attention to date compared with the pedagogical writings published after Klee's death.

In four chapters divided into a total of 43 consecutively numbered sub-items, Klee discusses principles of drawing, whereby he grants motion a vital function in the creative process. Starting with the point, Klee lays out the individual design elements. He develops the simple sign systems into increasingly complex three-dimensional structures. From the first chapter on line and the structures arising out of it, in their respective energy states of active, passive and medial, he moves on to the dimensions formed by lines, and their balance. The third chapter is devoted to static symbols such as air, earth and water, while the fourth chapter looks at symbols set in motion, in particular the pendulum and various arrows. László Moholy-Nagy—joint editor, with Gropius, of the Bauhausbücher and responsible for the design and layout of the majority of the 14 volumes—correspondingly uses a striking white arrow containing the number "2" as the sole pictorial element on the front cover, which points downwards to the author's name and book title.



In the geometric analyses of pictorial processes found in the Pedagogical Sketchbook, Klee also repeatedly demonstrates his enduring interest in the natural world and human anatomy, in both of which he sees analogies with the dynamics of artistic composition. He thereby writes in a condensed and poetic language that carries a metaphorical and subjective charge and which is sometimes hard to interpret. Klee underscores each of his points with a sketch-like drawing, in which he frequently seems to work out the characteristics of objects and their mutual relationships, as if developing a train of thought in a mental note. The individual chapters partly contain exercises, something which also corresponds to Klee's method in his lecture series of 1921/22, when he alternated lectures with sessions in which students sought to translate the theory they were being taught into works of their own.

Condensed and challenging in equal measure, Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbook is a compilation of the elements of his design theory, which at the same time suggests parallels with his artistic works of this period. In. Klee's intuitive development of the basic concepts of his art teaching, and in the setting forth of his branching ideas, we can trace in this publication the design thinking of one of modernism's most unconventional and independent painters and graphic artists.

Astrid Bähr

Introduction by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy (1953)

[Quotations in this introduction are from Paul Klee, Paths of the Study of Nature (Wege des Naturstudiums). Yearbook of the Staatliche Bauhaus, Weimar,1919-1923, Bauhaus Verlag, Weimar-Muenchen; and from the Pedagogical Sketchbook]

"For the artist communication with nature remains the most essential condition. The artist is human; himself nature; part of nature within natural space."

This statement, written in 1923 by Paul Klee, was the Leitmotif of a creative life that derived almost equal inspiration from painting and from music. Man painted and danced long before he learned to write and construct. The senses of form and tone are his primordial heritage. Paul Klee fused both of these creative impulses into a new entity. His forms are derived from nature, inspired by observation of shape and cyclic change, but their appearance only matters in so far as it symbolizes an inner actuality that receives meaning from its relationship to the cosmos. There is a common agreement among men on the place and function of external features: eye, leg, roof, sail, star. In Paul Klee's pictures they are used as beacons, pointing away from the surface into a spiritual reality. Just as a magician performs the miraculous with objects of utter familiarity, such as cards, handkerchiefs, coins, rabbits, so Paul Klee uses the familiar object in unfamiliar relationships to materialize the unknown.

The Symbolic Expressionists and the Cubists during the first decade of the Twentieth Century had already questioned the validity of Academic Naturalism. Their painting had looked below the surface with the analytical eye of psychology and x-ray. But the multi-layered figures of Kirchner and Kokoschka or the simultaneous views of Braque and Picasso, were analytical—statements, resting statically on the canvas. Klee's figures and forms are not only transparent, as if seen through a fluoroscope; they exist in a magnetic field of cross currents: lines, forms, splotches, arrows, color waves. As if it were a symphonic composition, the main motif moves from variation to variation in its relationship to other objects on the canvas. A bird in THE TWITTERING MACHINE, for instance, is different from all other birds through its relationship to transmission belt, crank shaft, and musical notations, floating in the air. Without contradicting himself, Klee could confess to "communication with nature" as the essence of his work, but he could also say that "all true creation is a thing born out of nothing." The seeming contrast is

resolved through his unfailing originality "born out of nothing" which is the spiritual cause. The optical effect is a pictorial composition that uses the identifiable natural shape as mediary. In THE ROOM AND ITS INHABITANTS from 1921, floor boards, window frame and door, are recognizable, together with the faces of woman and child. But they are mere points of reference in a world of lines, arrows, reflections, fadeouts that reveal intuitively the mysterious man-shelter relationship that has determined the course of civilization.

If ever an artist understood the visual aspirations of his epoch it was Paul Klee; and the civilized world came to recognize his contemporaneousness even before his death in 1940. Exhibitions and publications have constantly increased in number; and it might be assumed that, together with Cézanne and Picasso, he will be the most reproduced and annotated painter of this century. But it is known to few that Paul Klee was more than a painter. His "communication with nature" produced much more than the transfiguration of the perceived form. It produced a philosophy that rested on empathy with the created world, accepting everything that is with equal love and humility. As a very young man he had spoken of his art as "andacht zum kleinen" (devotion to small things). In the Microcosm of his own visual world he worshipped the Macrocosm of the universe. This was his revolution. Academic art had been based since the Renaissance on the Aristotelian principle of deduction, meaning that all representation was deduced from the broad general principles of absolute beauty and conventional color canons. Paul Klee replaced deduction by induction. Through observation of the smallest manifestation of form and interrelationship, he could conclude about the magnitude of natural order. Energy and substance, that which moves and that which is moved, were of equal importance as symbols of creation. He loved the natural event; therefore he knew its meaning in the universal scheme. And with the instinct of the true lover he had to comprehend what he loved. The phenomenon perceived and analyzed, was investigated until its significance was beyond doubt. It is in Paul Klee that science and art fuse. Exactitude winged by intuition was the goal he held out for his students. Paul Klee the painter could not help becoming a teacher in the original meaning of the term. The word "to teach" derives from the Gothic "taiku-sign" (our word token). It is the mission of the teacher to observe what goes unnoticed by the multitude. He is an interpreter of signs. When Walter Gropius developed the curriculum of his German Bauhaus, he gave back to the word teacher its basic significance. Kandinsky, Klee, Feininger, Moholy-Nagy, Schlemmer, Albers, who taught there, were interpreters of the visual as tokens of a fundamental optical and structural order that had been obscured by centuries of literary allegorism. In this community of guides Paul Klee chose for himself the task of pointing out new ways of studying the signs of nature. "By contemplating the optical-physical appearance, the ego arrives at intuitive conclusions about the inner substance." The art student was to be more than a refined camera, trained to record the surface of the object. He must realize that he is "child of this earth; yet also child of the Universe; issue of a star among stars."

A mind so in flux, so sensitive to intuitive insights, could never write an academic textbook. All he could retain on paper were indications, hints, allusions, like the delicate color dots and line plays on his pictures. The PEDAGOGICAL SKETCHBOOK is the abstract of Paul Klee's inductive vision. In it the natural object is not merely rendered two-dimensionally, it becomes "räumlich," related to physical and intellectual space concepts, through four main approaches that form the four divisions of the Sketchbook:

Proportionate Line and Structure
Dimension and Balance
Gravitational Curve
Kinetic and Chromatic Energy

The first part of the Sketchbook (Sections I.1-I.13) introduces the transformation of the static dot into linear dynamics. The line, being successive dot progression, walks, circumscribes, creates passive-blank and active-filled planes. Line rhythm is measured like a musical score or an arithmetical problem. Gradually, line emerges as the measure of all structural proportion, from Euclid's Golden Section (I.7) to the energetic power lines of ligaments and tendons, of water currents and plant fibers. Each of the four divisions of the Sketchbook has one key sentence, strewn almost casually without the pompousness of a theorem among

specific observations. This one sentence in each chapter points the path from the particular to the universal. The first part on "Proportionate Line and Structure" is condensed into one laconic statement: "purely repetitive and therefore structural" (I.6), explaining in five words the nature of vertical structure as the repetitive accumulation of like units.

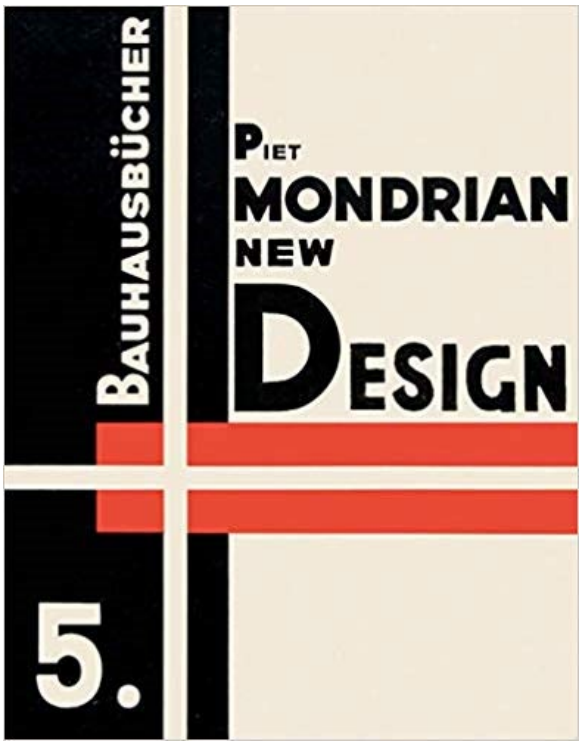
The second part of the Sketchbook (II.14-II.25) deals with "Dimension and Balance." Here the object, rendered by line, is related to the subjective power of the human eye. Man uses his ability to move freely in space to create for himself optical adventures. What are railroad ties? Functional crossbeams, occurring at regular intervals. Yes, but they are also subdivisions of infinite space, capable of bisecting the third dimension at a hundred different angles (II.15). Man, precariously balanced on two unstable legs, uses optical illusion as a safety device. Horizon as concrete fact, and horizon as an imaginary safety belt that has to be believed in, are exemplified on the graceful example of the tightrope walker and his bamboo pole (II.21). The purely material balance of the scale finds its counterpart in the purely psychological balance of light and dark, weightless and heavy colors (II.24). The key word to this section reads: "non-symmetrical balance" (II.23). It asserts that "the bilateral conformity of two parts" which is the old definition of symmetry, has been superseded by "the equalization of unequal but equivalent parts."* Dimension is in itself nothing but an arbitrary expansion of form into height, width, depth and time. It is the balancing and proportioning power of eye and brain that regulate this expansion of the object toward equilibrium and harmony.

The third aspect of the study of nature in the Sketchbook (III.26-III.32) deals with the tension existing between man's ability to project himself and the object into space, and the limitations imposed upon this urge by the gravitational pull. The linear extension of the first section of the book, and the balance of dimensional form in the second section, is here followed up with the projection of motion above and below the horizon of the human eye. The plump line (III.26) is man's umbilical cord to the center of the earth. It symbolizes the tragic termination of his will to fly, but it also symbolizes firmness and rhythm and the assuring direction toward rest. The falling stone, the ascending flier, the shooting star on the firmament (III.30-32) are natural dynamics whose course is decided by the gravitational curve. "But," Klee concludes, "there are regions with different laws and new symbols, signifying freer movement and more dynamical position." With this mere hint (111.26) at the existence of purely spiritual dynamism, that supersedes the phenomenal world and its earthbound fate, Klee defines his Naturalism as a symbolism of great depth. The core of this third section, which is a transition from observation to intuition, is defined in the axiom that is perhaps Klee's deepest wisdom:

TO STAND DESPITE ALL POSSIBILITIES TO FALL! The concluding chapter (IIII.33-43) allows the student a glimpse at the forces that create optical sensation, forces that are either kinetic-mobile, or chromatic-caloric. Plato spoke of EIDOS as the inner essence of an object as distinguished from the apparent outer form; and Aristotle uses the term ENTELECHY when he defines the form-giving cause that manifests an idea in a material configuration. True to his inductive creed, Paul Klee demonstrates inner essence and form-giving cause on the most insignificant objects, the spinning top, for instance (IIII.33) that defies gravity by the centrifugal energy of its gyrations, or the feathered arrow (IIII.37) whose path is hampered by gravitational friction. "To be impelled toward motion, and not to be the motor!" Thought and intention that send the arrow on its way are identified with the supra-mechanical force of the Eidos. With the ease of the perfect dancer who has sublimated his intense effort into seeming play, Paul Klee presents his new naturalism through an interchange of natural phenomenon and pure idea. The proportionate

relationship of point and rudder to shaft in the actual arrow (IIII.38) is calculated on a strictly mechanical basis. But the same exactitude is applied in calculating the orbit of the symbolic arrow, overcoming the friction of human fear by aiming "a bit farther than customary—farther than possible!" The final decision rests with man's willingness to produce energy. "The stronger the pull of the ascension rudder, the higher the rise; the stronger the pull of the drop rudder, the steeper the fall." Energy, the Sketchbook concludes, is without termination only in the chromatic and thermodynamic field. Motion that may be called infinite in the sense of unending self-transformation, exists only in the activation of color, moving between the fervid contrasts of utter black and utter white (IIII.40) with the thermo dynamic implications of intense heat and extreme cold. The last six diagrams complete the cycle that had started on page one when the dot was stirred from its static existence into line progression. On its way through the Sketchbook it has been transformed by the counter forces of earth and world, of mechanical law and imaginative vision, and it has found equilibrium in a centrality that no longer points away but rests within a unified diversity (IIII.43). The sum total is what Paul Klee calls "Resonanzverhältnis," meaning a reverberation of the finite in the infinite, of outer perception and inner vista. The experience of this dual reality of the SEEN and the FELT essence of nature, im-pells the student toward "a free creation of abstracted forms which supersede didactic principles with a new naturalness, the naturalness of the work. He produces or participates in the production of works which are indications of the work of God." <>

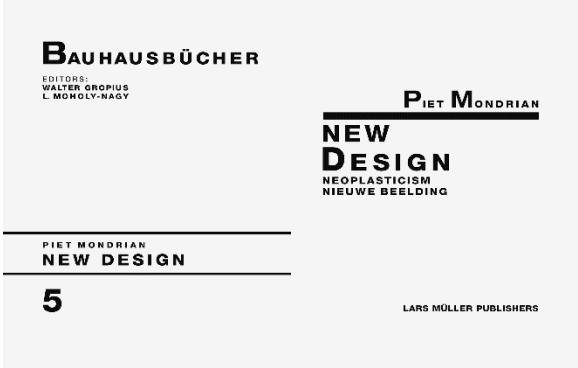
Piet Mondrian: New Design: Bauhausbücher 5
edited by Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy (original series); Lars Müller (facsimile edition) in collaboration with Bauhaus-Archiv/Museum für Gestaltung [Bauhausbücher 5, Lars Müller, 9783037785867]



Although Piet Mondrian was not an active member of the Bauhaus, his name is often mentioned in connection with the art school. Starting with a philosophical foray in which he describes art as a figurative expression of human existence, Mondrian embeds his concept of a New Design in the various forms of artistic expression. He looks into the question of whether there is a prevailing hierarchy between painting and architecture and dares to take a far-reaching look at the future of neoplasticism.

This complete English edition appears in original design and with separate commentary.

Piet Mondrian (1872–1944) was a Dutch painter who became known internationally as the founder of the De Stijl artistic movement. Prior to touting neoplasticism in his writings on art theory, Mondrian encountered cubism in Paris, his adopted home, which had a significant effect on his artistic work. His firm conviction of abstract painting continued even after he emigrated to the United States in 1940, leading him to join the American Abstract Artists in New York. Almost until his death, Mondrian continued to publish essays on art theory in which he dealt intensively with neoplasticism and abstraction in painting.



Although Piet Mondrian was not an active member of the Bauhaus, his name is often mentioned in connection with the art school. Mondrian, cofounder of the De Stijl movement in the Netherlands, called for a strict reduction of visual language to orthogonal composition and primary colors, which met with great approval in Bauhaus circles. His rigorous geometric compositions of verticals and horizontals and strident palette of essential colors were important to numerous Bauhaus masters; Mondrian's influence appeared in Bauhaus architecture, product design, typography, graphic design, painting and beyond. It is therefore not surprising that Mondrian's essays on art theory, most of them written for the De Stijl journal, were translated into German and published as number five in the Bauhausbücher series.

New Design starts with a philosophical foray into art, which Mondrian describes as a figurative expression of human existence—an expression which will find its natural conclusion in his own concept of a "New Design." Mondrian then considers the relationship between painting and architecture and dares to take a far-reaching look at the future of Neoplasticism, which he imagines revolutionizing design and architecture around the world.

Harry Holtzman's renowned translations of Mondrian's selected essays appear in New Design as a complete compilation for the first time. The publication is true to the content and design of the German first edition of 1925 and includes a brief scholarly commentary.

Excerpt: Neo-Plasticism: The General Principle of Plastic Equivalence

Although art is the plastic expression of our aesthetic emotion, we cannot therefore conclude that art is only "the aesthetic expression of our subjective sensations." Logic demands that art be the plastic expression of our whole being: therefore, it must be equally the plastic appearance of the nonindividual, the absolute and annihilating opposition of subjective sensations. That is, it must also be the direct expression of the universal in us—which is the exact appearance of the universal outside us.

The universal thus understood is that which is and remains constant: the more or less unconscious in us, as opposed to the more or less conscious—the individual, which is repeated and renewed.

Our whole being is as much the one as the other: the unconscious and the conscious, the immutable and the mutable, emerging and changing form through their reciprocal action. This action contains all the misery and all the happiness of life: misery is caused by continual separation, happiness by perpetual rebirth of the changeable. The immutable is beyond all misery and all happiness: it is equilibrium.

Through the immutable in us, we are united with all things; the mutable destroys our equilibrium, limits us, and separates us from all that is other than us. It is from this equilibrium, from the unconscious, from the immutable that art comes. It attains its plastic expression through the conscious. In this way, the appearance of art is plastic expression of the unconscious and of the conscious. It shows the relationship of each to the other: its appearance changes, but art remains immutable.

In "the totality of our being" the individual or the universal may dominate, or equilibrium between the two may be approached. This latter possibility allows us to be universal as individuals: to exteriorize the unconscious consciously. Then we see and hear universally, for we have transcended the domination.

The Manifestation of Neo-Plasticism in Music and the Italian Futurists' Bruiteurs

Basic reforms in the expressive means of art are rare but they do occur from time to time. The performances of the Italian Futurist bruiteurs are an example. However, those who demand pure expression of the new spirit must be patient and content to see it emerge step by step. For just as the Futurists took only one step in painting, they did no more in music. But that is already a great deal.

The pure manifestation of the new spirit remains unchanging and identical in life as in art. It is an exact and conscious plastic expression of equilibrium and therefore of equivalence between the individual and the universal, between the natural and the spiritual. In both respects, the man of the past is an "unbalanced whole." Continually maturing and growing, man achieves understanding of the "equilibrated whole" and becomes capable of revealing the new spirit.

The new music will therefore be the pure expression of this equilibrium. This will be neither by enrichment nor by refinement, nor by reinforcement of sound — as Luigi Russolo, inventor of the bruiteurs, believes when he says: "Musical art today is seeking the amalgamation of the most dissonant, strange, and strident sounds. We are moving toward sound-noise." Nevertheless, this does bring us closer to the music of tomorrow. By completing sound with noise, and by interiorizing sound by means of instruments with new timbres, the bruiteurs have taken a first step. But "pure" expression of the new spirit requires more than that. Indeed, it appears in music even more slowly than in painting, probably because music has not been considered as "plastic art" until now. For only through the plastic can true art be achieved. Even painting, although viewed as "plastic art," has only in our time achieved "pure plastic expression of the universal."

The universal for the new man is not a vague idea but a living reality expressed plastically: visibly and audibly.

Recognizing that it is impossible to express "the very essence of objects and of beings" because this essence is a pure abstraction and beyond all plastic representation, man conceives the universal as manifested by means of the individual, through which it appears. The mistaken belief that one can plastically express the most interior essence of an object or a being precipitated painting into symbolism and romanticism — into "description." The realists are quite right to say that it is only through "reality" that everything is revealed. We are dealing, then, with the appearance of reality. The new plastic requires a reality that expresses both the totality and the unity of things: therefore, an equilibrated duality that annihilates the appearance of palpable reality and every expression where the natural dominates. Objects and beings are thus reduced to a universal plastic means that "expresses" them but does not presume to represent them. This new reality in painting is a composition of color and noncolor; in music, of determined sound and noise. In this way subject matter does not interfere with the composition's exact appearance. The composition becomes "reality." The whole is "the equivalent" of nature, which plastically can show only its most outward aspect.

Neo-Plasticism found the new reality in painting by abstracting what is most outward and by determining (or crystallizing) what is most inward. It established this new reality through the composition of rectangular planes in color and noncolor, which replaced limited form. Through this universal means of expression the great eternal laws, of which objects or beings are but veiled representations, can be exactly expressed. Neo-Plasticism expresses these laws, these "invariants," through the constant relationship of position: the perpendicular relationship. To achieve this it uses the "variable," that is, relationships of dimensions (measure), relationships of colors, and relationships of color (sound) to noncolor (noise).

In composition, the invariant (the spiritual) is expressed by straight line and planes of noncolor (white, black and gray), while the variable (the natural) is expressed by color planes and by rhythm.

What the bruiteurs express plastically is not absolute speed: they merely show the (old) relative speed in a new guise. Yet the pure new spirit "manifests itself," even if elsewhere. It "appears" regardless of how it is accepted.

Just as the invention of photography dealt a "mortal blow" (André Breton) to the old modes of expression in art, so the invention of the bruiteurs dealt a blow to music. For the bruiteurs uncovered the naturalism and individualism that remained concealed in music. Naturalism, in the sense of the imitation of natural sounds (including machines), causes degeneration in music. Reality was introduced into music with the intention of making it more universal; but by following reality too closely, music on the contrary became more individual. Natural reality did not achieve its true expression because it was not transformed into abstract plastic. This is clearly shown by the bruiteurs whose noises remain reproductions of natural sounds. One need only think of the names given to bruiteurs: screechers, growlers, cracklers, graters, howlers, buzzers, cluckers, gluggers, poppers, hissers, croakers and rustlers.

Whereas the classical instruments artificially disguise natural sounds, the bruiteurs reproduce them almost in their everyday nakedness.

The bruiteurs unconsciously demonstrate the need for instruments that do not imitate natural reality. They demonstrate that "art" is quite different from "nature." Nevertheless, their music, using old harmonies despite new instruments, will deeply influence the coming music. It shows clearly the valuelessness for our time of the old harmony. Perhaps it will hasten understanding of the fact that the old music actually corresponds to the painting of the past.

Music thus conceived may move more rapidly toward its final goal of "equivalence with nature" — the goal that Neo-Plasticism in painting has already achieved.

Neo-Plasticism, its Realization in Music and in Future Theater

Neo-Plastic music of the future, as its name suggests, will be completely "outside" traditional music, just as Neo-Plastic painting can be regarded as completely "outside" morphoplastic painting. Yet in reality these Neo-Plastic arts are not outside music and painting. Assuming that true music and true painting require the use of pure plastic means, it is to the contrary traditional music and painting that are "outside."

Neo-Plasticism is not for artists who are "content" with morphoplastic expression, nor is it for laymen who have found a satisfying mode of plastic expression: the two conceptions cannot exist together. Since a sudden change of conception is illogical as well as impossible, Neo-Plastic art or ideas can only be disturbing to them. While Neo-Plasticism can have meaning for the inquisitive artist or layman, it is the plastic expression appropriate for those who have outgrown morphoplastic. Let Neo-Plastic painting or sound be addressed only to them, for only they can understand all that has been and is to be written on the subject.

Although Neo-Plastic painting has actually existed only for a few years, there is already a group which regards this expression of art as "theirs." The same will foreseeably happen with Neo-Plastic music even before the auditory realization of Neo-Plasticism. The realization of this music is only a question of time and money.

Because Neo-Plastic music stands outside tradition, it will be denied as "music," just as Neo-Plastic painting is denied as "plastic." Both denials are equally illogical if music is not limited to one system, or if plastic expression is not exclusively limited to morphoplastic. Neo-Plastic differs only in its deepening of the same thing: for all plastic derives from the same source. Only because of this "deepening" is Neo-Plastic art "outside" traditional art and does it become pure art.

The Realization of Neo-Plasticism In The Distant Future And In Architecture Today (Architecture Understood as Our Total Nonnatural Environment)

The "art of architecture" gradually passes into "construction"; the "decorative arts" progressively yield to "machine production"; "sculpture" becomes chiefly "ornament," or is absorbed into luxury and utilitarian objects; "theater" is displaced by the cinema and the music hall; "music" by dance music and the phonograph; "painting" by film, photography, reproductions, and so on. "Literature" by its very nature is already largely "practical," as in science, journalism, etc., and is becoming more so with time; as "poetry," it is increasingly ridiculous. In spite of all, the arts continue and seek renewal. But the way to renewal is also their destruction. To

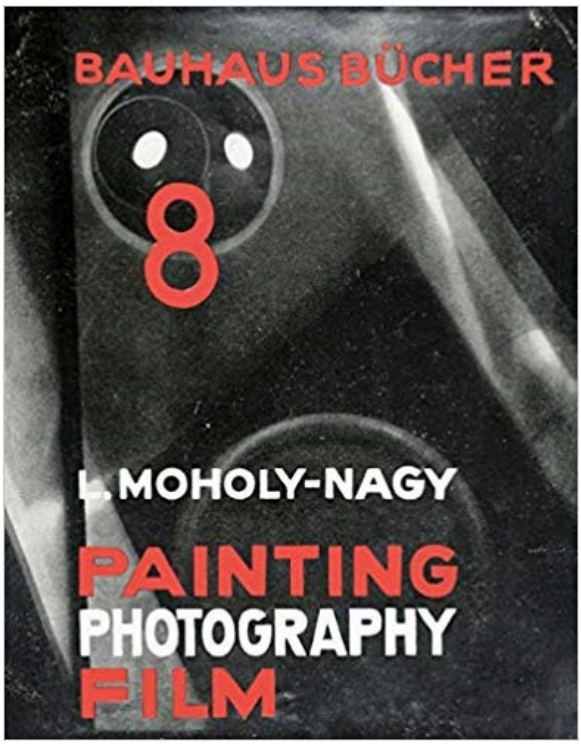
evolve is to break with tradition — "art" (in the traditional sense) is in the process of progressive dissolution, as is already evident in painting (in Neo-Plasticism). At the same time, outward life is becoming fuller and many-sided, thanks to rapid transportation, sports, mechanical production and reproduction, etc. One feels the limitation of spending "life" creating art, while the whole world is going on around us. More and more, life commands our attention — but it remains predominantly materialistic. Art is becoming more and more "vulgarized." The "work of art" is seen in terms of a material value that progressively declines unless "boosted" by commerce. Society increasingly opposes the life of intellect and feeling — or employs them in its service. Thus society opposes art too. But this predominantly physical outlook sees only decadence in the evolution of life and of art. For society today regards feeling as its flower, intellect as its power, art as its ideal expression. Our surroundings and our life show impoverishment in their incompleteness and stark utilitarianism. Thus art becomes an escape. Beauty and harmony are sought in art because they are lacking in our life and in our environment. Consequently, beauty or harmony becomes the "ideal," something unattainable, set apart as "art" separated from life and environment. Thus the "ego" was freed for fantasy and self-reflection, for the self-satisfaction of self-reproduction: creating beauty in its own image. Attention was diverted from actual life and true beauty. This was inevitable and necessary, for in this way art and life freed themselves. Time is evolution, despite the fact that the ego sees this too as "ideal," unattainable.

Today the majority deplores the decay of art while they nevertheless oppress it. The physical predominates in, or seeks to dominate, their whole being: thus they oppose the inevitable evolution — even while it is being accomplished.

In spite of all, both art and the reality around us show this precisely as the beginning of a new life — man's eventual liberation. Although created by the flowering of our dominantly physical being ("feeling"), art is basically pure plastic expression of harmony. Arising from the tragic of life — caused by the dominance in and around us of the physical (the naturalistic) — art expresses the yet imperfect state of our deepest "being." The latter (as "intuition") seeks to narrow the gap—never to be completely bridged as long as the world endures — that separates it from the material-as-nature: it seeks to change disharmony to harmony. Art's freedom "permits" harmony to be realized despite the fact that physically dominated being cannot directly express or attain pure harmony. Indeed, the evolution of art consists in its achievement of a pure expression of harmony: art appears only outwardly, as an expression that (in time) reduces individual feeling. Thus art is both the expression and (involuntarily) the means of material evolution: the achievement of equilibrium between nature and non-nature — between what is in us and what is around us. Art will remain both expression and means of expression until (relative) equilibrium is reached. Then its task will be fulfilled and harmony will be realized in our outward surroundings and in our outward life. The domination of the tragic in life will be ended.

Then the "artist" will be absorbed by the "fully human being." Like him, the "nonartist" will be equally imbued with beauty. Predisposition will lead one person to the aesthetic, another to the scientific, someone else to yet another activity — but the "specialty" will be an equivalent part of the whole. Architecture, sculpture, painting and decorative art will then merge, that is to say, become architecture-as-our-environment. The less "material" arts will be realized in "life." Music as "art" will come to an end. The beauty of the Neo-Plasticism (The General Principle of Plastic Equivalence) . . . <>

László Moholy-Nagy: Painting, Photography, Film: Bauhausbücher 8 by Lars Müller and László Moholy-Nagy, edited by Walter Gropius, László Moholy-Nagy (original series), Lars Müller (facsimile edition) in collaboration with Bauhaus-Archiv/Museum für Gestaltung [Lars Müller Publishers, 9783037785874]



Offered a position at the Weimar Bauhaus in 1923, László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) soon belonged to the inner circle of Bauhaus masters. When the school moved to Dessau, Moholy-Nagy and Walter Gropius began a fruitful collaboration as joint publishers of the Bauhausbücher series.

In addition to designing and editing the Bauhausbücher, Moholy-Nagy produced a title of his own: the legendary Painting, Photography, Film. In this book, Moholy-Nagy's efforts to have photography and filmmaking recognized as art forms on the same level as painting are propounded and explained at length. The artist makes the case for a radical rethinking of the visual arts and the further development of photographic design to keep pace with a radically changing technological modernity.

Alongside theoretical and technical approaches and forays into the nature of the medium, Moholy-Nagy uses an extensive appendix of illustrations to provide a thorough survey of the numerous possibilities that photography and film could offer —from press photography and scientific imagery to Moholy-Nagy's own abstract photograms and New Vision photographs.

This English translation of Painting, Photography, Film is based in content and design on the 1925 German first edition, making the latter available to an international readership for the first time. The publication includes a brief scholarly text providing crucial contextual information and reflecting on the history and legacy of Moholy-Nagy's book.

Moholy-Nagy's efforts to have photography and filmmaking recognized as means of artistic design on the same level as painting are propounded and explained at length. The use of artistic instruments is thus radically reformed. The Hungarian artist makes the case for a functional transformation within the visual arts and for the further development of photographic design options.

Alongside theoretical and technical approaches as well as detailed forays into the broad field of the medium of photography, Moholy-Nagy uses an extensive appendix of illustrations to provide a thorough survey of the numerous possibilities that photographic and cinematic work had in store as early as 1925.

This new English edition appears in original design and with separate commentary.

László Moholy-Nagy was born in southern Hungary in 1895. After unfinished law studies and military service during the First World War, he attended an evening art school, which marked the beginning of his career as an artist. During his first artistic years his style of art was much influenced and shifted from the figurative to a short Dadaist phase before it became completely abstract. His earlier paintings, which were strongly influenced by Russian Constructivism, already illustrate his life-long preoccupation with light and transparency. Around 1922 Moholy-Nagy became aware of the

photogram and the artistic potential of the motion picture, which fascinated him for the rest of his life. When he moved to Berlin two years later, he met Walter Gropius, director of the Bauhaus, who visited Moholy-Nagy's exhibition at the avant-garde art gallery Der Sturm. He appointed Moholy-Nagy as a teacher at the art school in Weimar in March 1923. The artist remained loyal to the Bauhaus even after its move to Dessau, before he finally left it in 1928. <>

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