

demography, environment, and the shifting forces determining public policy. There are sections on settlement and subjugation that describe the evolution in one society of pastoral serfdom and in another of chattel slavery. A second chapter on slavery compares Khoikhoi and Afro-Americans and boasts a revisionist attack on the colorphobic theory of the origins of slavery and a new hypothesis about early Virginia blacks. A third, on race mixture and the color line, stresses the spectrum of attitudinal and status possibilities in South Africa and the U.S., explores the components and evolution of the Cape Colored, and provides some ironies about early Namibia. A fourth compares and contrasts Southern particularism with the Voortrekker's flight and examines each people's reactive messianism. A highly absorbing and complex section follows, based on the "split labor market" concept, which surveys the impact of industrialization on white supremacist theory and policy. Finally, the author contrasts Jim Crow and apartheid and compares Afro-Americans to Cape Colored in terms of legislated discrimination.

Frederickson feels free throughout to alter his focus from nation to region in order to strike apposite parallels and disjunctions. Generally his choices of focus are effective, but there are areas where greater care might have been taken to distinguish minor from major trends. For example, he overemphasizes the activities of the minuscule British liberals in Cape Colony and unduly details the peculiar race relations of Capetown, the "New Orleans" of South Africa. This is fascinating material, but at the expense of even sharper treatment of the various impacts of Afrikaner and African cultures where more people are involved. I wish more space had been devoted to the acculturation rates of urban African workers and "bantustan" rurals and to how cultural change might affect racial perceptions. I wonder as well how the discriminatory policies since Nationalist accession in 1948 have affected the structure and cohesion of the Cape Colored community. And while the title implies chronicling white views and rationalizations, some attention to the articulated responses of nonwhites would have provided a strong counterpoint, placing white supremacy in relief. But perhaps this is the lament of the fascinated and insatiable reader who wishes the au-

thor had written a study half again as large.

A more serious reservation is that the book ends abruptly—there is no summation or forecast, and in a monograph so broad and innovative the reader misses one. Especially since Frederickson disavows Marxism and instead delineates a mutual reinforcement of cultural norms and pragmatic, power-oriented solutions to economic tensions, the reader would also wish to know which forces the author thinks have been or will be the most determinative over time in the two nations. However, this complaint should in no way detract from what is an admirable, mature work by a scholar who has opened new historiographical frontiers. [VVV]

### **THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FEDERICO SANCHEZ AND THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND IN SPAIN**

**by Jorge Semprun**

(Karz Publishers [New York City] 271 pp.; \$14.95)

### **EUROCOMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM**

**by Fernando Claudin**

(New Left Books [distributed by Schocken Books]; 168 pp.; \$10.95)

*Gary Prevost*

Jorge Semprun is best known today as a major European novelist and screenwriter, author of the novel *The Long Voyage* and of the screenplays for *La Guerre Est Fini* and *Z*. For nearly a decade in the 1950s and early '60s, Semprun, under the Spanish Communist party (PCE) name Federico Sanchez, directed the PCE's underground apparatus in Spain. He had been a Communist militant since his youth, fought in France with the Resistance, and, after capture by the Germans, endured two years at Buchenwald. In 1965 both Semprun and Fernando Claudin were expelled from the PCE because of differences with the Party head, Santiago Carillo, over Party strategy.

When the book appeared in Spain in 1978, less than a year after the legalization of the PCE, it caused dismay in the Party leadership ranks. Semprun's criticism is summed up in the following comment: "The Communist Party is of no use...either for taking power or insti-

tuting socialism." While sharply critical of the Party leadership that expelled him, Semprun is not a renegade from communism but, rather, a continuing advocate of revolutionary change in capitalist society.

Woven into the fascinating narrative of life as an underground militant are numerous telling criticisms of the Spanish Party and its leaders. Probably most important is Semprun's assertion that throughout the '50s and early '60s the Party remained unmoved by the significant changes that were occurring in Spanish society and held blindly to its own vision of an apocalyptic end to the Franco regime. The PCE triumphantly declared every strike, regardless of its outcome, a political success that confirmed the strategy of the PCE. In reality the Francoist state had transformed itself, industrialized the country, and broken out of its international isolation. The PCE, its leaders largely in Eastern European exile, was unable to break away from the framework that had been established in the Civil War and its immediate aftermath. By 1964 Semprun was arguing that the PCE had to discard its futile tactic of periodic general strikes in favor of a more reform-oriented strategy of working with all political forces opposed to Franco. Expelled from the Party, along with Claudin, as a "hare-brained intellectual," Semprun exposes the ironic fact that several years later Santiago Carillo was praised for adopting the very policies for which he, Semprun, had been expelled.

Semprun also offers a close look at the effects of Stalinism on the West European party that may have worked harder than any other in the '70s to shed its Stalinist background. From the evidence it is difficult to believe that de-Stalinization can be successful as long as the current leadership lives. The author establishes this point by exposing his own Stalinist past. In describing the personality cult that surrounded Dolores Ibarruri, heroine of the Civil War, he offers portions of his poetic tribute to "La Pasionaria" as evidence that he became a Stalinized intellectual; the poetry was simply a part of the annual birthday celebrations at which Ibarruri was declared the "incarnation of a better tomorrow." Semprun also takes note that being a Stalinized intellectual meant hiding truth in the interests of the Party. The Czechs executed Josef Frank in 1952 on the charge

of being a Gestapo agent. From their common experiences at Buchenwald, Semprun knew Frank was innocent; yet he remained silent until after his expulsion from the Party.

Semprun is skeptical about whether, given their deep-seated Stalinist past, Carillo and his followers have actually transformed themselves into revolutionary leaders. He calls their current practice "Stalinism clad in slippers."

The weakness of the book lies in Semprun's attempts to chart a Marxist course separate from the current Eurocommunist policies of Carillo. He vacillates between apparent support for reformist social democratic positions and the need for revolutionary policies in Western Europe. He acknowledges the democratic freedoms of the workers and yet argues for revolution in both Eastern and Western Europe. While Semprun may have made some important theoretical breakthroughs in his 1964 assessment of the Spanish situation, that wisdom does not appear to have carried over into the '70s.

Fernando Claudin's *Eurocommunism and Socialism* is not a companion volume to Semprun's. Claudin has written of his shared experiences in *Documents of a Communist Divergency*, but his most recent work is more significant to contemporary Marxist theory. Claudin has set himself the task of finding a middle ground between Leninism and the Eurocommunism of Carrillo. To accomplish this Claudin, as Carillo, first rejects any revolutionary, violent, or vanguardist route to power for the West European Communists; here he covers little if any new ground.

The strength of Claudin's efforts lies in his criticism of Eurocommunism, which may be summarized as follows. First, the Eurocommunists have no analysis of capitalism. This is demonstrated by the Spanish Party's failure to interpret the profound changes in the Franco period and the inability of the French and Italian parties to anticipate the worker struggles in 1968 and 1969. In the '70s the Communist parties denied the reality of the economic crises in the West and pursued gains for their working-class constituency based on the false notion of a growing and vibrant capitalism, thereby placing themselves in the untenable position of supporting capitalism. Second, Claudin exposes the Eurocommunists' misunderstanding of the nature of the democratic capitalist governments. Claudin

notes that the Eurocommunists, in a rush to disassociate themselves from undemocratic Eastern regimes, are uncritically accepting Western democracy, failing to recognize the differences between civil liberties won in struggle and the ultimately repressive nature of democratic rule under capitalism. Third, Claudin is critical of the anti-monopoly strategy, which incorrectly assumes that because smaller capitalists are also victimized by the large industrial combinations, they can be useful allies of the working class. In connection with the appeal to the middle layers as part of a broad electoral strategy, the Communist parties begin to lose the identity that distinguishes them from social democracy. Also, the focus on alliance strategy has led the parties to underestimate important new formations such as student movements, councils of the unemployed, and factory councils. The danger of such positions as the "Historic Compromise" in Italy and the support for the Moncloa Pact in

Spain is that the Party loses its appeal to its natural constituency and its ability to fight for the disadvantaged.

In spite of these positions, Claudin remains within the Communist camp and advocates the "transformation of the state," not the improvement of capitalism. He recognizes the value of seeking parliamentary seats but warns the Communist movement that the electoral process may be short-circuited in future confrontations with the established order. Unfortunately, Claudin provides little in the way of strategy for dealing with such a confrontation.

Although as a critic of Eurocommunism Claudin is among the best, in seeking a viable "middle way" between Leninism and Eurocommunism he fails as badly as many before him. Neither Semprun nor Claudin provides significant new perceptions of the future of the Eurocommunist parties, but both books deserve to be read widely for their insight into the functioning of Spain's own. **WV**

