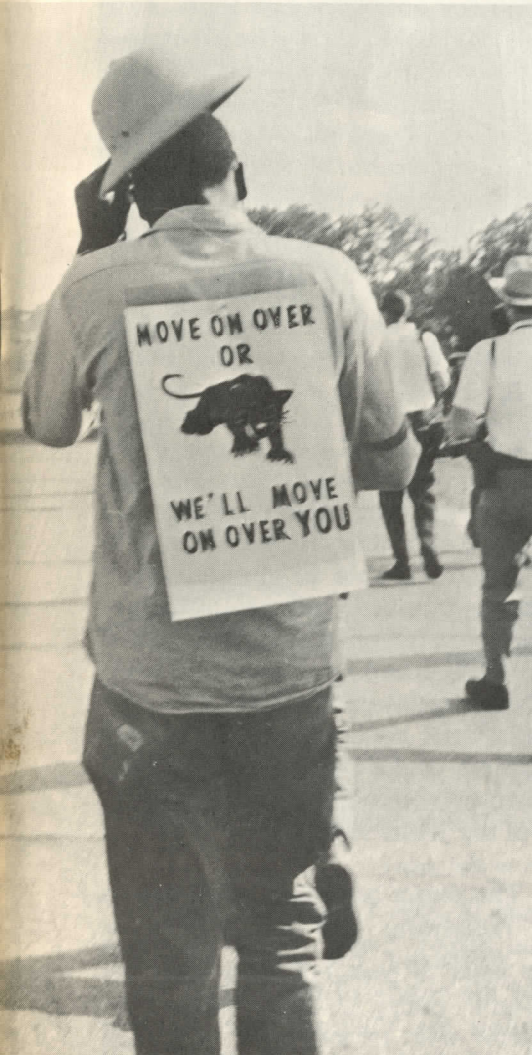


# YOUNG SOCIALIST

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1966

25¢

## BLACK POWER



- **G.I.'s PROTEST  
VIETNAM WAR**
- **INTERVIEW WITH  
ISAAC DEUTSCHER**

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

Vol. 9, No. 6(71)

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1966

## Young Socialist Notes

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COVER: Two scenes on the Mississippi march. The three men under the "I'm ready for black power" sign are going to register the older man (center) to vote in Canton, Mississippi.

### In This Issue

ELIZABETH BARNES, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, graduated from Carleton College in 1961, then received an M.A. in history from Northwestern University. In June, along with two other members of the YSA, she participated in the Mississippi march, then spent several days in Lowndes County, Alabama, talking to members of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

LES EVANS, a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, attended the University of California at Los Angeles before moving to San Francisco where he is an active leader of the YSA. He is a frequent contributor to the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

**Broad Protest Against Detroit Shooting:** Dozens of telegrams and messages of support were sent to the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance after the fatal shooting of Leo Bernard in Debs Hall on May 16. Memorial meetings around the country became broad protests against the slaying, uniting representatives from every radical political tendency and dozens of antiwar committees.

Jan Garrett and Walt Graham, who were seriously wounded by the killer, are recovering well. Unfortunately the medical costs for them run into the thousands of dollars. Contributions are welcome and should be sent to: Emergency Medical Fund for Bernard, Garrett and Graham, c/o English Dept., Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., 48202.

**No Trial For Bernard's Killer:** On June 8 a sanity commission hearing found Edward Waniolek, the man who killed Leo Bernard in Detroit on May 16, insane at the time of the shooting. He was found to be "well-oriented and was able to discuss other issues" and his "schizophrenia exhibited itself only in discussion related to the Communist party." Thus he was declared unfit to stand trial and was committed to Ionia State Hospital until cured.

If fear of a "Communist conspiracy" can be construed as mental illness and if one kills as a result of this "illness," then why isn't LBJ in a mental institution instead of the White House?

**War With China?** The recent bombing of oil depots near Hanoi and Haiphong and LBJ's bellicose speech in Omaha, Nebraska, are severe warnings as to the intent of the rulers of the United States to continue escalating the Vietnam war. Another indication is that American forces in Thailand have jumped from 12,000 to over 25,000 since January of this year.

Spurred onto greater resistance by the continued extension and intensity of the war, antiwar fighters all over the world are responding to the call for a third International Days of Protest. Throughout this country, united protests in Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, San Francisco-Berkeley and other cities will be rallying around the themes "Bring Our G. I's Home Now" and "No More Hiroshimas."

continued on p. 22



**EDITORIAL****DEFEND THE  
FORT HOOD THREE**

From left to right: Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pvt. David Samas, & Pfc. James Johnson

On the evening of July 7, three G.I.'s formerly stationed at Ft. Hood Texas, and on furlough at the time were arrested in New York City by non-uniformed military police, handcuffed and transported to Fort Dix in New Jersey. The three men, dressed in civilian clothes, were on their way to a meeting at the Community Church in New York where they were to explain to an audience of close to 700 people why they are refusing to serve in Vietnam.

A week earlier the three soldiers—Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson, and Pvt. David Samas—held a press conference where they publicly announced that they had orders to report to the Oakland Army Terminal on July 13 for shipment to Vietnam. They emphatically declared that they would not board ship because the Vietnam war is "immoral, illegal, and unjust". In a joint statement

read by Dennis Mora to 40 or 50 reporters, cameramen and antiwar fighters present at the press conference, they said: "We have been in the army long enough to know that we are not the only G.I.'s who feel as we do. Large numbers of men in the service either do not understand this war or are fighting against it."

Pfc. Johnson in a personal statement indicated that, "In my case the fact that I am Negro makes the fact of U. S. involvement even more acute. . . .

"Just as the Negroes are fighting for absolute freedom and self-determination in the United States, so it is with the Vietnamese in their struggle against the Americans."

On the same day they filed a suit against the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army to prevent their shipment to Vietnam. The publicity received as a result of this press conference and the



***EDITORIAL***

# **DEFEND THE FORT HOOD THREE**



From left to right: Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pvt. David Samas, & Pfc. James Johnson

example of these three men courageously refusing to serve in Vietnam motivated the Army's arbitrary and sudden action against them on July 7.

The Army claims that they are being held in "investigative detention" in order to determine if "their conduct has been prejudicial to good order and military discipline". As Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of CORE, put it, these arrests "were made explicitly to prevent these young men from exercising their First Amendment right to freedom of speech and [are] reminiscent of 'police state tactics.'" Attempts to intimidate the three men and even to bribe them to drop the case, are another example of the police tactics employed. Pvt. Samas' parents were contacted by the police and told that if their son would drop the case, he would be given a discharge from the Army.

### Defense Committee Formed

A Fort Hood Three Legal Defense Committee, with A.J. Muste and Staughton Lynd as co-chairmen, has been set up to publicize the case and raise funds for the defense.

The response to the case has been widespread. At the press conference on June 30 Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC, and Lincoln Lynch, Assistant Director of CORE, solidarized themselves with the three men. Lynch stated that, "Our nation has become a nation of hypocrites. CORE wholeheartedly supports the action of these three young men. We call upon all black soldiers and all black people to bring an end to this war by any and all means necessary."

A list of other sponsors and supporters was read including Floyd B. McKissick, Ruth Gage Colby, President of the Women's International League for

Antiwar fighters protest at Fort Dix in New Jersey



Peace, and Freedom, and Tom Hayden of SDS.

Despite the arrest on July 7, the meeting at Community Church was held with relatives and friends of the three men reading their speeches and indicating their support for the case. Al Evanhoff, of District 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Workers Union, pledged \$200 from his union and promised to organize a defense committee in the union. James Johnson's father is a steward for District 65. About \$1300 was contributed by the audience for the defense efforts of the three men.

### Demonstrations of Support

After the meeting about two thirds of the audience marched to Times Square and demonstrated for an hour around the Army recruiting station there. On Saturday afternoon, July 9, 250 people from New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia staged a demonstration in front of Fort Dix and demanded that they be allowed to see the "detained" soldiers. Leaflets were distributed to soldiers and townspeople with facts about the case.

This case is very important to the antiwar movement and all antiwar activists should rally to the defense of these three G.I.'s. Mora, Samas and Johnson have taken a stand against the Johnson administration at one of the most sensitive points in the whole war effort—the draftee army. The last thing LBJ wants is for the troops themselves to exercise their legal right to hold dissenting views on questions of foreign policy. This was demonstrated in the case of Lt. Henry Howe who participated in an antiwar rally in El Paso, Texas, last fall. He was immediately courtmartialled and sentenced to one year imprisonment in the Disciplinary Barracks at Ft. Leavenworth *merely for protesting against the war*. He was released after three months of confinement, however, when the publicity about his situation became more widespread.

A campaign around the case of the Fort Hood Three draws the line sharply between the Johnson administration and the antiwar movement and reinforces the independent thrust of the movement. Also, the case will inevitably force more G.I.'s to think about the dirty, brutal character of the war.

It is vitally important to build the largest and widest movement possible to prevent the army from giving these three men stiff penalties for their completely legal and just actions. The antiwar movement has a duty and a responsibility to defend all fighters against this war when they are threatened by the government. We must serve notice to LBJ and his military machine that the antiwar movement will come to the immediate aid of soldiers who exercise their legal and moral right to protest the Vietnam war.

# YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERVIEWS



## ISAAC DEUTSCHER

The following interview was given to Young Socialist editorial board member Dan Styron on May 24, 1966, in New York City. Mr. Deutscher was in the United States at the invitation of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in order to speak at their public meetings held on May 21 and May 23, respectively.

Isaac Deutscher is the author of numerous books and articles on the Soviet Union, including a biography of Stalin (Stalin) and a three-volume biography of Trotsky (*The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed* and *The Prophet Outcast*). In addition, he contributes on a regular basis to many periodicals in England and the United States. In this country, his articles dealing with Soviet affairs as well as revolutionary events in other parts of the world have recently appeared in the *Nation* and *Monthly Review*. An earlier interview with Mr. Deutscher appeared in the July-August 1965 issue of the *Young Socialist*.

*Mr. Deutscher, since we last interviewed you for the Young Socialist, a great many events have taken place which have either retarded or advanced the revolutionary movement throughout the world. The most severe setback has been the defeat and physical destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party. Would you like to comment on that?*

I think that this has been the most disastrous development in the class struggles of recent years and the most important shift in the balance of power in Asia—a shift in favor of Western imperialism. This is also the most ignominious collapse of a Communist Party since the German Stalinist party, and with it the German working class, surrendered to Hitler in 1933 without firing a shot. Another analogy, probably a more relevant one, is the slaughter of the Chinese Communists in Shanghai in 1927. As in China over 40 years ago, the Indonesian Communist Party cultivated a friendship with its hangmen over many years. It cultivated the block with its so-called national bourgeoisie and fawned on General Sukarno with the encouragement of both Moscow and Peking. The Indonesian Communist Party is now paying the price—300,000 to 600,000 Communists slaughtered almost without resistance. This was a massacre the likes of which history does not know, except for the destruction of the Jews by Hitler. Every potentially revolutionary element was massacred—not only Communists, but all workers and peasants whom the ruling class suspected might become dangerous and active in some future critical situation. This was a preventative counterrevolution of a tremendous scale. The Indonesian Communist Party boasted a membership of three million people, and this party went to the slaughterhouse with its eyes shut, convinced that its slaughterers were the friends of the revolution.

*Have there been indications that either the Kremlin or Peking has learned anything from this tremendous defeat?*

No, they do not appear to have learned a single lesson. Both Moscow and Peking held the view that Indonesia was not "ripe" for a socialist revolution and that the Communist party should support the so-called block of national classes—including the national bourgeoisie—and that it should surrender to the leadership of these classes. On this point there was no difference between Khrushchevism and Maoism. The Chinese, Russians and Indonesians acted in the tradition of Stalinism.

Moscow and Peking now let themselves go in vociferous denunciations of the slaughter without showing the slightest inclination to grasp deeper causes of the event. They show no desire to engage

in any analysis and interpretation of the event; they are afraid of losing face. Facesaving is their principal concern.

*In addition to the Indonesian events, there have been serious defeats in Africa. What do you think the major causes of these setbacks were?*

The overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana, of Ben Bella in Algeria, the counterrevolution in Indonesia and other minor developments, all form part of an international counterrevolutionary trend. I have never held the view that Algeria and Ghana were socialist countries or that they had gone through socialist revolutions. That was far too hasty and optimistic a judgment. But these countries had revolutionary potentialities. There was a distinctly socialist tendency in these countries which has now been arrested through the weakness of the revolutionary elements and through the pressure of the capitalist powers and bourgeois forces within those countries.

*Another setback has been the recent trial of the Soviet writers, Daniel and Sinyavsky. This mockery of justice has tended to depreciate the workers' states, especially the Soviet Union, in the eyes of revolutionary elements throughout the world. What is the significance of these trials?*

These trials have been symptomatic of the revival or strengthening of the authoritarian crypto-Stalinist trend in the Soviet Union. The situation is somewhat similar to that which prevailed in the days of the Korean war, when the threat of its escalation caused Stalin to tighten all the screws in Soviet society. Something similar is happening now. Not as gravely, not as dangerously, not as irrationally, because the margins of safety within which

the present rulers of the Soviet Union operate are much wider, and therefore the terror is not and will not be, I think, what it was in Stalin's days. The trial was not conducted in the way Stalinist purges were; and there were demonstrations of solidarity with the defendants inside and outside the courtroom. This was quite unthinkable, even inconceivable, in Stalin's days.

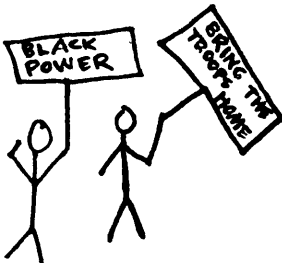
I don't believe that this attempt to reimpose the authoritarian trend in Russia will succeed. It will probably be repulsed by the resistance of various forces. On the other hand, we should realize that in many respects, the Khrushchevite, halfhearted, hypocritical, inconsistent and contradictory de-Stalinization has produced a disillusionment. There is an utter revulsion against Stalinism still at work, but there is also a groping in the darkness, a feeling that the de-Stalinization hasn't really answered the vital questions, and that no one seems to know the answers. The intelligentsia doesn't see a clear road ahead. You see, to say that Leninism provides the answer is not enough in this situation. We may realize that the way forward leads, to some extent, through going back to all that was great and valuable in the past of the Revolution, but unless what was valuable and great in the Revolution is made real and relevant to the present, people in the Soviet Union will not see it.

There are moods, very reactionary ones abroad in Soviet society, moods of disillusionment and cynicism. Writers like Sinyavsky and Daniel do not express a truly progressive tendency. They express cynicism and hopelessness, which are always in their effects reactionary. We are right in protesting against the trials. On the other hand, we need not idealize the victims. We should not create a rosy view for ourselves of what these writers represent. You should condemn their persecution, but you should also realize that they represent a disquieting aspect of Soviet society today.

*In marked contrast to these setbacks in the world revolution is the continued struggle of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam. Would you comment on this?*

A juxtaposition of Vietnam and Indonesia shows that revolution is most decisively defeated by its own follies, mistakes, lack of confidence, lack of faith in its own principles and lack of determination to act courageously. "Audacity, Audacity, Audacity," that old maxim of the revolutionary is as valid as ever. If you compare the unparalleled disaster in Indonesia to the extraordinary heroism with which the Vietnamese are fighting, sometimes with bare hands, against the greatest military-imperialist power in the world, after having fought French

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imperialism and Japanese imperialism before, the contrast speaks for itself, and the lesson to be drawn is unmistakable.

For a revolutionary party, there is only one source of strength, and that is reliance on itself and the popular masses. There is one way of sure perdition—that is reliance on the friendship and lasting cooperation with the bourgeois parties and other bourgeois elements. Unfortunately generation after generation of workers and Communists has to learn this lesson anew and learn it on its own skin and by paying with its own blood.

*Another positive development of historical importance has been the growth of the antiwar movement in the United States. What impact has this had on political people in other countries?*

Well, the world is becoming increasingly aware of the significance of the mass protests in the United States against the war. Recently I was amused to listen to a broadcast of a very famous British journalist, famous above all as a flatterer of the American administration. Yet, he spoke with real feeling about the Fifth Avenue demonstration you had here on March 26. He was greatly impressed by it, and almost shaken. He said this was the greatest demonstration New York has probably seen in all its history.

The world is becoming more and more aware that the American monolithic support for the government's foreign policy has broken. Even last year, people on the left in Europe were incredulous when I described this to them as an event of almost the same importance, potentially, perhaps, even of greater importance, than the de-Stalinization in Russia. They didn't believe it. Now, however, the fact is impressing itself upon the world's attention.

*Do you have any observations or suggestions regarding the future of the antiwar movement in the United States?*

Of course your movement has its weaknesses, and one can only hope that it will not disappoint the expectations of the left in other countries. I think this movement is a tremendous historic event. I said at a meeting yesterday that it is probably the most hopeful development in the American class struggle since the movement for the abolition of slavery. I put it as high as that. But this movement also reflects, unfortunately, the backwardness of the American political structure. It expresses on the one hand, the extraordinary intellectual and moral courage of important and suprisingly large groups in the American intelligentsia; but it also reflects the absence of a real, class-conscious, labor movement.

## MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

ANN ARBOR: YSA, 543 S. 4th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich., tel. 665-0735

ANTIOCH: YSA, c/o Rick Wadsworth, Antioch Student Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio

BERKELEY—OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Ernie Erlbeck, 920 Cornell Ave., Albany, Calif., tel. 525-6932

U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., Berkeley, tel. 843-6165  
Oakland City College Merritt Campus: Jaimey Allen, 1926-1/2 Channing Way, Berkeley, tel. 845-2149

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Eloise Meseke, 295 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass., tel. 536-6981 or 547-4573

Boston U.: Barbara Mutnick, tel. 491-7042  
Harvard-Radcliffe: 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, tel. 868-6617

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm 204, tel. 939-5044  
Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.

CLEVELAND: YSA, E.V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm 25

DENVER: YSA, c/o Bill Perdue, Box 2649, Denver, Colo.

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE 1-6135  
Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU

KENT Ohio: YSA, c/o Barbara Brock, Student Activities Center, Kent State U.

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN 9-4953  
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UCLA: Mike Geldman, 642 N. Maltman Ave., tel. 664-3868

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N.Y. City College: Wendy Reissney, 430 W. 46th St., \*3e, tel. CI 6 2348  
Columbia U.: Seman Bassin, 422 Hartley Hall, Columbia U., tel. MO 3-6600

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San Francisco State: Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, \*12, tel. KL 2-2838

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SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Debbie Leonard, 5265 15th N.E., tel. LA 2-4325

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MONTREAL: La Lingue Socialiste Ouvriere, 66 ouest rue Guilbault, tel. 844-7742



The working class hasn't been drawn into these protests yet. This is the main weakness of the movement, a weakness that worries us quite a lot. In order for any large-scale political action to be effective, it must be anchored in—or rather it must have a firm grip on—the productive apparatus of the nation, which the intelligentsia has not. Otherwise the movement is bound to run, as it has already partly run, into certain impasses.

To give you one example: there is hardly any hope, in the present circumstances, that American dockers should strike against sending American troops and munitions to Vietnam. Yet in Britain, even under the right-wing leadership of Ernest Bevan, in 1920, the dockers of London struck against the sending of munitions to the White armies, especially to the Polish forces of Marshal Pilsudski, who at that time fought against Soviet Russia. French sailors sent to Odessa to fight the Reds revolted and fraternized with Soviet sailors. In forms of action, effective action, the working class has immense superiority over the intelligentsia; when it acts, it can maintain a certain continuity of action, because its action is connected with the whole apparatus of production.

*What then do you think those of us who are active in the antiwar movement should do?*

I know that for decades the American working class has been apathetic, disoriented and confused by Stalinists and by all sorts of social reformers. It has been demoralized and disgusted by news from the so-called Socialist countries. Your radical intellectuals have therefore come to think that the working class cannot play the role that Marxists anticipated it would play. I am convinced that the sleeping giant of your working class will awaken one day. I am absolutely convinced of this. Eventually, there will come Marxists in America—America's Lenins, Trotskys, Luxemburgs—who will not be frustrated by the long-lasting passivity and inertia of the American working class, but will stake everything on shaking this sleeping giant out of his stupor.

I have been developing this argument to your students in Berkeley and elsewhere. Your revolutionary intelligentsia must go out to the working class again—not to the bureaucracy of the trade unions, not even to workers of the older generation, but to young workers. The older worker may be bribed by the so-called welfare state. He compares his present conditions with the hunger and unemployment of the thirties; and he feels the improvement, and is pleased. He contents himself with the crumbs he is getting from the rich table, not of the bourgeoisie, but of his own productivity. But surely the young worker is not and cannot be, dazzled by

the "welfare state," and by his possession of a car and a television. He takes these things for granted. They belong to the standard of living he has found, so to say, on entering life. Surely he cannot be so satisfied with this, and I don't believe he is irretrievably corrupted. Go out to the young workers but be sure to have something to tell them

*In what manner do you think that these young workers can best be approached?*

There is surely a resentment in them, just as in the young intellectuals, which does not know against whom it should turn—a resentment that may be stimulated by the insecurity of this nuclear age and flare up at any time. It may turn against the supposed internal and external enemy, communism, and in this way it may be exploited by some variety of fascism. But it may also turn—it ought to turn—against the capitalist ruling classes who are responsible for maintaining this insecurity. The capitalist prosperity of these years is increasingly based on production for war, production for death. *We earn our living as our own gravediggers.* But deep down in everyone, especially in the working class, is the feeling that may be expressed in the question: "Can we not organize society in such a way that we should work for our life, not for death?" Yes, we can—but we can't do it under capitalism. Only through socialism can we achieve that.

If you approach the young worker, whose mind has not been entangled in the cobwebs of official thinking, whose mind is still sufficiently young to open and absorb new ideas, he will certainly react, and respond.

If you try to strike a spark in him just in order to send him voting for this or that Democratic candidate, you are bound to run into dumb apathy or produce it. Your worker may vote for this or that Democratic candidate, but this will not arouse in him great hopes or great enthusiasm or readiness for action. In that way you don't appeal to him for any action, and you expose him to inevitable disappointments and frustration. But this need not be the case. Explain to him the rottenness of the present social order: let him see that rottenness behind all the tinsel of the capitalist welfare state. Start from the beginning. Start from the foundations. In this way you will be working for the future of America and the future of the world.

If you have conviction for this idea and speak about it with conviction to young workers, then, I am sure, you will find that a new generation will respond to the message of socialism—and only then will your great protest movement overcome the weaknesses inherent in its present indefinite social character.



# THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY LES EVANS

On February 20, 1966, hundreds of intellectuals and professional people gathered in the small Spanish town of Baeza to pay tribute to the poet Antonio Machado. Machado, a popular symbol for his people, died in France in February, 1939, shortly after fleeing Franco's advancing fascist army. The organizing committee of artists and intellectuals that called the homage planned to unveil a monument to Machado which was to be placed in a particularly beautiful location in Baeza.

As people approached the city limits from all parts of Spain, they were met by the *Guardia Civil* (Franco's police) who stopped all the cars, took license numbers and forced many people to proceed by foot. Some 2,500 people finally got through the police lines and arrived in Baeza. Shortly before

the crowd reached the area of the monument, they were stopped by the armed police and ordered to leave Baeza and return home immediately. When they refused, the police charged the crowd and beat men, women and children indiscriminantly, forcing them to run back into the city to find shelter in bars and cafes. They were chased out of these refuges and finally fled the city in a long line of cars. Twenty-seven people were arrested.

A few months after the artists and intellectuals were driven out of Baeza, thousands of university students throughout the country held a wave of demonstrations against the fascist government. At the University of Barcelona, in the province of Catalonia, dozens of students and professors were arrested or forced to submit to investigations as a result of a series of demonstrations.

The protests were organized by the Democratic Students Syndicate of the District of Barcelona which had won control of the student government from the government-sponsored official union. The Franco regime, however, tried to crush the independent student organization, a policy which generated the militant student demonstrations.

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Photo: A group of General Franco's troops, prepared to wage gas warfare in 1938, are a shocking reminder that history can never be laid to rest. Hanson Baldwin, New York Times military expert, observed, "Vietnam, in a different way and to some extent a more limited degree, has become, like the Spanish civil war of 1936-39, a proving ground for new weapons, new tactics, new ideas."

The University was closed down on April 27 when the demonstrations got out of hand, and has since opened only once for final exams.

On May 11, when 120 Roman Catholic priests protested police brutality against one of the arrested students, they were viciously clubbed, beaten and kicked. This spurred the circulation of a document that was read by the rebel priests to their congregations, serving notice that they were determined to "break the alliance between the church and the regime of Generalissimo Franco."

Nearly 2,000 students from the University of Madrid battled "the grays," Franco's gray-uniformed policemen, on May 5. After an "illegal" campus rally they surged into the streets, yelling "Liberty! Liberty!" A few streetcars were disabled before the afternoon was over.

In Pamplona, site of the University of Navarra, 800 students clashed with policemen when they protested the arrest of two students.

Students are not the only people entering the lists against the regime. When three newspapermen were arrested for allegedly planning a demonstration under the auspices of the "illegal" Journalists Labor Commission, in defiance of the regime's "official" journalistic union, a protest of several hundred members of the "free" union won their release.

Tad Szule, *New York Times* reporter, commenting on these events in Spain in the May 3, 1966, issue of the paper, indicated that "Although there was no direct relationship between the student riots and the journalists' demonstration, the latter incident underscores the tensions that are rising in Spain where the political liberalization process apparently is running far ahead of the regime's carefully controlled pace."

Thirty years have passed since General Francisco Franco began the insurrection in Spanish Morocco that heralded the onslaught of fascism against the Spanish working class. Now, the resurgence of anti-government opposition and the prospects for continued ferment again bring the question of Spanish fascism and the struggle against it onto the stage of history. What actually happened during the decade of the 1930's, when the heavy hand of fascism clamped down on the Spanish people, assumes more than an academic importance. Few historic episodes have aroused as much emotion-packed fervor as the Spanish civil war, and few are as important in modern history.

### Prelude to the War

Spain entered the 20th century as one of the most backward countries of Europe, heir to a decaying ruling class, crowned with an absolute monarchy which rested on the twin pillars of the Catholic Church and the aristocratic officer corps of the

army. Owners of vast landed estates and the industrialists of Catalonia and the Basque provinces composed the remainder of the ruling strata of Spain.

The chief industry of Spain was agriculture, accounting for over half of the national income. In 1936, 70 percent of the population lived on the land, either as small farmers or as landless agricultural laborers.

The army and the middle class intelligentsia were split into innumerable factions, some favoring a sterner absolutism, some for a Republic, all sharing a common fear of revolution from below. The monarchy played them off, one against the other, and governments were changed with a tedious regularity by the *pronunciamento* of one or another group of plotters among the generals.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the embryonic Spanish working class began to create its own organizations to defend itself and to improve its conditions. By the time of the First World War, the anarchist trade union, the CNT (National Confederation of Labor) numbered millions of members, and the socialist UGT (General Union of Workers) numbered 200,000.

In 1917, a general strike broke out in Barcelona that spread to the rest of the country, but was soon crushed by the army. In 1923, General Primo de Rivera, backed by the industrial magnates of Catalonia, staged a *coup d'etat* and set up a military dictatorship that lasted until 1930. In 1931, after an overwhelming victory by the Republican forces at the polls, the King went into exile, and a Republic was established under the premiership of the liberal, Manuel Azana.

For the next five years, the Republic was to balance precariously between two irreconcilably hostile forces: the capitalist-landlord rulers and the working class.

In 1933, many workers refused to vote for the Republican parties and abstained from the elections. A sweeping victory for the reactionaries provoked workers' insurrections throughout the country. In 1934 the miners of Asturias, armed with dynamite and a few arms, held out for fifteen days until the government called in the Foreign Legion to crush the rebellion.

In February, 1936, the Popular Front (Republican, Socialist, Communist and Liberal) carried the elections, and Azana was back in power, now President of the Republic. Casares Quiroga became Prime Minister.

The fascists, under Generals Franco and Mola, began to prepare their insurrection, and at dawn on July 17, 1936, General Franco assumed command of the Foreign Legion in Spanish Morocco. In the next three days, almost all the fifty garrisons

in Spain declared for fascism. The vast majority of the old ruling class, including the industrial capitalists, joined the reactionary rebellion.

### The Civil War Begins

Even when it became clear that the Army was everywhere rising against the Republic, which had no means of defending itself except by arming the trade unions, Casares Quiroga was so terrified of the working class that he "announced that anyone who gave arms to the workers . . . would be shot. . . ."

"Nearly everywhere, on July 18, the Civil Governors in the large towns followed the example of the Government of Madrid, and refused to cooperate fully with the working class organizations who were clamoring for arms. In most cases, this brought the success of the risings and signed the death warrants of the Civil Governors themselves, along with the local working class leaders. . . . Had the liberal Government of Casares Quiroga distributed arms, and ordered the Civil Governors to do so, too, thus using the working class to defend the Republic at the earliest opportunity, it is possible that the rising would have been crushed." (Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, p. 135)

On July 18, Casares Quiroga resigned as Prime Minister, and Azana, hoping to come to an agreement with the fascists, appointed the conservative Martinez Barrio to form a "moderate" government to demonstrate the respectability of the Republican regime to Franco. A hundred thousand workers in the streets of Madrid cried "Treason!" and "Traitors!" and demanded arms. On the 19th, a new cabinet was formed, and arms were reluctantly distributed to the masses.

The workers appealed to the troops to join them: "A second artillery detachment . . . was overcome by a column of armed workers who advanced with rifles in the air, and with 'passionate words' begged the rebels [troops] not to fire. They then successfully urged the troops to turn their guns on their own officers." (Thomas, p. 147)

In Catalonia, the working class parties and trade unions formed militias that defeated the fascists on a broad front in Aragon, led by an anarchist column commanded by Buenaventura Durruti. Men were trained and armed by the CNT and by the POUM (Party of Marxist Unity), a communist party that had broken with Stalin over the conservatism and anti-democratic practices of the Kremlin bureaucracy. (The POUM was called "Trotskyist" by the Moscow-led Communist Party—a charge denied both by the POUM leadership and by Trotsky, who had sharp criticisms of the POUM.)

The immediate task that faced not only Catalonia, but all of Republican Spain, was to create a military force, and to organize production to defeat the

fascists. In most places the factory owners, the army and the police had gone over to Franco. Workers spontaneously seized the factories and began producing for defense; workers' patrols were organized to replace the police and to prevent sabotage; peasants seized the land that had been deserted. A social revolution on a gigantic scale was taking place. George Orwell, just arrived from England, described Barcelona in December, 1936: "Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the anarchists. . . . Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivized. . . . The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud." (George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, p. 5)

On July 21, the working class parties and trade unions organized the "Central Committee of Anti-Fascist Militia of Catalonia," which immediately became the only real power in the area.

What existed in Spain were *two* governments that held dual power: on the one hand, the forces of the workers' organizations, factory committees, militia units and peasant organizations. On the other hand, there existed the official Republican government of Azana, backed primarily by liberal capitalist politicians, opposed to all of these revolutionary measures and for the defense of private property. They argued that it was necessary to sharply limit or postpone all social reform in order to win the support of the liberal businessmen and intellectuals.

The reality, however, was that the capitalists had gone over to Franco already. There was no one to win over. The liberal politicians of the Republic spoke for no one but themselves. They were a mere shadow of the class they used to represent. The workers' organizations holding dual power had to either go forward to organize all the local workers' committees into a central system of democratic workers' councils, as was done in Russia in 1917; or they had to support the capitalist government, destroying the workers' committees in the process.

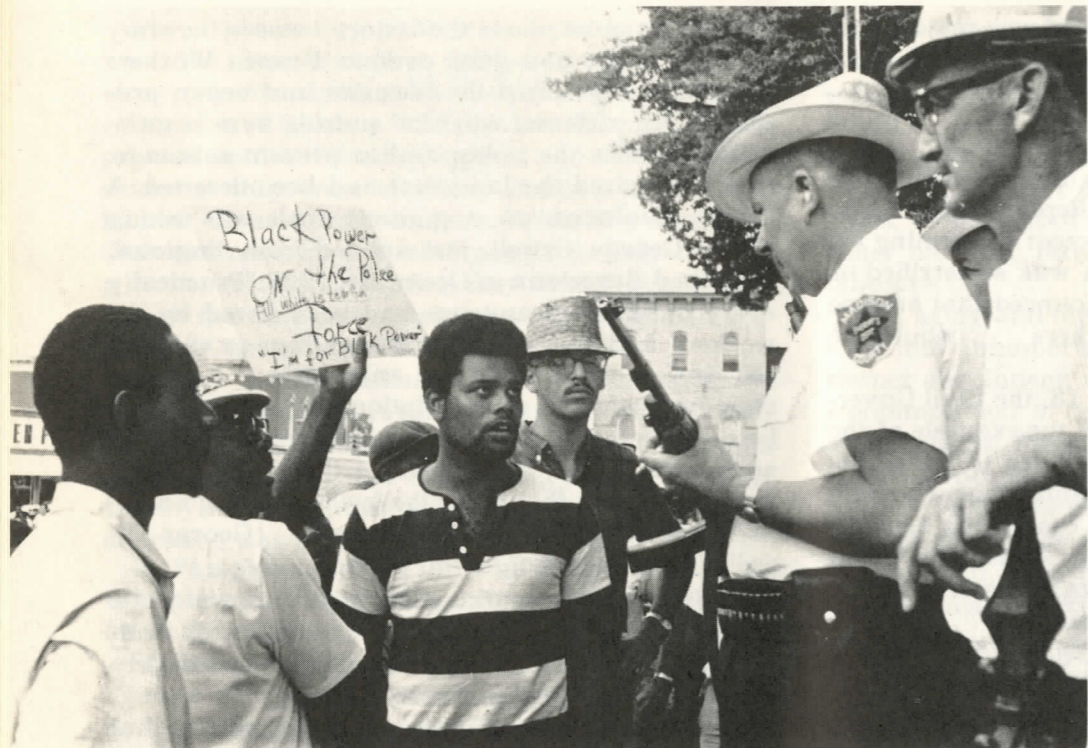
### Two Factors

Given the relationship of forces and the depth to which revolutionary measures had already penetrated the country, it seemed likely that a workers government would prevail.

Two factors turned the whole alignment of forces on its head, and ultimately led to the victory of fascism. The first was the wavering and indecision of the leadership of the anarchists and the POUM. Instead of moving to create a socialist government, they waited until the liberals had regained the initiative and then *joined the liberal government*,

(continued on p. 18)





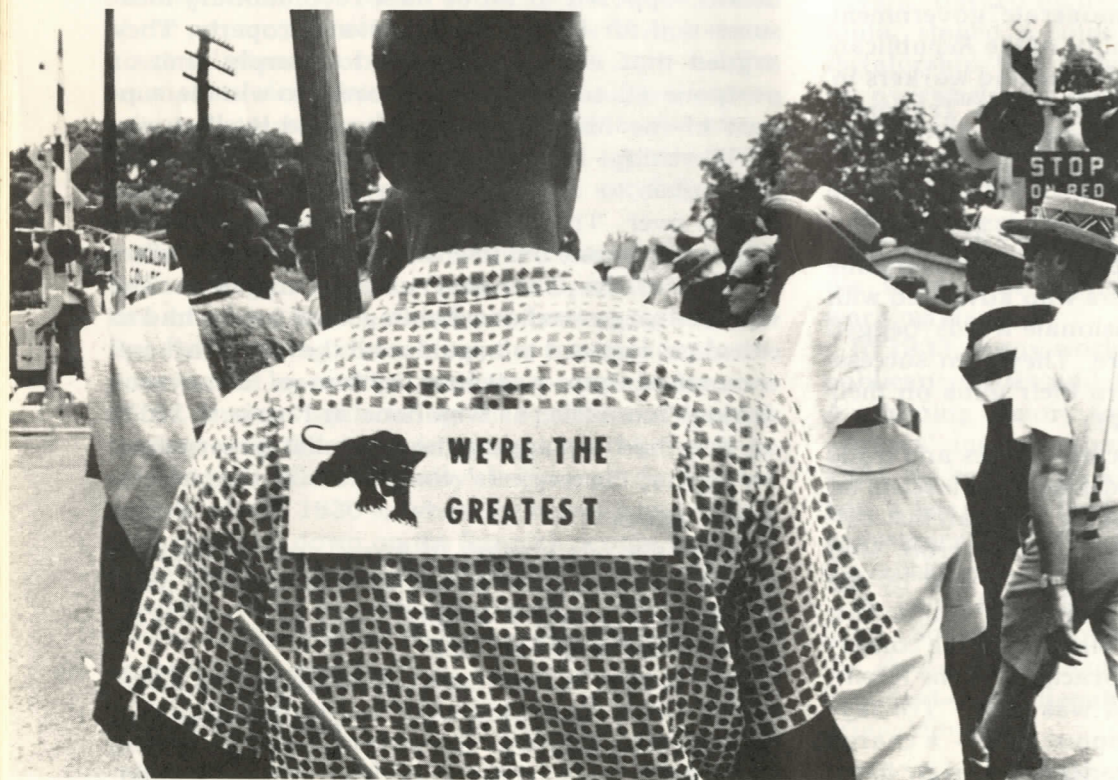
In Canton, Mississippi, marchers stand up to the cops.

# BLACK POWER



Lowndes County, Alabama, May 3, 1966. Voting to decide who will be the candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization next November.

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization was represented on the Mississippi march.



'We're the Greatest' was plastered everywhere along the route of the Mississippi march.

BY ELIZABETH BARNES

Overnight, the demand for black power which was raised on the Mississippi march has been picked up by black militants around the country. In reaction to this, the opponents of the slogan have mobilized to discredit it, and a giant debate has opened up within the civil rights and Negro organizations.

In the weeks following the march the conservative leaders of the NAACP, the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference precipitated major fissures in the already-divided civil rights movement by their slanderous attacks on the supporters of black power. These attacks were reinforced by the Johnson administration, and by liberal politicians and by the editors and publishers of the daily press who have mobilized to fight the new militancy.

In trying to play down the importance of the new black consciousness, Martin Luther King told a crowd in Atlanta that "the civil rights movement is generally opposed to this philosophy. It is really a very small segment that turns to such measures."

But King's actions demonstrate his real concern that the new black consciousness affects a very large segment of the black masses and is more appealing to them than his "nonviolent" approach. His statements in support of "militant nonviolence" are an indication of the pressure he feels from the left. At the July 10 mass rally in Chicago's Soldiers' Field, he criticized Chicago's Mayor Daley for failing to understand that "if gains are not made—and made in a hurry—through responsible civil rights organizations, it will open the door to militant groups to gain a foothold—





and those that have tried to be responsible will be driven to more irresponsible deeds and words."

Martin Luther King thus put his finger on the reason why the slogan of black power is catching on. It is because such minimal gains have been made by the Negro struggle with the tactics which have been tried so far. The black people in this country have learned that although the battle for integration has brought a few token concessions (most of which benefit the most privileged layers of Negroes), it has not brought any change in the social and economic conditions of the masses of Negroes. It is becoming clear that moral appeals to government officials and faith in leaders who have "friends in Washington" are not the way to win even the smallest gains. Only the independent and mass mobilization of black people, or the threat of it, has wrung from the government those few concessions that have been made.

The Vietnam war has also played an important role in raising doubts about the tactics used in the civil rights movement up until now. The experience of having sons and husbands drafted and killed in a war against colored people is another reminder to black people of the racist character of American society. These experiences raise doubts about whether the goal of their struggle should be that of assimilation into this racist white society.

Stokely Carmichael, the Chairman of SNCC and a prominent spokesman for the idea of black power, expressed this in an interview with the *New York Post* on July 7, 1966. When asked whether the aim of the civil rights movement has been to include the Negro in white society, he answered, "No, I totally disagree. I've never seen myself fighting to get into a country that's bombing the hell out of Vietnam, or a country that sees money as its only *raison d'etre*. What I thought was the fight of the civil rights movement was to get white people off our backs."

### What is Black Power

Many of the opponents of the black power concept have harped on the idea that it is just a slogan and does not embody a thought-out plan for struggle. According to an editorial in the *New York Post*, Bayard Rustin characterized black power as "the slogan of strategists who have no program."

It is true that the slogan of black power is defined differently by different people; and it is also true that many of the ideas held by the supporters of the slogan are not clearly defined or agreed upon.

But there are a number of definite ideas that characterize the thinking of many of the new black militants. These include: 1) a recognition of the need to organize the political power of the black people

and to do this independently of the government, the two major parties and the white liberals (and white liberal money); 2) the desire for black people to control their own struggle; 3) the idea that black people should control their own communities; 4) the idea that the main goal of the struggle should be to strive for a better life for black people as opposed to the goal of integration into white society; 5) acceptance of the basic democratic right of self-defense; 6) an understanding of the need to take an interest in foreign affairs and to link up with the worldwide struggle for freedom.

These ideas are not new. Many of them are the ideas held and explained by Malcolm X -- and many of the supporters of black power have been strongly influenced by Malcolm.

### A Concrete Example

The best answer to the charge that the new militants have no program is found in the existence of an organization which is putting into practice the perspective of black power. This organization is the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama, whose emblem is the black panther, and which is playing a pioneer role in working out a program which can challenge the present racist system.

Its goal is to take the political power out of the hands of the white rulers of Lowndes and to put it in the hands of an organization run by and responsive to the desires of the working people in the county.

In Lowndes County, there are four Negroes to every white. The Freedom Organization is running a slate of black candidates against the Democratic Party candidates, with the aim of winning the election and taking over the county.

The Freedom Organization is run by the black people of Lowndes and everything about it reflects this fact. The activists in the organization have hammered out a program which relates to the immediate problems of the people there. The leaders are from the community. They are democratically elected, and are individuals who have suffered the same poverty as the rest of the black community and who know that community.

To the people in Lowndes, it is the Freedom Organization which is important rather than any single "leader." No one person makes all the decisions, and there are many different meetings and channels through which people consult and make their ideas known.

Most important, the Freedom Organization is independent from the Democratic Party, and independent of both the white racists and the white liberals. The leaders of the organization realize that if they are to make any headway, the organization must rely on the people of Lowndes. They have been

continually pressured to join the Democratic Party – but they firmly believe that this would trap them into supporting their enemies.

The Freedom Organization at this time is all black; but this does not flow from antiwhiteism. As John Hulett, chairman of the organization, explains, anyone from Lowndes is welcome to join, so long as they agree with the aims of the organization.

The leaders of the Freedom Organization think of themselves as an example for the rest of the country. They feel that black people not only in the South, but also in the Northern ghettos, should form parties independent of the Republicans and Democrats. They do not look on the local white rulers of Lowndes County as their sole oppressors. They consider the national Democratic Party and President Johnson the defenders of the *status quo* and the ones responsible for their oppression. It is their belief that Negroes everywhere would stay out of such a party.

Already the example of Lowndes County has played a big role in inspiring the new militancy within the Negro movement. Stokely Carmichael was active in helping to build the Freedom Organization prior to his recent election as chairman of SNCC. On the Mississippi march, stickers were handed out with the black panther emblem, and the marchers pasted them up everywhere along the route. When many of the marchers were yelling out the slogan "black power," it was the Freedom Organization in Lowndes County that they were thinking of.

How effective the ideas and tactics embodied in the concept of black power will be in the future depends to a great extent on how seriously the example of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization is taken, and to what extent the accurate story of Lowndes is spread around the country.

The key lesson which must be learned from Lowndes is that in order to be truly independent of the oppressors, and in order to have leverage to assert pressure even for concessions, black people must organize independently of and in opposition to the Democratic Party. As long as the Democratic Party can count on the black vote, this instrument of the oppressors will remain intact and in good working condition, and no fundamental changes will occur.

In all the debates which have been raging, Lowndes County has not received the attention it deserves. But the example of Lowndes County may help to explain the hysterical reaction against the slogan of black power which has come from the press, the conservative civil rights leaders and "friends" in the government. Those who have a stake in the present system also have a stake in maintaining the Democratic Party.

## The Arguments of the Critics

The frenzied reaction of government officials and conservative civil rights leaders to the concept of black power has served to underline the depth of racism in this country and the gulf between the militants and the respectable leaders. As Lincoln Lynch of CORE explained to the CORE convention, "As time goes by, the militants will appear more militant and the moderates more moderate. . . . But what we must remember is that no man can be 'moderately free.'"

In the discussions in the press, and in the speeches made at conferences and mass meetings, the militants in SNCC, CORE and in Lowndes have seen their ideas misrepresented, distorted, and turned upside down. The main charge against the new ideas is that they are "racist" and "antiwhite." Roy Wilkins of the NAACP opened up a vicious attack on the idea of black power, calling it "a reverse Mississippi," a "reverse Hitler," a "reverse Ku Klux Klan" and the "father of hatred and the mother of violence." Martin Luther King has said that it connotes "black supremacy."

In his speech to the recent NAACP convention, meeting in Los Angeles, Hubert Humphrey called the idea of black power "racism" and "apartheid." "Yes, racism is racism," he announced, "and there is no room in America for racism of any color. And we must reject calls for racism whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black."

Earlier he had argued that, "It seems fundamental to me that we cannot embrace the dogma of the oppressors—the notion that somehow a person's skin determines his worthiness or unworthiness."

All of a sudden we find that Humphrey, Robert Kennedy and even Lyndon Johnson have become very interested in the tactics of the Negro struggle. It is amazing what an intensification of the militant struggle can do for government officials. The Selma march got LBJ saying "We shall overcome" and now we find Hubert Humphrey at the NAACP convention talking about how to defeat the oppressors. Here is a man who is vice president of the most powerful oppressor nation in the world, a

Even police cars were plastered with the black panther symbol



nation which is spending billions of dollars to slay the people of Vietnam, and this man is talking about how to defeat the oppressor!

All the above charges of "racism," "antiwhiteism" and "apartheid" present, in effect, the absurd concept that there is a danger of Negroes becoming violent oppressors. This is demagoguery of the worse type. It is the black people in this country who are oppressed, who are exploited and who have been gassed and shot down from Mississippi to Watts. When militants talk about black power they are simply talking about the means of fighting for full equality from racism, anti-blackism, and America's form of apartheid.

What the critics of black power want to do is to force on the black people of this country, the concept that the only definition of freedom is assimilation into the present white American capitalist society. In his address to the NAACP convention on July 7, Humphrey said that the basis for brutality against Negroes "has been segregation and exclusion—on terms imposed by the white majority." Thus, according to him, the way to get rid of this brutality is to fight for integration. What the new militants are saying, however, is that *it is not a question of segregation, but a question of exploitation*. What the masses of people want is not integration, necessarily, but a better life.

Stokely Carmichael explained in an interview in the May 23, 1966, *Militant* how token integration has even harmed the struggle. "Integration has always been Negroes going to white schools because white schools are good and black schools are bad. A Negro would go from his school to a better school, a white school. Negroes have been made to believe that everything better is always white. If integration means moving to something white is moving to something better, then integration is a subterfuge for white supremacy."

It is interesting to watch how government leaders and liberals, who live in white neighborhoods and send their children to white schools, suddenly can become concerned about the moral obligation to integrate. As Carmichael put it at the CORE convention, "If whites want to integrate . . . they should send their own children from Westchester County schools to Harlem."

The Wilkins, Rustins and Kings, along with government officials, all oppose the new mood— not because the whole orientation toward struggle independent from and against reliance on the government and white liberals is in contradiction to the program they support. Their program is the program of gradualism, not of freedom now. Martin Luther King gave this away in talking to a newsman when he said, "I'm trying desperately to keep

the movement nonviolent . . . but I can't keep it nonviolent by myself. Much of the responsibility is on the white power structure to give meaningful *concessions* to Negroes," (my emphasis). He doesn't demand freedom now, but rather asks for just enough concessions to keep the movement in "safe" channels.

The program of the new militants is cutting across the program of gradualism—the program of begging for concessions. What has happened is that black people are talking about organizing some of their power, including their voting power, to try to force faster changes than the government or the capitalist system is able or prepared to grant.

An even greater threat to those who rule this country is the independent thrust of the new militancy, the thrust away from the major parties and the thrust away from the acceptance of the values, structure and norms of white America. A vicious editorial in the *New York Times* of July 12, 1966, expressed the fear which the rulers of this country have of any thinking within the Negro movement which starts to become critical of the whole American capitalist system.

To the *Times*, the pursuance of goals which are not directly related to civil rights, i.e., integration, is the "worst" and most "ominous" feature of the new militants. It is alright to want to be a legal equal in the great society as long as you don't expect this to happen too quickly—but to criticize the great society, to challenge its integrity and to want to change it—that is off limits.

### The Question of Alliances

In a column in the July 7, 1966, *New York Post*, entitled "The Reverend King's Side," Murray Kempton quotes King as saying, "We've got to think of shared power." By this, King means that he does not believe that Negroes should fight for their rights unless they can persuade whites to go along with them. King does not want them to go out on their own as they have in Lowndes County.

Although the supporters of black power think that Negroes should organize on their own, they are not unaware of the important question of alliances between black people and whites who will support them. But they insist that these alliances must be made on their own terms and on the basis of a program they can support. They see no masses of whites and no radicalized labor movement ready to join in a fight against the white power structure. What they are saying is that with the absence of any significant forces ready to fight outside of their own numbers, it is up to the black people to create their own organizations and chart out their own path with whatever tools are available. When whites and conservative civil rights leaders oppose this, it

means they are asking the Negro people to *wait*.

The power of the black people in this country is tremendous, if their full potentialities are mobilized. By maintaining their political independence, black people can exert great leverage, not only in winning immediate gains but simultaneously in organizing to fight for full equality. Furthermore, if they are independent, they have the best chance of stimulating whites to follow their example. George Breitman in his pamphlet, "How A Minority Can Change Society," outlines in detail the character and extent of this power. One example he cites is that the Negro minority is in a position to upset and radicalize the political party structure of this country—just by "going it alone" in politics.

By forming a party, the black people of this country can break up what Malcolm X called the two-party con game, which is such an effective tool of the racists. The Democratic Party is dependent on the votes of the Negro people to win in an election. If these votes were not forthcoming, the white workers who support the Democratic Party would have the question posed for them of whether they should support a losing party. In such a situation, a black party could be a great stimulation to the formation of a labor party.

Because there are such high stakes involved, the rulers in this country will oppose and fight any motion toward an independent party on the part of the Negro people. The *New York Times*, which is the best barometer of the thinking of the ruling class, has systematically attacked every such preliminary move. It has taken time in editorials to attack the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, and it attacked the all-black Freedom Now Party when it was started in Detroit.

## The Fight Against Government Pressure

The government has traditionally had two ways of dealing with those who question its program—not only repression and slander but also bribery. The government will continue to allow the terrorization of black militants, and it will continue to try to slander and isolate them. But it will also try the tactic of buying them off with prestige and good jobs. As Malcolm X stated in a speech at the Militant Labor Forum in January, 1965, "It's easy to become a satellite today without even being aware of it. This country can seduce God. Yes, it has that seductive power—the power of dollarism. You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism and all the other kinds of isms, but its hard to cuss out dollarism. When they lay the dollars on you, your soul goes."

It is going to be a long and difficult task to extend the Lowndes County experience to the rest of the nation. In the Northern ghettos, there are more white liberals and middle class Negro leaders who are experts in buying off and disorienting leaders of moves toward real black independence. And it will take will power to hold fast under the pressure of the slanders and distortions of what the black militants stand for.

First on the agenda is the development of a black leadership which understands that the inequalities and brutality of this society are inherent within it. The new leadership will have to continue to develop its program. It will embrace the concept of black power as the first step toward building a movement that can bring full social and economic equality. It will have to face up to many of the questions Malcolm X grappled with, particularly that of the basic nature of American capitalism and the role of the colonial revolution. And like Malcolm, the new leaders will have to become firm in their opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The rapid growth and popularity of the black power slogan has demonstrated the growing awareness among black people of what is needed to deal with the reality of their situation. They are totally prepared to organize themselves to struggle and to fight. What they need is an honest and resolute leadership—a leadership capable of mobilizing their creative energies in the all-out battle for full equality.

As one ghetto dweller from Washington, D. C., put it to a reporter at the CORE convention: "The situation today in the United States is ready-made for Malcolm, and if he were alive, he could set this country on its ear." The new development toward black consciousness is one of the testimonies to the fact that there will be more Malcolm X's who will take up the struggle with the same courage and seriousness, and with the same faith in the power and future of the black people of this country.



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# ...Spain

(continued from p. 11)

grudgingly giving their assent to the forcible destruction of all the achievements of the revolution.

The second factor was the role of the Communist Party. Before the outbreak of the civil war, the Communist Party had been relatively weak, the smallest of the working class parties. It stood for a bloc with the capitalist parties in the "Popular Front," the policy adopted in 1935 by the 7th Congress of the Communist International. They declared themselves for the support of the liberal government, the defense of private property and the limiting of the revolution to purely liberal objectives.

Jesus Hernandez, editor of *El Mundo Obrero* and one of the leading figures of the Spanish Communist Party, wrote (August 6, 1936): "It cannot be said we have a social motive for our participation in the war. We communists are the first to repudiate this supposition. We are motivated exclusively by a desire to defend the democratic republic." (Cited, Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain*, p. 34)

As the anarchists and the POUM wavered, the initiative fell to the Communists, Socialists and liberals. In the first weeks, the government re-imposed censorship of the workers' press. In September, 1936, the "Socialist," Largo Caballero, became Prime Minister.

## The Military Situation

A drive was begun to dissolve the militia into the newly created "Popular Army" on the grounds of centralizing the conduct of the war. This was largely a spurious issue: the anarchists and the POUM were equally in favor of centralizing military operations; the question was *to whom were the military forces going to be responsible*. The intention of Caballero's move was to cut off the workingclass parties from political influence in the armed forces. On October 9, 1936, the Generalidad in Barcelona dissolved the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militias.

Militarily, Franco had every advantage over the Republic: he commanded a trained army, a superior air force and an unlimited supply of arms, equipment and men from his allies, Hitler and Mussolini. The "democracies"—England, France and the United States—declared for "non-intervention" and refused to even *sell* arms to the legal Spanish government. Only the Soviet Union and Mexico sent arms, and these in limited quantity.

The greatest advantage that lay on the side of the Republic was in the use of revolutionary tactics. An armed and inspired population proved an incomparable weapon in the defense of Barcelona and

Madrid. Franco's base of operations lay in Spanish Morocco, a colony subjugated by Spain only after many years of bloody desert warfare.

Abd-el-Krim, the most outstanding military leader of the Moroccans in the war with Spain, appealed to Largo Caballero to intervene, so he could return from exile to Morocco to lead an insurrection against Franco. Caballero refused, for fear it might displease England and France.

Failing to inspire and organize the revolutionary sentiments of the Spanish workers, the Republic was reduced to ordinary military means to prosecute an extraordinary war. Hitler and Mussolini saw Spain as a testing ground for new weapons and techniques; and additionally, as a testing ground of the determination of their future adversaries in World War II.

Reichmarshal Goering, at his trial at Nuremberg in 1946, testified: "When the civil war broke out in Spain, Franco sent a call for help to Germany and asked for support, particularly in the air. . . . The Fuhrer thought the matter over. I urged him to give support under all circumstances: firstly, to prevent the further spread of Communism; secondly, to test my young Luftwaffe in this or that technical respect." (*The Trial of the Major War Criminals*, Nuremberg 1947-9, Vol. IX, p. 280-1)

Even with the formation of the International Brigades which brought volunteers from around the world to fight in Spain, the Republic suffered defeat after defeat on the battle front. Only in Madrid and Catalonia had there been heavy fighting that did not end in the routing of the Republican forces. To defend Madrid, great masses of workers went to the front without arms, ready to take up the rifles of those who were killed, and the fascist advance was halted at the northwest edge of the city on November 7, 1936.

## The Communist Party vs. the Revolution

In May of 1937, the Communists decided to move against the left flank of the Republican forces. The leadership of the POUM and the anarchists had abdicated any independent role and joined the Caballero government, acting as its left cover. This was not enough, however, for the ranks of these organizations were becoming more and more restive as they watched everything they had fought for being taken away by their "allies" in the Popular Front.

Tensions came to a head on May 7, when representatives of the government tried to take over the Telephone Building in Barcelona. The telephone exchange had been operated by the CNT since they had captured it from the fascists at the cost of many lives in July of 1936. The government could not feel itself secure as long as this key communi-



cation center remained in the hands of the workers. Sharp fighting broke out between the anarchist workers and the *Guardia Civil*. Barricades went up in the streets just as they had in the "Revolution of July 19." This was the last possible moment that the workers could have taken power and regained what they had lost to the liberal-Communist bloc.

At the height of the fighting, the leaders of the CNT and of the POUM appealed to the workers to go home and to make their peace with the government!

The central government brought in troops from Valencia, and *after the fighting ended* began to arrest anarchists, POUM members and militiamen by the hundreds. The Communists introduced a bill in the Central Government in Valencia demanding that the POUM be outlawed, *charging that they were paid agents of Franco!* Even Largo Caballero could not publicly support this, and the newspaper of his supporters, *Adelante*, said editorially on May 11: "If the Caballero government were to apply the measures of repression which the Spanish section of the Comintern is trying to incite, it would . . . destroy working class unity and expose us to the danger of losing the war and wrecking the revolution." (Morrow, p. 115)

Caballero was deposed and replaced as Prime Minister by the more pliable Juan Negrin.

In June, the Communists began the final assault on the POUM. Hugh Thomas gives a graphic picture of the repression:

"In Barcelona . . . on the orders of Antonov-Ovseenko, the Russian Consul General, the POUM headquarters at the Hotel Falcon was closed. It was immediately and conveniently, turned into a prison. The POUM itself was declared illegal, and 40 members of its central committee arrested. . . . All members or associates of the POUM went in fear of arrest. . . . The Communist newspapers daily screamed accusations against those whom their

party had arrested but did not bring to trial. . . . A rumor spread that Andres Nin [the foremost of the POUM leaders] had been murdered in prison. . . . In fact he was . . . undergoing the customary Soviet interrogation of suspected deviationists. His resistance to these methods was apparently amazing. He refused to sign any documents admitting his guilt or that of his friends. . . . So, one dark night, ten German members of the International Brigade assaulted the house in Alcala where Nin was held. Ostentatiously, they spoke German during the pretended attack, and left behind some German train tickets. Nin was taken away in a closed van and murdered." (Thomas, p. 453-55)

From this point on, the fortunes of the Republic began a steady decline, although the war of attrition was to drag on for twenty-one months.

The end of the war is a bitter chronicle of betrayal by "loyal" officers, demoralization and defeat. Bilbao and Santander, strongholds of the conservative Basque Nationalists, fell to Franco's forces, with little or no resistance. Communist and anarchist soldiers, who tried to burn the cities to prevent them from falling into fascist hands, were shot by their "Republican" allies. The fascists drove to the coast at Castellon in July of 1938, cutting Republican Spain in two. Stalin, now looking toward the alliance with Hitler that was to be consummated the next year in the Hitler-Stalin pact, ordered the withdrawal of the International Brigades from Spain. Barcelona, once the flower of the Spanish revolution, was now deserted, its workingclass leaders dead, or in Communist jails. It fell without a shot being fired. Hundreds of thousands fled across the frontiers into France and into exile.

In March, 1939, Madrid and Valencia surrendered to the fascists. The liberal politicians and the Communist functionaries fled abroad, but the people of Spain could not flee. Every party had deserted or betrayed them, and they had been unable to create in time that one indispensable essential of victory: a party irrevocably and unconditionally committed to the defense of the revolution.

Yet they had "initiated a fire that lit up the world." George Orwell, who had lived and fought among the workers of Aragon, was to say later:

"However much one cursed at the time, one realized afterwards that one had been in contact with something strange and valuable. One had been in a community where hope was more normal than apathy or cynicism, where the word 'comrade' stood for comradeship and not, as in most countries, for humbug. One had breathed the air of equality."

After three decades of reaction and oppression, this memory has not been forgotten. Today, the struggle to again breath "the air of equality" is beginning.

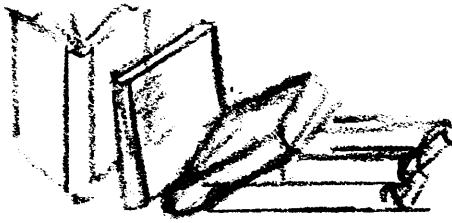
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## Marxism vs. Existentialism

(Existentialism Versus Marxism: Conflicting Views on Humanism, edited and with an introduction by George Novack, DeltaBooks, 1966, 344 pages, \$2.95.)

Next to *The Catcher in the Rye*, the most widely read novel of today is probably Albert Camus' *The Stranger*. Certainly works by Camus and Sartre seem to find their way onto many high school and most college freshmen reading lists. The literature and philosophy of Existentialism have been studied, popularized, vulgarized and generally bruited about to such a great extent that the description "existentialist" seems interchangeable with "non-conformist," "beatnik," "revolutionary" and a whole host of other terms which are freely misused by the popular press in describing the younger generation. There is evidently a great deal of confusion.

But it does seem apparent that there are two sets of ideas which most powerfully catch and hold the imagination of this generation: the ideas of Existentialism and the ideas of Marxism. George Novack is an outstanding socialist scholar whose earlier works in the field of Marxist philosophy (*An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, *The Long View of History* and *The Origins of Materialism*) qualify him for the singular task he has set for himself in *Existentialism Versus Marxism*. While the press finds the attitudes of Existentialists and revolutionaries to be nearly indistinguishable, Mr. Novack has subtitled his book "Conflicting Views on Humanism," and he poses the question: Are Existentialism and Marxism very much alike, compatible? Or are the two philosophies irreconcilable?

The book is an anthology of writings by leading Existentialist and Marxist intellectuals. The an-

thology is not assembled at random; the selections are fusilades fired in the debate between proponents of Marxism and adherents of Existentialism. It may surprise the reader to learn that there has been such a debate and that it has been going on for a long time now, with rigorous argument from both sides and very explicit points at issue. As taught in American schools, Existentialism is made to seem isolated and apart from all other philosophies, just a sort of aura hanging over modern times, or a frosting readily applied to any one's private philosophical cake. The truth is that all the many varieties of Existentialism have been forced to contend not only with each other, but also with the leading philosophies whose aim – increasing human freedom – is the same.

The Existentialists represented in Novack's book are specifically of the French, atheistic school, whose chief theoretician is Jean Paul Sartre. These are the Existentialists of the Left, those who have been most concerned with the anguish of a world in revolutionary upheaval and plagued by wars. They are therefore concerned with the anguish of a world in revolutionary upheaval and plagued by wars. They are therefore concerned too, with advancing revolutionary thought, and it is at this point that they find themselves locked in debate with the Marxists, the leaders not only of revolutionary thought, but also of actual revolutions in this epoch.

### The Conflict

Novack's introduction contains a detailed study of the origin and development of the debate. Sartre, says Novack, has lately begun to believe that Existentialism and Marxism are not irreconcilable philosophies, that

Existentialism is in fact a "branch" of Marxist thought, and further, that it is the most significant and viable branch in the whole tree.

Novack disagrees, and after an initial exposition of the basic tenets of each, he finds that the methods and outlook of Existentialists and Marxists differ in point after point. For example, Sartre's view of the historical process is contrasted with that of Marx:

"Starting from the separate individual, Sartre goes on to examine how he and his equally isolated ('serialized') fellows become socialized or totalize themselves by forming ties and creating relationships of various kinds, ranging from a voluntary 'group in fusion' to an 'organized' group, developing into a socio-economic institution, a movement, party or state.

"This approach to history is altogether different from that of Marx, which proceeded not from individual action, but from social practice, the working collective of whatever kind in its struggle with nature. Marxism views the activities, relations, will and consciousness of the individual as fundamentally shaped by the aggregate conditions of life and labor imposed upon him by the social system. The dialectical process of history is based upon the dynamics of the productive forces, which are first promoted and then retarded by a given mode of production. The most powerful individual is governed by this objective process.

"Sartre, however, subordinates social relations and historical forces to the autonomy of the individual. The given situation can only limit the possibilities of his freedom, but cannot compel his action or decision. He regards social evolution as a succession of freely made choices, not as the necessary unfolding of different degrees of man's productive power in his collective struggle with nature for existence." (p. 24)

In other words, Sartre sees individuals creating society out of their own consciousness; Marxists see society and history shaping and controlling the individual.

Novack's introduction proceeds to delineate other differences in a rich and dialectically skillful fashion, and

he returns to his argument on a higher level in the article which concludes the book. He introduces each selection with a short note on the author, helping to locate the reader at each turn in the controversy.

The book contains fascinating material, much of it rather uncommon. It starts with two brief bits from Nietzsche, whose declaration that the death of God frees man made him a forefather of atheistic Existentialism. This is followed by two selections from Marx and Engels, the first enunciation of the materialist approach to the problem of alienation. The alienated individual and his anguish and isolation provides the subject for many an Existential novel; Marx and Engels discuss the social phenomenon and its causes.

### The Contemporary Debate

The contemporary debate is opened by Sartre, in an early article which condemns dialectical materialism as false and a foe to freedom. Also included in the anthology is Sartre's recent reversal: Existentialism has the mission of curing the anemia afflicting present-day Marxism. This article opens the second phase of the debate.

In the first phase, replies from the Marxist side are given by Georg Lukacs, a world-renowned Hungarian literary critic, by Roger Garaudy, a leading spokesman for the French Communists and Herbert Marcuse, a professor at Brandeis who is an independent American Marxist. Lukacs and Garaudy restrict themselves to analyzing the social origins of the Existentialists; Marcuse takes issue with the Existentialist concept of freedom.

Answers to Sartre's more recent position on Marxism come from Jean-Pierre Vigier, a physicist, and Pyama P. Gaidenko, a Russian philosopher. An argument for Sartre's proposed merger of Marxism and Existentialism comes from Leszek Kolakowski, a Polish philosopher, and is answered by Adam Schaff, a more orthodox Polish Marxist.

Paralleling Kolakowski on the Existentialist side is Albert Camus, who opposes Sartre's current view that Existentialism and Marxism are compatible.

Novack's concluding article surveys the gulf existing between the two philosophies today.

The language of the essays is occasionally quite technical. The Existentialists are especially prone to coin new words—"totalize"—and they give confusing new meanings to old ones—"serious," "object," "subject." Marcuse unhelpfully renders all of these in French. And the terminology of the Marxists, which is older, is used with somewhat more precision by these Marxists than it is by the bourgeois interpreters with whom American students are more familiar. But the reader should not be put off, because the various authors, like all Marxists and Existentialists, do not share the estrangement from life of professional academic philosophy. While the language is technical, their examples and references are from history, from the stream of current facts and events and persons and places.

### The Dialectic

For American students disgusted by pragmatism and its anti-philosophical bias, the most fascinating passage in the book will probably be Novack's description of a debate which took place in December of 1961, in Paris. The topic was "Is the dialectic solely a law of history or is it also a law of nature?" Jean Paul Sartre and Jean Hippolyte argued the Existentialist viewpoint: that dialectical processes are man's creation and therefore operate only in human history. Roger Garaudy and the physicist, Vigier, defended the Marxist position: all phenomena in nature, society and thought obey the laws of dialectics. Vigier, as a

physicist, has been concerned with elementary particles, a field in which new discoveries are fast making the question of "dialectical" laws of nature—the relationship between chance and causality—a burning one for all scientists. The audience for the debate numbered 6000, a figure unheard of in this country for such an event, and it shows how pressing are the supposedly abstruse questions under discussion. Vigier's contribution to the debate is printed in this book.

It is only one of the many high points in a thorough and valuable treatment of today's most significant conflict of ideas.

This generation of fighters against the war in Vietnam, of fighters for human rights, is learning that a set of beliefs too casually held will not sustain them in the fight. At every crossroad, at the height of every protest, we find illusions shattered—illusions which must be replaced by theories which accord with reality if we are to go forward. Our beliefs, our interpretations of any given set of facts, are best tested and revealed in conflict.

Many young people today consider themselves Existentialists and have read widely in the field, particularly the novels. But of the many studies of Existentialism, this one, which presents it in conflict with Marxism, will probably go farther than any other to illumine the questions and problems of that philosophy, and to reveal its nature where the glib or arid study of the thing-in-itself conceals it.

Novack has performed a service in capturing the struggle at the point where it widens to include our generation. The questions discussed here are being raised for us every day, in other forms, and Novack's book will help us to focus on them and deal with them. He clarifies and interprets the debate, but in addition he makes a real contribution to it. As a socialist he adds a thorough refutation of the idea that Marxism and Existentialism are either philosophically or politically compatible and carries the controversy to a new level.

—FRANCES STARR



# ...Notes

continued from p. 2

The rising sentiment against the war within the population as well as among the soldiers promises the continued growth and development of the anti-war movement after the Days of Protest and into the fall and winter.

**The YSA and Malcolm X:** In their recently published book, *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents*, Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau indicate that the Young Socialist Alliance "was one of the first youth groups to identify itself with Malcolm X." They underlined the political importance of this fact by selecting for their anthology excerpts from a speech entitled "In Tribute to Malcolm X" which was given by Jack Barnes at a memorial meeting in New York. The speech is available in the Young Socialist pamphlet, "Malcolm X Talks to Young People." Write *Young Socialist*, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y.

**"New Politics?"** A new organization called the National Conference for New Politics has been organized to help raise funds and rally support for liberal "peace" candidates. A coalition of liberals, radicals and even some socialists, the new group holds that the "new" politics should "reverse the tendency of our politics toward the monolithic conformism of 'the great consensus' and can revive the free-swinging politics of traditional American democracy."

In practice they plan to direct most of their funds and support to liberal Democratic party campaigns, such as those of Theodore Weiss in New York and Howard Morgan in Oregon. They hope to draw many of the new radicals and antiwar fighters away from political activities that confront LBJ and his party head on, and direct them into the political machinery of the ruling two-party system where their protests can be effectively controlled. There could scarcely be an *older* form of politics than this.

**Mexican-Style Democracy:** Adolfo Gilly, the Argentine journalist whose articles on Cuba and Guatemala have been widely read by north and south American radicals, was arrested late in April by the Mexican police. He, along with several others, was charged with "plotting" the massive student strikes that took place at the University of Mexico in April.

Gilly was brutally tortured by the Mexican police who forced a "confession" out of him by threatening to turn him over to the Guatemalan police.

A defense committee is being organized in the United States to publicize this atrocious persecution. Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, and Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*, are temporary coordinators. For more information write: Dave Dellinger, 5 Beekman St., New York, N. Y., 10038.

**Study and Fun:** Far from being tedious, dry lecture sessions, the socialist summer schools sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance have mixed learning with fun.

In New York, the Monday night session is preceded by a buffet supper with one of the instructors usually doing the cooking. The New Yorkers also organized a day at the beach out on Fire Island.

On the West Coast, the summer school will be climaxed by a ten day vacation school in the mountains.

At the end of July, socialist students from the midwest will gather in Detroit to hear a series of lectures on the "Dynamics of the World Revolution" by Barry Sheppard, managing editor of the *Militant*.

Many of the schools are studying imperialism and the history of the socialist movement, but other topics range from the Chinese Revolution to the Progressive Party, to art and revolution.

**The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution":** At the high tide of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" in China, the regime has announced that the admission of all students to universities and secondary schools has been suspended for six months. This means that 500,000 young people who would have normally entered the university this September will have to wait until January.

The reason given is that the "bourgeois" admissions policy currently followed by the universities must be corrected. This action, coupled with the large-scale purges of leading faculty members in the Chinese universities, must cause some students to wonder why Chairman Mao has allowed such a policy to continue in a workers' state for the last seventeen years.

**YSA Participates in DuBois Club Parley:** Between 200 and 275 people attended the Second National Convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs held in Chicago, June 17-19. The formation of a "black caucus," composed of Negro members of the DuBois Clubs, forced the questions of black nationalism, white chauvinism and the relationship between blacks and whites in the organization to the forefront.

There were visitors from several organizations, but the largest contingent was observers from the Young Socialist Alliance. YSAers participated in all the workshops, circulated a discussion paper entitled "Should Socialists Support Peace Candidates?" and sold sixty copies of a new pamphlet on the Black Panther party in Alabama.

Anyone interested in a copy of the discussion paper on peace candidates should write the *Young Socialist*.

**Another Record Fund Drive:** The Young Socialist Alliance is totally dependent on contributions from membership and friends to keep going. No wealthy benefactors or angels bail us out if we have trouble making ends meet. That's why it's so rewarding to see that the most recent fund drive was able to top the \$7,000 mark for the first time in the six and one half year history of the YSA.

AREA	PLEGGED	PAID IN
Ann Arbor	\$250	\$250.00
Antioch		37.00
Berkeley	600	600.00
Boston	850	859.00
Chicago	1000	1000.00
Cleveland	450	582.50
Detroit	350	350.00
Kansas		50.00
Los Angeles	400	400.00
Madison	250	250.00
New York—Downtown	450	450.00
New York—Uptown	675	686.00
Philadelphia	250	301.30
San Diego	50	
San Francisco	350	420.00
San Jose	125	142.50
Seattle	50	50.00
Twin Cities	475	475.00
Washington D. C.	200	240.00
Totals	6775	7147.80

**Antiwar Candidates Run in New York:** New Yorkers will have an opportunity to register their sentiment against the Vietnam war by voting in the gubernatorial elections this fall for a full slate of candidates who are opposed to the war and demand that the G. I.'s be brought home now. This slate is being entered by the Socialist Workers Party and it will be the only state ticket running on a platform of opposition to the war.

A party statement declared: "Johnson's newest escalation of the war must be matched by an escalation of the activities of the antiwar movement. The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will be designed to help accomplish that necessary aim."

**SDS Protests Attack on Alexander Defense Committee:** At a national council meeting held in Ann Arbor on June 17-19, the Students for a Democratic Society passed a resolution affirming their opposition to the Justice Department's attempt to force the Alexander Defense Committee (ADC) to register as an "agent of a foreign principal." The "principal" named was Dr. Neville Alexander, who is currently serving a ten-year prison term incommunicado in South Africa's notorious Robben Island concentration camp for his opposition of apartheid.

Carl Ogelsby, President of SDS, was authorized by the national council to serve as co-chairman of the ADC.

The ADC is an organization providing funds for legal defense and family relief to persecuted opponents of the South African regime. The officers of the ADC have announced that they will not register. If the government is successful in prosecuting them, they could each be sentenced to five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

Funds are needed to fight the registration order, as well as to continue aid to the victims of apartheid. If you can help, write the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Dr. Alexander

**The LBJ Brigade:** "I have hurt how many people, how many wives and children, mothers and fathers and friends, how many? I have put the seeds of hate into people whom I have made widows and orphans, they will hate me, they will hate America, they will hate the good with the bad, I have made them enemies of my people." These are the words of William Wilson's anonymous American soldier fighting in Vietnam, quoted from his recently published novel, *The LBJ Brigade*. While certainly not a great novel, it is nonetheless, a powerful and gripping moral indictment of the savage war in Vietnam.

—DOUG JENNESS



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